

Ruth Kark

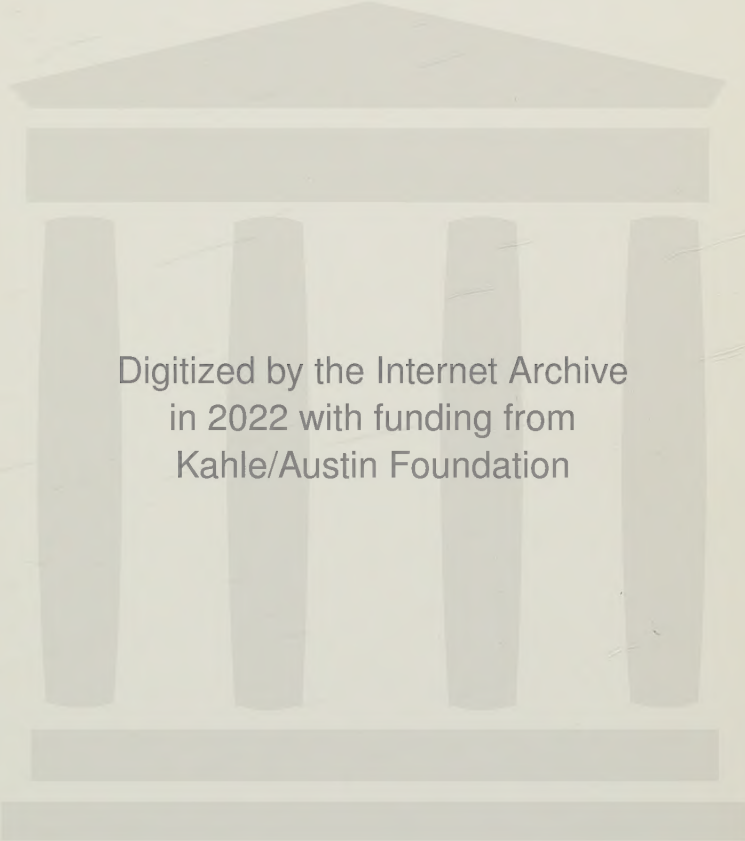
Jaffa

A City in Evolution

1799-1917

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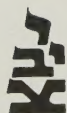
Jaffa: A City in Evolution—1799-1917

RUTH KARK

JAFFA

A City in Evolution • 1799-1917

YAD IZHAK BEN-ZVI PRESS



JERUSALEM 1990

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Translated by Gila Brand

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PREFACE

Studies pertaining to urban development and change during specific intervals in history, be it antiquity or modern times, vary in orientation. Some concentrate on the origins of the city and the processes which led to its growth; others trace patterns of urban rise and decline, and probe the changes occurring during periods of transition. Generally speaking, the subject matter and approach to the topic are colored by the academic discipline which guides the researcher. Social scientists lean toward a deductive approach, while historians and others in the humanities have tended to adopt an inductive one.

At times, the former presented purely theoretical models, the link between them and historical reality sometimes being distant, or theories based on comparative research, in an attempt to find similarity between factors and processes over time and space, rather than their singularity.

Historical geographers, acquainted with the methods of both the social sciences and the humanities, attempt to draw a picture that can bridge across and integrate the disciplines.¹

Compared with broader treatment of urban development, the present study is considerably scaled down in terms of methodology, time span (one century), territory (one city in the Ottoman Empire of which Palestine was a part) and culture (the Muslim world). The object has been to reconstruct the city historically and geographically on the basis of documentary evidence, employing an inductive approach. Yet an attempt has also been made to depict broader spatial and temporal processes, and to create a synthesis emphasizing the interplay of political, demographic, social, economic and regional forces, thereby presenting the city as a part of a more generalized framework; hence the comparisons with Jerusalem, other towns in Palestine and cities in the Middle East.

A large part of this study is devoted to the process of change itself, because the underlying causes of change cannot be analyzed without an understanding of the forms it took. Despite the brevity of the time span chosen for this study, this period is crucial for an understanding of the development of Jaffa. This was a time of great transition for the town, as it became the hub of activity and change in Palestine as a whole.

1 Kark, "Conceptual Models of Developing Pre-Industrial Cities".

Jaffa is one of the world's oldest port cities and is referred to by name in countless sources, both written and oral. According to archeological findings, a permanent settlement existed in the area some 7,500 years before the Christian era. The earliest remnants discovered in the town itself date to the end of the second century B.C.E.²

During its thousands of years of existence, including hundreds of years as a Jewish city, Jaffa went through periods of war and destruction, and periods of growth and prosperity. War and destruction may have been the product of broader political events, but local, human and physical factors were instrumental in each return and revival of the ancient site, which was favored as a port and dwelling place.³

After the Crusaders were driven from Palestine, life in Jaffa came to a virtual standstill for hundreds of years. This period of dormancy commenced with the deliberate razing of Jaffa's harbor and urban infrastructure by the Mamlūk Sultan Baibars in 1268, followed by similar actions by al-Nāṣr Nāṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad in 1336, 1344 and 1346 in order to prevent renewed Crusader attempts at conquest.⁴

Ottoman population censuses from the early and late sixteenth century indicate that Jaffa was a village in the *sanjak* (district) of Gaza, with a total of 27 taxpayers during the years 1525-1526,⁵ and 15 Muslim family heads in 1596.⁶ The inhabitants engaged in agriculture, cultivating wheat, barley, sesame and fruit trees, and raising goats, buffalo and bees.

The Jaffa harbor continued to be used by the town of Ramle for the export of agricultural products and as a port of entry for pilgrims. Attacks by pirates and Bedouins being common at the time, the Turks stationed sentries in Jaffa's two watchtowers to guard the storage cellars and ships.⁷

In the early eighteenth century, as the central government in Constantinople strengthened its control over Palestine's southern coastal plain and introduced greater security measures at the Jaffa port, the town began to grow as an urban center. The Turks built another watchtower equipped with cannons to keep the Bedouins and pirates at bay. Close to one hundred soldiers were brought in to guard the port.⁸ By this time, the Christian churches had begun to establish a foothold in Jaffa. To provide travel services for incoming pilgrims, the

2 Kaplan, 1959, pp.19-20; Kaplan, 1974, p.135.

3 Tolkovsky, 1926.

4 Tolkovsky, 1925, pp.81-82.

5 Lewis, 1954, p.490.

6 Hütteroth, p.151.

7 Cadula's description from 1532 and Sandis' description from 1652, in Hirshberg, 1953, p.223; Ruwolf, 1575, pp.268-269.

8 Cohen, pp.144, 152-153.

Catholics built the Hospice and Convent of St. Peter (1642-1654).⁹ At the initiative of the Jerusalem Patriarch, the Armenians expanded the Convent of St. Nicholas and purchased property and warehouses.¹⁰ The Greek Orthodox founded the Church and Hospice of St. Michael.

As the first quarter of the eighteenth century drew to a close, commerce and light industry expanded as part of the overall economic recovery in the region.¹¹ This period was marked by the renovation of the wharf and warehouses, and the construction of an Armenian *khān* and the Sheikh Muḥammad al-Ṭābiya Mosque (1730).¹² A wall around the city seems to have been built during the first half of the century.

Improved security and economic growth led to a sharp increase in Jaffa's population. Among the new inhabitants of the town were French merchants, an agent of the Venetian Republic, the consular representatives of different countries, and a few Jews. Even soldiers stationed in Jaffa took part in the commercial activity. The swamps on the outskirts of the town were drained, and fruit and citrus trees were planted there.¹³

By the mid-eighteenth century, Jaffa had been transformed from a crumbling, neglected port to Ramle's replacement as a bustling center of commerce, boasting a population of 5,000-6,000. During the 1750s, the governor of Jaffa undertook the building of a school for the local Muslims, who had apparently become more numerous.¹⁴

This prosperity was brought to a halt by a clash between the central government and local rulers over control of the region, which continued for several years (1769-1775). 'Uthmān Pasha fought bitterly against Zāhir al-'Amr and 'Alī Bey, who later joined forces against Abū Dhahab. Following two sieges, in 1773 and 1775, Jaffa was conquered and destroyed. Its gardens were ravaged and many inhabitants were massacred.¹⁵

Jaffa scarcely had time to lick its wounds before Napoleon appeared on the scene in 1799. After a brief siege, his soldiers captured the town, ransacked it, and killed scores of inhabitants.¹⁶ Then came the plague, which further reduced

9 Baedeker, 1876, p.130, and Tolkovsky, 1926, pp.111-112, based on contemporary travellers.

10 Sanjian, pp.142-145.

11 Cohen, pp.153-154.

12 Angelicus Maria Miller and other travellers, in Tolkovsky, 1926, pp.114-116 and Pinkerfeld, p.29.

13 Heyd, 1941, p.35; Vilnay, I, pp.122-123, II, p.110. Also see Hasselquist, pp.118, 276-277, and Niebuhr and Ritter in Tolkovsky.

14 French consul's letter of 9.7.1753 and *firman* from 1753 on the subject of the school in Jaffa, in Cohen, p.155.

15 Heyd, 1941, pp.43-47, pp.61-71.

16 Malos in Tolkovsky, 1926, pp.122-123.

the population and lay waste to the town.¹⁷

After Napoleon's retreat, Jaffa was to suffer two more sieges (in 1799 and 1803-1805) before embarking on an uninterrupted course of growth and development which has continued to this day. The town gradually increased in area, population, ethnic and religious diversity, and economic activity.

The growth of urban Jaffa, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and today's "metropolitan Tel Aviv", is without doubt Israel's most dramatic urban-geographic development in modern times. In part, the seeds of change were already sown a century earlier.

The period 1799-1914 was a highly eventful one in the history of Palestine. Jaffa was an important base for many of the changes. If we follow the development of the town closely, we can discern trends and processes characteristic of the nineteenth century, some of which continue to the present and may persist into the future.

Forty years ago, G.K. Zipf, a student of urban hierarchy (later followed by many geographers, notably B. Berry), pointed out a phenomenon common in many countries: the existence of a large, central city that overshadows all the others. This is called the "primate city", an outstanding example in our day being Cairo, Egypt.¹⁸ Such a situation exists in Israel, too, with the "Tel Aviv-Jaffa metropolis" overshadowing all other urban centers in size and importance. This is a purely modern phenomenon.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jaffa was a tiny walled city with less than 3,000 inhabitants. Many towns in Palestine—Jerusalem, Acre, Nablus, Safed and others—exceeded it in area and population. By the eve of World War I, Jaffa had grown to become the second largest city in Palestine after Jerusalem. It was then that the foundations were laid for its rank as primate city. This process, as well as the factors leading to the founding of the Ahuzat Bayit quarter adjacent to Jaffa and the growth of Tel Aviv, Palestine's first Hebrew city, are rooted in the previous century.

To understand these processes of change, it was necessary to reconstruct a picture of urban life in Jaffa and environs. This was done in the customary fashion of historical geography, by creating detailed descriptive and cartographic cross-sections dealing with different sub-periods and subjects, and interrelating them over time to achieve a synthesis between basic themes.

17 According to Brown (in Macalister, pp.133-134), Jaffa had 6,000-7,000 inhabitants prior to Napoleon's conquest. Even if this is exaggerated, the damage done by the siege is evident in the population figures for the early nineteenth century, which are in the range of 2,500.

18 G.K. Zipf, *Human Behaviour and the Principle of Least Effort*, Cambridge, 1949. Another study worthy of mention is B.J.L. Berry and W.L. Garrison, "Functional Bases of the Central Place Hierarchy", *Economic Geography* 34, 1958, pp.145-154.

trends and contexts.¹⁹ The themes dealt with include government, urban landscape, population and society, economic infrastructure and means of livelihood. Sub-periods were determined by political events in the Ottoman Empire that were important to the development of Jaffa, while the themes were chosen in accordance with the norm in urban studies literature. General literature about the period, as well as primary and secondary historical sources, provided valuable assistance in the collection of data.

Primary sources were classified by type and reliability. These included archives of consulates and institutions active in Palestine during this period, general archives containing information about Jaffa (the Central Zionist Archives, the Israel State Archives, the historical archives of the Jerusalem Municipality and the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality, the Labor Party Archives, etc.), the archives of contemporary families and individuals; periodicals and almanacs published in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; newspapers from this period; memoirs, diaries and other writings; travel literature and research studies.

In addition to written material, data was gathered from old maps, illustrations, engravings, photographs and aerial views of Jaffa and Tel Aviv. Visits were made to the many historical sites still existent. As an aid to reconstructing the urban landscape, a detailed series of maps was drawn, based on old maps and aerial photographs. These illustrate the development of construction in Jaffa between 1800-1917, the major buildings during different sub-periods, the distribution of land use, the urban plan, and the character of the old and new neighborhoods.

I would like to express my gratitude to the many who helped me see this work to completion. Special thanks are due to the staffs of the various archives: to Dr. M. Heyman, Y. Meyorik, Rachel Ever-Hadani, the photocopy department and librarians of the Central Zionist Archives; to Prof. P.A. Alsberg, M. Plotkin, Y. Shor, Y. Taslitzky and A. Avner of the Israel State Archives; to M. Levine and T. Lamm of the Jerusalem Municipality Historical Archives; and to Arie Gini, Yitzhak Einhorn and Adi Cohen, who gave me entry to their private archives. I am also indebted to the late Dr. A. Yodfat of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality Historical Archives.

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19 On the synthesis of theme, trend and context see Checkland, in Dyos, 1968, p. 375.

of the Hebrew University's Geography Department library, Sara Erlich, Irit November and Miriam Katz.

I am grateful to Naftali Talman and Dr. Buni Rubin for placing their work at my disposal; to the late Shimshon Eshel and Miriam Gabai for their help in translating documents; and to Judy Wisch, Reuven Amitai and Shawkat 'Adawi. A special contribution was made by Tamar Sofer, the cartographer of the Hebrew University's Geography Department, who spent many hours working on the maps in this book. Thanks also to Mira Yehudai for checking them, and to Samuel Avitzur, Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, Gideon Biger, Dov Gavish, Joseph Glass, Haim Goren and Benjamin Z. Kedar for their assistance.

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The Hebrew edition of this book (published in 1984) has been revised and updated to include recently published material. The English translation of this study was made possible by James Amzalak of Palm Springs, California, scion of an old Jaffa family. His grandfather, Haim Amzalak, served as British vice-consul in Jaffa in the mid-nineteenth century and was a central figure in the development of the city. The manuscript was translated by Gila Brand and edited by Priscilla Fishman, who deserve much credit.

I thank my publisher, the Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, for its devotion to furthering the study of Eretz Israel.

Last but not least, heartfelt thanks are due to my children, Ronit, Salit and Guy, and my husband, Jeremy, for displaying the independence and patience that enabled me to complete this work.

RUTH KARK

October 1989

CHAPTER ONE

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Urban development in Jaffa was very much a product of political events which encouraged or hindered its growth. This study of the course of demographic, social and economic changes in Jaffa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, requires knowledge of contemporary political affairs and of the administrative organization then effective in Palestine.

Seventeen-ninety-nine will be our starting point because it was then that Napoleon's army conquered Jaffa, demolished the wall encircling it and left the town in almost total ruin. What ensued was a new era in the history of Palestine. From a foresaken province, it became the focal point of a tug-of-war between the European powers, as they competed for influence in the Middle East.¹

From a political perspective, this period in the history of Palestine could be divided into four sub-periods: a) the period of pashas and local rulers (1799-1831), i.e. a continuation of the eighteenth century and the forms of government common then; b) the conquest of Syria and Palestine by Egyptian ruler Muḥammad 'Alī via his son, Ibrāhīm Pasha (1831-1840); in many respects this was a turning point, for despite the brevity of the period, the changes in government and other spheres were many; c) the period of reforms (1841-1876), when the Ottomans returned to power and tried to institute new patterns of government; d) the end of the Ottoman period (1877-1917). The first and larger half of this last period was marked by the centralized rule of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II; then came the rise of the Young Turks, who staged a revolution in 1908 and remained in power until the British occupation of Palestine in 1917-1918.

Each of these sub-periods will be analyzed in terms of the processes and trends which characterized it. Jaffa itself will be studied in terms of the local government, its attitude toward urban development, and the status of the consuls and foreign subjects.

1 Heyd, 1972, p. 44, and Ben-Zvi, 1968, pp. 327-328.

AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was one of the largest political units in the world. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century it had declined to the lowest point in its history.² True, Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) had tried to introduce military and administrative reforms emulating the nations of Europe, France in particular, but he was unsuccessful and, in the end, was assassinated by opponents. Numerous defeats abroad, and dangerous revolts at home, spurred by the Wahabis in Hījāz, Aḥmad al-Jazzār, and the Serbs, sapped the Empire's strength. Moreover, the reforms were opposed by the Janissaries, the *ulamā'* (religious leaders), the feudal lords, and the people themselves, who were heavily taxed to finance them.³

Selim's successor, Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-1839) introduced a series of new reforms in 1826, after systematically liquidating the Janissary corps, driving out the Bektashi order associated with it, and weakening the *ulamā'*. Maḥmūd knew that military reforms were not enough; he tried to reorganize the administration, strengthen centralized rule, and introduce direct governmental supervision. He established officer-training schools, set up a medical school, and even sent young people to study in Europe. He reduced the authority of the Grand Vezir, created ministries and councils, increased official salaries, changed inheritance laws to make life and property more secure, and published a newspaper. Economic development may have been overlooked to some extent, but some scholars of the period note that under both Selim III and Maḥmūd, attempts at industrialization were made, mainly for the benefit of the military and the royal court.⁴

The important reforms introduced by Maḥmūd with the assistance of Mustafā Rashīd Pasha could not, however, keep the empire from crumbling. During his rule, strategic regions were lost to the Ottomans: Greece, Bessarabia, the Circassian coast in the northeastern Black Sea and several Armenian districts. Turkey also lost direct control over Serbia, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the district of Adana. Although these remained part of the empire in theory, in practice, they were controlled by autonomous rulers.⁵ It should be remembered that even where there was an Ottoman government, only that part of the permanent population residing in towns and the villages near them was under its jurisdiction; these areas were only limited areas within the territory controlled by Bedouin.⁶

2 Heyd, 1963; Lewis, 1968, pp. 21-39.

3 Lewis, *ibid*, pp. 21-39.

4 Clark, pp. 65-76.

5 Heyd, 1963, and Lewis, *ibid*, pp. 76-106.

6 Ben-Zvi, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Palestine as a Foresaken District

The reforms instituted at the center of the Ottoman Empire never reached the periphery; Palestine in those days remained a foresaken district in a crumbling empire. In 1800, the entire population totalled 300,000. The country itself was split between two Ottoman provinces (*iyālāt*) whose borders changed from time to time in keeping with the military might of their governors. In general, the central mountain region from Nablus to Hebron (Jerusalem included) belonged to the province of Damascus, and the Galilee and coastal plain up to Khān Yūnis, to the province of Acre (or Sidon). The coastal region from Khān Yūnis to Caesarea was divided into three subdistricts: Gaza,⁷ Ramle and Jaffa. The Negev was largely outside the jurisdiction of the Ottomans at this time.⁸

In Palestine and the Arab-Muslim regions of Asia, local traditions, local leadership and the heads of the religious communities were still much respected. The Ottomans only added an upper echelon to the existing hierarchy in non-Turkish areas, in the form of military garrisons and governors.⁹

At the end of the eighteenth century, the pashas (governors) of the Syrian-Palestine region functioned as autonomous rulers. They remained in power as long as they were able to overcome the obstacles set in their path by the imperial authorities. It should be noted that all local leaders recognized the sovereignty of the Sultan, sometimes *ex post facto*.¹⁰ This is clearly expressed by Burckhardt, an early nineteenth century traveller, who wrote:

The Pashas of Damascus and of Akka continue to be dutiful subjects of the Grand Signior in appearance; and they even send considerable sums of money to Constantinople, to ensure the yearly renewal of their offices.¹¹

This form of government, with slight modifications, persisted throughout the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Aḥmad al-Jazzār was in power until 1804, and was succeeded by Suleiman Pasha, who ruled until 1818. His successor, ‘Abdallāh Pasha (1818-1831) extended his authority to incorporate Palestine subdistricts outside the province of Sidon (Acre): Jerusalem, Gaza, Jaffa and Nablus.¹² These pashas were still affiliated with the Sublime Porte and regularly paid him tax, but in the provinces they acted as sovereign rulers.

7 In 1822, Burckhardt wrote that Gaza was generally a separate province which governed the region up to Jaffa (p. 648). However, when he visited the country in 1812, it was part of Acre.

8 Hurewitz, pp. 498-500.

9 Finn, 1878, I, pp. 109-118.

10 Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920, p. 21.

11 Burckhardt, p. 648 (information dating from 1812).

12 Heyd, 1972, p. 96; Seetzen, II, p. 69.

They set up private armies, imposed taxes and duties at whim, and governed to suit themselves. The welfare of the people was of no interest to them.¹³ However, these practices led to many clashes with the subdistrict governors, who tried to follow the same model and establish their own private principedoms.¹⁴

The pashas saw their major mission as the collection of taxes. There were three sources of revenue: the *mīrī* or land tax on Muslims; the *kharāj*, a military exemption tax paid by Christians and Jews; and customs duties. From time to time, various city taxes were imposed arbitrarily. The pasha's army served not so much to keep the peace as to terrorize the population into paying these taxes.¹⁵ The insecurity was such that the Bedouins would raid populated areas and the *fallāhīn* (peasants) would attack neighboring villages. Danger and lawlessness ruled the roads, too. In 1815, Turner says he chose to travel from Jaffa to Egypt by boat despite a great desire to see Ashkelon and Gaza, "as the road to Egypt by land is, owing to the Arabs, excessively dangerous without a numerous escort."¹⁶

The ones who suffered most from this state of affairs were the Ottoman subjects of Palestine (and Syria), Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The latter were in an even worse position, as they were considered second-class citizens by the government and the Muslim community. Non-Muslims were required to wear special clothing and pay additional taxes (*jizya*); their testimony was invalid in a court of law. There were other restrictions which varied from town to town, and they were subject to persecution and violence.¹⁷

Gains and Losses for Jaffa

Jaffa had now become an important local center for the subdistricts of Jaffa, Gaza, Lydda and Ramle, as well as a transit point for travellers to Jerusalem. The district governors, the central Ottoman administration, and the local rulers all vied for control of the town and its areas of influence. These disputes ended in both gains and losses for Jaffa. In 1799-1800, the town was besieged for nine months as part of Aḥmad al-Jazzār's battle for the province of Sidon. It was defended, with the support of the Grand Vezir, by military strongman Muḥammad Pasha Abū Marak, but eventually fell to al-Jazzār who appointed his *mutasallim* (civil governor).¹⁸ That year, Abū Marak tried to retake Jaffa,

13 Hurewitz, *op. cit.*

14 Al-'Aura, pp. 9-16.

15 Vilnay, II, pp. 225-233.

16 Turner, II, p. 294.

17 Maoz, 1968, p. 10.

18 Al-'Aura, pp. 77-79, erroneously citing 1807.



Map 1: Jaffa and Environs, 1799 (M. Jacotin, 1810)

this time against the wishes of the central government. The governor of Sidon, Suleiman Pasha, dispatched Muḥammad Aghā Abū Nabbūt ("father of the cudgel"), a Mamlūk, to lay siege and capture the town. In return for this service Abū Nabbūt was appointed governor of Jaffa and Gaza. He remained in power until 1818,¹⁹ when Suleimān installed his nephew, Ṣalāḥ Muṣṭafā Bek, as *mutasallim* of the *sanjak* (district) of Jaffa.

During his long period of rule, Abū Nabbūt behaved as though the subdistricts were his private domain, although in fact he was subordinate to Suleiman Pasha. His efforts to develop the region were motivated chiefly by one desire: personal wealth.²⁰ Forbin, a traveller who passed though Jaffa in



Sabil built by Abū Nabbūt in Old Jaffa, near Mahmudiyya Mosque (Pellé, 1840)

19 Al-'Aura, *ibid*, pp. 80-88, 383-388.

20 Al-'Aura, *ibid*, p. 87. On p. 393, we are told that after his dismissal, Abū Nabbūt left Jaffa with his wives, money and belongings laden on 270 camels (in addition to the numerous other camels, asses and donkeys in his possession).

1817, notes that the lands around Jaffa, Ashkelon and Gaza were worked for Muhammad Aghā, governor of Jaffa.²¹ Some of the money amassed by Abū Nabbūt was invested in restoring Jaffa's ruins and embellishing its buildings. Interested above all in safeguarding his position as ruler, he decided to turn the town into a mighty fortress. During the second decade of the nineteenth century, a sea wall was constructed to protect the goods stored in warehouses on the shore. Abū Nabbūt also rebuilt the city wall, gate and towers, upon which he mounted cannons. The stones were taken from ancient buildings in Caesarea and transported to Jaffa by boat.²²



Sabil Abū Nabbūt near Jaffa, on Jerusalem Road (courtesy of S. Landman, circa 1960)

21 Forbin, p. 155.

22 Al-'Aura, pp. 318-321.

To Suleiman Pasha, Abū Nabbūt explained the transformation of Jaffa into a well-fortified city possessing many ammunition depots, artillery and a large army, by the need to guard the gateway to Jerusalem, held by the Sublime Porte, from attack by the Western powers.²³ Aside from fortification work, in 1812-1814 Abū Nabbūt reinforced Jaffa's Maḥmūdiyya Mosque, built cotton and wool markets, and erected two ornate *sabīls* (public fountains).²⁴ Abū Nabbūt's efforts to develop the town and its commerce derived largely from military and economic considerations; however, greed and ostentation played a part too. The Muslim and Christian inhabitants of Jaffa (no Jews lived there at the time) were forced into servitude so that these projects could be carried out.²⁵

During the first third of the nineteenth century, consular representatives of England and France were also active in Jaffa.²⁶ A Russian consul, George Musteras, arrived in 1812 to protect the rights of Greek Orthodox pilgrims.²⁷ Despite the presence of European consuls, however, and the fact that the local rulers had Christians in their employ, the hundreds of Christian residents of Jaffa were very much discriminated against. This is illustrated by the fact that Abū Nabbūt dared to convert to Islam 31 Christian children, whom he seized and pressed into service without the slightest interference on the part of the *wālī* (the province ruler) or the central government.²⁸ It is also evident in his successor's oppressive attitude toward the local Christians, the Russian consul and the pilgrims in Jaffa during the Greek uprising in 1821.²⁹ Nonetheless, the consuls did enjoy some standing in property matters owing to the influence of their counterparts in Constantinople. Thus, for example, Abū Nabbūt was ordered to hand over Abū Marak's *saray* (governor's palace) as payment of a debt to British consul, Joseph Damyāni.³⁰

CONQUEST OF IBRĀHĪM PASHA: 1831-1840

Methodologically, this period in Ottoman history deserves to be studied

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 377-388.

24 Light, p. 143; and Buckingham, p. 228, 245. One *sabīl* bearing his name still stands on the Jerusalem Road just outside of Jaffa. Remnants of the second *sabīl* still exist, as well as the mosque in its entirety.

25 Irby and Mangles, p. 184.

26 *Ibid.*; and Rabbi David of Beit Hillel, in Yaari, 1939, p. 38.

27 Spyridon, p. 66. Hopwood (p. 15) says the Russian consulate in Jaffa opened in 1820.

28 Al-'Aura, p. 168.

29 Spyridon, pp. 65-67.

30 Al-'Aura, pp. 366-367.

together with the previous one; practically speaking, it was a continuation of the rule and policies of Sultan Maḥmūd II. However, in Palestine and Syria, it was a period unto itself.

In November 1839, an important event took place in Turkey: the rise of Abd al-Majī (1839-1861) was followed by the issuance of the *Khaṭṭ-i Sharīf* of the Gülhane (the Rescript of the Rose Chamber). This edict marked the official commencement of a new period, the *Tanzīmāt* or period of reforms, and lay the foundations for future legislation. It dealt with civil rights and various administrative reforms in an attempt to ensure the lives, property and dignity of all subjects, regardless of religion and ethnic affiliation. It called for more equitable taxation and the abolishment of the *iltizām* (tax farming concessions). To put an end to the widespread bribery, government officials were now to be salaried. Changes were also introduced in the draft and duration of military service.³¹

In 1840, the first of the promised laws went into effect: a new criminal law. Administrative and fiscal reforms were instituted as well. That year, steps were taken to reform the monetary system through the establishment of banks and financial institutions. A *firman* (sovereign's edict) was issued for the founding of a European-style Ottoman bank and, for the first time, paper money was circulated in addition to coins.

On the whole, public opinion in Istanbul and the other cities was hostile to these reforms, and they were also opposed by landowners and the *ulamā'*, who felt their interests were being harmed. However, the edict was welcomed by the Western powers, and as a result, England, Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed to vouch for the territorial sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire.³²

In Palestine

In Palestine, provincial government was at its peak. Muḥammad 'Alī, autonomous for all intents and purposes in Egypt, rebelled against the Sublime Porte in 1831. His son, Ibrāhīm Pasha, conquered territory from other pashas and forced the Sultan to acknowledge the "legality" of his actions. Nevertheless, in 1834, after strengthening his position, Ibrāhīm Pasha agreed to pay Sultan Maḥmūd II the "usual share of taxes".³³

Ibrāhīm created a strong centralized government in Syria and Palestine by almost entirely removing the feudal lords and setting up a modern, multi-

31 Lewis, 1968, pp. 106-155; Heyd, 1963; Hurewitz, 1958, I, pp. 113-116.

32 Horowitz, pp. 500-501.

33 Hoffman, p. 1-63.

branched administration. He diminished the power of the religious judges, transferred authority over criminal matters to the governor, and over civil issues to the advisory councils (*majlis al-shūrā*) established in each city, which also advised the governor on matters of state. He was tolerant toward Christians and Jews, and abolished the discriminatory practices common in the past.³⁴ Changes in the status of Christians were introduced both for economic reasons and to please the Great Powers, France and Britain. The same considerations motivated him to allow the opening of consulates in Damascus and Jerusalem, and to permit the missionary societies to pursue their activities freely. These actions were unprecedented in the history of Ottoman Palestine, and exposed the region for the first time to Western influence and a new era of modernization.³⁵

Also conspicuous was the improvement in domestic security. With the help of a large army, banditry was wiped out and the stronger Bedouin tribes were held in check and encouraged to settle down. A.M. Luncz describes the situation as follows:

Ibrāhīm Pasha ran his government very well, making an effort to rid the country of bandits and thieves so that one could go one's way in safety, forbidding fellahim to carry guns outside their homes, lifting the highway tax or ransom that travellers had to pay at nearly every village to the village or tribal leader, who fixed the sum at will. In particular, he treated the European subjects living in his lands with respect, and kept the local inhabitants from doing them ill. He also gave power and rights to the consuls of Europe so that they could adequately protect their subjects...³⁶

Indeed, this security in rural areas and on the roads was a boon to agriculture, which the authorities actively sought to develop. Commerce and trade developed too, in an effort to supply the needs of the large Egyptian army. Public buildings and fortresses were built, as well as quarantine housing to prevent the spread of epidemics. The Egyptian government also controlled the currency and kept it from devaluation.³⁷

However, the military draft, taxation, *angaria* (forced labor), government monopolies on agricultural products, the trend toward secularism, the equality granted to non-Muslims, and the European presence, greatly angered the Muslim population and set off a series of uprisings against the government in various parts of Palestine and Syria. These uprisings, some of them incited by

34 Heyd, 1972, pp. 48-51.

35 Hopwood, p. 9; Maoz, 1968, p. 19.

36 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, 13, 1889, pp. 239-240.

37 Rustum, III, pp. 257-265, and Kark, Montefiore.

agents of the Sublime Porte, were harshly suppressed. In 1839, Ibrāhīm even succeeded in defeating the Ottoman army, which tried to oppose him. Only after the intervention of the European powers at the end of 1840, was he forced to surrender and relinquish his claim over Palestine and Syria once and for all.

Jaffa Under Ibrāhīm Pasha

Jaffa surrendered peacefully to Ibrāhīm Pasha in November 1831, whereas the



Military encampment of Ibrāhīm Pasha south of Jaffa (Pellé, 1840)

neighboring town of Acre fell into his hands only in May 1832, after a siege of seven months.³⁸ Being the closest port to Egypt on the Palestine and Syrian coast, and very well fortified, Jaffa became Ibrāhīm's headquarters and his

38 Skinner, in Tolkovsky. 1926, p. 129.

troops were stationed there. It was the port linking Egypt and the coastal cities, and the taxes levied in the Palestine districts were processed there.³⁹

From the few contemporary descriptions of Jaffa, we learn that orderly administrative procedures were now in force. A governor, a military commander and a health supervisor were appointed, as well as officials responsible for the *mīrī* monies in Jaffa, Ramle, Lydda and Gaza. Administrative and civil matters were no longer decided arbitrarily, but in conjunction with the *majlis al-shūrā* of that town. The *majlis* received reports on local affairs, tax collections and public opinion.⁴⁰



Overlooking Jaffa from the northeast (Pellé, 1840)

Five contemporary documents on the licensing of “Judge’s Grove” to be planted east of the city wall, are a fine example of the operation of the Jaffa

39 Hoffman, pp. 21-57.

40 Rustum, *ibid.* pp. 257-265; Katzburg (1975, p. xx) quotes a June 28, 1841 letter from Young, the British consul in Jerusalem, to Ponsonby, which indicates that Muḥammad ‘Ārif Aghā was governor of Jaffa at the end of this period.

majlis and its interaction with a Jaffa citizen, the military governor, the civil governor and the *shari'a* (religious) court.⁴¹ From these documents we see that the fortifications and towers in Jaffa were treated as military installations, but not as strictly as before.

Ibrāhīm Pasha planned to develop the port of Jaffa by digging a canal between "Baṣṣat Yāfā" (Jaffa swamp) and the sea, and transforming it into an inland harbor; this plan, however, did not materialize.⁴² According to one traveller, the governor planted a beautiful garden at the entrance to the town.⁴³

In the interests of making Jaffa a permanent military center and preventing epidemics, Ibrāhīm tried to keep out pilgrims. He proposed to the heads of the Armenian and Greek Orthodox Churches that they set up their quarantines in Haifa, which he felt was a more appropriate place for ships to anchor and pilgrims to disembark. After massive efforts to persuade Ibrāhīm and to overcome the opposition to the Jaffa location on the part of the Catholics (who feared losing income from pilgrims travelling through Beirut), the Greek and Armenian Churches built two quarantine buildings south of the entrance to Jaffa in 1834-1836.⁴⁴

The increase in pilgrims, the improvement in security and the greater tolerance on the part of the Egyptian government were of special benefit to the residents of Jaffa. Basili, the Russian consul, writes that they became wealthy as a result of the various travel services offered to over ten thousand pilgrims a year.⁴⁵

Consular activity in Jaffa continued with renewed vigor. The consuls dealt with business matters, pilgrims, and the protection of foreign nationals. Nineteenth century sources report that in Muḥammad 'Alī's time, Russia, England, France, Greece and America had consular representatives in Jaffa.⁴⁶

Egyptian peasants began to move into the Jaffa area during the reign of Ibrāhīm Pasha. They settled in *sakināt* neighborhoods or small villages (Saknet el-Miṣriyye, Saknet Abū-Kabīr, Saknet el-Darwīsh, etc.)—and engaged in farming or cultivation of fruit trees. Tolkovsky and Yodfat say the Egyptians came to Jaffa in the wake of the Egyptian army.⁴⁷ According to Ben-Zvi, 12,000 *fallāḥīn* from Egypt infiltrated the province of Acre and the Gaza and Jaffa environs as early as 1829.⁴⁸ Heyd supports his view that these *fallāḥīn*

41 Rustum, vol. 3-4, pp. 73-75, relating to the year 1253, i.e. 1837 C.E.

42 Luncz, p. 440.

43 Röser, pp. 385-388.

44 Spyridon, pp. 120-122.

45 Basili, p. 131.

46 Rustum, III, pp. 257-265; Ben-Zvi, 1968, pp. 332-333; and Alderson, map of Jaffa.

47 Tolkovsky, 1926, p. 131; and Yodfat, 1972, p. 11.

48 Ben-Zvi, 1968, p. 448.

were fleeing the harsh rule in Egypt, and that ‘Abdallāh Pasha’s refusal to evict them was a pretext for Muḥammad ‘Alī to invade the Levant.⁴⁹

Without a doubt, this period was a time of growth for the Jewish community, as Jews from North Africa, and later Europe (Ashkenazim) began to arrive.⁵⁰ Opinions are divided regarding the presence of Jews in Jaffa earlier than this.⁵¹

OTTOMAN REFORM, 1841-1876

In 1841, Muṣṭafā Rashīd, *vezir* of the reforms, was temporarily dismissed. A conservative government rose in his stead, concerned mainly with improving administrative efficiency. At the time, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, Sir Stratford Canning, a supporter of the reforms and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, was becoming increasingly influential in the royal court.⁵² Indeed, it was Muṣṭafā Rashīd and Canning who stood behind some of the important reforms instituted between 1845-1852. Advisory councils were established to administer the districts, mixed courts were created for lawsuits between Ottomans and non-Ottomans, a modern commercial code was promulgated, secular high schools were opened, and a school system was planned. An attempt was made to abolish the slave trade and grant the status of *millet* (recognized religious group) to the Protestants. Due to a series of abortive coups in Europe in 1848 and Rashīd Pasha’s slackened activity, the pace of the reforms began to slow down in the late forties.⁵³

In 1853, the Crimean War broke out, but important reforms continued to be promulgated even during the war, largely to curry favor among Turkey’s allies. May 1855 saw the abolishment of the *jizya*, the tax on non-Muslims, who were given the choice of enlisting in the army or paying an exemption tax called the *bedel*.⁵⁴

On the eve of the peace conference in Paris, the Sultan issued the *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn* (the Imperial Rescript), chiefly to grant equality to Christians and non-Muslims, and to safeguard the lives, property and religious liberty of all Ottoman subjects.⁵⁵ The Jews’ high hopes surrounding this edict are evident in the writings of L.A. Frankel:

49 Heyd, 1972, p. 46.

50 Hirshberg, 1953, pp. 226-228; Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 4, p. 79; and Ben-Zvi, 1968, pp. 378-380.

51 Kark, 1980.

52 Finn, 1878, pp. 109-118.

53 Lewis, 1968, pp. 110-119; Heyd, 1963; Maoz, 1968, pp. 21-30.

54 Maoz, *ibid*.

55 Hurewitz, 1958, pp. 149-153.

They did not have to pay the head tax all through the war of the East [Crimean War—R.K.], and although it was feared that a new tax would be imposed, they hoped to find a respite from paying tribute to the *effendis* in the lands of the Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn.⁵⁶



Map 2: Jaffa and Vicinity, 1841/2 (Skyring 1841 and 1842)

The Rescript allowed for the repair and renovation of religious institutions, and opened up official and military posts, state schools and military academies to all Ottoman subjects. Non-Muslims could now serve on local and district councils, and in the courts. This charter authorized mixed criminal and commercial courts, and validated the testimony of non-Muslims, thereby ending the ridicule and discrimination against them in official documents. It

⁵⁶ Frankl, p. 175.

called for reorganization and tighter control over the *millet* system, and even permitted foreign nationals to purchase Ottoman land. Aside from this, it reaffirmed the abolishment of the *iltizām*, promised to eradicate bribery, reinstated prisons and police, and called for the cessation of inhumane punishment. The Rescript also recommended the publication of an annual budget, the establishment of banks, and the development of a transportation system.⁵⁷

At the signing of the Paris Treaty in 1856, the Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn was greeted with satisfaction; that year Turkey had been accepted to the European Concert and its territorial sovereignty had been assured. However, implementation of these reforms was difficult; Muslim public opinion was opposed, the Christians and Jews had little faith in the promises, and an infrastructure of educated, tolerant officials was lacking. The financial state of the Empire, which took a turn for the worse in the 1850s and 1860s, was another excuse for increased hatred of foreigners, of the Great Powers and, indirectly, of all the reforms that had been or were about to be implemented at their initiative or insistence.⁵⁸

A commercial code advanced by Rashīd Pasha and the Grand Vezir was issued in 1850, followed by a new penal code in 1858 (the third of the Tanzīmāt Period; the other two were in 1840 and 1851), based on the French model. The new land law that same year gave leaseholders full possession rights but ended up unintentionally strengthening the *effendis* who controlled the land.⁵⁹ The Law of Vilayets of 1864 reorganized the administration of the provinces and non-Muslim participation in local councils.

Around this time, Muslim attacks on Christians began to proliferate, culminating in the Lebanon riots of 1860. Mount Lebanon gained autonomy in 1864, when it came under the direct rule of the Sublime Porte. That year, all of Syria was divided into vilayets, which were then subdivided further. Now the governors of Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut, like the *wālīs* of Asia Minor, were responsible to the central government in Istanbul; they were aided in peacekeeping by the Imperial Army. By improving relations with the sheikhs, they attempted to gain control of the eastern desert region bordering the

57 Hurewitz, *op. cit.*

58 Opinions are divided about the motives for the reforms. Some believe that domestic reasons and structural change were chiefly responsible, and that centralized rule, bureaucracy, Western influence, urbanization and better communications only acted as catalyzers (Karpāt, 1972, pp. 243-270); others emphasize foreign influence, arguing that the political and economic involvement of the Western powers was the motive for change (Shamir, p. 381, and Hopwood, p. 62). On the question of whether these were only "paper reforms" that were to serve as a showcase for Western approval, see Lewis, pp. 170-171, 480.

59 Heyd, 1963; on this issue, see Sokovolsky, pp. 72-91.

agricultural lands, and several desert routes. Nevertheless, some parts of Syrian and Palestine remained without rule.

In 1861, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1861-1876) ascended the throne. The new sultan was less enthusiastic about reforms, but under French pressure they were resumed during 1867-1871. The *Tanzīmāt* Council was reorganized in 1868, incorporating a “Council of State” and a “Divan of Judicial Ordinances”. Schools opened, and the following year, a new civil code was promulgated in an effort to carry out the *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn*. Work began on the publication of the *Mejelle*, a collection of judicial laws (of the *sharī‘a*), which continued until 1876.⁶⁰

The Franco-Russian war was followed by increasing opposition to Westernized reforms and the Capitulations (special privileges granted to foreigners and Christians), and a growing sense of Ottoman patriotism. During the years 1860-1870, Serbia, Rumania, Egypt and Crete rapidly approached independence. Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was overthrown in May 1876, with Murād V succeeding him for a short period, then followed by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II. During the reign of the latter, the Grand Vezirate fell into the hands of Midḥat Pasha, leader of the “Young Ottomans”, who desired a liberal, constitutional state modelled after the nations of Europe. When the powers convened in Istanbul in 1876 to decide the fate of the Balkans after the Serbia-Montenegro war, the Sultan proclaimed a new Turkish constitution that would guarantee equality and constitutional liberties to all inhabitants of the empire. This time it was not just acquiescence to Western pressure, but an articulation of the desire for a broad class of educated people to curb the despotism of the Sultan.⁶¹

In Palestine

Basically, the Ottoman government’s policy in Palestine and Syria during the *Tanzīmāt* was no different than that of Ibrāhīm Pasha. It was a reformist policy seeking to implement the new laws promulgated by Sultan ‘Abd al-Majīd in the *Khaṭṭ-i Sharīf* of 1839 and the *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn*. The Ottomans could not accomplish this aim fully because of the opposition of the local inhabitants, administrative ineptitude, and the weakness of the new bureaucratic and governmental networks in the Syrian provinces.⁶² In 1855, James Finn, the British consul in Jerusalem, described the situation in

60 Lewis, *ibid*, pp. 120-124.

61 Heyd, 1963.

62 Heyd, 1972, p. 52; on the opposition of the local populace to the reforms, see Finn, 1878, pp. 566-572; and Maoz, 1968, p. 230.

Palestine as follows: "Mohammedan religion and Turkish misgovernment have degraded Palestine to its present state, and depopulation is even now advancing."⁶³

All of Palestine, with the exception of Transjordan, belonged to the *iyāla* (authority, province or *vilayet* [Ar.: *wilāyā*] after the 1864 Law of Vilayets) of Sidon, whose capital was moved from Acre to Beirut. The *sanjak* of Jerusalem, which included Nablus and Gaza, was a separate administrative unit within the *iyāla* of Sidon, called the *mutaşarriflik* of Jerusalem. The governor of this district was subordinate sometimes to the Sublime Porte and sometimes to the *wālī* of Sidon.⁶⁴ Only in 1873 did the *mutaşarriflik* of Jerusalem attain the status of *iyāla*, governed directly by Istanbul⁶⁵ (see Map 4).

The Ottoman government introduced more and more Turkish elements into the local administration and revoked its semi-independent status. The new administration was highly centralized, and officials were replaced every year. There was a rigid hierarchy of Turkish functionaries subordinate to superintendents in different spheres, while the *wālī* was responsible to the Ministry of the Interior in Constantinople (established in 1860). The Turkish official heading an administrative division at each level was assisted by the *majlis*, which represented all sectors of the Muslim population. While this form of rule did not eliminate all corruption and misuse of power or produce an electoral government, but it did curb arbitrary actions on the part of the governors.⁶⁶

James Finn describes the corruption of Jerusalem governor Kamāl Pasha as follows:

To say that he was always above the temptations of bribery would be to say that he was not a Turkish Pasha brought up as Turkish Pashas then were brought up.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, Finn does see a change in the country since the 1850s:

A new race of Pashas had begun to arise. Twenty years of watchfulness would have got rid of all those unable or unwilling to conform to the laws of their sovereign and to carry them out...⁶⁸

63 Finn, 1878, p. 410.

64 Maoz, 1968, p. 32-33.

65 Cuinet, p. 513; and Maoz and Heyd, *op. cit.*.

66 Hurewitz, 1958, pp. 501-502.

67 Finn, 1878, p. 575.

68 *Ibid*, p. 569.

Elsewhere he writes:

These words were written before the progress of events had raised up a class of well-educated Pashas. They applied with strict truth to such men as were sent to govern Jerusalem before the Crimean War.⁶⁹

The new controls on the pashas, and the numerous military and financial powers taken away from them, made it difficult for them to carry out the reforms. Further obstacles were the inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy, the unreliable police force and gendarmerie, and the chronic shortage of funds. This state of affairs led to concessions, compromises, delays and distortions in the implementation of the reforms in Palestine. Nonetheless, there was an atmosphere of greater liberality, and a considerable improvement in personal safety and the administration of justice. The Ottoman army controlled the district centers, and the power struggles once waged through military channels were relegated to the *majlis*.⁷⁰

In keeping with this approach, the Ottomans took steps in the 1850s to suppress the mountain dwellers, institute direct Turkish rule, and keep the Bedouins at bay. To defend the desert borders, a series of citadels were planned for Jericho, Jabal Mūsā, and Petra. Turkish rulers and troops were stationed in Irbid and Karak. Efforts were made to settle nomadic tribes and, in the 1860s and 1870s, thousands of Circassian refugees were brought from Russia and settled along the edge of the desert in the Golan and the Bashan. However, this potential fighting force had little impact.

Fearing both the Bedouins and tax extortion, the farmers either abandoned their lands and villages in the coastal region, or transferred farming and ownership rights to the tax collector or a city-dwelling strongman and became tenant farmers. In this way, large amounts of land came into the hands of a few owners, and the socio-economic gap widened.⁷¹ This also contributed to the increasing strength of urban families—a phenomenon particularly widespread in Jerusalem and Jaffa toward the end of the Ottoman era.

The Great Powers were now becoming very active in the region; England and France were the most visible in Palestine and Syria until the 1860s. Aside from the protection of various communities (England protected Protestants, Druze and Jews, and France protected Catholics), their representatives had influence among the Arab and Turkish notables and frequently intervened in local matters.⁷²

69 *Ibid*, p. 100.

70 Finn (*ibid*, pp. 97-121) devotes an entire chapter to the subject of the Turkish government; Heyd, 1972, p. 53.

71 Heyd, *ibid*, pp. 54-58.

72 *Ibid*.

Russian involvement in Syria and Palestine commenced toward the end of the 1850s when the Greek Orthodox Arabs came under its wing, with most of its activities being in the sphere of education. However, after the Crimean War, Russia increasingly recognized the need to establish a presence in the East and in Palestine through the church. Large sums of money were mobilized to pursue real-estate and building activities in Palestine. The most important of these was the purchase of land in Jerusalem, which was later to become the Russian Compound.⁷³

Germany stepped up its involvement only at the end of the nineteenth century, extending patronage to the Muslims. In many cases, Austria was supportive of the Jews, and not only those with Austrian citizenship. Consulates, vice-consulates, and consular agencies began to proliferate all over Palestine.

Missionary institutions also began to multiply after missionaries were permitted during the period of Ibrāhīm Pasha not only to proselytize, but also to open schools, hospitals, charitable institutions, etc. Though most of this activity centered in Jerusalem, it also had repercussions in Jaffa and elsewhere. The leaders in missionary work were the Protestants. In the years to come, other Christian denominations built charitable institutions of a similar nature, as did the Jews and the Ottoman government.⁷⁴ While pursuing religious activities, the churches acquired large tracts of land, especially after foreign residents were allowed to purchase real-estate in 1856 and 1867. This was also extremely important for the continuation of Jewish settlement in Palestine and the urban development of the country.⁷⁵

Rapid Development of Jaffa

When the Ottomans returned to power in 1841, they tried to implement the reformist policies of the Empire in the subdistrict of Jaffa and in the town itself. These efforts were not consistent, and were only partly successful; they had the greatest effect in the 1860s and 1870s. Jaffa was ruled by an appointed Turkish *kaymakam* [Ar.: *Qā'im al-maqām*] subject to the governor of Sidon and, after the passing of the Law of Vilayets in 1864, to the governor of the

73 Hopwood, p. 51, 62; Carmel, 1981, pp. 97-102.

74 Hurewitz, 1958, p. 502.

75 Hopwood, pp. 61-71, 88-93; Maoz, 1968, pp. 194-195; Finn, 1929, p. 105, 174.

Jerusalem district.⁷⁶ The *kaymakam* did not serve a lengthy term and, apparently, was frequently replaced.⁷⁷

In 1841, the *kaymakam* of Jaffa attempted to reinstitute an Egyptian-style *majlis al-shūrā*. Composed of seven Muslims and three Christians, this council was supposed to help him run district and local affairs.⁷⁸ However, the city-dwelling *effendis* continued to exploit the Turkish rulers' political impotence, foreignness, and ignorance of the language. They tried to undermine the status of Christians and Europeans, and retain extortion and corruption as the law of the land.⁷⁹

By the early 1870s, administrative procedures had improved somewhat. Taxation was more regulated, particularly taxes on land and buildings.⁸⁰ Due to Jaffa's importance as a trade center, from the mid-seventies and possibly earlier, it had its own commercial court accountable to the Court of Appeals in Beirut rather than Jerusalem, and a commercial council in which foreign subjects were also represented.⁸¹

As 1871 drew to a close, the Jaffa authorities established a *majlis baladī* (municipal council), with the support of the town notables and the consular representatives. The municipality's goal during its first years of existence was to work "for the good of the inhabitants," improving the city, enhancing its cleanliness and installing streetlighting.⁸²

Running the town in a more orderly fashion certainly improved general security. A traveller in the mid-forties relates that farmers in the Jaffa environs could work in the fields unarmed, thanks to action taken by the *mutasallim*.⁸³ Nevertheless, until the 1860s, fear of the Bedouins made it necessary to keep the city gates locked all night.⁸⁴ At the same time, highway safety improved,

76 During the years 1864-1873, the governor of the Jerusalem district was only occasionally directly subordinated to the Sublime Porte. Only in the subsequent period, through 1914, was this absolute.

77 This can be deduced from Jaffa vice-consul Murād's report to von Alten, the German consul in Jerusalem, on 30.12.1871, Israel State Archives (ISA), 67/75 B.

78 Katzburg, 1975, pp. 20-21, Young's letter to Ponsonby dated 28.6.1841.

79 Katzburg, 1975, xxvi, Young's letter of 16.9.1841 from Jaffa, to Palmerston.

80 Letter from German ambassador in Constantinople, Fredrich Eichmann, to German consul in Jerusalem, dated 3.10.1873, ISA, 67/1529.

81 Letter of British consul in Jerusalem to Jaffa vice-consul Amzalak, dated 28.7.1876, ISA, 123-1/14.

82 *Ha-Ḥavazelet*, vol. 2, no. 2, October 28, 1872, p. 18; letter of governor of Palestine, M. Kiamik [i.e. Kāmil—R.K.] to Dr. Kersten, director of German consulate in Jerusalem, dated 6.9.1873, ISA, 67/192, and a letter from the acting British consul in Jerusalem to Amzalak in Jaffa, dated 20.9.1873, ISA, 123-1/14.

83 Strauss, p. 338.

84 Scherer, p. 153.

particularly along the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. In the early sixties, the local government initiated the construction of sentry posts along the road, manned by mounted guards.⁸⁵ In 1871, the guards on the section of the road near Jaffa were replaced by members of the Jaffa police force.⁸⁶

Between 1840 and 1876, Jaffa's status as a fortified city began to change. In the early forties, this aspect was still of major importance because of Jaffa's role as the southernmost port on the Palestine coast and the gateway to Jerusalem.⁸⁷ This defense posture remained in force for yet another decade, with the army rejecting, for military reasons, the request of the inhabitants to open an additional gate in the city wall.⁸⁸ However, in the late sixties and early seventies, policies become more lenient, apparently due to the pressure of the inhabitants, the growing European influence, the improvement in general security, and the diminishing autonomy of the local governor. Thus another gate was opened in the end of the sixties, the landward wall was gradually torn down,⁸⁹ and in the mid-seventies, Jaffa's status as a "fortified city" was officially repealed.⁹⁰ That being the case, the moat was filled in and, at the initiative of the local government, the stones from the wall and fortifications were sold to builders of private homes and shops.⁹¹

Jaffa's rapid economic and physical development accelerated further when the Crimean War ended in 1856, and particularly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The local and central governments did not play key roles in this development, but they did contribute from the 1860s onwards, especially in the improvement of the transportation infrastructure between Jaffa and Jerusalem.⁹² The governor of the Jerusalem district, in conjunction with the local ruler of Jaffa, ordered the removal of the temporary structures outside the city gates, and the land was sold to entrepreneurs who promised to erect permanent buildings there. Financial aid was offered to builders of new homes

85 According to the report of the Jewish traveller from Marseilles, M. Alteras, who visited Palestine in July 1864, the *Jewish Chronicle*, 27.1.1865, p. 7.

86 Murād's report to von Alten (see note 77).

87 Alderson, p. 9.

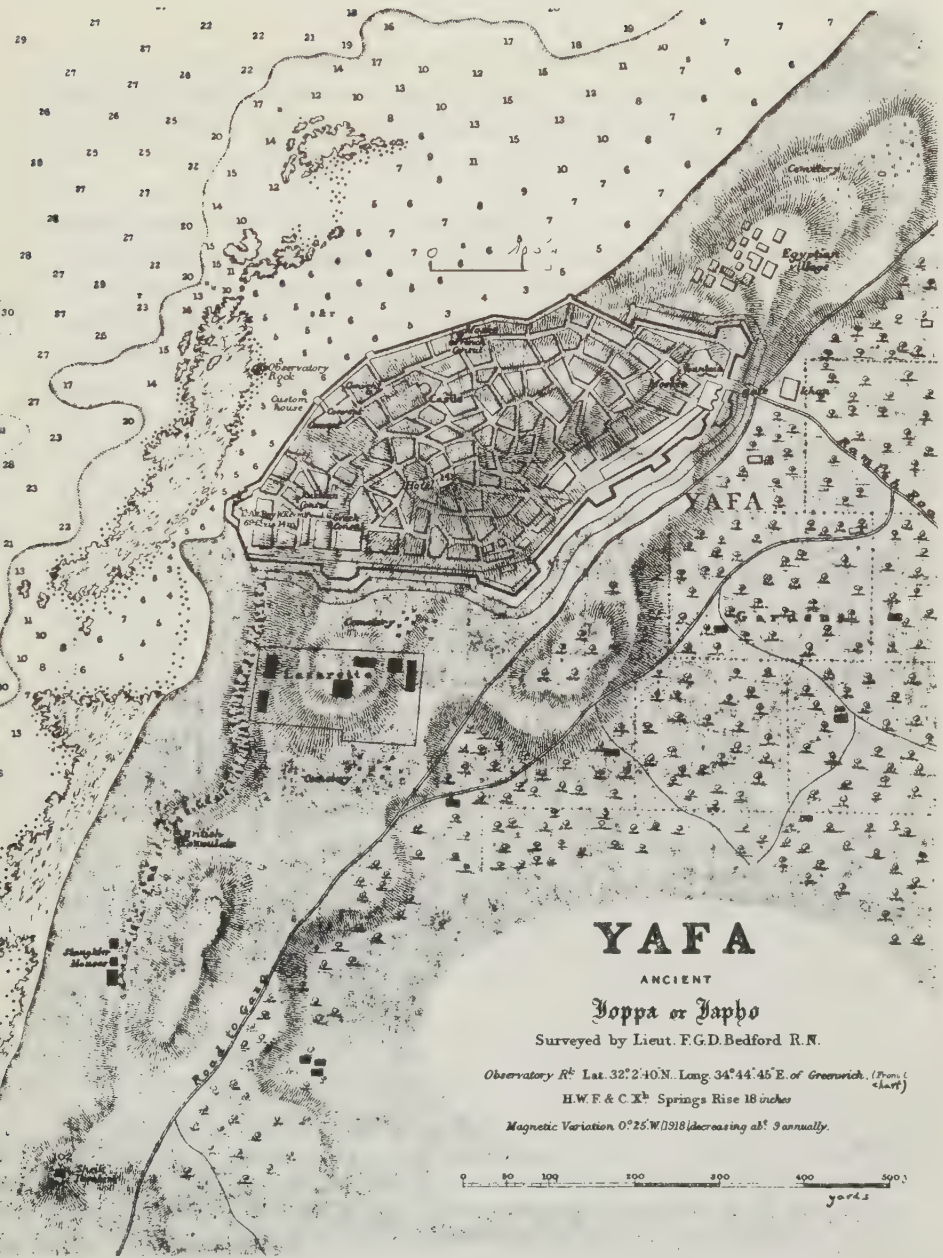
88 Finn, 1878, pp. 505-506.

89 Finn, *ibid*; Baedeker, 1876, p. 130.

90 S. Murād, the Jaffa vice-consul, to Münchhausen, the German consul in Jerusalem, dated 31.3.1875, ISA, 67/75B.

91 Amzalak, Jaffa vice-consul, to British consulate in Jerusalem, dated 24.5.1876, ISA, 23-1/14; see also Montefiore, 1876, p. 25.

92 See section on transportation in Chapter 4.



Map 3: Jaffa, 1863 (F.G.D. Bedford, British Admiralty, 1863)

in Jaffa and environs.⁹³ A new pier and lighthouse were completed in the harbor, and Jaffa's narrow streets were widened as much as possible, even though this meant razing shops and homes.⁹⁴ Part of the reef near the main harbor entrance was blasted in 1875 to improve access for the tiny local shipping industry.⁹⁵

European entrepreneurs and engineers, sometimes financed by their home countries, began to draw up plans for transforming Jaffa into a deep-sea port for steamships and the point of departure for a broad network of roads and railway connections.⁹⁶ However, neither the highest echelons of the Ottoman government nor the local population were receptive to these development proposals, their negative attitude stemming from the fear of increased Western penetration in the area. Thus no real improvements were instituted in the harbor.⁹⁷

In Jaffa, the stepped-up activity of the Western powers and Christian churches took the form of economic development, the establishment of missionary schools and welfare services, and the rise of nearby European and American farming colonies. At the same time, consular activity increased, and vice-consulates attained a higher status in the Ottoman administration. In 1876, the vice-consulates of Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, the United States, and Spain all maintained an active presence in Jaffa, and there may have been others of which we are unaware.⁹⁸

The vice-consuls submitted ongoing reports on the state of local and district affairs, and developments in commerce and industry, shipping, agriculture,

93 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 29, no. 12, 1.3.1876, p. 227. The Jaffa governor told Montefiore during his last visit to the city in 1875: "Jaffa... has much improved; the walls of the town have been razed to the ground, and the stones and other building materials thereof are used for the construction of shops and houses along the street; in shā'a Allāh, nothing shall stop progress." (Montefiore, *ibid*, p. 64).

94 Father Bailey from Jerusalem, reporting to the *Jewish Chronicle* on 3.2.1865, p. 3; also the *Jewish Chronicle*, 24.5.1867, p. 8.

95 Avitzur, 1972, p. 103.

96 *Ibid*, p. 94-100.

97 Finn, 1878, p. 412. In a conversation with a local Arab *effendi* in which he argued the need to build jetties along the Mediterranean coast, to open another gate in the Jaffa wall, to improve the roads and introduce carriage traffic, Finn received the following reply: "But... we do this on principle. When I have money to spare I lay it out on a house, a slave, a diamond, a fine mare, or a wife; but I do not make a road up to that object in order to invite strangers to come that way..."

98 Baedeker, 1876, p. 128. Their vigorous activity is obvious from the correspondence between the vice-consuls of Jaffa and the Jerusalem consulates (ISA, 67/1481; ISA, 123-1/20; United States National Archives (USNA), record groups 59, 84, correspondence and reports of U.S. consuls in Jerusalem (microfilm T471).

taxation, municipal activities, the army, public health, etc.⁹⁹ It was their duty to safeguard the privileges and legal rights of their countrymen and of protégés—both those residing in Jaffa and those passing through as pilgrims.¹⁰⁰ They also provided the pilgrims with travel services.¹⁰¹ However, the consulates lacked a consistent, uniform policy for protecting the rights of the *reaya* (Ar.: *ra'āyā*), or non-Muslim Ottoman citizens.¹⁰²

From their correspondence, we see the growing prestige and influence of the Jaffa consuls in certain areas of local government. At the beginning of this period, when the governor's proposal for a *dīwān al-shūrā* (advisory council) was being considered, the vice-consuls of Jaffa met at the initiative of the consular official representing the Greeks and Russians to protest the fact that the Christian population was only represented by three delegates, while the Muslims had seven. At this meeting it was decided that additional observers would be sent to the council to protect the rights of the Christians. Later the British vice-consul received explicit orders to:

...confine himself strictly to affording such legitimate assistance and protection as he might be able to render to British subjects and protégés; at the same time to report to me any case, wherein the Christian interest suffered by an undue exercise of power on the part of the authorities or from the Musulman (sic) population.¹⁰³

The vice-consuls were involved in the ongoing affairs of the Jaffa commercial council, and assisted in the establishment and activities of the municipality. Evidence of their growing status may be found in a number of spheres. A newspaper report in the early 1870s reflects a greater ability to protect the rights of their subjects: the Austrian consul in Jerusalem brought about the dismissal of 'Alī Efendi, an official with the rank of *yūzbāshī* (captain in the army), for creating a disturbance at the birthday party of the daughter of Signor Levy, a Jaffa Jew.¹⁰⁴ Foreign nationals in Jaffa turned to the vice-

99 See, for example, the correspondence of the British vice-consul in Jaffa with the Jerusalem consulate during the years 1851-1883, ISA, 123-1/14, as well as that of the German vice-consul in Jaffa, ISA, 67/75B.

100 Examples of the protection of foreign citizens in Jaffa and their demand for legal rights may be found in: Katzburg (note 79); 'Alī Ridā al-Sayyid to the Prussian consul-general in Beirut, dated 24.11.1872, ISA, 67/192; the British consul in Jerusalem to Fā'iḳ Bey, the Palestine governor in Jerusalem, dated 6.9.1876, ISA, 123-1/22; and *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 2, no. 2, October 29, 1872, pp. 18-19.

101 Scherer, pp. 153-154.

102 Katzburg, 1975, xx-xxi, Report of Young, British consul in Jerusalem, to Ponsonby, British ambassador in Constantinople, dated 28.6.1841.

103 Katzburg, *ibid.*

104 Yosef Ben Yehuda Halevi, *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 2, no. 2, October 29, 1872, pp. 18-19.

consulates whenever they had legal problems, including those involving taxes or the judicial status of public institutions, private homes and real-estate.¹⁰⁵

END OF THE OTTOMAN PERIOD: 1877-1917

Throughout most of this period, the sultanate was in the hands of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909). The constitution proclaimed in 1876 may have raised hopes among the subjects of the empire, but 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had no intention of implementing it. In 1877, he dismissed Midḥat Pasha as Grand Vezir, and sent him into exile. The following year he dispersed the Parliament, which was to reconvene only thirty years later.

Important changes were now taking place in the empire's foreign relations with France and England, who for many years had alternately sponsored the reforms and served as a political and military buttress for the Ottoman regime. After the Berlin Congress (1878), they relinquished their policy of safeguarding the integrity of the empire, and began to annex portions of it themselves (Cyprus, Egypt and Tunisia). In their stead, the Ottomans gained a new friend: Germany, which sent in officers to train the Turkish army and secured concessions from the Ottomans.¹⁰⁶

During the thirty years that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd reigned, no reforms were introduced in legislature or political life. On the other hand, the Ottomans did not rest on their laurels. Some scholars point out that history books present a distorted picture of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, portraying him only as a tyrant who withheld civil liberties, persecuted minorities and issued reactionary slogans. However, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd also introduced reforms and made headway in the spheres of education, law, finance, transportation and mining. During his first decades in power, the *Tanzīmāt* flourished in the areas of administration, jurisprudence and education.¹⁰⁷

'Abd al-Ḥamīd favored an imperial policy and tried to achieve genuine rule in all the areas designated as Ottoman on his map. Contrary to his predecessors, he considered Asia important. Asia Minor had already been consolidated; now it was necessary to pursue Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and especially Syria and Palestine. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was active in the Ansaria

105 See, for instance, the correspondence between Murād, vice-consul of Jaffa, and the German consul in Jerusalem on 15.8.1872, 29.10.1873, ISA, 67/1529, and on 31.3.1875, ISA, 67/75 B.

106 Lewis, 1968, pp. 178-194; and Heyd, 1963.

107 Lewis and Heyd, *ibid*; Davison, pp. 402-403. According to Luncz, *Luh Eretz Israel*, 9, 1904, p. 187, a medical school was founded in Syria in 1903, after the earlier establishment of such a school in Constantinople. The project entailed an expenditure of 200,000 francs.

mountains of Syria. He began broad-scale resettlement of the refugees living on the fringe of the desert; these were mainly Circassians and Turkomans who were resettled in Transjordan and Palestine. Bedouins in the Syrian desert and Transjordan were offered incentives to settle permanently as farmers. In 1900, an urban administrative center was established in southern Palestine, in the townlet of Beersheba, and a court was opened there to settle tribal disputes. The Ottoman government rebuilt the ruins of Jarash, Amman, Beit Shean and Caesarea. It was hoped that the Circassians and other inhabitants of the new towns would act as guards against Bedouin rampages across the border.¹⁰⁸ During the 1880s, troops in northern Syria and southern Palestine were doubled to enhance security. Improvements in transportation and communication also helped facilitate better control of the region.

The revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 stirred up great hopes and expectations. The constitution was reissued, and a House of Representatives was established in Constantinople with delegates of all the peoples and nationalities in the Empire; among them were four Jews, but none of them were from Palestine.¹⁰⁹ ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was deposed the following year; the reforms were resumed, this time in the spirit of growing Turkish nationalism and zealous preservation of the integrity of the empire. The Young Turk regime was much criticized for violence, repression, terrorism, politicization of the military, etc. Nevertheless, there were successes in the field of education: the Young Turks established a new system of primary and secondary schools, teachers’ training colleges and specialized institutes, and reorganized the University of Istanbul.¹¹⁰

Palestine

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s policy in Syria and Palestine left its imprint on the cities. New office buildings and mosques sprouted as symbols of imperial authority and the paternalism of the Sultan.¹¹¹ Contrary to common belief, it was not only Western activity that had an impact on the region’s development.

When it is remembered, further, that such harbour structures as exist in Syria, and the equipment of principal cities like Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut and Jerusalem, with broad ways, modern buildings, electric lighting, tramways, and other convenient apparatus, are also of Abdul

108 Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920, vol. 10, no.58, pp. 9-10 and no. 60, pp. 39-41. On the new settlements, see Press, 1921, p. 85.

109 Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 19, 1914, p. 10

110 Lewis, 1968, pp. 207-238, 482.

111 Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920, vol. 10, no. 58, pp. 9-10.

Hamid's time, one is bound to admit that a good deal of beneficent construction—almost all that make Syria as a whole the most civilised province of Turkey at this day—stands to the credit of a Sultan whose energies are popularly supposed to have been uniformly destructive and sinister.¹¹²

Although modernization was at times more rapid in Syria and Palestine than in other parts of Turkey, fear of foreign penetration led to a restricted approach to coastal regions and a ban on Jewish immigration.¹¹³ However, the general feeling was not one of oppression and terror. To judge by the writings of David Yellin, the Jewish community and other minorities in Palestine now had a sense of greater equality and participation. In 1896, Yellin wrote:

His majesty, the Sultan of Turkey, has issued new laws giving equal rights to his people irrespective of religion. Last week, he sent a message to the Pasha of our city through the Minister of Interior, ordering him to pursue the speedy implementation of these laws... and to establish a committee of the different religious groups to handle this.¹¹⁴

In the early twentieth century, steps were taken “to found an organization responsible for all Jewish community affairs in Palestine, whose members would be from all the different parties and *edot* [ethnic communities]”. A general meeting was called to discuss the establishment of such a body, its relationship with overseas institutions and its handling of public matters. Yellin comments:

Our government has bestowed upon us many rights which, if we knew how to use them, would change the face of our settlement, and the respectability of our people in general...¹¹⁵

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s rule was characterized by a constant increase in population. After the 1860s, no more massacres took place in the cities of Syria and Palestine. When the Sublime Porte resumed authority, that region had approximately a million and a quarter inhabitants. Sixty years later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were nearly four million.¹¹⁶ In 1800,

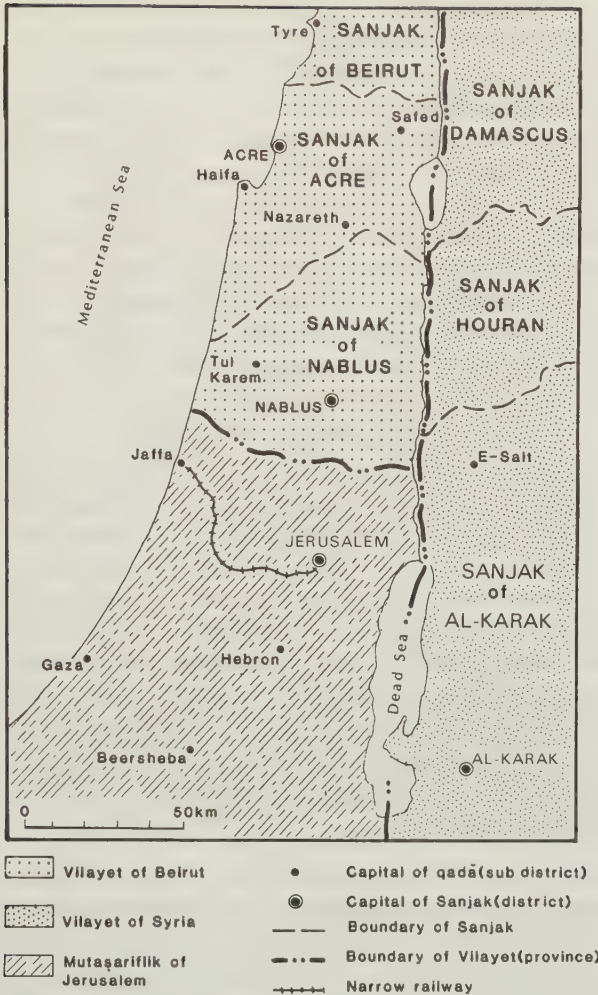
112 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

113 Z. Smilansky (1907, p. 10) attributes these prohibitions to the complaints of the Jewish community regarding the large numbers of poor immigrants, who were causing housing shortages and a rise in the price of foodstuffs. The restrictions were imposed in 1882 and 1891.

114 Yellin, 1972, I, p. 99.

115 *Ibid.*, pp. 403-404.

116 Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920, vol. 10, no.60, pp. 15, 45-46.



Map 4: Administrative Division of Palestine, 1900

only 300,000 persons lived in Palestine. By 1882, there were 450,000, and in 1916, 700,000.¹¹⁷

During 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's rule, Syria continued to comprise three *vilayets*—Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut—to which were added the two special *pāshāliks* of Lebanon and Jerusalem. In 1893, the subdistrict of al-

117 Hurewitz, pp. 498, 503.

Karak was established in Transjordan, and in 1908, the territory south of Beersheba was declared a separate district affiliated with the *mutaşarriplik* of Jerusalem. As of 1888, the *mutaşarriplik* of Jerusalem was expanded at the expense of the *vilayet* of Damascus. In addition to the city of Jerusalem and environs as the provincial center, it comprised three *aqdiya*: Jaffa, Gaza and Hebron, which were further divided into *nawāhī* (plural of *nāhiya*).

The *vilayet* of Beirut was split in two by the autonomous *pāshālik* of Lebanon. Two *sanjaks* in Palestine were part of the *vilayet* of Beirut until the end of the Ottoman period: Nablus and Acre (see map of administrative divisions in 1900).¹¹⁸ In the province of Jerusalem, the government was represented by a *mutaşarrif*, the district governor residing in Jerusalem; three *kaymakams* who ruled the *aqdiya*; and a supreme administrative council for the entire district.¹¹⁹

During this period, the Ottoman government was involved in Palestine in the spheres of transportation, public health, communications and education. Village schools funded by agricultural taxes were established, and such subjects as Arabic language and literature, basic arithmetic and religious studies, were offered. Schools were also opened in the cities.¹²⁰ At the initiative of the head of the Education Council, an antiquities museum was founded in Jerusalem in 1901, and in 1904, a theater was built alongside the Jaffa Gate in that city.¹²¹ In honor of the visit of the German Emperor at the end of the century, many improvements were carried out in Jerusalem, as well as in Jaffa and Haifa.¹²²

Participation of the population in local government increased, and public opinion was sometimes influential even in the appointment and dismissal of pashas. Luncz's description of the new pasha in 1899 may be somewhat fullsome, but it points in this direction:

A wise, cultured man, pure of heart, with a love of justice and all mankind. A man who has served his government for many years in the large cities of Europe and knows what must be done to better the state of affairs in his country of birth... We are justified in our hope that in his time no ill will befall our brethren in the Holy Land, and that he will guard them from all misfortune and breathe life into the land, so that it will flourish for our brethren who work it with the sweat of their brow.¹²³

118 Great Britain Foreign Office, *ibid*, p. 3; Hurewitz, pp. 500-510; Tibawi, 1969, pp. 180-181. 119 Cuinet, pp. 514-515.

120 Yellin, 1972, I, pp. 62, 388-389.

121 Luncz, *Luaḥ Eretz Israel*, 7, 1902, pp. 171-172; Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, 5, 1901, p. 283; Luncz, *Luaḥ Eretz Israel*, 10, 1905, p. 166.

122 Yellin, 1972, I, p. 242.

123 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, 3, 1889, p. 203.

That the authorities were concerned about the people is evident from the fact that during the cholera epidemic in Palestine in 1902, a time of food shortages and famine, wheat was brought from Turkey “so the inhabitants would have enough to live on.”¹²⁴ That year, the government decided to drain the swamps on the state lands owned by the Sultan in the Hula Valley, in order to plant winter grains. The source of the Jordan River to the south of the Hula was purified for this purpose.¹²⁵ In 1904, the government began to publish an official newspaper, *al-Quds al-Sharif*, in Arabic and Turkish for residents of the Galilee and Jerusalem.¹²⁶ That year, it waged an extremely important campaign to stop the destruction of Palestine’s forests. Afforestation activities were undertaken, and specific locations were designated for storing firewood (near Jericho).¹²⁷

Development and progress in Palestine was not evident in all spheres of life. A more balanced portrayal can be obtained by citing Arthur Ruppin on Hebron, Safed and Tiberias in 1907:

...these cities present to European eyes, a wretched picture of cultural and economic stagnation. There is no connection with the outside world, newspapers and modern books are unknown in these places and life goes on as it did a hundred years ago...¹²⁸

Luncz reports that the rise of the Young Turks was greeted with enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Palestine, who looked forward to the promised changes:

...and even if no great deeds have yet been accomplished, the hearts of the inhabitants are filled with hope that little by little, employment, industry and commerce will expand and any man wishing to work will be able to earn a living. And the second thing which has already taken effect since the political change is the requirement that non-Muslims serve in the army...¹²⁹

Although Luncz is quite distressed by this requirement, he believes, in principle, that it is justified.

However, the policies of the Young Turks proved disappointing, partly because of their radical nationalism which reached a peak in Palestine with Jamāl Pasha’s actions against foreigners, Jews, and local Arabs, and partly because of the remoteness of Palestine from the center of activities:

124 Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 9, 1904, p. 173.

125 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, 6, 1903, p. 166.

126 *Yerushalayim*, 5, vol. 26, 1904, p. 221.

127 Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 10, 1905, pp. 165-166.

128 Ruppin, 1936, p. 3.

129 Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 15, 1910, pp. 160-161.

We had hoped for much good from this change, but political events prevented the general government from concerning itself with any districts smaller than the capital city or introducing in them the desired reforms, and all remained as before...¹³⁰

A description of the elections held in Jaffa on May 30, 1913 for the *majlis* 'umūmī, which ran the affairs of the *vilayet*, points to greater participation and influence on the part of the local residents:

The *kaymakam* opened the meeting and said: This kind of *majlis* ['umūmī R.K.] has been elected twice before, but the voting was done by the *majlis idāra* [the administrative council, as opposed to the general council which preceded it] and not by the people as a whole. Today, by royal edict, the vote is given to the representatives of the people, and these must elect the persons most fitted for the post, who will work for the good of our country and homeland. Then the mufti spoke in a similar vein: Now that the central government has given the vote to the representatives of the people, it has withdrawn its responsibility. Now it is in our hands to revive the homeland with our joint work, if only we vote for the right people and do not stray off course.¹³¹

Jaffa as a Subdivision of the Jerusalem District

Government and administrative procedures in Jaffa steadily improved during this interval, and the local population assumed a greater role in the affairs of the city and subdistrict. Jaffa became a subdivision of the Jerusalem district, with two *nawāḥī* encompassing 126 villages. As the center of this subdivision, Jaffa was the seat of the *kaymakam*.¹³² Jaffa officials, the *kaymakam* included, were all appointed and answerable—at least theoretically—to the Jerusalem *mutaṣarrif* and the central government.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, urban and subdistrict affairs were run by the *kaymakam*, and the local governor, who was advised by the *majlis idāra*. This council was composed of representatives of the local population, including the various Christian sects and Jewish groupings. It was subordinate to the administrative council of Jerusalem.¹³³ The *kaymakam* could be dismissed by the Jerusalem district governor, but appointments and dismissals were apparently authorized by the central government in

130 Luncz, *Luaḥ Eretz Israel*, 19, 1914, p. 10.

131 *Ha-Poel Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 32, no. 6, 1913, p. 16 (May 30, 1913).

132 Luncz, *Luaḥ Eretz Israel*, 14, 1909, p. 37.

133 Gerber, p. 17.

Constantinople.¹³⁴ Usually, the *kaymakam* was a Turk. However, Jaffa did have an Arab *kaymakam* at one point: Mūṣā Khāzim al-Ḥusainī.¹³⁵ Despite their subordination to the *mutaṣarrif*, the *kaymakams* made a show of independence, and sometimes disregarded orders.¹³⁶ They also cultivated local connections that were helpful to them in confrontations with the district or central government.¹³⁷

Law and order in Jaffa and environs was maintained by the gendarmerie and police. The number of policemen was very small, and each had an appointed superior. There were also officials in charge of the treasury, the port and its customs department, the *waqf* (mortmain officials), the schools,¹³⁸ the post office and the telegraph service.¹³⁹ Some of these officials were under double jurisdiction, like the customs officials in Jaffa, who were given daily instructions by the customs authority in Beirut in addition to taking orders from the *mutaṣarrif* of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁰

Aside from the *sharī'a* court (headed by a *naqīb*, standing in for the *qāḍī*), civil courts were active throughout this period, though they kept changing in number and status. Cuinet reports that in 1896 there were courts in Jaffa which dealt with criminal and civil matters.¹⁴¹ In 1901, a commercial court for the entire district was established there, Jaffa being the center of commercial activity in the *sanjak*. This court was apparently affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce which handled all the business affairs in Palestine and the subdistrict of Jaffa.¹⁴² After the opening of the Jerusalem commercial court, the Jaffa court lost its independent status, and became part of the Supreme Court that dealt collectively with civil, criminal and commercial matters. This court had such a heavy workload that deliberations lagged far behind schedule.¹⁴³

134 See, for instance, the dismissal of the *kaymakam* by the *mutaṣarrif* Akram Bey, in a personal letter to the Grand Vezir (undated, approximately 1907), ISA, 83/96.

135 Gerber, p. 17.

136 Murād, vice-consul in Jaffa, in a letter to the German consul in Jerusalem on 5.6.1891, says that the *kaymakam* was known to have influence over the governor even though he made light of his orders and sometimes acted against them, ISA, 67/168/52.

137 This is indicated in several documents from 1908 in the Akram Bey Archives, ISA, 83/201, 220, 254.

138 Letter of the former *naqīb* of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Amīn, in June 1907, ISA, 29/83.

139 Cuinet, pp. 663-665.

140 Gerber, p. 7.

141 Cuinet, *op. cit.*

142 For correspondence on the subject of British representatives appointed to the Jaffa Chamber of Commerce during the years 1901, 1903 and 1907, see ISA, 123-1/23; Gerber, p. 16.

143 *Al-Quds*, 5.10.1910; *Filastīn*, 19.6.1912.

The Jaffa municipality greatly expanded its activities at this time to the benefit of both building infrastructure and inhabitants. Towards the end of the period, more democratic elections were held for the municipality. In 1913, for example, there were 700 voters, some of them non-Muslims. Jews were then a majority in Jaffa though they had only 25-30 votes, and their representative was about to be elected to the municipality.¹⁴⁴ The mayors were usually influential local effendis who exploited their position to amass power and wealth, not always by legitimate means.¹⁴⁵

The income of the municipality was derived from real-estate holdings, property taxes, levies on commodities and imported goods (such as oil), a tax on local wine, and highway tolls.¹⁴⁶ Between 1904-1912, it even imposed an annual tax for "urban improvement", which came to a considerable sum—tens of thousands of Ottoman pounds.¹⁴⁷ Sometimes money was collected for a specific purpose, and contributions were obtained from philanthropists such as Baron de Rothschild.¹⁴⁸ According to Cuinet, in 1892 the Jaffa municipality had an income of 169,813 piasters.¹⁴⁹

The municipality also licensed various tradesmen, set the prices of basic commodities, controlled the rental of shops, and supervised the smooth operation of the marketplace.¹⁵⁰ It made a great effort to improve cleanliness and sanitation in the city out of concern for health and the prevention of epidemics. In 1879, the *Jewish Chronicle* wrote about the poor state of sanitation in Jaffa, where rats roamed the street and carcasses lay rotting while the authorities remained indifferent.¹⁵¹ Around this time, the municipality initiated the digging of sewers, drainage of the large swamp, and sprinkling the

144 Protocols of the Jewish community committee of Jaffa, no. 20 (8.1.1913) and no.36 (10.3.1913), in Yodfat, 1975, pp. 252-253.

145 Protocols, *ibid*; also ISA, 83/204, 224, 225, 230, and Rokah, 1970, p. 54. On this issue, also see *Filastīn*, 3.4.1912, 6.4.1912.

146 Letter of British vice-consul in Jaffa, Falanga, to Mrs. Palmer of Jaffa, dated 20.7.1905, ISA, 123-1/26; *Ha-Poel Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 18, no. 6, 31.3.1913, p. 16, and notice in *Filastīn* on 23.7.1911, 5.8.1911, 20.9.1911, 24.9.1911 and 28.10.1911.

147 *Filastīn*, 17.8. 1912.

148 During his visit to Palestine in 1914 (Ruppin, 1968, II, p. 137).

149 Cuinet, pp. 665-666. That year, expenses amounted to 218,418 piastres.

150 Letter of the British consul in Jerusalem to the Jaffa vice-consul, Amzalak, dated 15.11.1876, ISA, 123-1/14; protocols of the Jewish community committee of Jaffa, no. 37 (19.8.1891) and no.49 (3.1.1892), Historical Archives of the Tel-Aviv-Yafo Municipality; *Ha-Or*, vol. 99, no. 1, July 5, 1910, p. 3; *Filastīn*, 30.9.1911, 25.12.1912.

151 *Jewish Chronicle*, 26.12.1879, p. 10.

streets with water.¹⁵² Greater efforts to keep the city clean are evident toward the 1910s, when hygienic slaughtering and supervision by a municipal veterinarian were introduced.¹⁵³ The Jaffa municipality also paved some of the roads, planted a public garden near the city entrance, and installed streetlamps.¹⁵⁴ On the eve of World War I, tenders were issued for the construction of a tramway, the supply of water for drinking and irrigation, and electric streetlighting. None of these plans materialized because the war broke out.¹⁵⁵

There were certain spheres of development to which the local government paid special attention: infrastructure, government institutions, and improving security in new sections of the city being built outside the walls. The good will of the authorities in all that pertained to development and construction, as well as the removal of the physical obstacle posed by the city wall and gates, did, in fact, lead to the rapid growth of residential neighborhoods and the increase of commerce, crafts and services outside the Old City.

By the end of the 1870s, nearly all the fortifications on the landward side of the city were gone, and the few remaining sections of the moat were being filled in. The wharfside square was nicely paved, and the market near the city gate was expanded, now that the gate and citadel had been eliminated.¹⁵⁶

As construction in Jaffa moved ahead, the authorities participated by erecting new government offices outside the Old City. An elegant *saray* (governor's palace) financed by Jaffa residents of wealth and distinction, an army barrack and other public buildings, were dedicated in 1897.¹⁵⁷ Three years later, in honor of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II's twenty-fifth year of rule, a clocktower was erected near the *saray*, in the public garden planted by the municipality, and a fountain was put up in the harbor—again with contributions from Jaffa citizens.¹⁵⁸ On the eve of the war, the *kaymakam* of

152 *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 16, no. 36, 1892, p. 119; *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 35, no. 9, June 2, 1893; Beit Halevi, *Letters from Palestine*, letter 5, July 16, 1893, p. 55. Also see Murād, vice-consul in Jaffa, to the German consul in Jerusalem, 2.6.1894, ISA, 67/168.

2.6.1894, ISA, 67/168.

153 *Filastīn*, 412.8.1911, 2.9.1911, 8.6.1912 and 14.9.1912; Beit Halevi, *Letters from Palestine*, February 11, 1895, p. 11.

154 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 72, no. 11, January 29, 1895, p. 2; *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 24, no. 22, November, 14, 1910, p. 2; *Ha-Hashkafa*, vol. 72, no. 8, June 16, 1907, p. 4.

155 Jaffa municipality tender from 1911, Central Zionist Archives (CZA), L52/6; *Filastīn*, 7.8.1912, 24.11.1912; *Ha-Tzifira*, vol. 196, no. 38, August 25, 1912, p. 3.

156 Schwarz, 1880, pp. 44-51.

157 Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 4, 1899, p. 57.

158 *Ha-Yehudi*, vol. 48, no. 2, September 1901, p. 3; the building of a clocktower near the new *saray* was a model followed in other cities in the Empire, for instance, in Beirut, Tripoli, and Jerusalem near the Citadel. On the fountain, see *PEF Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 1.

Jaffa tried to further municipal sanitation activities in cooperation with the inhabitants:

Two weeks ago, the new Jaffa *kaymakam* called a meeting of several Jaffa citizens and the delegates of various institutions, among them many Jews, to consult with them on how to introduce order and cleanliness into the filthy streets of Jaffa. After lengthy deliberations, a committee was chosen to look into the matter and find sources of income so that a budget might be obtained for repairs.¹⁵⁹



Map 5: Jaffa, 1917 (Survey of Egypt, 1917)

¹⁵⁹ *Ha-Poel Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 8-9, no. 7, 11.12.1913.

It was an unpopular governor, Ḥasan Bey Bazrī al-Ghābī, appointed in August 1914, who seems to have initiated many development projects in Jaffa. Upon assuming his duties, he set up a civilian police force comprised of local residents; and, in July 1915, began paving Jamāl Pasha Street, an attractive boulevard alongside the orchards in the eastern part of town (later King George Boulevard; today, Jerusalem Boulevard). The beauty of this street lay mainly in the line of ‘Washingtonia’ palm trees planted down its center; these were grown at the Mikve Yisrael Agricultural School and planted by its students.

In the heart of town, Ḥasan Bey razed buildings to open new streets and broaden existing ones. To improve the approach to the harbor, which handled goods for Jerusalem, Gaza and Nablus, he demolished the colorful old market built by Abū Nabbūt and widened the street leading down to the waterfront. Prior to this, the harbor had been reached by a narrow alley that could barely accommodate pedestrians and camels. In the al-Manshiyya neighborhood, near the shore, he erected a new mosque that still bears his name. During the war, he ordered a wide road to be built at the northern entrance of the harbor. (It was here that the British lay railroad tracks to the harbor, after the conquest of Jaffa.)¹⁶⁰

In May 1916, Ḥasan Bey was replaced by a new military governor, Shukrī Bey. In October of that year, 45 notables, the mayor included, were expelled from Jaffa. The following year, Shukrī Bey was replaced by another military governor who ruled until the town was taken by the British cavalry on November 16, 1917.

Among the various development projects promoted by the government, activity in one very important sphere, central to the city’s economy, was conspicuously lacking: improvement of the port. The numerous development plans proposed in 1880, 1882, 1906 and 1914 all remained on paper. The customs house in the eighties was a pitiful wooden shack. Practically the only attempt to rectify the situation was in 1888, when the approach to the harbor was widened and a pier wall was built with steps leading down to the water, for the convenience of boatmen, porters and passengers. In addition, the ocean floor was slightly dredged alongside the pier, and opposite the Armenian Convent a platform was built out over the water to accommodate a new customs house and coal warehouse.¹⁶¹ Minor repairs were also carried out at the end of the nineties and during the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶²

160 Feinberg, p. 250 (letter of 22.11.1915); Tolkovsky, 1926, pp. 134-135.

161 Tolkovsky, *ibid*, p. 133.

162 Luncz, *Luah Eretz Israel*, 9, 1904, p. 186; *Ha-Hashkafa*, vol. 56, no. 8, April 19, 1907, p. 3.

It is surprising that when the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway line opened in 1892, the railroad station in Jaffa was built some distance from the coast so that the train could not reach the harbor. Until 1914, the Ottoman government rejected the railroad company's repeated offer to built a new customs house at its own expense, on condition that it be allowed to move the tracks up to the shore and widen the pier as a preliminary step toward port development.¹⁶³ Government opposition stemmed, apparently, from the fear of increasing Western influence in Palestine and the region as a whole.

From source material and certain events in Jaffa, it is evident that not all government and municipal officials performed their duties with equity and honesty. Corruption, bribery and misuse of power for personal gain were taken for granted during this period, and presumably affected services, urban development and the contribution of the government.¹⁶⁴ It is in this light that we should view the attempt of Akram Bey, the *mutašarrif* of Jerusalem in 1906-1908, to dismiss most of the high-ranking officials in Jaffa, from the *kaymakam* and mayor, to the port authority, police and *waqf* officials.¹⁶⁵

Explicit mention of this corruption may be found in the Jaffa daily newspaper, *Filasṭīn*, which carried an editorial in 1913 about the depravity of high-ranking and lower officials, and singled out corrupt practices among land registration clerks, customs officers, police and gendarmerie chiefs, and *sharī'a* court officers.¹⁶⁶ This article criticizes the malfunctioning of the police force, its tiny size (there were only sixteen policemen), and ineffectiveness in fighting crime, especially in the gardens around the city.¹⁶⁷ Contemporary newspapers and consular correspondence abound in complaints about the deterioration of the harbor, pier, customs house, work procedures and road leading to the harbor.¹⁶⁸

The vice-consuls of the Western powers continued to operate in Jaffa throughout this period. In 1891, Luncz lists vice-consulates for Austria,

163 Avitzur, 1972, pp. 107-108.

164 Harari, I, p. 14 (letter 8, Harari in Jaffa to his father overseas, January 29, 1896).

165 Correspondence in Akram Bey Archives, ISA, record group (RG) 83, no. 29, 124, 159, 164, 201, 204, 215, 228, 238, 244, 254.

166 *Filasṭīn*, 1.10.1913.

167 *Filasṭīn*, 22.5.1913, 11.8.1913. In *Luah Eretz Israel*, 2, 1897, p. 166, Luncz relates that the government stationed policemen in the Jewish neighborhoods of Neveh Shalom and Neveh Zedek to protect the welfare of the inhabitants.

168 Letter of Falanga, the British vice-consul in Jaffa, 8.12.1906, ISA, 123-1/126; *Filasṭīn*, 29.10.1912.

America, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Persia, France, and Russia.¹⁶⁹ Some of the vice-consuls were local residents; others were foreign consulate employees whose duties were expanded. In addition to the legal protection they afforded their subjects, the vice-consuls had connections and sway in local government. By reporting to the consuls in Jerusalem, Beirut and Constantinople, or the foreign ministers of their own countries, they were also able to bring about pressure from the central government or the authorities in Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰

The vice-consuls offered advice and assistance in government and municipal projects, and a consular body met from time to time to discuss such matters as sanitation.¹⁷¹ Vice-consuls were represented in Jaffa's Chamber of Commerce and commercial court.¹⁷² They also advised their countrymen in matters of taxation, legal rights, changes in the law, business, customs, etc.

As we see from the records of the British, American and German vice-consuls in Jaffa, reports were issued regularly on the movement of ships, pilgrimages, agricultural harvests, public health, security, development of Jaffa and environs, local government, army maneuvers and special events. The vice-consuls also informed companies in their home countries about business prospects in Jaffa and Palestine, sources of raw materials, markets, distributors, customs duties, and credit.¹⁷³ Like the government officials, vice-consuls in Jaffa often exploited their knowledge, connections and rank to pursue private business and purchase large tracts of land around Jaffa and elsewhere.¹⁷⁴ The vice-consuls became so powerful, they could even bring about the dismissal of the *kaymakam*.¹⁷⁵

Consular protection of foreign nationals and non-Muslims, both Christians and Jews, provided greater security of person and property, and a more favorable legal status in the Ottoman Empire. Dizengoff notes that even the Arab elite tried to establish ties with the consuls. By offering their services as

169 Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67.

170 For example, see the letter of Murād, vice-consul in Jaffa, to the German consul in Jerusalem, dated 5.6.1891, ISA, 67/168/52.

171 Moore, British consul in Jerusalem, to Amzalak, vice-consul in Jaffa, dated 22.3.1882, ISA, 123-1/14. Moore speaks of a meeting of the "consular body of Jaffa".

172 *Ha-Tzefira*, vol. 39, no. 29, February 1902, p. 155.

173 ISA, RG 67 and 123-1 in various files, as well as USNA T471, in various documents.

174 For example, the French vice-consul in Jaffa, Ferdinand Philibert, who owned a large garden near Jaffa, and the land which he sold to the Jews, upon which the colony of Gadera was founded (Ariel, p. 28).

175 For example, after a Purim celebration in Jaffa in 1908. See Eliav, *Ha-Zionut*, pp. 152-197. An example is the activity of Haim Amzalak, the British vice-consul, as shown in Glass and Kark, pp. 81-105.

dragomans and kawasses, they sought “refuge from the Turkish administration.” The Jews seem to have been represented in a variety of government bodies, judging from the situation in Jaffa (though not sufficiently, considering how numerous they had become by the end of the period). With the help of the consuls, “the Jews created a state within a state”,¹⁷⁶ and enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy in community affairs, even in legal matters.

176 Dizengoff, pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER TWO

URBAN GROWTH

As the Ottoman era drew to a close, political, demographic, social and economic processes affected the pace and character of urban development in Jaffa. In this respect, Jaffa went through three distinct periods. Between 1799 and 1840, its spatial organization and architecture were that of a typical Middle Eastern town. In 1841-1881, the first signs of modernization could be discerned, as newcomers arrived and settled outside the old city wall. In 1882-1914, a surge of growth and development took place in which the Jews played an important role. By World War I, Jaffa was a new city, very different in size, character and layout from the traditional Middle Eastern town of the early nineteenth century.

In this chapter, we shall examine these three periods paying special attention to spatial organization, architecture and building initiatives. This will enable us to reconstruct and understand the dominant trends and features of Jaffa's development over time.

JAFFA AS A TRADITIONAL CITY: 1799-1840

The spatial organization of Jaffa during this sub-period was influenced partially by the political and military factors described earlier, and partially by the culture and religion of the inhabitants. Jaffa had to be rebuilt almost entirely after the devastation and sieges of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Restored, it again resembled many traditional Middle Eastern towns, and the influence of government and religion was readily apparent, especially with regard to public buildings.

Situated on a low hill, the small town of Jaffa was partly encircled by a wall of medium height fortified by cannons; it had watchtowers, two citadels, and a moat. Only one main gate, locked at night, was used by the inhabitants. There was also a small gate facing the sea.¹

As noted earlier, Abū Nabbūt, the Ottoman governor at the beginning of the nineteenth century, invested great effort in rebuilding and fortifying Jaffa, constructing new bazaars, a mosque and ornate *sabils*. However, the town

1 Visniyakov, in Altbauer, p. 63.



Imaginary depiction of Jaffa's main gate (Thomson, 1881)

remained small, and in 1815, much of the land inside the walls consisted of vacant lots where tobacco was often grown.² According to the estimates of Turner and Buckingham, there were 1,000-1,200 homes in Jaffa during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Turner cites 1,000 as belonging to Turks, 170 to Greeks and 30 to Roman Catholics.³

Contemporary sources describe the homes as terraced structures of limestone or a white-plastered chalky material (i.e. *kurkar*, the local sandstone), with flat or domed roofs. Wood was rarely used except for doors and certain household furnishings. Since limestone was scarce in the Jaffa vicinity, old blocks of stone were brought by boat from Caesarea, Atlit, Sidnā

2 Turner, II, pp. 285-287; Irby and Mangles, p. 58.

3 Turner, II, p. 292; Buckingham, pp. 146-148, 157-161.



Remains of southern wall of Old Jaffa (Kark, 1977)

‘Alī (Appollonia) and Ashkelon for reuse. Turner tells us, for example, that the tombstone of the “Frānks” (Europeans), as he calls them, were used to build a citadel for the governor of Jaffa.⁴

The streets were narrow, winding, unpaved and dirty. Due to the steepness of the hill, some had steps.⁵ William Wittman, who came to Jaffa in 1799 as an escort of the Turkish army and the British naval expedition, described the city as follows:

The streets are very narrow, uneven and dirty and are rather entitled to the appellation of alleys, than of streets. The houses are constructed of a white, friable calcareous stone and terraced; but on the score of filth, as well as of waste of space many of them are little better than pig-sties. It is not unusual indeed to see the inmate and the cattle herd in their dwellings.⁶

4 Turner, II, pp. 285-287; Seetzen, II, pp. 69-71, and Visniyakov, *op. cit.*

5 Hogg, II, pp. 186-191; and Skinner, I, p. 183.

6 Wittman, p. 129.

On the western side of town, near the harbor, was a Christian neighborhood which had begun to expand southward.⁷ On the map of Jaffa drawn by the British Engineering Corps in 1842 (see Map 2), the designation Haret en-Nasara, i.e. Christian Quarter appears in the southern, walled part of the city.⁸

Jaffa's public buildings were largely government or religious institutions catering to needs of the authorities, the local inhabitants, and disembarking pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. The seat of the Pasha was the *saray* (governor's palace) in northern Jaffa, overlooking the shore; his soldiers resided in various buildings in the walled part of town.⁹ Serving them and Jaffa's Muslim residents, were two bathhouses and three mosques. Of the latter, the largest and most elaborate was the Maḥmūdiyya Mosque built in the early nineteenth century by Abū Nabbūt.¹⁰

Each of the three churches in Jaffa at the time—Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian—owned a compound of buildings dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These compounds (cloistered and fortified to ward off attack) included a convent, a church, and a hospice capable of accommodating great numbers of pilgrims. The largest of these belonged to the Greek Orthodox. The Franciscan compound, owned by Spain, is described by Seetzen as built almost entirely of wood. The cellar was used for storage and above it were two more floors.¹¹ As we can still see today, the other compounds—those of the Greeks and the Armenians—were constructed of sandstone.

In 1820, Yeshayahu Adjiman, the banker of the Janissary Corps in Constantinople, purchased a *ḥatzer* (an enclave of buildings around a courtyard) which he endowed to the Sephardi *kolel* (communal organization) of Jerusalem as a hostel for Jewish pilgrims to the Holy Land. One room was set aside as a synagogue. Dār al-Yahūd, as it was called, was to become the core of Jewish settlement in Jaffa during the 1830s and 1840s.¹²

Most of the land bordering the city wall was planted with orange, lemon, fig, pomegranate and palm trees—delighting the senses of many a traveller. These gardens suffered damage, particularly when al-Jazzār besieged the town, but under Ibrāhīm Pasha, they were restored and irrigated with the help of

7 Tobler, 1839, II, pp. 121-123.

8 Alderson, plan 7, and the British Admiralty Map, Jaffa, 1841, Public Record Office (PRO), MPK 294/26235.

9 Visniyakov in Altbauer, p. 63. This building currently houses the Jaffa Museum.

10 Turner, II, pp. 192-193. Alderson's map shows two minarets. These mosques—the Maḥmūdiyya Mosque, the Sea Mosque and possibly the mosque adjoining the Jaffa Museum (the *saray*) are still standing today, though not all of them serve their original purpose.

11 Seetzen, II, pp. 69-71.

12 Kark, 1980, pp. 13-17.



Map 6: Jaffa Landmarks, 1842

waterwheels.¹³ As Wilde tells us in 1838, some of these gardens belonged to Jaffa residents who maintained summer homes on the property¹⁴ (see Maps 6,7).

Outside the walls to the south of the city, lay the cemeteries. In 1835, at the order of Ibrāhīm Pasha, two buildings were erected in the vicinity by the Armenians and Greek Orthodox. These were pilgrim quarantines, and in order to build them, stones were brought by sea from Caesarea and Tyre.¹⁵

13 Visniakov, *op. cit.*; and Paxton, pp. 101-104.

14 Wilde, pp. 391-393.

15 Neophytus, in Spyridon, pp. 120-123. These two structures are clearly visible on the British Admiralty Map of 1841.

Egyptian neighborhoods, or *sakināt*, now began to make their appearance in the gardens around Jaffa. Mud mixed with a binder was used as the construction medium, and the houses themselves were low and of the simplest kind. The inhabitants worked mostly in agriculture or as watchmen in the groves and gardens.¹⁶

The Character of Local Construction and its Initiators

That fact that Jaffa was located at the top of a hill made it necessary for builders to adapt themselves to the topography and build in a stepped manner.



The large bathhouse and Saray building (Kark, 1982)

one house below the next. From afar, this gave the impression of multi-storied buildings, but in fact (as we can see in old Jaffa today), the homes were small and low, usually no more than one or two stories. The walls were very thick, as they had to bear a vaulted roof. Doorways and windows were also arched, following the custom of local builders, whose trade was passed from father to

16 For an account of the *sakināt*, see notes 47, 48, 49 in Chp. 1.

son. Most homes had inner stone-paved courtyards that were used for domestic purposes. The roof also served a variety of household functions. It was paved with flat stones, and was either level or domed in the center. The roof was used so often, it was customary to build a perforated parapet around it to provide both privacy and ventilation.¹⁷



Construction of kurkar, filler and wood in Greek Orthodox Compound (Kark, 1977)

Descriptions of the external appearance of Jaffa's public and religious institutions in the early nineteenth century are quite scarce. Nonetheless, we do know that they were extensive compounds, sometimes of considerable height built in several levels down the hillside. Some were constructed of the local sandstone, *kurkar*, and the most imposing, of limestone blocks salvaged from

17 Canaan, p. 52-58.



The Old Saray (today Jaffa Museum), stone carvings from the previous century (Kark, 1982)

ancient sites along the Palestine coast. Architecturally, they followed the traditional format of vaulted rooms around an inner courtyard, or several large courtyards.¹⁸ Two public buildings which retain their original design and are still in use today are the old *saray* and the Maḥmūdiyya Mosque. The former

18 This description is based largely on an examination of the remains of early nineteenth century building in Jaffa.

(which houses the Jaffa Museum) is built of dressed *kurkar*, and is two stories high. Due to the height of the building, massive support pillars were necessary for the external walls. The large open spaces in the interior (for example, the museum exhibition hall) allow an unobstructed view of these pillars, which were placed at regular intervals.

The mosque in its original form (without the row of shops in Clocktower Square, which were added on later) was built around a large inner courtyard. This was paved and encircled by colonnades, which opened onto several large prayer halls. There was a minaret on the south side of the mosque, and an elegant *sabīl* built into the facade.

The initiative for much of the public building came from the governors of Jaffa, particularly Abū Nabbūt. Aside from fortifying the town, he built bazaars, a great mosque and fountains for public use.

Literature on Jaffa at the turn of century rarely speaks of the attempts made by the churches to initiate building projects. Perhaps this is because during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, all construction work, even on non-Muslim religious buildings, required a special edict or *firman* issued by the sultan. Such an edict was not easily obtained, and although the restrictions were eased during Ibrāhīm Pasha's time, there was no evidence of this in Jaffa until a later date.

We know very little about private building initiatives in Jaffa. Until the 1840s, Jaffa residents were undoubtedly rebuilding their homes destroyed by the war, and further damaged by the earthquake of 1837.

SIGNS OF CHANGE: 1841-1881

The Old City

There was little change in the first part of this sub-period: Jaffa remained, as before, situated on a low hill protruding above the coastal ridge. For the duration of the 1850s and 1860s, it was still a small town protected by a wall, ramparts and moat, harboring a small fortress.¹⁹ No construction was allowed near the wall so long as Jaffa was a fortified city.²⁰ Until 1869, the inhabitants made due with one large gate, and as noted above, during the 1850s it was locked all night.²¹ Old rusty guns could yet be seen on the wall and ramparts.²²

At the end of the 1860s, another gate was opened in the eastern wall (al-Bāb

19 Schwarz, *Tvu'ot*, p. 189.

20 Dixon, pp. 1-10.

21 Scherer, pp. 151-153.

22 Russell, 1869, pp. 329-330.



Old Jaffa, view from the north (Thomson, 1860)



Northern view of bay, town wall and Old Jaffa (Macleod, 1866)

al-Jādīd), but by this time, the improved security in Jaffa and environs had made it superfluous. That being the case, the authorities officially repealed Jaffa's status as a fortified city and assisted in tearing down the wall. Within a few years, the eastern and southern walls had all but crumbled, or were dismantled, and the moat was filled in.²³ Parts of the wall facing the sea also collapsed. On the north side, part of the bastion remained, but by the end of the 1870s, the sole purpose of the guns was to declare the end of the Ramaḍān fast. The southeastern bastion, known as the "British Citadel", was gone almost without trace. On the site, the French Sisters of the Order of St. Joseph built a hospital and church.²⁴

Reporting on the progress in Palestine in 1880, Swiss architect Conrad Schick relates that the Jaffa moat had been filled in, and that many new homes and shops had been built where the wall and moat stood, some as grand as palaces.²⁵ Part of the moat was now a broad street, and across from it, where there had been a municipal cemetery until the end of the 1870s and a few tombstones still remained, private residences were multiplying rapidly.²⁶

One of the best sources for reconstructing and analyzing the spatial organization of Jaffa in the late 1870s are two highly accurate maps from 1878/9 accompanied by detailed legends. These maps, drawn by Theodor Sandel, a Templer engineer and resident of Jaffa's German Colony, were appended to an article on Jaffa and environs published in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* (ZDPV) in 1880.²⁷ In Sandel's map of Old Jaffa one can see the exact state of the wall, moat and bastions, as well as the developments reported by various sources in the zone between the old and new cities. According to this map, the citadel located inside the walls belonged at that time to the Catholics (see Map 7).

The homes in the old city were terraced, and generally built in the traditional style spoken of earlier, employing local *kurkar* or imported stone.²⁸ Some had flat roofs and others were domed. Their white-plastered walls were visible from a distance. To Dixon, a British visitor, the general appearance was that of a typical Oriental city. From contemporary descriptions we see that the old city

23 *PEF QSt*, 1872, pp. 34-35; and Baedeker, 1876, pp. 167-168.

24 Schwarz, 1880, pp. 45-47.

25 Schick, *PEF QSt*, 1880, pp. 167-168. The moat ran along the boundaries of today's Yefet Street in Jaffa.

26 Schwarz, 1880, p. 47.

27 *Ibid*, p. 44-51.

28 Russel, 1869, pp. 328-329.

contained both small, uncomfortable dwellings,²⁹ probably inhabited by the poorer classes, and large, well-built homes.³⁰

An analysis of Sandel's map shows that private homes were not situated opposite the shore or along the road leading from the harbor to the eastern gate, as these districts were already occupied by religious institutions, the *saraya*, shops and bazaars. They were to be found further within the city, in an area that included the top of the hill and its southern and eastern slopes. Judging by some of the names cited by Sandel, there seems to have been a concentration of wealthier residents, i.e. owners of estates and gardens outside the city, or vice-consuls of the various powers, on the hilltop and southern



Map 7: Plan of the Old City of Jaffa, 1878/9 (Theodor Sandel)

29 Dixon, pp. 1-10, and Dupuis, II, pp. 54-77.

30 Isaacs, 1857, pp. 3-10.

slope of the old city.³¹ This is the same region identified on the 1842 British Admiralty map as Haret en-Nasara (the Christian Quarter). As Sandel's map indicates, in 1878, too, many of the residents were Christians. Jaffa's other residential neighborhoods were inhabited by Muslims, as well as a small group of Jews.

Swiss explorer Titus Tobler lists several blocks of courtyards in Jaffa in 1845: Ḥosh el-Şarrāfin (moneychangers' compound) near the citadel, Ḥosh en-Naşarā, Ḥosh Fallāhīn (peasants' compound) near the mosque on the waterfront, Ḥosh Rūmmīlī beside the main gate and Ḥosh Shaikh Ibrāhīm next to the Muslim Quarter and main 'gate.³²

Legend: Map 7

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Turkish mail bin storage | 34. Home of German vice-consul Murad |
| 2. Jewish bazaar | 35. Home of Russian consul Marabuti |
| 3. Large well | 36. Greek Catholic convent and church (Unitarian) |
| 4. el-Faradsch bazaar | 37. Greek consulate |
| 5. Mosque courtyard | 38. Home of Louis Maria |
| 6. Mosque well | 39. Home of Dschebran Dschellad |
| 7. Duisberg, Breisch & Co. | 40. Home of Finan |
| 8. Friedel's shop | 41. Home of Budrus 'Akkawi and Turkish post and telegraph office |
| 9. Minaret | 42. Home of Dschebr Surafan |
| 10. Old town gate | 43. Observatory (tallest buildings) |
| 11. Small bathhouse | 44. Home of Francis Dschellad |
| 12. Large bathhouse | 45. Home of Selim Kassar |
| 13. Home of Tannus Nasr | 46. Home of Herbert Hall |
| 14. Arab café | 47. a-Tabije Mosque (Tabea House) and Budrus Mos |
| 15. Messagerie Marit. travel agency | 48. Home of Bschara Saghir |
| 16. Maronite church | 49. Lighthouse |
| 17. Austro-Hungarian travel agency | 50. Home of Michael Edschdei |
| 18. Austrian post-office | 51. Home of Budrus Rocc |
| 19. Synagogue | 52. Home of Fransis Damiani |
| 20. Synagogue and home of Kayat | 53. New gate |
| 21. Wali Sheikh Ibrāhīm | 54. New hospital and church of the Roman Catholic Sisters |
| 22. Home and steam mill of Breisch, formerly Metzler | 55. Tomb of English general |
| 23. Persian consulate | 56. Garden of Armenian convent |
| 24. Home of Mitri Omsalah | 57. Khan (of Abu Tebul) |
| 25. Home of Schuhm Siegler | 58. Muslim boys' school |
| 26. Armenian church | 59. Shoemakers lane |
| 27. Armenian convent | 60. Remains of English fortress |
| 28. Roman Catholic church | 61. Tomb of Sheikh Abu Rabah |
| 29. French hospice and convent | 62. Shop of Ibrahim & Asad Chaijaj |
| 30. French post-office | 63. Vidal's Shop |
| 31. Greek Orthodox church | 64. Haret er-Rummile (Quarter of the Sand Dunes) |
| 32. Greek convent | |
| 33. el-Kal'a (ancient fortress now property of Latins) | |

Most of this section has been preserved, and houses the cafes and galleries of Old Jaffa today. Tobler, 1853/4, II, p. 591.

Sandel mentions only one quarter in the old city, in the vicinity of the *saray*, Hārat er-Rūmmile (derived perhaps from *raml* meaning sand). Neither he, nor Schwarz who quotes him, tell what the quarter was like. They do, however, describe a number of neighborhoods outside the walls with which we shall deal later.

Most of the streets and alleyways in the old city, as clearly seen on the map, retained their original layout and character until the end of the sub-period. They were narrow (the widest being three to four paces across, and the narrowest a total of a pace and a half), twisting, rubbish-strewn and dusty and without proper drainage; they could hardly be used after rain. Few were paved as yet, and were thus impassable by carriages.³³ Some were *cul-de-sacs*.

Russell tells of his unsuccessful attempt to find Jaffa's main street, getting lost in a maze of alleyways.³⁴ Several bazaars of merchants and craftsmen, as well as a fruit and vegetable market, were clustered around the Jerusalem Gate, both inside and outside the walls. Adjoining these were the *khāns*, coffee shops and bathhouses. Various tourist shops and travel agencies opened along the narrow lane between the Jerusalem Gate and the harbor.

Murray's travel handbook offers an apt description of the town in 1866:

Joppa or Japho, now called Ya'fa and by the Franks Jaffa, is beautifully situated on a rounded hill, dipping on the W. into the Mediterranean; and encompassed on the land side by orchards of oranges, lemons, citrons and apricots, scarcely surpassed in the world. Like most oriental towns, however, it looks best at a distance. The houses are huddled together without regard for appearance or convenience; the streets form a labyrinth of blind alleys and narrow, crooked, filthy lanes; and the whole town is so crowded along the steep sides of the hill, that the rickety mansions on the upper part seem to be toppling over on the roofs of those below them. Still Ya'fa has an air of bustle and thrift about it, which makes some amends for its architecture and its dirt. It has no port; and it is only under favourable circumstances a vessel can lie a mile or two from the shore... The town is defended by a wall, on which a few old guns are mounted toward the sea. On the land side there is but one gate, and it is always so crowded with donkeys, camels, and lazy Arabs, that one has difficulty in forcing his way through. Just within it is a fountain adorned with a profusion of carving and Arabic inscriptions.³⁵ (See Map 3).

Tobler, who visited Jaffa in 1845, enumerates its public institutions. From his

33 Baedeker, 1876, p. 130; Dixon, pp. 13-14; Tobler, *ibid*, pp. 590-591.

34 Russell, 1869, pp. 371-372.

35 Murray, 1866, p. 272.

account a dynamic picture of architectural change and new construction emerges. He lists five mosques, one synagogue, a Greek convent and hospice (able to accommodate 2,000 pilgrims), a Latin church and hospice, the older Franciscan hospice, and the Armenian convent. He also mentions the quarantine building erected in 1835, which he says was already collapsing though it was only ten years old. In addition, there were eight schools (four Muslim, one Greek, two Latin and one Jewish), three *khāns* (one of them apparently the old Armenian *khān*) and three bathhouses.³⁶

Sandel's map for the end of this period (1878/9) shows the governor's headquarters, or *saray*, still in its old location. We also see in the old city three mosques, the tombs of several sheikhs, and a school. Christian institutions remained largely where they were along a broad stretch of sea-front in the western part of town. This strip of land and the entire area to the east of it, was divided up among the Greek Orthodox, who owned a church and convent in the southern sector, the Catholics, who owned a church, convent and hospice in the center, and the Armenians, who owned a church and convent to the north. Near this old nucleus there are notations of a Maronite church, convents, a Greek Catholic church, and a synagogue. A new center of Christian religious activity and education now began to emerge in the southern section of the city. On the site of the old wall and the area outside it, the Roman Catholic Sisters (the Sisters of St. Joseph) built a church and hospital, a Scottish woman named Miss Arnott opened a school for girls, and a Coptic church was founded. There was another hospital in the German Colony.³⁷ Mylius, a visitor to Jaffa in 1877, notes the existence of four Muslim schools as well as a few maintained by Jews.³⁸

Jaffa's public institutions are a witness to the diversity of the population and the pilgrim traffic passing through the town. This diversity is further demonstrated by the separate burial grounds for different communities which lay outside the old city. In 1845, Tobler lists four cemeteries: the Muslim cemetery north of the old city, the Greek cemetery to the south, the Armenian cemetery, and the Jewish cemetery, where there was only one row of tombstones.³⁹

Sandel's map of 1878/9 marks the burial grounds of eight different communities. Some were quite old and situated near the old city; others were farther away. These cemeteries belonged to the Muslims, the Greek Orthodox,

36 Tobler, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-633.

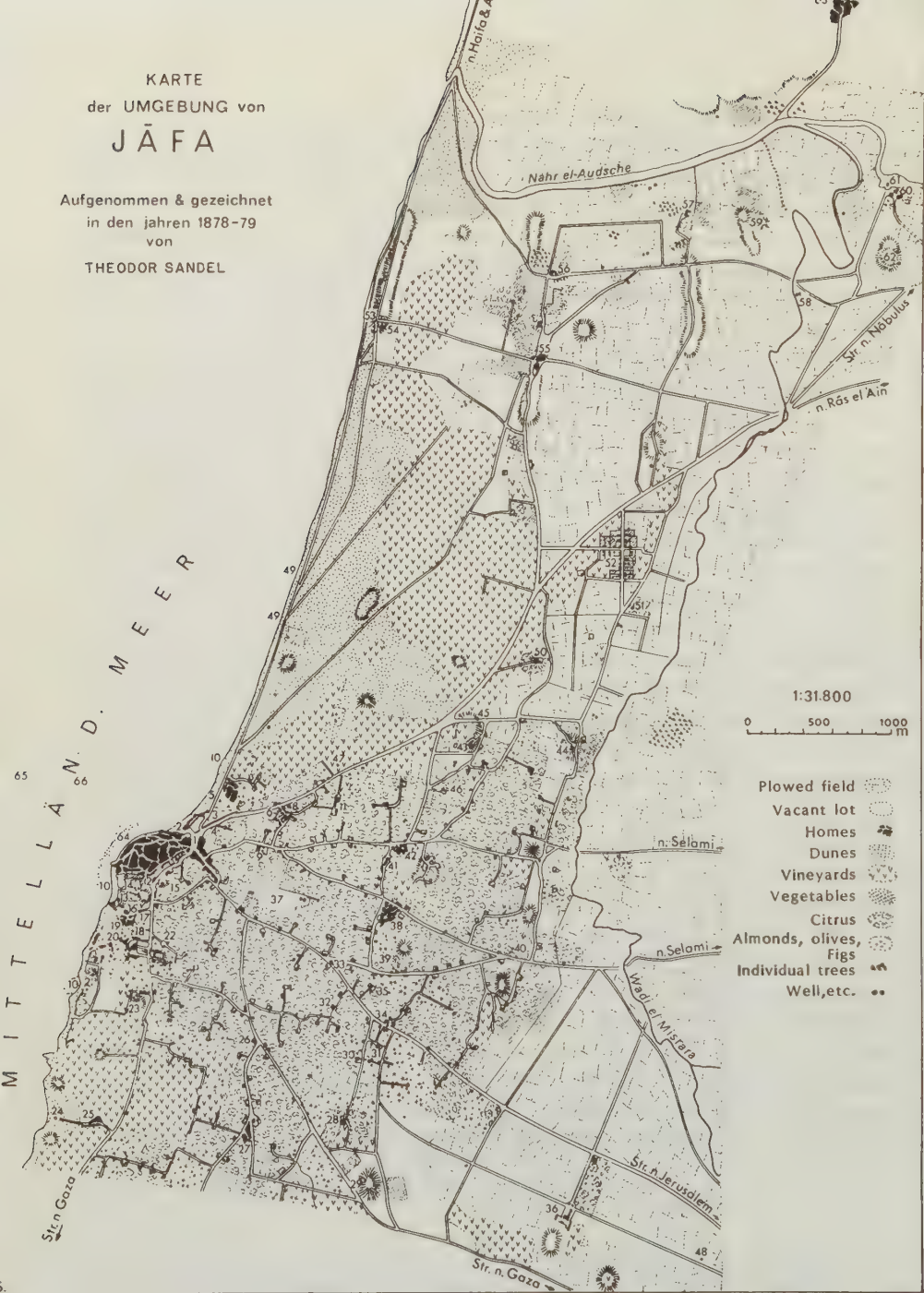
37 Sandel's map in Schwarz, 1880, p. 47.

38 Mylius, pp. 12-14.

39 Tobler, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

KARTE
der UMGEBUNG von
JÄFA

Aufgenommen & gezeichnet
in den Jahren 1878-79
von
THEODOR SANDEL



1:31.800
0 500 1000
m

- Plowed field
- Vacant lot
- Homes
- Dunes
- Vineyards
- Vegetables
- Citrus
- Almonds, olives, Figs
- Individual trees
- Well, etc.

Map 8: Jaffa Environs, 1878/9 (Theodor Sandel)

the Protestants, the Jews,⁴⁰ the Armenians, the Roman Catholics, the Templers, and Saknet Suma'il.

According to the *Survey of Western Palestine*, there were 1,131 homes in Jaffa in 1871. Public buildings consisted of 5 mosques, 5 churches and convents, 3 synagogues, 332 small shops, 188 large shops, 6 *khāns*, 3 steam-powered flour mills, 10 baking ovens, 3 bathhouses, 11 soap factories and 7 oil presses.⁴¹

Legend: Map 8

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Marketplace | 31. Home and garden of late French consul Philiberu |
| 2. Slaughterhouse | 32. Garden of Bschara es-Saghir |
| 3. Muslim cemetery | 33. Sabil Abu-Nabbut |
| 4. Arab hotel | 34. Saknet et-Turk |
| 5. Saknet Raschid | 35. Home and garden of English vice-consul Amzalak |
| 6. Jerusalem Hotel of E. Hardegg | 36. Mikve Yisrael (Jewish agricultural school) |
| 7. Home and garden of Baron Ustinow | 37. Low-lying region (el-Bassat es-Saghire) |
| 8. German hospital | 38. Saknet Abu Kebir |
| 9. Garden of German vice-consul Murad
(Biyaret Tell er-Rus) | 39. Garden of head of Russian Church (Bayaret el-Maskub) |
| 10. Bathing area (Birket Kamr) | 40. Sheikh Murad |
| 1. Garden of Franciscan Convent | 41. Saknet el-Araïne |
| 2. Roman Catholic Hospital | 42. Saknet ed-Denaite |
| 3. Old quarantine area | 43. Model farm |
| 4. Greek Orthodox cemetery | 44. Mount Hope |
| 5. Anglican Protestant cemetery | 45. Templer cemetery |
| 6. Jewish cemetery | 46. Garden of G. Kappus |
| 7. Armenian cemetery | 47. Vineyard of Bschara es-Saghir |
| 8. Roman Catholic cemetery | 48. Sentry post |
| 9. Sakne | 49. Shipyard for wrecks |
| 10. Saknet e-Sheikh Ibrahim | 50. Farm of Roman Sisters (Biyaret Magharibe) |
| 11. Wali Sheikh Ibrahim al-'Adjimi | 51. Biyaret Moses Montefiore |
| 12. Copts garden and church | 52. Saronā (Templer colony) |
| 13. Saknet al-'Adjimi | 53. Wali 'Abd en-Nabi |
| 14. Bir el-Hilwe | 54. Summel's tomb |
| 15. Saknet el-Dschebelye | 55. Saknet Summel (fellahin village) |
| 16. Garden of Selim Kassar senior | 56. Garden of Groll |
| 17. Saknet Derwish | 57. Garden of Jung |
| 18. Home of Anton Eijub | 58. Ruins of bridge |
| 19. Tell er-Risch | 59. Summer Bedouin encampment |
| 20. Home of Selim Kassar junior | 60. el-Dscherische (fellahin village) |
| | 61. el-Dscherische flour mills |
| | 62. Archeological mound (tell) |

40 Burials in the old Jewish cemetery in Jaffa began in 1840, as we see from the dates on the earliest tombstones. This indicates the start of permanent Jewish settlement in the town.

41 *PEF-Survey*, 13, pp. 252-257. These figures appear to be based on Hartmann, *ZDPV*, 6, 1883, p. 136.

From the data of Baedeker, Schwarz and Sandel up to the early 1880s, this list could be lengthened to include the tombs of several sheikhs, 3 post and telegraph offices, the *saray* building, approximately 7 schools, 2 hospitals, 2 hotels, 8 consular residences or consulates, a quarantine building, and a number of tanneries south of Old Jaffa.⁴²

It is interesting that the *Survey of Western Palestine* finds no more buildings in the 1870s than Turner and Buckungham found in the early part of the century. While the *Survey* is probably a more reliable source, the data provided does not include the region outside the walled city, which was now being developed at a rapid pace.

From 1841-1881, no monumental changes seem to have taken place in Old Jaffa; descriptions of the walled town during this period differ little from those of the first half of the century. In the 1860s and 1870s, however, the old town wall was gradually dismantled and new neighborhoods were built beyond it.

This change is remarked upon by a number of travellers who had visited the city before. Conder compares Jaffa in 1845 and 1875.⁴³ In 1880, Guérin marvels at the expansion of Jaffa since his visit in 1863.⁴⁴ In 1867, the newspaper *Ha-Levanon* exhorts all those who been to Jaffa a year earlier to come and see if they recognized it now, with its broadened streets and new homes.⁴⁵

What was it during this forty-year interval that sparked such change? On the following pages we will deal chiefly with the physical growth. In fact, however, development was apparent in four realms: the cultivation of gardens and irrigated groves, the establishment of *sakināt*, the growth of nearby suburbs, and the settlement of foreigners in the Jaffa environs.

Jaffa's Gardens

The gardens surrounding Jaffa were not a new phenomenon of the 1840s. Decades earlier, many provided descriptions of its sources, fertile gardens and groves. However, wars and instability made continued agricultural development difficult. The present period was one of peace and security. As a result, the gardens thrived, and both Jaffa residents and new settlers embarked on schemes for further development.

Many travellers write about Jaffa's plantations, with their orange, lemon, pomegranate, banana, fig and palm trees. Some note the high level of groundwater, which facilitated irrigation. Garden-owners would dig wells and

42 Baedeker, 1876, pp. 130-131; Schwarz, 1880, pp. 44-51.

43 Conder, 1878, I, p. 1-4.

44 Guérin, I, p. 41.

45 Hamburger, *Ha-Levanon*, 4, 1867, p. 57.

draw the water using animal-powered waterwheels. The *bayāra*, or watered garden, was usually irrigated by a nearby well and canal system.⁴⁶

In the 1850s, attempts were made to introduce new crops in the Jaffa vicinity—for example, mulberry trees, which were used in the silk industry.⁴⁷ In a letter from Jerusalem toward the end of 1850, a German farmer writes that several wealthy merchants had settled near Jaffa and bought gardens where they hoped to grow mulberry trees and silkworms. Some good beginnings had already been made in this field, he said.⁴⁸

Some of Jaffa's wealthy and respected citizens also participated in these initiatives, among them Muslim effendis and clergymen, as well as sheikhs from the surrounding villages, the heads of semi-nomadic tribes, and former Christian residents of Beirut, who had settled in Jaffa where they were instrumental in developing the silk industry.⁴⁹ Sandel's map indicates that by the end of the 1870s a number of them owned villas in the gardens, in addition to their homes in the old city (see Map 8).⁵⁰

Jaffa's vice-consuls figured prominently in this group. There is little doubt that they exploited their government standing and legal know-how to acquire property and turn a fine profit. The map indicates gardens belonging to As'ad J. Khayyāt and Ḥaim Amzalak, the British vice consuls; Philibert, the French vice-consul; Bishāra es-Saghīr, the Dutch vice-consul; and Murād, the German vice-consul.⁵¹

Some of the churches in Jaffa also owned gardens and villas in the area. Sandel marks the *bayāra* of Maskūb (Russian) the *bayāra* of the Franciscan Convent, and *Bayārat el-Maghārība*, which belonged to the Roman Catholic

46 Scherer, pp. 151-153.

47 This is described in various sources relating to the 1850s. See, for example, the report from Jaffa of Dr. James T. Barclay, an American missionary, on Feb. 3, 1851, in Barnett, 1853, p. 149.

48 Minor (1851, p. 129) cites a letter from Nov. 29, 1850 written by one of the German settlers, Fredrick Grossteinbeck, to Dr. P. of Philadelphia. He notes that several wealthy businessmen had purchased gardens in the Jaffa environs, where they intended to settle and grow silkworms and mulberry trees. The letter states that several ventures of this type had already commenced.

49 Rustum, IV, pp. 83-84; Goldmann, 1898, p. 58. For details about some of the Beirut families, see Fawaz, pp. 60-67.

50 Sandel's map in Schwarz, p. 47; for example, the Selim Kassar family.

51 According to the Sandel map, *ibid.* On his fifth trip to Palestine in 1857, Montefiore also visited the home and garden of the British vice-consul. Montefiore (cited in Loewe, 1890, II, p. 65) says the vice-consul owned 30 acres of land outside the city which he wished to sell for £1,000. He also owned a large grove of orange, mulberry, lemon and date trees.

Sisters.⁵² The Jews, too, bought and maintained *bayāras*, the first to do so being the rabbi of Jaffa, Rabbi Yehuda Halevi. In the early 1880s, Yehiel Brill met an affluent Jew who owned two orchards near Jaffa and fields in the southern coastal plain.⁵³ Other *bayāra* owners were Germans and Templers who settled in Jaffa in the 1850s, 1860s-1870s (*Bayārat al-Ḥimsī*, for example, tended by Groll and Jung). This was the course of events which led to the purchase of the Montefiore Grove and the growing number of foreigner settlers in the Jaffa environs.

The gardens influenced Jaffa's growth in three ways:

- a) They created a large network of minor roadways (clearly indicated on Sandel's map);
- b) They provided permanent or rental housing for newcomers; the villas on these properties were often also used as summer homes;
- c) They kept the area from being built up for a long time due to the high cost of the land.

Obviously, the gardens also had important economic implications, which will be noted later. Sandel's map of 1878/9 points to the direction that building activity would take in 1882-1914, encroaching upon the dunes and vineyards but generally staying clear of the groves and gardens.

The Egyptian Neighborhoods

We do not know precisely when and under what circumstances *sakinat* were established around Jaffa, nor who were the inhabitants. However, there is no doubt that they first appeared prior to the conquest of Ibrāhīm Pasha, that they continued to develop during and after this period, and that some of the residents were of Egyptian origin. Southeast of the old Jaffa wall, Tobler found a *hosh* quarter (a complex of squat apartments around a courtyard) inhabited by Egyptians who had fled persecution or remained in Palestine after the withdrawal of Ibrāhīm Pasha. Most of them were farmers. North of the town gate he saw a village of Copts, which is marked on the British Admiralty map of 1863 as an Egyptian colony (see Map 3).⁵⁴

52 According to the maps and detailed legends drawn up by Theodor Sandel, a resident of Jaffa's German Colony (in Schwarz, 1880). This is confirmed in Mylius, pp. 16-17.

53 Halevi, 1977, pp. 153-169; Brill (pp. 125-126) writes that this Jew was prepared to pay Montefiore 250 francs a year for a ten-year lease on the garden, and an additional 250 if the money was donated to a *talmud torah* (Jewish primary school) in Jaffa. A decade later, he agreed to pay 2,000 francs for the fruit harvested.

54 Tobler, 1853/4, II, p. 615, and the British Admiralty Map of 1863.

Mention is made of these *sakināt* in sources from the 1870s and 1880s; they also appear on maps drawn in the late 1870s.⁵⁵ Schick relates that many homes had been built in the gardens of Jaffa, and north and south of the town, by settlers from Egypt.⁵⁶ The legend of Sandel's map provides us with a list of eleven *sakināt*: Raschid, Sakne, Schech Ibrāhīm, el-Adschemi, el-Dschebelye, Derwish, et-Turk, Abu-Kebir, al-'Arane, ed-Denatte and Summel. The map shows that most of these were situated in the Jaffa gardens, within a two-kilometer radius of the old city and near the main roads to Gaza, Jerusalem, Salame and Nablus.

An examination of ruins at the site reveals that *sakināt* homes were built chiefly of mud and a binding material; very few were of *kurkar*.⁵⁷ The process of Egyptian settlement along the Palestine coast, which included founding new villages, extending existing ones, and building *sakināt* close to towns, may have continued throughout the nineteenth century.

Development of the Suburbs

The *sakināt* could be seen as a link between the gardens and suburbs of Jaffa; actually, they were the first step in suburban development. As Jaffa grew, however, even the most remote *sakināt* were brought within city limits.

The suburbs of Jaffa began to develop only after the wall and gates were torn down. New construction was generally as close as possible to the old city and was initially concentrated in the area previously occupied by the wall and moat and along the main routes to Jerusalem, Gaza and Nablus. However with the passing of time, suburbs sprang up north and south of the old city. Here, however, the continuity was interrupted by the cemeteries. At a later stage some of this land was expropriated for building, but certain neighborhoods to south of Old Jaffa remain separate until today. Another hindrance to the expansion of the suburbs were low-lying, poorly drained areas that flooded easily in winter.

By 1880, many new houses had been built along the road to Gaza, south of Old Jaffa; most of the inhabitants were Christians. The neighborhood from here to the sea was occupied by poor families who lived in small groupings. This was to become Jaffa's southern suburb.⁵⁸

On the northern side of town, past the Muslim cemetery and Egyptian colony, there was no suburban development as yet, apart from the attempts by foreigners to build farming colonies near the road to Nablus.

55 Baedeker, 1876, pp. 129-131; Conder, 1878, I, pp. 4-5; *PEF-Survey*, II, p. 254-257.

56 Schick, *PEF QSt*, 1880, pp. 167-168.

57 The sites were examined by the author and 'Adnān Ṭarabsha.

58 Schwarz, 1880, pp. 48-49.

Agricultural Ventures

Jaffa now began to attract foreigners seeking to establish agricultural settlements in the Holy Land. This occurred in two waves: during the first half of the 1850s and the second half of the 1860s. Very few of these enterprises were successful and still existent after the end of the sub-period. Some were small-scale projects comprising only one *bayāra* and a handful of settlers; others involved large groups and were planned in advance as agricultural colonies.

As diverse as these attempts were, all were characterized by a basic desire to work the land or teach farming to the local inhabitants, particularly the Jews. The Christians among them were inspired by religious fervor and the Pietist and Millenarist ideas rife in Europe and America during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the root of these ideas was the belief in the Second Coming of Jesus, gradually or through global catastrophe. Some believed that in the End-of-Days preceding the Millennium (the thousand-year kingdom of Christ), the Jews would return to their homeland, the Land of Israel.⁵⁹ Certain individuals and groups took upon themselves to promote this cause as a means of hastening the coming of the Messiah. As part of their missionary activity, other Christians worked in agriculture and encouraged the Jews to do the same.

Messianism, settling the Holy Land and the return to Zion also permeated the thinking of Jewish leaders such as Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer.⁶⁰ These ideas meshed with the notion of “productivization” and the search for sources of livelihood for the Jews of the Holy Land. Sometimes the attempts to establish an agricultural settlement were financially motivated as well, with the hope of developing farming into a profitable sector of the economy.

The ideological, financial and human resources for these ventures came mostly from Europe and America, influenced by the religious climate there. However, cooperation was also obtained from local Jews, who welcomed Christian initiatives as long as they were free of missionary overtones.⁶¹

This is the ideological backdrop for the farming ventures around Jaffa from the early 1850s through the early 1880s. It is important that they be seen in context for, even though most were failures, each left its mark on the spot and

59 Sandeen in Gaustad, pp. 105-109.

60 Kressel, 1976, pp. 39-64.

61 For recent accounts of Jewish settlement attempts in Jaffa, see Halevi, 1977, Ram, 1978; and Kark, 1983; non-Jewish attempts have been described by Vilnay, 1931, Idelberg, 1957, and Carmel, 1973. Also see a letter to *The Occident* (11, 1853, p. 458) written by Moshe Sacks of Jerusalem on Sept. 19, 1853.

in the local and international media, clearly influencing the general mood and the ventures that followed (not only in the Jaffa area).

At the beginning of the 1850s, while respected members of the Jaffa community were cultivating gardens, land and gardens were also being bought up by foreign citizens, Prussians in particular.⁶² Berghheim, a banker from Posen who was living in Jerusalem, purchased some property not far from Jaffa;⁶³ and Clossen, a farmer from Danzig who converted to Judaism in 1854, also owned a *bayāra* just outside of town.⁶⁴

Rabbi Yehuda Halevi's Garden

The precise date is unknown, but at some time prior to July 1853 the Rabbi of Jaffa acquired a garden a short distance from Jaffa in partnership with two Jews from Jerusalem and Hebron. This garden was 1,664 paces long and 1,553 paces wide,⁶⁵ and Rabbi Yehuda invested much money in its cultivation. At the end of July 1853, he reports that it contained 5,310 fruit trees of different kinds, mostly citrus, mulberry and pomegranate. One of Rabbi Yehuda's aims in purchasing and tending the garden was to provide work for the struggling Jews of Jaffa. From a letter he wrote to an American missionary society, we learn of his intention to encourage farming among his congregants by planting four more gardens—after improving irrigation methods and replacing the costly, cumbersome waterwheel by a “machine which takes out the water by the wind or a pump which is driven by one man.” In his opinion, the five gardens could jointly provide a livelihood for many Jews.⁶⁶

Whether Rabbi Yehuda Halevi's actions sprang from the religious ideology mentioned earlier, is not known; his chief motivation may have been finding a source of income for the members of this community who received no *ḥalukka* funds (funds from the Diaspora distributed according to community

62 Among the purchasers were Pierotti of Sardinia, who sold his garden to the American missionary, Dr. Barclay, in 1860. This we learn from a report by the American Consulate in Jerusalem dealing with a complaint by Dr. Barclay on Oct. 25, 1860, USNA, T471.

63 Hanaver, 1900, p. 140. The precise location is not indicated, but this may have been the village of Abu Shusha (see Kark and Shiloni in Issawi, 1988, pp. 332-337).

64 *Jewish Chronicle*, Aug. 3, 1855, p. 263; Feb. 16, 1855, p. 69; Aug. 10, 1855; p. 269.

65 A photocopy of the document dated July 28, 1853 in which Rabbi Yehuda Halevi describes his purchase of the garden and its contents, may be found in the Central Zionist Archives, J33/75 (the original is in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati). This document was published and commented upon in an article by S. Halevi, 1977, pp. 162-164; also see Ram, 1978, p. 21.

66 Halevi, *ibid.*

grouping).⁶⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that in order to see his projects through, Rabbi Yehuda was prepared to employ various tactics—even cooperation with Christian groups active in agriculture in the early 1850s.

Minor's "Mount Hope"

One group that Rabbi Yehuda worked with especially closely was a small band of Sabbath-observing Christians who came from America at the end of 1851 to fulfil their messianic beliefs. Led by Clorinda S. Minor of Philadelphia, who came on a pilgrimage before organizing the group between May 1849 and April 1850, they first settled in the village of Artās. There they joined forces with a converted Jew named John Meshullam. One of the group's major objectives was the establishment of a "Manual Labor School of Agriculture for Jews in the Holy Land".⁶⁸

Minor's activities were widely reported in the press—including Jewish press. Establishing contacts with organizations and individuals who shared her views in America, England and Scotland, as well as with the Templers in Germany, she was able to solicit donations for her projects.⁶⁹ Isaac Leeser, the editor of the Philadelphia Jewish newspaper *The Occident*, was an avid supporter of hers, and she sought the assistance of Jews in Jerusalem and later, Jaffa, to further her efforts.⁷⁰

After two years of working together in Artās, a dispute broke out between the Americans and Meshullam. In the winter of 1853 the Americans moved to Jaffa.⁷¹ According to the sources, they worked that year near the garden of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi, teaching farming to some Jews from Jerusalem who, Halevi says, were anxious to learn.⁷² In June 1854, Minor took out a year's

67 On the attempts of the Jews of Palestine to earn a living from farm-related activities, see Bartal, 1977, pp. 141-145; and Kark, 1988.

68 On Minor's pilot trip to Palestine, her religious beliefs, and the preparation made by the group prior to immigration, see Minor, 1851. According to Robinson (1856, III, pp. 274-275), the group numbered no more than 7-8 persons.

69 Minor, 1851, pp. 120-139.

70 Karp, p. 12 and Minor's letter to Isaac Leeser, the editor of *The Occident* (12 July 1854, pp. 200-206).

71 The compromise reached between the Americans and Meshullam regarding the house built in Artās is reported by H. Smith, the American consul in Beirut, in his letter to the British consul in Jerusalem, James Finn, on June 8, 1853 (ISA, 123-1/9).

72 Letter to Rabbi Yehuda Halevi cited in note 65 above; in Minor's letter to Leeser (note 70 above), she states that the gardens were being cultivated by Jews in training. She also describes in detail her contacts with the Jews of Jerusalem and Jaffa.

lease on the garden of David Clossen, which she tended with the help of her son Charles and a number of other Americans: Walter Dickson, Jones, and Saunders.⁷³ When the garden was taken over by Warder Cresson in June 1855 (see below), the Americans apparently leased Rabbi Yehuda's *bayāra*, which was being worked by them when it was bought by Montefiore. Minor continued to manage the garden for three months after the purchase.⁷⁴ By her own report, Jaffa activities were conducted on a small scale but were very successful agriculturally. The group grew winter crops, vegetables, citrus and other fruit trees.⁷⁵

Contrary to popular belief, Minor did not purchase the land upon which she established "Mount Hope" in 1852 or 1853,⁷⁶ until only shortly before her death (she died of cancer on November 6, 1855). This is confirmed by Montefiore in his diary at the end of August 1855.⁷⁷

After Minor's death, several members of the group went back to America. Her son, Charles, remained in Jaffa and according to Dr. Loewe, continued to lease Montefiore's groves until 1857.⁷⁸ The American novelist Herman Melville, who visited Palestine at the beginning of 1857, found that John Steinbeck, a Prussian who had been Mrs. Minor's assistant and married Walter Dickson's daughter, was successfully managing "Mount Hope". Dickson and Frederick Steinbeck (John's brother) were tending another large garden nearby. At this point, there were no longer Jews working in Dickson's garden.⁷⁹

73 Under Minor's influence, Walter Dixon, a farmer from Groton, Massachusetts, brought his wife, son and three daughters to Palestine sometime around 1853. Jones was a farmer from New England who joined Minor's group in 1854. Saunders, a mechanic from Rhode Island, immigrated with his wife out of religious conviction. Minor's group also included two American women and one British woman. See the remarks of editor H.C. Horsford in Melville, pp. 156-158, and Cresson's letter dated Nov. 11, 1854 to *Jewish Chronicle* (Oct. 3, 1855, p. 263).

74 Montefiore, *Diary*, National Library, MS var 21 II, entries for Aug.27 and Aug.28, 1855.

75 Minor to Leeser, *op. cit.* The location of "Mount Hope" is shown on Sandel's map. Today the site is occupied by the Shevaḥ School on Hamasra Street in Tel Aviv.

76 Vilnay, 1939, p. 71; Karp, p. 12.

77 Montefiore, *op. cit.*, Aug.27, 1855.

78 Loewe, 1890, II, p. 65; Halevi, 1977, p. 155.

79 *Jewish Chronicle*, July 25, 1856, p. 4; Melville, pp. 158-159. According to a letter from P. (the full name is not cited) to Professor Paulus, dated Nov. 29, 1850, Fredrick and John Steinbeck arrived in Jerusalem in February 1850. The group also included three men, two women, and three children from the Rhine district in Prussia. They were motivated by their belief in the redemption of Israel and the coming of the Messiah. At first they cultivated two large gardens in Jerusalem. They grew fruit, raised sheep and goats, and sold vegetables and milk products to the Europeans and tourists. Then the two Steinbeck brothers moved to Jaffa and married the Dixon daughters.

The venture was cut short by a cruel attack on Walter Dickson's house on the night of January 11, 1858 in which the women were raped and Frederick Steinbeck was murdered. Widely reported, the episode nearly assumed the proportions of an international incident.⁸⁰ The Dicksons returned to the United States, and in 1869 "Mount Hope" was turned over to members of the German Temple Society living in Jaffa.⁸¹

The Cresson, Sacks and Clossen Plan

While Rabbi Yehuda and the Minor group were pursuing their activities, other Jewish agricultural projects were going on in the Jaffa area during the years 1853-1854. Isaac Leeser, editor of *The Occident*, tells of a letter he received from Moshe Sacks, president of the Jaffa Agricultural Committee, asking for assistance in founding a Jewish agricultural colony near Jaffa for ten families. Sacks lists as assets the atmosphere of freedom and security, the low cost of land, and the fact that foreigners were now allowed to engage in agriculture. Apparently, he was impressed by the success of a number of Prussians who had bought gardens near Jaffa.⁸²

Michael Boaz Israel (Warder Cresson), a convert to Judaism, entertained thoughts similar to Sacks' when he returned to Jerusalem from Philadelphia in the early 1850s.⁸³ In 1852, Cresson proposed the establishment of a model farm in Emek Refaim outside Jerusalem, in an effort to combat missionary activity.⁸⁴ He was soon persuaded that Jaffa was a better venue. In a letter to Abraham Hart, a leader of the Portuguese Jewish community in Philadelphia and treasurer of the Committee for Propagating Agriculture in the Land of

80 From a report by Gorham, the American consul in Jerusalem, on Jan. 17, 1858, and his account of a conversation about the incident in Jaffa to the American consul-general in Constantinople on Feb. 8, 1858, USNA, T471. This episode is also described by M. Naor, *Maariv*, Sept. 14, 1975.

81 Carmel, 1973, p. 28.

82 *The Occident*, 11, Jan. 1859, pp. 484-486 (letter of M. Sacks dated Sept. 19, 1853). The extent of Sacks' and Rabbi Yehuda's collaboration in this venture is unclear. For more on Sacks, see Gelber, pp. 569-583.

83 Warder Cresson, owner of a prosperous farm in Philadelphia, came to Jerusalem in 1844. In 1848, he converted to Judaism and was circumcised. He returned to Philadelphia to wind up his affairs in 1848-1852, and became involved in a court case and battle of principles with his family. In 1858, he published his beliefs in a pamphlet entitled *The Key of David*, and declared his intentions to found a Jewish farm outside Jerusalem. Cresson preached against the Mission and urged Jews to return to their land. He promoted training in manual labor and agriculture, and the introduction of sophisticated European and American farm techniques. For more details, see Karp, pp. 1-20 and Bar Yosef, pp. 1-32.

84 *The Occident*, Vol. 10, 1853, pp. 609-612.

Israel, Cresson suggested that the monies collected be used for a new purpose: leasing the flourishing garden of the convert David Abraham (Peter Clossen) in Jaffa, and opening an agricultural school for the Jews of the Holy Land under his (Cresson's) direction. Initially, the school would teach farming to 10-15 young people aged 18-20. The Jaffa area was considered preferable by Cresson because water was available all year round and the location was convenient for exporting.⁸⁵

At the recommendation of Isaac Leeser, Sacks and Cresson got together and established the Holy Society for the Advancement of Agricultural Labor. Among the members of this society were three other Jerusalemites (Lilienthal, Moleno and Hausdorf), the rabbi of the London Jewish community and Clossen. They hoped to lease several gardens in the vicinity of Jaffa and establish a company to market their crops locally and overseas.⁸⁶

The fate of Cresson's initial plan to lease the Clossen garden remains unknown. Nor do we know what became of the Holy Society other than that it commenced activity, and borrowed money for the lease of land, and the purchase of equipment and livestock. When Dr. Frankl was in Jaffa in 1856, he met Clossen. The latter was employing some twenty Jewish farmers at the time, and had even established a prayer house for them.⁸⁷ At a later date, the press reports that Clossen was working his garden with the help of one other Jewish family and hired Arab labor.⁸⁸ In the early 1860s, he and another Jew tried to establish a lime and brick industry in the area.⁸⁹ Clossen also joined the first Palestine settlement societies which emerged at this time, and continued throughout his lifetime to promote agricultural colonization in the Jaffa region. Newspaper reports allude to the fact that he derived no satisfaction from his garden, and that "during his life, the fruits of his labor were consumed by strangers."⁹⁰ The sources are contradictory, making it difficult to ascertain whether he sold his garden to a local Jew from Baghdad while he was still alive, as reported in *Ha-Maggid*,⁹¹ or whether his will was contested after his death.⁹²

Another attempt to establish a colony in Clossen's garden was initiated by

85 *Jewish Chronicle*, Aug. 3, 1855, p. 263; Oct. 3, 1855, p. 263.

86 *Jewish Chronicle*, 1855, pp. 24-25; Karp, p. 12.

87 Frankl, p. 149; S. Halevi (1977) notes that Dr. Frankl mistakenly took him for Montefiore's son.

88 Ram, 1978, p. 21.

89 *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 5, no. 26, July 3, 1862, p. 203.

90 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, 1865, p. 290 (H.Z.N.—Zalman Natan Sapir).

91 *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 9, no. 44, November 4, 1866, p. 348.

92 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 3, no. 4, February 16, 1866, pp. 54-55.

David of Rezitza, who assembled a group of settlers in 1865. However, after the colony was robbed and plundered, his plans fell through.⁹³

The Montefiore Grove

The garden acquired by Moses Montefiore during his fourth trip to Palestine in 1855 belonged, as we see from the bill of sale, to Rabbi Yehuda Halevi and his associates.⁹⁴ Montefiore had probably heard of the agricultural societies and the colonization attempts around Jaffa before his visit—especially those of Minor, Cresson and Clossen, which were reported in the Jewish newspapers, *The Occident* and the *Jewish Chronicle*. We even have evidence that Cresson proposed Montefiore use some of the money allocated to ease the suffering of Jews in the Holy Land, for the lease or purchase of a large piece of land on the plains of Jaffa—a transaction which would be profitable and of value to the Jews of Palestine.⁹⁵

We will not go into details here about the course of events leading up to the purchase of the Montefiore Grove in August 1855 for 40,000 piasters. This has already been dealt with at length by Shoshana Halevi and Hannah Ram in *Cathedra*.⁹⁶ Montefiore himself gives no motives for acquiring the garden, though his chief intention was probably to help Jews earn a livelihood from manual labor as later sources imply. In 1865, Yosef Blumenthal writes that the garden had been purchased “to perform a good deed and enable our brethren in the Holy Land to work the land and bring forth bread from the earth.” This is also implied in a survey of Montefiore’s projects in 1871, which states: “He... bought a large plot of land near the town of Jaffa and a man schooled in sowing and planting came to live there in order to teach the art of farming.”⁹⁷ At any rate, the two *Cathedra* articles and the sources cited above indicate that following its purchase the garden was run by Clorinda Minor, and after her death by her son Charles, Jews continued to work there as before.⁹⁸

On his visit to the Holy Land in 1875, Montefiore writes in his diary that his

93 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, no. 19, 1865, p. 290.

94 Halevi, 1977, pp. 158-161.

95 *Jewish Chronicle*, July 5, 1861, p. 2, based on a letter from Cresson in 1856 to a friend in London.

96 Halevi, 1977; Ram, 1978.

97 Yosef Blumenthal, *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, no. 22, 1865, pp. 343-344; *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 1, no. 4, October 22, 1871, p. 13.

98 The annual report of the Appeal Fund on Behalf of the Suffering Jews in the Holy Land (*Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 22, 1856, p. 490) states that a piece of property with a house and well had been purchased in Jaffa, and that several Jews were already farming the land.

purpose in coming was to buy land, farms or homes. In 1855, he says, he had bought a grove to encourage farming among the Jews.⁹⁹

In 1862, it seems, the garden was turned over to new tenants.¹⁰⁰ However, as reported in *Ha-Levanon* in 1865 and at the time of Montefiore's visit in 1866, attacks by the neighboring Arabs forced them to leave. In the press, Joseph Blumenthal expresses the belief that Montefiore's pursuits were useless:

For our brethren there neither know nor understand farming, and even if they did, they know the *fellahin* and Bedouin would come and rob them of the first fruits.¹⁰¹

From two fascinating documents in the Israel State Archives and the Central Zionist Archives we learn that Montefiore's garden was cultivated in 1867 by George Washington Joshua Adams and the American colony settlers who came to Jaffa in 1866. The Americans began work after leasing the garden in good faith from Clossen, who presented himself as Montefiore's official agent—while the lawful agents were actually Israel Ben Simhon and Jacob Ben Simol. To clarify the situation, Adams wrote a letter to Montefiore. Finally in July of that year, he signed a paper handing the grove over to Ben Simhon and Ben Simol and relinquished all claim to it.¹⁰²

When this incident demonstrated the undesirability of leaving the garden without tenants, Montefiore turned to the rabbi of the Maghrebi community in Jerusalem, David Ben Shimon, for help in finding new settlers. In 1868, the rabbi sent to Jaffa four or five families from Jerusalem, who were to earn their livelihood from the garden, together with Israel Ben Simhon. However, poor living conditions, hardships and dangers discouraged them from remaining more than a few months.¹⁰³

In spite of the efforts of Ben Simhon and Ben Simol to revive the garden by planting more trees and improving the irrigation and housing, they were unable to make it more profitable. To Montefiore's distress, expenses consistently exceeded income.¹⁰⁴ Montefiore's insistence on hiring only Jewish

99 Montefiore diary, July 15, 1875, pp. 68-69.

100 *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 6, no. 43, October 26, 1863, p. 344; Halevi, p. 155.

101 Yosef Blumenthal, *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, no. 22, 1865, pp. 343-344; Loewe, 1890, II, p. 187.

102 Ḥabīb Asad Khayyāt, the British vice-consul in Jaffa, to Wood, the acting consul in Jerusalem, May 23, 1867, ISA 123-1/9; the declaration of G.J. Adams, president of the American Colony on July 29, 1867, CZA, J41/436. I am indebted to Yoram Meyorik of the CZA for drawing my attention to this document.

103 *Ha-Havazelet* in Ram, p. 33, and Ben Simhon's letter in Halevi, 1977, p. 156.

104 Ram, pp. 33-36, and the exchange of letters and reports between Ben Simol and Ben Simhon, and Rabbi Adler and Montefiore, from the 1860s to the 1890s, CZA, A153/127/1.

labor may have contributed to this, as Ben Simhon and Ben Simol suggest in a letter from 1885.¹⁰⁵

Contemporary sources differ with regard to the failure of Montefiore's grove. How was it possible, some wondered, that this garden constantly suffered losses while all the others in the Jaffa vicinity were flourishing?¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, distinguished citizens of Jaffa, closely acquainted with the difficult conditions, praised the devotion of Ben Simhon and Ben Simol, whose investment of personal assets "had made this *bayāra* the finest in Jaffa" despite its remoteness and isolation, and the dangers involved in maintaining it.¹⁰⁷

The "Model Farm"

Another venture undertaken at approximately the same time as the purchase of the Montefiore grove, was inspired by a combination of missionary and financial motives. This was the "model farm" in Jaffa—the brainchild of an association of businessmen in England interested in agricultural development on the one hand, and in supporting the converted Jews of Palestine on the other.¹⁰⁸ The association's board of directors authorized a clergyman from Leicester, Alfred Augustus Isaacs, who visited Palestine at the end of 1856, to purchase land in its name in the Jaffa region.

In November 1856, with the help of the Prussian consul Rosen and his representative in Jaffa, Murād, Isaacs bought a well-tended *bayāra* of thirty-six dunams from a Jaffa resident named Manuel Kalis. On the grounds were several buildings, in addition to orange, lemon, apple, pear, pomegranate, peach and palm trees. On the same occasion he also purchased the land outside the *bayāra*. In his memoirs, Isaacs offers a detailed description of the sale and registration of the property in his name despite his British citizenship. The transaction is of special interest because it was one of the first in which land was registered in the name of a non-Ottoman through ordinary procedures. In this case, the timing was right: the *Khaṭṭ-i-Humāyūn* reforms

105 Letter from Israel Ben Simhon and Jacob Ben Simol to Natan Adler Hacohen and Sir Moses Montefiore, June 13, 1885, CZA, A153/127/1.

106 Deunard, *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 37; also see the report of *Jewish Chronicle* correspondent, who visited the garden on Dec. 26, 1875; Brill, pp. 124-126; and Goldmann, *Ha-Asif*, vol. 1, 1885, pp. 133-134.

107 Document signed by 14 Jaffa notables in 1865, CZA, A153/127/1, and cited in Ram, 1978, pp. 35-37.

108 Ward, pp. 128-130. According to Isaacs' letter to the editor of *Jewish Chronicle* (June 26, 1872, p. 163), the farm was established for two reasons: a) To provide a refuge for Christian Israelites and encourage them to engage in industry; b) To motivate the Jews of the Holy Land to work the land of their forefathers as a means of livelihood.

had just been issued that year. However, Isaacs himself states that this privilege was soon abolished.¹⁰⁹ A year later, the *Jewish Chronicle* writes in a critical tone about a missionary society that acquired land near Jaffa to establish a farm for Jewish apostates. The society was seeking an annual sum of £500 to support the venture.¹¹⁰

In March 1857, the London society sent Paul Isaacs Hirshon, a convert to Christianity, to manage the farm. He came with his wife and set to work, cultivating the land and building himself a spacious home. In addition, wells were dug and equipped with pumps imported from England.¹¹¹ After a visit to the farm in 1859-1860, Ward relates that the total expenditure for land, construction, salaries, and farm work came to £228. The produce would be sold in the local markets or exported, furnishing a good income for the residents and leaving over enough for dividends to the members of the society or further investment.¹¹²

How successful the farm was during 1859-1869, remains unknown. In 1869, however, the organization in London signed a contract transferring it to the Hebrew Christian Mutual Aid Society (founded in 1866 by a Jerusalem group of converts). According to the contract, the transfer was for a period of thirty years and the farm received an annual subsidy of £100. The agreement could be cancelled by either party at the end of each three-year period.¹¹³ The Mutual Aid Society proceeded to lease the farm for two years (1.4.1871-1.4.1873) to Jacob Siekinger, a German resident of Jaffa, who together with his wife was to supervise the converts who worked there and persuade them to read the Scriptures. Siekinger would receive a yearly salary of £60, and an additional

109 Isaacs, pp. 1-11. Despite his British citizenship, the land purchased by Montefiore also bore his name because he had a *firman* from the Sultan.

110 *Jewish Chronicle*, March 13, 1857, p. 4; June 19, 1857, p. 10.

111 This house, which is well preserved, is located on the grounds of the Electric Corporation in Tel Aviv, 16 Hahashmal Street. It is built of dark *kurkar* stone, one story high, with two main entrances opening into a large central entrance hall. The hall is vaulted, and around it are six rooms with cross vaults. The walls are 60 cm.-1 meter thick, and the floor is of white marble. Inside the building stairs led to the roof, which was used for observation and other purposes. The wells are also visible today: one is very large (20 meters in diameter and 30 meters deep) and the other, smaller (2.5 meters in diameter, depth unknown). Around them are various installations for drawing water and directing it into canals and a tunnel. A number of ancient sycamore and palm trees are still growing on the property. With the expansion of Tel Aviv, the land was purchased by Jews (not from the original owners) and P. Rutenberg built Tel Aviv's first power station there (dedicated in 1923).

112 Ward, pp. 128-130.

113 According to the ruling on the Isaacs vs Siekinger case brought before the German Consulate in 1875, ISA, 123-1/9.

£30 for hired help. He was advanced the sum of 200 napoleons, to be repaid at 10 percent interest.¹¹⁴

However, in October 1872, the two parties decided mutually to end their agreement, whereupon Siekinger entered into a lengthy legal battle over what he claimed was an outstanding debt of the Jerusalem group. As a result, Siekinger remained on the farm and refused to surrender it to its London owners for over twenty years.¹¹⁵ Without lingering on details, the correspondence on this issue is of special importance because of the insights offered about the inter-consular legal system and how it interacted with the local Ottoman courts.¹¹⁶ In any case, we see that in 1875, the “model farm”, like other European-owned gardens in the vicinity and the Montefiore grove, was operating at a loss despite its natural endowments. In his verdict the German consul von Münchhausen states that the costs of the “model farm” were always higher than its earnings, and that it was known for not being able to cover its expenses.¹¹⁷

In 1892, after many years of dispute, Isaacs tried to sell the farm to Mr. Paul of Jaffa, but the transaction was delayed because the Ottoman government changed its status from freehold land (*mulk*) to state land (*mīrī*), as it did with many of the gardens around Jaffa.¹¹⁸ By 1900, however, the farm seems to have been sold.¹¹⁹

The American Colony

Toward the mid-1860s, another surge of agricultural settlement took place in the Jaffa area, this too propelled by religious belief. However, unlike the attempts of 1850s, typified by small groups or individuals employing local Arab and Jewish labor, the settlers now arrived in large, well-organized groups, hoping to found agricultural colonies.

114 The contract between the society and Seikinger (Jaffa, April 1, 1873, ISA, 123-1/9) was signed by the secretary of the society, M.I. Shapira, and Seikinger, with Max Unger of Jaffa as a witness. A gold napoleon was worth twenty francs. According to the ruling (see note 113, above), the advance to Seikinger was equivalent to 4,000 francs.

115 See correspondence between Isaacs, Friedlander and Noël Temple Moore, the British consul, in the ISA, 123-1/9.

116 *Ibid.*

117 See note 113, above. It seems that despite an Ottoman court order to return the property to its owners, and the intervention of the British Foreign Office, the ruling was never acted upon because the German Consulate claimed the order conflicted with its earlier decision (see Isaacs' memorandum of Oct. 1877, ISA, *ibid.*)

118 Report of John Dixon, British consul in Jerusalem, June 26, 1894, ISA, 123-1/9.

119 Hanaver (1900, p. 130) speaks of the “model farm” as insignificant.

The first group, which reached Jaffa in late September 1866, was made up of Americans from Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, members of the Church of the Messiah.¹²⁰ Their leader was George Washington Joshua Adams, the founder of the Church and a former Mormon. Influenced by the religious atmosphere, faith in the Scriptures and the millenarist beliefs current in America during the 1840s and 1850s, Adams claimed in 1859 that God had called upon him to work for the revival of the Holy Land. The Second Coming of Christ and the return of the Jews to Canaan were imminent, he said, but since conditions in the Holy Land were not yet suitable for that event, it was incumbent upon him and the members of his new church to ready it by going there, establishing large, impressive institutions and introducing modern farming. Adams embarked on a spirited campaign throughout New England, and in 1862, began publishing a periodical called *The Sword of Truth and the Harbinger of Peace* to sound out his ideas. An excerpt from it is illustrative of his philosophy:

But alas! alas for them—Israel—and alas for us, children of the Gentiles, whose millenium must await their millenium, because it cannot commence so long as we tread them down, and our times are not fulfilled, and Antichrist had not reigned add [sic.] passed away, and the tribulations inflicted upon the Jews, as a re-gathered nation, but his persecutions have not ceased. (For when the Millenium comes at last, it will come to call, both Jews and Gentiles).¹²¹

After several years of religious activity and attracting followers, Adams decided to implement his beliefs. Before bringing the members of his church to Palestine, he founded an emigration society and made a pilot trip with his assistant, Abraham McKenzie, to choose a suitable site, investigate local conditions, establish contacts and prepare the land for settlement.¹²² The Jaffa vicinity was found most appropriate for their needs, both financial and agricultural. They invested the American vice-consul in Jaffa, a Jewish apostate named Hermann Loewenthal, with the power to buy or lease land for them, and to assist in their absorption. At the same time, Morris, the American

120 The American Colony in Jaffa has been written about by Vilnay, 1939, pp. 72-75; Idelberg, 1957, pp. 224-230, and P. Amann. The full story was reconstructed in a book by R. Holmes, *The Forerunners*.

121 Swift, pp. 200-201; in many issues of *The Sword of Truth and the Harbinger of Peace*, the organ of the Church of the Messiah; for example, vol.4, June 15, 1867, pp. 57-59.

122 Victor Beauboucher, the American consul in Jerusalem, to Seward, the Secretary of State in Washington, on April 3, 1867 and July 11, 1867; Hermann Loewenthal, the American vice-consul in Jaffa to Beauboucher on April 9, 1867, USNA in Jerusalem, T471; Johannes Frutiger also mentions Adams and McKenzie being in Jerusalem, in the diary he kept in 1865.

ambassador in Constantinople, applied to the central government for a *firman* that would legalize their settlement in the Ottoman Empire as foreign citizens. His efforts were unsuccessful and he made this known to those concerned; but this did not deter the group.¹²³

Upon Adams' return to Maine, he described the settlement prospects in glowing terms: the climate was healthy; there was little illness; the soil was fertile and capable of producing three crops a year without irrigation or fertilizers; land was available in abundance; and the cost of living was very low.¹²⁴ Inspired by his enthusiasm, his followers began to prepare for their trip in earnest. They hired a 600-ton steamship (the S.S. Nellie Chapin), collected \$42,954, and assembled for loading pre-fabricated wooden buildings (for homes, a church, a school, a store and a sawmill), rosin for shellac, barrels of kerosene, construction materials, furniture, household implements, tools, etc. Special thought was given to the type of machines, tools, seeds and animals that could further modern farming. Thus the Americans brought with them Palestine's first farm machinery: Johnson's patent shifting mold-board and gang plough, Smith's double-back action drill, and a wonderful combined self-adjusting reaping, threshing, sacking, grinding and bolting machine.¹²⁵

On September 22, 1866, forty-three American families belonging to the Church of the Messiah (157 individuals), landed in Jaffa. They had to remain at the seashore for some time, and the harsh conditions there led to thirteen deaths, eight of them small children, during the months of October and November.¹²⁶

The local population welcomed the newcomers. The Jews in particular wished them success, recognizing the impact this would have on Jewish settlement.¹²⁷ On the other hand, the local Ottoman authorities, despite their initial assistance, were opposed in principle to the purchase and farming of land in Palestine without official permission from Constantinople.¹²⁸ The

123 The American Consulate, indicating neither sender nor addressee, July 13, 1866; and Loewenthal's declaration on Sept. 26, 1866, USNA, T471.

124 Affidavits against Adams made by his followers to V. Beauboucher, the American consul in Jerusalem, on April 13, 1867, USNA, *ibid.*

125 Swift, p. 201; *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov.30, 1866, p. 2; Nov.9, 1866, p. 2; Feb.2, 1867, p. 8; April 26, 1867, p. 3.

126 A complete list of names, ages, and hometowns appears in the report of the American consul in Jerusalem on Oct.22, 1866, USNA, *op. cit.* Also see report of the American consul in Jerusalem, Dec. 31, 1866, *ibid.*

127 See, for example, articles in *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 3, no. 20, 10 November 8, 1867, pp. 305-307; *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 4, February 15, 1867, p. 57; and *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 11, no. 30, July 31, 1867, p. 236.

128 Reports of the American consul in Jerusalem regarding the policy of 'Izzat Pasha, the district governor, submitted on Oct. 18 and 19, 1866, USNA, *op. cit.*

emigration of these forty-three families also made headlines in America. Important newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Philadelphia Presbyterian* wrote about them.¹²⁹ Some time later, the families settled on a tract of land purchased from Sheikh Muḥammad Sharḳāwī which, to the distress of many of them, was registered in the name of an Ottoman citizen. On this site, about a kilometer northeast of Jaffa near the road to Nablus, they proceeded to erect their wooden houses. They also leased an additional 1,200 dunams where they planted corn, wheat, potatoes and vegetables. As mentioned earlier, among the lands leased by them was the Montefiore Grove, which had been untended.¹³⁰ Apparently, only eight houses were completed. They were American-style cottages with green shutters, each one with a pretty garden around it.¹³¹

During their first months, the settlers encountered many hardships. They were unfamiliar with the local climate, way of life, and agricultural conditions; in addition, bureaucratic problems drew them into conflict with their legal representatives—Victor Beauboucher, the American consul in Jerusalem, and Hermann Loewenthal, his deputy in Jaffa. Disillusionment and the daily struggle to make ends meet also gave rise to quarrels among the settlers, some of whom blamed their leader, Adams, and his domineering wife, for all their troubles. By December 1866, several families were demanding to return to America, others joining them as the months went by.¹³² Under pressure, another facet of Adams' personality emerged: he began to drink and borrow money which he had no way of repaying.

At the same time, Abe (Abraham) McKenzie, Adams' assistant who was still in Maine, continued to organize a second group of settlers. They were to leave for Jaffa in August 1867 and, like the first group, intended to lease a ship and load it with lumber, farm machinery, furniture, etc.¹³³

Conflicting reports received in Maine and by the State Department in Washington about the fate of the first group of colonists, aroused the concern of the American government, which had mixed feelings about the venture. Investigations were thus carried out to determine the true state of affairs. An American journalist, Walter Bidwell, the American consul in Beirut, L.

129 *Jewish Chronicle* quotes these papers profusely in 1866-67.

130 Idelberg, *ibid*, p. 226; *Jewish Chronicle*, April 26, 1867, p. 36; Beauboucher's report to the U.S. Secretary of State on April 3, 1867, USNA, T471.

131 According to a report on Sept. 28, 1881 by Klenk, chairman of the Templar colony which rose on the same site in 1869, ISA 67/1529. These houses may be seen today in the area of Auerbach and Harabi Mibacharach streets in Jaffa. They are described by Swift, who visited the American colony in 1867 (*ibid*, p. 197).

132 Beauboucher's reports on Dec.2, 1866, Jan.28, 1867 and March 30, 1867, USNA, *op. cit*.

133 *The Sword of Truth and the Harbinger of Peace*, June 15, 1867, p. 63.

Johnson, and the consul in Alexandria, Hale, were sent to Jaffa.¹³⁴ While their reports did not settle the controversy, it was quite clear that the colony had failed even before it had gotten off the ground. In June and July, the economic, social and emotional state of the settlers continued to deteriorate. Most sought to return to America but, unable to pay their way, were forced to send an emissary to Paris and London to solicit contributions.¹³⁵ In August 1867, several colonists left on their own. Most of the others followed in October, with the help of an American journalist named Moses Beach who was visiting Jerusalem. Remaining in Jaffa were Adams and his wife, and twenty-six settlers, thirteen of them children.¹³⁶ The quarreling, however, persisted, as we see from the stream of complaints to the American consul in Jerusalem. The chief instigator seems to have been Adams' wife, who was even in conflict with her husband.¹³⁷ Finally, at the beginning of July 1868, the Adams family left, too, "with the intention of collecting money to strengthen and rehabilitate colonization." The twenty-two settlers who remained were described by the American consul as quiet, conscientious, law-abiding citizens.¹³⁸

In retrospect, Adams may have erred in his vision and personal behavior as leader, but his methods were right: making a pilot trip, choosing the best site in the mid-1860s for agricultural settlement situated near a developing port, and preparing a reserve force to back up the first group of settlers. Moreover, he understood that only by changing farming methods and introducing modern machinery could agricultural progress and economic success be achieved. What he did not foresee were the legal and administrative difficulties he came up against, the hostility of the local population, and the need for much greater financial backing than his group had at its disposal. Nor did he visualize his own response and that of his companions to high pressure situations.

Notwithstanding, this brief episode, lasting no more than a year, had a tremendous impact—both on the debate in the Jewish world and Palestine over the prospects for further colonization by Europeans and Americans,¹³⁹

134 See correspondence from 1867 in USNA and various letters in the manuscript collection of the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL), MS var 849.

135 A petition sent by the Jaffa settlers to Senators Fessenden and Morrill in Maine, describes their terrible plight, and appeals for help in returning to Maine (MS var 849, July 9, 1867); also see Beauboucher's reports to Seward in Washington, July 11 and 18, 1867, USNA, *op. cit.*

136 Beauboucher's reports to Seward on Sept. 27 and Oct. 8, 1867, USNA, *ibid.*

137 See series of appeals by the Jaffa settlers to Johnson, the American consul in Jerusalem, in April and May 1868, USNA, *ibid.*

138 Johnson to Seward on June 7th and Sept. 30, 1868, USNA, *ibid.*

139 Many articles on this subject appear in *Jewish Chronicle*, *Ha-Levanon* and *Ha-Maggid*.



German Colony in Jaffa, including wall and gate (Manning, 1874)

and on actual settlement attempts in the years that followed. One of them was on the very same spot near Jaffa that had been abandoned by the Americans.

The German Colony

Another attempt to settle near Jaffa was embarked upon by the Temple Society, a sect which emerged in Württemberg, Germany in the nineteenth century. This sect was known for its religious fervor and Pietist tendencies. Early in the 1850s, the notion of convening with God in Jerusalem became a part of the Temple Society's ideology.¹⁴⁰ We learn from their newspaper and other sources that the Templers were well-informed about colonization efforts

¹⁴⁰ Carmel, 1973, pp. 4-12.



Identical picture of German Colony, copied and 'improved' by Thomson (1881)

in Palestine. They kept up a correspondence with Frederick Steinbeck and knew about the projects initiated by Minor and Adams.¹⁴¹

In 1854, the leaders of the Temple Society began to prepare for emigration to Palestine. They asked the authorities in Württemberg to obtain a *firman* for them from the Sultan, but to no avail. Still, they continued their activities and in 1858, sent a three-man expedition to Palestine for three months. This expedition concluded that time was not yet ripe for emigration. In fact, the Templers' plans came to fruition only at the end of 1868, when leaders Christoph Hoffmann and George David Hardegg left to set up outposts in Palestine together with a group of believers.¹⁴²

Their first stop was Haifa. However, tension between the two leaders led

141 Carmel, *ibid*; Carmel, 1985, pp. 72-82; and Minor, pp. 125-127.

142 Carmel, 1973, pp. 7-14.

Hoffmann and his followers to leave and move to Jaffa. In March 1869, they acquired a number of buildings from a missionary named Metzler, as well as the lands of the American Colony from Adams. They also took over some of the homes that the Americans had abandoned.¹⁴³

The Templers continued to run the missionary enterprises founded by Metzler, which included a hospital and pharmacy, a sawmill, an olive press and a steam mill. Other occupations engaged in were transport and conveyance, crafts, commerce and the free professions—but no agriculture. In 1870, there were 110 settlers, most of whom resided in the colony. The remainder lived in town or in the nearby gardens. Meanwhile, the Templers purchased the rest of the homes built by the Americans and added new ones. By 1881 there were 26 houses, 8 of them made of wood. The colony was enclosed by a stone wall overgrown with prickly pears, and its two gates were locked at night.¹⁴⁴

As the colony was limited in size and surrounded by gardens, there was no possibility for expansion or farming. In August 1871, the settlers were able to purchase 500 dunams of land near the Montefiore Grove from the Greek Convent. There they lay the cornerstone for a new Templer farm colony: Saroná.¹⁴⁵ Like the Americans, they suffered from a very high death toll, particularly among the infants. With time, however, the situation improved. By 1875, Saroná had eighty inhabitants. Late that year, they increased their farmland by 1,000 dunams and slowly began to recover from the trauma of the early days.

The land upon which Saroná was built was measured and apportioned by Theodor Sandel, the son of a physician from the Jaffa colony. The first 500 dunams were divided into 18 plots, four of them reserved for public use. The settlers purchased their plots from the society at full cost, after showing proof that they could maintain themselves for two years—in retrospect, a step that was quite justified.¹⁴⁶

Mikve Yisrael

Yet another agricultural enterprise in the Jaffa area during this period was the Mikve Yisrael school, founded after the visit to Palestine of Karl Netter on behalf of the Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris. Seeing the misery of the Jews in the Holy Land, Netter decided that one solution lay in training them to be farmers.

143 *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 27-35.

144 Klenk's report to Murad on Sept. 28, 1881, ISA, 67/1529.

145 Carmel, 1973, p. 29-33.

146 *Ibid.*

His first step was to investigate the few Jewish attempts to engage in agriculture: in Qālūnyā (Motza, outside of Jerusalem), and in Clossen's garden and the Montefiore Grove in Jaffa. Farming, he concluded, was essential, and Jaffa was the best place for it. However, the methods had to be chosen carefully to avoid failures like the Montefiore Grove.

With this in mind, he drew up a plan for a school to "prepare the younger generation for working the land while easing the suffering of the current generation."¹⁴⁷ Initially, the school would accept an annual quota of ten students, aged 13-16, for three years of study. At the same time, plots of land would be purchased each year for the settlement of ten Jewish families, who would employ the school graduates. The upkeep of the institution would come from contributions, income from crops, and the sale or leasing of farms in different parts of the country.¹⁴⁸

At the beginning of 1869, the Alliance Israélite decided to open an agricultural school in the Jaffa vicinity. Netter's idea was to use Clossen's estate, which would be purchased from his heir, but in the end, he applied to the Ottoman authorities for land.¹⁴⁹ On April 5, 1870, Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz issued a *firman* allocating 2,400 dunams of government land near Jaffa for the establishment of the school. The Alliance Israélite was freed from paying rent for the first ten years, after which the annual fee was set at 7,000 piasters (1,604 francs).¹⁵⁰

Thus Mikve Yisrael was born. By 1882, there were over fifty students, with the number of teachers and employees between five and ten.¹⁵¹ Of the land at the school's disposal, approximately seventy dunams were planted with fruit trees, chiefly citrus, sixty-five dunams with vineyards, and the remainder, with field crops. A portion of the latter was leased to Arab villagers from Yāzūr in exchange for half their grain harvest. Over the next two decades, land development continued, several wells were dug and fitted with waterwheels, and a wine press was opened.¹⁵²

Throughout this period the school required financial assistance. Bearing in mind that Y. Brill is skeptical about these figures, its earnings in 1882 were 26,500 francs, compared with expenses totalling 59,000 francs. The deficit was covered by the Alliance Israélite.¹⁵³

147 Karl Netter, report on the Jews in Eastern countries, Jan.11, 1869, cited by Gideon Katz, director of Mikve Yisrael Agricultural School.

148 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

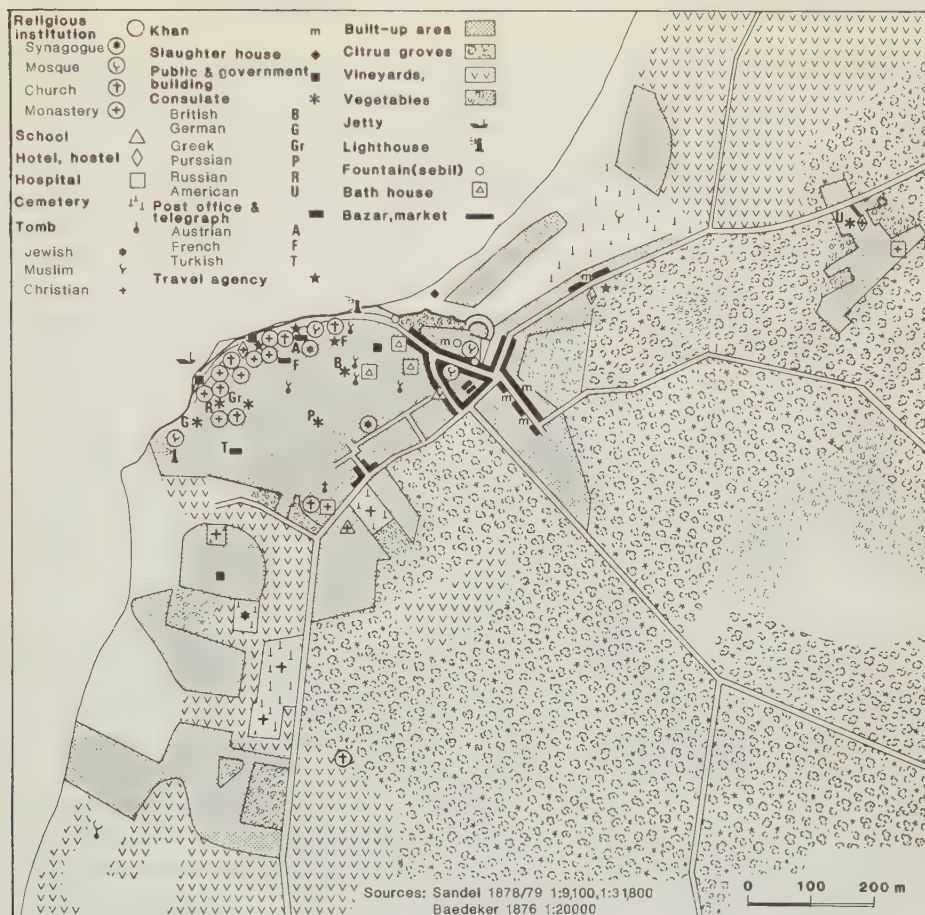
149 Brill, pp. 127-128.

150 Brill, pp. 133-135.

151 Brill, pp. 147-149.

152 Brill, *ibid.*; Luncz, 1891, pp. 79-81.

153 Brill, pp. 147-149.



Map 9: Jaffa Landmarks, 1878/9

In Luncz's opinion, Mikve Yisrael did not achieve its goals during the first two decades because a) it did not have the backing of the scholars and rabbis of Jerusalem, and was thus attended only by neglected youngsters; and b) the activity of the school was not accompanied by simultaneous progress in agricultural colonization.¹⁵⁴

Yet Mikve Yisrael a decade after its founding should not be judged solely by financial criteria. More important are the fact that it remained in existence, the impact its activities had on local and Diaspora Jewry, and its serving as a center for various settlement societies.

154 Luncz, *ibid.* pp. 79-81.

Motives for Choosing Jaffa

Why was Jaffa such a magnet for foreign settlement during the 1850s and 1860s? The reply may be found in the letters of the project initiators and settlers. Writing to the newspaper of the Rhenish Westphalian Jews' Society in 1851, a German living in the village of Artās urges potential settlers from Württemberg and Alsace to build large colonies near the coast, where export prospects were best. He also advises them to come in groups rather than as individual families, and to bring with them adequate resources. According to this settler, the Prussian consul in Beirut, Weber, regarded the coastline between Mt. Carmel and Jaffa as the best place for a colony. There were wells, caves usable for initial shelter, an abundance of wood, and fertile soil.¹⁵⁵

In 1853, Moshe Sacks explains his choice of the Jaffa area for the establishment of the first Jewish farm by the proximity of the Jaffa port to Jerusalem, the atmosphere of freedom, the license given to foreigners to work in agriculture, the low cost of land, the possibility of having the consulates oversee finances, and the ventures already embarked upon, similar to those of Mrs. Minor and a number of Prussians.¹⁵⁶

Warder Cresson, in a letter to a friend in England in 1856, also gives reasons for developing agriculture near Jaffa and utilizing for this purpose money donated to help the Jews in Palestine during the Crimean War: Jaffa's climate was excellent, water for irrigation was almost unlimited, and the soil was rich, fertile, and suitable for many crops, such as beans, potatoes, Indian corn, beets, and radishes. Harvests were bountiful, fruit trees of various types could be grown, sheep and goats thrived, security was improving, roads were being paved, and local authorities were gaining stability. However, Cresson notes, the Bedouins were still plundering crops.¹⁵⁷

In 1867, Rabbi Yehuda Halevi, the rabbi of Jaffa, emphasizes the availability of land both north and south of Jaffa, and adds that thousands of people could be settled along the coast.¹⁵⁸ Adams' followers heard enthusiastic sermons about Jaffa after his return from his first trip to Palestine. In describing this "paradise on earth," he mentions the possibility of leasing thousands of acres of land at extremely low rates, i.e. becoming rich almost effortlessly by hiring tenant farmers. The land was fertile and productive, living expenses were very

155 Minor, pp. 121-123.

156 *The Occident*, vol. 11, pp. 485-486 (letter of Moshe Sacks, Jerusalem, on Sept. 19, 1853).

157 Warder Cresson's letter to a friend in England in 1856, *Jewish Chronicle*, July 5, 1861, p. 2.

158 Rabbi Yehuda Halevi's letter to Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 4, no. 13, July 5, 1867, pp. 199-201.

low, and illness almost non-existent. One could live a life of ease and luxury.¹⁵⁹

Thus we see that the Americans' choice of Jaffa was guided not only by agricultural considerations, but also by material ones: the prospects of earning a good income by being diligent and resourceful. Among the enterprises proposed in 1867 by the American colonists in Jaffa were harnessing the al-'Auja River (the Yarkon) to power cotton and wool factories and five flour mills; operating a sugar cane processing plant and an oil press; running a hotel; developing a stagecoach line; and opening a butcher shop.¹⁶⁰

On February 23, 1867, a settler named John Drisko enumerates the following business opportunities in the Jaffa area: purchasing one or two citrus groves or a plot of land to be planted with citrus; opening a sugar factory; opening an oil press; operating a cotton mill on the al-'Auja River; opening a steam-powered flour mill; running a small fleet of 100-200 ton steamships; acquiring a small tugboat to transport cargo to and from ships in the harbor; and opening a shop for American and European goods. Drisko goes on to extol Jaffa's importance as the port for all of central and southern Palestine, offering entrepreneurs a wealth of investment options.¹⁶¹

At a general meeting of the Alliance Israélite society marking the establishment of the Mikve Yisrael agricultural school in 1869, Isaac Cremieux says Jaffa was selected for the promising richness of its land, for its rank as an important commercial center maintaining relations with the coast of Suez, Ismailiya and Egypt, and for its proximity to Jerusalem.¹⁶²

To summarize, Jaffa was chosen because its physical characteristics were good (mild climate, water all year round, fertile soil suited to many crops, including fruit trees and vegetables), vacant land and cultivated gardens could be bought freely, it was an important transportation and communications center (a major port with considerable maritime traffic, an interregional and domestic road network, a good export and import infrastructure), and it was an urban center with a developing economy (opportunities for selling produce, obtaining services, finding work, and developing new businesses). Other considerations were access to consular representatives who could offer legal protection, and the close relations between Jaffa and Jerusalem. Being near the harbor also gave the settlers a greater sense of security: they could maintain ties

159 Affidavits made to V. Beauboucher, the American consul in Jerusalem, on Dec.20, 1866, USNA, T471.

160 Quote from *The Sword of Truth and the Harbinger of Peace*, *Jewish Chronicle*, June 23, 1867, p. 3.

161 *Ibid.*

162 Netter, (see note 147, above).

with their home country, and enjoy the protection (psychological, at least) of the foreign naval forces frequently stationed offshore.¹⁶³

Also working to Jaffa's advantage was the principle of continuity. As the colonization attempts there had been widely publicized in the Jewish and Christian press throughout the world, Jaffa had gained a certain measure of international recognition. Thus when new settlers were deciding where to go, Jaffa was already more familiar to them than other places.

Another feature of European and American colonization in the Jaffa area conflicts somewhat with the common belief that the settlers' motives were entirely religious or ideological. From the reasons cited by various colonists, it is clear that economic opportunity and the desire for financial success also played a vital role. This is equally true for Jews, Americans, Templers, and other foreigners who did not belong to organized groups.

Some of the colonization attempts were seemingly utopian and their leaders, controversial. More careful scrutiny shows that they were certainly rational, but somewhat ahead of their time, anticipating processes that came to the fore only several decades later. Nevertheless, they greatly influenced the urban development of Jaffa and of Palestine as a whole. They brought to Jaffa new ideas and technological innovations in the spheres of building, farming, crafts and transportation. Furthermore, they showed the local inhabitants that there were norms and standards other than their own.

Building Activity and Its Initiators

Building styles changed little at first. Within the old city, houses maintained their traditional appearance. However, as time went on there were signs of change, both in the public buildings erected inside and outside the walls by the Christian sects (churches, hospices, and convents), and in the new private homes.

During this period, the Greek Orthodox built a splendid new church on the grounds of the Convent of Michael and Gabriel the Archangels in old Jaffa. The church had beautiful wooden carvings brought from Constantinople.¹⁶⁴ On a spacious plot of land in the southeast of the city, the Copts built a small church and a very large hospice with three floors and a tiled roof. Around the buildings was a flowering garden irrigated by a well and pool feeding into a network of canals.¹⁶⁵

The Catholics built the Franciscan Hospice¹⁶⁶ and the Sisters of St. Joseph

163 Gawler in Kressel, 1976, p. 157.

164 Patterson, 1852, p. 254.

165 This compound, which can still be seen today, appears on Sandel's 1878/79 map.

166 Tobler, 1853/4, II, p. 621.



Typical building style outside wall, no. 16 Yefet Street (Kark, 1978)

Hospital, an impressive rectangular-shaped building of three stories surrounding an open court, which also housed a small church. Under the direction of the Scottish Miss Arnott, the Protestants completed a two-story girls' school, rectangular in shape with an open inner courtyard and a tiled roof.¹⁶⁷ Each of these compounds had a high wall around it, and an iron gate which facilitated control over entry and exit.

The building style in the neighborhoods where the old wall and moat had been, and along the main highways, was indicative of wealth and prosperity. The density of building was much lower than in the old city. Commercial and crafts shops intermingled in these neighborhoods with residences, the former on the lower floors and the latter above them. Thus the buildings were designed as large, vaulted halls opening onto the street, above which were roomy private apartments. A prominent feature of these apartments was a proliferation of

¹⁶⁷ These two buildings (the Catholic hospital and the Arnott school) are located on Yefet Street. The first is now a Ministry of Health mental health center while the second is still an Anglican school.



Early twentieth-century building, balcony embellished with wood (Kark, 1977)

windows and doors with pointed arches. These were arranged in groups of two or three, and lent an appearance of comfort. Most of the apartments had balconies overlooking the street (see remains of balcony structure on photo of Yefet Street building, p. 97). Buildings of similar style and size, used only as residences, were built by affluent citizens of Jaffa, sometimes in the gardens around the city.

These buildings signal the introduction of new technologies and materials in the construction industry. The traditional *kurkar* was still the basic material (generally plastered and painted red or white), but wood, glass, and roofing tiles appeared more and more.

One neighborhood which stood out architecturally in the 1860s was the American Colony. Its eight houses, built in 1866-1867 by the American colonists, were two-story wooden structures with cellars and attics, just like the homes then common in Maine. They were usually built around a very thick main beam, which supported the walls and floor, and the wooden planks on

the exterior walls were roughened to assist the adherence of plaster. Some of these homes still stand today.¹⁶⁸

When the Templers settled on the same spot in 1869, they utilized the infrastructure established by the Americans and continued to develop the area in a European style. The colony was planned around two main streets surrounded by a wall with two gates, one facing north and one south (see below).

According to the report of the colony chairman, Klenk, in 1881, eighteen *kurkar* homes had been added to the existing wooden ones, as well as a school and a hospital.¹⁶⁹ The Germans seem to have utilized local construction methods, and perhaps local builders. Some of the houses were not made entirely from *kurkar*, but from a filler of *kurkar* and sand set into wooden frames and then plastered.

The European character of the colony was dominant. Solomon describes it as follows:



Jaffa's German Colony, including wooden homes built by Americans (CZA, circa 1920)

168 The colony was situated near the junction of Auerbach and Baer-Hoffmann streets in modern Jaffa.

169 Klenk's report to Murad, the Jaffa vice-consul, on Sept. 28, 1881, ISA, 67/1529.

...Their homes are built in an orderly sequence as in all European cities. With its broad streets and elegant buildings, a person might forget he was walking in a desolate land and imagine himself in one of the civilized cities of Europe.¹⁷⁰

S. Ben Zion emphasizes the cleanliness, order and greenery — “in short, a piece of modern Europe”.¹⁷¹ Oliphant tells of neat stone houses along a broad main street, two rows of shade trees, and an aura of tidiness that the Germans excelled at creating.¹⁷²

Jaffa’s German Colony, in overall design, layout of streets, and building style (see photo), was to have a great influence on the development of other residential quarters in Jaffa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—particularly the new Jewish quarters.

At first, building incentives in Jaffa came largely from the government. However, after Ibrāhīm Pasha was forced to leave these died down. Perhaps this was due to the new appointment system and the rapid turnover of governors. However, private building undertaken by churches and entrepreneurs, was on the rise. The churches built religious, educational, and health institutions, as well as hospices to accommodate pilgrims. Occasionally, they built for commercial purposes, to bring money into the church coffers.

The entrepreneurs viewed construction as a business investment and a way to better their living standards; they built apartments, stores, warehouses and workshops for rental. The majority were Muslim Arabs and Christians of various denominations (particularly Greek Orthodox, Catholics, Armenians, and Maronites). Very active in this sphere were the consular representatives of the Western powers, some of whom belonged to prestigious local families or had moved their families to Jaffa.

The Jews took little part in these new building initiatives. According to the censuses carried out by Montefiore,¹⁷³ Jaffa’s poor Jewish community had to rent buildings for its public facilities (synagogues, ritual baths, schoolrooms). Housing, too, was usually rented in old Jaffa rather than built or purchased.

URBAN EXPANSION: 1882-1914

Outside the Walls

During this three decade period we should distinguish between the changes taking place in old and new Jaffa. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, the old

170 Solomon, *Masa’*, p. 107.

171 Ben Zion, 1949, pp. 112-113.

172 Wilson, 1880, III, p. 142.

173 Montefiore, *Censuses*.



Northern view of Jaffa in early twentieth century (courtesy of Leora and David Kroyanker)

town wall was gradually demolished. The old gate and adjoining citadel were replaced by bazaars. The new gate was no longer used because the portion of the wall beside it had been torn down. The moat was being filled in and would later become a road (see Map 7).¹⁷⁴ Brill writes in 1882:

The streets and houses inside the city have not changed from what they were nineteen years ago (when I left the Holy Land for Europe), but outside, the city wears a new face. Each day, new buildings multiply and the Yishuv expands, to the joy of those who wish for the settlement of Eretz Israel.¹⁷⁵

Shops, *khāns* and warehouses were established outside the wall, along the highways. Private homes were built to the north and south. In 1880, Schwarz tells of many new homes on both sides of the road to Gaza, most of them belonging to Christians. Between this road and the sea, a number of small villages appeared, inhabited by the poorest sector of the population.¹⁷⁶

174 Schwarz, 1880. This road ran along modern-day Yefet Street.

175 Brill, p. 196.

176 Schwarz, 1880. Also see maps of Jaffa from 1878/79, *loc. cit.*

Because of the gardens and groves occupying the area, construction in the east was very limited. However, the wealthy inhabitants, vice-consuls and other notables owned villas in the gardens, where they spent certain seasons of the year. Another reason for the lack of building in this region was that land was more expensive than in other parts of Jaffa, even in the early twentieth century.¹⁷⁷

According to *The Survey of Western Palestine*, by 1881, several suburbs had developed around Jaffa. Northward, along the waterfront, the Egyptian colony of low mud huts had grown into Saknat al-Manshiyya,¹⁷⁸ later to become a large Muslim neighborhood. Wilson writes:

The town of Jaffa is rapidly increasing in wealth and importance... The suburban population also is considerable.¹⁷⁹

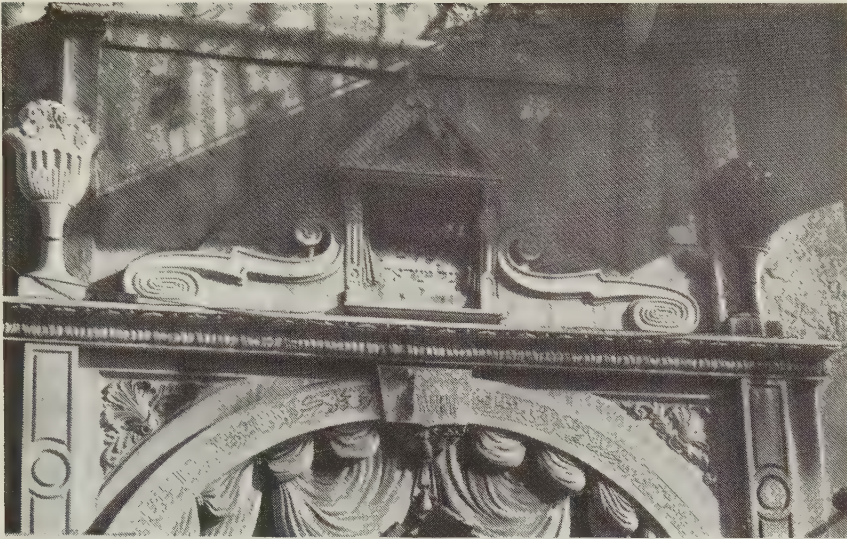


Southern view of Old Jaffa in early twentieth century (Geography Dept., Hebrew University).

177 Smilansky, 1907, p. 12; Alper, p. 114.

178 *The Survey of Western Palestine*, II, pp. 141-142.

179 Wilson, 1880, III, pp. 141-142.



Entrance to home of Iskander 'Awad-Howard on Bustrus Street, including inscription in Hebrew ("Peace on Israel") Arabic and Latin (Kark, 1977)

Thus we see that the land outside Old Jaffa was being steadily developed for both commercial and residential purposes. Until the end of the 1880s, the key figures in this development were Christians and Muslims:

A new Jaffa is being built, and the builders are Mohammedans and Christians, inhabitants of Palestine, who are moving from other cities and building homes and businesses around ancient Jaffa. Rising in the south is the 'Ajamī neighborhood, and in the north, in the marketplace and near the newly repaired road to Jerusalem, warehouses and shops are being built.¹⁸⁰

The opening of businesses was characterized by "ribbon development" along the main routes to Nablus, Jerusalem and Gaza. In the 1880s, Bustrus-Howard ('Awad) Street was established near the road to Nablus, and a row of shops and warehouses was built there. Another floor of residential apartments was added to these buildings later.

The end of the 1880s and early 1890s were days of building in Jaffa:

¹⁸⁰ Ben Zion, 1949, pp. 20-21; Goldmann, 1898, p. 63, notes that several of the Jewish homeowners were Sephardim.

The wall around the old city was completely demolished (in 1888) and Jaffa expanded in three directions. On the waterfront there were new buildings and installations: a customs house and boat dock were built, the pier was enlarged, and a platform was erected for unloading cargo. Commerce and immigration were increasing, and a business street was being built alongside the Arab cemetery on the Nablus road. The shops and warehouses of Bustrus Street were gradually approaching the German neighborhood, second-story residences were being built above the shops, and most of the shops and apartments were being sold to Jews.¹⁸¹

After a while, the government and municipality awoke from their slumber and joined the building and urban improvement activities.

Early in the 1880s, the Jews began buying land around Jaffa; towards the end of the decade, Jewish neighborhoods emerged. Inspired by the neighborhoods of Jerusalem, Neve Zedek, in the northwest, was first to rise (1887).¹⁸² The high cost of housing in Jaffa, compounded by the crowding and filth, were the founders' major considerations. The next quarter was Neve Shalom (1890). Much has been written about the importance of Tel Aviv as the first Hebrew city in Palestine in modern times. However, it should be remembered that the real non-conformists were those who moved to Neve Zedek, Neve Shalom, and the other new Jewish neighborhoods (Maḥane Yehuda—1896, Yefe Nof—1897, Aḥva—1900, etc.).

Neve Zedek was planned as a Jewish artisans' quarter, but many teachers, writers and community activists moved there. Most of them were Ashkenazim although, unlike the new neighborhoods of Jerusalem, Neve Zedek was founded jointly by Ashkenazim and Sephardim.

Neve Shalom was built as a private enterprise, but Jaffa's Jews were not over-anxious to buy or rent there. Zerah Barnett, the builder, complains:

After I built one row of houses, I offered them to the Jews of Jaffa at very convenient terms so that the rent they were accustomed to paying the Arabs would buy them a spacious apartment. But no one wanted to leave town and live in my sandy desert, and thus my homes remained empty.¹⁸³

181 Ben Zion, *op. cit.*

182 On Neve Zedek and Neve Shalom see Tel Aviv Municipality, 1967; Goldmann, 1898, pp. 57-63; Goldmann, *Hazut*, 1888, p. 61; Hacothen, 1890, p. 10; D. Smilansky, *Neve Zedek*, pp. 4-8; Ben-Zion, *op. cit.*; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 10-14; *Ha-Zvi*, 4, no. 3, 1887, p. 2.

183 Barnett, in Yaari, 1947, II, pp. 625-627; Rimon, 1971, p. 161. People may have been wary because the neighborhood bordered on the Muslim quarter of Manshiyya. The Jews of Jerusalem expressed similar wariness with regard to initial efforts to have them move out of the Old City.

Only after the rabbi of Jaffa moved to Neve Shalom did others follow in his footsteps.

Into the 1890s, Jaffa's built-up area continued to expand. Second and third floors were added to existing buildings. By 1900, according to David Yellin, Jaffa had more multi-storied buildings than Jerusalem.¹⁸⁴

A description by Goldmann, a Jaffa resident, aptly sums up the changes between 1878-1898:

...Over the last twenty years... many non-Jews speaking a variety of tongues have settled down in Jaffa permanently, whereas once they only came to spend a few nights. Thanks to them, we have many beautiful new buildings, both public buildings and a great number of private homes. Our esteemed government [Turkey] has also built a large, very splendid headquarters which draws the eye of every passerby, and a large, attractive garrison. New bazaars have replaced the many ruined buildings, renewing the appearance of the town and lending it majesty. Not only new bazaars but entire suburbs have been added all around, to the extent that the old town, with its small narrow streets, rickety buildings and disorderliness, is overshadowed by the new town, where one can see the effects of modern times, European influence, and law and order.¹⁸⁵

Progress that was too rapid, discord in the executive body of the Hovevei Zion ("Lovers of Zion") movement, and a government ban on land purchase, led to a number of crises in the Jewish community in the 1890s. However, by 1900 it had recovered and building activities resumed. Most of the initiative still came from non-Jews:

Much construction work is proceeding outside the Jewish camp. Aside from the enormous private homes which have multiplied particularly in the new neighborhood south of the city where many Christian institutions are located [‘Ajami—R.K.], the Russian community has established a large church with a lofty tower; the government, like many others, has built a new, spacious office building; and Father Evtimius of the Russian Convent in Jerusalem, has also put up an immense building—a small city of roomy homes and shops in the heart of town.¹⁸⁶

Visiting Jaffa in 1900, David Yellin describes the vast difference between old Jaffa with its narrow streets and antiquated houses and the new city with its

184 *Ha-Or*, vol. 7, no. 10, 1891, p. 2; Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 235, Oct. 25, 1900, p. 3.

185 Goldmann, 1898, pp. 57-58.

186 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 228, Oct. 19, 1900, p. 2. On land purchases, see Mandel, 1965.



Map 10: Jaffa Landmarks, 1917/18

rows of European shops on either side of the road, three and four story houses, paved sidewalks, and expanding neighborhoods.¹⁸⁷ By the mid-1910s, the neighborhoods were still growing and new ones had been established: Ahva, Sukkat Shalom, the Yemenite quarter and German Valhalla (see graph of housing development in Jaffa). Again, most of the builders were Christians and Muslims.¹⁸⁸

Despite the development and building, we see that old Jaffa retained its traditional character:

...When I say “city”, I do not refer to the old city, that city of fifty years

187 Yellin, *ibid.*

188 Luncz, *Luah*, 1901, vol. 6, p. 168; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 10-14; Goldmann, 1906, pp. 76-78.

ago with its alleys, courtyards, public baths, soap factories, and noisy, uneven, narrow, twisted and impassable streets. Not about this city do I speak, for it will remain as it is forever, but about the new city built near the old one, from the Karasha [*Saray?*—R.K.] to ‘Ajamiyya, and from Neve Zedek to Neve Shalom. This is a city which was worthy of the name even sixteen years ago, whereas its old parent was but a village... now as I look around from the hills of Neve Zedek, my eye meets scarcely a vacant spot in valley or plain. From the buildings of Neve Shalom to the sea are the dwellings and courtyards of the Mohammedans, and from here to the [old] city are shops, palaces, streets, bazaars and homes...¹⁸⁹

Building activities in Jaffa during the first decade of the twentieth century did not satisfy the demand, which arose due to the arrival of large numbers of Jewish refugees fleeing the pogroms in Russia. These had little choice but to live in Arab (Muslim and Christian) neighborhoods, sometimes under the most abject conditions, in stables, chicken coops and storerooms.¹⁹⁰ A solution was found only when the Jewish National Fund and a few private individuals stepped in after 1909 to build Jewish neighborhoods. With the Aḥuzat Bayit society paving the way, Tel Aviv was established,¹⁹¹ to be followed by a series of neighborhoods modelled along the same lines, before and after World War I: Naḥalat Binyamin, Hevra Ḥadasha, Mea Shearim, and others.

The housing shortage gave birth to the Aḥuzat Bayit society which built Tel Aviv. The first houses were built in 1910. Sixty homes (for sixty members) was the initial goal. Tel Aviv quickly grew in all directions, according to a predetermined plan. It fused with its younger sisters, Naḥalat Binyamin and Hevra Ḥadasha, to become one overall neighborhood. In addition, more land was purchased for expansion, roads were paved, and broad new plans were drawn up. A new, modern Jewish city was in the making. World War I brought all this activity to a halt. At the same time, new neighborhoods were being built near Tel Aviv (Maḥane Yosef, Maḥane Yisrael, Ohel Moshe and Sha‘arayim), and the old ones were expanding.¹⁹²

The founding of Tel Aviv was an important turning point for Zionist and other Jewish organizations in Palestine and abroad, as well as for the development of

189 Goldman, *ibid.*

190 David Smilansky Archives, *Novosti Yelistvatgrad* Oct. 4, 1907.

191 According to a letter in the Smilansky Archives (dated Aug. 16, 1909), the Arabs called the neighborhood “Yāfā al-Jadīd”, i.e. new Jaffa, when it was first founded.

192 Census, 1918, p. 22.

Jaffa; it rapidly became the nucleus of a city which was Jewish, modern, distinctive, and autonomous.¹⁹³

Many Jews from Jaffa and environs now took up residence in Tel Aviv. The older Jewish neighborhoods, and even the German Valhalla quarter, sought to attach themselves to it.

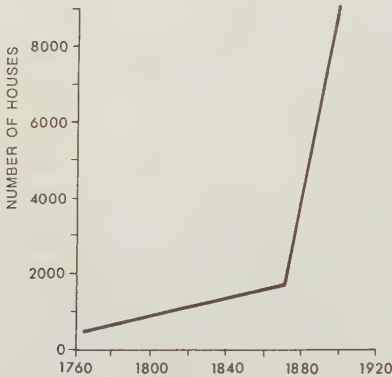


Fig. 1: Number of houses in Jaffa, 1765-1900

Some of the Jewish neighborhoods founded at the end of the 1880s were communal in origin; others were based on socio-economic factors. The Yemenite Maḥane Yehuda quarter is an example of the former, and Naḥalat Binyamin, of the latter. Of course, occupation, status, and communal or ethnic origins sometimes overlapped. A survey in 1916 showed that Jaffa had very few separate, community-based Jewish neighborhoods. In each neighborhood

193 On the founding of Tel Aviv, the reasons for its location and its Jewish character, see Smilansky, 1924, pp. 5-6, and 1927, pp. 319-320; Weiss, 1944; Weiss, 1957; Druyanow, 1936; Druyanow in Aricha, 1969, p. 41-42; Bar-Drora, 1941; Rupp in Aricha, 1969, pp. 37-39; Tel Aviv Town Committee, 1920, pp. 1-12; letter about Aḥuzat Bayit dated May 24, 1909, CZA L51/52; Tel-Aviv-Yafo Municipality, newsletter, June-August 1934; Barzilai, *Ha-Olam*, vol. 6, April 30, 1912, pp. 9-10; David Smilansky Archives, 1907 (see note 190, above); David Smilansky Archives, Tel Aviv in 1911-1914; David Smilansky in Yaari, 1947, pp. 906-920; David Smilansky in Tel Aviv-Yafo Municipality, 1934, pp. 234-240; Vilnay, 1965; Aricha, 1969; Yodfat, 1972.

there was usually a dominant community grouping, but others lived there as well.¹⁹⁴

It appears that neither were the Arab neighborhoods occupied solely by Arabs. Aside from the apartments rented to Jews,¹⁹⁵ the Haycraft report states that the al-Manshiyya and 'Ajamī neighborhoods were populated by both Muslims and Christians. According to other sources, the northern part of Jaffa was chiefly Muslim, and the southern part, chiefly Christian. The lower classes (sailors, porters, artisans) lived in al-Manshiyya, in the shantytown farther north, and in the old city, whereas the Christians and upper classes lived outside the city bounds.¹⁹⁶

In the poorer neighborhoods, ethnic, and possibly religious, distinctions, appear to have been more common. The Yemenites and Arabs each lived in their own shantytowns. We have no way of determining whether poor Christian and Muslim neighborhoods were also separate.

Even at the end of the period, there was no change in the character of old Jaffa. In 1911, the streets were still unpaved, narrow and dirty. The market was more spacious, but even there, the streets were unpaved.¹⁹⁷ Press says:

The old city, inhabited almost entirely by Muslims, sits on a rocky peak thirty-six meters above the shore. Through the city and bazaar run narrow, crooked alleys.¹⁹⁸

The Haycraft report offers a similar description:

The old town, a labyrinth of narrow streets, winding around masses of picturesque old buildings, lies close packed behind the quay and is inhabited mainly by Moslems.¹⁹⁹

Thus we see that old Jaffa remained traditional in lifestyle as well as demography until the Ottoman period came to an end. As the wealthy and

194 From a list of names and occupations of the members of the Naḥalat Binyamin society (CZA L2/71), it appears that most were artisans. There were also a few clerks, teachers and businessmen. The 1918 census (relating to 1916), includes a table (p. 24) showing ethnic population distribution according to neighborhoods. Most of the North Africans in the census identified themselves as Sephardim. Hence it is difficult to assess their percentage in each neighborhood. In his 1905 census, Smilansky offers no neighborhood-based figures.

195 According to Ruppin's letter to the Anglo-Palestine Company in 1914, CZA L51/96, the Jews were less apt to demonstrate national solidarity because they lived among Arabs.

196 Haycraft report, 1921, pp. 1-2; Press, 1921, pp. 253-254.

197 Franklin, pp. 1-2.

198 Press, *op. cit.*

199 Haycraft report, *op. cit.*

educated gradually moved out to the suburbs, only the poorer, unschooled Muslims remained. The European building style and improvements in hygiene came to a halt at the threshold of the no longer existent town wall:

At the same time, the old houses of Jaffa which in most cases belong to Arabian landlords are not of such a nature that they can satisfy the demands of immigrants used to European houses; all these houses are quite insufficient from a hygienic standpoint, possessing no water-conduits, no canalization, etc. Most of the streets are narrow and filthy and in a state of neglect.²⁰⁰

The following table summarizes neighborhood development in Jaffa, listing year of establishment and population group:

Neighborhood development in Jaffa
(also see Map 11)

Neighborhood	Year founded	Remarks & source
OLD CITY		
Ḥārat al-Naṣāra		Alderson, map of Jaffa
Dār el-Yahūd		Vilnay, 1965, p.112
Armenian courtyard		Vilnay, 1965, p.112
Ḥārat al-Rummile		Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
NEW CITY		
THE SAKINĀT		
S. Abū Kabīr	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. Darwīsh	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. Danaite	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. Rashīd	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. at-Turk	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. al-'Araina	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. Shaikh Ibrāhīm	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. al-'Ajamī	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. al-Jabaliyya	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
Sakna	1830-1880	Schwarz, 1880, map of Jaffa
S. al-Misriyya	1830-1880	Admiralty map, 1863 (Copts)
S. Abū el-Jubaila	1830-1880	Yodfat, 1972, p.19, 1925 survey map
S. al-Sabīl	1830-1880	Yodfat, 1972, p.19, 1925 survey map
S. al-Daula	1830-1880	Yodfat, 1972, p.19, 1925 survey map

200 Ruppin's letter to the Anglo-Palestine Company in 1914, CZA, L51/96.

Neighborhood	Year founded	Remarks & source
MUSLIM & CHRISTIAN NEIGHBORHOODS		
American colony	1866	Americans. Holmes
German colony	1869	Templers. Carmel
Sarona	1871	Templers. Carmel
Manshiyya	around 1870	Arabs & Muslims
Shantytown	?	Arabs
Nuzha	?	Arabs
Italian quarter	1892-1893	Italians, Smilansky, 1907, pp.10-14
Russian compound	1894	Russians. Hopwood, 1969, land purchased in 1868
Valhalla	1903	Germans, Smilansky, <i>ibid</i>
JEWISH NEIGHBORHOODS		
Neve Zedek	1887	See sources in Chap. 2
Neve Shalom	1890	See sources in Chap. 2
Maḥane Yehuda	1896	See sources in Chap. 2
Yefe Nof	1897	See sources in Chap. 2
Aḥva	1899	Luncz, <i>Luah</i> 1901, 6, p. 168
Batei Feingold	1904	Vilnay, 1965, pp. 56-63
Batei Warsaw	?	Census, 1918, p. 22
Batei Shmerling	?	Smilansky, 1907, pp. 4-10
Maḥane Yosef	1904	Ernest, <i>Yediot Tel Aviv-Yafo</i> , pp. 22-32, 1952; according to data in Druyanow, 1936, founded in 1909
Kerem Hatemanim	1905	<i>Ibid</i> , founded in 1909
Ohel Moshe	1906	<i>Ibid</i> , founded in 1907
Tel Aviv	1909	See sources in Chap. 2
Naḥalat Binyamin	1909-1911	See sources in Chap. 2
Hevra Hadasha	1912	See sources in Chap. 2
Mea Shearim	1914	See sources in Chap. 2
Shearayim	before 1916	Census, 1918, p. 22
Hof Hayam	before 1916	Census, 1918, p. 22
Maḥane Yisrael	before 1916	Census, 1918, p. 22

Changes in Building Style

With the great upswing in construction at the turn of the century came changes in building style. This was more evident in the new neighborhoods than in old Jaffa, which kept to its traditional pattern of homes and streets, construction materials, and style of architecture. Nonetheless, even in the new city, building techniques, neighborhood planning or lack of it, and architectural features, were closely linked to the ethnic origin and religious affiliation of the builders.

The new buildings erected outside the wall were of *kurkar*, which was



Map 11: Residential Neighborhoods of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, 1914

Legend: Map 11

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Old City | 18. Mahane Yosef |
| 2. 'Adjimi | 19. Manshiya |
| 3. Saknet el-Jubeila | 20. Yemenite Quarter |
| 4. Saknet Abu Derwish | 21. Italian Quarter |
| 5. Saknet Abu Kabir | 22. Aḥva (?) |
| 6. Russian Compound | 23. Yefe Nof (?) |
| 7. German Colony | 24. Ohel Moshe (?) |
| 8. Mikve Yisrael | 25. Mahane Israel (?) |
| 9. Saknet al-Arain | 26. Sha'arayim (?) |
| 10. Valhalla — Wagner neighborhood | 27. Tel Aviv |
| 11. Aḥuzat Bayit | 28. Central Tel Aviv |
| 12. Naḥalat Binyamin | 29. Raschid Quarter |
| 13. Neve Zedek | 30. Anglo Palestine Company lands |
| 14. Neve Shalom | 31. Geula lands |
| 15. Mahane Yehuda | 32. Mea Shearim lands |
| 16. Shechunat Aharon (Mahane Yosef?) | 33. Naḥalat Yitzhak lands |
| 17. Batei Warsaw | 34. Cemetery |

plastered and painted red,²⁰¹ with red tile roofs. They still had inner courtyards—a typical feature of the Arab house. Eventually, the roof style changed: flat tarred roofs appeared on the scene. At the end of the Ottoman period, tarred concrete roofs were introduced, and concrete blocks began to replace the *kurkar* for wall construction. In the 1890s, round windows were a prominent feature in some of the new neighborhoods (for example, 'Ajamī). Public buildings constructed in the 1880s and 1890s were decorated with columns which seemed to be embedded in the facade.²⁰² Nevertheless, no real change was evident in the streets and houses apart from the fact that they were slightly more spacious:

...the style of the homes still followed the mode then customary in the cities of Palestine...²⁰³

In certain parts of Jaffa, the use of lightweight *kurkar* and steel girders enabled the construction of taller buildings than in Jerusalem, where heavy limestone blocks and stone roofs placed limitations on height:

...Not so in Jaffa. The building blocks themselves are spongy and light, and the plaster between them is a mixture of sand and lime penetrating the hollow pores in the stones and forming a strong bond. When dry, a

201 Goldmann, 1906, pp. 77-78: "If someone desired to beautify his home on the outside, he would plaster it and then whitewash or paint it, and with that, would be fulfilling his obligation..." Homes were generally painted red. According to Goldmann, at the beginning of the twentieth century new buildings were still being constructed of hewn stone from Caesarea, but "not by the Israelites".

202 Some of these unique houses still remain in Jaffa today.

203 Tolkowsky, 1926, p. 134.

wall so built is as solid as rock and no ill can befall it. Under such conditions, there is no need for thick walls. As construction is inexpensive in Jaffa, a resident can build himself four thin, towering walls with a great many spaces for windows and doors, place steel ceiling girders from one side to the next, and divide the house into as many rooms as he desires...The new homes of Jaffa are generally spacious. The rooms are ample and the windows large and wide. That they have no metal lattice-work shows how strongly the inhabitants of this sandy place yearn for the cool fresh air which blows here in such small supply. The walls of most of the houses are plastered white on the outside, or painted one of the various colors that lends them a European look...And anyone who wishes to build himself a magnificent home in Jaffa should spare no expense and bring from the ruins of Caesarea smooth white limestone blocks similar to Jerusalem stone, which are themselves splendid to look at...²⁰⁴

When Neve Zedek, the first Jewish neighborhood outside the walls, was built in 1887, the founders visualized it as “a clean, well-planned neighborhood in the standards of those days. The homes were small and attractive, and although the streets and sidewalks were narrow, they were straight and clean.” Questions of security, water supply, lighting, education, and economics were also given thought.²⁰⁵ The founders had a general notion of neighborhood organization, but from there to urban planning, it was a long way.

The general layout of the neighborhood included forty-eight plots of land divided into three rows, sixteen lots per row. A street ran through each row, leaving eight properties on each side. Although space had been set aside for roadways,²⁰⁶ the planning left much to be desired.

Homes were built in the popular style of the day, with closed courtyards and high walls around them. Occasionally, there were arches and cornices. The roofs of the first homes were built in the local Arab style: flat, with ceilings of sturdy wooden board supported by thick beams and covered with a layer of earth. As this did not stop mud and rain from seeping in, tiled roofs were added. After that, all future houses had tiled roofs.²⁰⁷

When they were first built, the streets of Neve Zedek were considered the broadest and the homes, the most beautiful in Jaffa. As one source writes:

I remember that when the first homes were built, many guests from Jerusalem and other places would come to see them and marvel at their

204 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 235, Oct. 27, 1900, p. 2.

205 Tel Aviv Municipality, 1967, pp. 5-7; D. Smilansky, *Neve Zedek*, pp. 5-6; Cahanov, p. 25.

206 Cahanov, pp. 22-25; and neighborhood charter.

207 Cahanov, *ibid.*

quality, beauty, etc. so that they came to be called the “Parisian houses”. Some of them declared that Neve Zedek was like a resort or spa for them, because the atmosphere relaxed their bones and refreshed their bodies!²⁰⁸

Neve Shalom was built gradually, without a plan, in keeping with the financial resources available to its founder, Zerah Barnett. Within a few years, the neighborhood was three blocks long. Barnett contributed a large plot for a *talmud torah* (religious primary school) and paid for the upkeep of a neighborhood synagogue and yeshiva.²⁰⁹

The mistakes made in the construction of these neighborhoods were strongly criticized even before the end of the Ottoman period. Zeev Smilansky, for example, blames the builders for the overcrowding, the narrowness of the streets, the lack of greenery and trees, the poor placement of toilets near the courtyard entrances and the imitation of Arab building style rather than that of the German Colony:

...For this we cannot forgive our brethren, especially those who first built homes in N.Z. and N.S. [Neve Zedek and Neve Shalom] and did not take care to buy larger plots and leave room for wider streets. Passing through the streets of the Hebrew neighborhoods of Jaffa, it amazes one to see such small courtyards, crowded houses, narrow lanes, and all this built over the last two decades on a stretch of land which was unpopulated and largely bare of vegetation. Passing through the neighborhood of the Germans near Jaffa, as well as the small German quarter opposite N.Z. [Valhalla R.K.], it is a pleasure to see pretty, tastefully built houses embellished by courtyards full of trees and flower gardens which blossom almost all year long. In contrast, when we come to Mishkenot Yaakov in Jaffa, it is saddening and shaming to find something akin to a new version of the ghetto. In N.Z. one may find a tree or two near the homes, but in N.S. even that is rare. On the other hand, N.Z. has long rows of houses like army barracks, with one wall belonging to two homeowners...Obviously, because the houses were so close together, the toilets were built one beside the other and, what is more, the houses are at the back of the courtyard and the toilets at the front, near the street entrance. Thus in walking the streets of N.Z., one passes a long row of out-houses...(whereas the old city has sewers draining into the sea).

Smilansky also comments on the wells for drinking water, which were only three-four meters deep and near the toilets.²¹⁰

208 Vilner, pp. 14-15.

209 Rimon, 1971, p. 161.

210 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 13-14.

Although land was cheap, homes were built close together. According to Smilansky:

Much of this was due to the fact that those who built in N.Z. [Neve Zedek] were Jerusalemites or had lived in Jerusalem for a period of time and were accustomed to small courtyards and crowded housing. They had no perception of more spacious neighborhoods and built densely in Jaffa as well. Then our brethren began to build homes in N.S. [Neve Shalom], and for the most part copied those of N.Z. This pitiful state of affairs was caused and continues to be caused even now by the fact that our brethren frequently inhabit the dwellings of Arabs, and when they began to build, they imitated the style of Arab buildings. Another reason may have been that these homes were built by Arabs, using the methods and materials they knew best.

Indeed, complaints about the poor planning of the Jewish neighborhoods were brought before the Aḥuzat Bayit society prior to the establishment of Tel Aviv:

...And the “experts” on urban affairs pointed out to us the crowded settlement in the suburbs near Jaffa: Neve Shalom, Neve Zedek, Aḥva, etc. Someone who never saw the filth of those neighborhoods inhabited solely by our Jewish brethren, someone who never smelled the perfumed odors of those narrow, dark alleyways, can have no idea what squalor, mire and filth are. “We are sorry about the first ones and you want to add a new ghetto,” an Old Yishuv community activist once told me angrily. “Go live in ‘Ajamī (the Christian suburb) and enjoy exemplary cleanliness. Move into an attractive, roomy house and stop wasting your time with foolishness...”²¹¹

The implication is that ‘Ajamī was one of Jaffa’s “best” neighborhoods, where the homes were larger, more beautiful and cleaner than in the Jewish neighborhoods.

Jaffa’s shantytowns, so typical of developing cities in our day, began to appear at the end of the previous century. Here the confusion was total, with homes built of whatever materials came to hand. The Arabs had a shantytown to the north of al-Manshiyya, and the Jewish Yemenites lived in slum-like dwellings of their own, which are described in 1905 as follows:

...Most of the homes are built of boards, some of them patched with thin sheets of tin. Most are ceilingless, with only a tiled roof, and there are some dwellings without a floor. Between the homes there are no streets, and they are all grouped together in one cluster of *temporary huts and*

211 D. Smilansky, in Yaari, 1947, p. 906.

dwellings [my emphasis — R.K.] with a few stone buildings of habitable appearance protecting them from falling apart or tumbling down in the almost non-existent wind.²¹²

We have another description of the Yemenite neighborhoods from 1909:

...Their homes are by and large wooden shacks. Many of the houses are made from pieces of lumber collected elsewhere. If a piece of wood is missing somewhere, it is replaced by a sack or rag nailed into place. When we look at the walls of these homes, we can see the tops of various crates of different sizes and colors. The top of a large, red crate might have the top or sides of a small, unpainted crate attached alongside it. Parts of the wall or an entire wall might simply be made of tin from the containers used for bringing kerosene from Russia; most of these homes have no windows...²¹³

Due to this largely haphazard style of building, the neighborhood plans and by-laws common in Jerusalem were almost non-existent in Jaffa until the close of the first decade of the twentieth century. The foreword to the 1916 census of the Jaffa Jewish community seems justified in its assertion that “for the most part Jaffa lacks the ‘neighborhood’ quality characteristic of Jerusalem. There are no specific boundaries and no specific names, since no particular plan was followed (with the exception of Tel Aviv) by one man or uniform population.”²¹⁴ Even when a neighborhood with a distinct identity was founded, this was soon lost:

...New neighborhoods were added such as “Aḥva”, “Sukkat Shalom”, “Yefe Nof”, “Shechunat Ha-Temanim”, but in practice they were not called by name. The homes near Neve Zedek were considered part of N.Z. and those near Neve Shalom were considered part of N.S.²¹⁵

Few descriptions are available for the Arab neighborhoods, and we can judge only from what is implied in the literature and maps of the time. Maps from 1894 and 1918,²¹⁶ and others, show the layout of roads and houses in old Jaffa and the new neighborhoods. Old Jaffa abounded in narrow alleys, many of them *culs de sac*, and most, tortuous or stepped. In the Arab quarters outside the wall, there was a clear distinction between the Egyptian and other *sakināt* (Abū Kabīr, for example), where the layout differed little from the old city, and

212 Smilansky, 1907, p. 14.

213 Y.L., *Ha-Olam*, vol. 4, Feb. 9, 1909, p. 6.

214 Census, 1918, p. 24.

215 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 10-11.

216 Maps of Jaffa in Baedeker, 1894, facing p. 6; and map of Jaffa in Survey of Egypt, 1918.

those quarters founded from the outset as urban neighborhoods, where the arrangement of streets was more or less orderly—though they were quite narrow and the homes were small and crowded compared with the German Colony or Tel Aviv. Even in the new neighborhoods there was little awareness of the need for sanitation. “The dwellings of the Arabs were arranged in such a wretched, unhygienic manner...”²¹⁷

Building Style in Tel Aviv

The “garden city” of Tel Aviv was the first Jewish neighborhood in Jaffa to be pre-planned, in the notions of those days, in both its physical and social aspects. A collection of neighborhood by-laws and building regulations was published “...which began with building laws and extended to all aspects of public life. Building laws were devised by experts, architects and physicians in such a way as to insure adequate space between houses, adequate room ventilation and clean courtyards...”²¹⁸

The first collection of by-laws was drawn up by Dr. Arthur Ruppin. It specified neighborhood objectives, membership rights, committee duties (planning budgets for sanitation, lighting, security and gardening, signing contracts, convening assemblies) and obligations of residents (among other things, “to abide by the building code, the laws of hygiene and the traffic regulations.”) Residents undertook to obtain a building permit from the committee and to build on no more than 30 percent of their land. Furthermore, “each property must have a garden three meters wide facing the street, and a fence. The garden and fence must always be properly maintained...”²¹⁹

At the end of 1910, Mordechai Ben Hillel submitted to the committee a new set of by-laws drawn up at its request. Most were approved in December of that year, and included:²²⁰

- a.,b. Comparison of the duties and rights of citizens, residents and neighbors.
- c. Establishment of three bodies to run the neighborhood: a general assembly, an executive committee and a supervisory committee.
- d. Collection of neighborhood dues to pay for water supply, security,

217 Letter from Naḥalat Binyamin society in Jaffa to JNF executive in Köln, June 10, 1910, CZA, L2/71.

218 Tel Aviv Town Committee, 1920, p. 5.

219 Ruppin, in Druyanow, 1936, pp. 156-158. It would be interesting to see whether Ruppin's design concepts are based on those common in his country of origin. One of the conditions laid down by Ruppin for his support of a JNF loan was that no shops be built in the new neighborhood (according to Silman, p. 420).

220 Druyanow, 1936, pp. 158-163.



Tel Aviv, Herzl Street in 1917 (CZA)

- administration, sanitation, *vergi* (property) taxes and general expenditures.
- e. Building regulations whereby construction plans and the addition of structures in the courtyard (cellars, etc.) would require a permit from the committee. Building would be limited to one-third of the property, the walls of a house would be at least one meter from the neighbor and two meters from the street, permission to open additional windows and doors would be given as necessary, steps at the courtyard entrance would be inside and not on the sidewalk, and toilets would be surrounded by a fence or bushes, away from the street²²¹ and at a distance from the neighbors. Guidelines were also drawn up for the building of fences.
 - f. Various sanitation laws for the construction and maintenance of toilets, garbage receptacles and sewers.
 - g. General rules: no opening of shops, reception halls, hotels, etc. without permission from the committee; payment of a committee tax on the sale of homes and properties; payment of a business tax; no disturbance of the peace after 11:30 p.m.
 - h. Establishment of a system of fines, to be employed as needed.
 - i. "Permanent by-laws... No. 56—No citizen may build on more than one third of his property.²²² No. 57—The streets, neighborhood garden and land are intended for public use and belong to the entire community. No general assembly may sell them to individuals or build houses on them."

Tel Aviv was thus a pioneer in the sphere of urban planning in Jaffa, serving as "a symbol and example... for the establishment of new modern Jewish neighborhoods."²²³ The Naḥalat Binyamin society used Tel Aviv as a model in drawing up by-laws of its own. Again, Ruppin set pre-conditions for a loan, such as allocating public land for a tree-lined park, leaving six meters across for streets and two meters on each side for sidewalks, and situating homes two meters away from the property boundaries (to insure a distance of four meters between buildings).

The settlers of Naḥalat Binyamin decided that:

- 221 In light of the bad experience in Neve Zedek and Neve Shalom, where toilets were placed at the courtyard entrance.
- 222 Permanent by-laws were set down because they were seen as basic to the principles of the neighborhood. However, permanent by-law number 56 was soon retracted: on December 21, 1913, residents of Tel Aviv voted to permit extension of balconies utilizing up to 40 percent of the property, as was done in Naḥalat Binyamin (*Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 10, no. 14, Dec. 31, 1913, p. 15).
- 223 Tel Aviv Town Committee, 1920, p. 4; Cassuto, pp. 111-112.



Tel Aviv, Nahalat Binyamin Street in 1914 (CZA)

The neighborhood to be built by the society will fulfill all hygienic requirements. Each member will be given one thousand cubits of land. The streets will be wide and paved, the homes will be tasteful and attractive, and in general, attention will be paid to all the modern facilities of Europe... As there is no money or need to build large houses for the members of the society, a general plan for the homes of Nahalat Binyamin has been approved: two houses [i.e. rooms R.K.], a kitchen and a terrace.²²⁴

Other decisions were to build on only 2/5 of the property, to include covered patios as part of the area of the house, to situate the house at least one meter from the neighboring property and two meters from the street (as in Tel Aviv), to keep front steps inside the courtyard, to require a permit from the committee for building a cellar, to distance structures such as cow sheds and cesspools at

224 From the by-laws of the Nahalat Binyamin society, CZA, L51/71; Dr. Ruppin to the Nahalat Binyamin committee, Jaffa, May 29, 1911, CZA, *ibid*; Nahalat Binyamin society, Jaffa, to Dr. Ruppin, August 17, 1911, *ibid*.

least a meter from the neighbor's property, to build stone outhouses of 2x2x2 meters at a distance from neighbors and residences. These by-laws are very similar to those devised for Tel Aviv and were probably inspired by them.

In 1914, the Mea Shearim society published a collection of by-laws. Appended was a blueprint showing properties of 800-842 sq.m. and sidewalks of 5-18 meters.²²⁵

These new arrangements also had an impact on the older Jewish neighborhoods, which made an effort to improve themselves. This was especially so in the Neve Zedek quarter, "which has begun to follow in the footsteps of Tel Aviv in external improvement. Of late, pipes have been laid, bringing in water from Tel Aviv, sewers are being dug, sidewalks are under construction and the roads will soon be paved." Neighborhood patrols were coordinated with Tel Aviv and residents became more involved in community leadership.²²⁶ On the other hand, improvements in Neve Shalom proceeded more slowly: "Progress in Neve Shalom is somewhat further away. It is akin to Mea Shearim in Jerusalem. The neighborhood is crowded and dirty."²²⁷

Even non-Jewish neighborhoods like the German Valhalla quarter considered joining up with Tel Aviv because it was such an attractive model:

Tel Aviv also has great influence on nearby Jewish neighborhoods because of its water. Tel Aviv is the only neighborhood in Jaffa with sanitary plumbing and many of its neighbors, both Jewish and non-Jewish, would like the piping extended to their homes so that they can also enjoy the pure water of Tel Aviv. But Tel Aviv cannot accept these neighboring householders as members because their homes are not built according to Tel Aviv standards. Thus they are being asked to at least pave their streets and maintain some degree of cleanliness. Only on this condition, will Tel Aviv sell them water...²²⁸

Despite its renown, Tel Aviv suffered from planning errors, both large and small: for instance, the building of the Gymnasia Herzliya school at the northern corner of Herzl Street, and the clogging of the town's central artery as the surrounding area was built up.²²⁹ In the original Aḥuzat Bayit plan, a similar situation was created when the western side of Rothschild Boulevard was blocked. Lacking engineers and architects, the builders usually sketched

225 *By-laws book of the Mea Shearim society in the holy city of Jaffa, may it be built and protected, founded on 8 Kislev 1912, Jaffa 1914* (Labor Archives).

226 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 7, no. 36, June 26, 1914, p. 18; *Ha-Or*, no. 98, January 1913, p. 2.

227 *Ha-Or*, *ibid.*

228 Tel Aviv Town Committee, 1920, p. 6.

229 Druyanow, in Aricha, 1969, p. 43. This remains the case until today: the Shalom Tower, where the Gymnasia once stood, blocks the flow of traffic on Herzl Street.



Tel Aviv, Herzl Street with Herzliya Gymnasium at far end (CZA, 1910)

their own plans or copied those of their colleagues. Some of them followed the Arab building style and used *kurkar*; others (such as Akiva Arie Weiss) employed a new construction material: cement blocks.²³⁰ In the desire to keep construction costs as low as possible “it is no wonder that many monstrous-looking houses were built.”²³¹

Tel Aviv was established as a purely residential neighborhood with no planning for groceries or other shops; this created problems. There was an inner contradiction in the thinking of Tel Aviv’s founders: on the one hand, they envisioned independence and autonomy, and on the other, they saw themselves as part of Jaffa—economically, at least. In 1911, it was decided to establish a commercial and industrial center behind the railway tracks (in the southern part of the neighborhood). This aroused the ire of some of the residents, who felt it deviated from the idea of a “garden city.”²³²

230 Weiss, 1944, p. 22.

231 Ruppin, in Aricha, 1969, p. 40; some of the homes were built in the oriental style, though Ruppin (1918, p. 48) states that this mode of architecture was not used in the European quarters of cities such as Tel Aviv.

232 David Smilansky Archives, Tel Aviv 1911-1914.

The problem of street layout was even more complex. Neighborhoods linking up with Tel Aviv did not always take the Aḥuzat Bayit plans into consideration. Only some—for example, Ḥevra Ḥadasha—realized the importance of dividing their land to conform with the arrangement of streets in Tel Aviv.²³³

Tel Aviv had intentions of expanding from the very beginning. This is attested to by the large tracts of land purchased by the Aḥuzat Bayit society. However, growth was so rapid and uncontrolled that no methodic course of development could be followed. As building activity accelerated, the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization realized that an engineer was needed to handle land apportionment and architecture. In 1913, it opened a “technical department” in Jaffa which provided individuals with blueprints and carried out construction work.²³⁴ Ruppin even had long-range plans to manufacture building materials and open a contracting company, in view of the fact that building in Palestine was “anything but systematic” and in dire need of improvement.²³⁵

The Tel Aviv Town Committee also recognized the need for a more comprehensive design, considering that all the new neighborhoods and societies were looking forward to “a central neighborhood, an elder sister.”²³⁶ In 1920, the Committee notes:

...The Tel Aviv Town Committee is concerned not only about what has been built, but also about what will be built in the future. To prevent land speculation and incorporate all the new settlements around Tel Aviv in one urban plan, the committee has tried to arrange a “land syndicate” to regulate purchases and sales, fix profits in advance, and bring new properties under the jurisdiction of the laws and plans for Tel Aviv.²³⁷

Nonetheless, Tel Aviv lacked a master plan until 1925. That year, at the request of Meir Dizengoff, a well-known urban planner, Patrick Geddes, was brought over from England for this purpose.²³⁸

An interesting question is whether Tel Aviv and other neighborhoods in Palestine prior to World War I were in fact influenced by the “garden city” concept adopted and developed by Ebenezer Howard in 1898, leading to the establishment of Letchworth, England’s first garden city, in 1903.²³⁹ This, however, is a separate subject.

233 Weiss, 1957, pp. 158-159.

234 Ruppin, in Aricha, 1969, p. 40.

235 See Ruppin, July 1914, CZA, L51/95.

236 David Smilansky, 1934, p. 237.

237 Tel Aviv Town Committee, 1920, pp. 5-6.

238 Amiaz, p. 4.

239 Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, and Katz, 1986.

Building Initiators

Residential building activity in Jaffa between 1840-1914 was spontaneous, with very little deliberate planning. The homes built at whim, inside and later outside the wall, gave rise, in the course of the nineteenth century, to the Muslim and Christian neighborhoods of Jaffa—‘Ajamī in the south, Manshiyya in the north—and the Jewish Yemenite and Arab ‘shantytowns’ to the north of Manshiyya. The Jaffa authorities had no clear-cut urban development policies. It managed, with difficulty, to oversee local affairs, even then its major concern being the collection of taxes (and bribes).

Development was mostly in the hands of individuals, chiefly Arabs, whose keen business sense told them that buying property and building around Jaffa, with its growing population and economy, was a good investment:

Many Arabs in the Jaffa environs felt, and still feel, that Jaffa offers broad scope for business opportunities. Thus hordes of Mohammedans, not only from the immediate vicinity but also a substantial number of merchants from Gaza, Jerusalem, Hebron, etc. —and even peasants from around Jaffa—are buying land and building themselves homes to live in and *to rent to others* [my emphasis — R.K.], as the demand for apartments is very great in Jaffa, and rents go up from time to time.²⁴⁰

Arabs, both Christians and Muslims, were the first entrepreneurs and builders in new Jaffa because they were property-owners, Ottoman citizens, able to purchase land and obtain building permits more easily, wealthy enough to invest in building (some, at least), and also builders by occupation. Although building costs were relatively low in Jaffa, the growing demand for housing, which greatly exceeded supply, caused the prices to rise.²⁴¹ The demand also led to:

...panic-buying of apartments in Jaffa, and thus many people began to settle in the Christian quarter, which until then Jews had avoided (as they do now) [1905]. Many refugees seeking cheap lodgings began to rent temporary wooden shacks and stables, and any windowless building which had been used by the Arabs as a granary or for some other purpose was rented to Hebrew immigrants...²⁴²

According to David Yellin, rents in Jaffa yielded an annual profit of ten percent, as opposed to four percent in Jerusalem. Smilansky states that in 1905,

240 Smilansky, 1907, p. 16.

241 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 235, Oct. 27, 1900, p. 2; D.L. (probably David Levontin) to Wolfson, Dec. 29, 1904, CZA, W124/II.

242 Smilansky, 1907, p. 10.

Jews paid between 60-300 francs a year for housing, and sometimes even more,²⁴³ with the rent paid one to three years in advance on homes and shops. With these funds the Arabs built new neighborhoods, or added more stories to the buildings they owned.

The Jews were not among the first to build outside the old city. They preferred to invest in other spheres:

The Jews do not reside or do business in their own buildings, for even those who have enough for building find seemingly better things to do with their money.²⁴⁴

Nonetheless, the lure of a good investment did change the minds of a number of Jews toward the end of the 1880s. Some were Jerusalemites, others were from Jaffa proper, and a few were foreigners. The pioneers in Jewish land purchase were Aharon Chelouche, Haim Amzalak and Yosef Moyal. The first builders were Shimon Rokaḥ, one of the founders of Neve Zedek, and Zerah Barnett, a wealthy Jaffa businessman who built homes for sale and rent in Neve Shalom.

In organizing for private building, the Jews of Jaffa lagged far behind their brothers in Jerusalem:

Although building homes is good business for the owner, apart from freeing him from the bother of wandering from place to place every year when renting from others, we have not seen in Jaffa more than one society for the building of such homes while Jerusalem has dozens. It is through these that many hundreds of middle-class and poor people have become homeowners, paying in easy installments.²⁴⁵

Until 1900, Jaffa had only one housing society. This was “Neve Zedek”, whose founders and early members, it should be remembered, were originally from Jerusalem. The influence of Jerusalem on the workings of the “Ezrat Yisrael” society, which was behind the building of Neve Zedek, is noted in a number of contemporary sources:

In 1887, the Neve Zedek housing society was founded in Jaffa to build homes for members who made regular payments, as in the neighborhoods of Jerusalem.

Elsewhere, we find:

It has been two years since our Ashkenazi brethren established a society

243 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 235, Oct. 27, 1900, p. 2; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 96-99.

244 Ben Zion, 1949, p. 21; David Smilansky Archives, *Novosti Yelistvatgard*, Oct. 4, 1907.

245 Yellin, *op. cit.*

known as Neve Zedek for building homes outside the city. There are forty homes, and its members pay little by little (as in the many similar societies founded in the Holy City of Jerusalem).²⁴⁶

Jaffa may have been slower than Jerusalem in establishing building societies because residents with means did not channel their money into such ventures, and because Jaffa had no substitute for the *ḥalukka* funds and *kollels* of Jerusalem which offered such a cheap source of credit. Furthermore, some of the new immigrants were agriculturally-oriented and regarded Jaffa only as a temporary home. Hence, they were not interested in investing in the town or settling down, although some eventually did.

Another contributing factor to this situation, according to Yellin, was Jaffa's young, vibrant population. Close, trusting relationships had not yet developed, and the spirit of commerce and trade was perhaps more intense in Jaffa than in Jerusalem, leaving no time for founding societies or gaining the confidence of the people.²⁴⁷

In addition, the government banned Jewish land purchase for a certain period of time after 1890, bringing Jewish building activity in Jaffa to a halt.²⁴⁸ Yet another obstacle to neighborhood development both Jewish and non-Jewish, outside old Jaffa was the Ottoman decree in the 1890s that all gardens and land outside Jaffa were *mīrī*, i.e. state-owned. Even when their owners produced title deeds, "the local authority would not grant a building permit. However, now [1895] the government in Constantinople has issued a decisive order to acknowledge title deeds."²⁴⁹

Market demand toward the end of the 1890s led to a drop in interest rates, from 18-20 percent to 10 percent, and renewed Jewish building in Jaffa. The neighborhoods of Yefe Nof and Aḥva were built at this time. However, interest rates rose again in 1905-1907. Smilansky relates that the annual interest on loans was usually 8-10 percent, but sometimes as high as 24 percent. This money was often used for building in Jaffa.²⁵⁰

Thus, interest rates and credit availability seem to have been closely linked to Jewish building initiative in Jaffa. If we accept Yellin's statement that profits from housing rental reached 10 percent a year, we can understand why the construction of Jewish neighborhoods was not pursued on a broader scale

246 Horowitz, 1923, p. 335; also see Yellin, 1973, p. 78; and Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 3, 1889, p. 226.

247 Yellin, *op. cit.*

248 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 228, Oct. 19, 1900, p. 2; Mandel, 1968.

249 *Ha-Maggid*, 1895, no. 6, p. 5. Building permits were denied because building a house and planting trees transformed the property into *mulk* (private land).

250 Goldmann, 1898, p. 77; Smilansky, 1907; p. 87.

prior to the establishment of Tel Aviv. A person who wanted to build had to borrow money at 10 percent interest, if not more, thereby cancelling out any profit on his investment. Only when the Jews were guaranteed lower interest rates (4 percent on loans granted by the Jewish National Fund for building in Tel Aviv),²⁵¹ did the pace of building activity accelerate in the Jaffa environs.

In 1906, we already find descriptions such as this:

...The price of land increases daily and the people are buying and building because buildings here bring their owners twice as much as in Jerusalem...²⁵² I would not be fulfilling my duty if I did not state that more than our Jewish brethren are building up the city, the Mohammedans are building castles and palaces, and more than them both, the Christians, particularly their convents... The more attractive streets have been improved chiefly by the Christians and in small measure, by the Mohammedans, and only a few buildings on the street they have begun to call the "Street of the Jews" are impressive and lend the street respectability.²⁵³

The rate of building in Jaffa during the first decade of the twentieth century could not keep up with the increase in population. From 1904 on, as Russian Jews streamed into Jaffa (the Second Aliyah), the housing situation worsened even more. The immigrants were forced to live in makeshift structures, and months went by before they could find other accommodation, for which they paid a very high price.²⁵⁴

A number of simultaneous processes culminated, in the long run, in the birth of Tel Aviv and other neighborhoods, which were to form the nucleus of a new Jewish city. The Zionist institutions began to take shape at this time: the World Zionist Organization (1897), the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was behind the opening of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa (1903), the Jewish National Fund (1907), and the Palestine Office in Jaffa (1907/8). Other factors were the character of the new wave of immigration, and the urgent need for housing solutions.

Two fascinating letters, one from the end of 1904 and the other from 1905, prove that even before the establishment of Aḥuzat Bayit a new Jewish quarter was envisioned, modelled after the German colony. In fact, the Anglo-Palestine Bank had begun to acquire large tracts of land around Jaffa to

251 Ruppin, in Aricha, 1969, pp. 38-39.

252 This is confirmed in the David Smilansky Archives, *Novosti Yelistvatgard*, Oct.4, 1907: "The cost of apartments owned by Christians and Muslims went up twice and three times as much, and even more... and with this Jewish (rental) money the Arabs built new neighborhoods."

253 Goldmann, 1906, pp. 77-78.

254 David Smilansky Archives, (see note 244, above).



Map 12: Environs of Jaffa, 1917 (Survey of Egypt, 1917)

establish such a quarter as a business venture. The first letter opens as follows:

To the highly esteemed Mr. Wolfson: In light of the great increase in Jaffa's Jewish population, there is a desire to establish a new Jewish quarter following the model of the German quarter in Jaffa. Among the

residents here are people who have already founded similar colonies [i.e. Shimon Rokaḥ—R.K.], and who can also help in the building of a quarter such as this. The greatest obstacle is the lack of a suitable place for building, since the most appropriate sites along the waterfront are jointly owned by Christians and Muslims. Those able to undertake such a scheme cannot do so without our help, and must come to us [the Anglo-Palestine Bank—R.K.] for assistance...

The major consideration here was not ideological but financial:

...We have faith that we will not exceed the proposed price of twenty-five cents per cubit. Thus we will be making a good deal and at the same time, helping to establish a new Jewish quarter.

The difficulty in registering land and the desire to avoid drawing attention to large Jewish purchases (for example, 80,000 cubits at the cost of 6.2 cents per cubit), are evidenced by the fact that property was recorded under the name of ‘Abdallāh Efendī Dajānī.²⁵⁵

The founders of Tel Aviv were members of the Aḥuzat Bayit society formed in 1906, under the leadership of A.A. Weiss, Yitzḥak Ḥayutman, David Smilansky, Yeḥezkel Danin and Meir Dizengoff. For the first time, the idea of founding an urban neighborhood was supported by the Zionist Congress, the Jewish National Fund and the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and was warmly recommended by Dr. Arthur Ruppin, the director of the Palestine Office in Jaffa.²⁵⁶ Ruppin’s vision is summed up in the following letter to the central office of the Jewish National Fund in Köln, on July 21, 1907:²⁵⁷

...You have recently received a request from this society [Aḥuzat Bayit] in the matter of a loan. I regard this as a very important issue, and for this reason I return to it today. The Aḥuzat Bayit society is made up of sixty families, all of them well-off, from Jaffa and environs. The aim, as stated in its by-laws, is to build homes for its members in a special neighborhood. It has prospects of obtaining 222 dunams of well-situated land which can hold not only the sixty homes for its members, but 200. Of the 400,000 francs required for purchasing the construction site and building sixty homes, the society members have already deposited in the Anglo-Palestine Bank here 50,000 francs in cash and 50,000 francs in notes. This is a particularly good time for building homes in Jaffa, since construction activity in Jerusalem has come to a complete halt for lack of

255 D. Levantin to Wolfson, Jaffa, Dec.29, 1904, CZA W124/2.

256 David Smilansky, in Yaari, 1947, pp. 906-920; Bar Drora, 1941, p. 5.

257 Ruppin, in Aricha, 1969, pp. 37-39.

water. Therefore the cost of labor and construction materials is now extremely low in Palestine.

I think it is very important that a Jewish quarter be established both in Jaffa and Jerusalem, which is in no way inferior to the neighborhoods of other ethnic groups and which will lack nothing, from a sanitary point of view, that is currently lacking in the Jewish quarters of Jaffa and Jerusalem. The narrow, filthy lanes and strange manner of building in these quarters are truly a disgrace and take away the desire of many good people to settle in Palestine. As far as Jaffa is concerned, it is especially important to build high-quality, hygienic homes for Jews of the middle-class. I think I would not be exaggerating if I said that the founding of a proper Jewish quarter is the best way for the Jews to take over Jaffa financially. The Aḥuzat Bayit society requires in addition to the 100,000 francs it already has, another 300,000 francs it intends to borrow. Therefore it asks the Jewish National Fund for a loan of 300,000 francs. This transaction involves no risk to the Jewish National Fund, because it will not be lending this sum to Aḥuzat Bayit itself, but to the Anglo-Palestine Company, which will lend the money to Aḥuzat Bayit and serve as a guarantor to the Jewish National Fund. The Anglo-Palestine Company is willing to take upon itself this risk because the land and buildings will be registered in its name, and the members of Aḥuzat Bayit are certainly worthy of credit. The loan will be repaid over 18 years, and the Jewish National Fund is guaranteed 4 percent interest on its money. If there is no choice, the society will make do with 200 or 150 thousand francs, since the Anglo-Palestine Company has promised to loan it in an emergency 100,000 francs for the period of one year, and it hopes that in the meantime it will be able to borrow this sum from someone else as a long-term loan.

I repeat that not only myself, but all the people I have spoken to on this matter agree that it is an extremely important project, and not one of those schemes that come today and are gone tomorrow. I thus ask you to consider this matter with all seriousness.—

I could not write this letter myself, for I am lying in bed with a fever.

The Tel Aviv settlers purchased 150,000 cubits of land with the option of another 130,000. The price was 95 cents per square cubit rather than the original 25, due to speculation. The land was registered in the name of David Yellin and Dr. A. Mazia of Jerusalem, who were Ottoman citizens, and later in the name of Jacobus Henricus Kann of Holland.²⁵⁸

258 David Smilansky, *ibid.*

Soon after the purchase, there were charges (apparently by a key figure in the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa) that the large tract of land had been acquired for the purpose of speculation:

...apparently they wanted not only to buy houses but also to make a good deal on the land.

Thus no money remained for the development of infrastructure such as water pipes, street paving, etc.²⁵⁹

Such charges increased as rents in Tel Aviv soared and land speculation continued:

...The main reasons for establishing Tel Aviv (aside from the desire to create a neighborhood similar to the German quarter) were: the difficult housing situation, the need to pay a year's rent in advance and the high rents. Due to profiteering, rents were always being raised. And now the same state of affairs may be found in Tel Aviv. Here, too, rent is paid a year in advance, but the price is so high that the Arab landlords never saw such prices even in their dreams! Two nice rooms for which one would pay no more than 200-250 francs in Neve Zedek, cost 500 francs in Tel Aviv!...²⁶⁰

The cost of real-estate in Tel Aviv rose so rapidly that in 1912, the suburb's buildings were valued at between one and one and a half million francs (£40,000-£60,000). In 1920, the Tel Aviv committee estimated private and public investment in the neighborhood at close to one million Egyptian pounds (approximately one million pounds sterling).²⁶¹

After seeking private funding for two fruitless years, the Naḥalat Binyamin society also applied to the Jewish National Fund for a building loan.²⁶² Correspondence on this issue may be found in the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.²⁶³

259 Letter about Aḥuzat Bayit dated May 24, 1909, CZA L51/52.

260 "A citizen", *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1913, p. 20. He also points out that in the German colony, where prospects for expansion were limited, rents had not risen in recent years.

261 Barzilai, *Ha-Olam*, vol. 6, April 30, 1912, pp. 9-10; Tel Aviv Committee, 1920, p. 4.

262 Barzilai, *ibid*; Bein, 1970. A building society modelled after Tel Aviv was also founded in Haifa in order to build the Herzliya neighborhood on the slope of Mt. Carmel. This society obtained a loan of 50,000 francs from the JNF (taken from the 300,000 francs initially allocated to Tel Aviv).

263 CZA, L2/71.

After 1910, new societies made their appearance: Mishkenot Bezalel, Neve Ḥessed, Geula, Mishkenot Yisrael, Mea Shearim, and others.²⁶⁴ These societies tried to secure low-interest loans from various sources, ranging from private funding to Zionist institutions. Thus, the Mea Shearim society even applied to David Yellin as the consignor of the Montefiore Fund, as we see from a letter in Yellin's private archives.²⁶⁵

While the new Jewish neighborhoods were being built, real-estate companies—the Palestine Land Development Company, the Immobiliengesellschaft (Palästina) founded by Professor Warburg specifically for the purchase of urban real-estate (at the initiative of Ruppin), and the Anglo-Palestine Company—were buying up properties in the cities. By 1914, land had been acquired in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem.²⁶⁶

On the eve of World War I, Luncz writes:

...And a strong desire has taken hold of the inhabitants to purchase homes of their own... Aside from the splendid neighborhood of Tel Aviv and nearby Naḥalat Binyamin, five more societies have been founded which have acquired land for building homes on a broader scale. They stretch from Tel Aviv to the shore and have already been named: Ḥadasha Mea Shearim, Ḥadisha, Mercaz (La-poolim) and Naḥalat Yitzḥak, and one without a name (part of which has already been sold to wealthy families from abroad). The energetic citizens of Jaffa are also trying to obtain a *low-interest loan* [my emphasis — R.K.], and will no doubt soon be able to realize their desires.²⁶⁷

During the war, a contract was negotiated and signed between Muḥammad Tawfīq Dajānī (a Muslim Arab), Alfred Rocc (a wealthy Christian Arab), and Yehoshua Hankin (a Jew), for the purchase of 15,000 dunams of land in the southern part of Jaffa, near the boundaries of the Jabaliyya neighborhood and Mikve Yisrael—as opposed to the usual land purchases in the north and northwest.²⁶⁸

Brawer brings estimates for the amount of land in Jewish hands before and after the establishment of Tel Aviv. In the pre-Tel Aviv period, the Jews owned

264 *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 65, 1910, p. 3; no. 27, p. 2; no. 49, p. 2; *Ha-Yehudi*, vol. 17, no. 14, 1913, p. 13; *Ha-Moriah*, 5, no. 482, April 6, 1914.

265 Letter of the Mea Shearim society of Jaffa to Mr. David Yellin, December, 1913, CZA, A153/127/13; on the subject of Mea Shearim, also see: *Ha-Moriah*, vol. 4, 1912; and the by-laws and neighborhood map from 1914 in the Labor Party Archives.

266 Bein, 1970, pp. 105-106.

267 Luncz, *Luah*, 1914, pp. 183-184.

268 Jaffa lands, CZA, L51/54, 1914/15. The town of Bayit Vagan (Bat-Yam) was later built here.

1,726 dunams; between 1908-1914, another 10,629 dunams were acquired. During the war years, the number of real-estate transactions decreased.²⁶⁹

In 1914, Ruppin sent two very important memoranda to the Anglo-Palestine Company.²⁷⁰ In them, he surveys the state of the Jewish population, the neighborhoods and building activity in the cities of Palestine, the neglect in the Arab sector, and the housing demand which exceeded supply due to the high rate of interest on loans (8-9 percent on bank loans and 10-15 percent on private loans). It was Ruppin's plan to build "modern, homogeneous Jewish quarters" modelled after Tel Aviv, in Jerusalem, Haifa, Safed, and Tiberias. The idea of establishing Jewish towns was never far from his mind. To bring these plans to fruition, he proposed the establishment of a tri-partite company: a contracting division, a division for the manufacture of construction materials, and a mortgage bank. To each of these he allocated one million francs. He believed that this would stimulate building by granting long-term loans at 8 percent interest, and allow for quality control over materials and construction work. He felt that establishing a large company to regulate public works was the solution to the existing state of confusion. This approach marked a broader plan of action for urban Jewish settlement in general, and for the development of Tel Aviv in particular.

269 Brawer, in Druyanow, 1936, pp. 288-289.

270 Ruppin, Palestine home-building project, July 1914, CZA L51/95; and Ruppin, mortgage bank for urban settlement, CZA L51/96.

CHAPTER THREE

POPULATION AND SOCIETY

SOURCES OF DATA

Population figures are one of the best indicators of settlement change in general and of urban change in particular. A thorough study of the sources to ascertain demographic trends is one of the first steps we shall take in our study of Jaffa. Once these trends become evident, we can compare them with trends in economic and physical development, and examine them in the context of the political and cultural history of Palestine and the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A comparison with other cities in the region will also be possible.

To reconstruct the population of Jaffa during this period, five types of sources will be used: Ottoman sources, census reports, consular correspondence, guidebooks and almanacs, and the travellers' accounts.

Ottoman Sources

Toward the end of the Ottoman period, the authorities seem to have kept orderly records in the spheres of finance, taxation and land registry.¹ In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, a census of the population was virtually unknown.² As we see from the remarks of Thomson, the situation was not much better even in later years:

You are aware that the Turkish government does not take any reliable census and hence all statistics founded upon its estimates must be mere approximations.³

If the Ottomans did survey the population, it was generally for taxation and draft purposes, and only men or males were included. Thus a complete demographic picture was difficult to obtain from them.⁴ Even less accurate are the figures for non-Muslims. Some did not hold Ottoman citizenship; those

1 Lewis, 1952, pp. 2-4; Shaw, 1960, pp. 2-7; Shaw, 1975, p. 106, 111; Karpas, 1978; and McCarthy.

2 Turner, 1820, p. 263; Robinson, 1838, II, p. 83.

3 Thomson, 1878/9, p. 559.

4 Robinson, 1856, I, pp. 422-423; *Jewish Chronicle*, Mar.9, 1900.

who did were exempt from the army. Moreover, taxes were calculated on an approximate basis,⁵ with the help of community leaders who naturally tended to lower the figures.

However, after mid-century, census-taking and registration seem to have improved, especially in the cities. Partial or complete registry of males was replaced by registry of the entire population, and birth and death certificates began to be issued. In the 1850s, the Ottomans introduced a new post in Jerusalem: the *nāzīr al-nufūs* or census-taker, whose job it was to carry out population surveys, issue travel permits, and register deaths.⁶ In the 1860s, Luncz relates that “our esteemed government has opened its eyes to an important matter, and ordered that all inhabitants of the land under its patronage be inscribed in a census book, so that it will be informed about the number and status of its inhabitants.”⁷ From the 1870s, it became the responsibility of the municipalities to “record in a special book the number of residents and their names, all the business transactions carried out in the city, the births and the deaths.”⁸ At the end of the Ottoman period it was customary, in Jerusalem, at least, to issue birth certificates.⁹ The newspapers of the time carry notices about a population and housing survey in Jaffa, and a census in all the cities in Turkey.¹⁰

In the Israel State Archives, there are still remnants of the *nufūs* books for several neighborhoods outside the town wall. Here we find population figures, data on the origins of the residents between 1905-1917, and a list of Jews living in Jaffa in 1884-1904. This material relates to only a small portion of the population, and in contrast to estimates from the end of the period, accounts for no more than 7 percent of the town’s residents.¹¹

Despite the improvement, Jewish sources at the beginning of the twentieth century remained skeptical. Zeev Smilansky writes:

About the number of Jaffa residents we have no clear information, for our country has yet to establish special institutions for counting the population...¹²

5 Luncz, *Luah* 5670 (1910), vol. 15, pp. 19-20 (for 1869).

6 Tobler, in Ben-Arieh, 1974, p. 134.

7 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 2, 1887, p. 168.

8 Parshandata, 1907, pp. 11-13.

9 Census, 1918, p. 6; in a conversation I had with the historian Stanford Shaw, he mentioned that the Ottomans took censuses of individual citizens (as opposed to entire households) and distributed identity cards between 1876-1917.

10 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1900, p. 2; *Ha-Yehudi*, vol. 4, no. 12, 1900, p. 11; Luncz, *Luah* 5660 (1900), p. 21.

11 *Nufūs*; Alsberg.

12 Smilansky, 1907, p. 18.

And in 1918, Yaakov Thon notes the "absence of all statistical investigation. Everything is based on hearsay and estimation. The archives of the Turkish government contain no statistical material."¹³ These statements may be somewhat exaggerated, but let us not forget the limitations of the Ottoman data even when cited by secondary sources during this period. The problem of family size complicated matters even further, as these sources took the number of households or males of a certain age and simply multiplied them as desired in order to obtain overall population figures. The factor ranged between 3-7 persons to a family, and of course, produced utterly different results even when the base remained the same.

Non-Ottoman Population Surveys

There are, unfortunately, few censuses for the period in question. The first official census for all of Palestine was carried out by the British mandatory authorities only in 1922; the second was in 1931. The data collected in these censuses are not always helpful for our purposes because they reflect the post-World War I period, which was a time of great demographic change; moreover, they tend to be very general.¹⁴ A further difficulty is that population growth in nineteenth century Jaffa was not just the product of natural increase; an even greater role was played by immigration.

During World War I, several private surveys were carried out, mainly of the Jewish population, which offer partial information. These include the Montefiore censuses for 1839, 1849, 1855, 1866 and 1875, which enumerated the Jews of Jaffa, specifying country of origin, year of immigration and occupation.¹⁵

In 1905, statistician Zeev Smilansky made a private population survey of the Jews which was uncommonly accurate for those days. He went from house to house with questionnaires, whereas the 1916 census of the Palestine Office in Jaffa relied on the ledgers of the Provisions Committee and the statistical records of the Tel Aviv Town Committee.¹⁶

However, even those sources we consider the most reliable contain elements which mar their credibility. Smilansky, for instance, admits that certain families refused to cooperate:

13 Census, 1918, I, p. 1.

14 See Bharier's work on the population of Iran, 1900-1966, pp. 273-279.

15 Montefiore censuses.

16 Smilansky, 1907; census, 1918, p. 1.

Some of the orthodox feared the “evil eye” and cited as proof a plague in the days of King David; others claimed they had no children in school...and some suspected there was a plot behind our work...¹⁷

In the introduction to the 1916 census of the Jews of Jerusalem, Meir Vilkansky writes that “in certain places [the census takers] met with complete opposition; various apprehensions associated with wartime and the military situation aroused hesitations and fears in the hearts of the respondents...” On the other hand, “since the object was to obtain provisions, they might be suspected of adding to the number of family members or listing the same person twice.”¹⁸ Even earlier, it was suspected that the number of Jews was inflated in order to receive more *ḥalukka* funds from abroad or to elevate their status in the eyes of other communities.

An aversion to census-taking was already noted by the British consul, Young,¹⁹ and Bonar and Mecheyne, in 1839.²⁰ This was also true for the Christian communities. Each community knew how many members it had, but was reluctant to make this information public. Indeed, there are population surveys and registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths for many of these communities which have not been sufficiently utilized in demographic and social analysis. Another important source waiting to be tapped are the cemeteries.

In summary, a census is the best source for a study of the population. When available, it should be given priority over other sources.

Consular Reports

Consular reports are among the most reliable sources for population figures and other information. The consuls were specially trained for their job, they spoke the local language to some degree, and they spent a minimum of several years in the region. They maintained close ties with the Ottoman authorities and followed all developments with interest. Hence, the reports they sent to their governments were authoritative, albeit selective at times. Figures for the citizens of the countries they represent are particularly reliable.

The consular records at our disposal form part of the correspondence of the British, German and American consulates. They offer estimates for the overall population, the various religious denominations, the number of foreign nationals, and so on.

17 Smilansky, *ibid*, p. 5.

18 Census, 1918, I, p. 4.

19 Public Record Office (PRO), F.O. 78/368 in Hyamson, I, pp. 4-5.

20 Bonar, p. 148.

*Guidebooks and Almanacs*²¹

In books of this type, generally published as a series once every few years, an attempt was made to provide accurate population figures, periodically updated. However, data and sources were not always thoroughly checked, material was sometimes based on an errant source, and figures were often left unrevised.

The authors of some of these books admit that they are working within the limitations of the period. Murray, for example, informs his readers that he brings "as close an approximate to the true number as can be made under present circumstances."²²

One of the best sources in the almanac category are the *Yerushalayim* and *Luah Eretz Yisrael* series compiled by Abraham Moses Luncz. As far as population statistics are concerned, Luncz tries to present the official government figures. However, the same figures sometimes appear for several years in succession as if no change had taken place, which can be misleading.

Travellers' Estimates

The travellers visiting Palestine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offer a plethora of population estimates for Jaffa and other cities. Most of these visitors were Christians or Jews from the West who were more interested in the demography of their own communities and paid little heed to the composition of Muslim population in which even the Turks were included without distinction.

Obviously, not all these travellers are equally good as demographic sources. Some made an effort to validate their figures or compare between a number of sources.²³ Others offer general estimates, or cite figures which convey personal impressions or private theories. On occasion, an unverified source is used,²⁴ or outdated information is presented with no attempt to revise it.²⁵

The figures offered by these travellers are largely inconsistent and many scholars view them as useless. However, in combination with other sources, they can be employed to study general trends in population development, as we shall see below.²⁶

21 See, among others: Murray, Liévin, Baedeker and Luncz.

22 Murray, 1868, p. 77.

23 Robinson is a good example.

24 Smilansky, 1907, p. 3.

25 Ben-Arieh, 1970.

26 On this subject, see also: Schmelz, 1973, p. 53; Ish-Shalom, 1966, p. 54; Ben-Arieh, 1970, 1973, 1974.

Aside from the limitations posed by the sources themselves, population assessment was further complicated by the composite nature and heterogeneousness of the Jaffa community. For part of the year, the town was flooded with large numbers of tourists and pilgrims who were sometimes incorporated in the estimates. Many permanent residents with foreign citizenship, or illegal immigrants, were left out of the calculations, whereas villagers in the Jaffa environs were included. With the population in a constant flux due to migration within the country and immigration from without, keeping track of the population was even more difficult. The poor sanitation, epidemics, financial hardship, lack of security, harsh climate, and plagues of locusts also caused fluctuation in the number of inhabitants and hindered population assessment.

TRENDS IN POPULATION GROWTH

Natural Increase

We have no figures for the birth and mortality rates at the end of the Ottoman period, and the few allusions to this subject relate mainly to mortality. Furthermore, these concern the Jewish community, and it is difficult to draw conclusions about the population in general.

Very little is known about the birthrate in Palestine; whatever data is available relates to Jerusalem. From the general remarks of Tobler in the mid-nineteenth century, or of Baldensperger at the beginning of the twentieth century, we learn that despite the polygamy and love of large families among the people of the East, family size was small due to high infant mortality.²⁷

A common assumption in historical demography, which might be applied here, is that mortality rates in the city were higher than in the villages because of overcrowding and difficulty in waste removal, obtaining pure water, and preventing the spread of infection. The villages generally compensated for the city's deficit in natural increase.²⁸ A number of sources indicate that many deaths in Jaffa were indeed the result of epidemics and disease. Dr. Hillel Yaffe, a physician who worked in Tiberias, Jaffa and the colonies, describes the situation in 1902:

In the towns—Tiberias, Haifa, Jaffa and slightly less in Jerusalem—many children were dying from malaria and other diseases. In the

27 Tobler, in Schmelz, 1970; and Baldensperger, *PEF QSt*, 1913, p. 126

28 Schmelz, 1973, p. 23; see also Hollingworth.

colonies, mortality had dropped considerably, particularly those where sanitary conditions had been improved. Regular care, fresh air and methodic treatment had their effect.²⁹

A 1902 cholera epidemic in Jaffa, Lod, and Gaza took the lives of 300 Jaffa residents between October 16 and November 5. At the peak of the epidemic, there were close to 30 deaths a day. Gaza, with 15,000-20,000 residents, lost 3,000 and Lydda, with 4,000 residents—lost 700. In some villages, nearly half the population was wiped out.³⁰

The lack of data on mortality is noted even at the end of the period, in a report on Russia and Palestine in 1916 given at the peace conference though it is assumed that the figures were high.³¹

The mortality rate among the Jews, and probably among other population sectors, exceeded the birthrate. Relating to Jerusalem in the mid-nineteenth century, Schmelz estimates that there were 40 births per annum for every 1,000 inhabitants, as opposed to 80 deaths. Between 1923-1925, deaths dropped to 17-19 in 1,000.³² From this, perhaps, we can draw conclusions for Jaffa as well.

Migration

Three migratory processes affected the growth of Jaffa throughout the nineteenth century and until the close of the Ottoman period: migration from other parts of Palestine, arrivals from other countries, and emigration to another country. From the few figures available, it is difficult to determine the dimensions of each, or whether there was any change in proportions over the years. The migration of Muslims and Jews to Jaffa is reflected in the *nufūs* books, the Montefiore population surveys, and contemporary writings from the second half of the century. The migrants came from rural districts and other towns in Palestine, from neighboring countries (Egypt, Syria and Lebanon), and also from more distant lands (North Africa, Afghanistan).³³

Egyptian farmers were already settling in Jaffa in the 1830s; from the 1850s, the town also began to attract merchants from Beirut.³⁴ Later, in 1892, Lunz

29 Yaffe, 1939, p. 80.

30 Yaffe, *ibid.*, pp. 312-314; in Gaza there were 180-200 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants, in Lydda—175, and in Jaffa—160 among the Jews and 300-450 among the Arabs.

31 *Great Britain*, 1920, p. 16-17.

32 Schmelz, 1970, pp. 18-24.

33 *Nufūs* and Montefiore censuses.

34 James Finn, 1879, I, p. 173.

reports that Hebronites were moving to Jerusalem and Jaffa:

Hebron—the financial situation of this town is deteriorating from year to year, and many of its inhabitants are leaving for Jerusalem and Jaffa. For this reason, the price of homes has dropped greatly, and no buyers can be found.³⁵

According to Press, this migration continued until the end of the period.³⁶

Smilansky offers the following statistics on domestic Jewish migration to Jaffa prior to 1905:³⁷

Jewish migration to Jaffa from other towns in Palestine

Town	Number of migrants
Jerusalem	458
Hebron	44
Safed	42
Tiberias	19
Haifa	11
Nablus	13
Acre	4
Lydda	3
Ramle	3
Gaza	1
TOTAL	598

These statistics indicate a Jewish population flow from Jerusalem to Jaffa, which is confirmed by another source.³⁸

According to Smilansky, young people from the colonies were also attracted to Jaffa. In 1905, Jews moving to Jaffa from other cities in Palestine constituted one-eighth of the town's Jewish population. Migration to Jaffa also included Arabs, not only from the immediate vicinity but from Gaza, Jerusalem, Hebron, etc. Merchants and peasants alike realized that investing in Jaffa was a good business prospect.³⁹

35 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 4, 1892, p. 234.

36 Press, 1921, p. 216.

37 Smilansky, 1907, p. 22.

38 In 1904, Luncz notes the increase in Jewish migration from Jerusalem to other parts of the country and the decrease in migration to Jerusalem.

39 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 15-16.

The partial statistics for 1905-1914 in the Muslim *nufūs* books of five Jaffa neighborhoods, indicate that migrants accounted for 5 to 21 percent of their total populations. The following table was compiled on the basis of this information:

*Muslims born in Jaffa, Palestine and other countries,
living in 5 Jaffa neighborhoods in 1905-1917*⁴⁰

Neighborhood	Native of Jaffa	Native of Palestine	Foreign Born	Total Population	Unknown (included in total)	% of Total Born in Jaffa
'Ajamī	252	11	16	281		90
Naqīb	223	7	4	234		95
Sabil	420	38	47	506	1	83
Denaite	305	33	46	384		79
Shaikh Ibrāhīm	691	31	32	755	1	92
TOTAL	1,891	120	145	2,160	2	87.5

The major source of Jewish migration was from outside the country. As early as 1832-1837, the Scottish Mission discerned a flow of Jews into Palestine.⁴¹ Many of them hailed from the North African coast, and settled mainly in Safed and the coastal towns. However this did not yet close the population gap. Luncz mentions the arrival of emigrés from Russia and Rumania in 1883-1887:

The aliyah of Russian and Rumanian emigrés in 1883-84 has helped to expand the Jewish community and improve its situation. In particular, the coastal towns and Haifa have become more active, and are better able to engage in commerce and trade.⁴²

According to Smilansky's census in 1905, 43.8 percent of the Jews in Jaffa came from abroad. In the winter of 1906 alone, some 1,500 refugees from the pogroms in Russia settled in Jaffa. Hundreds more arrived by boat the following summer. On the other hand, there were also departures from Jaffa.⁴³

40 *Nufūs*.

41 Bonar, pp. 148, 164.

42 Luncz, *Ha-Hashkafa*, Jerusalem, vol. 2, 1887, pp. 179-181.

43 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 19, 29-31.

The origins of the Jews of Jaffa (1905-1917)
(based on Smilansky, 1907 and Census, 1918)

Place of birth	No. of persons	%	Jews exiled in 1917, %
Jaffa	2,029	42.58	} 45.46
Palestine (excl. Jaffa)	649	13.62	
Europe (incl. European Turkey)	1,448	30.39	44.57
Asia (incl. Asiatic Turkey)	413	8.67	4.20
Africa	210	4.41	0.79
America	13	0.27	2.34
Australia	3	0.06	0.03
Unspecified			2.53
TOTAL	4,765	100.00	100.00

Towards the end of the period, in 1913 and 1914, the newspaper *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir* brings detailed listings of the number of Jews arriving and departing from Palestine. From these (see table below) we see that traffic was brisk, with arrivals outnumbering departures. The destinations of the new arrivals are also cited, and interestingly, we find that a large proportion of them remained in Jaffa (which included Tel Aviv). The colonies took second place, and Jerusalem, third.

Jewish arrivals and departures from Jaffa port
Feb. 1913 to end of Mar. 1914⁴⁴

Period	Arrivals	Departures	To Jaffa	To Jerusalem	To Colonies & Unknown
Feb.-Sept. 1913	2,336	1,420	1,142	442	182 + 570
Oct. 1913 Mar. 1914	2,217	749			
TOTAL (13 mos)	4,553	2,169			

44 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 6, no. 28-29, 1913, p. 22; 35, p. 16; *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tz'air*, vol. 7, no. 6, 1914, p. 2; 30, p. 14. For October 1913 to March 1914, there is no precise data on their whereabouts. It is only stated that for the first six months, half of them remained in Jaffa, 900 went to the colonies, and 300 to Jerusalem.

We have no figures for the number of Christians who immigrated to Palestine and settled in Jaffa, but we know from the literature of the period that such movement was taking place, among the Templers and others. On the other hand, there was movement in the opposite direction, with Jews, Christians (chiefly Christians leaving Bethlehem, Beit Jālā and Ramallah),⁴⁵ and possibly Muslims leaving Jerusalem, Jaffa and other parts of Palestine to settle abroad.

Thus the growing town of Jaffa was nourished by four different sources: natural increase, domestic migration, immigration from abroad, and physical expansion which brought the surrounding rural settlements within its bounds.

Analysis of Population Growth

In order to analyze population growth in Jaffa from 1800 to 1931,⁴⁶ we have compiled a detailed chronological table of urban population figures using the few available censuses and population surveys in combination with consular records, guidebooks, almanacs and travellers' reports. On the basis of this table (see below), graphs were drawn up for the general population and individual communities. Since many of the figures in the table are estimates, the curves were calculated by median, rather than averaging the data for each decade. This method was chosen because it is not affected by estimates which are dramatically high or low. The surveys of 1922 and 1932 were used exclusively, and were not included in the median, as were certain data that appear in the Jewish community graphs. For the Jews, a median was only calculated for 1911-1915; the Zionist Organization census was utilized as the sole source for 1916.

While estimates of this type are sometimes dismissed,⁴⁷ they can be valuable in an analysis of general population trends over time. They are not appropriate for a more detailed study of events and growth patterns in Jaffa during the period in question.

45 Ruppin, 1917, pp. 191-196.

46 The choice of these years was intended to show the trends prior to 1840 and after 1917. In compiling this table I was assisted by sub-tables in the following sources: Ravitsky, 1939, pp. 168-169; Press, 1952, pp. 427-433; Amiran and Shahar, 1960, pp. 182-183; Ish-Shalom, 1965, pp. 151-153, 196-197; Ben-Arieh, 1970, pp. 4-8, 14-16; Ben-Arieh, 1973, pp. 80-122; Gat, pp. 19-20, 181.

47 Hollingworth, p. 244; and Schmelz, 1973, p. 53; Bharier used such estimates in reconstructing a population curve for Iran from 1900; also see Amiran and Shahar, 1960, regarding the population of towns in Palestine.

The population of Jaffa, 1800-1931

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1800	Wittman, 1803, pp. 125-130	1,000-1,500				
1806	Seetzen, 1806, II, pp. 69-72	2,500-3,000	+	+	None	2 Samaritans among Christians, Greeks, Armenians and Catholics
1814	Light, 1818, p. 143	app. 5,000		+		
1815	Turner, 1820, II, p. 292		+	+		app. 1,200 houses
1816	Buckingham, 1825, pp. 157-161					app. 1,000 houses
1818	Richardson, 1822, II, p. 208	4,000-5,000	2,000-3,000	600		Believes Muslim estimate is too low. There are Catholics, Greeks & Armenians.
1820	Wilson, 1822, I, pp. 156-160	app. 4,000				
1820	Gaon, Yehudai ha-Mizrah, p. 231				+	A <i>hatzer</i> was purchased.
1820	Borsums, 1825, pp. 110-116	5,000-6,000				
1820	Hirschberg, 1953 p. 228				+	
1827	Failoni, 1827, pp. 38-39	app. 4,000	+			Nearly all Muslims
1832	Thomson, 1860, II, pp. 270-287	6,000				
1832	Lamartine, 1832, pp. 310-311	app. 6,000	+	+	+	
1834	Dobel, 1837, II, pp. 140-143	app. 7,000				
1835	Tobler, 1839, II, pp. 121-123	5,000		+		
1835	Norov, 1878, pp. 106-111		app. 4,000	app. 600		
1836	Stephens, 1837, p. 118	10-15,000	+	+	+	Not included in graph
1837	Salzbacher, 1839, II, pp. 2-17	app. 5,000		800		100 Catholics
1837	Visino, 1840, pp. 455-459	app. 6,000				
1838	Robinson, 1841, III, p. 31	app. 7,000		app. 1/2		Greek Orthodox, Catholics, Armenians, Latins

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1839	Young in Hyamson, I, pp. 4-5	10,000			60	Young's total based on Egerton
1839	Bonar, 1846, p. 147				app. 60	
1840	Egerton, 1841, p. 7	10-17,000				
1842	Ewald, 1846, p. 252	8,000				
1842	Wilson, 1842, II, pp. 256-258	5,000		+	26 families	
1843	Banister, 1844, p. 333	5,000-6,000	+	600		Catholics, Greeks, Maronites & Armenians
1844	Strauss, 1847, pp. 338, 380-385	10,000			+	Pop. doubled in 10 yrs.
1845	Schwarz, Tevuot, II, p. 169				+	App. 3 <i>minyanim</i> (30 males)
1845	Tobler, 1854, II, p. 615	5,667	4,127	1,507	33	683 Greeks, 375 Catholics, 18 Greek Catholics, 66 Armenians, 5 Copts
1848	Montague, 1848, p. 275	app. 5,000		600		
1848	Lynch, 1849, p. 446	13,000	8,000	4,700	300	2,000 Greeks, 2,000 Armenians, 700 Maronites
1850	Churton, 1851, pp. 226-227	20,000 including environs		300	50 (9 fam.)	Based on British consul Kayat
1851	Survey, III, 1881, p. 279; II, pp. 254-7	4,841				Based on 1851 census
1851	Liebetrut, 1854, II, pp. 168-173	5,000		1/8		
1851	Anderson, p. 269	5,000-6,000				
1852	Van de Velde, I, pp. 440-441	7,500	app. 4,000	3,500	+	Figure for Christians includes Jews. App. 2,000 Greeks, 1,000 Armenians, 500 Maronites, Catholic Greek Catholics & Jews. Claims Lynch is inaccurate. Greeks, Catholics, Armenians, Latins influenced by no of pilgrims
1852	Shultz, 1853, pp. 77-81	app. 7,000		1/2		
1852	Dupuis, 1856, II, pp. 60-77	10-12,000				
1853	Bartlett, 1855, pp. 52-53	17,000				
1854	Hoizdorf, 1944				26 fam.	
1855	Ritchie, 1856, pp. 409-421	app. 8,000	+	+	+	Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Latins
1855	Taylor, 1855, pp. 258-261	app. 5,000	3,000	1,500		

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1856	Frankl, 1858, p. 150				400	
1857	Thomson, 1860, II, pp. 270-287	15,000				
1857	Buchanan, 1859, p. 83	app. 6,000	+	+		Muslim Arabs and Christian Maronites, Greeks, Latins & Armenians
1858	Bovet, 1858, p. 102	app. 5,000				
1859	Damas, 1866, I, p. 226	6,000	4,700	1,300		700 Greeks, 500 Catholics, 100 Armenians
1860	Neumann, 1949, p. 365				600	
1863	Guérin, 1868, I,		10,000	+2,200	+	Muslims incl. in the gardens. App. 1,500 Greek Orthodox, 700 Armenians, a few Catholics & Greek Catholics
1864	Furrer, 1865, pp. 5-9	app. 8,000				
1864	Haller, 1871, p. 247	app. 6,000	+	+	+	Arabs, Turks, Orthodox Armenians, Maronite Catholics (1,200), Catholics, Jews
1864	Hacohen, Ha-Mevaser, II, no. 34, 284				app. 800	
1864/5	Wilson, 1866, II, pp. 139-144	8,000				Based on Mrs. Roger notes rapid population growth of late
1865	French consulate, July 7, 1865	15,000				
1866	Murray, 1866, p. 273	5,000	3,850	1,000	150	
1866	Ritter, 1866, p. 259	2,000-3,000				Based on Russegger
1866	Ritter, 1866, p. 259	5,000			app. 26 families	Based on Wilson
1866	Delfuga, 1866, p. 21	11-12,000				
1866	Shulman, 1866, p. 4				400	65 families, which he multiplies by 6.15
1868	Nelson, 1868, pp. 1-2	app. 4,000		app. 1/4		
1868	Swift, 1868, pp. 195-196	app. 5,000		app. 1,000		American settlers
1868	Ashworth, 1869, p. 42	app. 5,000				
1868	Russell, 1869, pp. 328-330	15,000				Including suburbs
1868	Porter, 1869, p. 225	app. 5,000	3,850	app. 1,000	150	Based on Whitney
1869	American consulate, Dec. 1869	12,000	6,500	4,000	1,500	U.S. vice consul in J

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1869	Liévin, 1869, p. 21	6,185	4,300	1,485	400	350 Latins, 10 Protestants 10 Armenians, 375 Greek Catholics, 700 Greek Orthodox, 205 Templers, 50 Maronites
1870	Whitney, 1871, p. 198	4,000-15,000				The population also includes refugees & wanderers from all over the world
1870	American consulate, Sept. 30, 1870	12,000 including 6,300 gardens		4,200	1,500	2,500 Greeks, 1,500 Catholics 200 foreigners (16 Americans, 4 Britons, 50 Germans, 130 French Greeks & Austrian Jews Only no. of homes
1871	Hartman, 1883, p. 136	1,131	865	266		
1872	Meisel, 1939, p. 142				120	
1873	Manning, 1874, p. 11	4,000			600	
1875	Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67	8,000				
1876	Socin, p. 130	app. 8,000	6,120	1,880		Based on Survey of W Palestine. Gives no figure for Jews
1876	Baedeker, 1876, pp. 130-131	8,000	+	+		
1876	Liévin, 1876, I, 77	6,445	4,300	1,745	400	Figures for Christian sects
1876	Oplatka, Masa'ai Yerah				app. 600	In Eliav, German Consulate, p. 252
1877	Yehuda ve-Yerusha- layim, pp. 106-113				app. 1,200	
1879	Thomson, 1880, I, pp. 5-12	app. 15,000				
1880	Alliance Israélite Bulletin, 1880				app. 2,000	In Eliav, German Consulate, p. 252
1882	Luncz, Yerusha- layim, I, p. 90	8,000				5,000 inside & 3,000 outside
1883	Murād in Eliav, pp. 92-93				+ 700 fam.	
1883	Wilson, 1885, II, pp. 139-144	8,000	+ 2/3			
1883	Brill, 1883, p. 195	app. 10,000			100 fam.	
1885	Sokolov, 1885, p. 164	app. 10,000	majority			300 in German colony of Sarona
1886	American consulate Dec. 16, 1886	20,000				
1886	Pinkus, 1903, p. 80	17,000				
1887	Liévin, 1887, I, pp. 93-94	14,700	10,000	2,270	2,500	Offers figures for Christian denominations

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1887	Luncz, Yerushalayim, II, p. 183				1,500	
1887	Cunningham, 1887, I, p. 24	8,000-15,000		+	3,000	Of these, 500 were Europeans
1889	Hacohen, in Yaari, 1946, p. 655				app. 2,000	
1889	Judische Presse, Berlin, 1889				app. 2,000	Eliav, German Consulate, p. 259
1890	Mushkat, Ha-Havazzelet, 20, p. 252				app. 2,000	50 yrs. ago (1840) there was not even one Jew
1891	Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67	16,570	10,500	2,875	2,700	Enumerates by sect
1892	Pinkus, 1903, p. 80	23,000				
1893	Terhune, 1896, pp. 306-307	8,000-15,000				
1894	Baedeker, 1894, p. 8	23,000	12,000	6,000	5,000	
1895	Deverell, 1899, p. 19	app. 25,000	+	+		
1895/6	Luncz, Luah, I, p. 28	17,713	11,630	3,113	2,970	Enumerates by sect
1895	Eisenstadt, Luah Ahiasaf, II, p. 397				app. 3,000	
1897	Ben Yosef, Ha-Melitz	17,713	11,630	3,113	3,970	Error: should be 2,970
1897	Liéven, 1897, I, pp. 97-103	33,465	20,000	3,465	10,000	Enumerates by Christian sect
1897	Blech in Hyamson, II, p. 571				1,000	
1897	Pinkus, 1903, p. 80	35,000				In Tolkovsky, p. 153
1898	ISA, 67/1485, German Consulate	27,030				App. 450 Germans
1898	Luncz, Luah 4, p. 28	17,713	11,630	3,113	2,970 (1210 Sephardi, 1760 Ashkenazi)	159 Armenians, 210 Maronites, 490 Templers, 55 Copts, 1,560 Greeks, 639 Latins
1898	ISA, 67/1530, German Consulate	27,030	17,000	7,330	2,700	1,500 Greek Orthodox, 1,200 Latins, 600 Greeks, 150 Armenians, 490 Templers, 70 Armenians, 30 Copts, 450 Germans, 50 British Americans, 30 French
1899	Luncz, 1899, pp. 1-2	17,713	11,630	3,113	2,970 (1210 Sephardi, 1760 Ashkenazi)	150 Armenians, 490 Templers, 1,560 Greeks, 639 Latins, 210 Maronites, 50 Copts
1899	Cohen-Reiss, I, p. 180				app. 5,000	

POPULATION AND SOCIETY

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1900	Fulton, 1900, p. 16	13,000	10,000	2,550	+	Enumerates by Christian sect
1900	Ha-Zvi, 16, 2, p. 4	30,000	18,000	12,000 (incl. Jews)		7,852 homes
1900	Pinkus, 1903, p. 51	40,000				In Tolkovsky, p. 153
1902	ISA, 67/1985	37,000				App. 630 Germans, incl. protégés
1904	German consulate Büge in Smilansky, 1907, p. 18	39,700	30,000	6,500	1,200	+ 2,000 foreign subjects
1904	Belkind, in Smilansky, 1907, p. 18	30,000	18,000	9,000	app. 3,000	
1905	Smilansky, 1907, p. 18-19				app. 5,000	
1906	Trietsch, 1901, p. 42	47,000				In Tolkovsky, p. 153
1906	Smilansky, <i>ibid</i>				+ 6,000	
1907	Smilansky, <i>ibid</i>	app. 40,000				
1907	Jaffa German Consulate, Eliav, Consulate, pp. 170-171					Relates only to Jaffa district: 67,363 including town
1907	Parshandata, 1907, p. 18	30,000			6,500	
1907	ISA, 67/464 June 24, 1907	45,000				
1908	Trietsch, <i>ibid</i>	50,000				In Tolkovsky, p. 153
1907/8	Luncz, Luah, 13, p. 54	40,000	24,000	9,000	7,000	
1908/9	Luncz, Luah, 14, p. 37	47,000	29,400	10,000	7,600	
1909	Luncz, Luah, 15, p. 37	47,000	29,400	10,000	7,600	
1909	Gaon, Yehudai, p. 232				2,970	
1910	Luncz, Luah, 16, p. 36	50,000	30,700	10,800	8,500	
1911	Ha-Or, II, p. 2	50,000			10,000	
1912	Baedeker, 1912, pp. 7-8	app. 50,000	30,000	10,000	10,000	
1913	Luncz, Luah, 19, p. 36	50,000	30,700	9,300	10,000	
1914	Census, 1918, p. 7	40,000			15,000	
1915	Ruppın, 1918, p. 7	40,000			10,000	
1916	Census, 1918, p. 23				8,740	
1916	Census, 1918, p. 23				8,740	6,000 Jews were deported in 1915
1921	Press, 1921, p. 253	45,000	24,500	10,000	10,500	

Year	Source	Total pop.	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Remarks
1921	Haycraft Report, 1921, p. 2	45,000	1/2	—1/4	+ 1/4	
1922	Census, 1922, p. 6	47,709	20,699	6,850	20,152	8 Samaritans
1922	Tolkovsky, 1926, p. 153	47,779				Including Tel Aviv
1931	Census, 1931, I, p. 55	51,866				Jaffa alone
1931	Census, 1931, I, p. 55	46,101				Tel Aviv alone
1931	Official newspaper, Jan. 1, 1932	57,366	35,010	9,907	7,132	Jaffa alone

Graphs plotted according to this table show that Jaffa's population swelled from 2,750 to 50,000 souls.

This growth took place in two major stages, further divided into sub-stages. The first stage, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the mid-1860s, was characterized by a slow, barely noticeable increase in population. During the second stage, from the 1860s until World War I, growth was substantial and constant. During the war itself the population decreased, but growth resumed with even greater force when it was over.

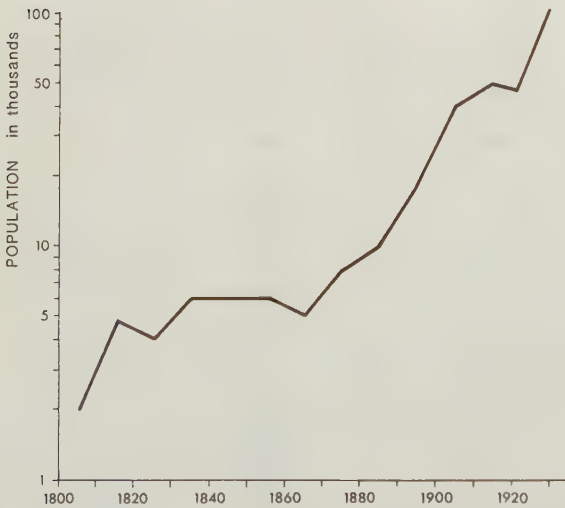


Fig. 2: Jaffa population growth 1805-1931 (calculated according to the median of each decade from the population table included in the text)

In plotting a growth curve for Jaffa, a close connection was presumed between political events (the Tanẓīmāt, the end of the Crimean War, etc.), cultural and economic change, and population growth. Until the nineteenth century Jaffa was more a village than a town—and so it remained until mid-century. The fact that accelerated growth commenced in the 1860s is thus highly significant.

If we look at the growth curve in terms of religious denominations, we see that the Muslim community remained dominant in Jaffa throughout the Ottoman period. Between 1805-1915, it grew from 3,000 to 30,350 persons. Rapid increase in the number of Muslims and Christians was evident in the 1860s, whereas the Jews began to multiply in the 1880s. There seem to have been common factors in Jaffa that led to the growth of all three communities. A steep rise in the Muslim population in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century was largely the product of migration to Jaffa. World War I brought about a decline in the population, though growth resumed when the British Mandate came into force.

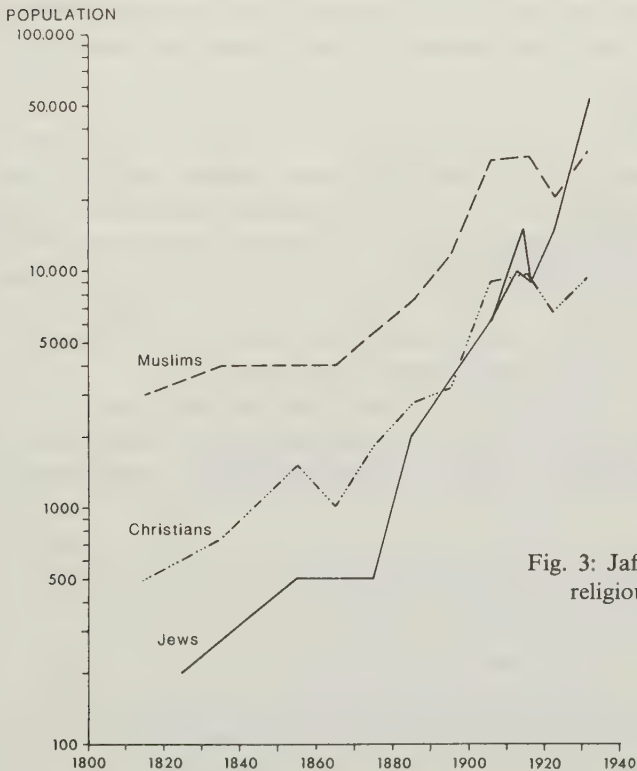


Fig. 3: Jaffa population growth by religious groups, 1815-1931

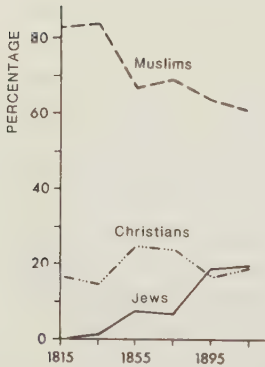


Fig. 4: Jaffa population growth by religious groups, 1815-1915

Considering that Jews began to settle in Jaffa only in the 1830s, the growth rate of the community is astonishingly high: from 60 persons in 1835 to 15,000 in 1915. Until relatively late, the community remained small and undistinguished; from the 1870s onwards, it grew by leaps and bounds. By World War I, the Jews were on a par with the Christians, and later they equalled the Muslims.

The Christian population grew slowly between the 1860s and 1890s. After this, the pace increased, only to be halted by the war. Between 1805-1915, the number of Christians rose from 600 to 9,600. Relatively speaking, however, Christian growth in Jaffa lagged far behind that of the Muslim and Jewish communities. The graphs show that much of the growth until the end of the Ottoman period stemmed from natural increase and domestic migration, and not from overseas immigration, as commonly believed. Moreover, this growth preceded the surge of Jewish immigration in the 1880s.

By 1915, the population of Jaffa had changed in composition, as indicated in the following table and the religious denominations graph. The percentage of Jews had grown considerably, and that of Christians, slightly—at the expense of the Muslims.

Religious denominations in Jaffa (%)

Year	Muslims	Christians	Jews
1835	84	15	1
1915	61	19	20

During the period in question, changes also occurred in the internal composition of religious groups. Of the larger Christian denominations, the number of Greek Orthodox began to rise only in the 1880s. Preceding them were the Catholics, who became more numerous in 1860-1880. This growth paused around 1890 and then resumed, though at a more moderate pace than that of the Greeks. (The Catholics may not have increased at all, but give this impression because the estimates are inaccurate.) The smaller denominations such as the Armenians and the Protestants grew very little.

Of all the Christian groups, only the growth of the Greek Orthodox community, following an influx of members from outside Palestine, was of consequence. As for the division in the Jewish community between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, the two groups initially grew at the same pace, but then the ratio between them changed—first in Jerusalem, in the 1880s, and then in Jaffa, a few years later (see Fig. 6 on p. 184 below).

What were the reasons for population growth in Jaffa? For one thing, this was part of a general process of growth all over Palestine, though the pace of urban growth was more rapid than the growth rate in general, and the populations of Jaffa and Jerusalem expanded more rapidly than those of other towns.

*Total population & rate of urbanization in Palestine
1800-1922⁴⁸*

Year	Total Pop.	% of Urban Pop.	% of Jerusalem & Jaffa in Urban Pop.	% of Jerusalem & Jaffa in Total Pop.
1800	300,000	18	22	4
1882	450,000	27	34	9
1922	757,182	35	42	15

This growth was the product of a combination of factors and processes. Improvements during the nineteenth century in the protection of person and property, the status of foreigners, the economy (in part, through the injection of overseas capital), and the standards of education and health, encouraged domestic growth. Together with advances in communications and transportation, they also promoted selective migration from inside and outside the

48 The table is based on Horewitz, pp. 498-504; Ben-Arieh, 1970, p. 29; and the census in 1922, pp. 5-6. Figures prior to 1922 are based on estimate alone; on this matter, see Ben-Arieh, 1981.

country which worked to Jaffa's advantage. Jaffa, as a port city, became a magnet for financial investment.

As noted, Jaffa's growth derived from four sources: natural increase, domestic migration, immigration from abroad and the inclusion of surrounding villages. Determining the precise share of each component is difficult for lack of data. However, if we examine them individually, we see that the villages, for example, were chiefly *sakināt*, and did not add much. Hence, Jaffa's growth may be attributed to domestic migration, natural increase and overseas immigration. The latter cannot account for all the growth in Jaffa and while there was obviously natural increase this is particularly problematic because of the lack of information and the demographic complexity: family size, marriage customs, birth rates and mortality differed for each population group.

According to Smilansky's census in Jaffa in 1905, the average size of the Jewish family was 4.7 persons⁴⁹ (2.97 in 1916, during the war), which was much larger than in Jerusalem. However, we cannot say whether there was any change, because no figures are available for an earlier date. Moreover, Jewish family size is no indication of family size among the Muslims and Christians, for whom data is almost non-existent.⁵⁰

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL FEATURES

Several demographic features of Jaffa society have been dealt with already, in the section on population. Here we shall examine the social-cultural fabric of Jaffa, and ascertain whether any changes took place between 1840 and 1917.

There were different planes of social organization in Jaffa at the end of the Ottoman period. Social groups might be classified by kinship, ethnic group (geographical and racial origin), religious denomination, geographical or social ecology (of town, quarter, neighborhood, street, courtyard) or social status. Some of these classifications overlapped or conflicted, creating interaction between different lifestyles and organizational forms. Thus one could find a variety of allegiances within a single group; each individual had his own priorities and loyalties in addition to that of the group.

49 Smilansky, 1907, p. 19.

50 The differences in family size among the various communities also exist today. A census in East Jerusalem in 1967 showed 5.6 members per Muslim household and 4.1 members per Christian household. A census in 1961 showed an average family size of 3.0 among European Jews of Jerusalem and 4.6 among those of Asian and North African origin (according to Schmelz, 1973, pp. 68-73, and *Atlas Yerushalayim*, 1973, p. 45).

Most of the social groups in Jaffa during this period were family-based. For those born in Palestine and environs (Muslims, Christians and Jews), this meant the extended family—which was part of the ethnic group, the community, or both. The family framework might be characterized by a common ethnic, geographic and linguistic background, by a common religion, or by a combination of these. Ethnic groups and communities belonged to the denominations and subdenominations of a specific religion.⁵¹

The *millet* system then common in the Ottoman Empire (applied to non-Muslim religious communities) and the autonomy in internal affairs granted to various religious groups, resulted in very limited political and ideological ties with other social groups.⁵² In Jaffa, this form of social organization was expressed geographically, through a breakdown into quarters, neighborhoods and streets inhabited by a single family or *hamūla*, a single ethnic group, or community. The social institutions of these groups operated mainly on a community or denominational basis, as voluntary societies which provided financial aid, food, shelter, guest accommodation, and so on.

Since kinship, ethnicity, and religion formed the basis of social organization at this time, social ranking was within the group, rather than across the board for all groups. The wealthy felt closer to the poor of their own kind than to wealthy members of another ethnic community. The awareness of modern class distinctions only existed among the Jewish immigrants who settled in Palestine in the early twentieth century.

One characteristic of these social groups was a similar lifestyle, expressed through housing, dress, food, customs, festivals, rituals, etc. These are what distinguished between one community and another, and made them unique.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the population of Jaffa remained traditional in character. By the turn of the century, there was growing evidence of modernization and nationalism (both Jewish and Arab). Newspapers began to appear, voicing differences of opinion and ideology. Old versus new, tradition versus modernization, religion versus secularism—all these figured prominently in the local press. The relatively secular European Jews streaming into the country in the 1880s had a great influence on the residents of Jaffa. Though we may presume that those migrating from other towns and villages in Palestine remained loyal to their traditional social structures, they, too, were eventually influenced by the atmosphere. As the

51 The literature is unclear in its distinctions between “*eda*”, “community” and “sect”. This may derive from the occasional overlapping between them (as in the case of the Armenians). For our purposes, “*eda*” refers to an ethnic group, whereas “community” and “sect” are functional and religious divisions.

52 On the *millet* system in Palestine, see Horewitz, p. 500.

years passed, the population of Jaffa became more and more varied. In the early twentieth century, Baldensperger writes:

The present population, though chiefly Arabs, yet has representatives of at least 25 different nations. Every community has an acknowledged leader responsible before the authorities for those who are in any respect under its orders.⁵³

On the following pages, we shall discuss different aspects of Jaffa's population: size, spatial distribution, lifestyle, institutions and cultural activities. Obviously, the degree of elaboration will depend on the availability of sources.

The Muslim Community

Size, Growth and Composition

The overwhelming majority of Jaffa residents were Muslims, although their percentage in the total population dropped slightly at the turn of the century. Titus Tobler was one of the first to bring us detailed population figures for the various communities. He estimates the population in 1845 at 5,667, 4,127 of them Muslims (73 percent). Father Liévin found 4,300 Muslims in 1869, out of a total population of 6,185 (68 percent). In 1898, the German vice-consul in Jaffa says the Muslim population was 17,000 in a general population of 27,030 (63 percent). By 1913, there were 40-50,000 persons living in Jaffa. For that year, Luncz writes that 30,700 of the town's 50,000 inhabitants were Muslim (61 percent). (See population table above.)

From an analysis of this data, with all its limitations, we can discern two general trends: first, a swift, continuous rise in the number of Muslims; and second, a decrease in their percentage of the total population. Nonetheless, the Muslims were still in the majority. Growth at the end of the period was chiefly the product of a high birth rate, judging by the partial data found in the Muslim *nufūs* books for 1905-1917 (see table above). Seventy-nine to ninety-five percent of those included in the census taken in five neighborhoods—'Ajamī, Naqīb, Sabīl, Sheikh Ibrāhīm and Danaite—were born in Jaffa. However, we must remember that these figures account for only 7 percent of Jaffa's Muslims, and are thus a very incomplete representation of the community.⁵⁴

The origins of those Muslims not born in Jaffa were extremely diverse. Some were from towns and villages in other parts of Palestine (Lydda, Ramle,

53 Baldensperger, *PEF QSt* 1917, pp. 13-14.

54 *Nufūs*.

Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus, Nazareth and Acre; Yāzūr, Yibna, Marin, al-‘Arīsh, Jalīl, Beit Iksā, Kafr Maya, Qāqūn, Tīra, Dallata, Sawāfir, Dair Ballūt, Qalqīlya and ‘Ajjūr). Others were from outside Palestine, though chiefly from the Middle East (Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon in Lebanon; Port Said, Ṭanṭā, Suez, al-Minya and Dumyāt in Egypt; Tripoli, Misurata and Banghazi in Libya; Qabāṭiyah, Laṭāqia, Aleppo, Mersin, Jarash, Morocco, Algiers and Afghanistan). Thus it would be wrong to view all the Muslims in Jaffa as a single ethnic group or community. The population tables only give figures for Arab Muslims and Turks, but a description from the end of the period shows that most of the Muslims belonged to one of two groups: local Muslims or Egyptian Muslims. There were also Western Muslims (from North Africa), black Muslims, Afghans, gypsies, and possibly other groups not mentioned in the sources.⁵⁵

An important source for the study of the Muslim community, not utilized here but worthy of mention, are the *sijill* books (*shari‘a* court records) for nineteenth century Jaffa. It is anticipated that studies based on these books will shed light on many spheres of Muslim and non-Muslim life in Jaffa. Some of the phenomena disclosed by a preliminary study are the high incidence of marriage against the woman’s will, the marriage of minors, and divorce by mutual consent. This source also reveals that Jaffa was home to groups of immigrants from North Africa and Egypt, as well as tribes of Bedouin.⁵⁶

Further evidence that Jaffa was a center for Muslim immigration may be found in a list of prominent Muslim families drawn up by T.B. Ashkenazi in 1932, probably on the basis of verbal testimony. Ashkenazi enumerates 22 families and their towns of origin: the Dajānī family from Beit Dajān, the Bīṭār from Jaffa, the Dawārs from Lydda, the Saidī from Kafr Ḥajjā (west of Nablus), the Abū al-Hudā from Ramle (living in Jaffa since the early 1860s), the Mustaqīm from Jaffa, the Abū Khaḍrās from Egypt (in Jaffa since the early 1850s), the Bambiya from Egypt (in Jaffa since the early 1830s), the Dār al-Baral from Egypt (in Jaffa since the early 1850s), the ‘Azūnī from Egypt (in Jaffa since the early 1830s), the Hafab (an old Jaffa family); the Ḥamāma from Egypt (in Jaffa since the early 1830s), the ‘Āshūr from Nablus, the Nābulṣī from Nablus, the Zain al-Dīn from Gaza, the Shihāb al-Dīn from Lydda, the Abū Ramaḍān from Gaza, the Bizara from Sidon, the Ish Habar from Jaffa, the Garlid from Bait al-Kīrī, the Yāfā from Jerusalem, and the al-Imām family from Jaffa.⁵⁷

55 Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, 1917, p. 14.

56 Layish.

57 Ashkenazi.

According to Baldensperger, distinctions reflecting country of origin were highly visible in a variety of areas ranging from place of residence to behavior norms, marriage customs, dress, language, and occupation.⁵⁸

Spatial distribution

Maps of Jaffa and other sources indicate that the old city, and later, the northern district of Manshiyya, were home to Jaffa's veteran Muslim population. According to the *nufūs* books, 'Ajamī, Naqīb, Sabīl, Danaite and Sheikh Ibrāhīm were also inhabited by Muslims. Members of the upper class kept elegant villas in the gardens ringing the city. Old Jaffa's Muslim quarter retained its traditional, densely populated character even in the early twentieth century.⁵⁹ The area around the government institutions was probably inhabited by Turks, who also lived in Saknet al-Turk.

The Egyptians resided chiefly in *sakināt* outside Old Jaffa. Most were farmers who worked in the groves as gardeners. They usually lived alongside the black-skinned Muslims (whose leader was known as Sheikh el-'Abīd), who were either runaway or freed slaves, or returning pilgrims who could not afford the passage home. Lacking family and property, the black-skinned Muslims were usually agricultural laborers, though a few were farmers and craftsmen.

The North Africans, or Mughrabīs, clustered around the mosques, usually working as watchmen in the groves and fields. Some families lived in Jaffa permanently; others stayed in Jaffa for shorter or longer periods on their way to or from Mecca.⁶⁰

There were also gypsies, who pitched their tents in Jaffa, worked as blacksmiths, and manufactured small hammers, burners and tongs which they sold to the residents.⁶¹

Jaffa also had an Asian community, representing different sectors of the Muslim world. We do not know where these Persians, Afghans, Hindus, Baluchis and others lived, but most of them engaged in commerce. They sat on the street corners or in small shops, and sold carpets, guns, knives, and other small metal objects imported from their home countries. Some were watchmen in the groves around Jaffa.⁶²

58 Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, 1917, pp. 12-17.

59 Baldensperger, 1903, p. 69; Smilansky, 1907, p. 15.

60 Baldensperger, 1917, pp. 12-17.

61 Alper, p. 144.

62 Baldensperger, 1917, pp. 12-17, and letter of British vice-consul Falanga, of Aug. 16, 1907, ISA, 123-1/26.

Society and Lifestyle

Descriptions of Jewish and Christian life in Jaffa of the time may be found in abundance. Not so, descriptions of the Muslim community and its sub-groups. The general impression from the sparse material at our disposal is that ethnic differences overshadowed Muslim solidarity. Baldensperger, in his accounts of the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, shows how this separatism affected marriage: local Muslims would not give their daughters to those of Egyptian origin or to black-skinned Muslims, though North Africans were acceptable. The black-skinned Muslims took a very casual attitude toward marriage and divorce.

External differences were also apparent. The Egyptians had their own style of dress: black-skinned mantles for men (*shāla*), and dark blue clothing for women, with a veil that covered nose and mouth (*burqu'*). Among the young people, traditional dress was abandoned. The black-skinned Muslims had a penchant for flamboyant dress. Clothing, particularly headcoverings, sometimes indicated the wearer's status. The *effendi*, for example, wore a white turban.⁶³

Language differences existed too. While the local Muslims spoke Arabic, this was not true of Muslims hailing from other regions. The Turks generally spoke Turkish, and only in rare cases learned Arabic.⁶⁴ The Asians also knew very little Arabic. The black-skinned Muslims conversed in their mother tongue, and spoke their own brand of Arabic in which the difference between "a" and "gh" and between "h" and "kh" was not pronounced. The older generation of Egyptians pronounced the letter "j" differently, giving it a "g" sound. The North Africans used the Arabic dialect spoken in their home countries.⁶⁵

Temperaments differed as well: the moderation and non-violence of the Egyptians and black-skinned Muslims contrasted with the aggressiveness of the local Muslims ("...in Jaffa the knife is more easily drawn, and the seamen are known for their courage and spirit of vengeance"), and the extreme violence of the North Africans ("...they easily slay a man and disappear, pursuit is rare as they would never hesitate to slay a second or third man...").⁶⁶ This explains why they were not liked by the inhabitants of Jaffa.⁶⁷

63 Baldensperger, 1903, p. 65; 1913, pp. 200-201, and 1917, pp. 12-17.

64 Baldensperger, 1922, p. 63; and Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, Oct. 18, 1900, p. 2.

65 Baldensperger, 1917, pp. 12-17

66 Baldensperger, 1912, p. 9.

67 *Filastīn*, Oct. 17, 1912; and Baldensperger, 1917, p. 16. Also see Falanga's letter of May 16, 1907, on the disputes with the Afghans, ISA, 123-1/26.

Miss Baldwin, an American missionary in Jaffa in the 1870s, provides us with a description of daily life among the Muslims though some biases may be inevitable:

Most of the poor people live in one room, with an earthen floor, and destitute of a window, air and light being admitted by the door. At night a coarse matting, made of a kind of straw called “cash” is put down, their wrappers spread upon it, and they themselves lie down for the needed repose. Of course the clothing worn in the day is slept in at night. Fire is seldom seen. The food is bought ready cooked in the market; quantities of vegetables are eaten raw, like fruits; olives, olive-oil, rice, and a curd made from sour milk are all great favorites with every class. All classes are very hospitable...Among Mohammedans, the cruelty to women is past description. The fathers sell their daughters—usually when they are about twelve or thirteen—to men whom the girls have never seen, and who have never seen them...I could never give you an adequate idea of the misery and degradation of the Moslem woman...⁶⁸

Towards the end of the period, the Muslim community began to show signs of Western and modern influence, attributable in part to the Jews. One area in which this was evident was dress, with some local Arabs exchanging their patriarchal robes for European clothing, though they continued to wear turbans. Clothing was now laundered and pressed, and homes were furnished in the European mode.⁶⁹

Institutional and Cultural Activity

The institutional and cultural activity of Jaffa’s Muslims was limited in scope, particularly when contrasted to the Jewish efforts. It was concentrated mainly in religion and education, with the focus on mosques, religious classes (*kutāb*), and later, Muslim schools.⁷⁰ Aid to the poor was the responsibility of the *waqf*, or Muslim mortmain; no other philanthropic societies are mentioned in the sources.

The Jewish newspaper *Ha-Olam* reports the opening of a club for Arab intellectuals where it was hoped to hold lectures and theater performances in Arabic. Also mentioned is a branch of the Egyptian Masonic Lodge at the home of Dr. Shimon Moyal of Jaffa, which also welcomed Muslims.⁷¹

68 Pitman, pp. 270-271.

69 Ita Yellin, p. 93; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 16-17.

70 Dixon, pp. 10-11; and Cuinet, p. 563.

71 Kark, 1976, pp. 130-141; *Ha-Olam*, no. 8, 1910; and Yehoshua, 1944, p. 5.

Generally speaking, there was little cultural-social activity in Jaffa among the Muslims. In the years prior to World War I, young men spent their free time sitting in cafés, attending horse races, playing games or watching films at the cinema which opened in 1910.⁷² Very few of Jaffa's Muslim and Christian intellectuals were swept up by the new ideology of Arab nationalism; it was only at the end of the period that the Decentralization Party founded a branch in Jaffa.⁷³ About this clandestine national activity, Chelouche says the following:

...During this period [1913] many groups of young Arabs emerged as a genuine nationalist movement in several Arab countries and founded a political association called *al-Hizb*. The chief object of this association was to demand local self-rule, an autonomy of sorts, from the central government in Constantinople. Only some time later did we learn that the distinguished Ḥāfiẓ Bek-Sa'īd (of Jaffa) was a member of this clandestine organization, *al-Lāmarkaziyya*.⁷⁴

The Christian Community

Size, Growth and Composition

As the overall population of Jaffa grew, so did the Christian community within it. Few population figures are available before the 1840s. The table below offers a demographic picture of this community which shows a trend of absolute growth that begins to gather strength in the 1870s.

Growth of the Christian population of Jaffa, 1800-1922⁷⁵

Year	Source	Total Population	No. of Christians	% of Total Population
1806	Seetzen	2500-3000	Composed of Greeks, Armenians & Catholics	
1845	Tobler	5,667	1,507	27
1869	Liévin	1,485	1,485	24
1898	German consul	27,030	7,330	27
1913	Luncz	50,000	9,300	18.6
1922	Census	47,709	6,850	14.4

72 *Filastīn*, Aug. 3, 1912; *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 7, April 3, 1910, p. 4; Donevitch, pp. 21-22.

73 Porat, 1974, pp. 20-30.

74 Chelouche, pp. 168-169.

75 For precise listing of sources, see Jaffa population table above.

These figures also indicate a drop in the percentage of Christians in the total population, from approximately one-third at the end of last century to one-fifth on the eve of World War I, and later on, even less. This was primarily attributable to the wide-scale Jewish settlement in Jaffa at the time.

As the Christian community increased in size, more religious sects and denominations were represented. If Seetzen speaks of three Christian sects at the beginning of the nineteenth century—Greeks, Armenians and Catholics—we find that by the 1840s there were also Maronites, Greek Catholics, and Copts (see Banister, Tobler and Van de Velde in the population tables above). As time went on, these were joined by other communities, among them the Protestants and their sub-denominations. The 1922 census indicates the existence of fifteen Christian sects in Jaffa, though some of them were very small. The following table gives a general idea of the size and growth patterns of various sects:

Christian sects in Jaffa, 1800-1922

Year & Source:	1806	1845	1869	1898	1922
	Seetzen	Tobler	Liévin	German consul	Census
<hr/>					
Sect					
<hr/>					
Greek Orthodox	+	683	700	4,500	4,446
Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites)					4
Roman Catholics	+	375	350	1,230	865
Greek Catholics (Malcites)		378	375	600	371
Syrian Catholics					68
Armenian Catholics					50
Maronites			50	400	19
Armenians (Gregorians)	+	66	10	70	255
Copts		5		30	16
Anglicans				50 (including Americans)	223
Presbyterians					2
Protestants			10		127
Lutherans					1
Templers			205	450 (including Germans)	196
Others					2
Total Christians	?	1,507	1,485	7,330	6,645

These figures must be treated with caution for they are only estimates. To illustrate this point, Luncz claims there were 3,113 Christians in Jaffa in 1898,

1,560 of them Greeks.⁷⁶ Cuienet sets the Christian population in 1895 at 3,324 (2,431 of them Greeks), with the addition of 1,529 foreign nationals.⁷⁷ The 1898 political report utilized in this table is not entirely dependable. It claims that precise figures for the Jaffa population were difficult to obtain. While estimates ranged from 20,000-35,000 persons, the true figure was probably 27,000.⁷⁸

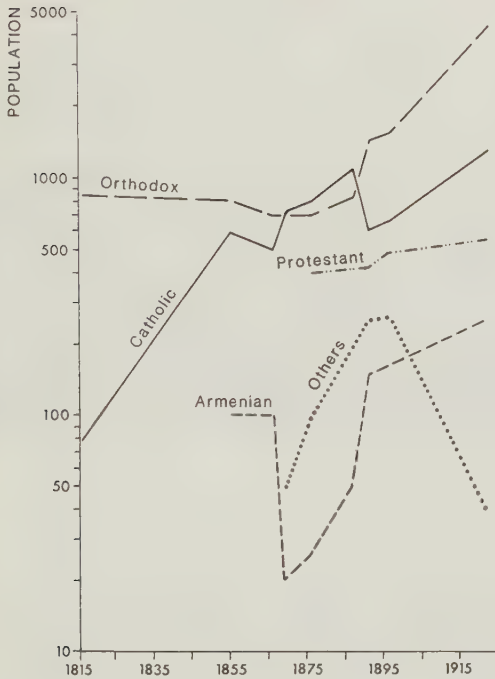


Fig. 5: Christian population of Jaffa, 1815-1922

Particularly striking is the growth of the Greek Orthodox community, exceeding by far that of all other Christian sects in Jaffa, excluding the Maronites. By the end of the century it had increased its size six times over, and become the leading Christian denomination in Jaffa. Such a surge of growth within so short a time must have been the result of mass migration to Jaffa, probably by Arabs from other parts of Palestine and the Middle East. However, we have little testimony to this effect apart from references to the involvement of Greeks in local trade and commerce.

76 Luncz, *Eretz Ha-Zvi*, 1899, p. 2.

77 Cuienet, p. 664.

78 Political report, ISA, 67/1530, in Talman, p. 20.

While the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics, with the addition of the Greek Catholics, were equal in number until the late 1860s, the Greeks outnumbered the others two and a half times by the end of the century, and three and a half times by the end of World War I.

It should be remembered that most of the Christian sects were made up of “natives”, as a German source calls them, the number of Europeans being very small. In 1898, for example, there were a total of 530 Germans, Englishmen, Americans and Frenchmen in Jaffa.⁷⁹ Thus, the Christians were probably registered in the *nufūs* books of the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although these have been lost, the community ledgers still possessed by some of the Christian sects in Jaffa may contribute greatly to our knowledge of their size and composition. The Catholics, for instance, have records of the priests living in Jaffa from 1778 onwards, as well as of baptisms, marriages and deaths since 1781. The Maronites began to keep orderly records of such events beginning in 1858, when the community attained a secure foothold in Jaffa.⁸⁰

Another source of data for the number of foreign nationals in Jaffa are the consular registries. Talman says the consuls received an order on November 8, 1867 to keep careful lists of all subjects and protégés, to report any population increases or decreases, to investigate the rights of persons seeking protection, and to issue passports as necessary.⁸¹

In 1870, Beardsley, the U.S. consul in Jerusalem, reports that 200 foreign nationals were living in Jaffa: 16 Americans, 4 Englishmen, 50 Germans and 130 Greeks, Frenchmen and Austrian Jews.⁸² In 1872, the annual report of the German consulate in Jerusalem includes a detailed list based on its *Matrikel Pass und Schutzangelegenheiten* (a compendium of personal registers, passport records and data on consular protection) of the various consulates and vice-consulates, and the number of citizens they protected. According to this list, Jaffa's German vice-consul had 200 protégés, its Austro-Hungarian vice-consul—30, its British vice-consul—20, and its Greek vice-consul—80. (The vice-consuls of Spain and Russia appear without figures). All told, 350 Jaffa residents were protected by foreign governments in 1872.⁸³

The German vice-consulate's *Matrikel* for 1895 offers an interesting listing of 374 foreign nationals and 200 protégés by religion: there were 96 Protestants, 246 Templers, 195 Free Templers, 3 Catholics, 5 Armenians and 29 Jews.

79 *Ibid.*

80 These ledgers were located during a visit by the author, together with R. Rubin.

81 Talman, p. 19.

82 Report of American consul in Jerusalem, Beardsley, on Sept. 30, 1870, USNA, T471.

83 General report on the consulates in Palestine, 1872, ISA, 67/91.



View from roof of Coptic Hospice in Jaffa: in the foreground, Coptic bayara and church; in the background, Catholic Church of St. Anthony (Kark, 1977)

Thus we see that the religious and communal affiliation of persons enjoying consular protection was quite varied, and we cannot associate them with one particular religious community or social group.⁸⁴

Spatial Distribution

A map of Jaffa from the 1840s indicates that prior to settlement outside the old town wall, the Christians tended to concentrate in a specific area, namely, the southern part of town, to the east of the cluster of churches and convents.⁸⁵ According to another source from this period, additional groups of Christians lived in the lower part of town, near the port.⁸⁶

We cannot rely upon these sources absolutely, though they are the only ones available. More likely, each community clustered around the buildings and property belonging to its church. As a whole, however, the Christian

84 Political report, *ibid.*

85 Skyring's map, 1842.

86 Tobler, 1839, p. 123.



Coptic Hospice in Jaffa (Kark, 1977)

communities and institutions did constitute a certain bloc within the old city.

When settlement began to spread beyond the city walls, the various Christian communities continued to congregate in specific areas. To reconstruct today precisely where each community lived during the period in question would be difficult. However, the location of communal institutions is probably a good indicator.⁸⁷

We find, for instance, that the church, convent, and hospice of the Greek Orthodox are located in the southern part of the Christian bloc, overlooking the harbor. When this community moved outside the walls, it settled to the south of the city. Here, prior to World War I, it built the Church of St. George and a school (whose date of establishment is unclear), utilizing for this purpose some of its burial grounds.

Members of the Roman Catholic order active in Jaffa in the nineteenth century built a number of institutions outside the walls, southeast of the old city. These included the institutions of the Sisters of St. Joseph, which will be

87 For a more elaborate discussion of Christian institutions in Jaffa during this period, see Rubin.

discussed further, and the Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes (today on Yefet Street). The large Roman Catholic center in new Jaffa, incorporating the Church of St. Anthony and the Terra Sancta School, was built only in 1932, not far from the community's cemetery. Until that time, the Latin Church operated in the old city.

According to Sandel's map, the old Maronite Church was located northeast of the Catholic compound, in the lower part of ancient Jaffa (perhaps because the Maronites arrived in Jaffa relatively late, in mid-century). Their new compound, with a church and residences, was built in 1904, south of the wall (financed by Iskandar 'Awād (Howard) Bek, a wealthy Maronite and Jaffa representative of the London-based Thomas Cook travel agency). This attracted Maronite families from Old Jaffa, who moved into stately homes in the area (as attested to by the community's secretary and priest in 1973).

Jaffa's small Armenian community, which initiated the construction of homes and a bazaar of thirty shops, consisted mainly of persons appointed by the Patriarchate to maintain its buildings and care for pilgrims. It never expanded enough to leave the old city or build itself a new center.⁸⁸

Another community which chose to establish itself in the new Christian nucleus south of Old Jaffa was the Coptic community. According to Lynch's account in 1848, the Copts lived in a tiny neighborhood north of the wall (marked as the Egyptian colony on Skyring's map of 1842), after being driven from the old city following the expulsion of Ibrāhīm Pasha.⁸⁹ The figures for the Copts are somewhat contradictory; Tobler, for instance, says there were only five Copts in Jaffa in 1845.⁹⁰

In any case, the Copts seem to have moved to the southern part of town, outside the walls, before the end of the 1870s and, according to Sandel, owned a garden and church. Eventually, a small community grew up around the garden. By the oral testimony of Father al-Barmusī in 1973, Coptic families lived in one section, and another, as we can still see today, was irrigated and farmed. A large three-story hospice with a tiled roof was built nearby to serve Coptic pilgrims reaching the Holy Land by sea.⁹¹

Groups of Anglicans and Protestants were scattered in and around the city: inside old Jaffa, outside it, near the school run by Miss Arnott where their cemetery was located, and in the German colony.

88 Sanjian, p. 145.

89 Lynch, p. 443.

90 Tobler, 1854, II, p. 615.

91 According to the political report, (Talman, p. 20), 400 Coptic pilgrims from Egypt passed through Jaffa. The Coptic hospice does not appear on the list of Christian hospices in Jaffa in 1895 cited by Cuinet (p. 542), and was probably built at a later date.

At first, the Protestant community was affiliated with the community in Jerusalem. Only in 1897 did it become an independent entity, under the leadership of a minister sent by the Jerusalemverein in Berlin. By this time, it had 104 members.⁹²

The Templers settled in their colony northeast of Old Jaffa, on the road to Nablus. Later, wealthy members of the community expanded further northeast, founding the Valhalla quarter. Their burial ground was located midway between the German colony and Valhalla, probably in order to serve both neighborhoods (see Sandel's map). Isolated as they were from other residential areas, they had to protect themselves in the early days with a wall and gates.

Thus we see that the homes and institutions of most of the Christian sects in Jaffa constituted separate entities both within Old Jaffa and outside it. When they expanded beyond the walls, they generally preferred the southern side of town. This created a nearly continuous sequence of Christian institutions, cemeteries and residential quarters. Only the Americans (the Adams colony), and later the Templers, deviated from this custom for a variety of reasons. There may have been a link between the location of the cemeteries and the expansion of Christian settlement southward.

Society and Lifestyle

Social interaction in the community occurred within the traditional religious framework. In the larger sects, the focus was the church, which provided for its members' religious needs. In dealing with the Christians, it would be wise to consider each community separately rather than engage in generalizations, but the scarcity of sources makes this difficult.

From the little we can cull from contemporary sources, the Copts were indistinguishable from lower class Arabs in their dark skin color and manner of dress. The women wore a triangular black veil that covered nose, mouth and cheeks, like that worn by Egyptian Muslim women. We are not told what language they spoke.⁹³

American missionary Mary Baldwin notes the life of ease lived by upper-class Christians in the 1870s. They pampered their wives and daughters, and even permitted marriage by choice. This, however, was an exception to the rule. Women, even among Protestants, were usually servants of the men, whatever class they belonged to.⁹⁴

Clothing and language were the clearest indicators of communal or religious

92 Talman, p. 11.

93 Lynch, p. 443.

94 Pitman, p. 270.

affiliation. Even in the first half of the century, Christians could be distinguished by their headgear: a black turban.⁹⁵

Europeans living in Jaffa usually continued to speak their mother tongue and wear European clothing. The majority knew no Arabic and made no effort to learn it. In the years leading up to World War I, the European settlers and Christian educational institutions (the Catholic schools, for example) began to have an impact on the dress and lifestyle of the local Arabs.⁹⁶ The Templers left their mark on architecture by building their colony in the "European style".⁹⁷

Presumably, the local Christians were more receptive to these influences and hence more modern than the Muslim communities described above. One could see this both on a personal level, in the way they dressed, spoke, furnished their homes, and led their lives, and on a professional level, in their greater openness to new economic initiatives and enterprises.

Institutional and Cultural Activity

Cross-denominational Christian cultural activities were almost non-existent in Jaffa before World War I. The only Christian club which seemed to have operated beyond narrow community bounds was the YMCA, which we find marked on one of the maps.⁹⁸ Only in the last decade of the period did Christian intellectuals in Jaffa become involved in party politics.

The Christians of Jaffa were forerunners in the field of Arabic journalism. In the early twentieth century, two Arabic newspapers emerged in Jaffa, edited by Christians. The first was *al-Aṣma'ī*, described by Yehoshua as a literary-political publication written in Jaffa and printed in Jerusalem.⁹⁹ Precisely when it began to appear is unclear, but selections from its 1908 issues were quoted in the Hebrew press. It addressed such social issues as improving the plight of the *fallaḥīn* and the problems of Jewish immigration to Palestine.¹⁰⁰

The second paper, published continually since 1911, was *Filāṣṭīn*. It was managed by 'Īsā Dā'ūd al-'Īsā, member of a local Greek Orthodox family, with the assistance of his brother, Yūsuf al-'Īsā. This newspaper dealt with the internal affairs of the Greek Orthodox community, but also came out against Zionism, Jewish immigration, and the trend toward Arab nationalism.¹⁰¹ Local

95 Skinner, I, p. 176.

96 Orelli, p. 74; Baldensperger, *PEF QSt*, 1917, p. 16.

97 Brill, p. 196; and Oliphant, p. 285.

98 *Survey of Egypt* map, 1918, and notice about plans to open a sports club in Jaffa, *Filāṣṭīn*, Oct. 19, 1911.

99 Yehoshua, 1975, p. 215.

100 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1909, pp. 14-15. I was unable to find issues of *al-Aṣma'ī* or ascertain the names of its editors and duration of publication.

101 Porat, 1974, pp. 20-30.

issues were also dealt with: the operations of the municipality, the Turkish authorities, the harbor, the Christian community, transportation, the local population, Jewish and German settlement, recommendations for urban development, and so on. One issue mentions a new Jaffa newspaper, *al-I'tidāl al-Yāfī*, to be edited by Bakrī Efendī al-Samhūrī. It is unclear whether this paper actually appeared.¹⁰²

As noted earlier, religious institutions were responsible for much of the public activity in Jaffa. Efforts were directed toward their own congregants, other communities (through missionary work), and the large numbers of pilgrims passing through Jaffa. Most of the services they offered were in the areas of religion, education, health, and travel.

Cuinet is a good source of information on the size and pursuits of religious institutions in Jaffa. He found eight convents and monasteries operating in Jaffa in 1895.¹⁰³

Convents and monasteries in Jaffa, 1895
(based on Cuinet)

Sect & Order	Monasteries		Convents	
	No. of Monasteries	No. of Monks	No. of Convents	No. of Nuns
Greek Orthodox	1	3	1	2
Russians	1	3		
Catholics:				
Franciscans (Italian)	1	7		
Christian Friars (French)	1	8		
St. Joseph (French)			2	18
Armenians	1	15		
Total	5	36	3	20

Cuinet elaborates further on the Catholic convents and their activity. The Franciscan Convent ran the affairs of the Latin community. It had an elementary school (15 pupils) and a pilgrim hospice, and was the oldest such institution in Jaffa. The Order of St. Joseph was founded in 1847. It began to function in Jerusalem in 1848, and in Jaffa probably in the 1870s. In the old city, it ran an elementary school (150 girls) and a clinic; outside the walls, its enterprises included a secular school (50 girls), an orphanage (20 girls) and a

102 *Filastīn*, Aug. 13, 1911.

103 Cuinet, pp. 522-535, 563-577.

30-bed hospital, founded in 1880. In 1882, the Christian Friars opened an elementary school, which was attended by 180 boys in 1895.



St. Peter's: old Catholic church in Jaffa (Kark, 1977)

The Greek Orthodox ran a girls' school (60 pupils) and a boys' school (80 pupils), the Greek Catholics—an elementary school for boys where the languages of instruction were Arabic and Greek (80 pupils), the Armenians—a co-educational school (19 girls and boys), and the Protestants—a boys' school (100 pupils) and a girls' school (50 pupils).¹⁰⁴ Another source mentions an Italian school in Jaffa in 1909, where youngsters could learn languages and a trade. This school was also attended by Jews.¹⁰⁵

After settling in Jaffa in 1869, the Templers turned it into their spiritual and administrative center. Their leadership, headquarters, central high school, hospital (founded in 1869), and financial accounts were all in Jaffa. In 1880, the Temple Society center shifted to Jerusalem. However, the school and hospital continued to operate as before, serving the Templers themselves and, on a smaller scale, members of other religions and sects.¹⁰⁶ Templer institutions

104 *Ibid.*

105 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 25, no. 222, July 1909, p. 2.

106 Carmel, 1973, pp. 30, 44.

were considered the common property of all members of the sect. The high school in Jaffa remained open until 1878, after which it moved to Jerusalem. An elementary school was established in its stead, and in 1881, a kindergarten was added, attended by 20 youngsters. Data available for 1875 shows that the Templar high school had a student body of 52, including 14 girls. There were 25 youngsters from Germany, 9 from Russia, 1 from Hungary, 1 from Greece, 1 from Egypt, 3 from Ethiopia and 12 native-born Arabs. Some of them were boarders at the school, which was organized and run like a German high school.¹⁰⁷

The hospital, which had 16 beds in 1884, served the residents of the German colonies in Jaffa and Saron, but admitted others, too.¹⁰⁸ By 1902, it had four more beds. The Templars also had their own community house, which was used for religious meetings. In 1879, they founded the *Deutscher Verein* in Jaffa to maintain their German character: German newspapers were available, a library was opened, and social gatherings were held.¹⁰⁹

Missionary Activity

Some of the institutional and cultural activities of Jaffa's Christians were inspired by missionary fervor. The Mission commenced its work among the locals (Christians, Muslims and Jews) in the 1840s, when it stepped up its presence in the Holy Land. Reverend Kruse is first mentioned in 1845 as a Jaffa missionary. There was also an apostate in Jaffa who distributed the Holy Scriptures to Jews on behalf of the Jerusalem Mission, in an effort to promote their conversion.¹¹⁰ In the mid-1850s we hear of a school for Muslim girls opened by Mrs. Kruse. This report may be inaccurate; the school may have been intended for Jewish girls, judging by a letter from the Jaffa Jewish community to Montefiore:

Last year the missionary sect sent here a shrewd woman to teach them sewing...at no cost. On the contrary, she distributed clothing, and the lessons commenced. But then she began to persuade them in matters related to faith in our Torah, and when the rabbi saw this, he sent her away and severed all ties with her, praised be the Lord.¹¹¹

107 Report of Klenk, chairman of the colony in Jaffa, on Sept. 28, 1881, ISA, 67/1529; and report of Hoffmann on April 22, 1875 in Talman, p. 8.

108 Murād's letter, Jan. 21, 1889, ISA, 67/1530; and letter of the vice-consul, Aug. 5, 1898, ISA, 67/1529.

109 Talman, pp. 12-13.

110 Strauss, pp. 339-340.

111 Montefiore census, 1855; Rogers, p. 342.

Dr. Barclay, an American missionary active in Jerusalem in the mid-nineteenth century, considered working among the Muslims of Jaffa. In this context, he recalls a sermon by Mr. Thomson of the Syrian Mission, who appeared before an Arab congregation in Jaffa at its request (in 1849-50).¹¹² Another American missionary, Charles Saunders, worked in Jaffa in the 1850s. He lived there with his family, and even joined Clorinda Minor's group for a brief period.¹¹³

In the 1860s, the various missions began operating on a more orderly basis. This continued until the end of the period and even later, usually focusing on the weaker sectors of the population. The most organized and enduring projects were in the areas of education and health. Below, we shall look at some of the Mission's prominent institutions in Jaffa.



Sisters of St. Joseph
School in Jaffa
(Kark, 1977)

The French Institutions

Two French Catholic orders, one male and the other female, pursued missionary work in Jaffa. The Sisters of St. Joseph were responsible for the

112 Burnet, 1853, p. 19.

113 *Jewish Chronicle*, May 20, 1859, p. 8; and Melville, 1955, pp. 156-159.

establishment of three schools, a clinic and a hospital. It seems they first became active in the 1870s, when the British consular representative in Jaffa, Haim Amzalak, reports the sale of the citadel (*Burj al-Ingliẓ*) to a French citizen. According to Sandel's map, the new hospital and church of the Roman Catholic Sisters already occupied the site in 1878-79. The educational enterprises of the Sisters were mainly for girls. The schooling of boys was the concern of the Christian Friars, who completed their building in 1882 and still teach there today.

We cannot say what percentage of Catholics attended these schools as opposed to members of other sects. Youngsters of different religions, Jews included, were probably accepted, in the same way that non-Catholics were admitted to the French Hospital (see below).¹¹⁴

The Scottish Institutions

The Tabitha Mission School,¹¹⁵ founded by Miss Walker Arnott, a Scottish Presbyterian, in 1863, was one of the first girls' schools in Palestine. To maintain it, Miss Arnott received an annual grant from the Society for Promoting Women's Education in the East. This marked the start of an enterprise that involved her for the rest of her life. When she died at the end of 1912, the school was taken over by new management; it is still operating today. At first, classes were held in a small building with a limited number of students—some 40-50 girls, who studied mostly homemaking subjects. In the 1870s, Thomas Cook purchased a sizeable tract of land on a hill outside the town wall, not far from the new gate. Here a large, two-story building was erected as a headquarters for the Mission.

By Miss Arnott's account, probably relating to the 1870s, the number of girls steadily increased, and with it, the variety of activity. The day-school program was attended by 100-150 girls, most of them Greeks and Muslims. There were also a number of Jews (approximately 40). The boarding school, which started out with 15 students, had close to 60 by the 1870s. In addition, the institution ran a small boys' school and Arabic language classes for older women.

According to British consulate statistics for 1887, 165 girls and 25 boys were enrolled that year in three schools under one roof. Seven teachers were employed. Still open today, the Tabitha Mission School is located in a large building at the top of Yefet Street.

114 Amzalak's letter to British Consulate in Jerusalem on May 24, 1876, ISA, 123-1/14; and Hirshberg, *Be-'Eretz Ha-Mizrah*, p. 148.

115 Franklin, p. 12; Pitman, pp. 188-190, 246, 251; *Filastīn*, Nov. 16, 1912; *Survey of Western Palestine*, 1881, II, p. 258; letter of Falanga on Oct. 26, 1909, and list of British-owned schools in Jaffa in October 1887, ISA, 123-1/9.

The American Institutions

The Joppa Mission School,¹¹⁶ for boys aged 6-13, was established in 1867 by the American Mission. The founders were John Hay and his mother, who were joined in 1869 by Hay's aunt, Mary Baldwin. Hay's appointment, at the end of the 1860s, as U.S. vice-consul in Jaffa, proved helpful in furthering the school. The American missionaries also cooperated closely with Miss Arnott.

The school first opened in the Hays' home in the American colony. The house was renovated for this purpose and when construction was completed in mid-1870, a dormitory was added. The institution was financed by contributions from local Christians and travellers. In the early 1870s, there were 30 students who attended regularly, and a number of others whose attendance was sporadic. Later, the student population rose to 100. Among them were Muslims, Greeks, Syrians, Syrian-Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Some received scholarships and stipends from America. Qunṣāntīn 'Azzār, a native of Jaffa, taught at the school along with two Lebanese teachers, Salīm Abū Nādir and Murād Haddād.

From the description of a visitor to the school after the renovations, we learn that it was comprised of two buildings joined by a small church. There were twelve rooms and a covered balcony (the balcony measured 8.3×20 meters, and the yard, 20×47 meters). Two tall palm trees in the front yard were a distinguishing feature. The classrooms were simply furnished, with maps and charts of the Ten Commandments on the wall. In the early years, the curriculum consisted of reading and writing in Arabic using the Bible and New Testament as texts, arithmetic, geography, Arabic grammar, and singing in Arabic and English. It is not known what happened to this school at the end of the century and thereafter.

The British Institutions

Most of the missionary work in Jaffa was carried out by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) which was active in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem and Nazareth, from the early 1850s.¹¹⁷ Its activity in Jaffa commenced only in 1876, after the arrival of Reverend J.R. Langley Hall and his wife, who intended to work among the Muslims.¹¹⁸

In 1880, the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews

116 Pitman, pp. 187-208, 219, 233-235.

117 Sapir, *Cathedra*, 18, pp. 160-162.

118 Letter from the British Consulate in Jerusalem to Amzalak in Jaffa on Oct. 20, 1876, ISA, 123-1/14 (also 19), and letter of Mary Baldwin on Nov. 18, 1876, in Pitman, pp. 259, 274.

tried to establish a foothold in Jaffa, but apparently without success.¹¹⁹ A British consular report in 1887 mentions a school run by the C.M.S. where three teachers supervised the schooling of 190 boys and 60 girls.¹²⁰

In a newspaper put out by the C.M.S. in 1896, Reverend Hanauer describes the work of the society among the Jews of Jaffa. Apparently, there were some thirty Hebrew-Christians in the town who visited the C.M.S. mission room on a regular basis. Aside from Jews, the community included several women from the English Hospital. An article by Reverend Ben-Uliel in 1890, evidently about this group, states that it had 20 Jewish members. Among its activities were a sewing class and a weekly lecture, and there were thoughts of opening a night-school for young people and adults.¹²¹

It is interesting that while Jaffa was on the rise as a new Jewish center in the 1890s, missionary activity shifted to the colonies. Hanauer mentions visits to the nearby agricultural settlements of al-Yahūdiyya, Melabbes (Petaḥ Tikva) and Rishon Lezion, as part of a tour of all Jewish colonies in the region. He claims that preaching and distributing treatises and books had produced good results.¹²²

Attached to this report are photographs of the C.M.S. mission house and mission room in Jaffa, apparently located in the German colony. While visiting the home assumed to be that of Baron Ustinoff in the German colony on July 24, 1978, we found the inscription "C.M.S. Girls School" on the wall of one room. This must have been the school whose opening is reported in *Ha-Zvi* in 1896. At the same time, a clinic was opened in a rented building in Neve Shalom.¹²³

A list of C.M.S. institutions in Jaffa in 1911 indicates an increase in activity over the years. By the end of the period, it had a church, a mission room (located in the school and used for evangelical purposes), two boys' schools, a kindergarten for girls, and a hospital and clinic (known as "Miss Mangaa's Mission").¹²⁴

119 Dr. Chaplin's letter to British consul in Jerusalem, Moore, on June 10, 1880, ISA, 123-1/9.

120 List of British-owned schools, (see note 115 above).

121 *Jewish Missionary Intelligence*, 12, April 1896, p. 59; and *The Everlasting Nation*, June 1890, p. 286.

122 *Jewish Missionary Intelligence*, 12, April 1846, p. 59.

123 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 14, no. 2, October 10, 1896, p. 2; and *ibid*, 3, October 17, 1896, p. 2.

124 Photocopied list of C.M.S. institutions importing goods via Jaffa, 1911, ISA, 123-1/11.

The German Protestant Institutions

This community, dealt with earlier, embodied the missionary aspirations of the Berlin-based Jerusalemverein. The school it founded in 1890 operated at first with only one teacher; by 1897, there were eight. The number of students was quite small: in 1902 there was a total of 14 [maybe 140? R.K.] The curriculum consisted of religious studies, singing and crafts.¹²⁵

Response of the Local Inhabitants

There was no uniform attitude toward the activities of the Mission. The local response, colored, apparently, by religious affiliation, ranged from total opposition to approval. Presumably, there were some local Christians and Muslims who appreciated the contribution of the Mission in raising health and educational standards in Jaffa. This may be concluded, for example, from the ceremony and speeches at the dedication of the new wing of Miss Arnott's school, built after her death.¹²⁶

On the whole, Jewish opposition to the institutions and activities of the Mission was fierce.¹²⁷ However, at certain times there were destitute members of the community who needed its services. In the early days, this made the Jews feel quite helpless. In 1855, for example, they pleaded with Montefiore "to send us a wise older woman who knows sewing and foreign languages to teach the girls of the Jewish community and also the boys..."—as a replacement for the teacher brought over by the Mission a year earlier.¹²⁸

A decade later, Meir Hamburger, a ritual slaughterer, writes in a similar vein: "...Undoubtedly, the man was poor, and thus was taken to the missionary hospital. For in our poverty, our community cannot build a hospital here and employ a doctor to treat destitute patients free of charge..."¹²⁹ The problem of evangelists pulling Jews into their institutions is also mentioned in 1885.¹³⁰

As the Jewish community in Jaffa began to organize in the early 1890s, an attempt was made to find Jewish substitutes for the institutions of the Mission. At this time, modern new schools and the Sha'ar Zion Hospital were opened.¹³¹ However, maintaining these institutions, particularly the hospital, was no easy matter. The hospital, for example, was forced to close down for several months

125 Talman, pp. 12-13.

126 *Filastin*, Nov. 16, 1912.

127 Pitman, p. 254.

128 Montefiore census, 1855.

129 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 3, 1866, p. 116.

130 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 1, no. 28, May 8, 1885, p. 2.

131 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 11, no. 12, March 20, 1885, p. 2.

a year, and the patients were referred to the “hospital of the inciters” where they “had the pleasure of listening all day to the preaching and prayers of the saints of Christianity.”¹³²

The Jews

Size of the Community, Growth and Composition

There was no Jewish community in Jaffa in the early 1800s, and this seems to have remained the case until the second quarter of the century.¹³³ Whereas a *khān* belonging to Rabbi David Zant (or Zunana) is mentioned in mid-eighteenth century sources, the absence of permanent Jewish settlement is noted several years later.¹³⁴ Brown, an English traveller at the end of the eighteenth century, claims there were several Jews in town,¹³⁵ but Seetzen, Light, Turner and Richardson, who visited some years later, found none.¹³⁶

To explain the absence of Jewish settlement, Jacob Goldmann quotes some elderly residents who claimed the Sephardi leadership in Jerusalem had banned Jews from moving to Jaffa:

...The Jewish community in Jerusalem was small, and the sages and rabbis of the Holy Land would not allow it to crumble into little pieces. They also wanted to collect from the immigrants the tax then imposed by the *'eda* on visitors. The late Rabbi Yehuda Halevi was appointed in those days by the sages and rabbis of Jerusalem to live in Jaffa and prevent anyone from settling there.¹³⁷

Luncz, seeking to verify Goldmann's statement,¹³⁸ studied the by-laws of Jerusalem for the past two hundred years and other documents, and questioned the Sephardi chief rabbi, Yaakov Shaul Eliashar, a long-time Jaffa resident. He found no evidence of such a ban.¹³⁹ In fact, imposing a ban in a town receiving no *halukka* funds would have been ineffective considering that those violating it had nothing to lose.

Jaffa probably lacked a Jewish community because the town was small and under-developed until the nineteenth century, and because Jews immigrating

132 Avi Ephraim, *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 2, no. 10, 1909, pp. 6-7.

133 Kark, 1980, pp. 13-24.

134 Hirshberg, 1953, pp. 224-225.

135 Macalister, *PEF QSt*, 1906, p. 134.

136 Seetzen, II, pp. 69-72; Light, p. 143; Turner, II, p. 292; and Richardson, II, p. 208.

137 Goldmann, 1898, p. 72.

138 Also see reminiscences of Yaakov Shaul Eliashar in Ya'ari, 1947, pp. 46-47.

139 Luncz, *Luah* 5658 (1898) 4, p. 80.

to Palestine were not attracted to it for religious reasons. In 1820, Yeshayah Adjiman, a wealthy and respected banker who worked for the chief of the Janissary Corps in Istanbul, visited Jerusalem. On the way, he purchased a *hatzer* in Jaffa which he endowed as a transit hostel for Jewish pilgrims. One room was used as a synagogue and registered in the name of the Sephardi community of Jerusalem. According to Luncz, a small number of Jews were living in Jaffa at this time.¹⁴⁰ Adjiman's *hatzer*, located near the port, remained the property of the Sephardi Kolel in Jerusalem until recently, and was known by various names: *Ĥatzer ha-Kahal*, *Kolel ha-Sfaradim*, and *Ĥatzer ha-Yehudim shel Kolel Yerushalayim*.¹⁴¹

Luncz's statement, some eighty years after the event, and a document from 1823 discovered by Hirshberg, referring to "the homes of the Jewish protégés" and "the Jewish official", imply the existence of a small Jewish community in Jaffa in the early 1820s. This contradicts the statements of Rabbi David of Beit Hillel (in 1823-24) and Rabbi Yosef Schwarz (in 1833) that no Jews lived there at the time.¹⁴² Furthermore, Montefiore, who passed through Jaffa on his first trip to Palestine in 1827, makes no mention of any Jewish settlement in the area. On the other hand, two Christian travellers in the 1830s—Lamartine in 1832 and Stephens in 1836—claim there were Jews in Jaffa, though they do not say how many.¹⁴³

Rather than clearing up the issue, the material available on the illustrious rabbi of Jaffa, Rabbi Yehuda Ben Menaḥem Halevi of Ragusa (actually of Sarajevo, Bosnia), confuses matters even more. On his tombstone, we find the inscription "54 years did he serve his beautiful Jaffa". If he died in 1879, this means he took up his duties in 1825. L.A. Frankl, who visited the town in 1856, says that the rabbi had arrived as an emissary 24 years earlier, i.e. 1832.¹⁴⁴ Confusing things even more, Montefiore's 1855 census states that Halevi reached Palestine in 1816; the 1875 census gives the year 1836. Luncz claims he was appointed rabbi of Jaffa in 1841. In any case, Halevi's name does not appear on the Jaffa population registry compiled in 1839.¹⁴⁵

Hence, permanent Jewish residence in Jaffa in the 1820s cannot be established unequivocally, though there is no question about the development

140 Hirshberg, *ibid.*

141 The building was damaged during the 1936 riots in Jaffa and Israel's War of Independence. It remained in ruins until the building of Pisga Park.

142 Yaari, 1939, pp. 38-39; Schwarz, *Tvu'ot*, p. 169; and Smilansky, 1907, p. 7.

143 Lamartine, pp. 310-311; and Stephens, p. 118. On this matter, also see Bartal, *Shalem*, 3, pp. 351-352.

144 Frankl, pp. 23-24; also see Druyanow, 1934, pp. 25-34.

145 Montefiore, 1839 census copied by Meisl, Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, file aleph yod nun/635.

of the community in the 1830s. The impetus may have been the shipwreck of a sailing vessel coming from North Africa which capsized off the Carmel cape. Ben Shazar regards this as the “Mayflower” of Jewish settlement in Palestine. Some of the survivors settled in Jaffa, and in their wake, drew other members of the North African community from Jerusalem. The precise date of the shipwreck is unclear, but we do know that it took place between 1830 and 1840.¹⁴⁶ A letter from the Jews of Jaffa to Sir Moses Montefiore in 1839 implies that the Jewish community had existed for some time. Apparently, the town’s ritual slaughterer had left for Nablus where business was better, and Montefiore’s assistance was sought in finding a replacement.¹⁴⁷ Judith



Tombstone from 1847 in Jaffa's old Jewish cemetery (Kark, 1982)

146 Ben-Shahar, pp. 61-65.

147 First printed in Ben-Zvi, 1969, p. 298, with slight variance in deciphering.

Montefiore also notes in her diary the ritual slaughterer's absence from Jaffa, but attributes it to an epidemic in the city.¹⁴⁸

Once the community was firmly established, the custom of conveying the dead to Jerusalem or burying them temporarily in Jaffa on government land, ceased. A proper cemetery was founded, whose oldest tombstone dates from 1840.

Towards the end of the 1830s, the Jewish population began to rise sharply. Hence the difference between the figures of the British consul Young and the Scottish missionaries, Bonar and Mecheyne, who counted 60 Jews,¹⁴⁹ and the Montefiore census in 1839, which counted 122.

From later population surveys, it appears that the first Jewish children were born in Jaffa at this time—an indication that the community had indeed achieved permanence. The census in 1855 includes a list of orphans from which we see that the oldest natives of Jaffa were 14 years old, i.e., born in 1841. There may have been older Jewish children among families who arrived later, but no other figures are available. In the 1866 census, the oldest natives of Jaffa appearing on the list of family heads were 28 years old, i.e., born in 1838. In the 1875 census, the oldest were 30-32, i.e., born in 1843-45. This data may be somewhat inconsistent, but clearly, the late 1830s were the decisive years in the development of a permanent Jewish presence in Jaffa. Population growth was no doubt spurred by the political climate: the strengthening of Ibrāhīm Pasha's rule in Palestine under Muḥammad 'Alī, the greater tolerance toward Jews and Christians, improvement of security, commercial development, and the choice of Jaffa as a military base and port of communications with Egypt.

The growth of the Jewish population now proceeded rapidly, though the figures do not always agree. The Montefiore data seem to be reliable because of the small size of the community and the detailed listing of names, occupations, and number of children. The other estimates tend to be more general. On the basis of the Montefiore figures, the total Jewish population in 1839 was 122, in 1855—340, in 1866—505, and in 1875—approximately 650. This figure for the mid-1870s is also backed up by a memorandum from Murād, the German vice-consul in Jaffa.¹⁵⁰ However, Murād's assessment of 2,000 Jews in 1882—excluding the hundreds of immigrants from Russia who arrived that year—seems to be somewhat exaggerated, and more appropriate for the end of the 1880s. Eighty percent of the Jewish population was of North African origin and was protected by France.

148 Judith Montefiore, p. 104 (197).

149 Bonar, pp. 4-5.

150 Murad in Eliav, 1973, pp. 98-100.

In the 1880s, a change took place in the ethnic composition of the Jaffa Jewish community: the Ashkenazi sector began to grow faster than the North Africans and Sephardim who had previously constituted the majority. According to some nineteenth century sources, the number of Ashkenazim in Jaffa in the 1870s was still quite small. Montefiore's census in 1855 revealed only three such families, 17 persons in all.¹⁵¹ In 1872, the newspaper *Ha-Havazelet* reports the presence of 200 Sephardim, 120 North African Jews and 15 Ashkenazi families. This makes a total of 400 Jewish residents.¹⁵²

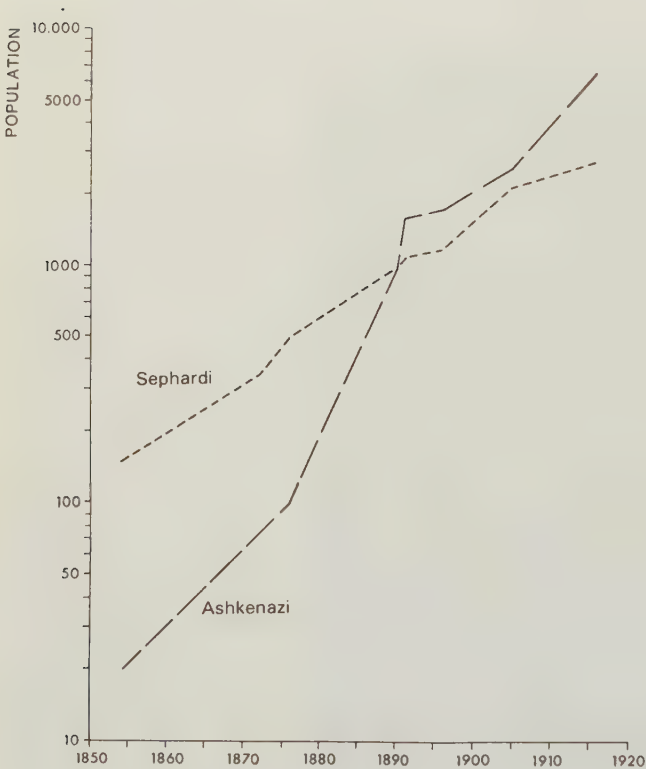


Fig. 6: Growth of Ashkenazi & Sephardi communities in Jaffa, 1854-1916

151 Bartal, *Shalem*, 3, pp. 351-352.

152 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 2, no. 26, 1872, p. 202.

The growth rate of the Ashkenazi community increased during the First Aliyah period, especially in the 1880s and 1890s. The data offered by Luncz shows that by 1891 there was not only an absolute increase in the number of Jews, now totalling some 2,700, but also a basic change in ethnic composition (1,600 Ashkenazim compared with 1,100 Sephardim and North Africans).¹⁵³ By the end of the First Aliyah period, Smilansky, quoting the figures of Dr. E. Büge, the German vice-consul in Jaffa, counts 3,200 Jews in Jaffa—2,000 foreign nationals (most of them probably Ashkenazim), and 1,200 Ottomans (chiefly Sephardi and North African Jews, with a few Yemenites and Orientals).¹⁵⁴

In his important 1905 census of the Jews of Jaffa, Smilansky analyzes the shifts in Jewish settlement. He brings proof that of the residents aged forty and over, only 6.6 percent were born in Jaffa. He also finds that “nearly all those native to Jaffa are the offspring of foreigners who moved there over the past thirty years.”¹⁵⁵ This demonstrates the mobility of the older population, most of whom came from other regions, as opposed to the more stable tendencies of the younger people, who remained in Jaffa where they were born. According to the Smilansky census, Ashkenazim made up 55 percent of the population; in the census in 1916, this rose to 65 percent.

Jaffa’s Ashkenazi population came from two main sources: other towns in Palestine, and immigration from overseas. The process was selective in some respects: those who chose to settle in Jaffa belonged to the so-called “New Yishuv”, whose cosmopolitan, secular outlook contrasted with the parochialism of the “Old Yishuv”. Most of the domestic migration to Jaffa was from Jerusalem, with only an isolated few from the colonies or other towns. As we see from the following table, a large proportion of the overseas immigrants were from Russia.

153 Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67.

154 Smilansky, 1907, p. 18.

155 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21. According to Smilansky’s figures, 78 percent of the 0-10 age group, 53 percent of 10-20 age group and 12 percent of the 20-40 age group, were born in Jaffa.

Origins of Jaffa Jews, 1905 and 1917
(based on Smilansky's 1905 Census and the
Palestine Office Census in 1917/18)

Birthplace	No. of Persons	%	% of Evicted Jaffa Residents in 1917
Jaffa	2,029	42.58	} 45.46
Palestine (excl. Jaffa)	649	13.62	
Europe (incl. European Turkey)	1,448	30.39	44.57
Asia (incl. Asian Turkey)	413	8.67	4.20
Africa	210	4.41	0.79
America	13	0.27	2.34
Australia	3	0.06	0.03
Unknown	—	—	2.53
TOTAL	4,765	100.00	100.00

Among the European immigrants, the Ashkenazim from Russia were the most numerous (1,117). There were also 187 Ashkenazi Jews from Rumania, Bulgaria, European Turkey, Austria, England, France, Germany and Switzerland. 119 Jaffa residents were Sephardi and Oriental Jews from Bulgaria and European Turkey. A total of 513 hailed from Asia, most from Ottoman Yemen and a few from Persia and India. The North African immigrants were mainly from Morocco.¹⁵⁶ Oriental communities appearing in the 1916 census include Arabized Jews, North Africans, Yemenites, Persians, Georgians and Bukharians. There were also a few Samaritans.

The rapid growth of the Jewish community pushed the figures from 3,000 in 1898, to 5,000 in 1905, and then to 15,000 by World War I (see general population table, above). At the same time, the overall population of Jaffa was on the rise, reaching some 50,000 persons by the end of the period. The Jews, who did not live in Jaffa at all in the beginning of the previous century, now totalled thirty percent of the population. The implications were to go far beyond demography, as we shall soon see.

Spatial Distribution

The first cluster of Jewish homes in Jaffa was inside the old town, in the region of Dār al-Yahād (marked as a synagogue on Sandel's map). The Armenian compound was located nearby.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

In the 1860s, the Jews began to split into groups by country of origin. The North Africans and Sephardim each lived in their own *hatzer*. The synagogue, *talmud torah* (religious school) and other institutions were usually established in or near it. Outside the wall, to the south of the city, was the Jewish cemetery.¹⁵⁷



Seal of Jewish community of Jaffa (courtesy of Yitzhak Einhorn, Jerusalem, Harris (c))

157 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, 1865, pp. 55-56.

With the swift rise in Jewish population in the 1880s, the need for Jewish neighborhoods outside the old city limits became apparent. The first such neighborhood was Neve Zedek, founded in 1877, followed by Neve Shalom in 1890 and then by a host of others. These neighborhoods were characterized by their wholly Jewish population, further divided by ethnic loyalty: one was dominated by Ashkenazim, another by Yemenites, and so on.

All these neighborhoods spanned an area which was more or less continuous, northeast of the old town of Jaffa. Expansion in this direction was probably determined at first by the availability of cheap, vacant land (sand dunes, abandoned vineyards). Once this nucleus was established, the Jews preferred to stay close to it, rather than branching out in different directions (see Map 11).

Lifestyle

In the period between 1838 and 1881, various sources and the Montefiore censuses depict a small, impoverished, traditional community composed largely of North African and Sephardi Jews, who came to Jaffa from different parts of the Ottoman Empire and Palestine. In the early days, the few Ashkenazim living there merged with the Sephardi community rather than forming a separate entity—a rare occurrence among the Jews of Palestine. In his writings, Montefiore did not distinguish between the two groups, speaking of them collectively. In 1855, they still prayed together in the same synagogue.

A few of the Jewish communal institutions in Jaffa were self-supporting, but the poverty of the Jews there and the large numbers of orphans and widows forced them to turn to Montefiore and other private benefactors for help. These appeals for assistance also derived from the fact that the community received no *halukka* funds and there were no *kolels*.

The community of Jaffa appeals to His Eminence to assist a town which has no synagogues on Jewish land, but only rented quarters. Neither does it have a hostel for travellers, nor ritual baths, apart from those leased from the gentiles. Neither are there sufficient *talmud torahs*, for there are many impoverished children and orphans, and there is no one to pay their tuition. They wander around aimlessly, and all because we have no *kolels* or any other benefit received by other Jews of the Holy Land. Therefore we appeal to you to purchase some of the land being offered by the king near the town wall, and to build there a synagogue, a hostel, ritual baths and whatever else is required by the town. The income will suffice for the indigent...and for a *talmud torah* for the poor and orphaned...¹⁵⁸

158 Montefiore census, 1871.

Even under the circumstances, the community succeeded in maintaining synagogues, study houses and schools, as well as burial, mutual aid, and welfare societies. The number of such institutions continued to grow throughout the period (see table of Jewish institutions in Jaffa).

Special emphasis was placed on education and foreign language learning, in an effort, says Frankl, to improve employment prospects.¹⁵⁹ This is also evident in Montefiore's census in 1855. Forced to earn a living on their own, the Jews of Jaffa put to use the creative spirit with which the community was endowed from the onset. They worked in commerce, crafts and services, and especially tailoring, shoemaking, tin and silversmithing, and currency exchange. By the 1880s, their financial situation was much improved.¹⁶⁰

The Jews did not stand out in Jaffa of the time. In terms of lifestyle, they were very close to their Arab neighbors. After 1882, however, the character of the Jewish community changed radically. The town began to absorb newcomers from other parts of Palestine and from overseas who did not find the outlook and way of life in Jerusalem and the other holy cities to their taste. They sought an atmosphere of modernity, freedom, secularism, and economic enterprise.¹⁶¹

By the early 1880s, the convenient geographical location of Jaffa and its unique Jewish community had already made it the center of the "New Yishuv" in Palestine: a coastal town inhabited by non-fanatics, surrounded by agricultural lands upon which the colonies were to be established.

At first, the newcomers were in the minority; however, from the onset they exercised considerable influence and turned the small, provincial Jewish community of Jaffa into a bustling center of urban Jewish life.¹⁶² The "Old Yishuv" was pulled along, too, as the number of European-Ashkenazi immigrants in the city increased.

While other Jewish groups played an invaluable role in the development of Jaffa as a whole and as the center of modern Jewish settlement, the Ashkenazim were undoubtedly responsible for a new mode of local organization. If we follow their activities between 1885-1895, we see they fostered many contacts with elements outside Jaffa. This was a product of successful cooperation between Ashkenazim born and educated in Jerusalem and the new arrivals from Eastern Europe. They were united in their desire to work for the good of Jaffa and the Jewish Yishuv, and not confine themselves to local sectarian interests: "...the Jerusalemites who came to settle in Jaffa

159 Frankl, pp. 23-24.

160 Murād, in Eliav, 1973, pp. 98-100.

161 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 21, 1891, pp. 237-238. Also see Kaniel's article in *Shalem*, 3, pp. 186-212.

162 Goldmann, 1898, p. 84.

were uplifted in spirit. They were joined by lovers of their people, religion and nation from overseas who had settled here, and together they established a committee..."¹⁶³

New winds began to blow in Jaffa. They may have originated abroad, but they were taken up by many of the local Jews who, unlike the Jews of Jerusalem, demonstrated a receptivity to change:

Altogether, residents of new Jaffa and the colonies regard Jerusalemites as not quite part of the Yishuv, as people who still require enlightenment... These views, brought from abroad, have also been slowly acquired by the veteran residents of Jaffa who were originally from Jerusalem. And sometimes, on the spur of the moment or after careful thought, they also alter what they have absorbed from others.¹⁶⁴

In Jaffa, the changes in administration, lifestyle and outlook were very much a product of the rapid growth rate and heterogeneity of the population. Jacob Goldmann, the Jaffa Town Committee recorder, writes in 1898: "Of all the Jewish towns in Palestine that have discarded their old guise and assumed a new one in recent years, the guise of a town, of orderliness, of life, or at least the desire for life, Jaffa has led the way." This process, he says, was rapid: "...the improvement of the community did not occur gradually or at a measured pace, but with a speed and forceful vigor which has continued down to our own day."¹⁶⁵

From this dynamic, changing community emerged a cadre of local leaders, both veteran residents and newcomers, who constituted the driving force behind many of the reforms in administration, productivity and lifestyle. Their names keep reappearing: as members of New Yishuv organizations, as founders of societies and institutions in Jaffa, as builders of the new Jewish neighborhoods. Some of them were not only leaders of the community but also quite wealthy.

Another distinguishing feature of the Jaffa Jewish community was its emphasis on productive labor. This trend was already well-established in Jaffa before the First Aliyah period, and continued into the twentieth century. Many sources attest to the fact that newcomers to Jaffa had not come "...to spend the rest of their lives reposing quietly in the land of their forefathers and weeping over its desolation, but to find succor and fulfillment in the bosom of their abandoned mother."¹⁶⁶

163 *Ibid*, p. 62, quoted from the community by-laws.

164 Yellin, 1973, p. 67.

165 Goldmann, 1898, pp. 57, 60.

166 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 2, 1887, p. 183.

According to Yehuda Grazovsky, productivity was one of the foremost characteristics of Jaffa and the colonies. He sees the commerce, trade, and manufacturing pursued in Jaffa as a necessary complement to the agricultural work in the colonies.¹⁶⁷

The data on Jewish labor in Jaffa illustrate this point clearly.

Jewish labor in Jaffa
(rounded-off %)

	1839*	1897**	1905***	1916****
<i>Sector</i>				
Agriculture	—	—	2.5	0.5
Crafts	32.2	32.0	23.6	15.0
Manufacturing	—	13.0	10.6	1.0
Construction	—	0.02	10.0	4.5
Commerce	28.6	34.0	33.3	13.0
Services	25.0	21.0	20.0	14.5
Others	14.3	—	—	51.5

Sources: * Montefiore census, 1839.

** Reuven's (Y. Gur), *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1888, p. 5.

*** Smilansky, 1907.

**** Census, 1918 (relating to just above one-third of the Jewish population).

In Jaffa, the welfare of local artisans and laborers, as well as those of the colonies, was a public concern. The First Aliyah period saw the emergence of several societies to look after their interests: the Artisans Union in 1893, the Association of Craftsman for the Support of Needy Artisans in 1897, and the Pe'ula Society in 1900, which sought to preclude Jewish workers from leaving the country. In 1907, the Immigrant Artisans of Zion was formed with the goal of aiding poor artisans arriving at Jaffa port and organizing craftsmen and laborers from all sectors of society. That year, a workers' club opened in Neve Shalom. When elections were held for the Jaffa Town Committee in 1911, the laborers and artisans were to be represented as a separate entity: "...a committee of all parties—a united committee of laborers and artisans—with candidates from among the Sephardim, Perushim and Ḥasidim, laborers, non-affiliated, middle-class and artisans."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Reubens, *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 31, no. 49, Dec. 22, 1887, p. 391.

¹⁶⁸ *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 23, 1893; vol. 24, 1894; *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 66, no. 20, 1900; 25, 147, 1909, p. 2; *Ha-Or*, vol. 2, no. 305, 1911, p. 2.

As the renaissance of Jaffa proceeded, the town became a melting pot of lifestyles. David Yellin vividly describes the new era heralded in the 1880s. With the establishment of the colonies of Petaḥ Tikva, Rishon Lezion, 'Ekron and Gedera, all struggling to make ends meet, the settlers came to Jaffa for every little need:

...The streets were crowded with people; new faces could be seen at every step of the way: Jewish farmers and Jewish officials, wearers of short coats and wearers of wide-brimmed hats, speaking Russian and speaking French, enthusiastic young men and exuberant young women; a variety of customs, styles and languages could be seen and heard everywhere. It was all totally foreign to the old residents of Jaffa who, despite the lively temperament characteristic of the people of the coastal towns, had not yet accepted the spirit of "living life to the full" with which the new arrivals were imbued.¹⁶⁹

The bustling crowds, the lively atmosphere, the merging of outlooks, cultures, languages and lifestyles—all this had a tremendous influence on the people of Jaffa, both veteran residents and newcomers. The effect is all the more striking when compared with Jerusalem of the same period:

...the Jaffa Jews differ from those of Jerusalem in their ways and behavior. In the great city of Jerusalem, our brethren have split into sects, each following their old way of serving the Lord and obeying His commandments. And that is all they do. Only a few act as Europeans, engage in commerce and real estate transactions, are free in their ways and have an education—skeptics, they are called. But here in Jaffa, all are educated, all are clever and behave according to modern standards like the enlightened Jews of Europe. It is virtually impossible to tell whether a Jaffa Jew is a Jew of the Holy Land, and anyone who visits the markets will say the people look just like Europeans.¹⁷⁰

This atmosphere also led to a decline in religious observance, public desecration of the Sabbath and holidays, and mixed dancing, despite the efforts of the rabbi and the Town Committee to stop these practices.¹⁷¹

Productivization, modernization and adjustments in lifestyle continued until the end of the First Aliyah period, gathering even more momentum with each year. Smilansky describes the change, expressed by European clothing (even

169 Yellin, 1973, p. 67.

170 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 21, 1891, pp. 237-238.

171 Protocols 16, 17, 20, 23 and 34 of the Jaffa Jewish Town Committee. On the dancing and desecration of the Sabbath, see Hirshberg, *Mishpat Ha-Yishuv*, pp. 167-169.

among the Sephardi and North African women), modern furnishings, new occupations, trips to the seaside, etc. The Jews even influenced the non-Jewish population—that is to say, the town as a whole.¹⁷² The extent of this influence, which took hold in a very short time, is illustrated by a newspaper account of the absorption of Yemenite settlers in Jaffa in 1908-1909:

...The veteran Yemenites already considered themselves educated; they looked like members of the Yishuv. They no longer walked about naked, and their clothing was similar to that of the Sephardim and Arabs. Their sidelocks were no longer so long and curled. They were cleaner. Their customs were more like those of other Jews in Palestine, and they took only one wife. Despite the short time Yemenites have been living in Palestine, a great change is evident in their lives. Thus, when the veterans encounter the newcomers, they are reminded of their former lives in Arabia and they ridicule them—their lack of cleanliness, customs and lifestyle. Many of the newcomers have two wives. Some even have four, so there is much to mock. The new Yemenites do not bathe: they anoint their faces and hands with oil, and only dip their fingertips into water...¹⁷³

Jaffa was also a social and recreational center for the inhabitants of the colonies. People met not only in the offices of the various institutions and the library, but also, informally, in the hotels, the *khāns*, the German colony garden of Baron Ustinoff, the market, the cafés, and the shops. In the summer months, Jaffa attracted many families from the colonies, Jerusalem, and other towns in Palestine, who came to vacation and swim in the sea. Presumably, their presence for two-three months a year had an influence on the residents of Jaffa, and vice versa, if only by sight. This seasonal addition to the Jewish population (some 1,000 people) increased all the more the social and cultural heterogeneity which was one of the hallmarks of Jaffa.¹⁷⁴

Institutional and Cultural Activity

Here we must distinguish between the local sphere and the Jewish national sphere, in which Jaffa was slowly achieving status as the new Jewish center of Palestine. In Jaffa itself, the number and diversity of institutions was on the rise, as is evident in the table below:

172 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 16-17.

173 Goldmann, *Ha-Olam*, Feb. 9, 1909.

174 Beit Halevi, *Mihtavim*, letter 4, June 14, 1893, p. 39; and Yellin, 1973, pp. 72-73.

Jewish institutions in Jaffa

Year	Total Pop.	Synagogues	Study Houses & Schools	Societies	Hospitals	Libraries
1839*	122	1	—	—	—	—
1855*	340	1	8	4	—	—
1866*	505	4	3	4	—	—
1875*	app. 650	4	5	2	—	—
1898**	2,970	a few	7	5	1	1
1905/6***	app. 5,000	+24	11	+12	1	1

Sources: * Montefiore census.
 ** Goldman, 1898.
 *** Goldman, 1906; Smilansky, 1907.

Until the 1880s, Jewish organization, leadership and institutions in Jaffa remained traditional. The change in the town's ethnic balance, however, and its position of leadership in the larger Jewish community, also affected local organizational patterns and leadership. This was apparent from 1885 onwards, and especially in the early 1890s. What had been called a "rabble of a community"¹⁷⁵ and a "collection of diverse traits and people", began to bear the stamp of a cohesive group with the establishment of the Ezrat Yisrael Society in 1885.

From the onset of the Jaffa Jewish community's reorganization, local Jewish groups displayed a willingness to cooperate with general Jewish institutions located in Jaffa and elsewhere. There was an express desire to work for the good of the entire Jewish community rather than just the Jews of Jaffa. Hence, Yehuda Leib Pinsker was asked to serve as president of the Ezrat Yisrael society, which offered guest accommodation, care of the sick and library services to all Jews—not just those of Jaffa.¹⁷⁶ Elazar Rokah, one of the heads of the society, deliberately supported the settlers of Rishon Lezion in their uprising against Baron Rothschild in 1887, utilizing Ezrat Yisrael funds earmarked for building in Neve Zedek, to help them.¹⁷⁷

It was during this period that the Ashkenazi community first began to organize itself. A town rabbi was appointed, a *talmud torah* was opened, and the Ashkenazi women of Jaffa and the colonies founded the Ezrat Nashim Society. Although Jaffa's new rabbi, Naftali Hertz Halevi, received his salary

175 Ben-Hillel, 4, p. 167.

176 Elazar Rokah, *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 18, no. 37, June 29, 1888, p. 256-258.

177 Kelner, pp. 3-29; and Yardeni, p. 313.

from the Kol ha-Kolelim Committee in Jerusalem, he is described as a person “who is not foreign to the ways of the world, and will try with all his heart to unite the divided limbs of the community...”¹⁷⁸ He saw himself as the rabbi of “the farmers of the towns of Judea,” and as his tombstone says, “he devoted his life to setting the inhabitants of the colonies on the path of Torah”—though not always with complete success.¹⁷⁹

Further developments took place in the Jaffa Jewish community in 1890 and 1891, concurrent with settlement activities then commencing all over Palestine. In February 1890, the Sha‘ar Zion bureau of the B’nai Brith society opened in Jaffa (under the auspices of the Jerusalem bureau which, since its inception in 1888, had been the unofficial center of New Yishuv activities). Among its members were “prominent members of the colonies which encircled the town.”¹⁸⁰

A few months later, in June 1890, an Ashkenazi town committee was elected for the first time, “at a general assembly, and by majority vote.” The town rabbi was appointed president of the committee, with seven other members serving as “leaders of the holy city of Jaffa...at whose discretion all affairs would be run...”¹⁸¹ In March 1891, it was decided to found a larger, joint committee to serve the needs of all Jaffa Jews: Ashkenazim, Sephardim and North Africans. The Sephardim declared at the time that they were “deputies of the entire community,” and no longer dependent on the Jerusalem committee. Hebrew was proclaimed the committee’s official language.¹⁸² The establishment of a united, Hebrew-speaking body was considered by contemporaries a very impressive achievement. A short time later, the newspaper *Ha-Havazelet* reports that “the Jaffa community has taken giant steps forward; the committee founded there to handle town affairs is doing its work well...”¹⁸³ The fine impression made by the Jaffa Town Committee was expressed in practical terms by the increase in contributions from overseas.¹⁸⁴

The committee drew up a constitution and met regularly, particularly during its first three years (from mid-1890 until the year’s end — 17 times, in 1891 — 33 times, and in 1892 — 31 times; hereafter, the frequency of meetings decreased). Orderly reports on its projects and finances were published periodically, in

178 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 3, 1889, p. 227.

179 Grayevsky, 1928.

180 Alfassi, pp. 9-18; Eliav, 1978, p. 330; and Goldmann, 1898, p. 77.

181 Preliminary to Protocol 1 from June 12, 1890, and Protocol 1 from June 17, 1890, Jaffa Jewish Town Committee.

182 Protocols 18 and 20, Jaffa Jewish Town Committee.

183 Jaffa Jewish Town Committee, *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 22, no. 21, March 18, 1892, p. 166.

184 Protocols 31 and 85, Jaffa Jewish Town Committee.

booklet form or in the press.¹⁸⁵ Although the committee exercised only moral authority, it found adequate means of enforcing its decisions, and was able to perform its duties with the aid of local and foreign contributions. Working on a democratic basis on behalf of all the Jews of Jaffa regardless of ethnic origin, it handled rabbinical matters, social welfare, education, contacts with the Ottoman authorities, supervision of public property, entry into Palestine, domestic taxation, and so on. As we shall see, special efforts were made in the sphere of public health.

It should be emphasized that the committee retained a traditional character, acting through the synagogues and helping the town rabbi enforce his authority in religious matters. It assisted in the operation of the burial society, the Passover alms fund, the *talmud torah*, anti-missionary activity, the ritual bath, kashrut supervision and the enforcement of Sabbath observance. Jews of all backgrounds working together for the common good—these were “wonders seen nowhere in the country apart from Jaffa”.¹⁸⁶

Along with its activities on behalf of local Jewry, the committee devoted time and money to assist impoverished immigrants who had been refused entry visas and were at the mercy of opportunist middlemen.¹⁸⁷ The committee also provided valuable assistance to the colonies; it believed that Jaffa was the “colonies’ gateway to Palestine,” and that its duty was to work for the good of the entire Jewish community, offering advice and support.¹⁸⁸ Aside from Jaffa’s role as an important economic center, the town provided the colonists with medical, administrative and religious services, as can be seen in many of the committee protocols.

The Jaffa Town Committee encouraged cooperation with the Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Craftsman in Syria and the Holy Land—the executive body of the Hovevei Zion society—especially in solving the problems of poor Russian immigrants, accommodating visitors, and providing medical services. At a committee meeting in March 1891, it was even proposed that the two bodies run Jaffa’s affairs together, but the idea fell through.¹⁸⁹ In extending aid to new immigrants, and dealing with entry restrictions, the Town Committee worked jointly with the Lema’an Zion Society and its Jerusalem representative, Mordechai Adelman; the Alliance Israélite Universelle; the Sephardi chief rabbinate in Jerusalem; and the Kol ha-Kolelim Committee representing all the country’s *kolel* organizations.

185 For example, *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 21, no. 22, March 18, 1892, pp. 166-169.

186 Protocols 16, 17, 23, 31, 34; and S. Ben-Zion, 1948, pp. 21.

187 Protocols and Ben-Zion, *ibid.*

188 Protocols 38 and 62.

189 Protocol 19.

However, the crowning achievement of the Town Committee and the B'nai Brith lodge in Jaffa, Sha'ar Zion, was the founding of the Sha'ar Zion Hospital (with the support of Lema'an Zion and Hovevei Zion). This institution was open to all, and during certain seasons had as many as forty beds. It provided medical services and drugs to Jews all over Palestine, and actively demonstrated the Jaffa community's concern for the entire Yishuv.¹⁹⁰

Towards the end of the 1890s, institutional activity slowed down somewhat. Disputes over leadership and religious philosophy rocked the community and brought all communal pursuits to a standstill. Only in 1909 did the Town Committee resume its duties.¹⁹¹



Jewish workers preparing construction site of Herzliya Gymnasium (CZA, 1909)

190 Protocols 31, 37, 40, 56 and 81 deal with the establishment of the hospital and its by-laws. For additional sources on the hospital, see Kark, 1982, note 31.

191 *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 30, 1910, p. 2; and Luncz, *Luah* 5661 (1901) vol. 6, p. 168.

On a broader scale, Jaffa now outweighed Jerusalem as the chosen organizational center of the New Yishuv. This was due to Jaffa's geographical advantages as well as the unique character of its Jewish community. It became the headquarters of the Ḥaluztei Yesud ha-Ma'ala Committee, the Hovevei Zion Executive Committee, and the Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Craftsmen in Syria and the Holy Land. It was also the world center of the B'nai Moshe Society, and the national headquarters of the Anglo-Palestine Company, the Geula Society (involved in land purchase), the Pe'ula Society, and other organizations. Furthermore, Jaffa was the venue for the few conventions held during this period in an attempt to unify the New Yishuv.¹⁹²

During the Second Aliyah period, this trend became even more pronounced. Other philanthropic organizations, trade unions and associations opened their doors in Jaffa: the Mizraḥi Hatza'ir Association, Magen, the British Immigrants Society, the Immigrant Artisans of Zion, the Bar-Kochba Orchestra, the 'Ivriya Society, the Yeshurun Club, Ha-Teva', Ahiezer, Maccabi, etc. The Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, the Information Bureau, the major labor organization committees, the Eretz Yisrael Teachers Association, and the Society of Hebrew Physicians also established themselves in Jaffa.¹⁹³

As organizations and institutions proliferated in Jaffa, so did cultural activity. Jaffa became the home of cultural institutions and enterprises that reflected the ideology of the New Yishuv. In particular, the town was considered the spiritual and cultural center of the Judean settlements and a crossroads for the transmission of Hebrew culture, nationalist views and nationalist education. This is attested to by the *talmud torah* institutions, the Hovevei Zion schools for boys and girls, the Sha'ar Zion Library, the Gymnasia ha-'Ivrit, the Taḥkemoni school, and the Levinsky Teachers' Seminary.¹⁹⁴

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Jaffa began to see the appearance of Hebrew newspapers. By 1914, there were 29 publications in Jaffa and Tel Aviv (*Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, *Moledet*, *La-'Am*, etc.), catering to professional, labor, literary, scientific, and nationalist interests.¹⁹⁵ Dr. Shimon Moyal even conceived the idea of an Arabic-Hebrew newspaper, *Ṣaut al-'Uthmāniyya* (The Ottoman Voice), which, in fact, appeared from 1913 until World War I.¹⁹⁶

192 For further information, see Kark, 1982; and Kaniel, *Shalem*, 3.

193 For additional sources, see Kark, 1976, p. 130.

194 Kark, 1982.

195 Pevzner, 1832, pp. 2-21; *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 6, no. 23, March 14, 1913, p. 3; and Lunz, *Luah* 5673 (1913) 18, pp. 177-178.

196 Kark, 1976, p. 133; and Yehoshua, 1957, pp. 65-67.

Jaffa also stood out as a center of literary activity. It had a Hebrew and Yiddish theater which, in 1894, was already performing Avraham Goldfaden's "Shulamit" in Yiddish. In 1908, the Hebrew Theater-Lovers Association was founded. Its goal was to develop Hebrew theater, translate plays into Hebrew and organize academic discussions on drama, the history of the theater, and so on. Among the first productions were "The Jews", "Mirele Efrat" and "Dr. Stockman". A public corporation called "Kohelet" began to publish textbooks and reading material for the Hebrew schools of Palestine.¹⁹⁷ In 1902, the Rishon Lezion Orchestra played its first concert in Jaffa. Other concerts followed, such as the festive performance marking the establishment of the Hebrew Music Society.¹⁹⁸ In 1910, Mrs. Ruppin opened Jaffa's first music conservatory.¹⁹⁹

Inter-Communal Relations

The many different religions practiced in Jaffa indicate the complexity of the population, which increased all the more as time went on. This was compounded by processes of change within certain sectors which led to more modern outlooks, greater secularism, openness to new ideas, the creation of class distinctions, and a budding sense of nationalism.

We can learn much about the relations between the communities in Jaffa from the *sijill* books—the Muslim court records mentioned earlier. According to Layish, they contain a wealth of data on the socio-economic ties between the Christians and Muslims.²⁰⁰ Other sources imply that beneath the facade of daily dealings lay generalized tensions which erupted from time to time. A case in point were the riots in Jaffa at the peak of the Crimean War, when the Muslims plundered the homes of Christians and Jews.²⁰¹ In the 1860s, Muslim-Christian relations worsened following rioting in Lebanon. Only the moderate stance of local Muslim leaders prevented a massacre.²⁰²

A report of the British Consulate in Jerusalem tells of the decision at a Red Crescent fundraising event in mid-October 1911, to carry out a massacre of Christians. This threat led the consuls to consider summoning a foreign warship to Jaffa, but nothing was actually done. An appendix to this report

197 *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 13, March 11, 1910, p. 3; Ben-Hillel, pp. 208-209; Talpir, *Gazit*, vol. 21, pp. 4-14; and Kohelet society prospectus, Einhorn collection.

198 Talpir, *op. cit.*; and invitation of the Hebrew Musical Society to a concert and its founding meeting, May 1913, Einhorn collection.

199 Ben-Hillel, p. 184; and *Ha-Or*, vol. 31, no. 193, May 19, 1913, p. 2.

200 Layish, p. 532.

201 Finn, p. 391.

202 Maoz, 1968, p. 230.

indicates that the instigators in such matters were usually Afghans and Algerians—as they were in this case, too. Although the local Muslims and authorities promised to protect the Christians from any harm, the prevailing atmosphere among the non-Muslims in Jaffa, the Jews included, was one of fear and insecurity.²⁰³

Toward the end of the period, and in the early days of the British Mandate, there was some rapprochement between Muslim and Christian Arab intellectuals as a result of their political activity and opposition to Zionism: “At the present time, moreover, the native Moslems and Christians not only claim the same Arab nationality, but constitute a united body as far as political situation is concerned.”²⁰⁴

The status of the Jews, and their relations with the other communities, improved during the nineteenth century. The reign of Ibrāhīm Pasha is commonly considered the turning point in the attitude toward non-Muslims in Palestine. Regarding Jaffa, we have evidence from the mid-1860s that there was “no fear or panic in the city; when an Ishmaelite or Christian spoke out against a Jew, [the latter] was not afraid to respond...”²⁰⁵ Meir Hamburger, in describing a Torah scroll dedication ceremony in 1867, notes the change:

The main point of my letter is not the Torah scroll dedication nor the dancing in the streets, but the news that with God’s help, times here have changed for the better. Who would have believed twenty years ago that the Jews would dare such a thing? They would have been stoned by the Ishmaelites. Once a Jew was afraid to show his face in the marketplace, and now, thank the Lord, a large crowd of Jews can sing and dance in the streets in honor of the holy Torah and no one says a word. On the contrary, they are respected and praised.²⁰⁶

Sometimes the Jews required consular assistance in safeguarding their rights. This was the case in the 1870s, when an Ottoman official burst into the home of Signior Levy during a birthday party, and a crowd of Arabs and policemen raided the home of Yehiel Shmerling, a prominent Jaffa Jew, on the pretext that a Muslim girl had been kidnapped.²⁰⁷

In the 1880s, German vice-consul Murād reports peaceful relations between the Jews and local inhabitants, though the usury practiced by the Jews made them unpopular.²⁰⁸ A decade later, Yehoshua Eisenstadt-Barzilai also remarks

203 Letter of the British Consulate in Jerusalem to Sir G.A. Lowther, the ambassador in Constantinople, on Oct. 14, 1911, ISA, 123-1/11.

204 Haycraft report, 1921, p. 2.

205 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, 1861, p. 56.

206 *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 11, no. 32, Aug. 7, 1867, p. 244.

207 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1872, pp. 18-19; and Malachi, *Horeb*, p. 160.

208 Eliav, 1973, pp. 92-93.

on the "great degree of tolerance shown by the Musselmans, demonstrated by the fact that a person of another faith, and even a Jew, could walk alone at night during the month of Ramaḍān and no one would harm him."²⁰⁹ However, despite the improvements, and the belief that Jews had fewer enemies among the Muslims than among the Christians, it could still be said in 1907 that "although there is no conspicuous Arab hatred of the Jews, in the eyes of many they are lowly and despicable."²¹⁰

In 1908, a fistfight broke out in a hotel between Jewish and Arab youths. This led to an attack on the hotel guests by a number of Arabs and members of the gendarmerie. The outcome was a political victory for the Jews, as the authorities punished the offenders and removed the Jaffa *kaymakam* from his post. This episode, dealt with at length by Eliav,²¹¹ aroused the ire of both Arabs and Jews. However,

...it is known and felt by all that the hatred between Jews and Arabs is not deeply rooted, and that the intrigue of the moment was between the *kaymakam* and the local Russian consul. All are inclined to believe that the situation can be changed by the favorable attitude toward Jews of the central government in Constantinople.²¹²

The new *kaymakam* seems to have been on better terms with the Jews. We even read of his visit to a Hebrew kindergarten, and his desire to send his children there.²¹³

A well-documented article by Arieḥ Yodfat discusses Jewish-Arab relations in the early days of Tel Aviv. The contacts between Tel Aviv residents and the Arabs of Jaffa were commercial, rather than social or cultural, with the main point of contention being Jewish vs. Arab labor. Political contacts with the Arabs were very rare. A group of native-born, Arabic-speaking Jews founded the Magen Society, which was to be a public spokesman for the interests of the Jewish populace. It sought to prove to the Arabs, particularly through the newspaper, *Ṣaut al-'Uthmāniyya*, that the Jews could bring them economic and cultural benefits.²¹⁴

209 Beit Halevi, letter 6-7, March 17, 1894, pp. 6-7.

210 Smilansky, 1907, p. 16.

211 Eliav, 1974, pp. 152-197; also see report of the World Association of Hebrew Youth, and testimony on the anti-Jewish rioting in Jaffa on March 16, 1908, National Library, MS.var, 77.

212 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1908, pp. 12-13; and letter from the Palestine Information Bureau to the Zionist Center in Vilna, April 6, 1908, CZA, Z2/627.

213 *Ha-Olam*, vol. 3, Feb. 2, 1901, p. 15.

214 Yodfat, 1974, pp. 520-528. Also see *Filasṭīn*, Oct. 5, 1911.

N.J. Mandel believes a distinction must be made between the favorable attitude toward the Jews of the upper classes, especially the wealthy landowners (who profited from the demand for their land and secured high prices), and the attitude of the lower, less-educated classes, who were indifferent. On the other hand, the middle-class businessmen and professionals, most of whom were Christians, were afraid of business competition.²¹⁵

Relations between Jews and Christians in Jaffa deteriorated steadily, both because of missionary activity and because of increasing financial competition. As the Jewish settlers multiplied in the 1880s, the Christians began to show open enmity, refusing to hire them as workers and firing those already employed. In response, there were some Jews who avoided buying from Christians.²¹⁶ Thus it transpired that the Christians of Jaffa were greater enemies of the Jews than the Muslims. As Smilansky put it:

The Christians in Jaffa and Palestine as a whole are largely against us, and some are so hostile to the Jews that they strive to undermine us in any way, also through literature. On the other hand, among the Mohammedans we have fewer opponents than among the Christians...²¹⁷

The other foreigners settling in Jaffa at the end of the 1860s—the Templers—were despised by the local Arabs, Christians and Muslims alike, throughout most of the period. The Germans, in turn, ridiculed the Arabs. On the other hand, their attitude toward the Jews was changeable. Sometimes they were negative and rejected the outstretched arm of the Zionists; at other times, they lived as neighbors. Homes in the Templer colony were rented to Jews, and the Germans willingly cooperated with the Jewish settlers of Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Mikve Yisrael and the farming settlements.²¹⁸

For lack of source material, it is difficult to reconstruct the relationship between Christians and Muslims, and the various denominations within these communities. However, Baldensperger's comment about religious disputes among the various churches is noteworthy.²¹⁹ Reports on the Jews of Jaffa indicate that domestic relations were not always ideal. In 1865, a comment on the relations between Turkinis (Sephardi Jews) and Moroccans reads: "...there is not much love between the two communities, and each shows hostility toward the other..."²²⁰

215 Mandel, 1965, p. 86.

216 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 1, no. 11, Jan. 2, 1885, p. 3; and *ibid*, no. 39, July 31, 1885, p. 1.

217 Smilansky, 1907, p. 16.

218 Carmel, 1973, pp. 169-225.

219 Baldensperger, *PEF QSt*, 1913, p. 125.

220 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 3, 1865, p. 56.

Although a joint Jewish Committee was established in 1890, intercommunal disputes continued. Echoes of these disputes may be found in the committee protocols. In 1897, Harari writes: "There is no peace and tranquillity between our brethren, who are divided into Ashkenazim and Sephardim. The Sephardi is very proud and seeks to rule. Each community lives its own life and does not join the other."²²¹ There were also arguments among the Ashkenazim themselves, particularly between Perushim and Ḥasidim; such matters as ritual slaughtering, the rendition of prayers, and so on, were further cause for debate.²²²

On the whole, however, intracommunity relations seem to have been positive, with each group assisting in the absorption of newcomers of the same origin. Thus, for example, veteran Yemenites, despite their poverty, took charge of the new immigrants from Yemen arriving in the first decade of the twentieth century, doing much to ease their early days in Palestine.

221 Protocols of the Jaffa Jewish Town Committee; and Harari, I, 1947, pp. 12-13.

222 Goldmann, 1898, p. 75; *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 19, 1910, p. 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE

Up to now, we have discussed administration, urban growth and demography. Now we shall look at other developments in Jaffa and Palestine during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and consider the part played by the Ottomans. Most of the literature dwells on the contribution of foreign elements and of the local Jewish and Christian communities. Very little has been written about the contribution of the government. Is this because the Ottomans did little, or because the literature has highlighted only certain information? We shall try to answer this question by focusing on four specific areas: local government, health, transportation and communications. Sometimes the discussion will be broadened to include all of Palestine, for events in Jaffa were never detached from what was transpiring in other parts of Palestine, Syria, and the Ottoman Empire.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The establishment of the first modern municipality in Jaffa seems to have been a response to the Law of Vilayets passed in 1870, which called for the founding of municipal councils in provincial towns.¹ As we see from a report in *Ha-Havazelet*, the first steps to create such an institution were taken in late 1871:

Last week all the local dignitaries assembled here for secret talks on matters pertaining to the welfare of the inhabitants. This distinguished meeting was also attended by all the consuls. They wish to establish a *majlis baladiyya* here, as in all the big cities. Their first step is to open another large gate in the town wall through which donkeys and camels may pass rather than using the gate for pedestrians.²

During its first year, the municipality was composed of four Muslims, one of whom was chairman, and four Christians, one of whom was secretary and the only paid member.³

The German vice-consul in Jaffa reports that the municipality met in May

1 For more details on the establishment of municipalities in the Ottoman Empire, and in Jerusalem in particular, see Kark, 1977.

2 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 2, no. 2, October 29, 1872, p. 18.

3 Murād to von-Alten on June 24, 1872, *op. cit.*

1872 and set itself the goal of cleaning the streets, installing streetlighting, and introducing other improvements. It appealed to the German and British consulates in Jerusalem for assistance in carrying out these plans, asking them to issue instructions to the vice-consuls and their protégés in Jaffa.⁴ In 1876, all the vice-consuls in Jaffa filed requests to be represented in the municipality. They sought permission to choose their own delegates through public elections, and argued that a European presence in the municipality would benefit the town as a whole.⁵

Following this appeal, the district authorities agreed to allow two foreign nationals on the council, on condition that they be selected from among six candidates representing six countries, as proposed by the vice-consuls. They also had to be Muslims, worthy of election, and men of means.⁶ We may infer from this that the Jews of Jaffa were not represented at the time.

No more is heard about municipal elections until the second decade of the twentieth century. When elections were held in early 1913, the Jaffa Jewish Town Committee (*Va'ad ha-Kehilla*) proposed two Jewish candidates: Dr. Moyal and M. Korkidi.⁷

Discussions of the elections by the *Va'ad ha-Kehilla* reveal that part of the municipality's activity consisted merely of smoking *nārijīlas* together. Election results depended on the mayor, and a battle was being waged between two factions. There were a total of 700 voters, 25-30 of them Jewish.⁸

In order to cover its expenses, the municipality began to collect a tax from each household in 1872. However, of the 115,000 piasters raised each year for municipal purposes and sent to Jerusalem, the district's central city, only 24,000 piasters returned to Jaffa.⁹ Cuienet provides information on the municipal budget and activities in 1892 (which included Ramle):

4 Letters of Murād, German vice-consul in Jaffa, to von-Alten in Jerusalem on June 29, 1872 and December 31, 1872, ISA 67/451; letter of Palestine governor, M. Kiamik [Kāmil—R.K.] to Dr. Otto Kersten, director of the German Consulate in Jerusalem on September 6, 1873, ISA 57/192; and letter of Noel Temple Moore, acting British consul in Jerusalem, to Amzalak, vice-consul in Jaffa on September 20, 1873, ISA 123/1-14.

5 Letter of Ihsan, supervisor of Jaffa subdistrict, to the German vice-consul in Jaffa on January 17, 1876, and the letters of the foreign vice-consuls in Jaffa to the supervisor of the Jaffa subdistrict on February 3, 1876, ISA 67/193.

6 Letters of Ihsān and the vice-consuls, 1876, *op. cit.*

7 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 6, no. 18, January 31, 1913.

8 Yodfat, 1975, pp. 252-253.

9 Murād to von-Alten, *op. cit.*

*Municipal Budget of Jaffa, 1892*¹⁰

	Income in Piasters	Expenditure in Piasters	Municipal Structures	Road Construction in Meters
Jaffa	169,513	218,418	17	280
Ramle	43,486	45,471	12	—
TOTAL	212,999	263,889	29	280

These figures indicate a substantial increase in municipal income over a period of twenty years. Data from the early twentieth century show that taxes were levied on each barrel of kerosene that came into the port, on wine, on buildings, on real-estate leased from the municipality, and even on carriages travelling to Jerusalem.¹¹

Residents also paid an annual tax to the Urban Improvement Fund; Nablus and Jaffa together contributed a total of 13,000 lire a year in the early part of the century. The money, however, was not always used for its intended purpose. The local Arabic newspaper *Filasṭīn* complains that hardly any of the 104,000 Ottoman lire collected over eight years (until 1912) was invested in road repair (aside from a small section repaired by the municipality and residents of the nearby neighborhoods).¹² Sometimes the municipality received donations, for example, from Baron Edmond de Rothschild in 1914.¹³

Among its other duties, the Jaffa Municipality engaged in planning, inspection, and licensing. It supervised the markets and controlled the price of basic commodities (flour, meat, cheese, coal, kerosene, and wine).¹⁴ It also regulated the lease of shops and inspected the licenses of physicians, pharmacists, etc. Municipal inspectors were occasionally bribed.¹⁵

10 Cuinet, pp. 665-666.

11 Letter of British vice-consul in Jaffa, Falanga, to Mrs. Palmer, Jaffa, July 20, 1905, ISA 123-1/26; and *Filasṭīn*, July 23, August 5, September 20, September 24 and October 28, 1911.

12 *Filasṭīn*, August 17, 1912. Tables listing the exchange rate may be found in several volumes of Luncz, *Luah*. The rate of exchange fluctuated between the official rate of Jerusalem and that of Jaffa, e.g. 100, 124 and 141 piasters to the lire, and 115, 137 and 156 piasters to the pound sterling. The franc was 5.10 to 6 piasters.

13 According to Ruppin, 1968, II, p. 137, the Baron donated 5,000 francs to the municipality.

14 *Filasṭīn*, September 30, 1911.

15 Letter of the British consul in Jerusalem to vice-consul Amzalak in Jaffa, on November 15, 1876, ISA 123-1/14; and protocol 37 of the Jewish Town Committee of Jaffa, August 19, 1891.

Law and order were also municipal concerns. Watchmen and policemen were hired to prevent thefts and harassment on the beach, but their effectiveness was not great.¹⁶ The municipality devoted itself to hygiene and sanitation in an effort to improve public health and avoid the spread of epidemics. Nonetheless, the *Jewish Chronicle* describes the poor sanitation, filth, rats and animal carcasses in the streets in 1879—eight years after the municipality had been established.¹⁷

In the years that followed, the situation improved somewhat. The municipality began to dig sewers in the early 1890s, and announced its intention to hose the streets to keep down the dust. This was the practice until World War I.¹⁸ At the same time, steps were taken to prevent the formation of a swamp which appeared each winter and which many people regarded as the source of much of the illness in Jaffa.¹⁹ A canal was built which drained into the sea, and special legislation was passed to keep it clean and prevent mills and private homes in the area from dumping their wastes into it.²⁰

In 1911, apparently in response to the demands of the inhabitants, the municipality allocated funds for urban sanitation, repairs and cholera prevention. It was called upon to continue this funding in 1912.²¹ During most of this period, the municipality employed a physician who treated epidemics in the surrounding villages. He also supervised slaughtering, prohibited the slaughter of pregnant sheep and saw to it that the meat was covered with clean cloth.²² In 1904, it was reported that a municipal hospital was to be built in Jaffa, but this does not seem to have materialized before the war.²³

Road maintenance proceeded slowly. A proposal to pave the streets with stone was put forward in the 1890s.²⁴ In the first decade of the twentieth century, a new method of road repair was introduced: for a certain fee,

16 Luncz, *Luah* 5665 (1905), vol. 10, p. 167; and the newspaper *Lisān el-Hāl*, March 1, 1897, in Yehoshua, *Al-Anbā'*, July 17, 1977.

17 *Jewish Chronicle*, December 26, 1879, p. 10.

18 *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 16, 1896, p. 119; *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 9, no. 35, June 2, 1893, p. 1; *Filasṭīn*, May 15 and August 4, 1912.

19 Letter to Murād, vice-consul in Jaffa, to German consul in Jerusalem, June 2, 1894, ISA 67/168; Beit Halevi, letter 5, July 16, 1893, p. 45; *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 1, no. 5, February 11, 1895, p. 2.

20 Correspondence of Jaffa vice-consul Piani and the British consul in Jerusalem, May 9, 1913 and May 22, 1913, ISA 123-1/9.

21 *Filasṭīn*, September 2 and 14, 1912.

22 Luncz, *Luah* 5664 (1904), vol. 9, p. 192; *Filasṭīn*, August 12, 1911, June 8, 1912.

23 Luncz, *Luah* 5665 (1905), vol. 10, p. 167.

24 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 9, no. 35, May 1893, p. 1.

portions of the road were leased to people who undertook to improve them and keep them clean.²⁵

Among the public works of the municipality was the planting of a garden where the old vegetable market once stood (today Clocktower Square).²⁶ It also issued detailed tenders for a tramway in the Jaffa district, an electric grid and a project to utilize the waters of the Yarkon River for irrigation, drinking, and sprinkling the streets in Jaffa and nearby villages.²⁷ Another municipal enterprise was the repair of flour mills along the Yarkon River.²⁸

Streetlighting was to have been the responsibility of the municipality from its inception; however, in 1897, the streets were still dark, and one did not go out at night without a lantern.²⁹ In 1907, the municipality installed kerosene “lux” lamps. The decision to introduce electric lighting came in 1912. This was an item in the electricity tender cited above, which specified when the project would commence, when it would be complete, who would own the equipment, where the turbines and grid would be located, etc. The lighting was to be used only on dark, moonless nights.³⁰ A month after the tender was issued, the press reported that an Egyptian contractor had applied for the job. According to the paper, electric lighting would make it easier to keep the streets clean and free of crime. Nonetheless, it was a luxury and there were other basic needs with greater priority.³¹

Over the years, the municipality became active in other areas and its budget grew. At the same time, public awareness was increasing and criticism of the local government’s mode of functioning was not uncommon in the press. The Europeans in Jaffa, particularly the consuls, were the driving force in the efforts for improvement. On the eve of World War I, the municipality began to make plans for the development and modernization of Jaffa aside from its daily responsibilities.³²

HEALTH SERVICES

In the 1840s, an attempt was made to improve health services throughout the Ottoman Empire. This was partially motivated by the desire to encourage

25 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 22, no. 24, November 1910, p. 2.

26 Beit Halevi, *op. cit.*; *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 1, no. 5, February 11, 1895, p. 2.

27 Tender issued by Jaffa municipality for electrical and irrigation work, CZA L51/6, 191(2)?

28 *Filastīn*, November 24, 1912.

29 *Lisān al-Hāl*, March 1, 1897, in Yehoshua, *Al-Anbā'*, July 17, 1977.

30 Tender (above, note 27), and *Ha-Hashkafa*, 8, p. 72, June 16, 1907. p. 4.

31 *Filastīn*, August 7, 1912; *Ha-Zefirah*, vol. 38, no. 196, August 1912, p. 3.

32 Kark, in Kushnir, p. 51-56.



Clocktower Square in Jaffa in early twentieth century, showing Muslim cemetery, clocktower and new Saray building (CZA)

foreign trade and to win the approbation of the West. Like their Egyptian predecessors, the Ottomans tried to keep contagious diseases out of Syria. In accordance with the quarantine laws of 1838 and 1840, many quarantines and lazarets were established, in particular along the border and at the ports. These issued health permits to ships and caravans, and supervised public health in the districts. Sometimes these measures delayed business transactions, but on the whole the system worked efficiently and aided the local inhabitants in their fight against epidemics. The Ottomans also took legislative and practical steps

to improve sanitation among pilgrims headed for Mecca and to provide medical care in the major cities.³³

The health situation in Palestine was deplorable until the second half of the nineteenth century. Apart from an occasional remark, there is no evidence that the authorities gave any thought at all to medical care or sanitation. A picture of poverty and neglect arises from the descriptions of many travellers. According to Zaideh in an article on medical history in Palestine, health did not improve because of the government, but because of the missionaries, the medical personnel dispatched by the churches, and the Jewish physicians who arrived from Europe. Strides were made at the end of the century in particular, when foreign delegations of physicians and scientists became more active and Jewish settlement commenced.³⁴

Each of these groups seems to have been concerned first and foremost with its own constituents, and only afterwards with other sectors of the population. This was even true for the Mission. Tibawi emphasizes that the American Mission in Syria and Palestine had recommended the dispatch of a physician in the 1820s. His primary duty was to safeguard the health of the missionaries and their families. He was also instructed to care for the children of upper-class families in order to enhance the Mission's prestige.³⁵

Thus the improvement of health was shouldered mainly by outside elements, though the Ottoman government seems to have become more attentive to the problem in the 1860s. At this time it began to take action beyond quarantining villages or port cities when an epidemic broke out. The Jaffa Municipality became a partner to this activity in the 1870s. Despite the scarcity of data, we will attempt to assess the changes taking place in hygiene and sanitation, the treatment of common illnesses, control of epidemics and the staffing of medical institutions.

As noted earlier, sanitation in Jaffa was very poor, and municipal efforts to improve the situation were far from successful. The appalling conditions recorded in 1879³⁶ differ little from those described by H. Harari in a letter to his father in 1898:

Imagine, father: the streets of Jaffa are always full of idle Arabs, youths and children tumbling in the rubbish. Camels sit in the road, donkeys and herds of goats wander as they please, and carriages cannot get through. The inhabitants sully the air with their filth. Beside each house is a heap of human and animal waste with millions of flies on it. Everyone dumps

33 Maoz, 1968, pp. 167-168; Lewis, 1968, p. 96.

34 Zaideh, *Carmelit*, nos. 6-7, 1960, pp. 395-396.

35 Tibawi, 1966, p. 34

36 *Jewish Chronicle*, December 26, 1879, p. 10.

their sewage out the windows right into the street. Next to each doorway is a rancid, greenish puddle. The lanes are never swept and are full of corn cobs, rotten vegetables and peels. Butchers throw intestines, bones, horns and other offal into the street. Outhouses have neither water nor toilets, and the waste is carried out of town in containers. The stench could shorten your days. Luckily there are many dogs and cats in town that pick at the garbage and clean the streets a little.³⁷

Complaints about the poor hygiene in Jaffa also found their way into the press. In 1911, it was still the custom to leave animal carcasses in the streets, and this, the newspaper says, was responsible for the spread of many illnesses.³⁸ Part of the blame was placed on the ignorance, traditionalism and superstitions of the inhabitants.³⁹

One of the most serious problems was sewage disposal, as we see from Smilansky's account in 1905:

Old Jaffa has canals which take the waste from homes to sea, but in the northern part of Jaffa, a pit two meters deep is dug beneath each outhouse. The bottom and two of its walls are earth, and only a covering of stones protects it from collapse. When the pit is full, one earthen wall is opened and the gutter-cleaner removes the pitchers or containers. Special closed barrels are taken from place to place and within a short time, generally at night, all the waste is dumped into them. However, here in Jaffa, this procedure takes several hours and the stench fills the whole street.⁴⁰

This was also a source of concern for the new Jewish neighborhoods outside the wall. In Neve Zedek, for example, houses were so close together that toilets were situated at the courtyard entrance, near the street. Neve Shalom had an even greater problem in that the water cisterns were located no more than two to three meters distance from the toilets. A contemporary critic noted that "the laws of hygiene would require the cistern to be at least seven meters from the toilet."⁴¹

Little progress was made in hygiene and sanitation prior to World War I. In 1907, Ruppin states that "city hygiene is the weakest point in the Turkish administration; in fact, it can hardly be said to exist at all."⁴² While Dr.

37 Harari, I, p. 14 (for 1898).

38 *Filastîn*, July 23, 1911.

39 *Filastîn*, August 3, 1912.

40 Smilansky, 1907, p. 13.

41 *Ibid.*

42 Ruppin, 1936, p. 12.

Schwarz felt that hygiene in the coastal towns had improved in the wake of foreign immigration in the 1880s, Masterman claims sanitary arrangements in all the towns were still extremely primitive.⁴³

Jaffa residents were afflicted by various incapacitating illnesses, the most common of which was malaria. This disease would break out mainly in the summer or fall, sometimes in epidemic proportions (as in 1883).⁴⁴ Especially hard-hit were the children, many of whom succumbed to the disease.⁴⁵ Intestinal disorders were also common, particularly in the summer months.⁴⁶ Records from the Jewish hospital, Sha'ar Zion, for August 1897-April 1899 give a general picture of the incidence of various illnesses. Over a 21-month period, 433 patients were hospitalized for "Malaria et Cachex. mal."; seven of them died. An additional 107 suffered from stomach and intestinal disorders ("Gastro-enter."), resulting in seven deaths. Non-fatal illnesses included 53 patients with eye problems ("Ophthalmia var."), 46 with injuries, 38 with bronchitis, 26 with gynecological problems ("Metritis et endometr.") and 20 with nervous disorders.⁴⁷

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jaffa was plagued by several epidemics; some were widespread and took many lives. Economic damage was also great; the town was quarantined, travellers and ships were detained, mail and money from abroad could not arrive and the cost of food soared.

One of the most severe was an outbreak of cholera in 1865 which affected all of Palestine. The disease seems to have spread from Egypt to Beirut and Izmir, and then to Jaffa and other parts of Palestine (Jerusalem, Hebron, Ramle, Lydda, Nablus and Acre).⁴⁸ The precise number of deaths is unknown, but the sources speak of "innumerable victims", 42 of them Jewish. With the town almost empty of inhabitants, looting began. Only the intervention of 'Izzat Pasha of Jerusalem forestalled more serious consequences:

If not for the mercy of the Pasha of Jerusalem, who ordered that survivors be given bread from government stores, reinforced by the order of the village sheikhs to greet anyone seeking refuge with bread and water, there would have been nothing left, God forbid, of the town of

43 Schwarz, in Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 1, 1882, pp. 115-116; Masterman, p. 5.

44 Alper, pp. 128-129; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-123; USNA T471, annual report on February 17, 1889; *Great Britain*, 1920, p. 81.

45 Yaffe, 1939, p. 80 (for 1894).

46 Protocol, 40, October 1, 1892.

47 *Sha'ar Zion*, 1899, pp. 13-15.

48 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, 1865, pp. 273-275, 290-291, 373; *Ha-Carmel*, vol. 5, 1865-66, p. 254.

Jaffa. For those who lived through the darkness of the plague would have died of the hunger that came stealthily by day.⁴⁹

‘Izzat Pasha even had the *kaymakam* of Jaffa removed for his mishandling of the crisis.⁵⁰

In 1871, ships arriving from Turkey, Egypt and Beirut were held in quarantine for ten days if this had not been done at their port of origin.⁵¹ A similar quarantine was imposed again in 1873, when a plague of cholera broke out in Vienna.⁵²

In 1883, when cases of cholera were detected in Egypt, Jaffa found itself quarantined once more. A sense of despondency took over the town, affecting agriculture, commerce, pilgrim traffic, and health. The American consul states in his annual report that import and export had totally ceased, as had the flow of pilgrims. This left many residents without employment. Reduced income led to a rise in the cost of living, making the lives of the inhabitants even more difficult. That year was also fraught with epidemics: measles, from which over 1,500 children died during the summer months; chicken pox, which claimed the lives of both children and adults; and malaria, in a particularly fatal form.⁵³ Cholera led to a quarantine of the Mediterranean coast in 1886. Palestine was affected, too, though the disease never reached it. Jaffa and environs also suffered that year from a plague of typhus.⁵⁴

Towards the end of the 1880s and early 1890s, Jaffa was again struck by illness: this time an epidemic of influenza, which was almost world-wide in 1889, but afflicted Jaffa particularly in 1893. One source mentions over 9,000 victims, and another, 1,500. Among the Arabs, twenty persons died each day; among the Jews, the figure was lower.⁵⁵

The epidemics subsided for almost a decade, until an outbreak of cholera in 1902 that took a heavy toll in lives. Its spread from Egypt to al-‘Arish and Lydda, and from there to Jaffa, was the outcome of an ineffective quarantine. At its peak, the daily mortality rate in Jaffa reached thirty. All told, several hundreds succumbed to cholera; Jews were in the minority. Again the economy

49 *Ha-Levanon*, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

50 *Ha-Carmel*, *op. cit.*

51 Report of Jaffa vice-consul Murād to German consul in Jerusalem, December 30, 1871, ISA 67/758.

52 Letter of Murād in Jaffa to German consul in Jerusalem, September 30, 1873, ISA 67/451.

53 Annual report of German consul in Jerusalem, February 25, 1884, ISA 67/1484 (see Talman, p. 32); and report of Selah Merrill, U.S. consul in Jerusalem to John Davis in Washington, October 18, 1883, USNA T471.

54 Report of U.S. consul in Jerusalem, Henry Gilman, to Porter in Washington, December 12, 1886, USNA T471; Schwarz, p. 80.

55 Goldmann, *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 23, 1893, pp. 343-345; Beit Halevi, letter 3, July 3, 1893, p. 43; and *PEFQSt.*, 1893, p. 293.

suffered greatly, and poverty and hunger increased. Maritime and land communications were severed, postal services were paralyzed, commerce and production came to a halt and the cost of living rose.⁵⁶ There were also other less severe outbreaks of illness: influenza in 1910, and cholera in 1910, 1911 and 1912.⁵⁷

During World War I, “the government made useful improvements in the country as a whole, and in the Holy City in particular.” These improvements were reflected “...in the attention to the cleanliness of streets and courtyards in order to protect public health, and indeed, health was good and no contagious diseases spread.”⁵⁸ Nonetheless, cholera struck again, and several towns in Palestine (Jerusalem, Hebron, Jaffa) swiftly introduced a law requiring inoculations against the disease. The authorities and the town committees waged a campaign to keep the cholera from spreading, and the epidemic soon died out.⁵⁹

Despite the primitive sanitary conditions, Jewish immigrants considered early twentieth century Jaffa a healthful place to live in, on account of its temperate climate. It also appears that the Jewish population was less prone to illness than the Arabs:

However, we must point out that despite the poor sanitary conditions in the neighborhoods of our brethren, most of the people are healthy and whole, and rarely suffer from eye disease. This is especially true for those born here and the children in particular. Sometimes there is malaria, but aside from this, serious contagious diseases are not at all common... how thankful the residents of Jaffa should be for the good climate, and especially the sea breeze. The orchards on the other side of Jaffa also help to purify the air, and the two together work to correct what human beings have spoiled with their own hands.⁶⁰

Nearly ten hospitals opened in Jaffa between 1835, when the quarantine was established, and 1917. Most of these hospitals and their ancillary services, such as outpatient clinics, were run by Christians and served the needs of the Mission, local co-religionists and pilgrims. The situation fluctuated with institutions opening and closing, sometimes temporarily, to reopen under a new name. Hence there is difficulty in establishing the facts. It appears that at

56 Yaffe, 1939, pp. 40-41, 312-314; Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 6, 1903, pp. 42-44; and Selah Merrill to H.D. Pierce in Washington, October 18, 1902 and January 10, 1903, USNA T471.

57 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tsa'ir*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1910, p. 15; *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 91, 1910, p. 3; *Filastīn*, August 20, 1911, 17, December 5, 1912.

58 Luncz, *Luah* 5675-76 (1915-16), vol. 20/21, 1915, p. 262.

59 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 11/12, 1917, p. 401.

60 Smilansky, 1907, p. 15.

least four hospitals were operating simultaneously at the end of the period; these were run by the St. Joseph Sisters, the Templers, the English Mission, and the Jews (Sha'ar Zion).

Very little is known about the number of beds and patients at these institutions; the figures at our disposal relate only to certain years. We learn, for example, that the French Hospital had 30 beds in 1895,⁶¹ the Templer Hospital had 16 beds in 1884,⁶² and the Jewish Hospital had 20 beds in 1892, rising to 40 some years later.⁶³ Between October 1883 and August 1884, a total of 12,532 patients were examined at the "Medical Mission" hospital. Of these, 5,761 were new cases, 235 were hospitalized, and 6 died. Among those admitted were 11 Jews, 5 Catholics, 22 Greek Orthodox, 5 Maronites, 1 Copt, 6 Protestants, 1 Druze and 184 Muslims.⁶⁴ In 1883, the German hospital treated 156 in-patients.⁶⁵

During a 21-month period (July 1897 April—1899), the Sha'ar Zion Hospital admitted 849 patients (328 men, 331 women and 109 children) [sic. numerical inaccuracy—R.K.], 42 of whom died (23 men, 9 women and 10 children). This amounted to 12,992 days of hospitalization (20 patients per day, each hospitalized for an average of 15 days). In addition, the hospital clinic examined 13,677 patients, and the physician made 1,080 house calls. The Jewish Hospital also served out-of-towners; indeed, Jaffa residents comprised fewer than half of its patients.⁶⁶

In 1905 we find in Jaffa 18 physicians (nine Jewish, eight Christian and one Muslim) as well as, four dentists (two Christian and two Jewish). Smilansky provides details on the Jewish medical personnel; three medics; 13 midwives, two chemists and technicians; seven pharmacists with 12 assistants. We must also include both male and female clerks, cooks, janitors and others who were employed in the medical institutions.⁶⁷

The question of whether health conditions in Palestine, and particularly in Jaffa, had improved by the end of the Ottoman period, cannot be answered unequivocally. For a definite reply, one would require public health statistics relating to adult and infant mortality, as well as other unavailable data. Nevertheless, the impression from various sources is that sanitation, medical care, and the prevention of epidemics did improve to some degree. The

61 Cuinet, p. 556.

62 Talman, p. 7.

63 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 4, 1892, pp. 231-232; and Goldmann, *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 23, 1899, pp. 343-345. Also see *Ha-Or*, vol. 2, no. 296, 1911, p. 1.

64 Bell, *Gleaning from a Tour*, pp. 188-189.

65 Talman, *op. cit.*

66 *Sha'ar Zion*, 1899, pp. 16-17.

67 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 87-88.

incidence of cholera, for instance, declined greatly after 1870, and from the last third of the nineteenth century, the plague no longer assumed epidemic proportions in Palestine. Yet malaria was still extremely widespread. If we accept the notion that malaria and environmental hygiene are closely related, we realize that the improvements were superficial, and that no preventive measures had been taken to keep malaria and other endemic diseases at bay.

The major public health initiative undertaken by the Ottoman government, according to early twentieth century sources, was the management of epidemics—not before their appearance but afterwards. Immunizations were given, clean-up and disinfection operations were carried out, and food and charcoal were distributed.⁶⁸ In 1904, when a livestock disease broke out in Palestine, a veterinarian from Constantinople was sent to Jerusalem and Jaffa to investigate the problem and prescribe proper treatment.⁶⁹ These health campaigns usually enjoyed the cooperation of the local governor and pasha, the municipality, local and municipal physicians, and sometimes other town notables.

The improvement in medical services was quite obvious. From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, hospitals, general and specialized clinics, and pharmacies sprang up all over Palestine, accompanied by an increase in medical personnel. The number of physicians in Jaffa, for example, rose from none at all at the end of the 1830s, to eighteen in 1907. There were also four dentists.

The expansion of the medical system had very little to do with the Ottomans; most of the initiative was taken by foreigners, with funding coming from abroad. The first to act were the missionaries and churches, followed at a later date by various Jewish bodies in Jaffa, Jerusalem, and other parts of Palestine.

Many of the sources dealing with this period take the growth of medical services as an indication that health improved too. It is difficult, however, to prove a causal relationship between the two. Some improvement in health might be inferred from the general population growth in Palestine between 1800-1914, part of which was no doubt the result of natural increase and possibly a drop in mortality. It is also likely that economic development and increased cash flow into Palestine, Western influences, and European immigration contributed to a rise in living standards, improved personal hygiene, and greater attention to public sanitation, thereby improving health in certain sectors of the population in Jerusalem, Jaffa and other towns.

68 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 5, 1901, p. 283; Yaffe, 1939, pp. 40-42; *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 27, no. 331, 1903, pp. 42-44; Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 6, 1903, pp. 74, 168-170; Luncz, *Luah* 5663 (1903), vol.8, pp. 74, 168-170; *Yerushalayim*, 1902, p. 107; Luncz, *Luah* 5665 (1905), vol. 10, p. 165; *Yerushalayim*, vol. 7, 1904, p. 165.

69 Luncz, *ibid*, pp. 166-167.

POST AND TELEGRAPH

A new postal system was instituted in Turkey in 1834, and was further reorganized in 1840.⁷⁰ In 1837, Austria and France obtained permits to provide postal services in the principal cities of Turkey's Asiatic provinces. In mid-century, a Turkish service was also instituted, replacing the Tatar messengers who had carried mail between Constantinople and the provinces at six-week intervals. This new postal system, inaugurated after the Egyptian retreat from Palestine, established regular contact between Istanbul and the Syrian centers, and operated once or twice a week between Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, Tripoli, Homs, Hama, Acre, Jaffa and Jerusalem. Horewitz claims that the Turkish post was quite erratic,⁷¹ but Maoz holds that the system was reliable, and was thus used to relay messages by the foreign consuls.⁷²

The telegraph was introduced in Turkey in 1855, as soon as the Ottomans realized its potency as a tool of government. It reached Syria only in the early sixties. Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut were linked up in 1861, and in subsequent years, the service gradually expanded to include the coastal cities, Tripoli, Acre and Jaffa. By 1864, the Empire already had 76 telegraph stations, with 267 leagues of line in use and 304 more under construction (the Ottoman league was a little over 3 miles).⁷³ From Syria and Palestine, communications with Europe went through Constantinople or Egypt. There was also an underwater cable linking Latakia with Cyprus.⁷⁴

There were three types of Turkish post offices: international offices which sent telegrams in foreign languages, local offices which sent telegrams only in Turkish and Arabic, and small branches offering no telegraphic services at all. At the end of the Ottoman period, offices of the first two types abounded in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.⁷⁵

As for postal services in Palestine and Jaffa, a distinction must be made between Turkish and foreign enterprises. The latter exploited the Capitulations and were in constant competition with the Turkish post. This continued until the abolishment of the Capitulations and the closure of foreign post offices in Palestine and all the coastal towns in Turkey on the eve of World War I. This seems to have been the case in some inland cities, too.⁷⁶

The Ottomans operated international and local post offices in almost every

70 Lewis, 1968, pp. 95-96.

71 Horewitz, p. 503.

72 Maoz, 1968, p. 167.

73 Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182; Maoz, *ibid.*

74 *Great Britain*, 1920, 10, 60, pp. 78-79.

75 *Ibid.*

76 Y. al-Hakim, pp. 200-201; Luncz, *Luah* 5665-66 (1915-16), vol. 20/21, *Yerushalayim*, 1915, p. 262.

large city in Palestine (Acre, Gaza, Haifa, Nazareth, Safed, Tiberias, Jerusalem and Jaffa; Luncz adds Nablus). Until almost the end of the nineteenth century, these services were considered inefficient and no match for the foreign post offices, particularly that of the Austrians, which was known for its reliability. Only after the opening of a railway line between Jaffa and Jerusalem was there a marked improvement in the Turkish post. Mail was delivered daily to towns along the line, and as foreign services were barred from using the train for mail conveyance, the Turks now had an advantage.⁷⁷ Moreover, in 1897, domestic out-of-town postal rates were cut by half, whereas previously they had equalled overseas rates.⁷⁸

In the correspondence between the American consul in Jerusalem and the deputy Secretary of State in Washington (1884-1903), we find many complaints about the Ottoman postal service: slow delivery, carelessness in handling (exposure to the elements and possible theft), lack of concern for privacy, etc. Under the circumstances, the consuls and vice-consuls preferred to dispatch their consular correspondence via the foreign mails. Surprising as it may seem, even Ottoman officials used the foreign post.⁷⁹ Complaints about the theft of mail, the shortage of stamps and a black market in Jaffa supplying them, appear in the newspaper *Filasṭīn* during 1911-1912.⁸⁰

Luncz provides information about postal and telegraphic services, including fees, in his almanacs. These services were totally disrupted when an epidemic broke out or ships were quarantined. In 1896, for example, a cholera epidemic in Egypt caused "the contact between our land and all other lands to be wholly severed; there are no letters, no newspapers, no news."⁸¹ This was also the case when Palestine and Egypt were hit by cholera in 1902. Mail arrived in Jaffa only once in two weeks due to the quarantine of ships from Egypt. Letters were sent from Jaffa to Jerusalem in three separate carriages (one for each leg of the journey), after being adequately purged and fumigated.⁸² A similar quarantine was imposed on ships and mail arriving from Port Said in 1910.⁸³

Foreign postal services multiplied and expanded during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to the Turkish post office, which moved at the end of the nineteenth century from the harbor market to Bustrus Street, postal services in Jaffa included: a French post office founded in 1855

77 *Great Britain, op. cit.*; Frumkin, pp. 112-116.

78 Yellin, 1972, p. 124, April 14, 1897.

79 Letters of Selah Merrill and Edwin Wallace, U.S. consuls in Jerusalem, to the assistant Secretary of State in Washington, August 30, 1884, October 5, 1896, January 3, 1898, January 28, 1903, and August 7, 1903, USNA T471.

80 *Filasṭīn*, October 15, 1911, November 11, 1912.

81 Yellin, 1972, p. 26.

82 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 6, 1903, pp. 167-168.

83 *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 91, June 26, 1910, p. 3.

(near the Latin Church of St. Peter); an Austrian post office (in the home of the vice-consul in the harbor bazaar); an Egyptian post office, which seems to have operated between 1866-1881; and a Russian post office (at the shipping agency in the harbor bazaar). In addition to these, a Jewish family, the Hamburgers, handled mail delivery. A German post office opened in October 1898, marking the visit of the German emperor and Germany's increasing economic and political involvement in the Holy Land.⁸⁴ All the foreign services closed when World War I broke out, and only the Turkish post continued to operate.

The first towns to be linked up to the telegraph network in the early 1860s were Acre and Jaffa, providing communication with Constantinople, Alexandria, Beirut, etc.⁸⁵ In 1864, a line was completed from Acre to Haifa, and in 1865, from Jaffa to Jerusalem (operating in Arabic, Turkish and French). Work was also begun on a line from Jerusalem to Nablus.⁸⁶ That year, the Hebrew press reports that *fellāhīn* had slightly damaged the telegraph line to Jerusalem and received a stiff punishment (see transportation and communications map for the Jerusalem-Jaffa line).⁸⁷ In honor of the visit of the German emperor to Jerusalem in 1898, a new cable was laid between Jerusalem and Jericho, and a special line was hooked up in the Kaiser's camp.⁸⁸ In 1902, Hebron and Jerusalem were linked by telegraph.⁸⁹ As yet, no other modern communications media had made their appearance in Palestine. In all of Syria there was no public telephone system until the end of World War I, apart from a few short lines laid in a number of cities for official purposes.⁹⁰

In summary, from the standpoint of postal and telegraph services, Palestine, and especially Jerusalem and Jaffa, had come a long way. From the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, regular service was available between Palestine and the neighboring countries, as well as Europe and America. Progress was attributable in no small measure to the foreign post offices and the pressure of the consuls, particularly the Americans, which led to improvement in the Turkish service. An efficient postal and

84 *Ha-Herut*, vol. 7, no. 18, October 23, 1914, p. 3; Ita Yellin, p. 34 (1882); Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67; Yellin, 1972, p. 278; Baedeker, 1912, p. 7; Talman, pp. 22-25.

85 Letter of Lazarus S. Murād, U.S. vice-consul in Jerusalem, to the Secretary of State in Washington on December 14, 1865, USNA T471; *Jewish Chronicle*, February 3, 1865, p. 3.

86 Hurewitz, p. 503; Avitzur, 1970, pp. 2-5; *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 8, no. 41, August 28, 1864, p. 324; *Ha-Carmel*, vol. 5, no. 35, August 11, 1865, p. 247.

87 *Ha-Mevasser*, June 23, 1865.

88 Yellin, 1972, p. 283, October 29, 1898.

89 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 6, 1903, p. 76; *Hashkafa*, vol. 3, no. 39, March 14, 1902, p. 171.

90 *Great Britain, op. cit.*, pp. 78-79; Avitzur, 1973, p. 308.

telegraph system had a direct bearing on economic and commercial life—particularly in developing urban centers like Palestine, and, specifically, Jaffa.

TRANSPORTATION

The development of transportation made great strides during the late Ottoman period throughout the Empire, including Syria and Palestine proper. Development was made possible through a combination of foreign enterprise and capital, and government cooperation. Most of the capital flow into Syria at this time was channelled into transportation, services, or construction, with a smaller investment in commerce, banking and the silk industry.⁹¹

Until the 1880s, the most important advance in maritime transport was the building of the Suez Canal. With the completion of the canal and the increasing use of steamships from the 1830s onwards, the Middle Eastern ports (especially Beirut, but also Jaffa, Gaza, Haifa and Acre in Palestine) were incorporated in the major Mediterranean sea routes. Safety improved and travelling time to Europe decreased greatly. By 1876, regular shipping lines had been inaugurated: the French shipping companies, the Austrian Lloyd company, the North German Lloyd company, the Peninsular Oriental company, and others run by the Italians, Egyptians and Russians. Some of these companies operated several lines and had relatively fixed time schedules.⁹² Regular service to the Middle East continued until the eve of World War I but little was done to improve the ports, with the exception of Beirut, where a French company won a concession in 1887 to develop the site.⁹³

The opening of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road in 1869 increased land traffic to and from Jaffa, which coordinated well with the growing maritime activity.⁹⁴ From the end of the 1880s, railway and road development in the Ottoman Empire made tremendous strides. In 1888, a German company won a concession to build a railway from Istanbul to Ankara, constituting the first stage of the Hejaz railway.⁹⁵

91 Issawi, 1966, p. 210.

92 Baedeker, 1876, pp. 17-29; re Beirut, see Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*.

93 *Great Britain, op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

94 *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 5, no. 7, February 13, 1868.

95 Heyd, 1963.

Roads

Luncz is very informative about inland travel in Palestine prior to the 1860s.

Paved roads were nonexistent in the country and, obviously, neither were there any carriages or wagons. Travel from town to town was only by horse, donkey or mule. The peasants also used camels. It took an entire day to go from Jaffa to Jerusalem by donkey...The trip to Hebron by donkey took eight hours. For the three-four day journey to Safed and Tiberias only mules were used (as donkeys could not travel such long distances). No one would dare travel to other towns in the Holy Land without an armed escort.⁹⁶

Hence we may infer that all goods were transported by camel, mule or donkey, and that shipping and travelling were very slow-paced. Mrs. Finn, wife of the British consul, says that when she met Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, and his friends at a Jerusalem hotel in 1861, de Lesseps described how he had traversed the desert route from Egypt to al-'Arīsh in a four-wheeled carriage drawn by camels.⁹⁷

Improvements were made on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road in 1859, by villagers pressed into labor in anticipation of a visit by the Sultan.⁹⁸ However, the first modern, stone-paved road in Palestine suitable for wheeled carriages was completed only in 1869 in honor of the visit of the Austrian emperor and the Prussian crown prince.⁹⁹ Along this road, from Jaffa to Jerusalem, were seventeen watchtowers manned by *bashi-bozuks* (an irregular army, mainly cavalry, functioning as police), with mounted patrols guarding the intervals between towers (see Map 13).¹⁰⁰ The Jerusalem Municipality also built an inn at Bāb al-Wād where travellers were obligated to have coffee, whether or not they so desired.¹⁰¹ A toll was imposed by the Sultan to cover the cost of building and maintaining the road, with inspection booths in Jaffa, Ramle, Bāb al-Wād and Jerusalem. Varying amounts were charged for donkeys, horses, camels and wagons. A fixed sum of money was transferred annually to the Jerusalem Municipality, with the collection of tolls granted as a concession.¹⁰²

96 Luncz, *Luah* 5670 (1910), vol. 15, pp. 17-18.

97 Mrs. Finn, 1929, pp. 226-227.

98 Letter of Kayat, British vice-consul in Jaffa, to Lord John Russell, on September 15, 1859 (in Issawi, *op. cit.*, p. 248).

99 Goodrich-Freer, p. 365; Luncz in Schwarz, *Tevu'ot*, p. 492.

100 Baedeker, 1876, p. 133 (who says there were 18 watchtowers); and Avitzur, 1970, pp. 2-11.

101 Avitzur, *ibid.* Today, two towers remain, one near Azor and the other in Bāb al-Wād. The remnants of other guard houses are also discernable.

102 Yellin, 1973, p. 53.

By 1882, some of the watchtowers were no longer in use thanks to the improvement in security:

Indeed, most of them are empty. Only here or there one finds a man or two posted, but the road remains safe from robbers and highwaymen. It seems that the inhabitants of the Holy Land themselves desired fewer guards, because in the early days the guards, too, occasionally attacked and exploited wayfarers...¹⁰³

The vacancy of the watchtowers is also noted by Yellin in 1900: “They have been unoccupied for a long time, for they are no longer needed, and are gradually falling to ruin.”¹⁰⁴

The major problem after the completion of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road was its rapid deterioration and need for repairs even during the first years of operation. Under pressure from the carriage-drivers, repairs were indeed carried out from time to time.¹⁰⁵ Towards the end of the 1880s, the Ottoman government made improvements in the Jaffa-Jerusalem road of its own accord: sections of the road were widened and a protective wall was erected where curves were steep.¹⁰⁶ In the mid-1890s, other repairs were made, and small stone pillars were placed at various intervals, marking the kilometers in Arabic.¹⁰⁷

The carriages using this road were imported and driven by foreign residents—Americans and Templers. Only later did Arab and Jewish drivers appear. The first light-weight coach was shipped to Jaffa in the end of 1856 or the beginning of 1857, for the use of the “Model Farm”. However, the pioneer carriage driver on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road was an American from the Adams’ colony, which hoped to develop transport services as a source of livelihood. The colonist, Rolla Floyd, obtained a permit from the governor, Nāṣif Pasha who emphasized, however, that no monopoly had been granted.¹⁰⁸

From the 1870s onwards, coach transport and travel services between Jaffa and Jerusalem were the specialization of the Templers of Jaffa. Only five years later did a local Arab join the business, after purchasing a carriage from them. In 1875, the Templers organized the first transport company in Palestine. It

103 Deinard, *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1882, p. 27; and Solomon, *Yehuda ve-Yerushalayim*, p. 107.

104 Yellin, 1973, p. 53.

105 Carmel, 1973, p. 29; *Die Warte des Tempels*, vol. 44, October 30, 1884.

106 Shick, *PEFQSt.*, January 1889, pp. 8-9.

107 Luncz, *Luah 5657* (1897), vol. 2, p. 154.

108 Letter of Johnson, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to Seward, Secretary of State in Washington, September 30, 1868, USNA T471.

owned 23 horses and 40 [probably 4—R.K.] carriages.¹⁰⁹ An omnibus line was inaugurated with two vehicles running daily in each direction.

By the mid-1880s, many Jewish, German, and Arab carriages were plying the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. The fierce competition cut into the profits of the German transport company in Jaffa and eventually led to its closure. To solve the profitability problem, it was decided in 1884 to establish an official carriage-owners cooperative. The executive committee of the company set regular prices for the trip from Jerusalem to Jaffa (five and a half francs) and vice versa (six and a half francs—this was an uphill journey), and determined higher fees for the tourist and pilgrim season. Carriages were numbered, and it was planned to print tickets and open reservation offices in Jaffa and Jerusalem. This company was officially recognized by the government, had a monopoly over passenger transport, and was entitled to request road repairs when necessary. It consisted of sixteen German drivers, as well as Jews, local Christian and Muslim Arabs, who divided the profits between them each month. Eight trips a day were scheduled in each direction,¹¹⁰ with more carriages, belonging to German farmers and others, added during the peak season.

In 1888, work was begun on a road linking Jaffa and Nablus. There seems to have been a connection between this and the government-sponsored construction of a stone bridge over Wādī Muṣrara (the Ayalon), which would make the road passable during the winter months. The bridge was twenty-two meters long, with stone supports and a roof of iron bars imported from France. It was considered the “most beautiful bridge in the land,” and cost nearly 60,000 francs.¹¹¹

The approaching visit of the German emperor in 1898 spurred a flurry of repairs and road construction in Palestine. Jaffa gained a new road to Haifa, and the Jerusalem highway was renovated once more.¹¹² Winter travel was facilitated through the completion of three new bridges over the al-ʿAuja River (the Yarkon) and two over the Abū al-ʿAuja River. Thus access to Nablus, Haifa, Acre, the Jewish colonies, and especially Petaḥ Tikva and Kfar Saba, was much improved.¹¹³

Better roads resulted in less travelling time. The journey from Jaffa to

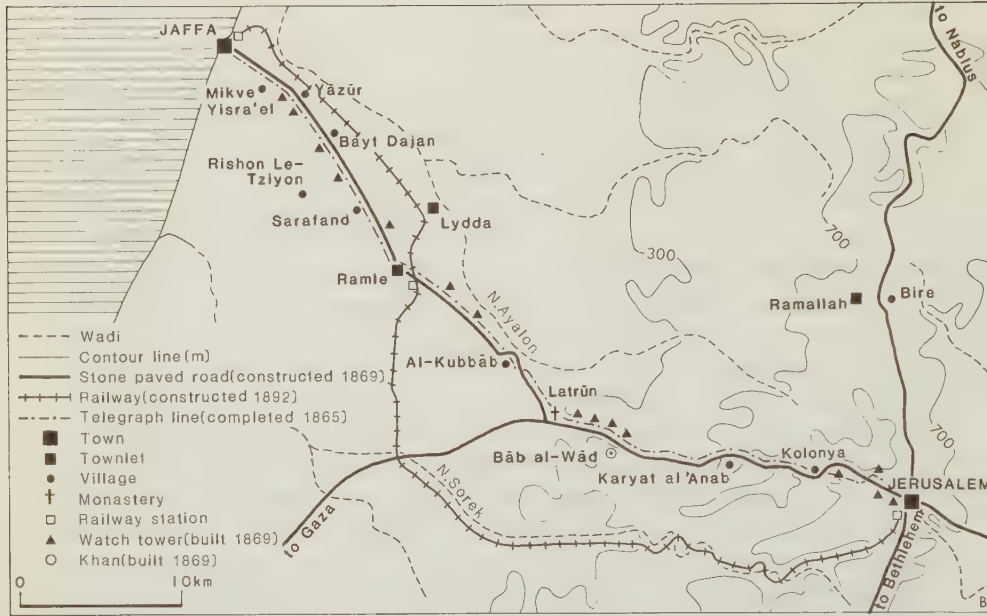
109 Carmel, 1973, pp. 24-29. The number of carriages cited by Carmel seems exaggerated; he probably meant four rather than forty.

110 *Die Warte des Tempels*, *ibid.*

111 Schick, *op. cit.*, and Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 4, 1892, p. 222.

112 Schick, *ibid.*

113 Luncz, *Luah* 5663, (1903), vol. 8, p. 108.



Map 13: Transportation and Communications Routes, Jaffa - Jerusalem (end of 19th century)

Jerusalem which took twelve hours in 1876, was now reduced to seven or eight hours. While hiring a carriage to Jerusalem cost 30-40 francs in season in 1876, it cost 50-60 francs in 1912.¹¹⁴

Aside from the growing number of interurban roadways between Jaffa and distant towns, we see from contemporary maps that a dense network of roads was evolving close to Jaffa, linking it with its suburbs and the nearby settlements. With this improvement in the local road system, four 'omnibus' carriages were introduced in 1911 to ferry residents around town.

Railways

The first railway in Palestine, like the first highway, was between Jaffa and Jerusalem. While it was built only at the end of the nineteenth century, plans for this line seem to have been in the air since the 1830s. The timing was early indeed, considering that the first public railway was inaugurated near London

114 Baedeker, 1876, pp. 128-132; Baedeker, 1912, p. 15.

in 1855. The first Egyptian railway opened that same year, and the first Turkish lines—in 1860 and 1866.¹¹⁵

Montefiore conceived of a Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad in 1838, though he feared it might be exploited for missionary purposes.¹¹⁶ In 1856, he and the British Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, thought of purchasing a railway built by the British during the Crimean War, dismantling it and reassembling it between Jaffa and Jerusalem. A preliminary accord for this presumably profitable venture was reached when the Grand Vezir, ‘Alī Pasha, visited London that year, but the project never came into being.¹¹⁷

An 1857 source notes a French plan for such a railway, to be carried out jointly by the French and local merchants in Beirut, but no further mention is made of this. Another attempt was made by Montefiore to implement his plan, again without success. In both cases, religious considerations were a factor.¹¹⁸

There were other schemes, too, such as that proposed by Engineer Zimpel in 1864. He envisioned Jaffa as playing an important role in international transport. A modern port was to be built, with a network of trains reaching various parts of the Fertile Crescent. This included a railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, where it would branch off to Bethlehem and the south, the Jordan Valley, and the northern Dead Sea. From there it would branch off again, with one line going to Nablus and Nazareth, and the other to Beit Shean, the Hula Valley, Sidon, and possibly Dar‘a and Damascus. Zimpel’s prediction of some 60,000 passengers during the first year of operation was certainly grandiose for those days.¹¹⁹

Zimpel’s plan was to share the same fate as those which preceded it. Between 1872-1875, a French company headed by Forbes proposed the construction of a deep-water port and, apparently inspired by Zimpel, a Jaffa-Jerusalem railway. With great effort, a *firman* was obtained, and French engineers were sent over to check out and map the route. The 1876 Baedeker Guide includes this railway in a map of the Jaffa environs, where it is shown reaching the coast. Finally, the concession was withdrawn because no further progress was made, and the railway never materialized.¹²⁰

115 For more information on the plans and building of roads, railways, and ports in Palestine during the period 1800-1914, see Kark’s article (1989) on transportation. On the development of the Turkish railroad, see articles of Kolars and Malin.

116 Loewe, II, 1890, p. 193.

117 Grunwald, pp. 255-265.

118 Grunwald, *ibid*.; and letter of U.S. consul in Jerusalem, Franklin Olcott, to Seward, Secretary of State in Washington, September 30, 1862, USNA T471.

119 Avitzur, 1965, pp. 23-29; and *Ha-Carmel*, vol. 5, no. 23, 1891, p. 191.

120 Avitzur, *ibid*.; Grunwald, *op. cit.*; Pitman, p. 198, 243; Baedeker, p. 132.

The brisk activity through the Suez Canal at the end of the 1870s led several parties to recommend the linking of Jaffa to Port Said by rail so that agricultural produce and foodstuffs could be shipped from there.¹²¹ Other projects for the construction of a Jaffa-Jerusalem railway were conceived in the early 1880s, but again none came into being.¹²²

It was Joseph Navon, a Jerusalem entrepreneur, who succeeded in bringing the railway plan to fruition, fifty years after it was first envisioned. This was part of the ambitious scheme devised by the Egyptian Luṭfi Bey Pasha for a railway between Palestine and Egypt, with possible branch lines to Damascus and Aleppo. Navon worked for three years, from 1885 to 1888, to obtain a concession from Constantinople.¹²³ Authorization for a 71-year permit was finally issued in October 1888 by the Minister of Commerce and Public Works, and an official *firman*—in 1889. In his efforts to win the concession, Navon, an Ottoman citizen, was assisted by Johannes Frutiger, a banker of Swiss origin, and the government-appointed engineer of public works in Palestine, Faranjia, who was a Greek.¹²⁴ Lacking the capital to proceed, Navon went to Europe in 1889 to find a buyer for the concession. There he succeeded in interesting Camille Collas, a chief lighthouse inspector, who bought it for a million francs. On December 29, 1889, the Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman de Jaffa à Jerusalem et Prolongement was founded in Paris with Collas as its first director. The goal was to complete the line from Jaffa to Jerusalem within three years of the endorsement of the plans, and submit plans for a Jaffa-Nablus-Gaza line within five years.¹²⁵

As the building of a railway was considered to be in the public interest, the company enjoyed benefits such as exemption from customs duty on imported equipment. However, no mileage compensation was offered, and the railway was expected to operate on its own income. Construction was assigned to a Parisian public works and building company at the end of 1889. The work was to be carried out on a contract basis, in exchange for the right to manage the business and keep the profits for five years. Building commenced in April 1890 and ended in September 1892. The opening ceremony was held on September 26, in the presence of the Ottoman authorities. As was the custom, three sheep were slaughtered to secure Allāh's blessing.¹²⁶ As we see from the transportation map, the railway was 87 kilometers long and 105 centimeters wide. Along the line there were 167 drainage conduits, six of them built of iron

121 Montefiore, 1876, p. 26; *Ha-Zefirah*, vol. 6, no. 42, 1879, p. 333.

122 *Die Warte des Tempels*, December 28, 1883; Grunwald, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

123 Grunwald, *ibid.* See also Glass, 1989, pp. 77-89.

124 Thobie, pp. 205-209.

125 *Ibid.*

126 *Ibid.*



Railroad station in Jaffa at end of nineteenth century (Terra Sancta Album)

imported from Paris. The tracks were brought from France and Belgium, the locomotives from the Baldwin factories in Philadelphia, and the cars from the Belgian towns of Dill and Bacelan.¹²⁷ The building of the railway cost somewhere between 8.5 and 10.9 million francs, not including the purchase of the concession (one million francs), the interest on shares from 1889 (0.8 million francs) and the interest on a one million franc loan taken out at the end of 1893.¹²⁸

Initially, the passenger and freight trains ran once a day in each direction with the trip taking an average of three and a half hours. During the pilgrim season, trains were added as needed. By 1900, two passenger trains were running regularly in each direction. In 1912, a one-way ticket in first class cost fifteen francs, while second-class cost just over five.¹²⁹ The opening of the railway posed stiff competition for the camel drivers and coachmen, who now found themselves vying for cargo and passengers.

127 Issawi, 1966, p. 256. A detailed plan of the railway, including drainage conduits, slopes, etc. may be found in U.S. National Archives T471, dated October 5, 1892.

128 Issawi, *ibid*; Thobie, pp. 205-209.

129 Grunwald, *op. cit.*; Baedeker, 1912, p. 11.

By the end of the first year, the company was on the verge of bankruptcy. One reason for this was the high cost of construction, which exceeded expectations, and a debt of two million francs. Profits for 1893 barely reached 100,000 francs. Only a series of financial stratagems and the issue of bonds saved the railway from collapse.¹³⁰

As time went on, the volume of passengers and cargo on the Jaffa-Jerusalem line grew:

Railway traffic has increased to such an extent that the company is now planning to erect various buildings to ease loading and unloading at the stations. Company records show that 15,000 tons of freight have been carried from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and 12,000 from Jerusalem to Jaffa. From this we see that the goods transported from Jerusalem to Jaffa, i.e. delivered to the coast for shipment abroad, are not much less than the incoming goods, which indicates that the country is developing and coming back to life.¹³¹

For that same year, 1897, Luncz quotes the cost of transporting goods by rail: prices ranged between 57 and 212 grush (piaster) per ton, depending on the type of cargo. To this, one added 10.3 grush per ton for loading and unloading, and 17-32 grush for conveyance from station to final destination.¹³² Because of the need to reload the rail cargo, camel transport, which provided a door-to-door service, remained popular and continued to compete with railway transport until World War I. This situation was the direct outcome of the location of the train stations: in Jerusalem, it was far from the city center, and in Jaffa, far from the harbor. Towards the end of the Ottoman period, the Jaffa-Jerusalem line seems to have become more profitable, though most of the profits were from passenger transport. Its gross income in 1893 reached 100,000 francs, in 1895—51,949, in 1907—1,120,609, in 1908—1,120,690, in 1909—1,211,079, in 1910—1,368,423 and in 1911—1,388,755. In 1913, it carried 47,500 tons of freight (compared with 27,000 in 1897), and 182,700 travellers.¹³³ In the long run, the railway proved itself economically viable, furnishing a livelihood not only for those directly employed, but also for many who provided technical and other services. Moreover, it strengthened the ties of Jerusalem and the inland cities with Jaffa and the coastal region.

During World War I, the Turks dismantled some of the tracks between Jaffa and Lydda. After the British occupation, a narrow-gauge railway was laid for a

130 Thobie, *op. cit.*

131 *Ha-Melitz*, vol. 37, no. 159, 1897, p. 3.

132 Luncz, *Luah* 5659 (1899), vol. 4, p. 30

133 Thobie, *op. cit.*; Ruppin, 1918, pp. 75-78; *Great Britain*, 1920, p. 76.

small train (the Decoville, or Tarazina, as it was called locally) which ran from Lydda to the Jaffa pier. According to Avitzur, this line operated until 1926-1927.¹³⁴

On the eve of World War I, the Ottomans themselves were intending to expand the railway network in Palestine. As we see from the following newspaper report, Jaffa was incorporated in the plans to link Palestine and Egypt by rail:

Recently, an agreement has been reached between the governments of Turkey and Egypt to build a railway from Jaffa to Port Said which will pass through Wādī el-'Arīsh and link up with Jerusalem, Haifa, and Beirut. This new railway will introduce new life into commerce and industry in Palestine.

Later that year, the same source states: "The English government has refused to consent to the building of the railway because it might endanger the borders of Egypt..."¹³⁵ This must have been the reason why the plans never materialized.

We read about yet another scheme just as World War I is about to erupt:

The latest news is that a French company has asked the government for a permit to build a railway linking Jaffa and Beirut, which would also pass through Tyre and Sidon. The concession will be given for a period of fifty years.¹³⁶

Again, the plans fell through and it was only in the mandatory period that these visions became reality.

Plans for Motor Traffic and Tramways

As early as 1905, motorized transport was being planned in Palestine. On behalf of the Anglo-Palestine Company, Z.D. Levontin of Jaffa wrote to the Palestine Exploration Committee in Berlin proposing the use of motor cars on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, as well as the Jerusalem-Nablus and Jerusalem-Hebron roads after their improvement. He concludes his proposal as follows:

As you know, domestic transportation in Palestine is in a primitive state. Good, easily-accessible transport of persons and goods to the coast and principal cities will do much for the culture of this country.

The local authorities rejected parts of the plan because it could not afford to rebuild the roads. However, the Anglo-Palestine Bank was prepared to invest

134 Avitzur, 1972, p. 136.

135 *Ha-'Olam*, vol. 3, no. 13, 1909, p. 15; no. 41, p. 15.

136 *Moriah*, vol. 5, no. 437, February 5, 1914.

the necessary sums in return for a longer concession.¹³⁷ Thus it transpired that the government was interested in development, but for lack of capital had to rely on foreign investors.

In 1910 David Smilansky writes about a European engineer, A. Mayer, who was sent to Palestine by a group of foreign investors to investigate three projects regarded as important for the economy, one of them the founding of a tramway from Jaffa to Petaḥ Tikva, and from Jaffa to Rishon Lezion.¹³⁸ Again, the plans remained on paper.

The major argument against the introduction of motorized transport in Palestine was the poor state of the roads.¹³⁹ The first motor car made its appearance in Palestine in 1908, when an American tourist drove from Haifa to Jerusalem.¹⁴⁰ One of the German Wagner brothers, who ran a machinery factory in Jaffa, owned the only automobile in the country in 1913.¹⁴¹

THE HARBOR¹⁴²

Although Jaffa was considered the southernmost natural port in Palestine in the nineteenth century, it was not really a port at all. With good reason, the Europeans used the expression “go to Jaffa” to mean “go to hell”, and the town was nicknamed the “Sea-Wolf”.¹⁴³

Physically, the Jaffa port was only suitable for small craft and sailboats. The map drawn up by the British Admiralty in 1863 shows a small basin protected from the waves by a series of low reefs to the south and west. This basin was only one and a half to two and a half meters deep, forcing larger ships to anchor eight hundred meters to a kilometer and a half from the beach, and employ small boats to ferry cargo and passengers to the shore.¹⁴⁴

Since ships had to anchor in the open sea, the port could not be used all year round—a fact mentioned by nearly every European visitor to Palestine in the previous century. The situation was especially dangerous in the winter, from November to May. Stormy weather, westerly winds, and rapid northern currents often forced ships to wait several days or continue north (usually to

137 Levontin's letter to the Palestine Exploration Committee in Berlin, March 17, 1905, CZA L1/4.

138 David Smilansky Archives, letters dated May 2, 1910.

139 Weakley, 1910, in Issawi, 1966, pp. 285-288.

140 *ZDPV*, vol. 14, 1908, p. 73.

141 *Die Warte des Tempels*, July 23, 1914.

142 Avitzur (1972) is an important source on the infrastructure and operation of Jaffa's port during 1865-1965.

143 Raumer, p. 205; and a petition to the Grand Vezir from the Jerusalem Secretariat, 1906, Akrem Bey Archives, ISA 83/21.

144 Seetzen, II, pp. 69-71; Baedeker, 1876, pp. 127-130.

Haifa or Beirut) or south (to Alexandria and, after the opening of the Suez Canal, to Port Said).¹⁴⁵ It was not uncommon for ships to capsize, or be dashed upon the reefs or shore, with loss of life and property. In March 1873, for example, a Turkish steamship was wrecked off the Jaffa coast.¹⁴⁶

By World War I, anchorage at Jaffa was no better, although the number of



Jaffa Port: reefs, ships anchored far off shore prior to 1917 (courtesy of Leora and David Kroyanker)

145 Letter of John Gorham, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to Louis Kass, Secretary of State in Washington, January 19, 1859, USNA T471; Scherer, pp. 147-148, Baedeker, 1876, pp. 127-130; *Great Britain*, 1920, p. 81.

146 Letter of Murad, vice-consul in Jaffa, to von-Alten, German consul in Jerusalem, March 31, 1873, ISA 67/451.

ships and volume of cargo had grown tremendously. This state of affairs is described in a petition sent by the Ottoman authorities in Jerusalem to the Grand Vezir in Constantinople:

Jaffa Port, located amid coastal sands stretching to Haifa, some 20-25 hours away, is exposed to the Mediterranean's fiercest storms and wildest waves. For travellers, the Jaffa sea in the autumn and winter season is terrifying, and even in spring and summer one cannot trust it. Often, when it seems quiet and calm, it suddenly fills with foam, and waves the size of mountains attack the city as if desiring to swallow it. The storms in Jaffa are so sudden and so terrible in every season that the town has acquired the name "Sea-Wolf".¹⁴⁷

A further difficulty involved the boats which ferried cargo and passengers from ship to pier and vice versa. These boats had to maneuver dangerously between the reefs, which were sometimes only meters apart, and when the sea was restless, accidents occurred here, too.¹⁴⁸ In June 1873, eight pilgrims drowned during the ascent from landing craft to steamship. In December of that year, a boat carrying passengers to shore from a Russian ship capsized and was dashed on the reef. One sailor was killed and another badly injured.¹⁴⁹ Such disasters recurred frequently.

The slow passage between the reefs held up the loading and unloading of each ship for long hours. The seamen often took advantage of the situation and the dangers involved, charging outrageous fees.¹⁵⁰ When the sea was calm, prices were lower. Baedeker says that in 1876 the trip by boat in one direction cost a franc per person. In 1912, transporting a person and his baggage from ship to hotel cost six-seven francs in ordinary weather, and up to twenty in inclement weather.¹⁵¹

The poor infrastructure of the port was also evident in the inconvenient approach to the pier, which caused great distress to travellers and damage to goods. Even steps leading up to the pier were nonexistent in the 1840s. The sea-level was lower than the pier, and the ferry-boats could not approach it; porters waded through the water carrying passengers and cargo ashore on their backs. In 1864-65, the pier, which consisted of narrow wooden planks, was improved

147 Akrem Bey Archives, *ibid.* Also see *Filasṭīn*, March 16, 1912.

148 Conder, 1878, I, pp. 1-4.

149 Letter of Murād to Dr. Kersten, acting German consul in Jerusalem, June 30, 1873; and Murād to the consul in Jerusalem, December 31, 1873, ISA 67/451.

150 Dixon, pp. 1-13; *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 9, no. 41, June 11, 1873.

151 Baedeker, 1876, *op. cit.*; *ibid.*, 1912, p. 6.

somewhat: it was enlarged, using hewn stones and iron. A steep wooden stairway was added, too.¹⁵²

However, these improvements did little to change the situation, and passengers were still carried ashore—for payment, of course. The wharf itself was poorly paved and turned into a sea of mud when it rained. Storage facilities were nowhere to be found.¹⁵³

A turning point, though not of great consequence, in the development of port infrastructure took place in the mid-1860s, apparently spurred on by the increase in travellers and shipments after the Crimean War and the opening of the Suez Canal. A lighthouse was built in 1865 after the repair of the pier, and in 1875, the reefs were blasted to enlarge the space between them. A year later, the customs house was renovated.¹⁵⁴ The authorities began to weigh various schemes to develop the port into a deep-water facility for large ships, but the only progress made was the construction of a large stone building in 1886 which was used for administrative purposes, and a new customs house in 1894. After a drowning incident in 1898, the authorities put up a new pier which was six meters wide and seventy-five meters long. Work proceeded under the supervision of 'Abd al-Rahmān Bey, a Turkish army colonel, and M. Land, a German engineer.¹⁵⁵ Toward the end of the century, a storage facility for kerosene and methylated spirits was built, and was located outside the port for safety reasons; a fumigation station was opened to replace the quarantine.¹⁵⁶

When World War I erupted, the infrastructure at the Jaffa port was hardly better than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One would still be hard put to call it a port, though in 1913 it accommodated 1,341 ships with a one and a quarter million tonnage, carrying over two million pounds sterling in goods.¹⁵⁷ The reason for this was the Ottomans' ambivalence toward the development of the port. On the one hand, they themselves came forward with proposals and were prepared to consider large-scale development plans; on the other, they took no actual steps to further these plans and prevented other groups willing to invest the money from doing so. Even a minor issue such as continuing the Jaffa railway into the harbor, which might have greatly enhanced port operations and transportation, met with stubborn opposition on the part of the government.¹⁵⁸

152 Egerton, p. 4; Guérin, I, pp. 2-3; Dixon, pp. 147-148; *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 8, no. 41, October 26, 1864, p. 324.

153 Baedeker, 1876, pp. 128-130; Schwarz, 1880, p. 44.

154 *The Jewish Chronicle*, February 3, 1865, p. 3; Avitzur, 1972, pp. 115, 121.

155 Avitzur, *ibid*, pp. 104-129. In 1888, according to Tolkowsky, (1924), p. 133.

156 Avitzur, *ibid*.

157 Kark, "Coastal Towns", diagrams 3 and 4.

158 Avitzur, *op. cit.*; *Ha-Herut*, vol. 8, no. 9, 1909, p. 3.

Some sources writing about Jaffa Port were very skeptical about government initiative. Russell states in 1869 that there simply was no harbor.¹⁵⁹ The American vice-consul in Jaffa writes:

It has been a subject of inquiry for many years, when would the Ottoman government see the necessity for a safe anchorage on the Syrian coast and either make, or permit a private company to make a harbor. Such an enterprise would be a remunerative one. Either Beirut or Jaffa might be selected.¹⁶⁰

However, as we see from a report in *Ha-Levanon*, Jaffa's situation in the 1870s was far from unique:

...It is well-known that all the sea ports in Turkey are neglected, and that the government does nothing to improve them. However, the ruination and neglect of the Jaffa port has no peer in all of Turkey. At all Turkish ports, those disembarking from the ships risk their lives and property as they climb into rowboats which take them from ship to shore. There is not a single Turkish port like those of Europe, where large ships can anchor near the harbor for passengers to descend and alight. Jaffa port is even worse, for there is no shelter for the boats, the port is open on all sides, and ships anchor very far from the coast so they can escape if the winds begin to blow, and avoid being pushed ashore or dashed like pottery on the rocks...¹⁶¹

The government's inaction with regard to the development of the port is severely criticized in *Filasṭīn* (though the article was probably censored first). The article begins with a description of the handling of cargo: "...The situation is very bad, utter despair, a waste of both money and manpower. Goods sit in the mud and rain, people risk their lives, and the government wants neither to hear nor see." Perhaps, the author continues, the government thinks that Jaffa is still the tiny town it knew thirty years ago. Perhaps it never noticed the 50,000 residents, 20,000 tourists, and the port visited by over 1,700 ships carrying exports and imports worth 28 million francs. None of these achievements, he says, were due to government assistance:

My brothers, this is natural progress, generated by the standing of the town of Jaffa, the arrival of Jewish and other immigrants, and the many tourists who come to visit...But the government—do not assume it has helped in any way. It has not spent a single *attilik* to develop the town...

159 Porter, p. 225.

160 Letter of U.S. vice-consul in Jaffa, September 30, 1870, USNA T471.

161 Benjamin Zeev Halevi Sapir, *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 9, June 1873, p. 327.

According to the author, the government became aware of the developments in Jaffa only when large sums of money from custom duties on imports began streaming into its coffers.¹⁶²

*Plans for a Modern, Deep-Water Port*¹⁶³

Plans for a modern, deep-water port in Jaffa were made public in the 1840s. The earliest were motivated mainly by the desire to improve international commerce and transport. Political and strategic factors played a part, too. Only later projects began to consider the needs of Palestine itself.

The first known nineteenth century plan to build a safe harbor in Jaffa was proposed during the reign of Ibrāhīm Pasha. As Jaffa was the principal port for the armies of Muḥammad ‘Alī in Syria and Palestine, ‘Alī sought to adapt it to accommodate warships, supply and merchant vessels. Another choice of port was the ancient site known as “Solomon’s Harbor”, in the Jaffa marshes.¹⁶⁴ This natural depression was to be linked to the sea by canal and used as a protected anchorage. The plan is mentioned by W.F. Lynch, an American who explored the Dead Sea and Jordan River areas. When Lynch visited Jaffa in May 1848, he was asked by the U.S. vice-consul to examine the feasibility of such a project. In Lynch’s calculation, an investment of £20,000 was all that was needed. With estimated income from customs duties (at the rate of 12 percent), surpassing £10,000 a year, construction costs could be recouped within two years. In summer, the anchorage would accommodate ships up to 160 tons, though in winter, they would be forced to remain in the open.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, Lynch’s findings and recommendations never passed the theoretical stage.

A plan which was more seriously investigated was that of Zimpel, a German engineer and builder of railroads in America and Europe. As noted earlier, Zimpel envisaged Jaffa as the hub of a railway network from the Mediterranean to the Fertile Crescent, and a springboard for communications with Europe. The port would cover an area of 270 dunams, 9-10 meters deep. In addition, two breakwaters would be constructed, 800 and 300 meters long. The estimated cost was two million francs. Zimpel applied to the authorities, met with high-ranking officials and sought an investor for his project. The government, however, was not cooperative. It preferred to act on its own, though the only steps taken were the building of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road and

162 *Filastīn*, December 24, 1911.

163 For some of these plans and the background to them, see Avitzur, 1965, pp. 23-32.

164 Today, Bloomfield Stadium.

165 Lynch, p. 440.

the introduction of minor improvements in the existing port. The construction of a harbor seems to have been objected to on the grounds that it might serve as a convenient bridgehead for the invasion of foreign troops (as the port of Beirut had been for the French).¹⁶⁶

The Americans who came to Jaffa with Adams also recognized the potential in developing the harbor and the shipping trade. One of the settlers, John Drisko, described Jaffa as the port for all of central and southern Palestine, with great import and export prospects. To overcome the infrastructure problem, Drisko proposed the use of several 100-200 ton ships (probably with sails), to compete with the steamships which charged such high rates in the 1860s. He also believed that operating a small steamship with a draft of two



JAFFA FROM THE SEA.

View from sea: reefs, inner harbor and Old Jaffa (Manning, 1874)

¹⁶⁶ Avitzur, 1965, pp. 23-32.

meters to cross the area of the reefs could be highly profitable. However, none of the American settlers proposed schemes for improving the infrastructure itself.¹⁶⁷

In an outgrowth of the Zimpel plan, a Frenchman named Forbes succeeded in obtaining a *firman* from the Sultan to build a railway to Jerusalem and a breakwater in Jaffa which would enable the loading and unloading of large ships. The scheme failed because the necessary capital could not be mobilized.¹⁶⁸ Another attempt to utilize the concession seems to have been made in 1875, when a French company sent engineers to look the port over and recommend improvements. In Jaffa itself, there was already talk of becoming a “second Alexandria”, but the anticipated changes never occurred.¹⁶⁹

In late 1879, it was rumored that the French government had purchased land in the Jaffa environs to build a port which would allow ships access to the shore and link Jaffa and the Suez by rail. Around this time (1880), the Turkish minister of public works, Ḥasan Fahmī Pasha, proposed the construction of a breakwater approximately one kilometer long, which would enable large ships to anchor in Jaffa. The required investment was about four million francs. Time passed, however, and nothing more was heard of this plan.¹⁷⁰

Another large-scale program to modernize the port was put forward by an Austrian named Bumex in 1882. He proposed that the shallow part of the port be deepened by building two small breakwaters approximately eighty meters long, which would allow medium-sized steamships to dock there. The basic figures upon which Bumex was relying seem exaggerated today: he claims that the port was handling 150,000 tons of cargo a year worth 22.5 million francs, and a passenger load of 80,000. The expenditure for his scheme was less than for Zimpel’s—4,851,000 francs for the construction of a 13-dunam anchorage. Appended to the plans was a proposal for intensive agricultural development around Jaffa. Political and military factors were probably behind the government’s refusal to grant a concession. In fact, as time went on, its objections extended not only to the building of a proper harbor but even to a simple jetty.¹⁷¹

According to the reports of the U.S. consul, the French made five attempts between 1872 and 1887 to develop the port and lay a narrow-gauge railway

167 *Jewish Chronicle*, February 23, 1867 and June 23, 1867, p. 3.

168 Avitzur, *op. cit.*

169 Letter of Hardegg, U.S. vice-consul, to the State Department, October 1, 1875, USNA T471; and Pitman, pp. 240-241.

170 *Ha-Zefirah*, vol. 6, no. 42, 1879, p. 333; and Avitzur, 1965, pp. 23-32.

171 Avitzur, *ibid.*

between Jaffa and Jerusalem.¹⁷² Eventually, they won the concession and built a railway, and continued to press for the development of the harbor. “They say efforts are being made to obtain a permit for the construction of a port in Jaffa. Needless to say, those who are making the effort are Catholics, and not, heaven forbid, our brethren,” writes Barzilai-Eisenstadt in 1893.¹⁷³

In the early twentieth century, other schemes for developing the port sprang up. One was proposed by the British vice-consul in Jaffa, Falanga, who thought of improving one of the inlets by building embankments, two piers, and a railway station. He appended preliminary sketches and a land-fill plan by an unnamed engineer. As Falanga notes, this scheme was sent to Constantinople in 1906 but never received a reply.¹⁷⁴

We see from press reports during the years 1911-1912 that the Ottomans were becoming more serious about a modern port in Jaffa. Between 1911 and 1914, a number of French syndicates, including the railway company, applied simultaneously to the Sublime Porte for a concession.¹⁷⁵ According to Ruppín and others, the government had already surveyed the site and assessed building costs at 15-20 million francs.¹⁷⁶ The Ottomans entered into an agreement with the Ferrier company of France which was to finance and carry out the work, but war broke out and halted further activity. Moreover, an alternate plan was presented to develop the natural harbor in Haifa as the first stop of the Hijāz railway.¹⁷⁷

Thus Jaffa was a magnet not only for agricultural schemes and foreign settlement, but also for innovations in modern transport. Jaffa was the point of departure for the first carriage road and the first railway in Palestine, and the focus of many other highway and railroad plans. It was here that a modern deep-water port was envisioned—the first of its kind in Palestine, had it been built. The choice of Jaffa as the prime site for many ventures, some of them totally new to the country, had much to do with its convenient location on the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, in the hinterland of Palestine and the Middle East, and not far from Jerusalem. These geographical advantages far outweighed the flaws of the city’s port, which were considered reparable.

172 Letter of Gilman, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to the State Department in Washington, November 21, 1887, USNA T471.

173 Beit Halevi, letter 4, June 26, 1982, p. 39.

174 Avitzur, 1965, pp. 23-32.

175 *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 14, 1910, p. 2; *Filastīn*, September 24, 1911; Weakley in Issawi, 1966, p. 277 (for 1911); *Filastīn*, February 29, 1912, April 13, 1912 and May 25, 1912.

176 Ruppín, 1918, p. 73.

177 *Filastīn*, September 8, 1912; *Ha-Zefirah*, vol. 38, no. 188, 1912, p. 3; Avitzur, 1965, pp. 109-111; letter of Gerard Lowther, British consul in Constantinople, to Stowe in Jerusalem, January 28, 1912, ISA 123-1/10-1; and Weakley, 1911, in Issawi, 1966, pp. 285-288.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC LIFE

AGRICULTURE

Garden and Crop Development

As in many Middle Eastern cities in the early nineteenth century, much of the economic life in Jaffa was linked to agriculture, either directly or indirectly (land lease, sale of produce, exporting, etc.) The irrigated gardens which ringed the city were frequently mentioned by travellers of the time. The crops included lemons, oranges,¹ pomegranates, figs, peaches, apricots, almonds, grapes, vegetables, watermelons, sugar cane, and tobacco. Although the gardens had been badly damaged by Turkish soldiers during the Napoleonic conquest, they were quickly revived.²

The Egyptian peasants who settled in the Jaffa environs in the 1830s further promoted the development of these gardens. Through regular irrigation, the orchards flourished and produced high quality citrus fruit which began to be exported for the first time.³ The introduction of steamships in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean added to the feasibility of export.

In the course of the 1840s and 1850s, irrigated crops in the Jaffa area became more diversified. One of the new crops was mulberry trees, following the example of farmers in the Beirut region. At the urging of businessmen from Beirut and Jaffa, mulberry trees were planted in many gardens in order to produce silkworms and provide the beginnings of a raw silk industry. The investment was considered worthwhile because land was so cheap. For a nominal rent, an Ottoman subject could obtain from the government close to a thousand dunams of farmland. A source for 1848 states that thousands of acres of land were thus developed for agricultural use in the mid-1840s. The businessmen who invested capital in mulberries did so in the hope of making silk a major export. The crop was indeed successful, and by the end of the 1850s large quantities of unrefined silk were being sold.

1 Prior to the mid-18th century, Jaffa seems to have imported oranges. See Tolkovsky, 1926, pp. 146-148.

2 Seetzen, II, 1806, p. 71; Buckingham (referring to 1816), pp. 146-148; Norov, II (referring to 1835), pp. 146-148; Brawne, 1801, Smith, Russeggar and Sieber in Horowitz, 1923, p. 333.

3 S. Ben Zion, 1949, p. 112.

The Europeans living in Jaffa also participated in this venture. A report from early 1852 states that several Prussians had opened a silkworm nursery near the town gate. In the 1870s, however, the high hopes turned to disappointment. By 1880, mulberry plantations had all but disappeared from the Jaffa landscape and only small groups of trees remained. One of the major reasons for this was the manufacture of artificial silk in Switzerland. Despite its poor quality, this silk was marketed all over the world, also to Jaffa, as a substitute for real silk. Mulberry-plantations in Lebanon were also affected.⁴

Other crops introduced in the 1840s were bananas, plums and potatoes. Non-irrigated land was used for growing cereals and grazing.⁵ In the 1860s, during the American Civil War, more cotton began to be grown in Bāb el-Wād and the area between Jaffa and Ramle. After a few years, however, the industry declined.⁶ Schemes to renew cotton-growing in the Jaffa region were proposed by Falanga, the British vice-consul, in the first decade of the twentieth century. None materialized, however, chiefly for lack of support from the Ottoman administration.⁷

The sector which advanced the most in the second half of the nineteenth century and was considered the best investment, was the citrus industry. The statistics show an increase in the number and size of citrus groves in Jaffa, and the quantity of oranges produced. Solomon's account, dated around 1880, gives us an idea of how the Jaffa gardens operated:

From the property line of Mikve Yisrael onwards, begin the gardens of the aforementioned holy city, called in Arabic "bayyārāt" after the reservoirs used to irrigate them. The water in these reservoirs is deep. Horses and mules are harnessed to a wheel which raises the water and causes it to overflow into a pool at garden level, and then into ditches which water all the trees. It has been some thirty years since gardens have begun to be planted, and they have multiplied to such an extent that there are now close to five hundred large ones around the city. All are profitable to their owners, for the land is fertile and can produce all manner of fruit. Some of these gardens belong to our Jewish brethren,

4 *Jewish Chronicle*, April 7, 1848, p. 495, and January 16, 1852, p. 120; Thomson, 1880, pp. 224, 515. Silkworms are also mentioned by Baedeker, 1876, p. 130. Remnants of these mulberry trees can still be seen today in certain parts of Jaffa, particularly in the southeast, near Saknat Darwish. On the decline of this branch, see Wilson's report to the Secretary of State on October 4, 1879, USNA T471; and Lortet, p. 365.

5 Strauss, p. 340; Liebrut, pp. 168-173.

6 *Jewish Chronicle*, April 7, 1848, p. 495, and January 16, 1852, p. 120; Thomson, 1880, pp. 224, 515.

7 Manuscript of Murray Rosenberg, CZA, A 150/185.



Well and waterwheel for irrigation in Tel Aviv region (CZA, 1912)

and one was purchased by the righteous Sir Moses Montefiore, may God bless and keep him.⁸

As we see from the table below, the number of gardens steadily increased until the end of the 1880s, and then began to drop. However, the figures for the 1890s may be relating only to citrus groves, as is emphasized by Murād, the German vice-consul. On the whole, both the number of gardens and the amount of cultivated land seem to have increased. Citrus groves multiplied especially rapidly, increasing tenfold between 1880 and 1916. Not only did the amount of cultivated land and citrus groves increase in absolute terms, but areas previously devoted to other crops—olives, for example—were replanted with citrus.⁹ In the five years between tree-planting and full yield, vegetables

8 Solomon, *Mas'a*, p. 108.

9 Annual report of Henry Gilman, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, December 17, 1889, USNA T471.

were grown in the groves, bringing in enough income to cover the maintenance of the saplings.¹⁰

Traditional and Modern Farming Methods

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the irrigated gardens of Jaffa continued to be cultivated in the traditional manner. Those who worked the land did not own it; they were tenant farmers responsible for various aspects of the farming process: labor, irrigation, harvesting and marketing. Jaffa began to gain a reputation for its oranges—*citrus aurantium* (in Arabic *burtuqān* or *burduqān*). There were two chief varieties: the Shamūṭī (large, thick-skinned, seedless and very juicy) and the Baladī (round, thin-skinned, seeded and juicy). In Jaffa, the Shamūṭī was the more common because it shipped well and had the advantage of ripening early. Also grown in the Jaffa area were citrons, sweet lemons, mandarin oranges, Indian oranges and other fruit, though in smaller quantities.¹¹

Land preparation prior to planting followed the Arab method. First a well was dug until it reached water level. Over the well, a platform was constructed to hold a waterwheel with a chain and wooden buckets, which was rotated by means of a wooden, animal-driven pulley. The water flowed from the roof of this structure into a pool situated in an elevated spot, gravitating from there into water-tight conduits built of sandstone which irrigated the entire garden. It was customary to fill the pool during the day and water at night so as to keep evaporation to a minimum. Water ownership and regulation were in private hands. In 1889, to irrigate one acre (approximately 4 dunams) over a 23-week season or 161 days, 2,300 cubic meters of water were consumed at the cost of 20-25 cents a day. For a 20-dunam plot with a crop value of \$500-700 (2,500-3,500 francs) an average of \$160 (approx. 800 francs) might be spent on irrigation—in other words, one-third to one-quarter of the earnings.¹²

10 Aharonsohn and Soskin, p. 353.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 348-361.

12 Report on irrigation methods in Palestine, August 29, 1889, USNA T471.

Number and size of gardens in Jaffa Vicinity

Year	Source	No. of gardens	Area of average garden in dunams	Total garden area or no.
1864	Mac, pp. 65-80	350	12-48	
30.9.1870	USNA, John Hay	384		
1880	Solomon, p. 108	500		
8.10.1880	USNA, Willson	400		app. 3,000 groves
1880	Riklin in Z. Smilansky, Bustenai			
14.7.1884	USNA, Merrill	+500		
16.12.1886	USNA, Gilman			app. 4,000 groves
29.8.1889	USNA, Gilman	700		app. 9,000 groves in a cultivated area of 36,000 dunams
10.12.1895	Murad, 1602/67	335 groves		
1899	Luncz, Eretz HaZvi, p. 1	app. 300		
1900	Aaronsohn & Soskin, p. 341			app. 12,500 groves
1907	Smilansky, 1907 p. 58	900		
1916	Ruppin, 1918, p. 18			app. 30,000 groves

Once a water source was available, the soil was worked with a hoe and sown with sour lemon seeds or sweet lemon cuttings. The saplings, which were ready for planting in two years, were later grafted to orange varieties to produce a hardier strain. They were placed very close together, with only one and a half to two meters between them, to allow 250-300 trees per dunam. Little attention was paid to equal spacing and the general appearance of the grove. Fertilizers were rarely used, and the area between trees was often utilized to grow vegetables. Care was minimal: hoeing and weeding once or twice a year, and watering at whim—which usually ended in overwatering.¹³

Agronomists in the early twentieth century deemed the “planting fever” in Jaffa irrational. They expressed both pity and ridicule over the errors in planting, irrigation and pest control, and the lack of financial data on investments, costs and expenditures. An attempt to calculate the cost of growing 25 dunams of citrus at the beginning of the century shows the general

13 Z. Smilansky, *Bustenai*, p. 15; and Aharonsohn and Soskin, p. 353.

expenditure to have been between 4,000-4,500 francs: 1,000-1,500 for excavating a well 8-12 meters deep, 500 for a pool, 500 for a structure over the well and *nuria* (waterwheel), 300 for conduits, 600 for two mules, 1,000 for manual labor and 100 for soil preparation. Added to this were nursery expenses and the cost of the land (600-1,000 francs per dunam). Upkeep of the nursery involved no expense, as the gardener (*bayyārjī*) was entitled to grow vegetables in exchange. Without including the land, the capital investment reached 160-180 francs per dunam. Once fruit was produced and the vegetable growing ceased, the annual cost of maintaining the same grove rose to 1,500 francs (600 for a gardener, 600 for feeding the mules and 300 for hired labor). Another 500 francs per year was required for fertilizers. The average crop from a 25-dunam grove could be expected to bring in 24,000-28,000 francs a year. However, with the primitive farming methods employed, income was no more than 10,000-15,000 francs, from which taxes were further deducted.¹⁴

Picking costs were usually borne by the exporter rather than the owner of the grove, according to the *damān* system; the fruit was purchased by a merchant, who was then responsible for guarding, picking, crating and shipping it. Toward the end of the period the system changed somewhat, with payment now based on the number of crates leaving the orchard. This system is mentioned in 1908 by Falanga, the British vice-consul, who also lists the chief individuals and firms engaged in the marketing of Jaffa oranges. These firms owned the larger orange groves and were also known for their speculation—purchasing fruit on the trees in other groves at a pre-arranged price. In these transactions, they calculated the price of each crate of 144 oranges on the tree, and added the costs of picking, packing and delivery to the ship. The fruit was then sent to Liverpool and sold there by local wholesalers.¹⁵ At the end of the period, Jaffa's large orange groves were owned mainly by Arabs, with a few Jews and Germans.¹⁶

The Templers settling in Jaffa at the end of the 1860s tended to be more modern and rational in their economic outlook, although they still preferred to employ local labor for farming. Their first step was to purchase 1,200 dunams of land suitable for farming, and two gardens. The farmland was used to grow wheat, barley, sesame and potatoes for their own consumption; the gardens produced vegetables, oranges, peaches, apricots, etc.¹⁷

14 Aaronson and Soskin, *ibid.*

15 Letter of Falanga, British vice-consul in Jaffa, to W. Brown, Commercial Horticulture Company, Giza, Cairo, November 2, 1908, ISA 123-1/26; and Rokah, pp. 34-51, who describes marketing.

16 Rokah, 1970, pp. 54-59.

17 Pitman, p. 193; and *PEFQSt.*, 1872, p. 81.

Citrus-growing was not a first priority among the Templers. Most of their farms specialized in field crops, grapes, vegetables, sugar cane, cattle, dairy farming or beekeeping. In 1886, for example, the Templers in Sarona owned twelve gardens. In only four of them were oranges grown in addition to vegetables. These gardens were not tended by the Templers themselves, but by a gardener who received one-third of the earnings. In 1895, there were seven gardens in Sarona covering an area of 200 dunams, with another 600 dunams designated for orange groves.¹⁸ At this point, most of Sarona's farmers shifted their attention to grapes and wine production. A large winery was opened in the colony, and the wines were marketed in Germany. Efforts were also made to promote dairy farming and increase the sale of milk, butter, cheeses and meat in Jaffa. Toward the end of the period, the strong competition of Jewish settlers producing grapes and wine forced the Germans to replant their vineyards with citrus. This involved initial losses but, in the long run, proved successful.¹⁹

The American settlers in Jaffa were the pioneers of modern farming; it was they who brought farm machinery, including a combine, to Palestine in the 1850s and 1860s. They did not persist in this sphere, however, and the Templers and Jews soon took their place as agents of change in local agriculture.²⁰ The authorities set numerous obstacles in their path; in 1872, a new tax was imposed on the import of agricultural commodities such as farm machinery, tools, trees and seeds.²¹ The Templers imported and installed irrigation piping, fodder-chopping machines, water-pumps, plows, sickles, etc. They used organic fertilizer in their gardens with outstanding results and immunized their cows, whose milk was especially good and plentiful. Of particular importance was the replacement of waterwheels by kerosene motors and pumps—first by the Germans and Jews, and later by the Arabs. A consular report in 1906 states that 200 kerosene motors were being used in the Jaffa environs (including the Jewish colonies) to irrigate gardens and operate mills.²²

The traditional methods of citrus-growing, and the European methods which became increasingly popular in the early twentieth century, differed mainly in the amount of capital investment. Aside from this, only the irrigation technique and layout of the grove varied, while farming methods remained almost identical. European plantations looked different: the buildings were

18 Report of Derher of Sarona to German consul Paul von Tischendorf on February 12, 1887, ISA 67/456; and Murād's report on February 10, 1895, ISA 67/1602.

19 Derher and Murād, *ibid*; Carmel, 1973, pp. 43, 52, 60.

20 Carmel, *ibid*; *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir* vol. 6, no. 26, 1913, p. 15; Kark, "Millenarism".

21 Murād's letter to von-Alten, March 30, 1872, ISA 67/451.

22 Derher's letter, *op. cit.*; Carmel, pp. 44, 56. Also see Falanga's letter to Drummond-Hay, British consul in Beirut, December 12, 1906, ISA 123-1/26.

European-style, the wells were sometimes wider (up to ten meters across, though they were dug in the same manner), and the *nuria* (waterwheel) was made entirely of steel, with strong gears and a higher output. The kerosene motors were generally 3-4 horsepower and drew 20-40 cubic meters of water an hour. In the European groves, more was invested in land preparation and deep plowing, which cost up to 25 francs per dunam. Sometimes fertilizer was added and good soil was brought from a considerable distance, pushing the cost up to 1,000 francs per dunam. When planting, care was taken to space the trees evenly, usually 2.5-4 meters apart.²³

In 1902, the cost for establishing a modern plantation twice the size of a traditional one (approximately 50 dunams) was calculated as follows: 2,000-3,000 francs for excavating a well 4-4.5 meters wide and 10-12 meters deep, 2,000 for a pool with a capacity of 120-150 cubic meters, 2,000 for conduits (5 francs per meter), 600 for fencing with barbed wire or bushes, 5,000 for a pump and kerosene motor, 1,000 for nursery expenses, 1,250 for deep plowing and 1,500 for tree-planting, i.e. a total of 15,350-16,350 francs.

Using modern methods, the investment per dunam reached 317 francs, compared with 107 francs using traditional methods. In the long run, this investment was worthwhile because yields were higher. As a result, changes such as thinning of trees and grafting on wild orange stock (*khushkhāsh*) were introduced in the older groves, and new groves were planted as recommended. Citrus-growers could now bring in a net profit of over 15 percent a year. In 1909, Jewish entrepreneurs proposed the development of a modern irrigation system for citrus groves which would bring water from the springs of the Yarkon and provide an important supplement to the local wells.²⁴

Jaffa oranges enjoyed such a good name and succeeded so well on the world market that an attempt was made to grow them or employ some of the same cultivation methods in Florida and Queensland, Australia.²⁵

Land Ownership and Property Values

Agricultural development, especially mercantile farming in the area, had a direct impact on Jaffa's economy, urban building trends and population growth. The cost of farmland and land for construction in Jaffa and environs

23 Aharonsohn and Soskin, p. 353.

24 *Ibid*; Rokah, p. 96; *Ha-Olam*, 25, June 24, 1908, p. 337. The initiators of the irrigation project were M. Shonberg, A. Piani, D. Levontin and G. Amzalak, according to vice-consul Falanga's letter to the Bureau of Commerce in London, April 16, 1909, ISA 123-1/26.

25 Annual report of Henry Gilman, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, December 16, 1886, USNA T471; and letter of H.A. [probably Haim Amzalak — R.K.] in response to letter from the Colonial Office in Queensland, October 20, 1890, ISA 123-1/24.

rose. From the mid-nineteenth century, real-estate investment in the Jaffa area was considered a profitable venture, and was indulged in by merchants (chiefly from Beirut and Jaffa), local dignitaries (Muslims, Christians and Jews), various churches, settlers from America and Germany, and Jews from overseas.

The acquisition of farmland to be developed for investment purposes seems to have begun in the 1830s during the reign of Ibrāhīm Pasha, whose policies supported development of this type. It is possible that the land was acquired by Jaffa residents through payment of the *hikr* (a leasing arrangement in which land, groves and assets became the property of the leaseholder). According to one source, no taxes were paid on real-estate acquired in this way. However, this information comes thirty years later, and may not be wholly reliable.²⁶

Early in 1865, in the wake of the Land Law of 1858, the Ottomans carried out a land survey in the Jaffa region for purposes of registry and collection of the *vergi* (property tax). Those estates which had changed hands from government to private ownership were then registered as *mulk* (freehold land) and taxes paid accordingly (4/1000 on the value of the estate, and 4/100 on the crops).²⁷

From the 1860s through the 1880s, Jaffa entrepreneurs continued to amass land near the city and elsewhere. By bribing the *kaymakam* (local governor) or the land registry officials, who began to keep records in the 1870s, they were often able to classify their property as *mulk* (private land) or *waqf* (a religious endowment) instead of *mīrī* (state land). In this way, they avoided paying the annual *ushr* (tithe), which was 12.5 percent of the income from crops.²⁸

In 1865, state land outside the town wall, on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, was sold by the governor of Jaffa himself in a transaction which was probably illegal. Buildings were erected on this property, but ownership rights to them were challenged by the administration in 1872.²⁹ At this time, the Ottomans began to sell or lease various tracts of farmland, such as the land leased to Mikve Yisrael, and plots given as compensation or sold to the peasants of Yāzūr.³⁰

The effendis of Jaffa also registered in their own names the lands of peasants and Bedouin who wished to avoid paying for the title-deed, as required by the

26 Letter of Murād, German vice-consul in Jaffa, to Munchhausen, the consul in Jerusalem, June 12, 1874, ISA 67/439. This is our sole source for the early history of the phenomenon; others deal with it only from the 1860s. We must thus be wary of accepting it as absolute fact.

27 *Ibid.*

28 Letter of Murād to von-Alten, March 30, 1872, ISA 67/451, and report of June 18, 1895, ISA 67/647.

29 Murād's letter, *ibid.*

30 *PEFQSt.*, July 1872, p. 78.

new law. For very little money, the effendis thus succeeded in the early 1870s in acquiring a third of the Beit Dajān lands, the lands of Wādī Ḥawārīth, and possibly Melabbes (Petaḥ Tikva), Darān (Rehovot) and more.³¹

Some of this land was planted with citrus groves; some was used for speculation and auctioned to the highest bidder: Templers, Jews and others. Most of the land in the Jaffa region was sold as *mulk*, though this classification was questioned by the administration on several occasions. Hungry for more taxes, the Ottomans attempted to restore the *mīrī* classification in the 1870s and 1890s, but found themselves in conflict with the effendis and the Templers. The protests of the latter led to diplomatic intervention at the highest level, involving even the German chancellor and Reichstag. As a result, the German lands were registered in the late 1890s as *mulk*. Obviously, this affected the value of the land and any future real-estate transactions.³² The Ottomans were bitter about the episode, as we see from the *kaymakam*'s letter to the *mutaṣarrif* (governor) of Jerusalem in 1907:

Aided by the cunning and guile of their officials, they turned the lands of Jaffa and environs, which all belonged to the state, into private property or pious endowments which pay no tithe.³³

The Jews also participated in the agrarian activity around Jaffa, but with little success (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, several prominent members of the Jewish community—Aharon Chelouche, Haim Amzalak and Yosef Moyal—purchased vineyards in the northern part of town. These were sold in the 1880s and 1890s, and became the Jewish neighborhoods of Neve Zedek, Neve Shalom, Maḥane Yehuda, Maḥane Yosef, Shechunat Aharon and Maḥane Yisrael (the Yemenite quarter).³⁴

As the demand for land in the Jaffa area increased, prices soared. Farmland near Jaffa which cost 30-50 francs per dunam in the 1880s and 1890s, was being sold for 300-600 francs in the first and second decades of the twentieth century.³⁵ Land prepared for citrus-growing fetched as much as 1,500-2,500 francs per dunam.³⁶

In the 1880s, building land sold for about the same price as farmland, and sometimes less, especially compared to the citrus groves. In his memoirs, Zeraḥ

31 Baldensperger, *PEFQSt.*, 1906, p. 193; and Kark, "Emek Hefer".

32 For further details, see Carmel, 1973, pp. 65-66, 117-119.

33 Letter of Muḥammad Aṣif, *kaymakam* of Jaffa, to Akram Bey, *mutaṣarrif* of Jerusalem, June 26, 1907, ISA 83/33.

34 Chelouche, p. 20; and title deeds in Chelouche family archives.

35 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 12-13; D. Smilansky, letters of January 4, 1907, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa Archives; Ruppin, 1918, p. 40.

36 Aaronsohn and Soskin, p. 355.

Barnett writes that the land for Neve Zedek was sold to him in 1890 for the sum of one franc per dunam.³⁷ Other sources say the price of land in the early 1880s was 1.7-3 francs per dunam.³⁸ These figures seem incredibly low; D. Smilansky's quote of 30-40 francs per dunam in 1890 is more believable.³⁹

From the mid-1890s, the price of building land rose sharply. On the basis of title-deeds for property in the Jewish neighborhoods in the Chelouche archives, land was going for 3,500-5,000 francs per dunam between 1896 and 1905. In 1906, Zerah Barnett bought a plot near Neve Shalom for 3,200 francs per dunam; Z. Smilansky cites the figure of 5,600 francs per dunam for 1907. The properties sold by Chelouche, Amzalak and Moyal between the years of 1906 and 1914, cost their new owners anywhere between 5,600-8,000 francs per dunam.⁴⁰

Prices were no doubt influenced by location and demand. The steepest price rise within the shortest period of time was in Tel-Aviv. In 1894, Zerah Barnett was offered land in what later became Tel-Aviv at the price of 21-99 francs per dunam. At the beginning of this century, Levontin almost bought the same land for 99, and then 400 francs per dunam. In the end, however, it was purchased by the Aḥuzat Bayit society for 1,520 francs per dunam.⁴¹ In 1913, the going rates for real estate in Tel-Aviv and Naḥalat Binyamin were as follows: 8,000-9,600 francs per dunam on a main street, 6,400 francs on a side street, and 3,200-4,800 on the waterfront.⁴² This trend intensified even more after World War I.

Impact of Agricultural Development on Jaffa

It is difficult to ascertain precisely how much of Jaffa's economy was based on agriculture; however, the sources leave no doubt that this branch, especially citrus-growing, contributed much to the city's development and growth:

There are two things which, in their great power, have expanded settlement here: the *bayyāras* and the sea. The *bayyāras* are irrigated gardens which grow oranges, lemons, citrons and other fruit requiring much water. These *bayyāras* are a blessing to their owners. Not a year goes by without the addition of some ten *bayyāras* around the city.

37 Barnett, p. 31.

38 Akram Bey Archives, November 15, 1906, ISA 83/23; and Reuvens, *Ha-Maggid*, vol. 31, no. 49, December 22, 1887.

39 D. Smilansky, 1907, pp. 12-13.

40 Chelouche Archives; Barnett, p. 35; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 12-13.

41 Barnett, pp. 33-35; letter of D. Levontin, Jaffa, to Wolfson, December 29, 1904, CZA W124/2; D. Smilansky, in Yaari, 1947, pp. 906-920.

42 Circular of Palestine Company, March 4, 1913, CZA L18/70/1.

Foreign export is also involved, for what is the main purpose of these *bayyāras* but commerce—shipping the fruit all over the world. There are many people who do not own gardens, but who earn their living and amass fortunes from the fruit grown in them, purchasing it in bulk and exporting it to cities where buyers abound.⁴³

Aside from being a source of livelihood, the gardens were a factor in population growth:

There was a time when many Christians from Beirut would come to Jaffa, lease gardens, and return home. When the fruit ripened, they would come back and stay here several months until the fruit was sent abroad, and then go home again. In the last few years, many of these merchants have become garden-owners themselves and have settled here as a matter of course. Now that the town has grown, they must be alert, lest they are outdone by someone else. They prefer to live near other garden-owners to keep abreast of what the others are doing.

Goldmann (1898) regrets that the Jews were not involved in gardening or in the commerce associated with it.⁴⁴ This was still true in the early twentieth century, as we see from Smilansky's survey in 1905. Very few groves in Jaffa belonged to Jews (Smilansky counts nine); the majority were owned by Muslims and Christians. Of Jaffa's 30,000 dunams of groves that year, only a few hundred dunams were in Jewish hands—including the land owned by Montefiore. These groves brought in a very high income. A medium-sized grove of thirty dunams, worth 30,000-35,000 francs, could earn 7,000-9,000 francs a year. According to Smilansky, net profits were as high as 20-30 percent.⁴⁵

On the ever-growing number of gardens around Jaffa and their influence on the town, Smilansky writes:

Nature itself has bestowed on Jaffa a generous gift—its citrus groves. The climate and soil in the Jaffa region are admirably suited to orange-growing, and groves have spread over a sizeable area. Jaffa oranges are of excellent quality* and are known world-wide. Large-scale planting is still being pursued—so much so that all the vacant lots which once surrounded Jaffa are lush with groves. Every bit of land suitable for citrus is now being sold for huge sums of money, and the costliness of land has resulted in groves being planted many kilometers from the city. Thus citrus-growing has assumed an important role in the economy of

43 Goldmann, 1898, pp. 58-59.

44 *Ibid.*

45 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 38-40.

Jaffa, and aside from bringing in a great deal of money, it employs many people.

* Sidon also has large expanses of citrus, but the fruit is only shipped to Egypt, because it spoils rapidly; Jaffa oranges do not spoil, and are shipped to Europe and America.⁴⁶

In 1912 Luncz agreed that the many groves around Jaffa and Petaḥ Tikva were a boon to the economy, and that the sale of oranges and citrons to merchants throughout the world was an important factor in Jaffa's growth.⁴⁷ In fact, the groves were able to contribute directly because ownership, harvesting and marketing were all in the hands of Jaffa residents. Most of the profits were thus channelled back into the city.

Data on the size of the crops and their monetary value is provided by several sources. The figures until 1885 are erratic and less reliable than in later years, when orderly records began to be kept. Moreover, they reflect only declared export, with no provision for undeclared export and local consumption.

Jaffa orange exports, 1845-1913

Year	Source	No. of oranges	No. of crates	Value in £
1845	Strauss, p. 340	200,000	app. 1,390	
1862	Kayat, F.O. 78/1768	8,000,000	app. 55,560	4,923
1870	Hay, USNA T471, 9.30.1870	38,400,000	app. 266,670	40,000
1872	PEF QSt, p. 34			10,000
1880	Z. Smilansky, Bustenai	30,000,000	app. 208,330	
1885	Avitzur, table 12 ⁴⁸		106,000	26,500
1890	Avitzur, table 12		200,000	83,120
1895	Avitzur, table 12		260,000	65,000
1900	Avitzur, table 12		251,000	74,215
1905	Avitzur, table 12		456,152	114,650
1910	Avitzur, table 12		853,767	235,605
1913	Avitzur, table 12		1,608,570 [sic] (608,570)	297,700

The overall export figures for Jaffa indicate that citrus exports doubled in relative importance, from 20 percent of all exports in 1885 to 40 percent in 1913. At the end of the period, most of the shipments went to England, Turkey and Egypt.⁴⁹

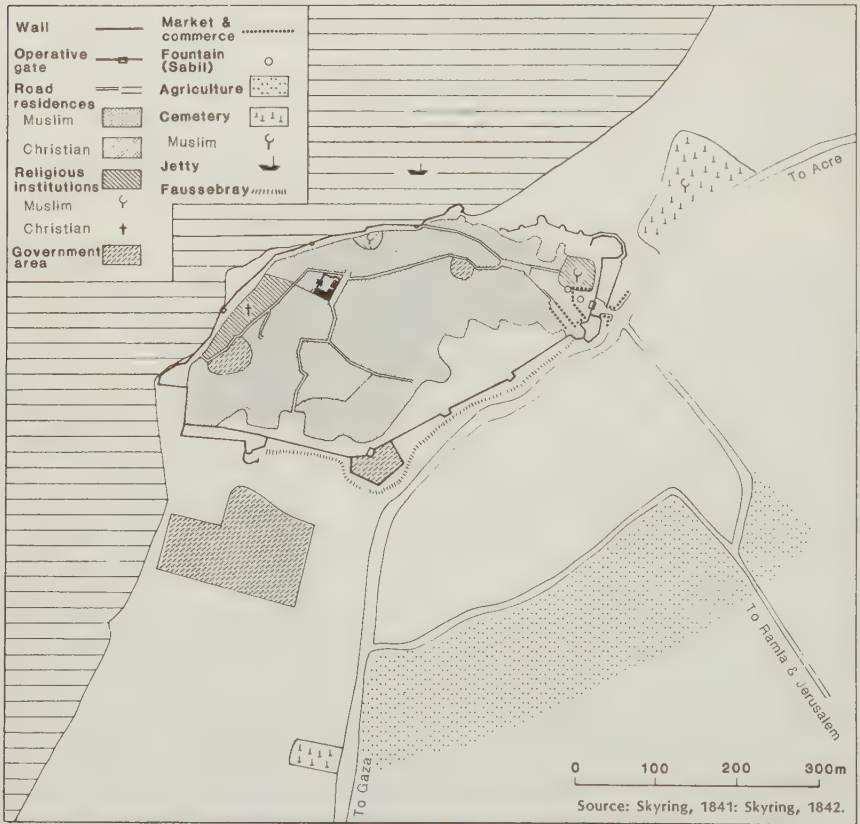
46 *Ibid*, p. 36.

47 Luncz, *Luah* 5668 (1908), vol. 13, p. 128.

48 Avitzur, 1972. Tables 12 and 13 offer data for each year from 1885-1913, based on the reports of the British consuls. The above figures are for every five years.

49 Avitzur, *ibid*; Aaronsohn and Soskin, pp. 341-361.

Agriculture in Jaffa, particularly orange-growing, was an important source of employment. Gardeners, farm hands, well-diggers (usually Christian Arab builders),⁵⁰ harvesters, packers, and sailors were all part of the work force, although the work was only seasonal. Carpenters and mechanics built and maintained the waterwheels and, later, the kerosene pumps. Marketing involved manufacturers, who built crates, and importers, who provided materials such as wood and nails (for the crates), wrapping paper, and wooden hoops.⁵¹



Map 14: Jaffa: Land Use, 1841/2

50 Raab, pp. 145-146.

51 Report on Jaffa orange crops, November 14, 1911, ISA 123-1/11; Rokah, p. 96.

The only information we have on the number of permanent and seasonal agricultural workers in Jaffa is from the Smilansky census in 1905, which mentions 41 Jews. Seventeen were landowners, and 24—gardeners and laborers in the colonies. While no figures are provided for non-Jews, Smilansky notes that many farm hands were employed (especially during the picking season); most of them were probably non-Jews from Jaffa. In a census of the Jews in 1918, agricultural workers are not classified separately. However, a draft of this census lists a total of 5 farmers and 3 farm hands.⁵²

Fishing was another source of agricultural income in Jaffa, though of limited importance because of the small demand and high taxes (amounting to one-fifth of the catch). Records show that at the end of the period, there were 44 fishing boats in Jaffa, each with a crew of 3 or 4, i.e. a total of 130-150 men. In addition, there were some who fished from shore. Another reason for the lack of development in the fishing industry is that refrigeration was not yet common.⁵³

During the final decades of the Ottoman era, Jaffa served as a focal point of agricultural development and innovation. This is evident both in the burgeoning number of gardens and new crops, and in the introduction of modern farming methods and mechanization. The outcome was a surge of economic growth and overall improvement for the town.

CRAFTS AND INDUSTRY

Crafts

In the early nineteenth century, few Jaffa residents worked in the crafts; agriculture and commerce provided the major sources of livelihood. The trades we know of in 1806 are soap-making, ship-repairing and pipe-bowl manufacturing.⁵⁴ Four or five soap factories are also mentioned in the early 1830s;⁵⁵ in the 1840s, one Jewish family was in the business. Among the Jews there were also tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, glaziers, silk-spinners and laborers.⁵⁶ However, the Jewish community was very small and not representative of the rest of the population. When a craftsman was needed in the 1870s, travellers and tourists were referred to the German Colony rather

52 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 38-40; and draft of Jews of Palestine census, National Library, MS var, 1228/a, Hebrew Manuscript Collection.

53 Avitzur, 1972, pp. 90-91; and Ruppin, 1918, p. 43.

54 Seetzen, II, p. 71.

55 Taylor, pp. 258-261.

56 Wilson, 1847, II, p. 258; Montefiore census, 1839. In the 1850s, there were 4 Jewish shoemakers, 3 tailors, 1 silversmith and 1 watchmaker in Jaffa (Frankl, pp. 150-151).

than to craftsmen in town.⁵⁷ After the Crimean War, however, crafts gained a stronger foothold in Jaffa, and craftsmen from other towns began to settle there:

From Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Gaza, Haifa, Acre, Tyre and Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli, hoards of merchants and craftsmen have come to settle in this town. It has now become a city of commerce and industry almost on a par with the largest Turkish cities on the Mediterranean coast... No one is idle in this town. Young and old engage in industry, crafts and commerce, and all have been blessed with success...⁵⁸

This pursuit of business and trade was also embraced by the Jews of Jaffa.⁵⁹

Street names provide further evidence of the occupations common in Jaffa during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. One street is named for the soap factories that once occupied it, another for the blacksmiths, and so on. These industries within the city were often the source of infectious diseases and breeding grounds for malaria-carrying mosquitoes.⁶⁰

Another incentive for the growth of commerce and industry, especially in the Jewish sector, was the establishment of the colonies in the Jaffa vicinity:

The conditions in this town have greatly improved in recent years. Craftsmen and merchants have increased in number and are enjoying prosperity, and the four colonies have been of special help...⁶¹

The German Templers who settled near Jaffa contributed much to the development of crafts. They introduced new trades, some connected with transportation and conveyance, such as wagon-making, assembly and repair. It was through the Templers that house-painting, steam-milling and other such enterprises came to Palestine. Known for their workmanship, the Templers were often preferred over local craftsmen, despite their higher prices.⁶²

The turn of the century was marked by a growing number of artisans and workshops among all the communities. The range of trades also broadened, and became more specialized.⁶³ The tailor, carpenter and blacksmith who had

57 Baedeker, 1876, p. 128.

58 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 12, 1882, p. 37.

59 Brill, p. 195; D. Smilansky, *Neve Zedek*, p. 5.

60 Alper, pp. 128-129.

61 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 3, 1889, p. 226.

62 Carmel, 1973, pp. 29-30; *Die Warte des Tempels*, October 30, 1884; Talman, pp. 9-10.

63 From Smilansky's article (1907) and census, we learn much about the composition, diversity and ethnic affiliation of the town's craftsmen.

once handled all aspects of the profession, now began to specialize in one area. In 1905, for example, the carpentry trade included turners, engravers, coopers, cormakers, wagonmakers, orange-crate makers, etc.

Strictly speaking, Jaffa was not among the Middle-Eastern cities whose traditional trade network collapsed when the market was flooded by cheap European imports. Nonetheless, some trades, such as tailoring and blacksmithing, were affected. Smilansky writes as follows:

However, it cannot be denied that the tailors of Jaffa are faring poorly in competition with the warehouses selling clothing made in Vienna. This clothing is sold very cheaply, as the customs duty at Jaffa port is extremely low. More clothing from Vienna is sold in Jaffa than in the towns of Austria, for the merchants of Jaffa purchase it directly from the factory, and store rental in Jaffa is insignificant compared with what clothing merchants pay for leasing a warehouse in Vienna or other large cities. The wages paid to sales assistants in Jaffa are nothing compared to those paid to sales assistants abroad; in Jaffa, as we shall see, there are no expenses for lighting and such like. Moreover, the merchants are exempt from the taxes paid in developed countries. Under these conditions, ready-made clothes from the factories of Europe are sold at very low prices. The clothing warehouses are a source of great harm to the private tailors of Jaffa...⁶⁴

Hoe manufacturing was another branch which suffered:

In previous years, when our brethren were planting many vineyards, hoe manufacturers enjoyed large orders. However, this is no longer so because of the competition with hoes produced by factories in Europe, which are sold here cheaply.

Chelouche describes a campaign to promote the sale of hoes produced locally.⁶⁵ Shoemaking, on the other hand, was less affected: "The shoemakers of Jaffa are better off than the tailors in that they have no factories competing with them..." In many places in Europe and America, "...the mechanical manufacture of footwear has ousted the old shoemaking shop, but in Jaffa, there is no competition..."⁶⁶

Ruppín says that at the end of the century, wood furnishings were generally imported from Europe, but were also manufactured in Jaffa and Beirut.⁶⁷

64 *Ibid.*, p. 43; for the effect on shoemakers and blacksmiths, see pp. 48, 60 and Ruppín, 1918, p. 51.

65 Smilansky, 1907, p. 60; Chelouche, pp. 92-93.

66 Smilansky, 1907, p. 48.

67 Ruppín, 1918, p. 51.

There were some trades in which certain ethnic groups specialized. In 1905, the Arabs enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the production of orange-crates and floor tiles, and in shoemaking. Other spheres were monopolized by the Greek Orthodox, the Germans, etc. Among the trades engaged in solely by Muslims were: *ṭarbūsh* (hat) ironing, barbering, oil-pressing, whitewashing and building. The Jews were mainly coopers, tailors, mattress-makers and menders, corkmakers, wagonmakers, seltzer producers and bookbinders.⁶⁸ Some



Entrance of Ḥanā Damyāni soap factory in old Saray building (Kark, 1977)

68 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 35-108.

information on the occupations of non-Jews can be gleaned from Smilansky's census of 1905, although a complete listing is only available for the Jews. The census of the Jews of Palestine in 1916/17 also provides data on Jewish employment, but the two sources cannot be compared because the 1916 census is only partial. Not even all the Jews in Jaffa-Tel Aviv are included, and the method of classification is different.⁶⁹

As crafts proliferated in Jaffa, the first signs of industrial development emerged. In the early stages, traditional occupations were not affected because new branches were involved. On the other hand, the purchasing power of the population increased because of the new employment opportunities and higher wages.

The town of Jaffa, that major port, is far more developed than its inland sisters. Still, it cannot provide work for all those who immigrate, and many return home. However, those who come with a strong will, skills and money, do, in the end, find a source of livelihood. Aside from the new factories cited above, the old factories, workshops and businesses are growing and expanding...⁷⁰

Smilansky's census indicates that 382 Jews were practicing a trade in 1905. This amounted to 24 percent of all wage earners, which was quite substantial. Other sources found 60 craftsmen in 1887 (32 percent) and 276 craftsmen in 1917 (15 percent). This last figure, however, should probably be much higher.⁷¹

Industry

The best known of Jaffa's traditional industries during the nineteenth century was the manufacture of soap. There were also small cottage industries which might be classified as crafts. Modern industry began to emerge only in the late 1880s. The factories that opened were small and experimental. They either expanded or were soon shut down. Most such ventures were embarked upon by Europeans, especially Jews and Germans, which is probably why industrial development began at such a late date.⁷²

Among the failed businesses in Jaffa between 1888 and 1916 were factories

69 *Ibid*, pp. 33-108; 1918 Census, pp. 27-30; Census draft, pp. 11-12, 47, 49. Another source for the occupations of Jaffa Jews in 1887: Reuvens, *Ha-Maggid*, December 29, 1887.

70 Luncz, *Luah* 5668 (1908), vol. 13, pp. 127-128.

71 Smilansky, 1907; Reuvens, *op. cit.*

72 Seetzen, p. 71. In 1870, Jaffa had 8 soap factories and 5 oil-presses (John Hay to Secretary of State, September 30, 1870, USNA T471; Paulus to von-Tischendorf, March 2, 1888, ISA 67/1484; and Goldmann, 1906, p. 76).

producing candles, matches, soap and sesame oil. Some sources blame the Ottoman government for its lack of encouragement.⁷³ Others blame taxation, the disputes between factory-owners or overly hasty establishment. The fierce competition is cited as another factor.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Smilansky claims that “precisely those Jews who were late in settling in Jaffa gained a firm foothold. Not only did they introduce new life and stimulate business, but they also created new branches of commerce and industry...”⁷⁵

The most prosperous of the industrial concerns in Jaffa at the end of the period were the metal plants and the factories which assembled machinery and pumps. First established as workshops in the early 1890s, they grew to be the largest industrial enterprises in all of Syria on the eve of World War I.⁷⁶ Worthy of note are the machine shop of the Wagner brothers (who were Templers), which employed over a hundred workers in 1913,⁷⁷ Stein’s casting and assembly plant (re-established in 1906 as a shareholding company),⁷⁸ and the Talmud Torah workshop, which manufactured metal containers. These factories experienced high and low periods, but they contributed greatly to the economy of Jaffa and proved that modern industry could succeed in Palestine. They demonstrated that the New Yishuv was capable of setting up industry and making it viable, and the Syrian and Palestine market was capable of selling the merchandise.⁷⁹ Stein’s factory received orders not only within the country, but also from Beirut, Damascus, Transjordan and sometimes even Alexandria.⁸⁰

Other successful factories produced orange-crates, barrels, corks, noodles, ice, seltzer, candy, soap, olive oil, leather, alkali, wine, cosmetics, ink, etc. Of all the cities in Palestine, industrial progress was unique to Jaffa, although here, too, World War I caused a setback.

...[Jaffa] is faring better than other towns in the Holy Land. Due to the growth of manufacturing and industry, and the surrounding colonies, it is showing signs of activity and life...⁸¹

73 Scherion, pp. 117-118.

74 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 4, 1892, p. 220.

75 Smilansky, 1907, p. 16.

76 Ruppin, 1918, pp. 46, 50.

77 Carmel, 1973, p. 59.

78 Stein’s factory is discussed in many sources. See Avitzur’s article in *Cathedra*, 15, 1980, pp. 69-94.

79 Luncz, *Luah* 5665 (1905), vol. 13, p. 127; *Ha-Or*, vol. I, no. 3, February 1910, p. 4.

80 See booklet on establishment of the Stein factory, CZA A268/13/2.

81 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 11/12, 1917, p. 451.

With good reason, Ruppin states in 1907 that “in Jaffa we find the beginnings of modern industrial development...”,⁸² and David Ben-Gurion goes further, saying “just as the city of Jaffa is the most progressive in Palestine from the standpoint of industry and trade, it is also the most affluent and developed in the country.”⁸³

From the data at our disposal, we see that 25 Jaffa Jews were working in industry in 1887, representing 13 percent of all wage earners. The figure for 1906 is 171 Jews, or 10.5 percent of all wage earners, and for 1917—19 Jews, or 1 percent of all wage earners. Again, this last figure is incomplete, as 51.5 percent of the earners in Smilansky’s census are in the “miscellaneous” column.⁸⁴

COMMERCE

For the purpose of our discussion, we will distinguish between local commerce, i.e. in the Jaffa markets or with the surrounding villages, and foreign commerce, in which Jaffa constituted a transit point for the import and export of goods to and from Palestine.

Local Commerce

Most of what we know about local commerce in Jaffa in the first half of the nineteenth century comes from descriptions of the markets in contemporary sources. The markets and bazaars of Jaffa were a point of contact between farmers, Bedouin and residents of other towns who came to sell their wares, and the inhabitants of Jaffa—particularly the craftsmen, whose skills were in demand.

Early in the century, Abū Nabbūt, the governor of Jaffa, undertook the restoration of the marketplaces, which lay in ruin.⁸⁵ From the accounts of travellers in mid-century, the markets were very lively:

Immediately in front of the gate were a number of fruit-sellers, some bazaars, and a new *khān* under construction, with a throng of people moving rapidly to and fro, indicating more activity of trade than we had seen since leaving Beirut.⁸⁶

82 Ruppin, 1936, p. 5.

83 Ben Gurion, *Yediot Iriat Tel-Aviv-Yaffo*, 1952 (referring to 1917), p. 21.

84 See note 69, above.

85 Light, pp. 138-146.

86 Lynch, p. 445; Wilson, 1847, p. 256; Rogers, p. 8.

Among the chief goods brought from outside Jaffa were fresh fruit and vegetables, dried fruit, milk and milk products, eggs, wheat, oil, soap, cotton, hides, wool, honey and wax.⁸⁷ In the 1860s, aside from agricultural products, one could buy guns, textiles, Indian bamboo, straw mats, pottery and other items. *The Survey of Western Palestine* reports that the bazaars of Jaffa were among the best in Palestine.⁸⁸

Not all the markets had permanent installations. Some gave the impression of a fair with temporary booths and stalls, but were set up all year round outside the town gate.⁸⁹ Jaffa's old markets were characterized by their confusion, though certain types of shops tended to be grouped together:

In Jaffa, as in other Oriental cities, the markets are built in a disorderly fashion, and a newcomer will not easily find his way through the dark alleys and winding streets. Neither are the shops themselves in any order. Merchants of one type of goods are not in one part of the market but all jumbled together: the spice merchant is next to the butcher, and next to him is the blacksmith. European travellers are amazed at this strange sight, which proves the saying that for Semites, disorder is order.⁹⁰

Though figures for the scope of local commerce in Jaffa are lacking, a good indication of development in this sphere is the pace at which new markets and shops were being built, especially from the 1880s onwards. Hartman cites Ottoman data for 1871 according to which Jaffa had 188 shops and warehouses, 332 stalls and small shops, and 6 *khāns* (inns).⁹¹ In the years that followed, the old town wall came down and building was in evidence all around—to the north, to the south, in the marketplace, along the newly paved road to Jerusalem. Most of the warehouses and shops were leased by their Christian and Arab owners to the Jewish immigrants then arriving in large numbers.⁹² According to one account:

Business and immigration are increasing. A street for merchants is being built near the Arab cemetery on Nablūs Road. The shops and warehouses on Bustrus Street are nearing the neighborhood of the Germans, and second stories are being built above the shops as residences. Most of these shops and residences are leased to Jews.

87 Vincent, 1863, p. 95; *Ha-Levanon*, vol. 2, 1895, p. 56; Ben Zion, 1949, p. 112; Zefisky in Altbauer, pp. 63-64.

88 Palestine Exploration Fund, *Survey*, II, pp. 254-257.

89 Dixon, pp. 11-12. At the turn of the century, the fairgrounds became the site of the municipal garden and clocktower (today, Clocktower Square).

90 Ben Hillel, 1890, p. 8.

91 Hartman, *ZDPV*, vol. 6, 1883.

92 Ben-Zion, 1949, pp. 20-21 (referring to early 1890s).

In 1893, another source writes: "Many businesses now line the road, and shops and inns are everywhere."⁹³

Z. Smilansky depicts the growth of commerce in Jaffa between 1877-1907 as follows:

Three decades ago, Old Jaffa was still encircled by a wall and the shops and market remained within. However, as the community grew, especially with the arrival of the first pioneers, the town became cramped and houses and shops were built outside the wall. At the end of the street known as Jerusalem Road, a long row of shops was erected, and within a short time not one was vacant. A certain Christian was very impressed by this, and a few years later he also began to build rows of shops near the Muslim cemetery. Additional stories were added to these shops, and both the shops and residences above them were quickly occupied, many of them by Jewish craftsmen and merchants. However, the need for new shops did not end here. As a result, the Greek Convent purchased a large plot near the market and built there many rows of large shops⁹⁴ [close to 200 shops]. Before long, all of them were leased, most of them to our brethren. Even now the demand for shops did not cease. On the street near the cemetery, new rows of shops were added, and again the occupants were mainly Jewish artisans and businessmen. In every corner near the market, shops continued to rise, topped by second and third floors. The ancient shops which looked like ruins beside the entrance to the cemetery, were torn down and larger ones were built in their stead. In this way, they continued to encircle the Arab cemetery until in certain places the buildings projected into the cemetery and trespassed into the burial area. In southern Jaffa, too, in the section near the French hospital, many new shops were added.⁹⁵

Smilansky estimates that some 400 new shops, most of them large, were built in the vicinity of the market between 1882 and 1907; this is aside from the considerable number of shopkeepers who remained in Old Jaffa. The Christian Arabs of Jaffa initiated much of this building and rented some of the property to Jews. Neve Shalom thus gained 80 Jewish and 25 Arab businesses; 18 more were established nearby, and five small shops opened in Neve Zedek.⁹⁶

The landlords, the Greek Orthodox church in particular, made an enormous profit on the lease of these shops (close to 150,000 francs a year, or £6,000, from Sūq al-Dair—the Market of the Monastery—alone). Hence the decision

93 Horowitz, 1893, p. 10.

94 Reference to the Monastery Bazaar (Sūq a-Dair). The number of shops seems exaggerated.

95 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 11-12.

96 Smilansky, *ibid.*

in 1913 to build a complex of Jewish-owned shops in Jaffa, for both financial and social reasons. An association of shopkeepers known as the Geula Society was established and a loan applied for at the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa. The initial plan was to build 70 shops, and to provide an infrastructure.⁹⁷

The precise number of shops in the old city cannot be established. However, we do know that there were several market complexes: the Indian market (Sūq al-Hunūd, selling hardware, knives and other items), the al-Faraj market, the spice market (Sūq al-‘Aṭṭārīn), the moneychangers market (Sūq al-Ṣarrāfīn), the haberdashery market (Sūq al-Khurdawāt), and others. In 1915, Ḥasan Bek ordered the demolition of some of the markets on *waqf* land so the road to the harbor could be widened.⁹⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, Jaffa still had an open-air market, which was sometimes set up in the middle of the street. Agricultural produce was sold, and business was lively.⁹⁹ The tradition of market days was also retained.¹⁰⁰

To some extent, the greater consumption of imported goods was also a sign of commercial development. The Jews and Germans began to open large businesses in wood, roof-tiles, textiles, pharmaceuticals, paint, cosmetics, kerosene, and even foodstuffs such as flour, semolina, herring, legumes, wine, oil, raisins and fruit.¹⁰¹ On the growth of commerce between 1890-1906, Goldmann writes: “...Over the past fifteen years, commerce has been flourishing, i.e. *local domestic commerce* [my emphasis—R.K.], and the number of shops has multiplied fifty times over.” He says the chief areas of commerce in 1906 were metal and wood, paints, kerosene, soap, fruit, textiles and silk, coal and firewood, poultry, eggs, pottery, vegetables, seeds, butter, etc.¹⁰² To this list, we may add the sale of chemical fertilizers, citrons, livestock, second-hand goods, glass and metal housewares, candy, meat, tea, coffee, clothing, furniture, jewelry, watches and construction material.¹⁰³

From the 1880s onwards, real-estate became an important branch of the economy, with Jaffa as the center. “Of late, land dealings have multiplied greatly and many have begun to try their hand at this business.”¹⁰⁴

Commerce in Palestine continued to grow until World War I, particularly in the coastal towns of Jaffa, Gaza and Haifa. This growth halted during the war,

97 Prospectus for a loan of 240,000 francs, December 1912, CZA L51/4.

98 Avitzur, 1972, p. 128. Jaffa also had 23 *khāns* in 1905—an indicator that business was lively.

99 Hurlbut, p. 20; Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 228, October 19, 1900, pp. 2-3.

100 Edwards, p. 12 (March 24, 1889).

101 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 1, no. 13, 1885, p. 4; Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67.

102 Goldmann, 1906, pp. 78-80.

103 *Ha-Or*, vol. 8, no. 63, 1910, p. 4; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 26-78.

104 *Ha-Ḥavazelet*, vol. 21, 1891, p. 238; Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, *op. cit.*



Commerce and industry in central plaza outside wall (today Clocktower Square) prior to 1917 (courtesy of Leora and David Kroyanker)

when foreign ties were cut off. Further damage was done by a series of natural catastrophes and the eviction of the entire population of Jaffa in 1914 and 1917.¹⁰⁵

Local commerce in Jaffa was pursued on several planes. First, there was commerce between the population of Jaffa and the inhabitants of the gardens, sometimes referred to as “Jaffa and its satellites”.¹⁰⁶ The fruit grown in the gardens was sold in the Jaffa bazaars, with some marketed in other towns or overseas.

Jaffa also maintained commercial ties with the nearby villages. Throughout the period, villagers came to Jaffa from all over the Sharon plain, as well as the coastal plain between Ashkelon and Jaffa, to sell agricultural produce. During their stay, they would stock up on such items as housewares, kerosene, tea, coffee and sugar. Further evidence of commercial ties was the fact that imported goods arriving at the port were distributed in Nablus and even more distant locations. Merchants in Jaffa would send emissaries to purchase wheat and other products from the villages. Large businesses would sometimes

105 Luncz, *Luah* 5674 (1914), vol. 19, p. 179.

106 Haycraft Commission, p. 2.

receive credit from merchants in Europe, which allowed them to pay advances to farmers and grove-owners on anticipated yields.¹⁰⁷

Ties with the surrounding villages became even stronger with the establishment of the German and Jewish colonies. Many sources emphasize the contribution of the latter to the commerce and development of Jaffa.¹⁰⁸ In 1899, there were 18 Jewish settlements in Judea and the Jaffa region. A few years after the establishment of the first colonies, Luncz writes (1887):

[Jaffa's] situation will be helped in no small measure by the four colonies nearby, whose inhabitants will seek all their needs there and hence increase the importance of crafts and trade. [Jaffa] residents will not have to live the frugal lives of those in the inland cities.¹⁰⁹

Twenty years later, the spirit remains much the same:

Jaffa, and its Jewish community in particular, owes much of its progress to the Jewish colonies, which were most numerous in the Jaffa area. The colonies introduced a flow of new life into Jaffa, and a sizeable portion of the tens of millions spent on establishing and improving the colonies has found its way into the hands of Jaffa's citizens. Quite a few Jaffa residents, our brethren among them, have succeeded in tapping this affluence and making a fortune. Even among those who only caught the crumbs, were some who did very well for themselves...

According to Smilansky:

Many of the colonists buy their goods in Jaffa proper, and this is so also for goods which are produced in the colony such as tools and furnishings. The colonists prefer to order them in Jaffa because there they can find a craftsman who will offer a lower price than in the colony.¹¹⁰

Jaffa also maintained commercial ties with the Bedouin, who were in evidence in the Jaffa market. However, the extent is uncertain because the chief centers of Bedouin trade were further inland, in Tiberias, Safed, Hebron, Beersheba

107 Letter of Briesch in Jaffa to von-Tischendorf, German vice-consul in Jerusalem, April 24, 1887; and report of U.S. consul Gilman to Porter, Assistant Secretary of State, November 21, 1887, USNA T471. Also see Hurburt, p. 20; Brill, p. 198; Ben-Zion, 1949, pp. 20-21.

108 For further listing of sources on the Jewish colonies' contribution to Jaffa, see Kark, 1976, p. 168, footnote 3; and Kark, 1982. The contribution of the German colonies is described in Carmel, 1983.

109 Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 2, 1887, p. 183.

110 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 36-37.

and Gaza. The Bedouin sold camels, sheep, goats, horses, wool, hides, butter, eggs and barley; they bought kerosene, sugar, tobacco, groceries, guns and ammunition, clothing and saddles.¹¹¹

Interurban commerce was another facet of business in Jaffa. This mainly involved the conveyance of imports and exports:

All food, drink, clothing, lumber and foreign imports required by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Gaza and the villages around them, as well as everything sent overseas, pass through Jaffa. The latter exceeds the former, for the quantity of wheat, fruit, sesame, wine, oil, soap and cotton exported through Jaffa increases every year...¹¹²

The commercial relations between Jaffa and Jerusalem were especially close:

Jaffa's chief virtue, aside from the fact that it lies along the Mediterranean coast and enjoys the advantages of a coastal town, is its proximity to Jerusalem, the most populated city in Palestine. All goods entering and leaving Jerusalem go through Jaffa, and all the tens of thousands of pilgrims bound for Jerusalem pass through Jaffa. In addition, Jaffa is near other large towns in Palestine, such as Nablus, Bethlehem, Hebron, Ramle and Lod, which also trade with it. Nearly all the merchandise purchased or sold abroad goes through Jaffa. All this has contributed greatly to the flourishing of commerce in Jaffa...¹¹³

In dozens of sources Jaffa is referred to as the "port of Jerusalem", and wins attention more because of its relationship with that city than on its own merits. Smilansky says that the close bond between Jaffa and Jerusalem is demonstrated by the fact that 458 Jewish residents of Jaffa (out of a total of 598 from localities all over Palestine) had moved there from Jerusalem. This, he explains, was because Jerusalem had the largest Jewish population in Palestine, and because the inhabitants of the two cities were in constant contact with each other.¹¹⁴

When settlement in Beersheba was renewed in the twentieth century, Jaffa established ties with it, as it did with Haifa at a later date. While most of the towns in Palestine were commercially affiliated with Jaffa, it should be emphasized that Jaffa itself was dependent on Beirut until the end of the nineteenth century for its share of imports. This was also true of other cities

111 Dixon, I, pp. 11-12; Yellin, 1973, p. 67.

112 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 12, 1882, p. 38; Luncz, *Luah* 5649 (1889), vol. 4, pp. 80-81. Luncz reports the purchase of grain and sour apple gourds in Gaza.

113 Brill, p. 198. It is emphasized that Jerusalem received large quantities of goods from Europe (via Jaffa).

114 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 22, 35-36.

such as Damascus, Tripoli, Sidon, Haifa and Jerusalem. Only on the eve of World War I did Jaffa, Haifa and Damascus shake off their dependence on Beirut and negotiate with European firms directly.¹¹⁵

Pilgrims and tourists, both natives and foreigners, were also served by local commerce in Jaffa. During certain seasons, they were the Jaffa merchants' most important clientele.

The growth of local and foreign commerce in Jaffa experienced both highs and lows, though the general trend was positive. One of the most detrimental factors were the constant epidemics. In 1902, for example, a cholera epidemic led to a quarantine of Jaffa which brought all local and foreign commerce to a halt.¹¹⁶ Since Jaffa maintained close business ties with other cities, commerce was actually affected throughout the country:

The outbreak of cholera in Jaffa and environs during the last quarter of 1902 wreaked havoc on commerce in Palestine. The quarantines and roadblocks led to a cessation of business and work. The situation was very bad, and increased the poverty and want of the inhabitants. The transport and exportation of goods also suffered terribly.¹¹⁷

Local commerce was able to expand due to a combination of factors, the most important of which were the greater safety of lives and property in the towns and along the highways, improved transportation networks and technology, and rapid population growth.

Who were Jaffa's Traders?

Population data for the first third of the nineteenth century reveal that approximately three-quarters of the Jaffa population were Muslim Arabs, and the remaining quarter, Christian Arabs (see population table in Chapter 3). We do not know how many of them engaged in commerce, or whether the Christians were more active in this sphere than the Muslims.

When the Crimean War was over, the town attracted a growing number of newcomers from Europe, America, and other cities in Palestine and Syria:

This city is climbing upwards on the scale of commerce, and each year it has more residents. From Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Gaza, Haifa, Acre, Tyre and Sidon, Beirut and Syrian Tripoli, large numbers of merchants and craftsmen are coming to settle here.

115 Ruppin, 1918, p. 63

116 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 23, 1903, no. 331, pp. 42-44.

117 Letter of Amzalak, British vice-consul in Jaffa, cited by Luncz, *Luah* 5664 (1904), vol. 9, p. 173.



Map 15: Jaffa: Land Use, 1878/9

The majority seem to have been Christians:

Many Christians from various countries have settled [in Jaffa] in recent years and expanded commerce here. Their efforts have been blessed, and Jaffa is flourishing.¹¹⁸

Since the Muslims and Christians had come first and monopolized big

¹¹⁸ Montefiore census, 1839; *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 12, 1882, p. 37; Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 2, 1887, p. 183.

business,¹¹⁹ the Jews of Jaffa were forced to content themselves with minor trading until the 1880s and even later. The Christians, particularly, seem to have played a key role in the commercial life of Jaffa.¹²⁰ The American consuls in the 1860s and 1870s make mention of Christian Arab (Syrian), Greek and Jewish businessmen. The first large firm to open a store in Jaffa (as well as in Jerusalem and Haifa) during the 1870s was the German-owned Duisberg, Breisch & Co.¹²¹

As Jewish immigration increased in the 1880s, with some immigrants settling in Jaffa, Jewish trade increased. New stores and firms were established, and these grew over the years to become among the largest in early twentieth century Jaffa. One was owned by Jacob Hertenstein, a prominent figure in the town. Others were opened by settlers from the colonies, or workers with a good business sense. As previously noted, many Jews leased shops in or around the Jaffa markets. The fact that Jaffa and Haifa were coastal towns with good business prospects seems to have been one of their attractions for new immigrants.¹²²

Nevertheless, major commercial ventures continued to remain in the hands of the local Arabs, Christian and Muslim. In 1895, a Jewish source complains that although there were merchants, moneychangers and shopkeepers in all the towns where Jews had settled permanently (Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, Safed, Haifa and Jaffa), these businesses earned only a few hundred francs a month or year, whereas:

...in all the large transactions, especially the numerous exports valued at millions of francs, our brethren have no part, though there are among us clever traders who do considerable business abroad, and men of wealth who hoard their dinars.

The Jews of Jaffa and Haifa, especially the Sephardim, are cited by this source as exceptions to the rule, to some degree.¹²³

In 1898, Goldmann notes that the Jews had no connection with two important stimuli of growth in Jaffa—the *bayyāras* and the sea:

To our regret, the Jews play no part in the *bayyāras* and related commerce, nor in exporting... However, there are indications that the

119 Smilansky, *Neve Zedek*, p. 4; *PEFQSt.*, 1881, p. 111.

120 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 12, *op. cit.*, and Brill, p. 198; Smilansky, 1907, p. 15.

121 Beauboucher to Seward, July 24, 1867; Hay to State Department, September 30, 1870; Willson to Seward, May 10, 1879, USNA T471.

122 Smilansky, 1907, p. 9; *Ha-Havazelet*, *ibid.*; Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 2, p. 179; vice-consul Murād's report in 1883, cited by Eliav, *German Consulate*, pp. 92-93. On the development of commerce among the Jews, see *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1884, pp. 10-11.

123 Eisenstadt, *Luaḥ Ahiyasaf*, II, 1891, pp. 396-397.

situation is changing... Other areas in which the Jews are involved and which help to develop the Yishuv are importing... crafts... and the hotel trade.¹²⁴

While Goldman admits that by 1906 the Jews had, in fact, made a contribution in local commerce, he feels that:

There are still many branches of commerce in which Jews still have almost no foothold, such as the manufacture and export of soap, import of fruit, import of textiles and silk from Damascus—Syria's paradise on earth—and the sale of coal and firewood, poultry and eggs, pottery from the south, vegetables and grains, butter, and the like, which are engaged in by the inhabitants of this country whose forcefulness and dominance frighten off the Jews. However, here too, inroads have been made. This is evident in the sale of wheat and poultry, although on a limited basis. "Pardess" is doing well in the sale of oranges, and this began with the sale of poultry, which brought in its wake commerce in other goods.¹²⁵

This is confirmed by Smilansky, in almost the same language:

Jaffa has many branches of commerce in which our brethren in Jaffa do not participate. The Jews, of all people, known as a nation of traders, have captured a smaller share of the market than other merchants. This is especially noticeable in the wheat, oil, kerosene, metal and coal trades. None of this commerce is engaged in by Jews, and is dominated almost entirely by Christian traders. Only this past year a few Jews tried to sell kerosene, but were unsuccessful because they could not compete with the non-Jewish merchants who have monopolized this trade for many years and are very wealthy.¹²⁶

The Jews repeatedly tried to break into the market, buying oil and wheat from the peasants and selling it abroad, but how successful they were is unclear. The Jewish merchants of Jaffa and the colonies purchased lumber, building supplies, metal and other goods, except for food, from the Christians. Smilansky attributes this to the fact that the Jews were late in settling in Jaffa, and others had already taken over big business.¹²⁷

124 Goldman, in Luncz, *Luah* 5659 (1899), vol. 4, pp. 58-59. On p. 63, he adds: "The businesses of the Jews are inside town, near the shore or on the new streets added in recent years. Here are located most of the large shops belonging to our Jewish brethren, as well as woodwork and metal factories, other workshops and lodging houses. Local sale of the goods imported from abroad is almost entirely in Jewish hands. Most of the larger shops belong to Jews."

125 Goldman, 1906, pp. 79-80. In a footnote, he says that poultry-raising was resumed in 1906.

126 Goldman, *ibid*; *Ha-Hashkafa*, vol. 5, no. 41, 1904, p. 386; Smilansky, 1907, p. 85.

127 Smilansky, *ibid*.

Overseas and domestic traders working in export were particularly successful.¹²⁸ The number of Christian traders was small in proportion to the population, but they were quite wealthy. Eventually, the number of Muslim businessmen rose, too, as merchants from Gaza, Jerusalem and Hebron, and even peasants from the Jaffa vicinity, realized that Jaffa offered a broad canvas for business opportunities.¹²⁹

While we have no precise figures for the number of traders in Jaffa and their ethnic affiliation, some information is provided by the names of the owners of Jaffa's leading firms, cited in the correspondence of the British Consulate in 1906.¹³⁰

Exporters of oranges to Liverpool: Gabriel Araman, Dā'ūd Zārifa and brother, Naṣrī Ṭalawas, Bishāra Diblias, 'Arkatanjī and brother, Eddy Fortalis.

Major importers of paint and enamel: S. Rokah, B. Alonzi and son, Najīb 'Arkatanjī, Ilyās 'Akāwī, Joseph Chelouche.

Importers of galvanized tin and tin sheeting: S. Rokah, Hugo Viland, G. Faraḥ Salīm, Mrs. V. Bost and sons, Lapin and Horowitz.

Leather merchants: Salīm 'Azār, Artin Gazmarizm, Q. Bassar.

Flour importers: Qaṣṣāb and Qallis, Salīm Tamarī and sons, Morris Blumenfeld, George Qasti, Laird Garburg, G. Gutman.

Wheat exporters: Salīm Tamarī and sons, George and Alexander Qassāt, Michel Bairūtī and Najīb Bairūtī.

Importers of agricultural machinery and implements: Leon Stein and Haim Aharonson.

The number of traders operating in Jaffa can be inferred to some degree from the fact that there were 962 shops and warehouses in 1905. In addition, there were hundreds of peddlers.¹³¹

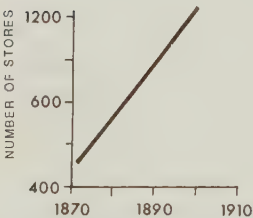


Fig. 7: Increase in number of shops in Jaffa, 1870-1900

128 D. Smilansky, letters dated January 4, 1907, David Smilansky Archives.

129 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 15-17.

130 ISA 123-1/26.

131 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 78, 82-83.

Foreign Commerce

Shmuel Avitzur's book on Jaffa Port¹³² handles the subject of foreign trade in full, including figures on the passage of ships and cargo, the role of the world powers in maritime traffic, import and export, the scope of commerce, and the shifts which took place. Here we shall only outline the major issues.

From the early 1800s until mid-century, the port was small and operative only part of the year. Travellers say it was used to export products such as dried fruit, sesame, olive oil, grain, a small quantity of citrus, crude cotton and soap.¹³³ It also seems to have been used to import luxury items and rice (from Egypt). However, quantitative data on the goods passing through the port are hard to come by. Until the 1850s, it was chiefly used for export and very little for import, although the exports were highly taxed (evidently in a government effort to benefit from the foreign trade which was almost entirely outgoing).¹³⁴

A slow rise in foreign trade was already evident at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, particularly during the period of Egyptian rule, when Jaffa was also a military port. Through Jaffa Port, Ibrāhīm Pasha maintained contact with Egypt, imported supplies for his army and exported wood for ship-building and other purposes.

Political events and advances in technology and transportation in the 1850s and 1860s had a great impact on the development of ports on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean—Jaffa included. First came the introduction of steamships to carry cargo and passengers in the region. The tonnage of these ships gradually increased, and they became faster and safer. Jaffa was included in the routes of the larger shipping companies from the mid-nineteenth century. In 1850, Bartlett notes the change which had taken place in Jaffa. When he first visited the city in 1843, there were almost no European merchant ships anchored in the harbor. By 1850, it was filled with hundreds of vessels from all over the world, and Austrian and French steamships visited it three times a month to collect mail from Jerusalem. Bartlett also mentions the growth of other ports: Haifa, Sidon and, above all, Beirut.¹³⁵

The political changes and improved standing of the Western powers in the Ottoman Empire after the Crimean War spurred pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the Holy Land and strengthened commercial ties with Palestine. These developments involved Jaffa, which served as "the port of Jerusalem"

132 Avitzur, 1972.

133 Norov, pp. 106-111; Tobler, 1839, II, pp. 121-123; Montague, p. 275; Bartlett, pp. 52-53; Dupuis, pp. 54-77; Russell, pp. 371-372.

134 Maoz, 1968, p. 78; Kayat, British vice-consul in Jaffa, in Avitzur, 1972, p. 26.

135 Bartlett, pp. 52-53.

throughout the nineteenth century and even afterwards. On these ties and their influence on commerce, Luncz writes:

Only in 1856, after the Crimean War and the solution of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher issue, did numerous Christians begin to make annual pilgrimages to the Holy Land. This expanded commerce in Jerusalem, which then branched out to Jaffa.¹³⁶

The excavation of the Suez Canal also increased shipping in the region, and Jaffa reaped the benefits:

The spirit of commerce has begun to seize the peoples who live on the coasts of Jaffa and Haifa, and its force has attracted a large number of Jewish families to settle there and establish shops, warehouses and businesses. The cotton plantation I saw in the Sharon Valley, the founding of the new city of Port Said...the digging of the Suez canal, these are the true reasons for the change...¹³⁷

By 1870, five shipping lines were operating in Jaffa, and regular contact was established with Egypt, Asia Minor, Russia, Austria and France. These lines were served by the steamships of Messageries Imperiale, the Lloyd companies of Austria, Russia and Egypt, and the Anglo-Asian Steamship Company. They contributed to the coastal trade in grains and fruit, apart from carrying cargo and passengers to more distant locations.¹³⁸ In addition to these regular lines, Jaffa was occasionally visited by steamships from Egypt, Turkey, England and France, and sailing ships from England, France, Turkey and Greece.¹³⁹

A report on commerce in 1881 reveals that small coastal vessels, steamers and sailing ships carried merchandise ordered by the commission merchants and the agents of the regular steamship lines. Of the latter, only the Austrian, French and Russian lines remained in operation, thanks to subsidies from their governments. The American consul filing the report states that without these subsidies, he doubts they could have survived.¹⁴⁰

The situation seems to have changed by the mid-1880s, at least according to one of Jaffa's leading businessmen, Breisch, who urged the German consul in Jerusalem to initiate a new line between Alexandria and Constantinople which

136 Luncz, *Luah* 5659 (1899), vol. 4, p. 82.

137 A. Cohen, *Ha-Carmel*, vol. 5, no. 4, November 18, 1864, pp. 26-27.

138 Report of Beardsley, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to Secretary of State Fisk, September 30, 1870, USNA T471. Also see Pitman, p. 195.

139 Murād to von-Alten, December 31, 1872, ISA 67/451.

140 Report of Willson, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to Assistant Secretary of State Taft, October 7, 1881, USNA T471.

would visit ports along the Syrian coast, including Jaffa, and which he presumed would be profitable.¹⁴¹ Similar assessments led the shipping companies to enter into fierce competition, which far exceeded the demand for their services.¹⁴²

Data based chiefly on British and German consular reports exist for the number and tonnage of sailing and steamships calling at Jaffa Port in 1835-1913. Though these figures are not wholly accurate, they do point to the turnover and trends in the shipping industry. The Austrian consul-general in Alexandria, Anton Laurin, who visited Syria in 1836, reported on the number of ships docking in Jaffa in 1835. Hoffman, who cites these figures, says there were 628 [almost all of them sailing ships—R.K.]: 517 of them Egyptian, Syrian and Turkish, 19—Austrian, 14—British, 3—French, 5—Sardinian, 69—Greek and 1—Russian. According to Hoffman, the Syrian, Egyptian and Turkish ships (82 percent of the total) were small.¹⁴³

In 1884, sailing ships still outnumbered steamships in Jaffa Port, but the steamships were much larger in size. A German consular report cited by Talman states that there were 163 Austrian, French and Russian steamships running regularly (with a tonnage of 189,570), 45 English, French and Turkish steamships running irregularly (with a tonnage of 31,956), and 737 sailing ships (707 Turkish and the remainder French, Italian, German, Austrian, Greek and Persian, with a tonnage of 24,146).¹⁴⁴

The figures for 1886 indicate a considerable increase in the number of steamships and tonnage, and this pattern repeats itself until World War I (see table below).

*Maritime activity in Jaffa port, 1835-1913*¹⁴⁵

Year	Sailing ships		Steamships		Total	
	No.	Tonn.	No.	Tonn.	No.	Tonn.
1835	628	—	—	—	628	—
1884	737	24,146	208	221,526	945	245,672
1894	305	17,965	519	518,994	824	536,959
1904	409	13,711	489	724,936	898	738,647
1913	676	16,166	636	1,125,747	1,312	1,141,913

141 Breisch to von-Tischendorf, April 25, 1886, ISA 67/456.

142 Report of Hardegg, U.S. consular agent in Jaffa, December 16, 1886, USNA T471.

143 Laurin in Hoffman, p. 264.

144 Report on February 19, 1885, ISA 67/1484, in Talman, p. 32.

145 Laurin, *op. cit.*, and report, *op. cit.*; Tolkovsky, 1926, p. 149; Avitzur, 1972, Tables 1 and 2.

From this table, we see that over an 80-year span, the average tonnage of sailing ships plying the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean and stopping in Jaffa, ranged from 24-58 tons per ship. During the same period, the average tonnage of the steamships rose from 1,000 to 1,770 tons per ship. By World War I, Jaffa was a very busy port, with three to four ships calling each day. Other trends in nineteenth century Jaffa may be learned from the classification of ships by type and nationality:

*Maritime activity in Jaffa port by type of ship and nationality, 1835-1913*¹⁴⁶ (in %)

Year	Type	British		Turkish		Austrian		Russian		French	
		No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo
1835	Sail	2.2	—	82.3	—	3.0	—	0.15	—	0.47	—
1884	Sail	—	—	96.0	82.8	0.3	3.8	—	—	0.8	1.2
	Steam	15.4	9.0	0.5	0.09	39.0	42.0	22.0	23.0	23.0	25.9
1894	Sail	—	—	89.5	59.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Steam	19.5	13.8	7.7	6.8	23.0	23.0	10.2	12.4	15.5	21.3
1904	Sail	—	—	99.0	94.9	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Steam	29.0	24.7	1.3	3.5	17.5	19.6	19.2	19.8	14.8	15.2
1913	Sail	—	—	99.8	95.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Steam	26.7	24.0	0.5	0.09	18.6	20.3	20.4	18.9	12.0	18.9

Year	Type	Italian		German		Greek		Other		Total %	
		No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo	No.	Cargo
1835	Sail	—	—	—	—	10.9	—	0.07	—	100	100
1884	Sail	—	—	—	—	10.9	—	0.07	—	100	100
	Steam	1.35	6.9	0.3	1.1	0.7	3.8	0.7	0.05	100	100
1894	Sail	—	—	—	—	—	—	10.5	41.0	100	100
	Steam	—	—	—	—	—	—	24.0	22.3	100	100
1904	Sail	0.7	3.3	—	—	0.2	1.9	—	—	100	100
	Steam	6.7	6.7	5.6	9.2	2.1	1.3	1.2	1.1	100	100
1913	Sail	0.1	5.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	100
	Steam	9.6	9.3	7.5	6.7	—	—	4.6	1.8	100	100

146 Avitzur, *ibid.* The percentages have been rounded off so that they add up to approximately 100 percent. As Avitzur shows a discrepancy between the figures in the table and the sum total, I went back and redid the arithmetic.

This table indicates that most of the sailing ships calling at Jaffa Port from 1835 to 1913 were Turkish. On the eve of World War I, this was true of nearly all the sailing ships and cargo entering the port. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there was an occasional ship from France or Greece. By the 1880s, sailing ships from Austria, France, Italy, Germany, Greece and Persia were plying the region. However, they all but disappeared in the decades that followed.

As for steamships, the data point to a steady increase in British, Italian and German vessels and cargo, compared with a drop in Austrian and French steamers. Russia maintained a stable 20-30 percent in ships in cargo. This fluctuation in the number of foreign ships may have been the combined result of the changing attitude of the Ottomans toward the Western powers, and the development of industry and markets in these countries.

What did these ships bring with them, and what did they take home? We do have some foreign trade figures for the early nineteenth century, but their accuracy is in question. Foreign trade for 1825-1826 was estimated at £11,295 (£6,599 in imports and £4,696 in exports).¹⁴⁷ As'ad J. Khayyāt, the British vice-consul in Jaffa, gives partial import and export data for 1850: £4,700 and 32,500 respectively. Exports in 1862 were valued at £172,075.¹⁴⁸

During the first half of the nineteenth century, exports from Jaffa were chiefly cotton, soap, and a small quantity of citrus.¹⁴⁹ In his annual report, Khayyāt lists the quantity and value of goods leaving Jaffa Port in 1862. From this list, we see that olive oil exports were the highest in value (49 percent of the total export value), followed by sesame (25 percent), wheat (8 percent), barley (5 percent), oranges (3 percent), soap (3 percent), cotton (1 percent) and raisins (1 percent). Items of lower value were also included in the list: watermelons, apricots, apples, vegetables, pomegranates, marrow bones, bitter apple gourds (used for medicinal purposes), lamb's-wool, straw mats, hides and rags. The more valuable goods were exported to France and England; the others, to Italy, Turkey and Egypt.¹⁵⁰ The American consul reports on imports to Palestine, but does not specify quantity or value. These were primarily hardware, cotton and woolen clothing (from England), and sugar and coffee from plantations in western India, imported via France.¹⁵¹

147 Kark, "Coastal Towns", Table 3.

148 According to Avitzur, 1972, p. 28 and Table 8.

149 Montague, p. 275; Buchanan, pp. 93-94.

150 Kayat in Avitzur, *op. cit.*

151 Report of P. Olcott, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to Secretary of State Seward, September 30, 1862, USNA T471.



Crates of oranges for export taken to ship by small craft (Guthe, 1908)

Goods leaving Jaffa port in 1870 included sesame seeds, sesame oil, olive oil, barley, wheat, cotton, wool, bones, rags, fruit, oranges and lemons. Imports included industrial products, iron, raw materials, fine flour, sugar, coffee, etc.¹⁵²

The following table illustrates the steady, absolute growth in Jaffa's balance of trade during the nineteenth century, as well as the changes in its composition. From the 1870s onwards, the value of imports exceeds the value of exports, whereas the latter had previously doubled the former. In 1913, nearly twice as much merchandise came in to Jaffa as went out.¹⁵³ On the other hand, we find a rise both in imports (which multiplied 4 times between 1884-

152 Report of John Hay, U.S. vice-consul in Jaffa, to State Department in Washington, September 30, 1870, USNA T471.

153 It should be emphasized that the accuracy of the figures quoted from various sources, including consular material, is not guaranteed; they are only an indication of scope. As we see from the foreign trade table, the figures for a particular year, say 1886 or 1894, often vary widely. Moreover, the data only represents declared trade.

1913) and in exports (which multiplied 6.6 times in the same interval). Aside from the shift in relative proportions between import and export, the goods involved also changed. Until the 1880s, the major exports were agricultural products such as cereals, olive oil, sesame seeds, cotton and oranges. After this, wheat and several other items disappear from the list, while oranges and soap assume much greater proportions. New products begin to appear, such as almonds and wine. The import of consumer goods and luxuries also increased greatly. Among the former were textiles, cheap clothing, kerosene, wooden boards, roof tiles, cement, iron, coal and salt. The luxuries included fine flour, coffee, sugar, rice and tobacco.¹⁵⁴

Monetary value of trade in Jaffa and other regional ports, 1800-1912
(in pounds Sterling)

Place	Year	Export	Import	Total	Source
Jaffa	1825	4,696	6,599	11,295	Kark, Coastal Towns
Acre	1825	13,036	2,834	15,870	Ibid
Beirut	1833	242,915	445,344	688,259	Ibid
Beirut	1861	340,000	741,000	1,081,000	Ibid
Jaffa	1862	172,072			Khayyât in Avitzur, Table 8
Jaffa	1873	247,000	137,000	384,000	British consulate, in Avitzur, Table 9
Jaffa	1874	207,516	113,871	321,387	Ibid
Jaffa	1875	258,156	110,668	368,824	Ibid
Jaffa	1876	436,257	230,822	667,079	Ibid
Jaffa	1877	119,314	198,596	317,910	Ibid (war)
Jaffa	1879	188,414	203,227	391,641	Ha-Zefira, 11, 1884, 389
Jaffa	1880	323,974	282,014	605,988	Luncz, Yerushalayim, 1882, 3-141
Acre	1880	851,703	53,881	905,584	Ibid
Haifa	1880	74,431	9,946	84,377	Ibid
Haifa	1882	279,992	257,141	537,133	Ha-Zefira, ibid
Jaffa	1884	117,034	271,440	388,474	British consulate, ISA 67/456
Jaffa	1884	337,898	186,388	524,286	German consulate, 67/1484
Jaffa	1885	132,579	287,730	420,309	British consulate, ibid
Jaffa	1886	197,968	270,656	468,624	German consulate, 67/456
Jaffa	1886	119,555	240,880	360,435	British consulate, in Avitzur Table 11, 12
Jaffa	1886	71,089	25,697	96,786	Luncz, Yerushalayim, 1887, 90-93
Jaffa	1887	186,371	232,045	418,416	Avitzur, ibid
Jaffa	1888	204,315	253,065	457,380	Ibid
Jaffa	1889	244,561	275,622	520,183	Ibid
Jaffa	1890	447,010	259,811	706,821	Ibid
Jaffa	1891	400,530	287,700	688,230	Ibid
Jaffa	1892	258,466	342,597	601,063	Ibid
Jaffa	1893	332,628	349,540	682,168	Ibid
Jaffa	1894	285,604	273,233	558,837	Ibid

154 Avitzur, 1972, pp. 42-59.

Place	Year	Export	Import	Total	Source
Jaffa	1894	185,200	244,420	429,620	Luncz, Luah 1896, pp. 126-128
Gaza	1894	222,069	20,708	242,777	Kark, Coastal Towns
Jaffa	1895	282,906	275,990	558,896	Avitzur, ibid
Beirut	1895	1,802,260	1,707,724	3,509,984	Cuinet, p. 49
Tripoli	1895	743,952	479,961	1,223,913	Ibid
Latakia	1895	318,411	61,475	379,886	Ibid
Jaffa	1896	373,447	256,090	629,537	Avitzur, ibid
Jaffa	1897	309,389	306,630	616,019	Ibid
Jaffa	1898	306,780	322,430	629,210	Ibid
Jaffa	1899	316,158	390,260	706,418	Ibid
Jaffa	1900	264,950	382,405	647,355	Ibid
Jaffa	1901	277,635	426,310	703,945	Ibid
Jaffa	1902	203,390	405,550	608,940	Ibid
Jaffa	1903	322,335	439,775	762,110	Ibid
Jaffa	1904	295,300	473,320	768,620	Ibid
Jaffa	1905	370,000	460,000	830,000	Ibid
Jaffa	1906	500,000	660,000	1,160,000	Ibid
Jaffa	1907	484,340	809,000	1,293,340	Ibid
Jaffa	1908	556,370	803,400	1,359,770	Ibid
Jaffa	1909	560,935	973,143	1,534,078	Ibid
Jaffa	1910	636,145	1,002,450	1,638,595	Ibid
Beirut	1910	822,500	2,153,200	2,975,700	Great Britain 1920, 150-155
Alexandria	1910	1,301,025	1,398,884	2,699,909	Ibid
All Syria	1910/11			9,920,000	Ruppin, 1918, 56
Lebanon & Palestine					
Jaffa	1911	710,660	1,169,910	1,880,570	Avitzur, ibid
Beirut	1911	550,500	1,920,450	2,470,950	Great Britain, ibid
Alexandria	1911	1,044,324	1,145,135	2,189,459	Ibid
Jaffa	1912	774,162	1,090,019	1,864,181	Avitzur, ibid
Haifa	1912	346,700	530,000	875,700	Kark, Coastal Towns
Haifa	1913	745,413	1,312,695	2,058,108	Avitzur, ibid
Beirut	1913			2,900,000	Kark, Coastal Towns
Gaza	1913	161,120	108,230	269,350	Ibid

If we choose an average year, say, 1884, and compile a list of all goods passing through the port, we find that imports included sugar, coffee beans, rice, potatoes, onions, kerosene, flour, coal, iron, salt, tobacco, snuff, wood, manufactured goods, leather, alcoholic beverages, roof tiles, bricks, shells, spices (pepper, cinnamon, pimento, anise, nutmeg, coriander, saffron and caraway seeds), tea, herring, sardines, wool, cotton, textiles, thread, fruit from Mecca, soap, caustic soda and ash, tar, linseed oil, lead, ammunition, printed matter, mirrors, glass items, nuts, dates, dried fruit, pumpkin seeds, beans and peas, tin sheeting, furniture, pottery, paint, candles, zinc sheeting, barbed wire, sacking, barrels for olive oil, malt, amber, photographic materials,

microscopes, rope, cigars, string, paper goods, tissue paper (for wrapping citrus), cigarette paper, sewing machines, steam engine parts, firewood, glue, and copper.¹⁵⁵

Among the exports were watermelons, Jerusalem products [religious articles—R.K.], oranges and lemons, olive oil, marrow bones and lungs, sesame seeds, soap, lamb's-wool, wheat, barley, corn, beans and peas, wine, processed and unprocessed leather, waterskins, dried and fresh intestines, raisins, dried figs, pomegranates, melons, grapes, apricots, vegetables, poultry, sheep, bulls, horses, mules, straw mats, sesame oil and hay.¹⁵⁶

The changes in import and export patterns between 1885 and 1913 have been dealt with at length by Avitzur, who has also compiled tables on the subject.¹⁵⁷

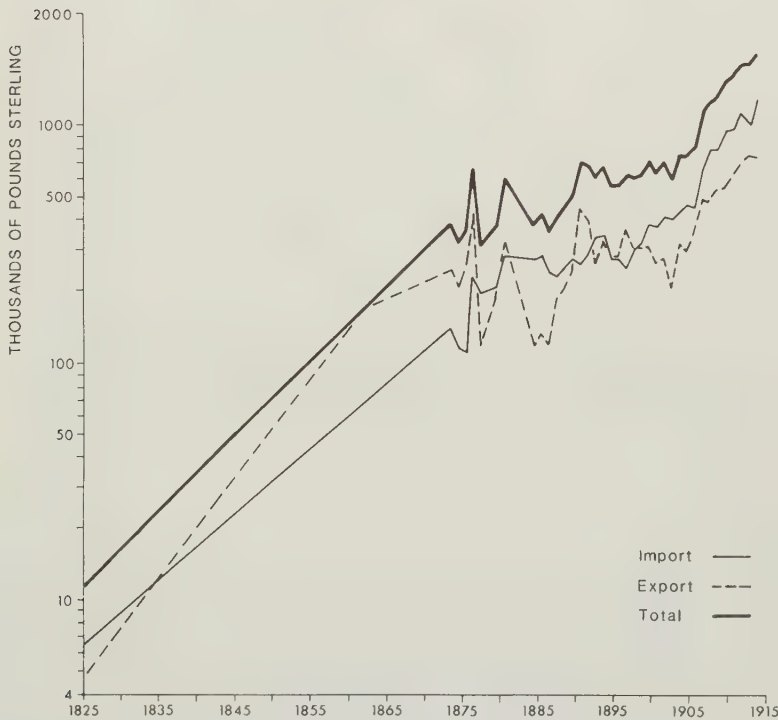


Fig. 8: Value of trade in Jaffa Port (in £), 1825-1913

155 German consulate, in Talman, pp. 28-30.

156 *Ibid.*

157 Avitzur, 1972, pp. 42-59 and Tables 8-13. See also Issawi, 1988, p. 157.

The most striking phenomenon is the transformation of Jaffa, despite its poor infrastructure, into Palestine's chief port at the end of the Ottoman period and the third busiest in the eastern Mediterranean. The surge in foreign trade from Jaffa did not occur in isolation; other ports in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine were developing, too. The greatest growth occurred in Beirut, where foreign trade reached £2.0-2.9 million a year (in 1910 and 1913), followed by Alexandria with £1.6-1.9 million. Still, Jaffa's development (£1.6-1.8 million during the same period) stands out if we consider its location compared with Beirut and Alexandria, and the fact that in 1911-1912, foreign trade in all of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine totalled £9,920,000. Foreign trade also began to develop in Haifa in the early twentieth century, but Haifa's hinterland was very different from Jaffa's, and as it developed, foreign trade expanded accordingly.

The direct contribution of the Ottoman government in this sphere was negligible. Indirectly, the improvement in security and transportation infrastructure was good for commerce. However, the Ottomans provided no backing, financial or political, for the plans to develop the port of Jaffa, extend the Jerusalem railway to it, etc. Only shortly before World War I was the port surveyed and a concession granted to a French company to modernize it; the plan was aborted by the outbreak of the war. On the other hand, the Ottomans were anxious to increase their revenues from the port; in contrast to previous practice, they imposed an 8 percent tax on imports (raised to 11 percent in 1911), and a 9 percent tax on exports.¹⁵⁸ In effect, foreign trade in Jaffa was molded by an interplay of external forces: the ebb and flow of the world market, the growing value of international trade, the activity of churches, European firms and Western powers, the growth of the Jewish community, and the processes of population growth, urban expansion, etc. that were under way in all of Palestine.

CONSTRUCTION

In the 1860s and 1870s, as Jaffa expanded physically and more shops, markets and homes were required, the construction industry developed, too. Indirectly, this provided employment for importers of foreign-made building materials which came into use in the 1860s. An interesting example is the American Mission in Jaffa, built around 1870. According to Mary Baldwin, one of the missionaries who worked there, the building materials came from different parts of the world: *kurkar* (sandstone) from the Beit Dagon and Caesarea areas, bricks for the chimney from Maine, beams and wooden planks from Maine and Austria, roof tiles and nails from Marseilles. The builders employed

158 *Ibid*, p. 123.

at various stages were Arabs (Christian and Muslim), Germans and Americans.¹⁵⁹

We learn of the importance of construction and related crafts as a source of livelihood from a Templer living in Jaffa in 1892. He says the Ottomans imposed a general ban on construction in 1891 when the classification of land as *mīrī* or *mulk* became a point of contention. Building permits could only be obtained through the payment of *bakhshīsh*, but the sum was so high, very few could afford it, and 4,000 builders and craftsmen were allegedly left unemployed.¹⁶⁰

Construction was almost entirely in the hands of Christians and Muslims, who were the chief promoters and investors. The Arabs were considered the best builders. Data from 1905 sets the number of builders in Jaffa in the hundreds. The manufacture of building supplies such as flooring (24 shops), stairs, concrete pillars and blocks, and dressed marble, was also monopolized by Muslims and Christians.¹⁶¹

The establishment of Jewish building societies began later in Jaffa than in Jerusalem. The first was founded in 1887, to build Neve Zedek.¹⁶² For the most part, these societies used Arab labor. For the building of a Jewish school in 1908, Yemenite workers were employed, but they did the simple and rough work while the Arabs did the finishing.¹⁶³

David Yellin says the following about the building societies in Jerusalem and Jaffa:

...We have not seen in Jaffa more than one society for the building of houses, such as the dozens in Jerusalem which have enabled many hundreds of middle-class and poor people to become home-owners in easy installments.

He urges the residents of Jaffa to invest in this type of building. Indeed, between that same year, 1900, and 1913, several societies were founded. The most well-known was Ahuzat Bayit, which built Tel Aviv.¹⁶⁴ (Compare Maps 14, 15 and 16, which show the growth in Jaffa's residential district between 1842-1918.)

159 Pitman, pp. 207-208.

160 *Nationale Zeitung*, Berlin, October 26, 1892, ISA 67/1602, pp. 28-31.

161 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 55-57; Goldmann, 1906, pp. 78, 83; Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, October 19, 1900, pp. 2-3 and October 27, 1900, p. 2.

162 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1887, p. 2; Luncz, *Yerushalayim*, vol. 3, 1889, p. 226; Yellin, *ibid.*

163 *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1908, p. 19; *Ha-Hashkafa*, vol. 8, no. 16, 1906, p. 4.

164 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, *op. cit.*; Luncz, *Luah* 5674 (1914), vol. 19, 1913, p. 184.



Map 16: Jaffa: Land Use, 1918

SERVICES

Local Government

Services provided by the local government did not play much of a role in Jaffa's economy, for such services, as we have seen, were very limited. The Ottomans employed a small number of government officials, and a few more to staff the municipality, when it was established. Most senior posts were manned not by locals but by appointees from Constantinople. However, the Jaffa administration, and the army in particular, were consumers, using services

supplied by the inhabitants. In this respect, they contributed to the economy indirectly.

Administrative offices serving certain sectors of the population, such as vice-consulates, societies, and cultural institutions, also played a role in economic life. Luncz writes that “the large cultural institutions founded recently have done much to benefit the economy.”¹⁶⁵ Another source cites the opening of the Va’ad Hapoel (the executive committee of the World Zionist Organization) headquarters in Jaffa as a great advantage to the city.¹⁶⁶

Religion

Jaffa offered religious services both to the local populace and to the numerous pilgrims and tourists passing through the city. It is hard to say precisely how many residents were directly employed in this sphere. The only figures we have are for Jewish religious personnel in 1905; they accounted for 45 of the 1,616 Jewish wage-earners that year.¹⁶⁷ There were also Muslims employed in the mosques as preachers and muezzins, priests and monks who served in the churches and monasteries, employees of the Muslim *waqf*, and so on, but statistics are lacking.

Health

During this period, health services in Jaffa expanded. Between 1835-1917, eight or nine hospitals were founded.¹⁶⁸ Medical professionals increased in number and variety, including doctors, dentists, nurses, midwives and pharmacists.

Smilansky’s figures for 1905 indicate that Jaffa had 18 doctors from all ethnic groups. Among the Jews, there were 3 male nurses, 9 midwives, 1 pharmacist and 1 technician. Five pharmacies were operating in the city (the Jewish pharmacies employed 19 people), and in 1910, a chemical-technical laboratory was opened in Tel Aviv which carried out medical tests, soil analyses, etc.¹⁶⁹ To these we must add hospital workers responsible for food preparation, patient care, cleaning, etc., as well as those presumably working in traditional medicine (such as midwives), for whom no figures are available in the Ottoman period. Jaffa’s health network served not only the local

165 Luncz, *ibid.*

166 Horowitz, 1893, p. 14.

167 Smilansky, 1907, p. 93.

168 See section on health, above.

169 *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 80, 1910, p. 1.

population, but also the Jewish and Templer colonies, and nearby Arab villages.

Welfare

The sources tell of welfare activity among the Jews and missionaries. Most of the Jewish efforts were directed toward the new immigrants rather than the local residents, who were self-supporting for the most part. The Jewish charities usually operated on a voluntary basis. In 1905, 26 Jaffa Jews were living on charity.¹⁷⁰

One of the most active welfare and public aid institutions in Jaffa was the Jewish Town Committee. In the 1890s, this committee devoted itself to collecting funds for a hostel and the establishment of an “Ezrat Nashim” society to aid the sick and needy; it supported poor women after childbirth, engaged a physician to provide free medical care to the poor, etc.¹⁷¹ Baedeker mentions an orphanage run by the missionaries.¹⁷²

Education

At the end of the nineteenth century, the educational system in Jaffa branched out in two directions: secular education, which was a new development, and religious education, which was offered in the Jewish *heder*, the Muslim *kutāb*, and the classes taught by priests, nuns and missionaries.

In 1896, Cuinet’s listing of Jaffa schools includes 8 Muslim, 2 Greek-Orthodox, 1 Armenian, 6 Catholic, 2 Protestant and 2 Jewish schools, e.g., a total of 21.¹⁷³ In 1912, Baedeker cites figures for the Jewish and Christian schools only: 4 and 11 respectively¹⁷⁴ (which means the number of Jewish schools had doubled since 1896). Secular education was introduced among the Jews after the 1880s. According to Smilansky in 1905, and the Zionist Organization census in 1916, 79 teachers were employed in the system during the first decade of the century and 92 or more during the decade that followed.¹⁷⁵ The schools also hired janitors. Some of them, such as the Hovevei Zion school and later, Gymnasia Ha-Ivrit Herzliya, admitted out-of-town and foreign students, too, further boosting the economy. According to Luncz, the

170 Smilansky, 1907, p. 95.

171 Protocols of the Jaffa Jewish Town Committee. Also see Luncz, 1891, pp. 3-97; *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 53, 1910, p. 4.

172 Baedeker, 1912, pp. 6-7.

173 Cuinet, p. 563.

174 Baedeker, *op. cit.*

175 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 89-90 and census, 27-30.

Gymnasia Ha-Ivrit Herzliya alone, with its 540 students and 30 teachers, brought in close to a million francs (£40,000) in 1913.¹⁷⁶

Tourist and Travel Services

Tourist and pilgrim services were available in Jaffa from the early nineteenth century, but began to develop more rapidly during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī.¹⁷⁷ Most of the tourists in those days were pilgrims—Christians, Muslims and Jews—on their way to the holy places. Non-religious tourism motivated by business, foreign diplomacy and domestic travel eventually increased, too. One source tells us that during the first year of Egyptian rule some ten thousand Greeks and Armenians from the Ottoman Empire passed through Jaffa on their way to Jerusalem, making the local muleteers quite wealthy.¹⁷⁸

Although Jaffa did not have good accommodation for travellers, and pilgrims were put up at monasteries, these visitors provided an important source of income until the end of the 1850s.¹⁷⁹ The first hotel in Jaffa was opened in the 1850s by a Jew named Koppel Blatner, assisted by his sons, Robert and Herman. This was a modern-style hotel, offering some of the comforts of Europe.¹⁸⁰ Tourist accommodation improved further in the 1870s, when the Cook Company opened the Twelve Tribes Hotel in the area between Old Jaffa and the German Colony, and E. Hardegg opened the 30-40 bed Jerusalem Hotel in the German Colony. This neighborhood eventually became the center of transportation services and travel agencies. Pilgrimages continued to be one of Jaffa's major sources of income into the 1870s.¹⁸¹

With the rise in Jewish immigration in the 1880s, more Jewish hotels were opened. One of them, noted for its European-style decor and management, was the Pleshet (Palestine Hotel) owned by Har-el Kaminitz. It was located in the German Colony, ten minutes from town. Travellers could also stay at the Moshe Cohen Hotel, the inn of Zvi Hirsch Valkevisker, the inn of widow Miriam Horwitz, and the Dover Papel Hotel.¹⁸²

Additional hotels were opened during the first decade of the twentieth century: the Du Parc Hotel owned by the Hall brothers, the Frank Hotel in the

176 Luncz, *Luah* 5674 (1914), p. 179; Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67; Kark, 1982.

177 Seetzen, II, pp. 69-71; Visnaykov in Altbauer, p. 63.

178 Basili in Assaf, p. 185.

179 Norov, II, pp. 106-111; Alderson, p. 9; Johnson, p. 50; Scherer, pp. 152-154.

180 Liva'i, p. 24; *Jewish Chronicle*, February 8, 1861, p. 7; January 27, 1865, p. 7.

181 Baedeker, 1876, pp. 127-129; Warren, p. 27; Liévin, 1875, p. 4; Wilson, 1885, III, p. 142; Murād's letter of December 31, 1873, ISA 67/471.

182 Luncz, 1891, p. 63; *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 21, 1891, p. 370.

German Colony (the Kaminitz Hotel moved to Bustrus Street at this time), the Al-Gamal Hotel, the Zion Hotel, the Feingold Hotel, the Cohen Hotel (which moved to Neve Shalom in 1911) and the inns of Ḥaim Baruch and Spector.¹⁸³

How many pilgrims passed through Jaffa each year? In the 1830s it was said that 10,000-12,000 pilgrims came to Jerusalem annually and, presumably, most travelled via Jaffa.¹⁸⁴ The accuracy of this figure is difficult to ascertain, although it is close to the data cited by the U.S. consul in Jerusalem for 1868.¹⁸⁵ He says that 3,000 Greeks, 2,000 Armenians, 1,000 Russians, 2,500 Jews, 2,500 natives, 1,000 Turks, 250 Americans, 150 Englishmen and 100 other travellers passed through Jaffa each year on their way to Jerusalem, e.g. a total of 12,500.

By the mid-1890s, the number of pilgrims was even higher. The French vice-consul in Jaffa reports that in 1895, 5,000 tourists and 15,000 pilgrims travelled from Jaffa to Jerusalem by rail alone.¹⁸⁶ Another account from 1898 offers a lower figure (but does not include American tourists, for example): 3,250 Europeans, 7,300 Russians, 2,600 Greeks, 1,500 Catholics, 1,100 Armenians and 400 Egyptian Copts—a total of 16,200.¹⁸⁷

The number of tourists remained stable around 5,000 as the twentieth century entered its second decade:¹⁸⁸ 5,595 in 1908-1909, 7,196 in 1909-1910, 5,759 in 1910-1911 and 4,896 in 1911-1912.

These same sources offer an interesting listing of tourists by country of origin, as seen in the table on page 287.

The major travel agencies handling these tourists were Cook, Tadras, Clark, Hamburg, Barakāt and Nāṣir et Farajallāh.¹⁸⁹ As indicated in the table, most of the tourists hailed from America and Europe. To these, of course, we must add the pilgrims who arrived through other channels—an estimated 15,000-25,000 annual visitors prior to World War I.¹⁹⁰ Tourism brought in large amounts of foreign currency, most of it spent on services. According to Ruppin, visitors to Greater Syria brought in an annual sum of ten million

183 Baedeker, 1912, pp. 6-7; *Ha-Hashkafa*, vol. 7, no. 55, 1906, p. 7; *Ha-Or*, vol. 2, no. 24, 1911, p. 3; *Filasṭīn*, September 17, 1911; *Me'a Shana ve-Od Esrin*, p. 192.

184 *Douin*, pp. 251-270.

185 Report of Lorenzo Johnson, U.S. consul in Jerusalem, to Secretary of State Seward, September 30, 1868, USNA T471.

186 Detailed report from Jaffa, June 30, 1896, French Foreign Ministry Archives in Paris. Thanks to Ran Aharonson for providing these figures.

187 Political report for 1898, ISA 67/1530.

188 *Filasṭīn*, June 29, 1912; statistical report on passengers at Jaffa port, ISA 123-1/10-11. The figure for 1911-1912 should be 4,901, not 4,896.

189 ISA, *ibid.*

190 Baedeker, 1912, p. 7; Press, 1921, p. 253.

No. of Tourists to Jerusalem via Jaffa

Country	June 1910—May 1911	June 1911—May 1912
Britain	957	992
America	1,626	1,321
France	636	386
Germany	895	851
Austria	836	208
Italy	44	465
Russia	195	177
Spain	182	215
Greece	328	7
Switzerland	1	7
Sweden	13	29
Argentina	2	6
Germany	13	—
North Africa	4	—
India	14	99
Ottoman Empire	7	36
Mexico	—	13
Belgium	—	9
Brazil	—	9
Portugal	—	3
Egypt	—	3
Chile	—	60
Japan	6	5
TOTAL	5,759	4,901

francs (£400,000) and, presumably, much of it reached Jaffa and Jerusalem.¹⁹¹ Towards the end of the period, domestic tourism also began to develop, as residents of Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah and the Jewish colonies came to Jaffa in summer to bathe in the sea. Most of the vacationers were Jewish: in 1900 they numbered around 1,000.¹⁹²

Tourism, pilgrimages, foreign trade, and Jewish immigration all contributed to the growth of services, in addition to the increasing local demand. The travel and tourism trade became more diversified. At the turn of the century, Jaffa offered many new hotels, inns,¹⁹³ travel agencies, and shipping companies.¹⁹⁴

191 Ruppin, 1918, p. 80.

192 Yellin, *Ha-Melitz*, no. 229, October 20, 1900, p. 3; D. Smilansky Archives, letter dated June 9, 1906.

193 Smilansky (1907, pp. 65-67) says that in 1905 Jaffa had 10 Jewish, 2 German and several Christian lodging houses.

194 Smilansky, 1907, p. 76. He says that dozens of carriages were operating in the Jaffa environs. They belonged to a small number of owners, who employed non-Jewish drivers. Some of these carriages were used for intercity travel. Before the opening of the railway, 30 Jewish wagoners were working in Jaffa.

Commissioners could be hired to help passengers disembark, release luggage from customs, and secure lodgings, horses and carriages. Ferrying and wagonering services were available, as well as hundreds of porters, guides and escorts, and over 23 *khāns* (in 1905).¹⁹⁵

Restaurants and cafés multiplied, too. Although such establishments had been operating in Jaffa since the early nineteenth century, they became particularly numerous at the turn of the century.¹⁹⁶ In 1905, according to Smilansky, there were 64 restaurants and 81 cafés in Jaffa, in which all the town's ethnic groups were represented.¹⁹⁷ The number of bathhouses also increased, and their standards became higher.¹⁹⁸

In 1905, 20 percent of all Jewish wage-earners were working in the services,¹⁹⁹ compared with 15 percent in the 1916 census,²⁰⁰ and 21 percent in 1887.²⁰¹ This seems to indicate a drop, but the opposite was probably true, since we may assume that many of the wage-earners in the 1916 census who appear in the miscellaneous category were working in the services.

Financial Services

Moneylending, housing rental and moneychanging were the traditional services in this branch. Many Jaffa Arabs owned homes which they rented out for payment one to two years in advance.²⁰² They also leased shops, other types of buildings, groves and farmland, which provided them with a major source of income. In 1905, only nine Jews derived an income from housing rental, and two others, from leasing groves.²⁰³ On the other hand, 27 Jews engaged in moneylending, at interest rates between 18-24 percent and even higher.²⁰⁴

Moneychanging in Jaffa was dominated by Jews from North Africa.²⁰⁵ This was an important service, as currency from many countries was being circulated, and the markets were often short on small change. Large bills were taken to the moneychanger, who charged a fee for his services. It is unclear whether Arabs or Christians also engaged in moneychanging.

195 *Ibid*, pp. 75-77. The large number of sailors and porters in Jaffa is also noted in the Haycraft report in 1921 (p. 2).

196 Visniyakov, in Altbauer, p. 63; Scherer, p. 151-153, pp. 159-162; Smilansky, 1907, pp. 66-67.

197 Smilansky, *ibid*.

198 Protocols of the Jewish Town Committee in Jaffa; Goldmann, 1906.

199 *Ibid*.

200 Census and census draft.

201 Reuven, *Ha-Maggid*, December 18, 1888.

202 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 10-12, 79; Smilansky, *Neve Zedek*, p. 4.

203 Smilansky, 1907, pp. 40, 86.

204 *Ibid*, pp. 86-87.

205 *Ibid*, pp. 81-82; Murād in Eliav, *German Consulate*, pp. 92-93; *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 12, 1882, p. 38; Luncz, 1891, pp. 63-67. Chelouche tells about moneychanging in his autobiography.

The banking system in Syria and Palestine was not very developed prior to World War I, although attempts to establish an Ottoman bank began in 1840, and the Imperial Ottoman Bank opened in 1863.²⁰⁶ When such institutions did make their appearance in Palestine, Jaffa became a major banking center. The establishment of Jaffa's first bank, a private enterprise run by a Jewish family, the Hamburgers, is reported in 1882.²⁰⁷ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the economy grew, branches of the French bank, *Crédit Lyonnaise* (1892), and the *Deutsche-Palästina* bank (1910), opened in Palestine and Jaffa. In 1903, the Anglo-Palestine Company established its first branch in the country in Jaffa. A bank called "Banque Ottomane" also operated in Jaffa, but was privately owned by a group of European businessmen.²⁰⁸

Insurance

The limited insurance business in Syria and Palestine was almost entirely in the hands of foreign companies, whose clientele were the Europeans living in the region. Insurance policies in Palestine amounted to 15 million francs (£600,000), drawing annual premiums of 600,000 francs (£24,000).²⁰⁹ Jaffa-based companies were Sun Insurance, Gershom, and the Basel Company.²¹⁰

*Halukka*²¹¹

Nineteenth and twentieth century authors note that aside from a few former Jerusalemites, no Jaffa Jews received funds from the *halukka*, the system by which Jews living outside of Palestine provided financial support for their brethren in the Holy Land. Jaffa was not one of the four holy cities, and was thus deprived of monies which provided an important source of livelihood in Jerusalem. Unlike their Jerusalem counterparts, the Jews of Jaffa were forced to work for a living, but the reward was greater autonomy in social affairs, and a surge of economic growth unequalled by any other city in Palestine.

206 Ruppin, 1918, pp. 67-71; Lewis, 1968, pp. 110-111.

207 Ita Yellin, p. 34.

208 Grunwald, 1977, pp. 117-120, 291-293; Gross, I, pp. 9-23; Baedaker, 1912, p. 7. Also see Kark, 1976, p. 184.

209 Ruppin, 1918, *op. cit.* The figures sound exaggerated.

210 *Ha-Zvi*, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 4; *Ha-Or*, vol. 1, no. 24, 1910, p. 4; Luncz, *Luah* 5674 (1914), vol. 19, p. 179.

211 For a listing of sources on this subject, see Kark, 1976, p. 184.

In summary, economic growth was one of the central features of Jaffa during the nineteenth century. As the city moved from a traditional to a more modern economy, old and new branches of agriculture, crafts, industry, commerce, building and banking existed side by side. On the whole, however, the production sector seems to have made greater progress than the services.

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חברת אנגליא-פלשתינה [בערבון סונבל]

לונדון, יפו, ירושלים, בירות, חברון, חיפה, צפת.



EPILOGUE

During the 120-year period we have been studying, Jaffa experienced enormous growth and change. From a Middle-Eastern hamlet small in area (25 acres) and population (2,750), emerged a city: a large, heterogeneous coastal town with an area covering almost 400 acres and a population of 50,000. It became a leading economic center in Palestine, and one of the most important in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

To understand the underlying causes and characteristics of this metamorphosis, we have examined the development of Jaffa in various spheres against the backdrop of political events on a local, regional and international level during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the spheres examined were government, demography, social life, economy, physical development (housing construction, transportation, and communications infrastructure), health and education. These developments were viewed from a chronological perspective, with an attempt to identify change, growth or progress in each sphere over the course of time. Now we shall try to explain how these processes interacted with one another.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

One of the clearest indicators of Jaffa's rise as an urban center was its increase in physical size. Comparing maps of built-up area and city landmarks over the years, we see tremendous growth:

Built-up area in Jaffa, 1841-1918
(in dunams; dunam = 1/4 acre)

Year	Total Built-up Area	Area Outside Town Wall
1841-1842	108	14
1876-1880	238	135
1917-1918	1,550	1,447

This was a response to the needs and aspirations of the inhabitants, who sought a solution to the overcrowding in the old city, and who had the financial resources to build. The increase was not only in total built-up area, but in the proportion of land developed outside the town wall. Aside from population growth and availability of capital, the surge of building also reflected political changes which produced an overall improvement in security, made walls and gates less important, and allowed for the rise of a new city alongside the old. The character of the new building reflected changes in cultural norms, and the desire for modernization and higher living standards. Improvements in housing and sanitation were evidence of this, though certain traditions, such as separate ethnic or religious neighborhoods, continued to be upheld.



Map 17: Jaffa: Residential Areas of Religious Groups, 1918

The increase in businesses was a signpost of economic development. New *khāns*, cafés, restaurants, hotels, boarding houses, travel agencies, banks, insurance brokers, factories and steam mills were opening all over Jaffa. Workshops and stores multiplied in the bazaars and outside them, and new markets developed. Between 1882-1907, 400 new shops opened for business. The services were also growing rapidly, judging by the number of buildings erected during this period for religious, administrative, educational, welfare, and medical purposes. The more modern services tended to be located in the

newer sections of town outside the wall, though a physical link with the old center and a sense of contiguity was maintained.

In addition to the increase in buildings for residential, public, and commercial purposes, great strides were made in the transportation and communications infrastructure, both urban and inter-urban. Streets in the old city were widened and paved, new roads were opened, the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and later the roads to Hebron, Nablus and Jericho, were repaired, the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway was completed, and a train station was built in each city. The foreign and Ottoman mails became more efficient, as did the telegraphic services. Some progress was evident in plumbing and waste disposal, water supply, sanitation, maintenance, planning and supervision, registry of buildings and street-lighting.

The physical development described above was one indicator of change, reflecting the culmination of processes at work throughout the period. The development and physical transformation of the city is more easily reconstructed than changes in other spheres, as many of the buildings are still standing and in use today.

GROWTH PROCESSES

The processes which led to the physical expansion of Jaffa are the combined product of population growth and economic prosperity, both commencing in the mid-nineteenth century. Population growth, which continued steadily until World War I, stemmed from foreign and domestic migration, natural increase and the inclusion of rural settlements within the city bounds. Each of these components was influenced by wholly different factors. Foreign immigration was spurred by events in Europe and religious fervor; domestic migration by villagers seeking urban life, the financial difficulties facing smaller towns, and the attraction of new, developing centers. Natural increase was the result of the drop in mortality. Choosing to live in Jaffa was motivated by the search for financial opportunity as well as a more pluralistic, modern lifestyle.

As the immigrant population swelled, cultural, social, economic and physical changes took place in Jaffa. Politically, however, there was less of an impact owing to the *millet* system, the fact that some of these immigrants (Jews and Christians) retained their foreign citizenship, and the relatively minor role of local citizenry in the Ottoman political system, despite the progress in this sphere towards the end of the period.

However, population increase in itself would not have led to physical expansion were it not for the accompanying economic growth. This began to be felt from the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in crafts, domestic and foreign commerce, the construction industry, and the services (especially



Remains in 1960 of sabil built by Abū Nabbūt in Old Jaffa (courtesy of S. Landman)

tourism). The sources indicate that the rate of economic growth in Jaffa exceeded that of Jerusalem and other cities in Palestine. Toward the end of the period, agriculture (citrus, in particular) and manufacturing accounted for much of Jaffa's income. Foreign trade increased from a partial import-export total of £79,000 in 1862 (only six percent accounting for imports) to a balance of trade exceeding two million pounds in 1913 (64 percent of which was imports!). This growth resulted from developments in Palestine and the Ottoman Empire, as well as from technological advances in shipping and transport, the opening of the Suez Canal, the prosperity on the world market toward the end of the period, and a greater sense of competitiveness in the Empire.

That the economy was thriving is clearly indicated by the great demand for property and the rise in real-estate prices. Indeed, land was costly all over Palestine at the end of the Ottoman period, but prices rose particularly steeply in Jaffa and its environs.



Detail of white marble carvings at base of sabīl (courtesy of S. Landman)

Of course, both domestic and foreign factors played a role in economic growth. Side by side with local development and accumulation of wealth, capital was brought in from overseas. Between 1881-1917, the Jews alone invested in Palestine some six million pounds sterling (150 million francs) from foreign sources, i.e. an average of £166,667 a year. Two-thirds came from Zionist and public funds, and the remaining third from private investors and new immigrants.¹ Some of this wealth must have reached Jaffa. By the second decade of the twentieth century, Jewish capital from overseas totalled £240,000 a year; through the Christian churches, Syria and Palestine together gained another £400,000 a year—again, some of this going to Jaffa.² According to

1 A. Ulitzur, *The Palestine Yearbook*, Vol. 3, 1947/8, pp. 351-377.

2 Ruppin, 1918, pp. 9-12, Ulitzur, *ibid.* quotes Ruppin, 1919, p. 53, that the Jews invested £800,000 on urban construction, trade and industry between 1881-1917.

Issawi,³ Palestine was enjoying an annual overseas income of £400,000 in the years before World War I; this figure may be too low if we consider that the revenue of the *mutaşarriflik* of Jerusalem at this time was in the two million pound sterling range. Added to these sums was income from the *halukka*,⁴ the financial activity of foreigners, and the growing tourist and pilgrim trade, which benefited Jerusalem and Jaffa in particular.

Despite the sizeable increase in population and foreign capital, ethnic separatism in business circles was less blatant than in the social and religious spheres, and commercial relations thrived.

The Ottoman government played a smaller role in the economy than in politics and administration. In fact, in matters of local production and industrial development, it actually hindered progress by imposing high taxes on local tradesmen (five to eight percent) and exports, while it exempted foreign traders and imports from protective tariffs.⁵ Only at the end of the period was an eight percent duty, later increased to 11 percent, imposed on imported goods, compared with one percent on exports—because imports were now an important source of government income.⁶ The bureaus of commerce established in Jerusalem and Jaffa at the beginning of the twentieth century were all but ineffectual.⁷

Though propelled in part by external factors, physical, demographic and economic development would have been impossible without political change in the Ottoman Empire and the *mutaşarriflik* of Jerusalem. While it is difficult to prove a causal relationship between the political changes described here and elsewhere, and the developments noted above, the timing and the correspondence of political, demographic, cultural, and physical processes seem to indicate that such a relationship did exist, and that political reforms introduced in the nineteenth century did not remain on paper alone. An attempt does seem to have been made to apply them, in spite of the economic difficulties in the Empire, the bureaucratic weaknesses of the government, and the widespread corruption on the local level. The Ottomans made development possible indirectly, by protecting life and property, improving economic stability, religious tolerance and the status of foreigners, strengthening the Capitulations, granting concessions in the areas of transportation, industry and finance, and permitting the activity of philanthropic, missionary and other

3 Issawi, 1966, pp. 172-173; Ruppin, *op. cit.*

4 Jerusalem's income from the *halukka* in 1914 (according to E. Rivlin, CZA L51/114, April 21, 1914) totalled £140,000. (He may have been referring to 1913.)

5 Ruppin, 1918, pp. 46, 51-54; Avitzur, 1972, p. 25; Scherion, p. 117.

6 Avitzur, 1972, p. 123.

7 *Great Britain*, 1920, p. 125.



Aerial photograph of Jaffa: the old city and suburbs from north and south, 1917, also showing groves, harbor, new boulevard and boulevard opened during World War I (Geography Dept., Hebrew University)

institutions in religious affairs, education, health and welfare. Sometimes, the Ottomans had a direct input; they attempted to improve the urban and inter-urban infrastructure, gave the municipality more authority, opened post offices, banks and bureaus of commerce, changed their taxation policy, and introduced reforms, chiefly administrative, which stood out in contrast to a almost total non-involvement in economic affairs.

INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN URBAN GROWTH

The urban development of Jaffa was influenced by a number of broad constellations, all vying for a foothold in the Holy Land: the Ottoman political system, the European powers, and the Christian, Jewish and Islamic religious networks. Prior to the nineteenth century, Palestine had been no more than a lowly backwater in the Ottoman Empire. This was all but forgotten in the years that followed as the region rose in political and religious significance, and the world powers and religions battled for representation. Jerusalem was the focus of attention, as a universal center of religion and spirituality, but Jaffa, too, was caught up in the web. Urban development in Jaffa was thus a by-product of the development in Jerusalem; it was also influenced by global, regional and local improvements in economy and transportation which spurred growth in other coastal towns in the Middle East (Beirut, for example).

Geographical and environmental factors such as geological and morphological structure, topography, climate, soil, natural resources, and location in the "hinterland" or "foreland", also influence urban growth and development. According to the deterministic approach once popular in classical geography, Jaffa should have remained stationary and unchanged over time. Nothing could be further from the truth, at least during the period in question. The nineteenth century was a time of tremendous change, although the physical features of the town remained much the same for hundreds of years. Hence it is not geography which explains the development of Jaffa, but the cultural penetration described above, and the changing political, demographic and economic situation.

While physical features were neither the source nor the stimulus for change, they played a visible role in the processes which led to it. Thus, for example, Jaffa's natural harbor on a coastline free of inlets, and its relative proximity to Jerusalem, transformed it into Palestine's major port city during the Ottoman period, although the port facilities themselves were badly underdeveloped. The existence of a port near stretches of coastal plain, the availability of land for purchase, the good water supply, and the relatively developed agricultural hinterland, were all helpful in developing the economy, attracting investors, encouraging real-estate transactions, and promoting crafts, manufacturing,

domestic and foreign trade, tourism, etc. As the gateway to Palestine, Jaffa attracted many immigrants and a population very different in character from that of Jerusalem. It was a more modern, secular town, a new *Yishuv* open to economic and social change, the home of the Jewish labor movement and the Zionist organizations.

Geography and topography also played a part in the way the city was built up, inside and outside the walls. Jaffa's location harks back to ancient times: perched on a small hill, it was easily defended and protected from floods. There was a natural harbor, convenient access to inland regions, and *kurkar* ridges which contained the shifting sand dunes, enabling agriculture and, in our day, citrus-growing. With the sea and groves to the west and east, and extensive sand dunes to the south, Jaffa developed southward to some extent. In particular, however, it spread out to the north and northeast where there were vineyards rather than groves, and relatively cheap, unoccupied land. Later, the location of the new neighborhoods was determined by such factors as elevation (of *kurkar* ridges), seasonal flooding, proximity to the sea, availability of water, distance from the old city, and physical and social contiguity; the latter, together with inertia, affected the choice of site when subsequent neighborhoods were built.

In the development of land for commercial purposes, other considerations came into play, such as proximity to the old center, the harbor, and major highways. The old cemeteries to the north and south were an obstacle to continuous development in these directions, and there was no choice but to build around them, as a map of Jaffa in 1918 clearly shows (see Map 18 and photo on p. 297). Al-Ghābi Ḥasan Bey, the Turkish governor of Jaffa, ordered all the cemeteries transferred outside the city during World War I, but nothing was ever done because it was wartime.⁸

From the standpoint of political status, the sub-district of Jaffa was secondary in importance to Jerusalem, the district capital. It was governed by a low-ranking official (a *kaymakam*), who was served by a small army and a few subordinates. For this reason, the Western powers established vice-consulates in Jaffa rather than consulates. On the whole, it was not the Jaffa government which initiated public works, and most such projects were embarked upon by private investors.

Socially, Jaffa continued to be organized along traditional lines, by religious and ethnic group. However, there was also an element of mobility and a lack of uniformity in the population which led to cultural change. This phenomenon was particularly prominent in the Jewish sector, producing what came to be

8 For further details, see: Brawer in Druyanov, 1936; Yodfat, 1969; Karmon, 1971, pp. 231-234. On the activities of Hasan Bey see M.I., 1943, pp. 111-113.



Map 18: Jaffa — Expansion of Built-up Area, 1799-1918

known as the “New Yishuv”. The Jewish community of Jaffa, which was not one of the “holy cities”, was characterized by a spirit of productivity, secularism, modernity and harmony.⁹ In this respect, the contrast with Jerusalem was very strong:

The people of Jaffa differ from Jerusalemites in their conduct and deeds. In the great city of Jerusalem, our brethren are divided into groups and

9 Kark, 1982.

sub-groups, and all follow the old manner of worshipping the Lord and observing His laws. This is all they do, and very few practice the customs of Europe, engage in commerce and trade, and live a free, unencumbered life. Those who do, are called “maskilim” or heretics.¹⁰

Indeed, the controversies, bans and puritanical practices among the Jews of Jerusalem, and the fact that Jaffa had more to offer in terms of location, led the Hibbat Zion movement to establish its headquarters there in 1882, despite the pleadings of Pines, Ben-Yehuda and others “in the name of the sanctity of Jerusalem as the mother city of Palestine...and its national sanctity as the ancient mother city of the nation.”¹¹ Eventually, the Zionist movement and other institutions based their offices and activities in Jaffa for the same reasons:

Jaffa has become the city of centers... The number of central committees and central offices in Jaffa is in the dozens! Here we find the headquarters of the Anglo-Palestine Company, the Jewish Colonization Association, the Zionist Information Bureau, Hibbat Zion, Geula, the Palestine Office, the labor unions, Ivriya, the Teachers’ Association and, when the congress is in session, the Zionist Federation...¹²

By the end of the period, Jaffa had become the political and cultural capital of the New Yishuv.

In the spheres of Jewish culture and art, education and, above all, literature and journalism, Jaffa had much to offer: theater, music, both traditional and modern secular education, Hebrew language programs, and more.¹³ By the end of the period, 29 Jewish newspapers were appearing in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. These included professional, unionist, literary, scientific and national publications.¹⁴

Accompanying the demographic, social and cultural changes was a surge of economic growth. This was evident in all sectors: agriculture, crafts, commerce, manufacturing, construction, and services. Thanks to its physical endowments, Jaffa was chosen as a center of commerce even before the Ottoman period. Jaffa’s advantages over Jerusalem were carefully weighed by

10 *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 21, 1891, pp. 237-238; Kaniel, *Shalem*, 3.

11 For a discussion of the competition between Jaffa and Jerusalem, see Kaniel, *Shalem*, 3 and Kark, 1982.

12 Munchik (Avi Ephraim), *Ha-Po’el Ha-Tza’ir*, vol. 7, no. 12, 1908, p. 13.

13 Talpir, *Gazit*, vol. 21, no. 9-12, 1963-1964, p. 14.

14 Pevzner, 1932, pp. 2-21; *Ha-Tzofe*, *Ha-Po’el Ha-Tza’ir*, vol. 6, no. 23, March 14, 1913, p. 12; Luncz, *Luah 1913*, vol. 18, pp. 177-178.

Mordechai Tsoref in the 1840s, when the opening of a spinning factory was being considered.¹⁵ Jaffa was found preferable to Jerusalem for the following reasons: the difficulty in transporting machinery, lumber, and iron to Jerusalem, the need for water, the low real-estate prices and unlimited building opportunities in Jaffa, the lower construction costs, and the possibility of shipping building materials from Betar (Tīra) and Caesarea, and coal from Beirut. In short, Jaffa offered a harbor, a sea-side location, savings in transport, and plentiful water. In the course of the nineteenth century, the advantages multiplied: Jaffa's rise as a transit point to Jerusalem and a stopover between Palestine and Europe, the establishment of Jewish and German colonies near Jaffa, and possibly, the development of Arab villages along the coast and Sharon region, which became more accessible due to improvements in infrastructure and transportation. The widening belt of citrus groves around the city was another source of attraction.

If we add to Jaffa's natural endowments the character of the population with its greater practical orientation to life and spirit of adventurism in business—and this applies not only to the Jews and Germans, as is sometimes thought—we can begin to appreciate why Jaffa emerged as the leading economic center in Palestine.

On the assumption that many developments in politics, society, economy, etc. involve not just cities but civilization on a broader scale, we have examined Jaffa's development in the context of the Ottoman Empire of which it was part. However, if, as it is said, the rise and fall of empires directly affects the rise and fall of cities, the urban development in the crumbling Ottoman Empire would seem difficult to explain. Furthermore, we have not established to what extent the reforms in the nineteenth century were motivated by internal factors or by pressure from without. In Jaffa, the impetus for change was apparently a combination of the two, though again, the proportions are difficult to ascertain. Once in motion, however, the process was self-propelling. In concert, the Ottoman Empire, Western powers, churches, Jewish institutions, philanthropic organizations, and new immigrants set Jaffa on the road to population growth and economic prosperity, and transformed it into Palestine's leading city.

15 Letter of Rabbi Mordechai Tsoref to his father, Rabbi Zalman Tsoref, in Jerusalem, 10 Av 1845, in Triwaks, 1938, p. 148.



Aerial photograph of Old Jaffa in 1936 showing outline of old wall and location of major buildings (Geography Dept., Hebrew University)

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