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LEBANON DURING THE RULE OF IBRAHIM PASHA
(1832-1840)
AS SEEN BY BRITISH AND FRENCH TRAVELLERS

by
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PREFACE

I wish to express deep thanks to my adviser, Professor Kamal S. Salibi, whose guidance and kind assistance were invaluable.

I also would like to thank the History Department as well as the staff of the Jafet Library for all their co-operation.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to draw a picture of Lebanon as it existed during the rule of Ibrahim Pasha (1832-1840) as seen through the eyes of British and French travellers. The journals of the travellers are useful not only in providing the necessary details for such a study; they also throw light on the attitudes and opinions of the foreigners towards a Lebanon that was just beginning to become seriously involved in the Eastern Question.

This study is based entirely on the foreign accounts. It cannot claim to be complete, however, since the writer was limited by the number of books available.

This study is divided into two sections: the first is an attempt to re-create the Lebanese scene as it existed during the 1832-1840 period through the eyes of the British travellers; and the second is the same, only based on the reports of the Frenchmen. Both sections include the personal attitudes and opinions of the travellers towards the people and the government of Lebanon.

A general consideration of the events leading up to and including the Egyptian rule of Lebanon is supplied in the introduction. A comparison of the British and French opinions expressed in the journals is also included in the preliminary statement.

Although the rule of Ibrahim Pasha in Lebanon was short, it was not uneventful. It imposed on the people a new governmental order that changed the lives of many, and made misery and oppression commonplace. The forced conscription of all Muslims, a very harsh tax-system, occasional orders of forced labour, seizure of beasts of burden for the use of the army, and the total disarmament of the population were the main grievances against Ibrahim's rule. Although Mount Lebanon remained nominally under the aegis of Bashir, its citizens were subject to the same rules and regulations as all the Syrians; the only distinction was that they were directly responsible to their Emir, who, in turn, was responsible to Ibrahim.

These and other aspects of Lebanon are reviewed by the foreigners. They mention the main towns and villages; the inhabitants and their customs; and also the state of the industry, agriculture and economics. It is impossible to claim a single attitude on the part of either the French or the British travellers as a whole; they had little or no contact with one another, and even then very often reflect conflicting opinions on the same subject. A few outstanding observations may be pointed out, however.

Maybe the most obvious one is the French distinction of their co-religionists, the Maronites, as the "special" people of Lebanon, indeed of all of the Orient. The Frenchmen on the whole were very aware of the internal set-up of Lebanon, especially of its social order and economic system.

The British were more remote than the French in mentioning the details of the Lebanese affairs, although they were not lacking in information. They did not show any special interest in a political or religious group.

Finally, it is obvious from the travel accounts that rivalry and dislike between the French and British, whether businessmen, missionaries, politicians, or travellers, existed in Lebanon during the period under study.

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INTRODUCTION

The occupation of Lebanon by Ibrahim Pasha was of decisive importance to the subsequent history of the country. The policy of the Egyptian Pasha, who was aided by the Emir Bashir, established two features of long-lasting effect; the religious animosity between the Druzes and the Maronites that was to culminate in the troubles of 1860; and the Anglo-French rivalry that was to entangle the interval affairs of Lebanon in the complexities of the Eastern Question.

In order to appreciate the changes brought about by the foreign rule of Ibrahim from 1832 to 1840, it will be necessary to examine all aspects of the internal status of Lebanon during the period. This study is concerned with re-constructing the entire Lebanese scene as it then existed.

The sources used are journals of two different groups of travellers, one British, the other French. The compiling of the two sets of reports not only make it possible to draw a picture of Lebanon as it then existed; they also throw light on the different attitudes of the British and the French towards all the affairs of the country, both internal and external.

The conquest of Syria began when Ibrahim Pasha, charged by his father to direct the Syrian expedition, laid siege to

Acre in November 1831. He was firmly supported by the Emir Bashir.

It took Ibrahim seven months before he could finally overcome Acre. In the meantime, Bashir and his sons helped him by capturing in his name Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli. The Egyptian army occupied Dayr al-Qamar and Bayt al-Din. When, in 1832, Acre fell, the acquisition of the rest of Syria was of no trouble to Ibrahim.

When the Egyptian took over the government of all of Syria, Bashir became a tool in his hands. The Lebanese Emir was at the mercy of Ibrahim since he had by now completely burned his bridges with the Porte; he had no alternative but to work alongside the powerful Egyptian Pasha. He lost his popularity with his people; he was no longer an autonomous ruler in his own province.

At first, the new régime was welcomed in Lebanon, especially in the large towns. The people were weary of Turkish anarchy and corruption. The Christians in particular were joyful about the new government since it did not continue the Turkish policy of religious persecution. The Egyptian government established a good judiciary system, a strong police force, and other efficient civil works. X

But as time passed, and the foreign government began to oppress the people with heavy taxes and forced conscription of all Muslims, the spirit of discontent set in. The total disarmament of the population was of even greater detriment

to the popularity of the Egyptians. Furthermore, the conscription of non-Christian caused enmity and bitterness between the Christians and Muslims, and between the Maronites and Druzes of Lebanon. Bashir did nothing to heal the breach between the religious groups in his land. On the contrary, he deliberately tried to cause further dissent in order to weaken the population and thus gain the upper hand.

The Revolution of 1840 was a joint Maronite-Druze uprising that rid Lebanon of Bashir, and all of Syria of Ibrahim. The insurgents were helped by British agents at work in Lebanon; Austria, Prussia and Russia also supported the rebels. France was isolated in her defence of Ibrahim Pasha. The Treaty of London, signed on July 15, 1840, did not include France. The bombardment of Beirut in September 1840 by Sir Charles Napier, and the consequent defeat of Egyptian forces brought matters to a head. Bashir was expelled from Lebanon; the British placed in his stead Bashir III as Emir of Lebanon. Ibrahim Pasha withdrew his forces from Syria.

But Lebanon could no longer return to what it had been before the advent of Ibrahim. It could not become a semi-independent and remote province of the Ottoman Empire once again. When Bashir cast his lot with Muhammad Ali against the Porte, he involved Lebanon in the intricate and complexities of the Eastern Question; the internal affairs of the country were to become an international concern from then on.

Thus the 1832 to 1840 period in Lebanon brought about the destruction of the united front of the country by the

the ascendancy of religious antagonistic groupings; and, at the same time, it put Lebanon into the arena of international politics.

The third decade of the Nineteenth Century in Europe was one of comparative peace. The extended commercial relations between various countries, the increased use of the steamboat, and all other facilities of travel, helped to bring travellers to the Orient. The foreigners whose journals are used in this study were of diverse occupations: doctors, poets, businessmen, writers, and politicians. They did not all come to Lebanon with the same purpose in mind. They did not therefore notice the same things. Many dwelt extensively on the beauty of the landscape; it has not been included here, because of irrelevance to the major concern of the study.

A closer look at the observations and opinions expressed by the British and French travellers will show that while it is impossible to claim a distinct attitude for each national group, certain general remarks may be inferred. Since there was little or any association between the travellers the following points cannot claim to be absolute.

Before it is possible to give a comparison of the British and French journals' attitude towards Lebanon, its politics and its people, a point of clarification is necessary. The term "Lebanon" as it then existed applied to the area under

the aegis of Bashir, i.e. Mount Lebanon. However, in this study, the towns along the coast, (Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre) and the interior plains of the Biqā are included in the over-all consideration of the Egyptian rule. In other words, this study includes all the places that constitute modern Lebanon; it is not confined to the Lebanon of Bashir II. X

Both the British and the French travellers agree that the people of Mount Lebanon are especially noteworthy because of their diligence and independent nature. It is generally accepted that the Druzes and Maronites of Mount Lebanon owe their outstanding characteristics of intelligence and ability for hard-work to their situation in the mountains; the remoteness of the secluded mountain areas, and the autonomy of the Emirs until the advent of Ibrahim, all served to give the people a sense of security.

The Frenchmen showed particular interest in the Maronites. One of our travellers, Lamartine, even glorifies them to the extent of seeing them as the only possible saviours of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. The Maronites were lauded mostly because they were Catholics, and were much influenced by European ways of living. Their historic ties with France are also considered. There is no doubt at all throughout the French journals that the Maronite community of Lebanon is set apart from other groups. The British do not seem as enthusiastic towards the Maronites. To start with, they are not

so prominent in the British journals as they are in the French. Then, the British see them as the people who received arms from Ibrahim Pasha to rise against their neighbours, the Druzes.

The Druzes are praised by both the French and the British for their many qualities: diligence and hospitality were the two mentioned most frequently. The Druzes were proud and talented warriors; this accounted for the respect accorded them by the travellers. More knowledge on the hierarchies of the Druze and Maronite families is supplied by the French than by the British. However, the fact might merely be a co-incidence due to the particular works available for this study.

The town of Beirut was in the midst of its economic growth. It had recently become the port for all of Syria; its position was central for commercial and diplomatic concerns. The foreign community was sizeable; a number of Foreign Consuls were established there. It is obvious from the descriptions of the travellers that the French consulate was superior in efficiency and size than was the British one. A number of European commercial houses were set up in Beirut. There was also a hotel and a pharmacy. The Lazaretto quarantine system, established by Ibrahim, is treated with mixed feelings by both the French and the British. It is surmised that although its principle was basically sound, its efficiency, order, and effectiveness left much to be desired.

The silk industry of Beirut is noted by all.

The administration of Lebanon was divided into two sections: the area under the rule of Bashir, that is, Mount Lebanon, was left entirely to the Emir; and the towns along the coast, and the Biqā plain were part of the Egyptian administration of Syria. Of the former, it is noted that the Emir was the autocrat of his province, although he had to submit to Ibrahim's orders. In his country he was in charge of his people although he received his orders from Ibrahim.

The Egyptian administration of the coastal towns and the Biqā was obviously sound in conception. But the actual working of the system left much to be desired, due probably to the corruption and incompetence of the local administrators. Both the British and the French recognize the competence of the system, and admit that its faults lay mostly in the dishonesty of the civil servants.

A solid judiciary was set up with an arbitration court, known as the Divan. The taxes and tariffs were legalised and enforced throughout the country, although they were very severe. The security felt by the travellers in their journeys from one town to the other is always mentioned.

Since France was more actively engaged in commerce with the Levant, it is natural that the French journals should supply more information on the economic aspects of the Egyptian rule. British trade with Beirut had just begun to reach sizeable proportions; it was not as long-established as that

of France.

The tolerance to the Christians that was a characteristic of the Egyptian rule in Syria was always important in the considerations of both groups of travellers. It was always a point in Ibrahim's favour, since the Christians, as rayahs in the Ottoman Empire, had suffered persecution in the past. The Christian population therefore supported and welcomed Ibrahim. The Maronites of Mount Lebanon were with him until the disarmament and rumours of a general conscription to include Christians began.

The journals of the British do not mention very much about the Revolution of 1840. The French deny any form of participation, blaming it entirely on the British. The French claim that the Christians would have only themselves to blame for being persecuted once again after 1840 because they ousted Ibrahim.

Religion is recognized as an important feature of the political life of Lebanon by both groups of travellers. There is little doubt as to which sect the French prefer; they openly refer to the superiority of the Christians, especially the Maronites. It is not very clear from the reports of the Britishers as to which sect they favoured.

An evaluation of the rôle of Bashir in the events of the 1832-1840 period based on the reports of our travellers will show that the French had mixed feelings about his responsibility. Some of the Frenchmen see him as caught in a

trap and unable to act otherwise; others say he brought himself and his country to their doom by being too ambitious and greedy. The English are not so emphatic or vehement in their appraisal of the Emir. They do not seem as aware as the French of the intricacies of the politics of Lebanon. They see Bashir as a quaint figure, an autocratic yet beloved ruler.

Both the British and the French travellers as two groups, and as individuals, had their own prejudices, and often their own pre-conceived notions. One must also take into account their incomplete information on certain subjects, their knowledge often based on hearsay, and, with the exception of a few, their ignorance of the language. They are all strongly nationalistic, and lose no opportunity to sing the praises of their respective nations. They also show that there was little love lost between the British and the French in Lebanon and the Near East.

This study, then, proposes to give a picture of Lebanon as it existed during the rule of Ibrahim Pasha as seen through the eyes of British and French travellers. It does not claim to be an absolutely complete picture since the journals were all written from different angles, and do not throw light on the same subjects, whether political, social, or economic. Taken alone, each journal would not supply sufficient and conclusive information; but compiled together and weighed one group against the other, much interesting, informative and clarifying evidence is supplied.

CHAPTER I

LEBANON DURING THE RULE OF IBRAHIM PASHA (1832-1840)

AS SEEN BY BRITISH TRAVELLERS

In order to visualize Lebanon as it was under the rule of Ibrahim Pasha it would be necessary to consult contemporary accounts. It will be our concern here to reconstruct the prevailing internal situation during the years of Egyptian rule by basing it upon reports of British travellers. An attempt will be made to present as fully as possible the general conditions of the country, as well as to give a brief sketch of the political and economical scene as it then existed. By thus relying on the remarks and observations of the Englishmen, it will be possible to come to ^a ~~an~~ ~~inclusive~~ consideration of the effect of the foreign rule in Lebanon.

The Englishmen that will be referred to all visited Lebanon between the years 1832 and 1840. They were of different professions and had diverse interests; thus their journals do not always throw light on the same aspect. Edward Hogg, a medical doctor, started his journey in the summer of 1832.¹ He published his book three years later. It

1. Hogg, Edward, Visit to Alexandria, Damascus and Jerusalem during the Successful Campaign of Ibrahim Pasha, in two volumes, London, 1835.

is based on extracts of letters to his personal friends and sections from his private diary. His information on matters political is rather limited due to his lack of well-defined interest in any particular subject during his travels. He embarked upon the journey as an objective observer, and rarely did he go out of his way to pursue a question or problem deeply.

Charles G. Addison was a legal writer whose journey to Lebanon was started in the Autumn of 1835.¹ He was a well-known author of legal text-books. His book takes on the form of a diary with dated entries. He had a very decided opinion of the political situation of the country, and especially of the Egyptian rule, and expressed it with the assurance and confidence of a lawyer.

A.W. Kinglake made his well-known journey in 1835.² His writings, although very romantic and of lucid style, are not very factual; he dwells more on personal impressions. Furthermore, and with reference to our subject, he does not spend much time in Lebanon. However, it is useful to consult him on certain topics.

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1. Addison, Charles G., Damascus and Palmyra: a Journey to the East, with a sketch of the state and prospects of Syria under Ibrahim Pasha, in two volumes, London, 1838.
 2. Kinglake, A.W., Eothen, London, 1943.

John Kinnear travelled in the spring and summer of 1839.¹ He was evidently a business man for he expressed the object of his visit to the Levant as being mercantile. However, he proves to be very much interested in and observant of happenings around him. The book is a series of letters he wrote while on his journey. In publishing them, he endeavours to make known to England that the Egyptian rule is not as bad as it is generally described to be.

The topographer W.H. Bartlett made several trips to the East.² The voyage we are concerned with took place in 1834-1835. His book is richly illustrated and carries descriptive texts by John Carne. It is informative and objective.

Walter Keating Kelly, although he makes no mention of his own trip to the East, has based his book on "incidents of history and travel" from his contemporaries.³ We are concerned only with the Englishmen he cited whose voyages coincided with the Egyptian rule of Lebanon. Although the book tends to be confusing because of the number of sources,

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1. Kinnear, John, Cairo, Petra and Damascus in 1835. With remarks on the government of Mehemet Ali and on the Present Prospects of Syria, London, 1841.
 2. Bartlett, W.H. and others, Syria, the Holy Land and Asia Minor, with description of plates by John Carne, London, 1836-1839.
 3. Kelly, Walter Keating, Syria and the Holy Land: Their Scenery and their People, London, 1844.

it provides information both interesting and useful.

John Bowring was a well-known writer, traveller, and ^{Ksh} linguist of his time. He held many and varied jobs. In 1831 he was appointed secretary to the commission for inspecting the accounts of the United Kingdom; the first report made by the commission led to a complete change in the English exchequer. He also investigated the silk trade of France. When he lost his seat in Parliament in 1837, he travelled to Egypt, Syria, and Turkey on a commercial mission for the government, well-equipped with a knowledge of Arabic. The report he made on Syria was presented to both Houses of Parliament, and was submitted on July 17, 1839.¹ Throughout the report, he cites commercial statistics furnished by the British Consuls-General stationed in different parts of Syria. The report provides much valuable information regarding the general conditions of the people dominated by the foreign rule of Ibrahim Pasha. It does not dwell very much on the status of the people of Mount Lebanon; it is more concerned with the people of the towns.

John Barker served as British Consul-General in Egypt and Syria for fifty years from 1799-1849. His experiences were compiled from his letters and journals by his son, and published in 1876.²

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1. Bowring, John, Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria, London, 1840.
 2. Barker, John, Syria and Egypt Under the Last Five Sultans, ed. E.B.B. Barker, in two volumes, London, 1876.

The "Lebanon" that is referred to by the travellers is that part of Syria that the Emir Bashir ruled. Its northern boundaries extended to the territory of Tripoli, and its southern boundaries were between Sidon and Tyre. It was bound on the one side by the sea, with the exception of Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon; and on the other, by the plains of Baalbec. The whole area is estimated to have been about one-hundred twelve miles in length, and thirty-six in breadth. It contained ten districts, and had about five-hundred villages.¹

The composition of the inhabitants of Lebanon in the third decade of the Nineteenth Century was not unlike that of today. Maronites, Druzes, Catholics and schismatic Greeks, Sunnis, Mitwalis, ^{Armenians} Jews, Zeuts, Arabs and wandering gypsies made up the population which is referred to collectively as the "intelligent, active and industrious people of Mount Lebanon".²

The Maronites, who were the majority, are usually cited as being a hard-working diligent people. The cultivation of their land in Northern Lebanon is compared to the neglected yet fertile and rich non-Maronite Biqā plain.³ They were happy under the Egyptian rule because their freedom of religion was not tampered with. They are said to have been universally

1. Bowring, op.cit., p. 127.

2. Kinnear, op.cit., p. 339.

3. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 33.

educated, even though to a limited extent, and thus earned a certain superiority over the rest of the Lebanese.¹

The Druzes, the second largest group after the Maronites, lived mostly in Southern Lebanon, the Western slopes of Anti-Lebanon and Jebel Sheikh. They are described as "the most courageous population in Lebanon".² Reference is made to a powerful Maronite family, Bayt al-^{Khazin}Qasim, who sought security in alliance with the Druze Janbalats in the districts of Kisrawan and Bsharri.³ However, there was little intercourse between the Christians and the Druzes, due to the animosity between them. The four main Druze towns that had "khalwehs" (religious edifices) for religious books and war standards were: Ammatur and Ba'qlin in Lebanon; and Hasbayya and Rashayya in Anti-Lebanon.⁴ X

With very few exceptions, almost all Druzes, and certainly all the men of Mount Lebanon, were land-owners. The Druzes were especially good farmers; their great activity in the cultivation of land is mentioned. Special note is made of the water-courses they constructed to convey water into the hearts of the mountains. Large land-holders were few; only the Emirs of Lebanon held extensive land which they

1. Kelly, op.cit., p. 97.

2. Ibid., p. 143.

3. Ibid., p. 146.

4. Ibid., p. 144.

either cultivated themselves, or rented to tenants.

The strong rivalry between the Druzes and Christians, Christians and Muslims, and between the various sects of Christians is mentioned a number of times. The Christian-Muslim rivalry was bitterly agitated by the forced conscription of all Muslim men by Ibrahim. Thus while the Christian male population continued to thrive, their Islamic counterparts became reluctant members of Ibrahim's army. The rivalry between the various sects of the Christians was so strong that one traveller observed one sect would prefer the triumph of Islam rather than that of a differing Christian sect.¹ The Christians on the whole are said to be satisfied with the rule of Ibrahim Pasha. It is the Muslims who are bitter, and deeply deplore the loss of their superiority in the eyes of the Egyptian government.

The Mitwālis were the outlaws of Lebanon. They inhabited Baalbec and the Anti-Lebanon range, and were hated by Christians and Sunnis alike. They were useful in the revolt that finally drove the Egyptians out of Lebanon. Little mention otherwise is made of them. The travellers are taken up mostly by the Maronites and Druzes.²

1. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 29.

2. But we do know that many of the Mitwalis of the Baalbec region, who when they were in hard straits financially because of Egyptian taxes, sold their daughters as slaves in Homs and Hama in September 1839. The average price was 700 to 900 piasters per girl. Kelly, op.cit., p. 140.

The count of population in the principal towns differ so much with each traveller that it is difficult to claim precision in any statement. Syria had no official register. However, general statistics may be inferred in order to obtain a mental view of the distribution of people.¹ The Maronites of the whole area were probably around 220,000; the Druzes 70,000.² Beirut was a city where the Christians were in the majority although the figure of the total population wavers between 12,000 and 15,000. Tripoli had a population of 16,000, one third of which were Christians.³ Sidon was a Muslim city with a population of 8,000 or 9,000.⁴ Tyre was a small Greek Christian town with a population between 2,000 and 5,000.⁵ Baalbec's population was sadly diminished in the wars of the third decade of the Century. Where it used to have 5,000 inhabitants in 1751, in 1839 it had only about 200.⁶ Zahli, a Maronite town, contained between 3,000 and 4,000 people, although it seemed smaller to Addison.⁷

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1. The best information on the number is obtained from the "firdi" tax returns. Both Kinnear and Kelly refer specifically to the tax return as their sources, yet mention that it is only a count for the males between the ages of 15 and 60, excluding Maronite priests.
 2. Kinnear, op.cit., v. I, p. 244.
 3. Bartlett, op.cit., v. I, p. 206.
 4. Ibid., v.II, p. 47.
 5. Hogg, op.cit., v. II, p.145
Bartlett, op.cit., v.II, p. 44.
Kelly, op.cit., p. 311.
 6. Addison, op.cit., v. II, pp. 72-73.
 7. Ibid., p. 49.

The appearance and conditions of the principal towns of Lebanon are referred to by most of the travellers. The impression one has of Beirut is that although it might be considered the "best residence in Syria"¹ because of its naturally beautiful situation and scenery, the city itself was not very pleasant. The streets were narrow and gloomy; they were made even more so by the number of stone houses that flanked either side, and by the scarcity of shops.² Due to the importance of Beirut as the port of Damascus, it grew considerably during the period under discussion. By 1839, Kinnear remarked on the progress being made in improvement of the town. Old houses were demolished and new and more comfortable ones were coming up instead; streets were being widened and paved; and although many of the new homes and shops were built on speculation, they had no trouble finding tenants.³ Indeed, the rent of the houses has risen exorbitantly. There were a number of foreigners in Beirut, made up of Franks, missionaries and merchants. The city had many churches, and was accorded a great number of religious privileges.⁴

Mention is made of a wealthy class of Christians who live in Beirut. Their habits and dress exceed those of

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1. Bartlett, op.cit., v. II, p. 9.
 2. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 9.
 3. Kinnear, op.cit., pp. 241-242.
 4. Bartlett, op.cit., v. II, p. 10.

the general population. They live in the luxury of civilized society. Before the rule of Ibrahim Pasha, they were refugees in Mount Lebanon. But with the advent of the tolerant Egyptian rule they returned to Beirut.¹

Tripoli has recently increased its plantations of mulberry and olive trees. The population is mostly concerned with its trade and agriculture. Mention is made of the restlessness of the people, however, in the political set-up of Syria. Tripoli is a vulnerable spot in the map of the country; it would most likely be the place where the Sultan would combine with the Druzes and all the dissatisfied people of Lebanon to combat Ibrahim.² There is one regiment of Egyptian infantry stationed in Tripoli.³

Sidon in 1832 bore traces of Turkish rule and the Egyptian war. There were many Egyptian troops stationed there, and also a number of refugees from Acre.⁴ By 1839, however, there was bustle and action in the well-stocked bazaars, and the town seemed to be setting itself up once again.⁵

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1. Bowring, op.cit., p. 119.
 2. Ibid., p. 125.
 3. Ibid., p. 26.
 4. Hogg, op.cit., v. II, p. 129.
 5. Kinnear, op.cit., v. I, p. 232.

Tyre also bore traces of the recent hostilities. The poverty and abjection of the people in 1832 was striking. The town itself is referred to as a "straggling repulsive village of low scattered dwellings, with a few squalid inhabitants loitering on the beach..."¹ It contained one mosque, a bazaar and three poor Christian churches.² The situation appears to improve for the new rule of Ibrahim brings with it security for the Christians; thus Tyre, which was predominantly Christian, took the initiative to work and industry.

Baalbec, a Moslem town with only five Christian families, was also seen as a desolate place. The whole area was in a state of decadence. The Seraglio of the Emir that used to exist no longer stood, and there was evidence all around of famine and pestilence since the conquest of Ibrahim.³

Zahli, which was mostly Maronite, is referred to in passing as having low mud-huts filled with a "squalid population of old men and children" whose eyes were covered with flies.⁴

Thus we have an idea of what the population, its distribution and the main towns were like during the travels

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1. Hogg, op.cit., v. II, .p. 142.
 2. Bartlett, op.cit., v. II, p. 44.
 3. Addison, op.cit., v. II, pp. 72-73.
 4. Ibid., p. 49.

of our Englishmen. Before we consider any concrete political and economic factors of the era, it would be helpful if we regarded the administrative features of Ibrahim's rule that came under the observation of the travellers.

The Governor General of Syria resides at Damascus. He is Sharif Pasha. He is described as being a dignified, severe, and withdrawn person.

The Divan, known as the "Divan Medjlis esh-chara el-ali" or the "High Council of Law" was made up of a President who bore the title "Moufti", signifying his position as chief doctor of the law; the Vice-President, with the title "Nakib"; and thirteen members, including a Christian to be named by members of the Council, and a Jew to be named by Ibrahim. The two non-Muslims operated on the Council only two months a year. All the sentences and proceeds of the Council were referred to Sharif Pasha, the Pasha of Damascus, and Bahri Bey. All the members of the Court were landowners and village chieftains. At the time of Kinnear's writings, they included the son of Asad Pasha, a cousin of the Mutasellim of Damascus, and a son of the Mutasellim of Damascus.¹

Laws and decrees are usually published by a citation of the parties before the governmental authority. This is done either personally, or before the Divan, or even by a

1. Kinnear, op.cit., p. 326.

written modification to it. Firmans from Egypt are sent to the Divan which hears it first, then communicates its message to the people.¹

The administration of Mount Lebanon is left to Emir Bashir. His area is divided into ten districts, each one ruled by a Prince of his family. Every village has a chief selected by Bashir and chosen from amongst the rich inhabitants. The chieftain is the Justice of the Peace, and also the tax-collector of his village.²

The clergy keep a record of the births, marriages and deaths in the villages. But it is Bashir himself who can give permission for marriages to take place. There are three judges besides Bashir in Lebanon: a Druze at Dayr al-Qamar; a Maronite bishop at Ghazir; and a Maronite priest at Zghorta. Muslims are judged according to Shafi'i laws.

Other aspects of the administration of Lebanon under Ibrahim Pasha are considered by the travellers: the health, the education, and the public works systems of the country.

Syria is a country where the mortality rate is very high. There is great want of scientific medical aid for the numerous diseases that exist. The people of the mountainous

1. Bowring, op.cit., p. 103.

2. Ibid., p. 127.

areas are healthy because they enjoy good food and a healthy climate. The people of the cities are different. Mention is made especially of the towns of Tripoli and Beirut; the lack of ventilation in the homes, the narrow streets, and the poor living conditions all contribute towards a high mortality rate.

The Egyptian government set up a quarantine system in Beirut. It was first under the control of a Board of European Consuls, but was later placed under the Governor with the special management of an Italian. It is subordinate in some ways to the Egyptian Board of Alexandria.¹

The Lazaretto of Beirut is where Addison had to stay when he first arrived there. Bowring maintains that the quarantine headquarters have done nothing to banish the plague. He states that the whole system is a great nuisance to the people who are forced to stay there. Its regulations are absurd, and it is doubtful whether there is a single man in all of Syria who is capable of deciding what is plague and what is not. The ignorance of the physicians is appalling. Bowring sees the "self-styled physicians" of the Board of Health as without any indication of education or aptitude.²

Little care is given by the Egyptian government to the education of Lebanon. The schools that are noticed by the

1. Ibid., p. 96.

2. Ibid., p. 100.

travellers are usually parochial. However, it is mentioned that the educational life of the country did advance under the rule of Ibrahim Pasha due to the efforts made by Catholic and Protestant missions; the tolerance with which the latter were treated allowed for the setting-up of their own schools.¹

Since 1835, the primary schools for Muslims used the system of Nizam (i.e. government schools) that was used in Egypt. The schools are not particularly good. No books are used; the students learn by repetition.²

There is in Beirut a very good school that is attached to the Greek church. It was started by a Mr. Ross of Blandenburg for the study of Greek.³

There are a number of American schools in Beirut. There is in particular a large school that is attached to the grounds of the American Mission and which is said to be "more deserving of the name of college than any other institution in Syria."⁴ The students study classical Arabic, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, chemistry, and English. The expenses, which are paid by public subscription in the United States, are between five and six-thousand dollars a

1. Ibid., p. 106

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

year. It is because of this Mission school that the Christians of Beirut are so well-educated.

There are small schools in Sidon and Tripoli, where the teaching is limited to psalms and catechism. In the villages, education is also limited; the children are merely taught how to read^d and write from the priests.

There is a Maronite school at Ayn Waraka that has fifty to sixty ~~scholars~~ ^{students} who are taught how to read and write Arabic.

At the time of Bowring's report, there was talk of the establishment of an orphanage for the Maronites of Mount Lebanon.¹

There is only one printing press, and it exists in Shwayr. It is run by the Greek Catholics. Its output is mainly in the way of printed gospels and prayer books.

The medical education is lacking and very backward.

One of the first steps taken by Ibrahim Pasha in Syria was to build barracks and hospitals for his soldiers in all the important towns including Beirut.² There were other evidences of public works set up for the benefit of the people. The water-courses were cleared and improved. But the roads were in a deplorable condition and needed much repair. During the rainy season, travel becomes almost impossible. For private travel, there is in the principal towns a man appointed

1. Ibid., p. 107.

2. Barker, op.cit., v. II, pp. 203-204.

to be the chief of post animals; he is known as Kavadgi Bashi. His job is to procure and furnish animals for personal conveyance and baggage, at the prices set by the government.¹

There was much efficiency in the enforcement of all laws. Police regulations are said to have been strict, and were carried out implicitly. Facilities for travellers were much helped by the administration which emanated security to foreigners. There was no such an idea as a privileged class. Special mention is made as an example of this pertaining to the Governor of Beirut who was punished severely because he had abused his power.²

Since the Ottoman rule had always been primarily Islamic, much notice is given by the travellers to the very liberal treatment of the Christians by the Egyptian rule. More reference to this subject will be made later in this report. Suffice it here to mention therefore some of the measures of freedom given to the Christian population of Lebanon.³

1. Bowring, op.cit., p. 47.

2. Kinnear, op.cit., p. 332.

3. It was not only to the Christians that unprecedented liberty was accorded. Sir Moses Montefiore, head of a deputation sent by the Church of Scotland to inquire into the conditions of the Jews of Palestine, was in Beirut to ask Muhammad Ali for permission to establish a Hebrew colony in Palestine. Ibid., p. 257.

A legate of the Maronite Patriarch was allowed to come to decisions for all religious matters.¹ All civil affairs of the Maronites were laid before the Emir Bashir. The heads of all the sects of Christians (and Jews) were appointed to collect taxes from their co-religionists, in this way avoiding the possibility of extortion and various forms of bribery.

The establishment of missionary schools in Lebanon was tolerated by the government in spite of the fact that the subjects they taught included religion and European history. There were a number of American missionaries who taught the children of the Maronites, the Druzes and the Armenians, and actively participated in life of Beirut, yet the government did not try to stop their activities.

Furthermore, it was only in Lebanon that church bells were allowed to ring. On his way from Antum to Hadeed, Hogg was at first puzzled by the sound of church bells until he recalled the allowance made to Lebanese Christians.²

1. This was not entirely true with the case of Assad Al Shidiac whose conversion to Protestantism caused him to be imprisoned by the Maronites of Canobin. However, after the missionaries' protest, Ibrahim ordered a search of the monastery in order to retrieve Shidiac who was found dead. The enquiry that followed was strict and eager to be very explicit, thus interfering in the internal affairs of the Maronite Church. Bartlett, op.cit., v. II, pp. 6-7.

2. Hogg, op.cit., v. I, p. 230.

Having thus acquired a brief background to the political situation during the Egyptian rule in Lebanon, it may be opportune now to proceed to put together what took place between the people and the government during the era under survey.

Bashir, the Emir of Lebanon, cast his lot with Ibrahim against the Porte, Thus he accepted the Egyptian leader into his domain, and helped him by sending him his troops whenever they were needed. The mountaineers, when they would hear the summons of their Emir, would instantly obey and gather together ready to serve.¹ Mention is made in 1832 of the help given by Bashir of five thousand men in cavalry and infantry for the conquest of Damascus.² The Emir Bashir even went with his troops part of the way to Damascus to show his enthusiasm for Ibrahim.³ Lebanese land was used by Ibrahim's troops as bases; we have already seen the setting up of Egyptian barracks in Tyre; also, the Egyptian troops were gathered at al-Mina in 1832 (when Hogg landed) ready to march on Homs.⁴

Apparently the number of Bashir's army was around 20,000 men, two thirds of who were Druze.⁵ The military aspect of the period is viewed with respect by all the Englishmen in question. The order and efficiency of the troops, whether

1. Bartlett, op.cit., v. I, p. 27.

2. Hogg, op.cit., v. II, p. 31.

3. Ibid., v. II, p. 192.

4. Bartlett, op.cit., v. I, p. 27.

5. Ibid., p. 28.

true Egyptians or the Lebanese supplement, is constantly commented on. Remarks are made on the strict discipline of the troops in not touching the fields and fruits of a conquered area.¹ A description of the cavalry segment shows it to have been made up of strong and able-looking men upon Arab horses, armed with long lances, sabres, and muskets slung behind their shoulders.²

The number of troops stationed in Syria is reported by Egyptian officers to be above sixty-thousand. But the actual number was probably nearer forty-five thousand.³ There were fourteen regiments of infantry in Syria, one of which was stationed in Tripoli. In Baalbec a regiment of cavalry was stationed. The number of conscripts taken from Syria was between twenty-five and twenty-six thousand. The highest rank that could be attained by a Syrian was that of a colonel.

The pay of the Egyptian army was less for the simple soldiers than it was in the Turkish army. But officers were better paid by the Egyptians.⁴ The backwardness of army-pay is noted; generally there is a twelve-month arrear due to the soldiers.

1. Hogg, op.cit., v. I, p. 254.

2. Bartlett, op.cit., v. II, p. 61.

3. Bowring, op.cit., p. 116.

4. For an account of the Army Expenditure, see Appendix I.

In spite of the assistance given to Ibrahim by the Lebanese mountaineers under Emir Bashir, there occurred in 1834 a number of revolts against the Egyptian regime. The insurrections began in Nablus, other parts of Palestine, and in Hawran; in Lebanon, they broke out in Kisrawan and Beirut.¹ Addison, even though he is against the rule of Ibrahim in Syria, in all fairness admits that they were not to be attributed entirely to the despotic rule of conscription with which Ibrahim was strengthening his all-important armies. He points out to the probability that the bedouins were to be seen as instigators of the revolts; it was in their interest to keep the country in a state of unrest and turbulence. Furthermore, he claims the riots to have been manifestations of discontent of the favours shown to the Christians.²

But the reasons for the outbreaks were not as important as the result. Ibrahim, fearful of further disturbances even after he had subdued those of 1834, issued an order of universal disarmament that carried with it a heavy penalty if disobeyed.³ It was this command to disarm that alienated much of the Lebanese, for they were used to having arms with them all the time. Furthermore, the Druzes regarded their arms as sacred family heirlooms and parting with them was not an easily-forgotten loss.

1. Addison, op.cit., v. II, pp.463-464.

2. Ibid., p. 464.

3. Ibid., p. 465.

On September 28, 1835, Ibrahim arrived unexpectedly at Dayr al-Qamar and sent some of his troops to Bayt al-Din in order to disarm the Druzes and Christian mountaineers who were the only people in Syria who yet carried arms.¹ They made up about 10,000 or 15,000 men.² The Egyptians acted well and quickly. Communications between Bashir and the mountaineers were cut off. The troops marched into the villages and demanded all arms under penalty of death. The villagers were taken by surprise and offered no resistance.³

Ibrahim at first disarmed only the Druzes. Bashir had issued a decree ordering them to disarm. In the Matn, a rebellious spirit was developed. The Emir, alongside about four-thousand troops, crushed and imprisoned all rebels. During the disarmament, the village of Btatir was destroyed by fire.⁴ Also, in some villages of Gharb al-Fawqani, partial burning occurred.

The Christians had been assured they could keep their arms. But on a Sunday, when all were at church, they were seized at the doors and systematically disarmed.

There were nine-thousand troops employed in the disarmament process. About twenty-two thousand muskets were

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1. Ibid., p. 14. Also with Ibrahim went the Pasha of Damascus, Beirut and Acre; likewise an army of 16,000 men.
 2. Ibid., p. 14.
 3. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
 4. Bowring, op.cit., p. 117.

seized.¹ Bashir himself was in charge of the disarming.²

While he stationed his troops in Dayr al-Qamar, Ibrahim caused further trouble for the Lebanese by seizing all beasts of burden in Beirut in order to be able to take corn to his troops. Addison was forced to delay his journey out of Beirut for this very reason.³ He remarks further on the severity with which owners of the beasts were treated if they resisted the soldiers. Also, the effect of the seizure of the beasts of burden caused an increase in the prices of communication and labour.

As another result of the 1834 outbreak, no relaxation of the conscription was effected, and taxes continued to be exacted relentlessly from all the population. But it was the conscription that caused the greatest anguish and resentment. No better description is given than the one by Kinglake who describes how frightened groups of people would flee from him upon his arrival in Beirut, afraid that he was coming to collect men for the army.⁴ It seems that orders were issued to arrest every man, whether young or old, healthy or sick.⁵ We are told of people who would actually maim

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1. Ibid.
 2. For a text of the decree he issued ordering disarmament, see Appendix II.
 3. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 36.
 4. Kinglake, op.cit., p. 62.
 5. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 466.

themselves in order not to have to join Ibrahim's army.¹

The conscription is regarded as one of the main reasons for the unpopularity of the Egyptians. An estimate of the number of conscripts recruited from the towns shows there to have been: 1500 men taken from Tripoli; about 2000 from Sidon, Tyre and Beirut; and, about 1500 Druzes and Mitwalis.²

The system of conscription was irregularly carried out. On a certain day, in the middle of the night the recruiting would begin. Soldiers would search house by house, dragging every male inhabitant out of his bed. They were then made to undergo a medical examination. If they were lucky and wealthy enough to bribe the medical attendants, they were allowed to go free; if not, they were incorporated into the army.³

In a letter sent by British mercantile firms in Aleppo on April 14, 1838, complaining against the Egyptian government, the conscription is regarded as one of the great detriments to the economic position of the country.⁴ First of all, debtors are able to escape their duties by becoming

1. Ibid., p. 465.

2. Bowring, op.cit., p. 130.

3. Ibid., p. 112.

4. Letter quoted in Ibid., pp.90-91.

soldiers. Then, all the able and industrious youth is put into the army, thus diminishing the industry and production. Furthermore, the general lack of security regarding the conscription calls for a great decline in buying and selling.

That the Lebanese were embittered by enforced conscription has already been established. But it is interesting to note the mention made of a specific case where the resentment manifested itself in such a manner as to finally help in the ousting of Ibrahim from Syria. The Emir Sanjar was the head of an ancient Mitwali family in the neighbourhood of Baalbec. He was conscripted along with all the others in 1834 but when he deserted, no decisive steps were taken to recover him. The governor refused to capture him since he realized how powerful the chief was in his own district. The Emir later played an important part in the events that finally led to the end of the Egyptian rule.¹

Another Mitwali chief who greatly annoyed the Egyptians was Husayn al-Shabib (called Mollem-el-Haos). He was so exasperated by the foreign rule in his land that he turned into an outlaw and plagued the road between Beirut and Acre. A search for him was led by the Emir Mahmud, grand-son of Bashir, who was killed during the expedition. When Husayn

1. Kelly, op.cit., pp. 140-141.

al-Shabib was finally caught, he was sentenced and executed.¹

By 1839, towards the end of Ibrahim's rule in Syria, trouble once again began to brew. In May 1839, Kinnear arrived in Beirut and found the bustle of the town at a stand-still because of the rumours of war between Egypt and the Porte. He remarks on the regiment that passed through the city on its way to Aleppo; Ibrahim was concentrating his forces on the Northern frontiers.² The Christians of Damascus fled to Beirut, afraid of a Moslem uprising; the Mitwalis and Bedouins were taking advantage of the momentary lack of army discipline by making raids and attacks.³ However, there was much rejoicing after the victory of Battle of Nezib. The festivities in Beirut took on the form of three days of illuminations.⁴

The mountaineers of Lebanon had regained their arms by 1839, since the absence of regular troops in their country due to preparation for war in the north necessitated their having some form of security.⁵

Of the events of 1840, little mention is made by our travellers. We know, however, of Emir Sanjar's role in the

1. Ibid., pp. 141-142.

2. Kinnear, op.cit., v. I, p. 238.

3. Ibid., p. 239.

4. Ibid., p. 255.

5. Ibid., p. 245.

happenings. He applied for arms from the British fleet when it came to Beirut and then managed (by persuasion and force) to turn some of the Maronite villages to the Turkish cause.¹

No picture of a country is complete without a view of the backbone of its political and social structure, its economic set-up. While it would be assuming too much to state that the economic situation of the period of Egyptian rule brought about the down-fall of Ibrahim, it would be wise to infer that the fiscal matters of the Lebanese were of too great an importance to be treated lightly and negligently. There is no doubt whatsoever that the burden of taxes imposed by Ibrahim was too heavy for the Lebanese to carry. A closer look at the taxes, the industry, agriculture, and the trade of the country is necessary in order to assess the situation properly.

Although most of the accounts given in the reports of the travellers concern the methods of taxation in Ibrahim's government, general reference is made to the unfair and inefficient situation under the Turks. The Porte's system in Lebanon was largely based on extortion and bribery. Whatever the ends of the Egyptian methods, their means seem to have been legal and systematised. Regular government along European lines was distasteful to the Moslems and Turks alike. There is no absence of extortion and bribery on a small scale, however.

1. Kelly, op.cit., p. 141.

The Turkish avania tax was abolished.¹ In its stead was imposed the firdi tax which included every male between the ages of fifteen and sixty. This capitation tax was levied in a most organized and well-defined manner. Governors and Sheikhs were responsible for giving to the government the names of all the eligible persons within their own jurisdictions. The exact sum per person was arranged by the Divan, and the amount was to remain the same for a few years when a count of the population would be taken again.² We know that the rate of the firdi in Beirut was ninety piasters per person.³ The sum of money was to be collected by the governor or sheikh for his whole village. The head of the sects of the Christians and Jews were also responsible for collecting the money. Sheikhs and clergy were exempt from the tax.⁴

The miri, a land-tax, was determined by the government after a survey of land and certain kinds of movable property, and fixed at a rate for a period of ten years. Cattle and sheep were listed in the assessment for the miri. It is remarked that the total revenue on the land-tax was much greater than when the Turks were in power, but notice is brought to the fact that more land was under cultivation, and therefore taxable, during the period of Egyptian rule.⁵

1. Kinnear, op.cit., p. 319.

2. Ibid., p. 320.

3. Ibid.

4. Kelly, op.cit., pp. 91-92.

5. Kinnear, op.cit., pp. 320-321.

Besides paying all the other taxes, Jews and Christians had to pay a poll-tax, haraj.¹ The payers were divided into three groups: those that paid 63 piasters; those that paid $31\frac{1}{2}$ piasters; and those that paid $15\frac{3}{4}$ piasters. The heads of the various sects collected the money in much the same way as they did those of the firdi.

Furthermore, there were taxes levied on all the staple products of the country, and on various articles of edible products. By 1839 a great number of these were either reduced or removed altogether.² Yet in 1835 we are told of a tax of one piaster on each mulberry tree that was imposed, besides some very heavy tolls on grain of all kinds, flour, oil, cotton, wool etc.³

In 1835 there was a meat tax that increased the price of meat since 1829 by 100%;⁴ but by 1839 the high duty was removed and the price fell from $4\frac{1}{2}$ piasters the oke to half that amount.⁵

Taxation in Mount Lebanon is left entirely to Bashir. He collects the taxes from the mountaineers, using more or less the same forms employed for the rest of the Syrians. He has to pay an annual tribute to the Egyptians. It was

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1. Ibid., p. 321.
 2. Ibid., p. 322.
 3. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 470.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Kinnear, op.cit., p. 322.

diminished from 1300 purses (about 650,000 piasters) to 800 purses (about 400,000 piasters) because of Bashir's efficiency and good conduct in the disarmament of the Lebanese.

Bashir often collects more from his mountaineers than is called for. Sheikhs, monks, and priests are exempt from taxes.

The price of bread in Beirut in 1835 was 50% more expensive than in 1829.¹ By 1839, however, the duty on foreign grain was removed, and the wheat was reduced in price from 20 piasters the urrahah to 16 piasters.² In spite of the decline in grain duties, each farmer was still compelled to give contributions of grain for the service of the government at a price determined by the Divan, which of course had to be fair since it was composed of landowners.³ Apparently it was this tax that was the heaviest of all the agricultural duties imposed by the government of Ibrahim.

Duties were also raised before one could practice a trade. But in Beirut this duty was not levied.

Kinnear denies the accusation that the government took the grain from the tax-payers and then introduced it into the market at very low rates, thus causing severe competition amongst the farmers.⁴ Whatever the government did do with all

1. Addison, op.cit., p. 470.

2. Kinnear, op.cit., p. 322.

3. Ibid., pp. 325-326.

4. Ibid., pp. 327-328.

the grain it obtained from the landowners, the fact remained that in 1835 flour and grain had to be imported from the Black Sea area and from Europe, where before there had been enough for export.¹

In order to escape much of the financial burdens placed upon them, many local people turned to the European consuls. They bribed them in order to seek the protection of their respective governments.² The system of consular protection aroused bitter complaint from the Foreign Consuls.

The local people were justified in turning to the foreign consuls for protection. All goods imported to Beirut by non-Europeans were subject to an extra tax on being sent into the interior. With the protection of a foreign flag, the duty was no longer forced on the Levantine merchants. In 1837, a law was issued in which the duty was lifted entirely.³

The Christians in particular seek the protection of foreign consuls. Of the whole of the Christian commercial community in Beirut, there was said to be only one man who was not under some form of foreign protection.⁴

The Lebanon of the third decade of the Nineteenth Century was a land rich in agriculture and small industry.

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1. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 473.
 2. Ibid., p. 472.
 3. Bowring, op.cit., p. 59.
 4. Ibid., p. 56.

Silk was a major industry in the Lebanese economy. Mulberry groves were seen in Ihdin, Tripoli, Sidon, and Beirut. The Maronites inhabited the section of the country where the production of silk was the most important foundation of the economics. A man's wealth was determined by the number of silk rotolas he made.¹ By 1835, the government had not yet been able to monopolize the culture of silk although it was eager to control it.²

The spread of sericulture is especially noticed in the environs of Beirut. Little was done for the improvement of the quality produced; the manner of reeling the silk had not been accommodated for the English market. The French and Italians had been able to pay greater attention to the amelioration of their material.

The arrangement made by the landowners generally was to allow the peasant one-quarter of the silk for taking care of the worms and reeling it off from the cocoons. The landowner provided the leaves which the peasants gathered; he also erected the sheds where the cocoons were kept.³

Other products grown in the Lebanon included, grapes, olives, cotton, figs, and corn. Jubayl was noted for an excellent quality of tobacco which was monopolized with great strictness by Emir Bashir for his own private use.⁴ Sesame-

1. Kelly, op.cit., p. 97.

2. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 472.

3. Bowring, op.cit., p. 14,

4. Kelly, op.cit., p. 102.

seed, wheat, barley, maize, millet, lentils and sugar-cane were also produced.

The Egyptian government took it upon itself to force officers of high rank and wealthy inhabitants to restore ruined villages and to cultivate their lands.

In 1837, Ibrahim forced an increased cultivation throughout Syria. Inhabitants were obliged to take upon themselves the agricultural charge of every spot of land susceptible to cultivation. But the result was not rewarding because there was a drought that year.¹

Two iron-mines, one at Duma and the other at Rihan, were placed at the disposal of Bashir by the Egyptian government on the condition he would pay an annual sum for the produce. But unfortunately the mines barely produced enough to manufacture horse-shoes and nails for Bashir's territory.²

Coal-mines were found near Qurnayl . They were worked by Ibrahim's government; the direction was first given to an English engineer, Mr. Bretell, but later a Turk superseded him. The mines apparently had much coal, but it was of a sulphurous quality. One hundred and fourteen workers were employed there; they worked in two relays, night and day.³

There is a very fine quality of wine produced in Mount Lebanon known as "vino d'oro". It is boiled, unfortunately,

1. Bowring, op.cit., p. 10.

2. Ibid., p. 20.

3. Ibid.

and thereby loses its flavour.¹

The main centers of trade were Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon, although in its own area Zahli was also important. The peasants from the neighbouring towns gathered there to buy manufactured items such as gowns, shirts, shoes, and pipes in exchange for their farm produce.²

Sidon had productive fruit orchards and mulberry groves. The main exports of the town were spun cotton, silk, corn, ashes and oil. The imports were clothes, spices, iron and drugs for dyeing.³

Tripoli trade and commerce was in the hands of the Greek Catholics.⁴ There were also a number of French families living there because of the silk trade. The most important article of export was soap which was produced in the mountains. The former price of export was 800 quintals a year at £80 a quintal, but the price began to descend during the years of Ibrahim's rule.⁵ Sponges were also an important article of export. They were sent to Marseilles and Smyrna.

Since Beirut was the port for Damascus and central Syria, it naturally had more commercial activity than any

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1. Ibid., p. 17.
 2. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 49.
 3. Bartlett, op.cit., v. II, p. 47.
 4. Ibid., p. 60.
 5. Bartlett, op.cit., v. I, p. 23.

other Syrian port. There were a number of Frankish merchants, and their existence in the city raised the cost of living.¹ The main exports of Beirut were spun cotton and silk. Rice and tobacco were imported and exchanged for the corn of the Biqa and the Hawran. Raw silk, cotton, olives and figs were sent to Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo.² The rise of trade in Beirut had been steady; between 1833 and 1839 it grew in size to four times its original amount.³

The expenditure of the Egyptian government is considerably higher than the revenue.⁴ The deficit is supplied from the revenue of Egypt, which is the only country under the rule of Muhammad Ali where receipts exceed expenditure.

Syria is probably financially burdensome to Ibrahim Pasha, according to Bowring.⁵ The tribute that has to be paid to the Porte is usually paid by Egypt. The government has enforced changes in the lives of the Syrians; ostentation is becoming rare. The Jews and Christians have lowered their scale of dress in order not to attract the attention of the government.

1. The rent of a good house was £30, while that of a villa was £50; these prices were considered expensive. Ibid., p.10.

2. Bartlett, op.cit. v. III, p. 64.

3. Kinneer, op.cit., p. 339.

4. Bowring, op.cit., p. 23.

5. Ibid., p. 25.

British trade in Beirut is of course noted by the travellers. It began on a large scale in 1834. Unfortunately the British government has not allowed a great deal of Syrian imports; this has accounted for a certain unpopularity of the British amongst the commercial class of Beirut.¹

In any commercial question between Europeans and natives, the matter is referred to the French Code de Commerce. In matters between natives, the Divan settles the problem.²

Two figures in the Lebanese scene are commented on by the British travellers: Lady Hester Stanhope and the Emir Bashir. Most of the Englishmen were able to visit both personalities. The colourful and vivid descriptions are many; only the outstanding views will be mentioned here.

Lady Hester Stanhope was the eccentric niece of William Pitt whose home in Jun~~n~~ is referred to by all. Her house was the only spot in Lebanon where Ibrahim's word was not law. She was firmly set against the Egyptian rule; and sheltered many a person escaping from the law.

The Emir Bashir is seen by the Englishmen as a benign yet majestic old man who was more of a figure-head than a ruler. "Were we asked to point out the finest specimen

1. Ibid., p. 56.

2. Ibid., p. 46.

of an old man, the most perfect gentleman in address, it would be the Emir Bashir."¹ No undue importance is given to his role in the affairs of Lebanon in the period under study.

Thus far we have stated the facts of the status of Lebanon as seen and as cited by our travellers. We will now consider the opinions of these men on the government of Ibrahim. They assess the situation to the best of their ability and knowledge, founding their judgement upon what they have witnessed and what their conversations with the local people have led to.

There are two schools of thought amongst the men: one, that Ibrahim's rule was a good and worthy one, and should be encouraged by England; the other that the Egyptian domination of Syria was but an excuse for Muhammad Ali to increase his army, his revenues and his personal glory.

The argument for the first opinion is based on the corruption and decadence of the Turkish rule, and how the new government in more ways than one had put aside all the former weaknesses by concentrating on law and order in the land. The former rivalry between the pashas was destructive to the people and made all the towns and villages slovenly

1. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 26.

and miserable; the suppression of the Christians caused great bitterness and jealousy amongst the people and also stood in the way of national progress.

The unity of Syria under a direct and centralized rule contributed greatly to the security of the land. This security encouraged the naturally diligent citizens of Lebanon to participate actively in their work. Further, the policy of indifference to the maintenance of Islam softened the prejudices of the Muslims, and elevated the Christians to a worthy place in the land. All of this had a very good effect on the status of the country. We have seen already how the trade of Beirut increased four times since the beginning of the foreign rule. Many foreigners were welcomed; our travellers are all examples. They were all treated with great civility and respect. Because they were British they were also highly revered.¹

The conscription of all non-Christians was the most oppressive feature of Ibrahim's rule, closely followed in degree by the heavy taxation and disarmament. They are viewed

1. It is interesting to note in passing that the French were unpopular with the people and with the government alike. Not so the English, however. A manifestation of these feelings was shown in the new names accorded to foreigners who were previously all called "Franj". Now a distinction was made: the English were called "Ingleez" and the French "Franzawee". Kinnear, op.cit., p. 291.

by the pro-Egyptian travellers, however, as temporary measures necessary to preserve the integrity and security of the country. They regard the British policy towards Muhammad Ali as a mistake that does not allow him to concentrate on the internal development of his lands; he has to be on the defensive all the time. Were the British to recognize Egyptian rule of Syria and help Ibrahim set up a permanent and stable government he would not have to rely so strongly on his army, and would therefore return his soldiers to their respective jobs of farming and industry.

To continue along this line of rhetoric, the 1840 insurrection is viewed as an attempt on the part of British agents to create trouble for Muhammad Ali. The Lebanese, especially the Christians, were not willing to exchange Ibrahim's rule for that of the Porte's.¹ Kinnear speculates in the midst of the crisis that he can see no possibility of a revolution in the English favour except on the part of the Maronites who would only rise on condition of being later placed under British protection.² The Druzes would join the Muslims, of course, but any clash of European forces with them would lead to another Holy War. Kinnear unfortunately does not write of the effect of the outcome

1. Ibid., pp. 344-345.

2. Ibid., p. 345.

of the 1840 troubles, so we are robbed of a definite conclusion on the subject.

Barker sees it as unfortunate that in 1833 the Foreign Powers did not do what they finally did in 1841 - give Muhammad Ali the hereditary possession of Egypt. He would then have left Syria alone.¹ Syria is naturally a rebellious country since it has been subjected to a wide array and variety of rulers.

The case against Ibrahim's rule in Lebanon is presented very emphatically by Addison, the only author decidedly against the Egyptians. To begin with, he does not see that the country has improved economically since the coming of the foreign rule. He claims Syria in 1835 to have been less peopled and poorer than at any time in its history. He refutes the claim that the revenue of the country was increasing. The government had been spending more than the natural surplus of the country.² Also, the productive classes were fewer than the consumers; this fact would lead in the long run to diminished national capital and a decline in wealth.³

The outward tranquillity that is seen by some as

1. Barker, op.cit., v. II, p. 206.

2. Addison, op.cit., v. II, p. 478.

3. Ibid.; pp. 478-479.

security Addison sees only as the sign of a crushed, oppressed people. The mountaineers were disarmed; the civilians were under military rule. Security of property cannot exist in a society where the conscription and heavy taxation keep a firm hold on the entire population, Addison argues.

He also brings to mind the fact that it is not military splendour that is indicative of the prosperity of a country. It is instead when there signs of waste lands being cultivated; when towns are on the increase in population and trade; when the population is well-clothed; and when the agriculture is improved.¹ He sees none of these improvements around him. He blames the government, for example, for not setting up a secure enough atmosphere to enable the Litany River to be made to irrigate all the large expanses of land around it.²

His attack is directed mainly against Muhammad Ali whose main aim was to maintain an elevated position and gain recognition for it at the cost of oppressing people. The conscription and heavy duties are seen as means unto which the Pasha could obtain a strong enough army to continue his conquests in such places as Abyssinia.³ "What

1. Addison, op.cit., v. II, pp. 468-469.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

3. Ibid., p. 462.

cares he, however, for the prosperity of the country or what it may come to after he is gone."¹

The fact also that Ibrahim was taking into his army the most important class of the Lebanese and Syrian population, the farmers, was further proof of his insincerity to the native cause. Addison argues that a government truly interested in the welfare of its people, a "paternal government", (i.e. one that is long established and desirous of passing down from one generation to another an improved land and rising generation), would be most interested in strengthening the farmer class.² Yet the forced conscription gave clear indication that Ibrahim was in no way interested in the fate of the farmers or the land.

So we thus have the personal views of the Englishmen who were witnesses of the Lebanese scene during the Egyptian rule. From them we have drawn up a picture of the status of Lebanon; we have seen its people, its main towns, its political and military life, its industry and its economics. And finally we have been presented with their personal opinions on both the positive and negative nature of the rule of Ibrahim Pasha.

1. Ibid., p. 475.

2. Ibid., p. 477.

CHAPTER II

LEBANON DURING THE RULE OF IBRAHIM PASHA (1832-1840) AS SEEN BY FRENCH TRAVELLERS

In surveying the literature of the Frenchmen who came to Lebanon during the rule of Ibrahim Pasha, it is possible to distinguish between two categories of writers. The first are the travellers who came to Lebanon, as well as to other parts of Syria, to Egypt and to the Orient, in order to visit and learn about its countryside, its peoples and its customs. The second are the men who had direct concerns in the country, and served there in some official capacity. By combining the works of both groups of writers, it is possible to arrive at a clear picture of the important aspects of Lebanon during the 1832-1840 period.

Not only are the journals of these Frenchmen important to our study for their contributions in the drawing up of the social, economic, and political structure of Lebanon; they also contain within them the personal attitudes and opinions of the travellers regarding the established foreign rule. These opinions are valuable in themselves, since they shed light on various French points of view regarding Muhammad Ali and his government.

In the first category of writers, there are three travellers who came to Lebanon at the outset of the Egyptian rule, in 1832. The most famous of these is Lamartine¹, whose voyage to the Orient lasted for eighteen months. He was accompanied by Delaroière.² The third of the travellers that year was the Procureur-Général of a Trappist monastery, Père Marie-Joseph de Géramb, whose work betrays his great interest in the religious life of the country.³

The well-known writer, Baptistin Poujoulat, travelled in 1836. The journal he consequently published is a continuation of the Correspondance d'Orient.⁴ He was strongly against the Egyptian government, and tried as much as possible to present his reasons for this in an exact and carefully-defined manner. He wrote another journal in which he further related his travels of 1836.⁵

Edouard Blondel visited Syria from 1837 to the end of 1839, in three successive visits.⁶ He was also very strongly against the régime of Muhammad Ali.

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1. Lamartine, Alphonse de, Voyage en Orient, Paris, 1910.
 2. Delaroière, M., Voyage en Orient, Paris, 1836.
 3. Géramb, Père Marie-Joseph de, Pèlerinage à Jerusalem et au Mont Sinai, Tournay, 1836.
 4. Poujoulat, B., Voyage à Constantinople, Brussels, 1841. (hence Voyage).
 5. Poujoulat, B., Récits et Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Orient, Tours, 1883. (hence Récits)
 6. Blondel, E., Deux Ans en Syrie et en Palestine, Paris, 1840.

The travels of Eusébe de Salles in Asia lasted from 1837 to 1839.¹ He was a Professor in the Ecole Royale et Spéciale des Langues Vivantes, and a member of the Société Asiatique.

Marshal Marmont, duc de Raguse, was exiled to Vienna after the Revolution of 1830. In 1834, he began his journey to Asia, which lasted for a year. The main object of his book is to impress on his readers the declining state of the Ottoman Empire, and its inevitable downfall.² His attitude towards Muhammad Ali and his government in Syria is one of encouragement.

So much for the simple "sight-seeing" travellers. The next two men whose works are considered in this study held official positions in Syria during Ibrahim's rule there.

Ferdinand Périer was the aide-de-camp of Soliman Pasha during the latter's seven years in Syria.³ He could speak Arabic well; therefore the information he has gathered is first-hand. His attitude towards the Egyptian government was tolerant; he recognised the competence of Muhammad Ali,

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1. Salles, E., Pérégrinations en Orient, Paris, 1840.
 2. Marmont, duc de Raguse, The Present State of the Turkish Empire, tr. Frederic Smith, London, 1839.
 3. Périer, F., La Syrie sous le Gouvernement de Mehémet Ali, Paris 1842.

and blamed only the inefficiency and corruption of his administrators.

Henri Guys was in the consular service of France at Beirut from 1824 to 1828. His information, therefore, is precise and detailed. His two books show great sympathy for the Syrian people, and distaste for the Egyptians.¹

The people of Lebanon are referred to as being generally intelligent, diligent and active. The travellers never cease to extol the virtues of the Lebanese peasants who display astonishing skill and industry in the cultivation of their lands. There is a rising industrial and commercial class in the cities; it is commented favourably upon by the travellers who refer especially to its "modern" ways of living.

The population is made up of Maronites, Druzes, Greek and Schismatic Catholics, Muslims, Mitwālis, ^{Armenians} Jews, Zéuts, and Bedouins. The common factor of the differing sects is submission to the Emir Bashir. Although the groups rarely mix together, they all enjoy a common rule (referred to as "une confédération déspotique" by Lamartine²) under the aegis of the Prince.

1. Guys, Henri, Relation d'un Séjour de Plusieurs Années à Beyrout et dans le Liban, Paris, 1847. (hence Relation)

Guys, Henri, Esquisse de l'Etat Politique et Commercial de la Syrie, Paris, 1862. (hence Esquisse).

2. Lamartine, op.cit., v. I, p. 454.

The Maronites form the largest group of the Lebanese population. They live mostly in the North of Lebanon, in the districts of Kisrawān, Bsharri, Jubayl, Batrūn and Tripoli. They are well known for their clean, well-constructed villages, and for the organization of their agriculture. They are a very diligent people; the land in their area is invariably cultivated.

The Maronites, through their link with the Church of Rome, have adopted many European customs in their ways of life. They are considered to be the best educated of the Lebanese; it is even suggested that they are universally educated, even though their learning might be of a very elementary nature.¹

The four main Christian families in the social hierarchy of Lebanon are Bayt al-Khāzin (who are the most important and influential), Bayt al-Ḥubāysh, Bayt al-Daḥdāḥ, and Bayt al-Khūri.²

It is generally accepted fact by the travellers that the reason for the natural intelligence, diligence, and virtue of the Maronites is the link that has tied their history to Europe. European influence is continually being impressed upon the Maronites by their own clergy, a great many of whom were educated in Rome. The clergy is seen by all as playing a very important and decisive rôle in the life of the Maronite community.

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1. Ibid., p. 477.
 2. Périer, op.cit., p. 313.

The Maronite form of government is theocratic. The clergy is not only concerned with the spiritual guidance of the people: it also exercises absolute authority in matters pertaining to civil life. Bashir very wisely does not encroach upon the sovereignty of the clergy. He therefore has their support when it comes to such odious tasks as collecting taxes. The Maronite patriarch always has the final word when civil law comes into conflict with religious law.

The exact number of Maronite monasteries in Lebanon is not agreed upon by the travellers. The number varies from fifty-nine,¹ to sixty-three,² to two-hundred.³ The number of priests seems to be between twenty and twenty-five thousand.⁴ The priests are mostly dedicated to the cultivation of the land. There are, however, a number of convents ("Lebanies") that offer education to the young.⁵ Also, there exist a few "hospices" that serve as shelters to the sick and the poor.

Much praise is sung by the Frenchmen to the unusual qualities of the Maronites. They are not only seen as outstanding in the Orient because of their exceptional abilities in practical matters, such as industry and agriculture. They are also

1. Marmont, op.cit., p.240

2. Guys, Relation, v. II, p. 177.

3. Lamartine, op.cit., v. I, p. 467.

4. Ibid.

5. Marmont, op.cit., p. 240.

highly regarded because of their familiar Christian characteristics of simplicity, honour and piety. And finally, they are seen as a people with a mentality and an outlook not dissimilar to those of Europeans; a certain kinship is therefore immediately felt between the travellers and the Maronites.

The Druzes are the second largest group of people in Lebanon. They are regarded as the most courageous; likewise, the most war-like and ferocious. They are a rich, well-disciplined people, and are active in trade and agriculture.

Their undisputed mastery at warfare is referred to by all the travellers. It is generally assumed that although the Druzes are fewer in number than the Maronites, the latter would never be able to stand against them in case of armed conflict. Their incredible moral force dominates Mount Lebanon. The fact that the various Christian families are forced to rally around the Qaysī and Yamani factions shows the subservience and near-vasallage of the Christians. Bayt al-Khāzin the most powerful Christian family, has formed an alliance with the Janbalāts ; the Bayt al-Hubaysh is allied to the 'Imadis.¹

In Mount Lebanon there are thirty-seven big towns inhabited entirely by Druzes, and two hundred eleven "mixed" Druze and Christian villages.² In Anti-Lebanon, there are sixty-nine villages entirely inhabited by Druzes. The main centres of the

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 206.

2. Ibid., p. 198.

Druzes are: 'Ammātūr, B'aqlīn (these two are the Druze capitals in Mount Lebanon), Nīhā, 'Ayn Dārā, Hāṣbayya, Rāshayya (these last two the capitals in Anti-Lebanon), Baṭṭūn, and Dayr al-Qamar. In the "mixed" Christian and Druze villages, like Dayr al-Qamar, the different sects do not mix with one another; they are not unfriendly when they do have to meet, however.

The Druze social set-up is formed by a system of family groupings that forms three major divisions. The most powerful faction rallies around the Janbalāt family. It includes the Bayt al-Muqaddam, Bayt Ḥamdān (who are sheikhs), Bayt Ma'n-Eddīn (sheikhs), and Bayt al-Shams (sheikhs)¹. The Janbalāts are numerous. Although they do not bear the title of Emirs, they are ranked alongside the Bayt Abi al-Lama' and Bayt Arslān². The Janbalāts and their followers live largely in Mizir, Ma'n-Eddīn, Ba'qlīn, 'Ammātūr, Mukhtāra, and all of the Jabal al-Shuf.³ Their flag is crimson with green borders, and has a green hand and scimitar embroidered on it.

The second faction is centred around the Abu-Nakad family, who have as allies Bayt al-Qādī, Bayt al-'Īd, Bayt Ḥarmush, and Bayt Aouali, all of sheikhly rank.⁴ Their centre is Dayr al-Qamar. They were weakened for a number of

1. Ibid., p. 202.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 204.

4. Ibid., p. 205.

years by the Shihab family, especially by the Emir Bashīr, who never let slip a chance to destroy their strength. He had held Šheikh Nāsīf Abu-Nakad as hostage in Cairo for a number of years; he also set spies on the tracks of Nāsīf nephew in 'Ajaltūn.¹ The Abu-Nakad flag is made up of two equal, horizontal bands, one yellow, and the other blue.

The third faction, said to be secretly supported by the Egyptian government in an attempt to insure further dissent in the Druze ranks, is made up of the following families of sheikhs: Bayt 'Abd al-Malik, Bayt Talhūq, and Bayt Balwān. Their centre is in Barūkh, and in the 'Arqūb district. Their flag is a solid red one.²

The two princely families of Bayt Abī al-Lama' and Bayt Arslān are more or less isolated from the different factions. Their power is on the decline in Lebanon, due to Emir Bashīr's efforts at centralization.

The Mitwālis inhabit the southern and interior reaches of Mount Lebanon, including parts of the Biqā. Their land is always most wretched; there is little sign of vegetation, and the plain is usually untilled.

Although the Mitwālis are regarded as the outlaws and brigands of Lebanon, they are also noted for their bravery and courage. Mention is made of the two outstanding

1. Ibid.

2. The leader of this faction in 1840 was Suleymān al-'Imādi, Ibid., p. 205.

Mitwālis of the 1832-1840 era: Husāyn al-Shabīb, (known as "Moellem el Haas"), and the Emir Sanjar.

Husāyn al-Shabīb was noted for his acts of brigandage. He took to the outlawry of the Acre-Beirut road, and was very wild and ferocious in his methods of extracting the property of his victims. When the Amir Mahmūd, grandson of Bashīr, led an expedition against him, the outlaw escaped to his usual retreat in the village of Ledja; but he was betrayed by his Christian host, was caught, and beheaded.¹

The Emir Sanjar played an important rôle in the events of 1840. He was bitter at the Egyptian government for forcibly conscripting him even though he bore the title of prince. He escaped from the army, and began to build up forces and strength until the moment was ripe for attack. He placed himself at the head of a joint Maronite-Druze contingent of rebels in 1840. He was responsible also for the training of men in the Maronite district of Kisrawān.

The Sunnite Muslims that inhabit the coastal towns are rarely referred to. Mention is made only occasionally of their illiteracy and general apathy.

The Greek Catholics are likewise not often mentioned by the travellers. They live mostly in Zahli, Zūq Mikhāil, Dayr al-Qamar, and al-Hadath. The Greek clergy apparently receives protection from Russia; it is said that it obtains

1. Ibid., pp. 257-259.

one hundred rubles a year in the form of subsidy.¹ The Greek Catholics are placed under the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch.

The Bedouins live chiefly in the Biqā valley. Their manner of living is deplorable; poverty and dirt surround them. They have large flocks of sheep, and many herds of cattle, and spend much of their time in tending to them.

Lebanon is always said to be very densely populated. The absence of an official civil register for Syria makes any reference to a population-count very rough and inaccurate. Most of the figures mentioned by the travellers are those obtained from the firdi tax returns. But even these differ so widely that they will not be cited here. Suffice it to mention that the Maronites are by far the most numerous; that the Druzes are either one-third or a quarter as many as the Maronites; that the Greek Catholics are a third as many as the Druzes; that the Sunni Moslems and the Mitwālis are almost equal in number, and about a quarter as many as the Greek Catholics; and, that the number of Jews, Zéuts, and Bedouins is negligible in comparison to all the others.²

The most important city in Lebanon is Beirut. Its coastal position, its excellent harbour, and its proximity to Damascus, all served to bring the city to a position of

1. Guys, Relation, v.II, p. 60.

2. Proportionate estimates taken from 1838-1839 firdi returns mentioned in Périer, op.cit., p. 294.

prominence. It was also helped in its ascendancy by the excellent quality of silk produced in its area. The fact that the city could be controlled from the Mountain where the Emirs lived further added to its strategic qualities. The city began to develop in the years between 1824 and 1828, largely due to the efforts of Soliman Pasha. It soon became the most important place in Syria for investments, thus replacing Jaffa, Acre, Sidon, and Tripoli.

Beirut is referred to as a very ugly city, even though its location by the sea is a beautiful one. The streets are narrow and gloomy, the port and surrounding area are filthy, and the houses are built at random with little evidence of care or planning.

The fact that Beirut has recently become a central city with a harbour full of bustle and activity has also made the cost of living there very high. Rent is set at exorbitant prices, and a four or five-year advance payment is often called for.

There are consulates from all nations established in Beirut. Commercial houses belonging to Europeans are numerous. Beirut is the only place in Syria and Palestine where good, clean hotels can be found. There is also a European pharmacy in the city.

The city is inhabited mostly by Maronites; there are thus three churches in Beirut. There are also a large number

of Greek Catholics. Sunni Muslims are in a minority. The Franks that live in Beirut are either attached to one of the consulates, or are active in some commercial enterprise, and live mostly in stone houses along the sea.

The foreign community in Beirut is not a very large one. It is made up of Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, Austrians, Americans, and a number of Maltese.¹ They all retain their national characteristics, and live closely together. They are given special privileges, since the Egyptian government follows a policy of tolerance to foreigners; these privileges are extended to the natives who work for them.

Before Beirut became an important city, there were no foreign representatives; the ones that did exist simply bore honorific titles. The Austrian consul was the official representative of all the foreign powers. But with the rise of Beirut as an important port and commercial city, many consulates were set up. The French Consul is the senior member of the diplomatic corps. He also takes it upon himself to protect the Maronites, their churches, and their convents.²

Ibrahim Pasha has allowed Syrians and even Christians, to be consular agents. Since such positions have great advantages, most important of which is exemption from many forms of taxation, there are many consular agents in Beirut. Each

1. Ibid., p. 39

2. Blondel, op.cit., pp. 37-38.

agent has the power to exempt six other rayahs from the governmental authorities.

There are mulberry trees all around the Beirut area. Sericulture is of primary importance to all the inhabitants. Mention is made of cocoons that are even watched over in the churches.¹ Silk is the most important export of Beirut, closely followed by oil. It is because of its exports that Beirut is a thriving city with a fixed economy.

Tripoli is described as the most beautiful of all the cities of Syria. It produces an excellent quality of oranges. It has many olive trees, but does not take to the export of oil. There is a considerable amount of silk cultivation. Sponges are a stable product of the area; likewise, the making of pottery. The principal products of Tripoli are silk, tobacco, cereals, and sesame; these are principally sent for export.

The majority of the inhabitants of Tripoli are Greek Catholics.

Sidon is seen by all as a desolate, sad town. Since its trade barely reaches subsistence level, it is very poor. The roads are dirty, and the houses are badly constructed. The French consulate was moved to Beirut. Sidon remains the residence of Soliman Pasha.

The area surrounding Sidon, however, is beautiful. Banana and orange trees are plentiful; olive trees are seen in

1. Delaroière, op.cit., p. 48.

abundance. But the methods of agriculture of the inhabitants are careless and negligent. Although it is a Christian town, there is a large Muslim population.¹

Tyre is another poor town. The inhabitants are mainly occupied with their fishing. The port is no longer in function. The roads are all secondary and insufficient. The population, which is made up of Christians and Muslims, is poor, and lives in houses that are crumbling with age. The area surrounding the town is inhabited by Mitwālis. Tobacco is produced here.

Zahli is an important centre for food, cloth, wool and butter. It is an attractive Christian village inhabited almost entirely by Greek Catholics. The land of the surrounding area is well-cultivated by the Zahli people.

Dayr al-Qamar and Zūq Mikhāil, along with Zahli, are considered important industrial centres of Lebanon. Dayr al-Qamar in particular is known for its silk production on which its commerce is based. The silk of Zūq Mikhāil is prized for quality, which is considered excellent.

Baalbek is described by most of the travellers as a dismal, dreary town. It has no industry, and depends on land as its only source of income. The population in the past decade has decreased very much due to the poverty of the town. Blondel², when he visits Baalbek, noted that it houses an

1. Poujoulat, Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Orient, (hence, Souvenirs), p. 112.

2. Blondel, op.cit., p. 139.

Egyptian cavalry regiment which was furnishing the villagers with a reasonable amount of commercial activity.

'Ihdin and Bsharri are visited by most of the travellers because of the well-known hospitality extended to Frenchmen by Sheikh Butrus Karam. 'Ihdin is found to be rich and plentiful in fruits. The villagers are cheerful and hospitable. Butrus Karam, a Maronite sheikh, has adopted European ways of life; Géramb¹ notes the unique (in Syria) habit in Karam's household of using forks and knives at meals.

Baskinta is an industrial village that specializes in cotton-weaving. It is inhabited by Greeks and Maronites. It houses a large section of Bayt al-Khāzin. Jubayl and Batrun are tobacco-producing towns.

The administration of Lebanon is referred to often by the travellers. They generally agree that although the system set up by Ibrahim Pasha in Syria might be adequate in its general framework, it leaves much to be desired in its methods and administrators. It was the inefficient and very often unjust administrative measures taken in Syria by the Egyptian government that led to its downfall in 1840.

Centralization is the central feature of the Egyptian administration. It aims at uniting all branches of the government in order to strengthen and solidify its position. Once it is assured of its power, it then finds it easy to arrive

1. Géramb, op.cit., p. 308.

at the ultimate prizes of its conquest of Syria: financial support from taxes and duties; and, enough men to sizeably enlarge the army.

Ibrahim Pasha takes charge of the civil administration himself when he sees it to his advantage to do so. Otherwise, he retires, and simply becomes a general of the army. The highest civil authority would then be the governor of Syria whose headquarters are in Damascus. His title is Eckumdar Arabistan (lit. "Governor-General of Arabia").¹ The post of governor of Syria is occupied by Sharīf Pasha who has great powers. He is apparently very conscious of his authority, and guards it with jealousy. There is little love lost between Ibrahim and Sharīf Pasha, but the former has to pretend at least a nominal friendship.

Every city in Syria has a governor or mutasallim, who is directly under the authority of Sharif Pasha.² Beirut, in the 1832-1840 period, was governed by four different mutasallims.³ When Blondel visits Beirut in 1837, Mahmūd Bey is the governor. Blondel is struck by the obvious European influence in the life and manners of Mahmūd, who is of Circassian origin.⁴

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 52.

2. Ibid., p. 56.

3. Only one of these four was a good governor. He was an Egyptian, and did nothing to quicken the religious fanaticism of the people. Guys, Relation, VII, pp. 220-221.

4. Blondel, op.cit., p. 55.

The mutasallim is charged with the supervision of the town. Also, he is in charge of the administration, and all other details that pertain to directing a town, including justice.

The governor has with him a governor-secretary, known as a mubasher, who also fills the job of sarrāf (or cashier).¹ He is in charge of collecting the firdi and mīri taxes, and is usually a Christian. He receives little pay as a rule, and often takes to dishonest money-making methods that are always severely dealt with when discovered.

There also exists in every city a qādi, a mufti, a customs officer, (usually Christian), and a Health Department whose director is usually a Muslim.

All cities whose population is over two thousand, have a municipal council known as the Divan Sciori, (lit. "consultative assembly"). The head of the Divan has to be a resident of the city; his position is never higher than that of the mutasallim.

The institution of the Divan Sciori was created by Ibrahim Pasha; he is the nominal president of all of them. The principles of the Divans are very liberal, yet the Divans have not proved to be successful. The country and the people are still unprepared for such moderation and do not know how

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 56.

to cope with it.¹

Furthermore, the failure of the Divans may be ascribed to the fact that they have excited Muslim fanaticism by the very nature of their framework; they do not grant special privileges to the Muslim majorities when they exist.

The Divan is made up of the notables of each town, the number varying between thirteen, seventeen, and twenty-one. The notables are chosen according to distinction; no reference to a religious proportional representation is ever made. Needless to say, this ignoring of the Muslim majority in some of the cities leads to dissension within the Divan itself.

The Divan is a combination of a commercial court, a jury, a board of arbitration and a financial court.² All matters on which the governor is not entirely decided are referred to the Divan. All decisions have to be first ratified by Ibrahim before they are made effective. The Divan, instead of counterbalancing and modifying the governor's judgements, invariably ends up by being yet another of the many Syrian centres of injustice and partiality.³ The most important article of the Divan is that it investigate all matters pertaining to the mīri tax. Otherwise, its orders of policy from Ibrahim are generally vague.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 58.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 63.

4. Ibid., p. 59.

Thus, the Divan is one example of an administrative body whose official duties could have been of constructive use to the country, but whose powers are instead misinterpreted and abused.

Administration of Mount Lebanon is left largely in the hands of the Emir Bashir. Governmental arrangements are established through him; administrative, judicial and financial functions all centre around him. The Mountain is divided into a number of districts (such as Kisrāwan, Al-Matn, Al-Jird, etc.); placed in charge of each district is a Sheikh or an Emir who is directly under the authority of Bashir.¹

Every Maronite village of Mount Lebanon has its own sheikh whose functions are: to be the Justice of the Peace; to be the police force and to maintain order; and, to be the tax-collector for the Emir Bashir (very often for himself as well).²

All other civil functions belong, as already mentioned, to the clergy. The emir or sheikh of the district has the final word, even though only nominal. A marriage ceremony cannot be performed, for example, without the formal permission of the emir.³

1. See Appendix III for the complete list of Districts and Governors of Lebanon.

2. Périer, op.cit., p. 311.

3. Ibid., p. 312.

The judiciary system of the Mountain is headed by Emir Bashīr who is responsible for the administration of justice in crimes and important affairs. The Prince appoints three main judges for the trial of civil matters. These judges are distributed as follows: one in Dayr al-Qamar, who is a Druze; one in Zūq Mikhaīl, who is a Maronite; and one in Zghorta, who follows Shāfi'i laws.¹ And then, of course, the sheikhs of each village act as judges when necessary.

In matters pertaining to religion and to ethical conduct, judicial authority is given to the clerics, the patriarchs and the bishops. When there is an important case, the judges are helped by two or more doctors, muftis or nā'ibs.² The kātib (secretary) registers the decisions of the court. The court decrees are always enforced, unless the case be deferred to the Grand Judge in Constantinople.

Only governors, pashas, and very high officials are allowed to call for capital punishment. The barbaric Turkish practice of condemning people to the stake was stopped by the Egyptians, and replaced by simple beheading.³

That the judiciary system did not theoretically acknowledge religious distinction is shown by an incident that occurred in Sidon in February 1840. A Christian was murdered in the centre of the town by a Muslim Negro. Soliman Pasha immediately

1. Ibid.; and Guys, Relation, II, p. 138.

2. Périer, op.cit., p. 65.

3. Ibid., p. 67.

called for the execution of the latter. The condemnation aroused much indignation amongst the Muslims because one of them was to be sacrificed for the sake of a Christian. But Soliman was adamant on his point, and threatened anyone who tried to counteract the execution with the penalty of death. He insisted that Muhammad Ali's government stood for equality of all before the law.¹

The judiciary system of the army follows in a very modified way the military code of France.²

The travellers do not deal solely with the executive and judicial features of the Egyptian administration; they are also observant of the social aspects of Lebanon noticeable during the Egyptian rule.

A source of great pleasure to the Frenchmen is the efficient police force set up by the Egyptian government. No longer is it unsafe to travel alone in the interior reaches of the country; a traveller can feel very safe and secure wherever he goes.

A considerable effort is also put into the establishment of a system of public health. This effort was materialized by the setting-up of the Lazaretto quarantine headquarters. The travellers present conflicting opinions on the efficiency and practicability of the Lazaretto.

1. Ibid., p. 66.

2. Ibid., p. 63, note (1).

The case for the quarantine headquarters is presented by Guys.¹ He claims to have been charged by Ibrahim Pasha to establish the sanitary régime of Syria. He was given much authority by Ibrahim, who was otherwise pre-occupied with the army. Guys was helped by the consular agents in Beirut. A Sanitary Commission was set up; it was made up of the Consuls of France, Austria, Denmark, Spain and Greece. The Lazaretto was founded in 1834. According to Guys, it kept the plague away from Syria for fifteen months while it was raging in neighbouring lands.²

Salles³ was forced to stay in quarantine when he arrived in Beirut. Much to his discomfort and annoyance, he was astounded to find that the Lazaretto not only kept people who were in quarantine, but also people who were stricken with the Plague itself.

Blondel⁴ also sees no virtue in the Lazaretto of Beirut. He finds it badly organized and revoltingly dirty. The rooms are bare of furniture, and are infested with vermin in the summer. The guards are Egyptian army veterans who are Muslim fatalists and nonchalant about maintaining reasonable sanitary conditions. He finds exorbitant the price required to clear

1. Guys, Relation, v. I, pp. 51-52.

2. There is mention however of a M. Laurella who had permission to vaccinate the people against the Plague. Guys, Relation, v. I, p. 302.

3. Salles, op.cit., p. 115.

4. Blondel, op.cit., pp. 59-62.

goods from quarantine. Further, he sees the whole affair as a money-making venture; the Health officers "invent" cases of the Plague in order to have visitors.

Blondel regards the favorable weather of Lebanon as the most likely reason for failure of the Plague to take root there.

There are apparently only two or three people properly equipped to look after the health of the inhabitants of Beirut.¹ There is a great need for properly-trained doctors and surgeons in the city. There is no law that requires a person to have a diploma in order to be able to practice medicine.² It is enough to pretend one is a doctor in order to treat sick people, and then obtain as much money as possible. There are a number of good pharmacies in Beirut. Mention is made of a particularly good one, where the pharmacist is a European-educated native of Beirut.³

The Governor of Beirut is at the same time the President of the Council of Health of the city. The main tenets of the Council are patterned along European lines.⁴

The educational life of the country is treated in some detail by the travellers. They distinguish between four different

1. Ibid., p. 46.

2. Delaroière, op.cit., pp. 159-160.

3. Blondel, op.cit., p. 47.

4. Ibid., p. 62.

kinds of schools: the schools of the Muslims; the schools of the Maronites; the French Catholic educational centres; and, the Protestant missionary schools.

The Muslims are not at all well educated in comparison to the Christians. The Muslim public school is a rarity. The children are taught arbitrarily; knowledge of the Quran is primary.¹ Many are taught by Christian teachers who employ a modern method introduced by a Maronite bishop of Aleppo. It is designed to teach the children in two years what ordinary Muslim teachers accomplish in ten.

The primary schools of the Christian villages are found in Maronite monasteries. The education in these monasteries is not very advanced, for although the Maronite clergy is very profound in its faith, its education does not correspond in strength. There are four establishments in Lebanon for the instruction of young men who wish to enter religious careers. However, the Maronite College in Rome is far superior in its training and education.²

The Lazarist convent at ^{Ayntura}~~Antura~~, described as "une colonie française"³, is the centre of French education in Lebanon. There is in it a school for young men who are taught such divers subjects as: French, Italian, reading, history,

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1. Guys, Relation, v.I, pp. 27-28.
 2. Poujoulat, Souvenirs, pp. 130-131.
 3. Lamartine, op.cit., v.II, p. 560.

writing, arithmetic, geography, and Arabic, both classical and colloquial. The students are made familiar with European mores and culture. 'Antūra is supported by the French Consul who gives fifteen thousand francs a year to the school.¹

Needless to say, much praise is accorded the educational advantages of 'Antūra by the French travellers. They not only see it as a place where the young men of Lebanon may acquire a complete education; they also see it as a French convent, and also as the residence of the Papal Delegate.²

They do not regard the Protestant educational mission with the same favour; mention of the Protestants is usually very derogatory. They are accused of bribing the very few proselytes they are able to convert. Guys accuses them even of using their wives to help them in their conversations, thus inspiring earthly instead of heavenly love.³ They are criticized of wasting too much effort in converting Christians, instead of worrying about the Muslims, the Ansaris and the Druzes. They are also denounced for creating great dissension within Christian families by converting only certain sections of them.

Most of the missionaries live in Kisrawān. The system of giving out free Bibles, apparently a specialty of the

1. Salles, op.cit., p. 120.

2. At the time of Salles' visit, the Delegate was Mgr. de Fazio. Ibid.

3. Guys, Relation v. I, p. 43.

American Protestants, has inspired repugnance in the minds of the traditional Lebanese.

Their unpopularity in Lebanon is especially stressed by Delaroière who cites an incident that occurred in the North.¹ A certain Mr. Bird, a Protestant missionary from Beirut, was travelling in the strongly Maronite area of Mar Elīsha, Mar Antonio and Qanūbin. He was not at all warmly received by the inhabitants; in fact, the Maronites were very rough in their treatment. The Bird incident has made it unsafe for any Englishman to travel alone in the Bsharri area, since the inhabitants might assume he is a Protestant missionary, and accord him similar hostility.

One of the worst features of the Egyptian administration is the forced conscription of all non-Christians. It has caused great misery to the Lebanese. Blondel describes a scene at the time of conscription: the people mourn; the bazaars close down; the streets become deserted; there is general havoc caused by the scrambling around of the citizens in their attempt to escape.² He further relates that he himself has seen whole regiments made up of young boys between the ages of ten and twelve who were forced to join the army. Their rifles have to be made especially light for them to be able to carry them.

1. Delaroière, op.cit., pp. 221-223.

2. Blondel, op.cit., pp. 49-50.

The system used by the Egyptian government is to send the soldiers to serve in another country; they are rarely kept in their native land. Further, each soldier is marked in order to distinguish him from civilians, since the soldiers are made to serve life-terms.

Poujoulat, when he visited Bayt al-Dīn, found more than four-thousand women weeping in the courtyard of the Palace.¹ Their men had been taken into the army. He remarks especially on the poignance of a young girl whose fiancé was amongst those sent to Egypt; she despaired of ever seeing him again.

Christians are not usually conscripted. In case of urgent need they are taken into the army, however. But they have to pay for their own food, for their clothing, and even for their arms.

The conditions of the soldiers are miserable. The army is made up of all kinds of people that range from negroes to white people.² They are very badly fed, and poorly clothed. The uniforms are made of coarse khaki cotton, and are usually very dirty since the soldiers have no extra garments. They wear red wool caps and backless "babouches maroquins".³ The

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v.II, pp. 90-91.

2. One estimate of the size of the army put it that the men who fought at the Battle of Acre were between 25,000 and 30,000. Ibid., p. 171. Also, it is known that the army of occupation in Syria is made up of 70,000 men. Périer, op.cit., p. 103.

3. Blondel, op.cit., p. 50.

officers do not stand out at all by way of elegance or neatness. A few wear linen suits, but spoil their appearance by not wearing stockings. Further, the ignorance of the officers is of great detriment to the army.

The soldiers suffer great privations and endure many trials. They are probably able to resist many more hardships than their European counterparts due to the very nature of their treatment and daily existence.

From the above outline of the main administrative features of the Egyptian government in Lebanon, it has been possible to obtain an idea of its basic attributes; its executive body, its judiciary, its social aspects, and its army. No study of the government would be complete, however, without some mention of the department that directs the economic life of the country. Before reviewing the economic situation of Lebanon, then, it would be necessary to study the set-up and functions of the financial branch of the Egyptian administration.

When Ibrahim Pasha began his conquest of Syria, it was in the hope of ultimately obtaining from it large revenues which would serve to bolster the economic welfare of Muhammad Ali and his government. The taxes and duties consequently imposed upon all the Syrians are very hard and exacting; likewise, the methods of extortion.

The head of the financial administration is Anna Bahri-Bey, a Christian Armenian. He is the financial director of all civil and military matters. It is through him that all the

possibilities of trade, industry, agriculture, property, people and even animals, are exploited, and used as means of income. Périer observes, however, that he carries the monopoly system to such an extent that it finally becomes detrimental to the government. The example he cites pertains to the augmentation of the tax he had already imposed on all edible products.¹

The price of meat was raised from 1 37/40 piastres the oke to 4 piastres. That made a net profit, in a town like Sidon alone, of 8760 piastres a year. The government, when it bought meat for the army, bought it at the same price, with only a small reduction of 10 paras. The expenses of the army thus were 13,900 piastres more per year. The added expense of the army naturally was a loss to the government that supported it.²

The entire tax-system imposed by the Egyptian government acts as a severe restraint on the people whose enterprising spirit is very much curtailed. There are five main forms of taxation: the mīri tax; the kharaḥ (or jouali) tax; the firdi (or firdet al-rūs) tax; customs; and, the imposition of monopolies.³

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1. Périer, op.cit., p. 55.
 2. Such losses were kept hidden from Muhammad Ali who had complete confidence in Bahri Bey.
 3. In comparison, the Ottoman system could count only three main taxes: the mīri; the kharaḥ (only for the rayahs); and, the avania duties which were arbitrary, and therefore often abused. Périer, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

The mīri is a land tax based on a governmental survey of the land. All land is subject to taxation, even if it is wakf territory, or even a very large plot of land.¹ The land tax is set to be paid for life.

One form of the land tax is the green mīri tax which is raised on trees. The tax on olive and mulberry trees amounts to about 5% of their yearly revenue.² Since the green mīri is also set for life, it is disastrous to the peasants, who often have to continue paying taxes on trees that have long since died.

The kharaḥ is a capitation tax to be paid by all non-Muslims, fifteen years of age, and above.³

The firdi is a tax levied by the Egyptian government on all Syrians. All men fourteen years old and above are eligible; only civil and military officials are exempt. It should represent one-twelfth of the person's annual income. The tax itself is not an exorbitant one, but its manner of distribution is unequal. The limits of the tax are set in the following manner: the minimum amount must be fifteen

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1. This was not so with the Turks; wakf and large areas of land were exempt.
 2. Périer, opcit., p. 96.
 3. There is mention of the amount set for different people; for bachelors, the sum is 5 piasters; for married men 7 piasters; and, for those who live in the coastal towns, 9 piasters. Guys, Relation, v. II, p. 140.

piasters; the maximum five hundred. Where five hundred piasters to a rich man is not at all a sizeable sum, the fifteen that the poorest of men has to pay is disastrous.

The methods used to force payment on all Syrians are very often cruel and unjust. Fathers have to continue paying the tax for their sons even if the latter are conscripted or die.¹ If the poor do not have the means to pay their dues they are beaten, tortured or imprisoned. Since the taxes are collected in lump sums from the villages, many poor people are obliged to escape from their homes. If a person finds the tax unfair he legally has the right to put the matter before the Divan Sciori. But the latter all too often is corrupt, and acts according to its own whims and favour.

Customs duties differentiate between the Europeans and the local population. Where Europeans are made to pay only $\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 1% tax for articles with tariffs (such as sheets, cochineal, sugar, material, etc.), and 3% on non-tariffed products (those that give little profits), the Lebanese have to pay much more. Duties of 4% on all articles are raised; these are not meant to be paid once only. They have to be repaid in every town where the goods are sold. These duties make it almost impossible for the natives to compete with

1. It is estimated that there are at least one hundred-thousand men in Egypt for whom the firdi in Syria is being paid. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 175.

the Europeans.¹

Animals are also subject to duties in port areas. The cost on cows and cattle ranges from thirteen to twenty-one piasters, and up to sixty and seventy piasters if the animals are to be used for meat.²

There are also a number of arbitrary duties; one of these is the "tasiriyeh" on all edible products.³ This duty is imposed on all edible products that are moved from one city to another. Since Europeans are exempt from the tax, many a consular agent in Syria profits from it. The local people often hide behind the flag of a European agent in order to be able to give to their trade a worthwhile profit.

Another imposition, the tarh (its Lebanese name; otherwise it is known as the bizriyyeh) is a silk tax. It is based on the seeds of the silk-worms. At first its cost was three and a-half piasters per ounce; but the price gradually rose until it became doubled.⁴

The Egyptian administration has set up monopolies on as many branches of the industry and agriculture as possible. For example, all farmers are forced to sell their products to the government at a certain fixed price. Then, the government

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 87.

2. Ibid., p. 88.

3. Ibid., p. 102.

4. Guys, Relation, v. II, p. 140.

places the same products for sale at a price four times as high. The farmer thus has to buy back his own products at quadruple their original price.¹

Every village has to contribute a certain quantity of edible products such as wheat, butter, and oil to the government. They are for the consumption of the army. Beasts of burden are used by the government for its own benefit; no indemnity is given to the owners. Further, the citizens are often engaged in some form of labour without being paid.

In Lebanon itself, the methods of collecting taxes vary according to district. In the Matn, there are five villages, owned by the Abi al-Lama' family, that do not have to pay taxes. Further, the flat land in the district, which belongs to the Shehabs, is exempt from the mīri.² The Shihabs have the right to exempt all people in their employ from the kharaḍj, bizriyyeh and mīri taxes.

The sheikh of each village is responsible for collecting the mīri and sending it to Bayt-al-Din. Bashir was convinced by Bahri-Bey to enforce the levying of taxes throughout his land.³ In 1839, the Lebanese begged Bashir to take away all

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 174.

2. Guys, Relation, v. II, p. 143.

3. For a detailed account of the taxes and duties in Beirut alone, between the years 1830 and 1842, see Appendix IV.

their land, in exchange for being delivered from the burdensome taxes.¹ To the Lebanese apparently, it was not so much the taxes themselves that caused their great distress; it was rather the means and methods whereby they were extorted.

The harsh system of taxes not only effected the people financially, but also in their day-to-day living; the unjust and cruel methods of collection were an added burden to their woes. However, the Lebanese managed to keep their lands fit and thriving, and remained as actively engaged in the economic affairs of their country as possible under all the restraining circumstances. The agriculture, the industry, and the trade of Lebanon will now be examined in order to have an idea of the products, prices, imports, and exports.

In surveying the agriculture of Lebanon, it would be noted first that mulberry trees are the most abundant and precious of the country. The trees are the centre around which the national economy rallies, for silk is the principal export. These trees have other benefits: their leaves are used for burning; their barks serve as replacements to the willow-twigs for ligatures in rural economy; the leaves of the second season are given to the cattle to eat; and, the wood is used by the carpenters. Pine trees also exist, the wood of which is useful for naval construction and roof-vaulting.

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 98.

Although the pastures in the mountainous regions are good, they are not very plentiful. Most of the cattle have to be imported.¹ Iraq sends thirty to forty-thousand sheep a year; camels come from the Arabs of the desert; and, good cows are obtained from Damascus. Beef and she-goats are native to Lebanon. Although there is no pork available at the butchers because of the religious laws of Islam, a few Maltese sell lard in the winter. Milk is a rarity.

The grains produced in Lebanon are wheat, maize, lentils, peas and barley. However, they are barely sufficient for the consumption of one-third of the population. The rest has to be imported from the Black Sea region. The government raises very high import duties on the cereals, and many poor people often have to go without bread because they cannot afford it.²

The fruits in Lebanon are many and varied. Figs are the most abundant fruit in Beirut. Grapes are likewise plentiful; also, pomegranates, apricots, oranges and lemons.

All edible products are very expensive. The food to be found in the markets include lettuce, artichokes, cauliflower, eggplants, tomatoes, and onions. Potatoes, which used to be imported from England and France, are beginning to be grown in Tripoli. Almonds and nuts are locally produced. Coffee is very scarce.

1. Guys, Relation, pp. 287-288.

2. Blondel, op.cit., p. 29.

Lebanon does not abound in game because of the destruction caused by hunting. It is said that on each of Bashir's annual or bi-annual hunting expeditions in the area between Dayr al-Qamar and Sidon, between eight and nine thousand partridges are caught.¹

Water is very scarce. The aqueducts are in such a decrepid state that they pollute the supply that does exist, Water is otherwise conserved in barrels during the winter in order to be used in summer. There is mention of a good spring in Ras-Beirut, near the sea.

The potentialities of the Biqa as fertile land do not seem to be realized by the natives. It is noted with amazement by the Frenchmen that such an obviously fertile plain should be left uncultivated, while the rocky mountainous areas are all efficiently tilled and fertilized. The reason for the deserted Biqa Valley is the fact that the open plains are dangerous; the unsheltered spaces are not sought after in a land where so many brigands, rebels and outlaws exist. Ibrahim Pasha ordered the planting of trees in the Biqa, but the project was not successful.²

There is a ready abundance of good wine in Lebanon; it differs according to district. In Jibbet Bsharri the wine is red and light; in Zeouié it is white; in Kisrawan it is yellow, and known as vin d'or; and in Solima there is a delicious

1. Guys, Relation, v. I, p. 299.

2. Ibid.; v. II, p. 37.

and excellent pink wine that is lauded by the French travellers.¹

Sponges are found in the area around Baṭrūn and Tripoli. The right to fish sponges belongs to the Emirs of Lebanon who usually sell them to entrepreneurs.

The most important industry in Lebanon is weaving. Cotton, wool and silk are all important, although it is the latter that is outstanding in the quality and quantity produced.² In Dayr al-Qamar and Baabda, for example, light cloth of cotton, as well as of silk, is woven. When the Egyptians first occupied Tyre, they destroyed the foundations of a cloth factory, and started instead a coffee-plantation.³

The silk of Beirut and Kisrawān is the best and the most beautiful. The white silk of Beirut is sent out for export. The yellow silk of Kisrawān and Damūr is sent to Damascus and Aleppo for sale. The silk of Tripoli is used for belts; the silk of Zūq is used for 'Abāyas.

There are two French establishments in Beirut that weave silk. The general observations of the travellers show that the Lebanese method of sericulture is neither very expert, nor very scientific. The mulberry trees are planted

1. Guys, Esquisse, pp. 269-270.

2. For a detailed account of the production and consumption of silk, see Appendix V.

3. Guys, Esquisse, p. 256.

haphazardly; the silk thread is woven very thickly, and is often uneven in length. But although there are attempts on the part of certain French experts to improve the output, it is claimed that the Lebanese are not eager to accept them because "... la vertu des Levantins n'est pas la modéstie".¹

For a short time only, the silk industry was monopolized by the Egyptian government.² But even when the administration officially relinquished its hold on the silk industry, it continued to control it by imposing taxes and charges. These duties caused silk to be too expensive for general consumption. Where previously the entire population of Beirut used to be clothed in silk garments, it now has to turn to the less expensive cotton materials.³

Tripoli is the scene of much boat-building, which is taken charge of mostly by the resident Greeks.⁴ Beirut industry includes the making of pottery, and the relatively new business of putting out handkerchiefs to be sold abroad.

1. Blondel, op.cit., p. 113.

2. Guys, Relation, v.II, p. 240.

3. Blondel sees the silk taxes as being indirectly very beneficial to England which has now flooded the Beirut market with low-priced cottons from Manchester. Blondel, op.cit., p.24.

4. Ibid., p. 262.

The handkerchief trade is thriving, especially in its export to England.¹

A number of mines in Lebanon help in the industrial development of the country. There are coal mines around Hamana and Qurnayl which are being taken care of by a British engineer. There are also a number of iron mines. A M. Brocchi was sent by Muhammad Ali to Syria in 1832; he found marcassites of gold, silver, copper and zinc. But as yet the mines themselves have not been found.²

Workers and artisans are not well-paid; they are not encouraged in their trades. Goldsmiths, shoemakers, tailors, iron-monger, masons and carpenters barely earn enough money to live. Hard work is apparently not very highly regarded.

The trade and commerce of the Levant is a subject that has aroused much interest and curiosity. There is nothing very orderly or regular about it. It seemingly has no basic system to follow. "Il y aurait des chapitres à écrire sur le commerce de la Syrie".³ The main branches of trade seem to be built on credit and speculation.

1. Guys, Relation, v.I, p. 169.

2. Ibid., p. 295.

3. Périer, op.cit., p. 91.

Credit is the nucleus around which commercial enterprises revolve. The local merchant regards credit as a bank from where he may obtain all the money he needs. The trade of Beirut is carried out mostly on borrowed money. The credit rate of the Europeans is only 6%; with the Syrians, the lowest interest is set at 20%. Therefore most of the Lebanese use European credit.¹ Guys warns Europeans not to lend money to the Lebanese unless they have some form of guarantee.

Pérrier sees the practice of buying and selling on speculation and credit as the straight path towards the economic ruination of Syria. He argues that it is possible to make a profit of 25% yearly, without speculation; he points to the French establishments of Humand and Rostand of Beirut as examples.²

There is great commercial rivalry between the Franks and the Levantines. This rivalry is fanned by the distinction in customs duties and taxes made by the Egyptian government. Because the latter is obviously eager to win the favour of the Europeans, it grants them many advantages. Consequently, much of the natives trade under European names, a privilege

1. Ibid., pp. 90-91.

2. Ibid., p. 86.

for which they pay $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 4%.¹ Because of this arrangement, the Europeans occupy themselves mostly with the import business; the Levantines take charge of the exports.

It is difficult to understand the coinage of Syria. There are hundreds of different kinds of coins; these include those issued by the Ottoman Empire, and those minted by the Egyptian government. The values of some coins might occasionally be nominally equal, yet their buying power does not always correspond.²

Since Beirut is the most important port of Syria, most of the import-export procedures are directed through it. There are about one thousand three hundred and forty ships (weighing seven thousand eight hundred and forty-eight tons) that come to Beirut yearly, bringing goods to the country.³ The products that come on these ships are sugar, cereals, coffee, indigo, cochineal, low-priced cloth, English cotton, and iron.

The ships that leave Beirut annually are about eight hundred and five in number (and weigh about five thousand tons). They carry products to Europe, to the Barbary coast,

1. Ibid., p. 86.

2. Blondel, op.cit., p. 25.

3. Périer, op.cit., p. 93.

and to Egypt. France plays an important rôle in the exchange of imports and exports of Beirut.¹

One of the great weaknesses of the Syrian market is the fact that England recently flooded the country with its merchandise. The goods were sold at a very low price for a short time; consequently, the market became crowded with English products. But these products are made of Syrian raw materials which had been exported, and which in turn came back as foreign products. The return of the finished products as foreign imports is naturally of great loss to the country.² Another cause for the weakening of the Syrian market is the fact that since the silk became more expensive (because of the high duties), the cheaper foreign cloths became more accessible to the local population, and therefore the imports on them had to be increased.

The Egyptian rule in Syria was marked by a number of uprisings brought about by a rebellious population. Incidents occurred in 1834, 1835, 1838; and then finally in 1840, when the revolt led to the expulsion of Bashir and Ibrahim Pasha from Syria. The political events of the 1832-1840 period in Lebanon will now be traced from the writings of the Frenchmen.

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1. For a detailed account of the relation of Beirut's trade with France, as compared to other countries, see Appendix VI.
 2. Périer, op.cit., p. 88.

The Lebanese commitment to the Egyptians began when Bashir, whose position in Mount Lebanon was very firm and secure, decided to side with Muhammad Ali in his fight against the Porte. Since Lebanon was "la clé de la Syrie",¹ it was very easy for Egypt to occupy the rest of Syria from there.

The 1832 campaign in Syria, and the subsequent setting up of Egyptian rule was largely due to the efforts of Ibrahim Pasha and his aid, Soliman Pasha. There are references to Ibrahim's army in 1832. It was made up of forty-thousand men; there were six regiments of infantry, each with four battalions; eight regiments of cavalry; three-to-four thousand Bedouins; and a field artillery made up of six cannons.²

When Syria was first conquered, its citizens were not unreceptive to their new ruler. The civil and military authorities submitted immediately to him. Lamartine³ was told of a story that occurred when Ibrahim entered Beirut. While the Egyptian was riding triumphantly into the city, he saw a snake crawling at the foot of his horse. He immediately drew his sword, and killed the serpent in one stroke. The crowd hailed Ibrahim more loudly; they saw in the expert killing a good omen for the future.

1. Blondel, op.cit., p. 94.

2. Marmont, op.cit., p. 271.

3. Lamartine, op.cit., v. I, p. 80.

As time went by, and the Egyptian rule became a reality with such ominous attributes as the total disarmament of the population, trade monopolies, and a firm military rule, the Syrians became less and less cordial towards their new government.

In October 1834, there occurred an uprising in Beirut that was followed a few days later by a mass insurrection of the Mitwālis in the valley of Baalbek and Anti-Lebanon. The Mitwālis deliberately cut off all the communications of the Egyptian troops. Ibrahim Pasha turned to Bashīr for help. The Emir intervened, and caused the failure of the Mitwāli revolution.¹

Ibrahim's next move was to insure the docility of the people under his rule by disarming them. He seized the opportunity in 1845 when all were in low spirits. His action took the Lebanese entirely by surprise. According to one report,² he arrived on a Sunday to start the disarmament process. Since most of the people were at church, he closed the doors of the churches, and placed his men at the exits. Each citizen was thus systematically disarmed; it is estimated that over four thousand people in Dayr al-Qamar alone (made up of Christians and Druzes) were robbed of their arms. The process of disarmament began in Dayr al-Qamar and proceeded

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 179.

2. Guys, Relation, v. II, pp. 135-136.

from there to other villages in much the same manner.

The next political incident that affected the Lebanese population began in Hawran in 1838, when a Druze uprising took place under the leadership of Shibl al-'Aryān. The insurgents marched on Damascus; although they were put down by Egyptian troops, Ibrahim realized the need for more soldiers, so he armed the Maronites of Lebanon. The move served to make deeper the already apparent dislike of the Druzes for the Maronites. Ibrahim sent sixteen-thousand guns to Bashir who promised the Maronites that if they joined the army he would diminish their taxes. Thus, sixteen-thousand Maronites were induced to join the ranks of the Egyptian army.

Ibrahim led the new soldiers to Baalbek, but they found that the insurgents had already evacuated it. So the troops went on to Anti-Lebanon, where a battle took place. At first, the Egyptians were losing, but because of the extra arms and men, they slowly began to gain until their victory was made complete. About eight-thousand of the rebels were then either tortured or put to death.¹

Muhammad Ali issued a firman to the Christians of Syria in which he gave them twenty-four thousand guns as a reward for the participation in the battle of Hawran.²

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, pp. 283-284.

2. Ibid., p. 286.

Thus the dissension between the Maronites and Druzes grew stronger. The total disarmament of the proud warrior-Druzes in the face of the forty-thousand guns that had recently been granted to the Christians was a cause of great bitterness. The Druzes were eager to be completely rid of the Egyptian rule, and return under the aegis of the Ottoman Empire; that way they would be able to retrieve the power that had been lost with the fall of Bashīr Janbalāt.¹

The Battle of Nézib forced Ibrahim to send all the troops stationed in Syria to the scene of the battleground. The Maronites were left, under the guidance of Bashīr, to maintain order in the country after the retirement of the Egyptian army. The Syrians were made more unhappy after the victory of Nézib, since they had to bear the brunt of the costs of the war.²

By 1840, there was a great deal of intriguing in Lebanon, especially in Mount Lebanon. Englishmen, in the disguise of merchants, were paying money to assuage the misfortunes of the Mountaineers.³ According to Périer, it was the Englishmen who spread rumours of a general conscription amongst the people of Lebanon. The news frightened the people very much, and panic set in, especially when rumour had it that Christians were also to be forcibly taken into the army.

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1. Guys, Relation, v. II, p. 258.
 2. Périer, op.cit., pp. 364-365.
 3. Ibid., p. 367.

A Maronite-Druze alliance was formed in Dayr al-Qamar in early March, 1840. Both parties swore to make common cause against Ibrahim Pasha if he conscripted any more men. The Lebanese now identified the Egyptians with all the imperfection in their country; they did not blame Bashīr, whom Périer considers to be the real culprit.¹

Unfortunately, just after the Druze-Maronite alliance that strengthened the Lebanese position was decided upon, Ibrahim required all arrears in the firdi taxes to be called in. Very rigorous and strict methods of collection were enforced. The rebellion of the Lebanese could not be controlled; by May 27, 1840, Mount Lebanon was in full revolt.

Although Muhammad Ali issued an order of general disarmament, the mountaineers managed to be well-equipped. The Maronite priests who encouraged the revolt allowed reserve armaments to be deposited in the churches.²

The Maronite priests apparently played a very large part in the revolt. They encouraged the rebellion. Where once they had called the Druzes and the Mitwālis the "curse of God", they now referred to them as their "children", and helped them as much as possible. To their own people, they turned the uprising into a Holy Cause.³

1. Ibid., p. 367.

2. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 286.

3. Ibid.

Soliman Pasha tried to make matters better by assuring the populace that he had misinterpreted Muhammad Ali's order of general disarmament.¹ On June 6, Ibrahim issued a firman to the Lebanese. He assured them that there was no question of a general conscription in Lebanon, or in all of Syria for that matter. However, he warned the people that he had sent reinforcements of fifteen regiments of infantry to maintain order in case the uprising was simply an act of treason.²

In the meantime, Bashīr tried to weaken the internal situation by maintaining a division in Lebanon. He sought to strengthen the dissension of the Druzes and the Maronites, and also tried to take advantage of the unintelligence of the people. He almost succeeded in his task. But the Maronites of Kisrawān were stubborn, and refused to yield. They were joined by the Emir Sanjar of the Mitwālis; together, they issued a proclamation against the Egyptian government.³

The revolt was in full swing by the beginning of June. About two thousand mountaineers were camped outside Beirut. They vainly attacked the city which was well fortified by the Egyptian troops. At the same time, all the villages of Anti-Lebanon rose in revolt. They cut off communication and trade links with the government. Bashīr sent his son Amin to quieten

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 370.

2. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, pp. 287-288.

3. Périer, op.cit., pp. 370-371.

the rebels by promising them less taxes; but his pleading was of no avail. The attacks continued. The Mitwālis attacked a little fort near Baalbek; they also took ammunition from a convoy going from Beirut to Damascus.¹

The Maronites disarmed the Egyptian troops in Sidon under Soliman Pasha, taking them by surprise. Soliman and his men hid in the town, and were trapped by the insurgents.²

The rebels continually showed the greatest respect to foreigners and all that pertained to them; they even gave Englishmen the flour that they had found when they attacked the Egyptian convoys.³ There were a number of Europeans who were working alongside the rebels, guiding them, and reinforcing them with arms and supplies when necessary; Périer names Comte Onfroy, who had been supposedly studying Arabic at Antoura, and his aide Lhéritier de Chézelles.⁴

These two men, along with a Piedmontese who acted as their aide-de-camp, are said to have been Turkish emissaries paid to incite rebellion in Syria. They promised the support of England and Russia. They were receiving money and supplies from Cyprus. Périer mentions that by night a boat would arrive from the island, and unload arms and ammunition in the Bay of Juni.⁵

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, pp. 286-287.

2. Ibid., p. 287.

3. Ibid., p. 286.

4. Périer, op.cit., p. 375.

5. Ibid.

The rebels wanted to contact Bourrée, the French Consul in Beirut, but he refused to see them.¹ He did meet with Onfroy, however, and denied any form of participation in the revolt.² There were two Frenchmen, established near Beirut, de Leymon and de la Ferté, who encouraged the rebels, and promised them European support.³

The towns of Jūni, Jubayl, and Batrūn, were then bombed by Egyptian frigates, in spite of the continuous rebel attacks from the mountains. But before the Egyptians could occupy Beirut, an incident occurred, the consequences of which were of significance to the subsequent development of the revolt.

A Frenchman living in Beirut was attacked by Egyptian soldiers. The French Consul lowered his flag as a sign of protest. Onfroy and his men interpreted to the mountaineers the Consul's move as a sign of France's support, of their rebellion. When the agents of the Foreign Powers in Beirut realized what Onfroy had done, they issued a proclamation in which they declared they were not at all responsible for any European who took part in the revolt.⁴

In the early part of July, Bashīr managed to persuade the Druzes to discontinue hostilities. His arguments were

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 287.

2. Périer, op.cit., p. 376.

3. Ibid., p. 379.

4. Ibid., p. 381.

very shrewd. To begin with he promised diminished taxes, and better living conditions. But most important of all he pointed out that if the revolt succeeded it would be because of European aid to the Maronites. The Druzes would consequently have to live under the tyranny of European rule. It would be better to have Muhammad Ali rather than a heretic European for a ruler.¹

With the abandoning of the Christians by the Druzes, the united front of Lebanon was destroyed. The Maronites, under the leadership of their own Sheikh Francis, were not able to stand alone. They knew little of the techniques of war-fare and could not face the attack of the Egyptians, under Soliman Pasha and Abbas Pasha (the son of Muhammad Ali), together with the five grandsons of Bashīr. The contingent made up of sixteen-thousand men marged against the Maronites, and caused much bloodshed.² When the French Consul strongly protested the plunder of churches and monasteries, the Egyptian soldiers became less vindictive in their treatment of the Maronites.³

On July 10, 1840, the French flag was hoisted once more on the French Consulate. Bourrée, who was suspected of secretly

1. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 290.

2. There is mention by Poujoulat of the Messacre of the Convent of St. Roch by two hundred Albanian soldiers who killed the priests even while they were at Mass. Ibid., p. 290.

3. Ibid.; p. 291.

helping the rebels, was blamed for returning the flag too promptly by the other Consul Generals in Beirut.¹ He was recalled to Paris by his own government.

On July 10, 1840, there was a massacre of the village of Malaka by Albanian soldiers who had been sent to occupy Sidon. The devastation of the town was horrible and complete. The Egyptians and Bashīr tried to pass the incident off as an isolated case.²

In the meantime, Wood, a very active British agent in Lebanon, and the brother-in-law of the British Consul in Beirut, incited the mountaineers to further rebellion. He bribed them, and supplied them with the arms that were being delivered to Lebanon by British steamers.³

With the declaration of the Holy War against Muhammad Ali by the Porte, and the appearance of an Anglo-Turkish fleet off the coast of Syria, the French agents hurriedly tried to assure the Egyptians of French aid. The British however, managed to mislead the local population into believing that French aid to the Egyptians was impossible.⁴

1. Périer, op.cit., p. 384.

2. Ibid., pp. 387-388.

3. Ibid., pp. 386-389.

4. Périer says that a French ship "La Brillante" appeared off the coast of Sidon; but it was followed by a British steamer, which, after it saluted the French flag in the city, proceeded to bomb Sidon. Thus it made the local population believe the bombs were coming from "La Brillante", and that France was not on the side of Muhammad Ali, Ibid., p. 390.

The Egyptians were gradually defeated, since they had to contend with the British fleet on one side, and the force of the well-equipped Lebanese mountaineers on the other. French attempts to quieten the Maronite rebels were unsuccessful.¹ Beirut was bombed. The British placed Abdallah Shihāb as Emir of Lebanon. Very soon after, the Egyptian rule of Syria was at an end.

No account of the political events in Lebanon during the 1832-1840 period would be complete without a study, however brief, of Emir Bashir, the titular ruler of Lebanon for over forty years. The travellers deal at length on the controversial character of Bashīr; most of them have first-hand information, since they visited him at Bayt al-Din.

Poujoulat does not regard the Emir with favour. He finds him a man who has oppressed his country for forty years. He says that Bashīr is regarded as a man without honesty or integrity in Lebanon; a person who acts as a blind servant to Muhammad Ali. The Druzes, Maronites and 'Ansāris alike complain of him, and place him alongside Muhammad Ali as the cause of their oppression and misery.²

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1. The General Superior of the Lazarists in France was sent by the French Government to Antura to try and convince the mountaineers to become submissive, but the mission was a failure. Ibid., pp.391-392.
 2. They apparently say: "Emir al Jabal wa Muhammad Ali Sawa Sawa". Poujoulat, Voyage, v. I, p. 92.

Lamartine sees Bashīr as a magnanimous ruler who is just to all, and who enjoys great respect in return.¹ Marmont views Bashīr's position in the light of the Egyptian rule as a very difficult one; the Emir has to come to a compromise solution in order to maintain the peace and happiness of his people. He has to support Muhammad Ali (after the establishment of Egyptian rule in Syria), because he realizes that if the Egyptians lose in their fight against the Porte, and the Ottoman Empire once more places Lebanon under its governorship, vengeance would be taken on the Christians of Lebanon. So Bashir is forced to continue to show support for the Egyptians.²

Guys also feels that the situation in Lebanon has grown out of Bashīr's control. He sees Bashir as a generous, capable and wise man, who was just as angry as his people were by the disarmament of 1835, but who had to be prudent, and not act rashly or impetuously, since he realized that the Egyptians were too powerful for him to defy.³ Ibrahim apparently always liked Bashīr very much, even when the latter showed occasional insubordination.

The question of whether Bashīr still retained his own power after Ibrahim's rule in Lebanon began, is one that

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1. "Il fait justice à tous, et tous le respectent également". Lamartine, op.cit., v.I, p. 198.
 2. Marmont, op.cit., p. 235.
 3. Guys, Relation, v. II, pp. 130-137.

is not solved from the opinions of the travellers. Guys maintains that the Prince was reduced to near-impotence after the 1835 disarmament. Périier says, conversely that Bashīr only appeared to have lost his authority; actually he was only restrained in very few ways, militarily for example. He was always quite free to do what he wished to in the mountains; he knew he could get away with anything there since he always had the protection of the Egyptian force. He collected taxes, and blamed their exorbitance on the Egyptian government.¹ The great influence Bashīr always had over the Lebanese people is exemplified in an incident cited by Périier. The Maronites, at the beginning of their revolt in 1840, furiously went to Bayt al-Din to attack Butrus Karāmi, Bashīr's favorite minister. While they were clamouring for the minister, the Prince himself appeared on the scene. His presence alone sufficed to quell and disperse the rebels; the crowd was soon dispersed.²

Much is said, also, of the past events of Bashir's life that point to his character: how he put his three nephews to torture; how he destroyed the Janbalāts and placed the Druze feudal powers in his own hands; how he weakened the village sheikhs, and made them annually receive new deeds

1. Périier, op.cit., p. 350.

2. Ibid., p. 318.

of investiture for a sum of money;¹ and, how he deliberately impoverished the noble families by taxing them exorbitantly. His hospitality is always noted; he loved to live in splendour and luxury.

The descriptions and details are many. It is possible that the travellers were taken by the striking person of Bashīr, and ascribe to him too many romantic and poetic qualities. There is little doubt, however, that he was a very colourful figure, and one that is essential in a consideration of the Lebanese scene during the Egyptian rule.

Religion begins to take root in the political structure of Lebanon during the years of the Egyptian rule. The Frenchmen are aware of its importance; they note the growing enmity between the Druzes and Christians caused by the conscription and the disarmament, and how this enmity changed the united front of the country. Where Lebanon was formerly divided into Yazbaki and Janbālāti factions, after 1840 it became split between the Druzes and the Christians.²

The political overtones of religion are noted as early as 1832. Lamartine, in a moment of speculation, wonders what Bashīr would do if Ibrahim were to reduce the autonomy of Lebanon, or to destroy the Shihabs. He reflects that all the

1. "...dans ce pays, on se présente jamais les mains vides devant son souverain". Delaroière, op.cit., p. 203.

2. Guys, Relation, v. II, p. 112.

Christians, for reasons of religious loyalty, would support Bashīr against Egypt.¹ The Maronite part of Lebanon is "... le pays le plus religieux du monde..."²

Blondel, with reference to the religious structure of Lebanon, feels that England would always have great difficulty in assuming a role of leadership in Lebanon.³ The difference in religion between the English and the Lebanese makes it such that the former cannot be accepted easily by the Maronites. The French, however, would find no difficulty, because of the strong link provided by the Church of Rome.

It is a generally accepted fact by the travellers that France is the best regarded of all the European countries by the Christians of Lebanon. The French people are seen as liberators and protectors. There is the hope amongst the Christians that sometime in the near future, Syria will be occupied by a European Power that will save them from Muslim rule.⁴ France had always been looked upon by the Christians of the Orient, and especially those of Syria, as their special guardians and saviours. The Maronites have always had

1. Lamartine, op.cit., v. I, p. 218.

2. Ibid., v. II, p. 5.

3. "... ce pays où régné au plus haut degré le fanatisme religieux..." Blondel, op.cit., p. 38.

4. But it must be noted that "... cette espérance prochaine a déjà cinq cent ans de date". Salles, op.cit., p. 126.

particularly close ties with France. Lamartine points to letters sent by St. Louis, Henry IV, Louis XV to the Maronites; they are examples of France's friendship with, and affinity for, the Lebanese.¹

The special interest accorded the Maronite community by the travellers considered in this study is indicative of their respective attitudes towards the Christians especially the Catholics, of the Orient. They attach great importance to Christianity as the only religion that could possibly succeed in the Ottoman Empire, and often attribute to Islam any drawbacks or misfortune they come across.

According to Salles, ever since the era of the Crusaders many a Muslim ruler had been tempted to become Christian. The Emir of Maronite Lebanon, a Muslim, openly adopted the Catholic faith.² The Druzes, the sworn enemies of Islam, will one day also openly adopt Christianity; but, this day will come only when Turkish suzerainty will be removed, and with it the mask of Islam.

He interprets the Hatti Gulkhana as the indication that the Sultan had realized that the Christians were the most numerous, rich, industrious and intelligent of all of his subjects.³ However, he believes that the reforms will never succeed unless the Imperial Family itself becomes

1. Lamartine, op.cit., v. II, pp. 535-546.

2. Salles, op.cit., p. 377.

3. Ibid., p. 376.

Christian. It would be most propitious for the Sultan to be converted now; he would then be of the same religion as his soldiers, and could use this excuse as a good pretext for his conversion.¹

Lamartine goes a step further in his interpretation of the Christians as being of great importance in Asia. He formulates his own solution of the political problems of both Europe and the Orient, and centres it around the Maronites of Lebanon.² Throughout the expounding of his political theory, Lamartine remains a French citizen first and foremost; his loyalty to Europe, Asia, and humanity in general, is secondary.

His aim is to save Europe and Asia, the one from the destructive eruption of discordant elements within it, and the other from stagnation and decadence; and, to increase and ameliorate the human race.

He views Europe and Asia as two places that are anti-thetic to one another: the first is a continent that has recently acquired (under the leadership of France, of course) a new civilization that recognizes justice, good administration, and universal education as essential; the second is a place where a vacuum exists, caused by the decline and decadence of its population, and by a stupid administration that has been overcome by inertia. The situation in Europe

1. Ibid., p. 378.

2. Lamartine, op.cit., v.II, pp.508-532.

requires an outlet for the revived and dynamic population that would otherwise grow into a number of groups with clashing ideologies. It is only natural, therefore, that the excess population of Europe should be used to pour vitality and new life into the rich and fertile Asian Continent.

The situation in the Ottoman Empire is beyond repair; it is a hopelessly dead state, and will soon crumble. To forestal any wars between the European Powers, a system should now be devised whereby all the countries may share the fertile and rich area in such a manner as to allow humanity and civilization to peacefully flourish there.¹

Since Ibrahim Pasha was able to upset the Ottoman Empire with thirty to forty thousand men, a European could very easily defeat Ibrahim with an army of five or six thousand. From there, it would be possible to conquer and acquire Asia.²

The Maronites occupy an important position in this plan; they would serve as the pivots of action, and later would be the pillars of the administration. Of all the Syrians, the Maronites alone have the abilities to be the saviours of the Orient when the Ottoman Empire collapses.³ Unlike the Egyptians,

1. The system would follow along the Twentieth-Century idea of a Protectorate.

2. Lamartine, op.cit., v. II, p. 16.

3. "... là est le germe d'un grand peuple nouveau et civilisable; l'Europe n'a qu'a le couvrir l'oeil et a lui dire: "Lève-toi". Ibid., p. 519.

they are capable of great leadership.¹ The Maronites, also, are very eager to have contact with Europe because of the ties of religion. The time is ripe, therefore, for the settlement of a European colony in the heart of Asia.

Poujoulat also believes in the ultimate Christianization of Asia; he specifically refers only to Syria, though, because he believes that Europe should set up a Christian state.² He prophesies the replacement in the near future of the crescent by the cross in Asia. The whole area will one day become as important a part of civilization as it used to be in ancient times.³

Poujoulat is more interested, in the present, however, and especially in the political situation. He is much annoyed by what he considers to be the French Government's misconception of the entire situation in Syria, shown by the French support of Muhammad Ali.⁴ He views the Egyptian rule in Syria as corrupt. Where in Egypt Muhammad Ali has at least instituted hospitals, schools, factories and public works, his son's rule in Syria has been marked only by the extraction of the native wealth and natural resources.

Poujoulat goes on to prove the dissatisfaction of all

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1. "L'Egypte n'a qu'un homme, le Liban a un peuple". Ibid., v. I, p. 461.
 2. Poujoulat, Voyage, v.II, p. 297.
 3. Ibid., v. I, pp. 86-87.
 4. Ibid., p. 292.

the Syrians by pointing to the number of uprisings that have taken place since 1832. The citizens of Syria feel their rights have been infringed upon; they have been disarmed, and forcibly conscripted, and their animals have been taken from them. They harbour a great dislike for Ibrahim, a fact unknown to Europe.¹ The proof of their hate is in their acceptance of England, detested though it might be², as their leader and protector.

England is very eager to help the Syrians be rid of the Egyptian yoke. Lebanon is the reason why England is so anxious to become the protector of Syria, according to Poujoulat. Lebanon is the most important place in Syria: it is not only very beautiful, and has a strategic and central position, but it also has advantageous physical features, and rich, cultivable land.³

He is much chagrined to see France lose its position to England as the protector of Syria because of a simple misconception of the true situation. He sees the Maronites ("ces bons et loyaux Maronites")⁴ as being entirely misunderstood

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1. When Sultan Mahmud was told that he could conquer Muhammad Ali once and for all by issuing a firman, and calling all the cities to rise, he replied that the Egyptian would bring about his own downfall. Poujoulat, Voyage, v. II, p. 180.
 2. Apparently, England is hated in Lebanon most especially because of the "biblistes" (missionaries).
 3. Poujoulat, Souvenirs, pp. 124-125.
 4. Ibid., p. 128.

by France. The latter should protect them from Muslim tyranny, instead of allowing the Egyptian government to sap them of all their energy and vitality.

Marmont's opinion is the opposite. He believes that Muhammad Ali should have been allowed to conquer the Ottoman Empire. His argument is based on religious grounds. Since Muhammad Ali is now regarded by the Muslims as the Protector of Islam, he could then conquer the Ottoman Empire, and build up a new and more dynamic Islamic Empire, with Egypt as its centre. The Arabs would be the chief strength of the Empire, which would have a strong and efficient administration, one that would be respected in Europe.¹

A general evaluation of the Egyptian rule in Lebanon may now be drawn up. This consideration will be based entirely on the opinions and regards of the Frenchmen.

The living conditions are pitiful, not only in Lebanon, but all over Syria and Egypt.² The fault is not so much Muhammad Ali's, as it is that of the European politicians and diplomats who have stood in his way. If he were officially recognized as the hereditary Pasha of Egypt, he would be able to take more interest in the countries he has placed under his rule; now he has to constantly worry about the state of his military strength.

1. Marmont, op.cit., pp. 291-292.

2. Salles, op.cit., p. 384.

Another conclusion arrived at is that Muhammad Ali is not in the least interested in the welfare of any section of Syria.¹ He is only taken with his own wealth, and how it can be augmented; he wants to further his prestige, and attain a position of glory.

Pérrier's analysis is perhaps the most thorough; it is also very well presented. His evaluation of the Egyptian government is based on an investigation of all aspects of prevailing conditions; he only arrives at his conclusions after a close examination of the facts.

The Egyptian government in Syria is stronger than any preceding one. The systematic centralization of the administration has led to greater efficiency than ever before. The judiciary system is orderly; the security is outstanding in its quality. In these aspects, the Egyptian rule has not been unsatisfactory.

The people who have suffered most from the foreign rule have been the lower classes.² The cost of food has risen inestimably, due to the system of monopolies, and to the support of a standing army. The price of land has become much cheaper, because of the forced conscription and forced labour. The price of houses has become very high. Further, the system of forced labour has been destructive to the farmers. The

1. Lamartine, op.cit., v. II, p. 518.

2. Pérrier, op.cit., pp. 109-110.

middleclass merchants have had much more chance to thrive than the peasants and labourers.

Since the coming of the foreign rule, the intolerance towards Christians has declined appreciably.¹ The conditions of the Christians has been so greatly ameliorated that this improvement was one of the causes of the 1840 Revolution.² There is little doubt, however, that the Egyptians tried to incite trouble between the different religious sects in order to gain greater strength and position in the country.³

Pérrier has the greatest respect for the Druzes, who he sees as being strong, courageous and proud. The Maronites have enjoyed the greatest liberty they have ever had; if they will be persecuted after 1840 it will be their own fault, since they brought on the Revolution against the tolerant rule of Muhammad Ali.⁴

When the journals of the Frenchmen in this study are viewed in perspective, one common factor is immediately noticeable. They all dwell considerably on the minutest details of all aspects of Lebanon: its ways of life, its more, its characteristics, and its peoples. They show great interest in the administrative, economic, and political situations, giving as much

1. According to Pérrier, one of the main reasons for the French support of Muhammad Ali is the absence of religious fanaticism in Syria and Egypt.

2. Pérrier, op.cit., p. 107.

3. Ibid., p. 46.

4. Ibid., p. 310.

information as possible, and putting forth in all seriousness detailed plans for amelioration. One may surmise from there that the French travellers had a "special" interest in Lebanon, even before they arrived there. They are conscious of an inextricable link that ties the Lebanese people, especially the Maronites, to France. They thus always set Lebanon and its people aside in any of their general considerations; they deal with them separately, and with great care.

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APPENDIX I

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES:¹

1. Army Expenditure:

14	regiments of Infantry	
10	" " Cavalry	
<u>4</u>	" " Artillery	
28	" Calculated cost:	98,000,000 piasters ²
	Irregular army :	<u>13,320,000</u> "
	TOTAL	111,320,000 piasters

(Excluding medical officers pay, and that of Ibrahim as Commander-in-chief)

2. Civil Expenditure:

Sherif Pasha	3,000,000	piasters
Ismail Bey of Aleppo	300,000	"
Bahri Bey of Damascus	300,000	"
Germanos of Aleppo	90,000	"
4 Aides to Sherif	144,000	"
Members of the Divans	200,000	"
Public Clerks (400)	<u>2,400,000</u>	"
	TOTAL	6,434,000 "

Mutasellims:

Saida	30,000	piasters
Beirut	30,000	"
Tripoli	36,000	"

1. Taken from Bowring, op.cit., p. 24.

2. Rate of exchange: £1 = 105 piasters. Ibid., p.82.

APPENIDX II

Bashir's Decree Concerning Disarmament:¹

His Highness Ibrahim Pasha, the Seraskier, having observed that many of the inhabitants of the mountains used their arms for criminal purposes, and as it is difficult to detect male factors, has demanded the arms of the whole population. Wherefore the Emirs will use all their exertions to get them and send them to our palace, and those who attempt to conceal them shall be severely punished. In the meantime the troops of his Highness are to be well received and properly treated.

Date: September 25, 1836.

1. Taken from Bowring, op.cit., p. 117.

APPENDIX III

The Districts and Governors of Lebanon¹

<u>District</u>	<u>Governors</u>
Jibbat Bsharri	Sheikh Juriyus, Bunar
Al Zéouie	Bayt Dāhir
Kūra	Oldest son of Bashir
Batrūn	Prince Amīn, son
Jubayl	of Bashīr
Kisrawān	Emir Abdallah Shihāb
Al-Metn	Emirs Abillama' & Murād
Al-Arquḅ	Emirs Qāsīm & Bayt 'Imād (Druzes)
Al-Jird	Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik (Druzes)
Gharb al-Fawqāni	Sheikh Talhūq (Druzes)
Gharb al-Tahtāni	Shihāb Family & Bayt Arslān (Druzes)
Al Shūf	Emir Khalil & Bayt Janbalāt (Druzes)
Iqlīm al-Bellan	These districts used to belong to the Mitwālis; with the encouragement of Jezzar Pasha, they were taken by Druze Emirs.
Iqlīm al-Kharnūb	
Iqlīm al-Tiffāh	
Jebel Rīha	
Iqlīm al-Shahlār	

1. Taken from Guys, Relation, v. I, pp. 279-280.

APPENDIX IV

Duties and Taxes collected in Beirut (in piasters):¹

	<u>1830</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1835</u>	<u>1842</u>
Dyeing	5,000	13,500	20,500	-
Tannery	9,000	36,500	100,000	70,000
Survey of grains	20,000	38,000	50,000	10,500 88,850 2,550
Fish, ale, kham	9,500	34,700	33,000	45,000 5,000
Baths	10,000	14,600	16,000	56,000
Int. Customs	7,000	20,500	27,500	-
Customs on vegetables	-	2,100	3,250	-
Homes & Gardens	9,000	31,450	32,500	58,448
Cafés, shops	44,500	41,700	61,700	68,000 17,250
Coal	3,500	5,250	7,000	4,050
Cloth-sellers	5,000	6,600	6,300	-
Potteries	1,500	2,050	2,050	650
Kham Emir, Yusef	2,000	1,450	1,450	9,600
Yards (docks etc.)	-	12,300	3,000	650
Slaughter houses	145,000	295,000	(united with tan- neries)	-
Tobacco	10,000	19,000	20,000	--
Hot-furnaces	7,500	8,800	-	-
Taverns	-	16,000	10,500	-
Clay for pipes	-	250	350	300
Sea Customs	450,000	535,500	760,000	3,185,000
Silk	120,000	250,000	325,000	-
Salt	17,500	65,000	120,000	183,333
Capitation Khrati	15,000	12,000	20,000	14,317
Firdi of Egypt	-	-	170,000	-
Firdi of Christians	-	180,000	-	111,390
Muslims	-	120,000	-	-
Contributions	250,000	92,000	92,000	-
Duties on grains	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1,012,100	1,588,750	1,822,100	3,930,888

1. Taken from Guys, Relation, v. I, p. 57.

APPENDIX V

Silk Production and Consumption of Lebanon:¹ (in quintals)

<u>CITY</u>	<u>PRODUCTION</u>	<u>CITY</u>	<u>PRODUCTION</u>
Beirut	450	Tripoli	50
Dajr al-Qamar	200	Dajr al-Qamar	80
Zūq	200	Zūq	30
Tripoli	150	Beirut & the Mountain	200
Sidon	100	Sidon	100
		Exports	500

1. Taken from Guys, Relation, v. I, p. 56.

APPENDIX VI

Imports and Exports of Beirut:¹ (amount in francs)

YEAR

1827	F. 5,068,162	F. 1,353,725	F. 3,721,215	F. 1,214,830
1833	11,185,524	1,319,019	5,868,190	974,340
1834	11,955,750	1,688,775	8,316,568	2,697,020
1835	12,048,482	1,670,636	7,067,729	1,631,252
1836	16,517,512	2,777,129	9,046,388	2,674,411
1837	11,712,405	2,056,754	6,356,218	1,697,223
1841	19,747,158	3,078,348	15,369,489	2,737,390
1842	28,401,000	3,404,000	16,013,000	2,009,000
1846	15,766,560	3,769,673	10,085,180	1,614,854

1. Taken from Guys, Esquisse, p. 229.