

EVIDENCE OF MAMLUK TREASON DURING THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN (1807) IN LIGHT OF THE ENGLISH DOCUMENTS: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

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Abstract

The historical documents confirmed that Rosetta fell prey to the betrayal of the Mamluk leaders and the complicity of Mohamed Ali and his forces from the Albanians and the conspiring of the Ottomans, in addition to arrogance, arrogance, and British colonial ambitions, the goal of occupying the city was to enable all parties to control the frontiers, including tightening control over the government, even under the British flag.

The research deals the letters between the Mamluks and the leaders of the campaign (February 2, 1807 - July 14, 1807),

The research divided into: scientific methodology and sources, which include: Al-Jabarti, Georges Douin, British documents, An eyewitness by the pseudonym "Miles" and the difference between Al-Jabarti and British documents and Darwish.

The first section about: the letters between the Mamluks and the leaders of the campaign (February 2, 1807 - July 14, 1807), the second section about the analytical study of this letters.

Keywords: Egypt, Rosetta, Mamluks, British campaign, Al-Jabarti, Georges Douin, British documents, Darwish, Mohamed Bey al-Alfi, Mohamed Ali.

Introduction

This research divided into: scientific methodology and sources, which include: Al-Jabarti¹

¹ Al-Jabarti - who belongs to the village of Jabart and is now located in Eritrea, where his paternal grandfather came to Cairo to study at Al-Azhar, and settled there - in Cairo in 1753, and lived seventy-three years where he died in 1825, and continued his studies until he graduated from Al-Azhar. Al-Jabarti, 'Abd al-Rahman (1994). *History of Egypt: 'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa'l-Akhbar*, 1. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart. Al-Jabarti, History of Al-Jabarti, Original Date of Publication 1820, Cairo: The People's Book, 1958. Cairo: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Masria, 1998.

Al-Jabarti, Abdel-Rahman (2017). The appearance of sanctification with the demise of the state of Franciscan, "Edited by Abdel-Rahim Abdel-Rahman, Cairo: General Authority for National Library and Archives. The book documents the period of the French campaign against Egypt 1798-1801AD". Abdel-

(1820), Georges Douin¹ (1928), British documents², An eyewitness by the pseudonym "Miles"³ (1837-1838) and The difference between Al-Jabarti and British documents⁴ and Darwish⁵ (2021).

Al-Jabarti wrote about the Mamluk division led by Shaheen Bey⁶ and the rest of the groups

Rahim, Abdel-Rahim Abdel-Rahman (1998) *Wonders of Antiquities (investigation)*, 1-1, Cairo: The Egyptian Library. Ayalon, David (1960). "The Historian al-Jabartī and His Background", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 23 (2): pp. 217-238-249. Abdulaziz, Omar (1998). *Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti and Nicola al-Turk*, Beirut: Beirut Arab University. Saleh, Abdulkader (2005). "Ġābārti," in Uhlig, Siegbert, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica: D-Ha*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, p. 597.

¹ Douin, Georges et E. C. Fawtier-Jones (1928). *L'Angleterre et L'Égypte, La campagne de 1807*, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale Pour la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, pour la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, Le Caire.

² Darwish, M. A. (2021). *The Rakhito Writes History, Great Britain's Campaign against Rosetta in 1807 in Light of British Archives Documents*, Cairo: The Arab Nation Foundation for Publishing and Distribution. British documents: relating to campaign correspondence includes: External administration documents from the start of preparation for the campaign in 1806 until the post-withdrawal phase from Egypt in October 1807, and the documents pertaining to the war offices, the English Archives of the War Office, Portfolio No. (W. O. 1-304,1-348), Admiralty documents (Ad): 1-413, 2-1364, and include two portfolios: No. (Ad. 1-413) contains eighteen documents, and Portfolio No. (Ad. 2-1364), has two documents.

³ Although these notes are not known to the author, what was mentioned in them indicates that the author is one of the leaders or soldiers participating in the campaign, from the stage of preparation until the withdrawal from Egypt, and it included the hidden events of the events, and dealt with complete neutrality and sincerity, reaching the point of criticizing the leaders of the campaign and showing its shortcomings, and the confusion and randomness it reached, led to the defeat of the British forces twice. These remarks did not deny the great role that the popular resistance played in Rosetta.

⁴ Darwish, M. A. (2020). *The Rakhito Writes History*.

⁵ Darwish, M. A. (2021). *The Rakhito Writes history, great britain's campaign against rosetta in 1807, in light of british archives documents*, *International Journal of Academic Multidisciplinary Research (IJAMR)*, Vol. 5, Issue 5, May 2021, pp. 1-17.

⁶ Prince Shaheen Bey al-Muradi, known as Bab al-Louk, because he lived there, and he was one of the Mamluks of Murad Bey, of Circassian origin. When Murad Bey freed him, he was blessed with the scouting of the Western province. Egypt after the killing of Taher Pasha, and Al-Alfi was absent in the country of the English, Othman Bey Al-Bardisi joined him and agreed with him on Al-Alfi's internal hatred, and he was one of the direct and striking Hussein Bey Al-Washash on the western mainland on the night of their departure and transgression to meet Al-Alfi, then he left Egypt with his clan and did not remain until he died in 1808 Al-Jabarti, Abdel-Rahman. *Al-Jabarti History*, 3, p. 102.

rejecting Mohamed Ali, and about their contacts with the British Consul in Egypt Missett¹, al-Jabarti imagined that the English would help them in the conquest of Cairo, but the truth is Missett needed the help of the Mamelukes in seizing Alexandria and its surroundings.

Al-Jabarti replied that the goal of the English campaign led by Major General MacKenzie Fraser was the assumption of Mohamed Bey al-Alfi² as governor of Egypt as a substitute for Mohamed Ali, as for the fact confirmed by British documents that the military campaign was sent to Egypt through the strategy of the international conflict in the Mediterranean, to achieve British national security, and it was its goal, as specified by the orders issued to Fraser, is to seize Alexandria only, at the beginning, and to turn it into a naval military base - Mediterranean to confront France in the ongoing conflict in the areas of influence in the Mediterranean, and to secure the navigational route to India through Egypt, and the British ambitions later extended to Rosetta and Damietta, and after them, the whole of Egypt³.

¹ Ernest Missett (ca.1765–22 September 1820) was the British consul-general in Egypt from 1803 to 1816, He was instrumental in consulting with the Mamelukes during the Battle of Rosetta.

Wikipedia contributors. (2024, July 18). Ernest Missett. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved March 10, 2025, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ernest_Missett&oldid=1235320391

² Muhammad Bey al-Alfi was one of the Mamluk princes in Egypt. He was one of Murad Bey's most prominent Mamluks, and when the French campaign came to Egypt, he fled with Murad Bey to Upper Egypt. Napoleon Bonaparte made al-Alfi Palace his residence. After Murad Bey allied with the French, which made Murad Bey the ruler of Upper Egypt, al-Alfi withdrew from him and continued his fight against the French. When the British came to Egypt to expel the French, he allied with them, but after they left Egypt in 1802 AD according to the Treaty of Amiens, he was in direct confrontation with the Turks, so he took refuge in Upper Egypt. However, he continued to correspond with the English to return to Egypt and help him seize the throne that Muhammad Ali Pasha had ascended to. He was able to defeat two armies that Muhammad Ali had sent to fight him in Beni Suef and Rahmaniya, but he died on January 28, 1807 AD while returning to Upper Egypt after failing to besiege Damanhour, and months before the arrival of his English allies in their campaign against Egypt. Al-Rafe'i, Abdul Rahman (2000). "Popular Leadership in the Early Years of Muhammad Ali's Reign". *History of the National Movement and the Development of the Governing System*, 3, The Era of Muhammad Ali, Cairo: Egyptian General Book Authority Presses. pp. 52-54.

³ For details, See: Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. The role of Rosetta fortifications against the English expedition on Egypt, (new vision through the French and British documents), *Journal of international academic research for multidisciplinary (JIARM)*, Vol. 4, Issue 10, November 2016, pp. 192:219. Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. The failed colonial campaign of the British army on Rosetta of Egypt in 1907 according

English expedition based on a previous agreement with the Mohamed Bey Alfi leader of the Mamluks, but Fate ruled that die Al-Alfi before the expedition down to Egypt, even if they are made in their coming forty days came and Mohamed Bey Alfi alive and around those thousands of fighter, he would likely be the course of events in turns Egypt, however, they came after the death of Mohamed Bey Alfi and the dispersion of his supporters and his army, and that was one of the reasons created by divine providence next resistance by Egypt to the failure of the expedition.

English ship turns to Alexandria without telling the reasons for their presence, and perhaps was a survey ship to know the situation in the mouth, and in March 14 came another warship, and summoned the British consul, he agreed to the invitation and went in haste to meet its occupants, had barely back to the gap even initiated enforcement of several couriers carrying messages to distant destinations, and people thought to be destined for British nationals to call them to the mouth, but it turned out to be destined for Mamluks beys in the level, to tell them the imminent arrival of the English expedition and called up to the sea face, these messages indicate that the expedition was an earlier agreement with Millennium to provide them with the Mamluks with their men and materiel.

This shows that English expedition (1807) was summoned of Alfi and his agreement with the British to occupy the country, and this supports the fact, which is that the Mamluks were creatures of politics English and remained of its own making to be refreshed by the country of them, and notes in the novel Jabarti as saying: "The British did not come to the gap in anticipation of taking Egypt "etc.

Mohamed Ali has been found that political necessity requires appeasement with them until pays risk English expedition, before whom this condition to perform his abscess level and be at his side in the fight against the British, pleased with the Mamluks this condition, even if the Al-Alfi your surviving what pleased him, but his successors were connected with the British such links and covenants made by the Al-Alfi himself, as well as they feared abuse

to the English documents, International Journal of Cultural inheritance & Social Sciences (IJCISS), Vol. 1, Issue 1, March 2019, pp. 103-133. Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. The fortifications of Alexandria and Rosetta before the English campaign in 1807, International Journal of Cultural Inheritance & Social Sciences (IJCISS), Vol. 3 Issue 6, September 2021, pp. 54-76. Darwish, Mahmoud Ahmed. The Franco-British conflict after the withdrawal of the French campaign from Egypt (1801-1807), an analytical study, International Journal of Cultural Inheritance & Social Sciences (IJCISS), Vol. 4 Issue 8, September 2022, pp. 110-122.

reputations and charged with treason if they joined the British, accepting that ally themselves with, and they were not honest in the coalition, But they are waiting until the unfolding English results of the expedition, if the English won, they sided with them and hit the failure to understand the alliance with Mohamed Ali, and so was their business in every era to be with often, that this position in itself has stated the case of Egypt because it deprived the English, a support strong they depend on it in their expedition. Hence, Mohamed Ali left the Upper Egypt, and marched with his soldiers to Cairo, Mamluks conquered the capitals of Upper Egypt, and came near to Giza.

Mohamed Ali did not expect to evacuate the country so easily, and they who are looking for several years to the occupation and to extend their influence on them, Mohamed Ali did not escape him that his English from the era of the French expedition to occupy Egypt, and the ongoing endeavors of giving their supporters the Mamluks ruled the country and their plots, especially Mohammad Bey Alfi, all this did not draw the attention of Mohamed Ali, but it was barely believe this message, and he replied that he was going with his army to Damanhur, there would send his reply to General Fraser.

The letters between the Mamluks and the leaders of the campaign

1. Shahin Bey to Major Missett, 23rd of the moon El Cade 1221 (2nd February 1807)
2. Major Missett to the Right Hon. W. Windham¹, Messina, 6th - February 1807
3. Major Missett to the Right Hon. W. Windham, Alexandria, 14th February 1807
4. Major Missett to the Right Hon. W. Windham, Alexandria, 21st February 1807
5. Major Missett to "our friends" Ibrahim Bey¹, Osman Bay Hassan, the others Beys,

¹ William Windham (3 May 1750 – 4 June 1910) was a statesman elected to Parliament in 1784, joining the remnants of the Rockingham faction of Whigs, whose members included his friend Charles James Fox. He was an early supporter of the French Revolution, by late 1791, in July 1794, he had joined Pitt's government as Minister of War but had no control over war policy. He argued in the cabinet against a peace agreement with the French Republic. In February 1801 Wyndham followed Pitt in his resignation from the government over the King's rejection of Catholic Emancipation. He was the main opponent of the new Prime Minister Henry Addington's peace with France in late 1801 and early 1802. In the 1806-7 ministry of William Grenville, Windham became Secretary for War and the Colonies, dying in 1810. See: David Wilkinson, 'Windham, William (1750–1810). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. The Earl of Rosebery (ed.) (1913). *The Windham Papers*. London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1, p. 6, 2, p. 285. Richard Glover (1973). *Britain at Bay. Defence against Bonaparte, 1803–14*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, pp. 139-140.

Cashefs and Mamluks, Alexandria, 22nd March 1807

6. Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled, to the most honoured and respected the General Commanding the British Army in Egypt , wise in council and victorious, 22nd of the moon Moharram, 1222 (1st April 1807)
7. Shahin Bey to his much respected friend Major Missett, 22nd of the moon Moharram, 1222 (1st April 1807)
8. Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled to Major- General Fraser, etc., 12th of the moon Safar, 1222 (21st April 1807)
9. Shahin Bey Elfi to Major Missett , Beni- Souef, 22nd April 1807
10. Shahin Bey to Major Missett, 14 Safar 1222 (23 April 1807)
11. Shahin Bey Elfi to Major Missett, 14th of the moon Rabbiah el Awel 1222 (22nd May 1807)
12. Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled to Major- General Fraser, (After the usual compliments.), On 5 Rabi' al-Thani 1222 (June 12, 1807)
13. Ibrahim Bey to Major- General Fraser, 5th of the moon Jemmad Awal, 1222 (11th July 1807)
14. Ahmed Bey to Major- General Fraser, 8th of the moon Jemmad Awal, 1222 (14th July 1807)

¹ Ibrahim Bey (1735-1817): Sheikh of the town, one of the most prominent Mamluk princes, of Georgian origin, his name is: Abram Shingikashvili, he was bought by Muhammad Abu al-Dhahab, then he freed him and married him to his sister, his influence increased during the rule of Muhammad Abu al-Dhahab, and when he died in Acre, Ibrahim inherited his wealth and influence. Ibrahim shared the rule of Egypt with Murad Bey, one of Abu al-Dhahab's princes as well, so he became Sheikh of the town, managing administrative affairs, while Murad managed military affairs. Their joint rule continued until the French campaign of 1798. After the defeat of the Mamluks in the Battle of Imbaba, he fled to Syria, then returned to Egypt with an Ottoman army and entered Cairo in 1800, and when the French were victorious, he fled. After their evacuation from Egypt, he returned again. After adventures, Muhammad Ali entrusted him with the position of Sheikh of the town. During the Mamluk massacre, Ibrahim was with his son in Tura, and his attempt to unite the Mamluks against Muhammad Ali failed. He rejected Muhammad Ali's attempt at peace in 1809, after which he fled with his followers to Dongola, where he remained until his death in 1817.

Crecelius, Daniel; Djaparidze, Gotcha (2002). "Relations of the Georgian Mamluks of Egypt with Their Homeland in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. 45 (3): pp. 320-341. Mikaberidze, Alexander, "Ibrahim Bey", in: Gregory Fremont-Barnes (ed., 2006), *the Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, Vol. 2, pp. 471-472.

15. Shahin Bey Elfi to Major- General Fraser, 8th of the moon of Jemmad al Awel, 1222 (14th July 1807)

In Major Messett's letter to General Fox, February 21, 1807, he states that the event worth recording is the death of Mohamed Bey Al-Alfi, which occurred on the 27th of the last month; Even this event would have no political significance, had it not led to reconciliation between the various Mamluk factions. He also mentioned that the Alexandria garrison did not reach (300); and the population, who had wished to see their country occupied by British forces, would not be of much help. The commander of this city has installed a few weapons in addition to the batteries, and he has no weapons and is completely destitute of ammunition. He emphasized how easy it was for the British forces to control the city and castles of Alexandria. The Sublime Porte sent orders to the governor to put an end to the war he had waged for many years against the Mamluks, and to return their private property to them, in order to urge them to help him repel the attacks of the invading army. Therefore, he hopes that the country will be conquered quickly and without bloodshed.

First: Text of 15 letters

1. Shahin Bey to Major Missett, 23rd of the moon El Cade 1221 (2nd February 1807)¹

You have perhaps been informed of the death of our father, Mahomet Bey Elfi, in the prosecution of his march to Upper Egypt. He came along with us as far as Dashur, and was then in very good health and spirits, having obtained, at Mansourieh², a complete victory over Mahomet Ali pacha at the head of all his troops. After the action the enemy retired to the village of kafr Hackim³, within the walls of which they remained. For five days we

¹ The English Archives of the War Office, No. (W. O. 1-348).

² Al-Mansuriya village is currently one of the villages belonging to the center of Imbaba in the Giza governorate. The establishment of Al-Mansuriya dates back to the year 715 AH (1312 AD) in the second Mamluk state (the Circassians). Al-Mansuriya was named after Prince Nur al-Din, nicknamed al-Mansur, who is the only son of the first Mamluk sultan, Izz. Al-Din Aybak, who married Shajar al-Durr, the wife of al-Salih Ayyub after his death, and she relinquished the rule of Egypt to him from 1250 to 1257. After Aybak's death, Prince al-Mansur ruled the country for two and a half years until he was deposed, and Sultan Qutuz assumed power at the end of 1259. 'Atwa, Muhammad Hassan. (23/12/2016). Learn about the history of Al-Mansouria from its inception until now. View date: October 21, 2019.

<https://elman3oria.wordpress.com/2016/12/23/history/>

³ The village of Kafr Hakim is one of the villages belonging to the Kerdasa Center in the Giza Governorate. Kafr Hakim is one of the ancient villages, and it was affiliated with the center of Imbaba and its original

waited in expectation of their coming out, in order to engage them a second time, and then continued our march till we came to Dashur¹, where the late Mahomet Bey Elfi met his death.

It was sudden, and as it were a visitation of God. After his decease, the Beys, Cashefs and Mamluks elected me to be his successor, of which I give you timely notice, that you may not give credit to any unfavourable report; and now, thank God, the Beys, Mamfuks and Arabs acknowledge me as their chief and are satisfied with their situation, even more so than they were before.

Our object, now, is to join our father Ibrahim Bey and the other Beys in Upper Egypt, in conjunction with whom, we shall endeavour to recover our dominions out of the hands of the Albanians, according to the orders of our Sovereign the Grand Seignior, whom may God protect, and in the course of the month, God willing, we shall have obtained the object of our wishes.

We request you to inform His Excellency the English Ambassador at Constantinople of all this, that he may not believe any false reports that may be spread by our enemies, and, as soon as we have effected our junction with the Beys in Upper Egypt, we shall address a petition to the Sublime Port and send it to you. We, therefore, beg that you will give notice of our intention to the English Ambassador that you will continue to lend us your assistance as you did to our deceased father Mahomet Bey Elifi, and frequently to write to us, assuring you, that we shall be happy to render you every service in our power.

2. Major Missett to the Right Hon. W. Windham, Messina, 6th February 1807²

name was "Zahr Shammās".), changed its name to the current name "Kafr Hakeem" and it was mentioned in the directory of the year 1224 AH (1809 AD) and in the date of the year 1228 AH (1813 AD) in its current drawing, Kafr Hakeem from the works of Giza. Ibn Mamati, Abul-Makarim Asaad bin Mohdhab (2012). *Laws of Diwans, Series of Munitions*, Cairo: General Authority for Cultural Palaces, p. 295. Ramzi, Muhammad (1994). *Geographical Dictionary of the Egyptian Countries*, Section II, Part 3, Center for Documents and History of Contemporary Egypt, Egyptian General Book Organization, p. 63.

¹ The village of Dahshur is one of the villages belonging to the Badrashin Center in the Giza Governorate. The Giza Governorate is located in the northern part of the Nile Valley and extends from the borders of the Beni Suef Governorate in the south to the borders of the Buhaira Governorate in the north. The city of Dahshur is located 40 km south of Cairo. Dahshur is considered one of the large Egyptian villages, which is located on the western side of the Nile River. Al-Hamwi, Yaqut bin Abdullah Al-Hamwi Al-Rumi Al-Baghdadi, Shihab Al-Din Abu Abdullah (1993). *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, Beirut: Dar Sader, 2, p. 492.

² Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-304).

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of 21st November, marked most secret, signed in your absence by Lord Howick, and conveyed by the H. M. Ships S. Ajax¹ and subsequently by the packet) your duplicate of the 2nd December.

At the same time that I received the dispatch of the 21st November, I received another letter from Lord Howick, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

You may be assured that the (5000) men shall be ready for embarkation at a moment's notice, and, if they should be called for by the Admiral previous to my receiving further orders, they shall be instantly dispatched; I am already employed in embarking the ordnance provisions and heavy stores.

I should have been inclined to have sent Lieutenant- General Sir John Moore in command of this Force, as being the officer most competent to the purposes detailed in your dispatch; but on consideration of all circumstance, and the particular situation of affairs in this island, I feel his presence here so necessary, that, in the event of its being called for before I receive the further instructions relative to the officer who is to take the command of it (as stated in Lord Howick's letter herewith enclosed), I shall be inclined to send Major-General Fraser, an officer whose steadiness and good conduct point him out as well adapted for the situation.

Upon receiving a letter from Admiral Sir John Duckworth off Palermo, stating that he should not come to an anchor there and that, as the winds were, he should go by the west side of the island to Malta and not come here, I immediately dispatched Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to meet him at Malta to confer with him on future operations. He has returned this day, and I learn from him that he met the Admiral on the outside of the harbour under sail for his destination, and that he proceeds, fully assured both by my letter

¹ HMS Ajax was a Leander-class light cruiser, a third-rate ship of the British Royal Navy. Class of 74 guns. Built by John Randall & Company of Rotherhithe and launched into the Thames on 3 March 1798, Ajax took part in the Egyptian Operation of 1801, returning on 8 June 1802 after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens. It took part in the Battle of Cape Finisterre and the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, and on 1 February 1807 Ajax, commanded by Captain Henry Blackwood, joined Admiral Sir John Duckworth's squadron in Malta to take part in the Dardanelles operation. During the operation, an accidental fire destroyed Ajax. The fire began on the evening of 14 February in which 250 of her troops lost their lives that night, including many of the crew, and exploded the next morning. Wikipedia contributors. (2019, March 30). HMS Ajax (1798). In *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 26 June 2019, [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=HMS_Ajax_\(1798\)&oldid=890100268](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=HMS_Ajax_(1798)&oldid=890100268)

to him and his communication with Sir John Moore, that everything on my part will be ready upon his requisition.

A few hours after Sir John Moore's departure, I received another letter from Sir J. Duckworth dated Malta. My reasons for not immediately acquiescing in the proposal made by Sir J. Duckwork were that the weakening of the defense of this island by such a draft of men, before an absolute necessity required it, was unadvisable; that although not probable, there was still a possibility that a rupture with the Port might yet be prevented by the appearance of our Naval Force, and that at all events, the occupation of Alexandria, from its situation, could be undertaken with as great facility a short time hence as at present. Under these impressions, I thought it more expedient to adhere to the letter of my instructions.....

By a letter of sir J. Duckworth brought me by Sir John Moore, I find that, from the report he has received of the Island of Milo, he does not think it eligible for his purpose, and that he means to defer his plans respecting a naval station, till he makes a further investigation. In the event of the Admiral representing the absolute necessity of occupying such station, I shall (although without instructions at present to that effect), feel myself authorized to give him such military co-operation as I may judge expedient to spare, either from the Force here, or from that detached to Alexandria.

3. Major Missett to the Right Hon. W. Windham, Alexandria, 14th February 1807¹

I have the honour to transmit to you the translation of a letter which I received on the 9th instant, from Shahin Bey, the successor of Mahomet Bey Elfi.

The contents of that letter are the more satisfactory, as I had reason to apprehend that Shahin Bey would have declined maintaining the friendly intercourse which existed between his predecessor and me; as the Russian Consul had done everything in his power to detach him from the British interest, and had persuaded him to send one of his officers to Constantinople with instructions to apply to the Russian Ambassador at that Court for his mediation in Favour of the Mamluks. It is evident, however, that the Bey find it in their interest to look up for protection to the H. M. Ships Government; although they may wish to ensure the good will of other Powers.

In the preparations of defense which the Commandant of Alexandria is making, he has in view to resist not only an invasion of the Russians, but also an attack from the troops of the

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

Viceroy who, under the pretext of reinforcing the garrison, aims at getting possession of this city which, as I have had the honour to slate in a former dispatch, is not included within the limits of his jurisdiction.

4. Major Missett to the Right Hon. W. Windham, Alexandria, 21st February 1807¹

I have the honour to inform you that the Viceroy of Egypt has received positive orders from his Court to desist from making war against the Mamluks, to whom he is enjoined to restore their private property, and to unite with them for the purpose of opposing the landing of any foreign troops in this province.

The Port has, at the same time, called upon the Beys to accept the conditions which the Viceroy has been instructed to offer to them, and to join him with all their Forces, in order to enable him to repel the attacks of the numerous enemies of their sovereign.

I do not imagine that the Beys will accede to the wishes of the Turkish Government, their object being to regain the undivided possession of the country, as they formerly enjoyed it. But to prevent any defection which the proposals of the Viceroy might occasion among their followers, I have dispatched a confidential person to communicate to them the rupture of Great Britain with the Port, inviting them to look forward with confidence to happier days, as that political occurrence could not but prove advantageous to their cause. should they, however, conclude a treaty of reconciliation with the Viceroy, it would not be difficult, in the event of an invasion of this country by the H. M. Ships Troops, to induce them to break it, by offering to put them in possession of Cairo.

This Government having no official advice of the war with Great Britain, I might, without obstruction, embark for Malta; but the Commandant of Alexandria, as well as the principal ulema, having given me the strongest assurance that I should, in no case whatever, be molested, I have determined to remain in Egypt, where my presence may still be useful to cultivate the present favourable dispositions of several tribes of Arabs, whose services might prove of essential advantage to the operations of a British Army in Egypt.

5. Major Missett to "our friends" Ibrahim Bey, Osman Bay Hassan, the others Beys, Cashefs and Mamluks, Alexandria, 22nd March 1807²

You have been already informed of the arrival on this coast of an English armament. I have now the pleasure to tell you that Alexandria was taken possession of yesterday by His

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

² Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

Britannic Majesty's Troops.

The Commander- in- Chief of the British Army has desired me to acquaint you that he is come to Egypt not with a view to conquer the country, but to prevent the execution of the plan which the French Government has formed against this province, to restore order and tranquility, and to assist such parties as shall be disposed to maintain a permanent friendly intercourse with Great Britain.

You must therefore perceive how much it is your interest to connect yourself with us, since it is the only prospect you have of ever attaining your wishes.

Convinced that you much be fully sensible of the advantages to be derived from your confiding in the liberality, disinterestedness and generosity of His Britannic Majesty,

I invite you to send a confidential person to state your wants and wishes to the Commander- in Chief of the British Forces.

I pray God to pour his blessings upon you.

6. Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled, to the most honoured and respected the General Commanding the British Army in Egypt¹, wise in council and victorious, (After the usual compliments.), 22nd of the moon Moharram, 1222 (1st April 1807)

We received yesterday a letter from our much respected friend Major Missett, information us of your safe arrival in Egypt with the British Army, which intelligence has give us the most inexpressible joy, as it proves the friendly disposition of the British Government towards us.

We are now on our march towards the Lower Egypt and, with the help of God, shall be before Gizeh this week, when we will make our arrangements for the attainment of our wishes, which, with your assistance, we trust speedily to accomplish. We hope to receive a letter from you to advise us in what manner we ought to act.

Mahomet Ali, who came out to attack us below Assiut with all his forces, was completely defeated and compelled to take refuge in his boats, with the loss of about (900) men. On our side there fell but seven.

Mahomet Ali, upon hearing of your arrival, was greatly discouraged and retreated down the Nile; but whether with the intention of fortifying himself in Cairo, or to abandon the country, we have not yet been able to ascertain. When we reach Gizeh, we shall know his determination, and, in either case, will be guided by your advice.

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

May God preserve you and grant you health.

7. Shahin Bey to his much respected friend Major Missett ¹, (After the usual compliments), 22nd of the moon Moharram, 1222 (1st April 1807)

The relative of Ismael Abu Sachar arrived at our camp in a happy hour, with your letters of the 3rd and 5th instant. By the former, I am informed of the declaration of hostilities on the part of Great Britain and Russia against the Port, but the person whom you sent to communicate that intelligence verbally has not yet made his appearance. In the latter, you advise me of the arrival of the first vessel of the British Squadron destined for Egypt, and request me to march, as speedily as possible, towards Alexandria, or to send some person, on my part, thither; with which request I have lost no time to comply.

I immediately presented your letter to my father Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled, and to the other Beys who made great rejoicings on the occasion, particularly when they heard that Great Britain had declared war against the Port for the purpose of restoring tranquillity and the Mamluk government in Egypt. We received a letter from Ismael Abu Sachar, dated the 9th, informing us that the British Army had entered Alexandria.

I proceeded to Assiut, as I wrote you in a former letter, where I joined my father Ibrahim Bey. Near this place, Mahomet Ali, with all his forces, horse and foot, came out to give us battle; but we completely defeated him and killed about (900) of his troops, among whom were several officers of distinction. The rest fled to their boats and retreated down the Nile. In charging the enemy, Soliman Bey Ibrahim, Rashuan Bey Soliman, Soliman Bey Moorah Girgiawi and four Mamluks were killed. This was the whole of our loss. After that action, we all resolved to return to the Lower Egypt, and, on our march thither, received at Mellaoui your two letters Before mentioned, which determined us to make all haste to Gizeh, where we expect to arrive this week, and we hope, with your protection and assistance, to have all our desires accomplished.

We will dispatch, as you have requested, some of our Beys to meet the English Army, and to prepare provisions and everything necessary for the troops, and this detachment will be subject to the orders of the British General until our arrival, which, we trust, will be very soon.

Mahomet Ali Pacha is retreating down the Nile to Cairo; whether with a view to make further resistance there, or to effect his escape from the country, I have not been able to

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

learn. It would be better to take him prisoner and, upon our arrival at Gizeh, with the help of God, we will adopt measures in conjunction with you for that purpose.

I sent you a letter to the English General to congratulate him on his safe arrival in Egypt, which, after perusing, you may, if you think proper, deliver to him, and, as you are well acquainted with all our affairs, I hope you will exert yourself on our behalf, and continue to write us everything that relates to our interests.

I send you my son, Musa Selictar, to receive the answer of the commander-in-Chief of the British Army, and a full explanation of everything that concerns us.

May God grant that your friendship for us be of long duration.

8. Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled to Major- General Fraser, etc., (After the usual compliments¹), 12th of the moon Safar, 1222 (21st April 1807)

I have received your letter of the 2nd instant, and am happy to hear of your safe arrival, for which I return God thanks. You state that you are come to this country to save it from the hands of the French, and to restore tranquility. As Great Britain is the ancient ally and friend of the Beys, I have an earnest desire to see you and am grateful to the Almighty who has been pleased to send you here.

You desire me to send five or six Beys with their adherents into the Baheira and Menoufia, to prevent the troops which are in Rosetta from affecting their retreat to Cairo.

The favours conferred upon us by the English compel us to do everything in our power for them, and whilst a single Mamluk remains, their good intentions will not be forgotten; but [although] anything that we can do would be a very unequal recompense for the great obligations we are under to them, we request you to pardon us for declining, at present, to comply with your request.

You know everything that has befallen us for these ten years past, since the arrival of the French Army in Egypt. You know that we have been living in the desert, at a distance from our houses and families; that we have twice obtained the pardon of the Grand Seignior by your mediation, although it has as often been revoked by the presents and money given by our enemies to the Ministers of the Porte, and that we have never had the means of purchasing it again; that, in consequence, our only resource has been to remain in the desert, far from our wives and families, for whose safety we are induced to make this sacrifice.

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

Were we to send some of our Beys to join you, now that you are at so great a distance, the news would speedily reach Cairo. You are well acquainted with the character of the enemy's troops. They are composed of robbers and plunderers from every nation, without faith, without law, who would take that opportunity of seizing and violating our wives. The province of Sharkiah is very extensive, and a wide retreat is open to our enemies. We are afraid for the safety of our families, for whom we have submitted to many privations since the invasion of the French, and who would be exposed to the insults of our enemies.

When you have taken Rosetta, we will, if you think proper, come down to the eastward of Cairo, and you may march up by the western bank of the Nile to join us; or when you arrive at Gizeh, we will, upon your sending us notice, come over and meet you, on a precise day, at Embabé, and there unite our forces against the enemy. By that means, they cannot molest our families. We hope in God, that with your assistance, we shall obtain the victory over our enemies.

Be pleased to accept the reasons we have assigned for not complying with what you require, and send us advice where we may meet you. Let it only be settled on what day we shall be in the neighbourhood of Cairo, that the enemy may not have time to injure our families.

Do not conceive that this is merely a pretext, God forbid! We shall come in obedience to your orders, and we would not for our lives do anything to incur your displeasure. And if it is written in heaven that our families are to suffer, let the will of God be done. We again repeat to you that all we can do will never repay the obligations conferred upon us formerly by the English. If, until now, we have not sent some of our people, it is for the reason above mentioned.

You saw Cairo some years back, but there is not now one third of the population which then existed. The Turkish troops are collected from all parts, live without the fear of God or man, and account the lives of the people as nothing. But God will punish them. Since your arrival, we have never ceased to make rejoicings, and we trust, by your assistance, to be once more restored to our families, as we have already been delivered from death by your means. We pray you to write us soon.

9. Shahin Bey Elfi to Major Missett¹, Beni- Souef, 22nd April 1807

My pen is incapable of expressing to you the joy I felt on receiving the pleasing

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

intelligence of the arrival in Alexandria of the Army of his glorious Majesty, the king of Great Britain, our protector and friend.

My having gone up to Sciout was certainly a great misfortune for me. Nevertheless the moment I was informed of the arrival of the English, I determined to come down and join them; but, to my great mortification, I was obliged to delay the execution of my purpose with a view to persuade the rest of the Beys to follow me.

Various were the argument and admonitions I made use of to prevail upon them, but they still remained unmoved, I know not with what idea; they would not come over to my opinion, and, and I, weary of their obstinacy, and desirous, as early as possible, to meet my friends, set out, several days back, on my march downwards. I am now arrived in the neighbourhood of Beni- Souef, in four or five days, shall be on the confines of Gizeh.

h. E. Ibrahim Bey and other Bys have written to you; what their intentions re I cannot tell, but from what I have learnt, they are resolved not to come down till they hear of the arrival of your Army at Gizeh, and of its having invested Cairo.

As for myself, you ought to be persuaded, and you may assure all those whom it concerns, that my only friend and protector is the English Nation, nor will I acknowledge any other. The intimate friendship which existed between you and my predecessor will have given you an opportunity of knowing his thoughts. Conformable to his sentiments are also mine, and they will never altered; I, therefore, commit to your wisdom all my interests, persuaded that your sincere and constant friendship will not spare any pains to act, as far as lies in your power, for my benefit; and when I have the pleasure of a personal interview with you, I shall be happy to communicate my sentiments verbally.

10. Shahin Bey to Major Missett. (After the usual compliments), 14 Safar 1222 (23 April 1807¹)

We received, on the same day, your two letters; the first forwarded by Ismael Abu Sachar, the second, brought by our son Musa Aga, and we are greatly obliged to you for the expressions of friendship they contain, which we hope no unfortunate event will ever occur to interrupt. At the same time, with your letter for my brother Shahin Bey, there arrived one from Major- General Fraser for our father Ibrahim Bey and the rest of the Beys, which I forwarded to them by Ali Cashef and Mahomet Kiahia. Before the receipt of your letters, we had agreed to march towards Lower Egypt, and came with that intention to Minieh,

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348).

which we found evacuated by the Albanians. After remaining there four days, we resolved to proceed downwards.

I told the other Beys I should march before them, and so I have done. On my way, I met the bearers of your letters above mentioned, which I sent with Ali Cashef and Mahomet Kiahia, accompanied by a letter from myself, urging them to come down immediately, or, at least, to send some of their Beys as directed by H. E. the General, and desired those two officers to do everything in their power to prevail upon them to come down immediately.

I then continued my route towards Lower Egypt and have reached Beni- Souef. Ali Cashef and Mahomet Kiahia are returned with a letter from our father Ibrahim Bey for the General and one for you which I send through the channel of Ismael Abu Sachar. Ali Cashef and Mahomet Kiahia have brought me a copy of our father's letter to the General, and have explained to me the apprehensions which the Beys entertain respecting their families in Cairo; that Rosetta not being yet taken, the English troops are still at a great distance, and if the Beys were to go down towards Alexandria, Mahomed Ali would probably molest their families; but that when Rosetta is taken, they are certain the English troops will march towards Cairo, and that the Beys, when they receive intelligence of it, will march down to meet them on a fixed day at Embabè.

In their letter to the General, they request him to let them know the day; as also that, if the General wishes them to come down at all events, they have no difficulty to do it, and wish him to send an answer immediately.

Such is the spirit of their letter and of their excuses, which have certainly some foundation, since Mahomet Ali has threatened to take vengeance on their families. As to myself, I wish you to be in my place, and to act for me as I wrote to you before. I beg you will inform the General that I am at present at Beni- Souef, and that when this letter reaches you, I shall be at Dashour with all my followers.

Send me the orders of the General; if I am to proceed downwards, I am ready. If I hear that Rosetta is taken, I shall naturally conclude that the troops are near at hand, and make all haste to join them. But, if Rosetta has not yet been taken, write to me what is proper to be done, for, of all the Beys, I am the nearest to you, Dashour being only six hours march from Embabé.

My father Ibrahim Bey and the other Beys are also coming down, for Ali Cashef and Mahomet Kiahia have assured me that they have left Minieh and were proceeding

downwards. in expectation to receive soon the General's commands. I beg you will send to me the General's answer to my father Ibrahim Bey, that every one of us may act according to his orders; and, my dear friend, make all haste in sending me the answer.

I hope that shall soon receive intelligence of the surrender of Rosetta, for the longer that is delayed, the greater opportunity the enemy has to fortify himself. May God bless you.

11. Shahin Bey Elfi¹ to Major Missett, 14th of the moon Rabbiah el Awel 1222 (22nd May 1807)²

I received, several days ago, your letter of the 19th of last month with the letters for our father Emir Ellue Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled and Shahin Bey Moorat, who are still in the neighbourhood of Minieh.

I have sent frequently to the other Beys to request that they would come down as we had agreed upon, or that our father Ibrahim Bey would send some of his Bey to accompany me; but to my entreaties they have answered only with vague and unmeaning promises. I sent two of my Bey and a Cashef, with your letters and one from myself, instructing them to renew my demands.

These, on their arrival, made use of every possible argument to prevail on the other Bey who, instead of listening to their representations, detained them nineteen days with assurances that in two or three days they would move their camp downwards. But my Bey, having perceived that those of the family of Moorat constantly opposed the preparations of the Sheikh El Beled for marching, left the camp and returned to me, with a letter from my father Ibrahim Bey, confirming what my own messengers had reported to me, and adding that in two or three days all the Beys would follow me.

I am now convinced that the promises they made to me were only words. The difficulties which they make are to be attributed to the intrigues of Mahomet Ali, who has employed

¹ Prince Shaheen Bey al-Muradi, known as Bab al-Louk, because he lived there, and he was one of the Mamluks of Murad Bey, of Circassian origin. When Murad Bey freed him, he was blessed with the scouting of the Western province. Egypt after the killing of Taher Pasha, and Al-Alfi was absent in the country of the English, Othman Bey Al-Bardisi joined him and agreed with him on Al-Alfi's internal hatred, and he was one of the direct and striking Hussein Bey Al-Washash on the western mainland on the night of their departure and transgression to meet Al-Alfi, then he left Egypt with his clan and did not remain until he died in 1808. Al-Jabarti, Abdel-Rahman (2017). The appearance of sanctification with the demise of the state of Franciscan, 3, p. 102.

² Archived in the portfolio No. (W. O. 1-348)

persons to deceive the Beys and to misrepresent the state of things.

My camp is now at Al-Maimoun¹. My intention is to proceed towards you, but the way is blocked up by the Bedwins in the service of Mahomet Ali.

I am very anxious to join you, as the villages where I am encamped are entirely ruined and provisions are very scarce; but I am apprehensive of some accident, as our army is encumbered with a great number of camels, and heavy baggage. When Mahomet Ali heard that I was marching downwards, he sent several persons to me with proposals of peace, to which I returned only evasive answers.

Thus, the other Beys being in upper Egypt and the Pacha with his Arabs in my front, it will be impossible for me to pass to you except by some artful contrivance. Were your troops near me, I could find means of joining you, as it would not then be difficult to bring over the Arabs to our side; for when they see that we are sufficiently powerful, they will not hesitate to come to us.

I have to request you will send me an answer, that I may know your sentiments, and, if your troops march out, inform me at what time and in what place I can meet them. The enemy is vigilant, but I will endeavour to keep him from active operations until I receive your answer. I have sent Ali Cashef, under pretence of treating with Mahomet Ali, to procure intelligence and to discover the situation of affairs at Cairo.

12. Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh El Beled to Major- General Fraser, (After the usual compliments.), On 5 Rabi' al-Thani 1222 (June 12, 1807)²

This is to inform you that I am arrived with all my Beys at Beni- Souef, sixteen hours march from Cairo. Here we intend to remain till your Army is on its way to attack Cairo; and when you are two or three day's journey from that city, we will either proceed to meet you or await your arrival at- Gizeh.

Believe me, the sole cause of our past delay is the fear we entertain for the safety of our wives and families, who are at the mercy of a faithless banditti. They are our only care, for

¹ Al-Maimoun village is one of the villages belonging to Al-Wasta Center in Beni Suf Governorate. The village of Al-Maimoun is located between the center of Al-Wasti and the governorate of Beni Suf, overlooking the Nile, and in the middle of it is the Ibrahimia Canal. Al-Maimoun, Wikipedia. September 5, 2019, accessed November 6, 2019

<https://ar.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%88%D9%86&oldid=38188300>

² Archived in the portfolio No. (Ad. 1-413)

in Cairo we, possess nothing else of value.

We are always grateful for the friendship and favours we have experienced from the English, and, with the assistance of God, we hope soon to unite our Forces with yours.

I pray you to send me an answer to this letter and to let me know when your Army will proceed against Cairo, whether in the last ten days of khamsin (sic), at the increase of the Nile, or after that time; also if you think it more advisable that we should meet you at Gizeh, or below that place; for when our Forces are united, the troops that are in Cairo will be too much occupied with their own affairs to think of distressing our families.

Dated 5 of the moon Rabbiah Ettani 1222 (12th June 1807).

13. Ibrahim Bey to Major- General Fraser, 5th of the moon Jemmad Awal, 1222 (11th July 1807)¹

My son, Emir Ellua Achmet Bey Elfi, informed me of everything that has passed between you and him. On his arrival we removed our camp from the neighbourhood of Beni-Souef to Racca. My son Shahin Bey with all his followers are at Bimhah, three hours' march from Gizeh. Emin Bey will explain to you the situation of the places where we are at present encamped. The inundation of the Nile is fast approaching, and in a short time, as my friend major Missett can inform you, our Cavalry will be unable to act.

14. Ahmed Bey to Major- General Fraser, 8th of the moon Jemmad Awal, 1222 (14th July 1807)²

When I arrived at the camp of my brother Shahin Bey Etfi, I did not fail to represent to him the attention I had received from you, and everything that you had said to me. All the Beys pray for your health and prosperity.

My father, Ibrahim Bay, having been informed of my arrival, sent for me; I accordingly went to see him, and communicated to him the good advice you had given: that we should remain united to each other, and form but one body and one soul, and you wish to see us once more restored to the government of Cairo.

When I returned to my brother Shahin Bey, a correspondence took place between him and our father Ibrahim Bey, the result of which was a determination to convene a general meeting of all the Beys; for this purpose Shahin Bey moved his camp a little more upwards, and the other Beys advanced to meet him.

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (Ad.1-413)

² Archived in the portfolio No. (Ad. 1-413)

A conference was held at which a resolution was taken to come down with all our forces and engage the Viceroy, who, guided by the counsels of our enemy, and flattering himself that the English do not take an active part in the cause of the Mamluks, is endeavouring, by means of his emissaries, to excite a spirit of discord among them. The grand camp of Ibrahim Bey is at Racca and that of Shahin Bey at Bimhah, where they have agreed to remain till the arrival of orders from you, which we hope will be soon as, in a month hence, the Canal if Cairo will be opened. May God assist us to bring our undertakings to a happy conclusion.

15. Shahin Bey Elfi to Major- General Fraser, 8th of the moon of Jemmad al Awel, 1222 (14th July 1807)¹

My brother, Emir Alluah Achmet Bey, and Mustapha Kashif are arrived and have delivered me your letter, in which you express your acknowledgment for the proof of attachment which I had given to the English, and your regret that my example had not been imitated by brethren the other Beys.

In reply thereto, I beg leave to say that the friendship we entertain for the English is of long standing. Our father Elfi Bey inspired us with the same sentiments of regard and attachment to your nation which he himself possessed, and taught us to place our confidence in you for support.

In replying to their enquiries, I took occasion to reproach them for their coldness and indifference in the common cause, and stall continue to write to them on this subject. A correspondence was kept up between Mahomet Ali and the other Bey till the return of Achmet Bey, who proceeded, with loss of time, to the camp of Ibrahim Bey. On his arrival there, various conferences of the Beys were held, when our father Ibrahim Bey proposed that they should move their army downwards.

To this proposal frivolous objections were made by some of the other Beys. At length a general meeting was held, at which I was present, wherein we determined to march down, with all our forces, to give battle to the troops of Mahomet Ali. In consequence of this resolution, I removed my camp to Bimhah, and the other Beys to Racca.

My Father, Ibrahim Bey, sent me the letter which you wrote to him under the date of the 22nd of the moon Rabbieh ittani², wherein you say that you had submitted our affairs to the

¹ Archived in the portfolio No. (Ad. 1-413)

² June 29, 1807. This letter is missing.

consideration of H. B. M. Ministers and that you awaited their answer. We therefore resolved to occupy our present positions, until the arrival of instructions from your Government, which we trust will be in a short time.

You advise me as a friend to remain constant in my attachment to the English. Can the infant of forty days live without the fostering hand of its mother? Yes, it may live, at a distance from and independent of the cares and attentions of a mother; but deprived of the protection and assistance of the English, we must cease to exist.

We now wait in anxious expectation of a favourable reply from you, and request, that as soon as your Army has taken the field, you will send for us, as we are all ready to obey your commands. We entreat you to consider that the Nile is rapidly increasing, and that in (30) days we shall be obliged to retire from our present encampments.

Second: Analytical study of the letters

The letters exchanged between the Mamluks and the British forces prove the complicity recorded by these documents: as evidenced by Shahin Bey's letter to Major Misit dated 23 Dhu al-Qi'dah 1222 (February 2, 1807), in which he informed him of the death of Mohamed Bey al-Alfi, after he had obtained a complete victory over Mohamed Ali Pasha at the head of all his forces. After his death, the beys, the Kashifs, and the Mamluks elected him to be his successor. He asks to join Ibrahim Bey and the other beys to regain hegemony from the hands of the Albanians, and asks him to inform the English ambassador in Constantinople of the Mamluks' request to continue providing them with assistance in exchange for providing all they can of service.

In Major Missett's letter to Windham, of the 6th of February, 1807, he states that Mohamed Bey Al-Alfi died on the 27th of the previous month. Which could lead to the disintegration of the various Mamluk parties. Measures have been taken to ascertain the views of Al-Alfi's successors, and will be contacting him regarding this interesting subject. and in another letter dated February 14, 1807, in which he included a translation of the urgent letter he had received on the ninth day, from Shahin Bey, the successor of Mohamed al-Alfi. The content of that letter is more satisfactory, as Şahin Bey was anxious to maintain the cordial relationship that had existed between his predecessor and Meset; The Russian consul did everything in his power to separate him from British interests, and persuaded him to send one of his officers to Constantinople with instructions to apply to the Russian

ambassador for his intercession in favor of the Mamluks. He affirmed that Şahin Beg finds it in his interest to seek the protection of Her Majesty's Government; while ensuring close relations with other countries. He stated that the defensive preparations being made by the commander of Alexandria were, at the same time, to resist the invasion of the Russians, as well as the attack by the governor's forces under the pretext of strengthening the garrison, with the aim of controlling this city that does not fall within his jurisdiction.

In Major Messet's letter to Windham, from Alexandria, of the 21st of February, 1807, informs him that the governor in Egypt has received orders from the Sublime Porte to desist from waging war against the Mamluks, whose property he is bound to recover, and to unite with them with a view to opposing the landing of any foreign forces in this province. . The Sublime Porte called upon the beys to accept the terms offered to them by the governor, and to join him with all their forces, in order to enable him to repel the attacks of the various enemies upon their dominion. He confirmed that the Mamluks did not join this agreement, as their goal was the undiminished restoration of the country, and stated that in order to prevent any dissension between them, he sent to inform them of the separation of Great Britain from the Sublime Porte, and reminded them that in the event of an invasion of this country by His Majesty's forces, he would be careful On their status in possession of Cairo.

and in Major Messett's letter to 'our friends' Ibrahim Bey, Osman Bey Hasan, the other Beys, the Scouts and the Mamluks, Alexandria, March 22, 1807, in which he informs them that Alexandria has been captured by British forces. He informs them of the desire of the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army to inform them that he has come to Egypt not to invade the country, but to prevent the implementation of the plan hatched by France against Egypt, and to help all parties to be in constant communication with Great Britain. He invites them to send a person carrying their wishes and demands to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Armed Forces.

In the letter of Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh al-Balad, to the commander of the British army in Egypt, titled "Wide-Horizonted and Victorious", dated April 1, 1807, he informed him of the letter of his friend, Major Messett, and their overwhelming happiness, because it proves the friendly disposition of the British government towards the Mamluks, and that they are in Their way to join him, and they are waiting for a message to inform them how they should act. He also told him of their defeat of Mohamed Ali's army, which had lost about

900 men. Seven fell from their side, and that Mohamed Ali, on learning of the arrival of the British army, retreated, whether with the intention of fortifying himself in Cairo, or abandoning the country.

And in Şahin Bey's letter to his friend Major Meset, dated 22 Muharram 1222 (1 April 1807), informing him of the arrival of his letters on the 3rd and 15th of March, and that he was informed of the declaration of hostilities from Great Britain and Russia against the Sublime Porte, and asked to be informed when the first ship of the caravan arrived He also expressed his happiness when he presented Messett's message that he had sent to Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh of the country, and that the beys rejoiced, especially when they heard that Britain had declared war on the Sublime Porte to restore calm and the Mamluk government in Egypt, and informed him of receiving Letter dated the 19th, that the British army entered Alexandria. And that after their defeat of Mohamed Ali, they were on their way back to Lower Egypt, and on his march there, he received two letters from Meset, and they resolved to march in haste to join the English army, and informed him that Mohamed Ali was retreating to Cairo, whether with the aim of increasing the resistance there, or to implement His escape from the country, and that they would take him prisoner, by arrangements with the British army, and he also informed him that he had sent a message to Fraser to congratulate him on his safe arrival in Egypt.

In the letter of Ibrahim Bey, Sheikh of the country to Major General Fraser, on Safar 12, 1222 (April 21, 1807), he told him that he had received his second letter, and was pleased with the safe arrival of the British army, and reminded him that he had come to this country to save it from the hands of the French, and he showed his willingness to provide everything they could do, and to comply with the requests of the British commander, and all the Mamluks were concerned with preserving their families, and then they decided not to take a step until after the British army arrived in Cairo. In his message, he did not forget to remind the British commander that the Mamluks, since the French army arrived in Egypt, have been living in the desert, far from their homes and families, and that they failed to obtain pardon from the Sublime Porte.

He stated that if they had sent some of the beys to join the British army, the news would quickly reach Cairo. Mohamed Ali's forces would then seize the opportunity to outlaw the wives of the Mamluks, who would be subjected to insults, and inform him that, upon the occupation of Rosetta, they would go to the east of Cairo, and might march on the west

bank of the Nile to join him; or when he arrives at Giza, they will come and meet him.

In the letter of Ibrahim Bey, the sheikh of the country, to the commander of the British army in Egypt, titled "wide-minded and victorious", dated April 1, 1807, as for Shaheen Bey Al-Alfi to Major Misit, he expressed in his letter from Beni Suef, on April 22, 1807, Overjoyed and his heart unable to express his joy at the arrival at Alexandria of the army of the King of Great Britain, (our helper and friend), informing him that the moment he was informed of the arrival of the English forces, he resolved to come down and join them; However, he is still trying to convince the rest of the beys to follow him, and that various pilgrimages and justifications were made to convince them, but they did not agree with him, and they were determined not to come down until they heard about his occupation of Cairo. He asserts that his only friend and supporter is the English nation, and he does not recognize anyone else.

In Shahin Bey's letter to Major Messett, on Safar 14, 1222 (April 23, 1807), he informs him that he received two letters on the same day; and that he is deeply committed to the friendship between them, and informs him that - with his letter to Shahin Bey - a letter from Major-General Fraser has arrived for Ibrahim Bey and the rest of the beys, and a letter has been sent from Ibrahim Bey to the general and a copy of it to him, explaining the anxieties felt by the beys in relation to their families in Cairo; Especially since Rosetta has not yet been taken, but when it is taken, they are sure that the English forces will march towards Cairo, and that the beys, will march to meet them.

In another letter of Shahin Bey Al-Alfi to Major Messett, dated Rabi` al-Awwal 14, 1222 (May 22, 1807), informing him that he had received a letter on the 19th of the previous month with letters to Ibrahim Bey and Shahin Bey. He reports that he sent again and again to other beys to ask them to come down according to what they had agreed upon, but they only responded with vague and insincere promises. and that he was now convinced that the promises which they had made to him were but words, and this was due to the intrigues of Mohamed Ali, who had employed persons to deceive the beets and distort the facts, and had sent many persons with proposals of peace, which only counted as prevarication. He asked him to tell him when and where he could meet him, and that he had sent Ali Kashif, under the pretext of dealing with Mohamed Ali, to obtain intelligence and discover the situation in Cairo.

In Ibrahim Bey, Shaykh al-Balad's letter to General Fraser dated 5 Rabi' al-Thani 1222 (12

June 1807), he begs to inform him that he has arrived with the beys at Beni Suef, and intends to stay until the British army is on its way to attack Cairo; and when he is two or three days' journey from that city, we shall proceed to meet him, or await his arrival at Giza. He repeats that the only reason for the delay of the Mamluks is the fear they feel for the safety of their wives and families, and asks to be told when the army will move towards Cairo, whether in the last ten days of the fifty, during the increase of the Nile, or after that time; And when the forces are united, the forces in Cairo will be busy with their own affairs so as not to think of harming their families.

And in Ibrahim Bey's letter to Major General Fraser, on the fifth of Jumada al-Awwal 1222 (July 11, 1807), he tells him that his son, Emir of Major General Ahmed Bey al-Alfi, told him everything that passed between him and Fraser. The Mamluks moved while they were on a three-hour march from Giza. And the flooding of the Nile became so close to the places where they lived and in such a short time that their cavalry would not be able to act.

In Ahmad Bey's letter to General Fraser, on 8 Jumada al-Awwal 1222 (14 July 1807), he informs him that all the beys are praying for him, and mentions to him that his father, Ibrahim Bey, after being informed of his arrival, sent for him; Accordingly, he informed him of the good advice you had given, that the Mamluks should remain united, and hoped to see him when the Cairo government was restored. He informs him that Ibrahim Bey and Shahin Bey have agreed to stay until the arrival of orders from Fraser, at the earliest.

And in Shaheen Bey Al-Alfi's letter to Major General Fraser, on Jumada Al-Awwal 8, 1222 (July 14, 1807), informing him of the arrival of the Emir of Major General Ahmed Bey, and Mustafa Kashif, and they handed him his letter, in which he expresses his acknowledgment of the proof of connection that he gave to the English, and his regret that his model did not imitate by other bey brothers.

He elaborated in the narration of the commandments of Al-Alfi on friendship and the long-term relationship with the English, feelings of respect and excessive confidence in helping the Mamluks, and Ahmed Bey enumerated the advantages that accompanied his entry to Alexandria, and the distinctive way of receiving him; Which explained the chest of the Mamluks who consider themselves under the protection of the English forces; and that they never cease to pray to God for you, and to quickly re-establish themselves in Cairo. Also, in replying to their inquiries, he took the opportunity to reprimand them for their coldness and indifference, as they were still procrastinating.

There were many correspondences between Mohamed Ali and the other beys, at which point Ibrahim Bey suggested that they move the army down. However, this proposal met with objection by some of the other beys, but we resolved to march, with all our forces, to engage in battle with the forces of Mohamed.

Şahin Bey crudely exaggerates the flattery of Fraser in terms of deep treachery and servility to the enemy: "Can an infant live forty days without the care of its mother? Yes, you may live at a distance from the interests and interests of the mother and independent of it; but deprived of protection and aid from the English forces, we shall cease to exist." He states that they await with great anxiety a positive reply from Fraser, and are ready to obey his orders, assuring him that the Nile is increasing rapidly, and that, within 30 days, they will be bound to retreat from their present camps.

Conclusions

- The historical documents confirmed that Rosetta fell prey to the betrayal of the Mamluk leaders and the complicity of Mohamed Ali and his forces from the Albanians and the conspiring of the Ottomans, in addition to arrogance, arrogance, and British colonial ambitions, the goal of occupying the city was to enable all parties to control the frontiers, including tightening control over the government, even under the British flag.
- The research deals the letters between the Mamluks and the leaders of the campaign (February 2, 1807 - July 14, 1807).
- In this research, 15 letters were published between the Mamluk leaders and the British army, proving the collusion and betrayal committed by these leaders in the pursuit of returning to rule Egypt, which was their goal, even if it was under British protection.
- The letters exchanged between the Mamluks and the British forces prove the complicity recorded by these documents, as evidenced by Shahin Bey's letter to Major Misit dated 23 Dhu al-Qi'dah 1222 (February 2, 1807), in which he informed him of the death of Mohamed Bey al-Alfi, after he had obtained a complete victory over Mohamed Ali Pasha at the head of all his forces, the Mamluks ask to inform the English ambassador in Constantinople of the Mamluks' request to continue providing them with assistance in exchange for providing all they can of service.
- The letters exposed the Mamluks' treachery and shameful collusion with the British

army in order for this army to control the Egyptian ports and then Egypt and end the Ottoman control, so that sovereignty would be transferred to the British and the Mamluks would rule Egypt under British guardianship.

- The letters proved the Mamluks' failure to defend Egypt in a clear form of treachery, and Mohamed al-Alfi was the first to start helping, and after his death his successors continued on this path, and with the great victory of the Rosrta people over the campaign, the British army would be able to occupy Egypt.

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- Al-Jabarti - who belongs to the village of Jabart and is now located in Eritrea, where his paternal grandfather came to Cairo to study at Al-Azhar, and settled there - in Cairo in 1753, and lived seventy-three years where he died in 1825, and continued his studies until he graduated from Al-Azhar.
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