



THE STABILITY OF THE RULE OF MOHAMED ALI AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE ENGLISH CAMPAIGN IN 1807, A HISTORICAL AND ANALYTICAL STUDY

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Abstract

There is no doubt that the political conditions that Egypt experienced after the failure and withdrawal of the French campaign, at a time when the English set their feet after their participation in the expulsion of the French, as well as the conflicts between the poles of Egyptian society, led by the Mamluks and the Turks, and then the conflict began to take new directions to impose complete control over Egypt and its complete submission to one of the political forces present on the ground, as the English were preparing for the continuation of residence in Egypt as an alternative to the French who contributed to forcing them to withdraw and not for the sake of the Egyptians,

Mohamed Ali was worthy to prove his ability to manage the struggle to gain power and his multiple maneuvers to deepen the animosity and disharmony between the contenders for power, as he did with the Mamluks and then with Khorshid Pasha at a later stage, especially as he was adept at investing the victory over the English in the Rosetta battle in his favour.

This research deals with five axes, including: the consolidation of the state and the stability of government (1807-1811), getting rid of the popular leadership, suppressing the influence of the sheikhs, the position of Mohamed Ali towards the Mamluks, the establishment of a modern regular military force, and the establishment of fortresses and fortifications.

Keywords: Egypt, the French campaign, the English campaign 1807, the Mamluks, the Turks, Mohamed Ali, with Khorshid Pasha, Rosetta, popular leadership, castles and fortifications.

1. Consolidation of the state and stability of government (1807-1811)

Mohamed Ali closely lived the successive defeats of the Mamluks in front of the French armies, as he began to form a new awareness as a result of confronting the Europeans, represented in possessing what enabled the West to excel technically, organizationally and administratively. I realize that reform is the absorption of these achievements and their repurposing to serve the desired political goals. The military and leadership talents of Mohamed Ali became evident on two important occasions that will make the Pasha of Egypt a heroic figure with a distinguished position among the popular circles, especially in the minds of the Azharite elites:

The first: his ability to manage the conflict to gain power and his multiple maneuvers to deepen the hostility and disharmony between the contenders for power, as he did with Othman Bey Al-Bardisi and Mohamed Bey Al-Alfi in a first stage, and then with Khurshid Pasha in a later stage.

The second: investing the victory over the British in the battle of Rosetta in his favor, when Britain was afraid of French influence in Egypt and the possibility of an alliance between Mohamed Ali and France, so Britain worked hard to thwart him through an alliance with



the Mamluks, but that did not come to fruition, so it resorted to force, and sent an expedition To Egypt to help the Mamluks who lost their influence, and its soldiers entered Alexandria, but the defeat of the English army occurred in Rosetta [1-2].

However, Mohamed Ali was able, thanks to his political brilliance and superior ability to maneuver, to quickly penetrate the general sense of the civil society and win over the Azharelite, especially Omar Makram, who is very attached to lofty principles and has great influence in the public, which made Mohamed Ali turn into a popular leader. And a symbol around which all social strata and classes turned to save them from the domination and tyranny of the Mamluks, to provide security and stability for the country, and to restore peace and tranquility to the souls.

In addition, luck smiled on Mohamed Ali in the difficult and critical moments in which he was facing his most severe political rivals, Othman Bey Al-Bardisi and Mohamed Bey Al-Alfi, as the first died in October 1806, and the second in January 1807, and with their death their followers dispersed and most of them fled to Upper Egypt. Thus, the political arena of Mohamed Ali was empty, except for some elements of secondary concern [3].

The process of Mohamed Ali's seizure of power in Egypt began in parallel with three civil wars between the Egyptian Mamluks, the Ottoman Turks, and Albanian mercenaries. It ended with the victory of the Albanians under the leadership of Mohamed Ali Pasha. The crushing victory of the rational people, and the fruits of which Mohamed Ali reaped, had a great resonance in various parts of the country, and won the satisfaction and support of the Sublime Porte.

The Mamluks took this opportunity to get close to him, so his sovereignty was confirmed in the Egyptian country, and his prestige in the souls was great, and Mohamed Ali took the danger that was threatening the country from abroad as an excuse to fortify the frontiers, and charge Alexandria with combat, and he took over the defense of the Egyptian frontiers himself, and before that he was defending The commander of the Ottoman Navy (Captain Pasha), and thus he took over the administration of provisions in the Egyptian country and to defend him at home and abroad.

The relationship between Britain and Mohamed Ali is old, and at the beginning of his rule he entered into negotiations with them that lasted for four months in which Mohamed Ali confirmed his seriousness and sincere desire to be associated with them, and even asked to put himself under their protection, which confirms the report of Fraser who negotiated with him, which led - After they were convinced of this - to the abandonment of their Mameluk friends. The report prepared by the commander of the expedition, Fraser, who negotiated with Russell with Mohamed Ali, and which he sent to General Moore on October 16, 1807, included the most important aspects of these negotiations. It stated:

I hope you will allow me to simplify for you to be ... the substance of a conversation that took place between the Pasha of Egypt, Major General Sherbrooke (the commander of British forces in the Mediterranean and Spain), and Captain Fellowes while they were on their mission to His Highness. And I have reason to believe that this conversation, and of many other private communications I had with him, that he is serious and sincere in his proposition. Mohamed Ali Pasha, the Wali of Egypt, expressed his desire to place himself under British protection, and we promised him to communicate his proposals to the chiefs in the command of the British forces so that they would report them to the English government for consideration.

Mohamed Ali, for his part, undertakes to prevent the French, the Turks, or any army belonging to another country from entering Alexandria by sea, and after keeping Alexandria as a friend and ally of Great Britain, but he has no choice but to wait for



England to cooperate with him with its naval forces if he is attacked from the sea side because he does not have ships battleship. At the same time, Mohamed Ali Pasha agrees to supply all the British ships standing at a distance from Alexandria with what they may need from the Nile water, when they are given a signal, and there will be agreement on it[4].

The French Consul Drovetti, commented on the information he had received about the agreement between Mohamed Ali and the British, which is of the type of a treaty that (such a treaty, when concluded, would achieve the purposes that the British sought from sending their campaign to Egypt, if its effect in this respect did not exceed all that he expected. The British did not want to announce everything contained in the terms of this agreement following its signing and evacuating Alexandria and handing it over to the Pasha of Egypt, as Britain saw the need to wait in that because it contained a declaration of clear hostility to the Ottoman Empire, for its support of a ruler who wanted independence from it at a time when it was English diplomacy has its major interests with the caliphate state and to benefit from it and from its new client to extend its influence over the region if possible[5]. The English were the only nation with which Mohamed Ali could trade; because in the last years of the Napoleonic wars, the French flag had already disappeared from the seas of the East. It was said on the occasion of the arrival of one of the French ships, which had actually disappeared to the Alexandrian port in the year 1808, and that a ship had entered there in the year 1181, and it was the first of its kind five and a half years ago. insured immediately [6].

Drovetti, the French Consul in Cairo, did everything in his power to prevent the expansion and strengthening of these relations, and the satisfaction he obtained in this regard did not go beyond the mere assertion that the Pasha was actually working against them, and perhaps he was using them for his favour. He has money and ammunition [7].

The most odious thing from the French point of view is that these trade relations gave rise to political friendship; The intrigues of Drovetti and his advice during the English campaign of 1807 were at first successful, for example, that he requested - and his request was answered - to appoint a custodian of the English goods under the French flag [7].

Frazer's campaign unintentionally caused some results, all of which were in favor of Mohamed Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, as Mohamed Ali was able to extend his control and rule over the city of Alexandria, to which he left after the arrival of the English. Mohamed Ali from subjugating the Mamluks to him through the peace agreement he made with them before he went to Alexandria to besiege the British, and one of the results is also the establishment of rule in the country and its calmness, even as all of it belongs to Mohamed Ali voluntarily.

The victory of the Rosetta people over the British campaign had a great resonance throughout the country, and won the favor and support of the Sublime Porte. And the Mamluks took this opportunity to get close to Mohamed Ali, so his sovereignty was confirmed in the Egyptian country, and his prestige in the souls was great. Before that, the commander of the Ottoman Navy (Captain Pasha), and thus he took over the administration of rulings in the Egyptian country and to defend him at home and abroad.

Alexandria, after the failure of the Fraser campaign, became part of the Pasha of Mohamed Ali; The Sublime Porte did not forbid one of its pretexts to conspire against the governor, and to communicate with his opponents. The annexation of Alexandria to the state of Mohamed Ali paved the way for the stability of his sultan, in Lower Egypt, where the Arabs and Mamluks forbade the help of the English or the Sublime Porte. Thus, the governor was able to devote himself to consolidating his authority and consolidating his



influence in Cairo, where he was threatened by the revolutions of the soldiers, the ambition of the Mamluks to regain their control, and the aspiration of the sheikhs to tighten their control over the government of Mohamed Ali. Then he harnessed his forces to expel the Mamluks from Upper Egypt, where they mobilized their forces, and imposed their authority.

As for the men of the Ottoman state, despite their satisfaction with the victory attributed to Mohamed Ali Pasha over the English who tried to attack an Ottoman country, they looked with caution and fear at the growth of his power and the spread of his reputation and dominance.

Mohamed Ali realized that extending his authority completely over his state, supporting his rule, and establishing a hereditary pasha in Egypt, would not come unless there was money to prepare a military force, which would be used against his opponents; otherwise, his mercenary soldiers will plunder. The need for money was also felt, to meet the huge expenses of the administration, and what was spent on receiving the messengers of Astana; In addition to the annual tax (escrow), which Mohamed Ali pays to the Sublime Porte; so he stays in office. The Pasha's need for money increased, after the Ottoman Sultan entrusted him, in 1807, with the restoration of the Two Holy Mosques. He was also asked, the following year, to send his army to Yanbu' and Jeddah.

Therefore, in this case, the Pasha in Cairo must have the authority and influence that would enable him to collect the money necessary to achieve the basic step in his ambitious project, which is to work on stabilizing his government, in preparation for the establishment of the hereditary rule. So, between 1807 and 1811, he sought to rule alone. He hastened to subjugate the soldiers, and to eliminate the disturbances they raise. He then proceeded to eliminate the influence of the sheikhs and riot leaders in Cairo, and then intended to eliminate the Mamluks, in the famous Citadel massacre.

The most important characteristics of Mohamed Ali are foresight, firmness and political flexibility. He realized, in his right opinion, which adopting European systems and keeping pace with Europeans in urban methods are indispensable for the advancement of his country and the consolidation of the foundations of his government that the Astana government was working to undermine. When he failed in his attempt to organize the army for the first time He concealed his failure with his political tact, but he still insisted on returning to the organization at the first opportunity, and in preparation for that, some senior opposition officers were wooed to him by various means.

So he recruited Egyptian farmers and assigned to organize the army a capable French officer, Colonel Joseph Anthelme Sève known as Suleiman Pasha al-Faransawi. He established military schools and built a fleet. With his reforms, industry grew in the country, and he used European craftsmen and craftsmen to do all this, most of whom were French because of his good political relations with them and their interest in his country. He was also interested in spreading knowledge in the country and improving health conditions, so he established schools and hospitals, and sent scientific missions to Europe, from which he brought in specialists. Among the famous reforms of Mohamed Ali was the establishment of an organized force of the police, and the establishment of security throughout the country until Egypt matched the prestigious European countries in this.

One of the difficulties faced by Mohamed Ali after the Frazer campaign was the tendency of the Albanian soldiers to rebel. They tried to attack him, in Cairo, on October 16, 1807. On October 26, they rebelled, protesting against the delay in their salaries. So the Pasha hastened to win over the soldiers, and pit the junior officers against their seniors. The presidents of Cairo rectified their interests, after they saw that the continuation of the strife



is harmful to them. They supported the Pasha with two thousand sacks, to pay the salaries of his soldiers. Mohamed Ali deceived the officer Yassin Bey Al-Arnaouti, who declared his rebellion against him; they brought him to the Pasha of Jeddah, summoned him to Cairo, where he was arrested, and deported abroad.

Historians are unanimously agreed that Mohamed Ali was planning to get rid of the Ottoman army, which was in Egypt; this is for two reasons: The first is that the Ottoman soldiers were inclined to chaos and stir up unrest, as long as they exhausted all the former Ottoman rulers of Egypt. The second reason is Mohamed Ali's desire to establish a new army, organized and trained in modern warfare, which he witnessed himself, when he participated in the battles, in order to expel the French campaign from Egypt. Historians have also asserted that the motives of the Hejaz and Sudan campaigns were the most important of which was the disposal of the Ottoman army; But the removal of his soldiers from Egypt.

He paid great attention to economic reform, because all his projects are only supported by money, so he became active in agriculture and trade, and good things came to him, and he made every possible effort in order to promote industry, but it was not profitable.

As for his agricultural business, the most important are the cultivation of American cotton and indigo, his unjust appropriation of most of the Egyptian property, and his subjugation of workers to carry out his agricultural projects, which he placed under the supervision of government men in the directorates.

His business succeeded and his profits increased, but he brought down the hardship with a number of owners and workers by raping property and subjugating men.

In addition to these grievances, the utmost severity was used in the collection of princely funds and the imposition of a new tax, which is the individual or the head tax, which was collected from the men of the country of different sects [8-9].

However, despite these grievances, his great reforms and religious tolerance made him respected in the eyes of Europeans. Relationships between European and Egyptian countries increased, and the number of his followers and admirers of Europeans increased, due to the cheerfulness he showed in receiving them and the cleverness in his conversations mixed with circumstance and humor.

The English campaign resulted in the consolidation of Mohamed Ali's position in Egypt, and the humiliation of the British against the Egyptians; as well as the growth of national awareness of the Egyptian people.

The success of Mohamed Ali in confronting the Frazer campaign, without the help of the Ottoman Sultan, and the clearing of that campaign, in the end, had the greatest impact on the position of the Pasha and his future projects. This also strengthened his position in the face of the Mamluks and the hostile forces in Egypt, even the sultan, and it increased in strength, after the expedition of the campaign, when he annexed Alexandria to his pasha, after the sultan had appointed a governor independent of the Pasha of Cairo. Thus, all of Egypt came under the rule of Mohamed Ali.

The continued success, in 1806 and 1807, increased the pasha's strength and confidence; So he pursued a policy of two parallel lines: monopolizing rule or absolute rule, and consolidating his authority; And he made the rule hereditary for his family in Egypt, similar to his neighbors, from the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, in North Africa: Libya, Tunisia and Algeria. Thus, the rule of Mohamed Ali, in Egypt, began another phase, which extended from 1807 to 1811. It is the phase of consolidating the pillars of his mandate; A prelude to building the modern Egyptian state in Egypt. He was preoccupied with laying the foundations of his absolute rule; to eliminate opponents of his authority, to



rule alone, and to demolish the foundations of the existing semi-feudal system, thus opened the way for him to the new construction, the construction of the modern state in Egypt.

Despite what Rosetta offered, in defeating the invading forces and achieving a dear victory that Egypt had not witnessed before, the era of Mohamed Ali was the beginning of the decline of Rosetta, on May 8, 1807 Mohamed Ali ordered the excavation of the Mahmoudiya Canal in 1819¹ [10-11], a subsidiary waterway of the Nile River begins near the village of the sympathy penetrates the city of Alexandria and ends in the Mediterranean Sea [12], to reach the waters of the Nile to Alexandria through the lake, and to be a waterway for commercial boats between Alexandria and the Nile, Mahmoudiyah canal and city were named after Sultan Mahmud II.

The Mahmoudiya Canal caused trade to shift to the city of Alexandria, and although Mohamed Ali established various factories in Rosetta [13], it was not a substitute for trade. So what happened to Rosetta what happened in the past to the city of Boulbitine, where its people abandoned it² [14-15-16], its houses and mosques were destroyed, its agencies were closed, and it was covered with sand[14].

2. Getting rid of the popular leadership and suppressing the influence of the sheikhs

After the proclamation of Mohamed Ali as ruler of Egypt on May 13, 1805, the sheikhs, "leaders of the people", were proud of their growing influence, especially after the Pasha entered them between him and the Cairenes, the soldiers, and the Mamluks. He also helped them to cancel his transfer to Thessaloniki³, in 1806, which was decided by the Ottoman Sultan; to expel him from Egypt. The government also relied on their efforts to prepare the people of Cairo to defend the country, without Frazer's campaign, and Mohamed Ali deliberately intervened between him and the Mamluks; To prevent these people from joining the British, and to adorn them with his reconciliation, and this resulted in two results, which were not in the interest of the Cairo sheikhs.

The first: the sheikhs tempted their influence by developing their wealth, using improper means. They bought commitment shares at low prices, from their owners, who were unable to keep them, as a result of the threat of the sheikhs, or for other reasons. However, the sheikhs continued to collect assignments and royalties from the farmers; Although their shares were exempted from it, the sheikhs also bought houses and slaves, lived lavishly, and turned away from the affairs of religion, and continued to exploit their influence; Al-Jabarti even calls them: "the sheikhs of time," that is, the opportunists, who take advantage of their religious positions. And all of that, the people around them dispersed. As for the second result, it is that the sheikhs, especially Omar Makram, believed that it was in their

¹This canal was dug in the place of the old Kanupi branch, and was named after the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud.

²The population of Rosetta was thirty-five thousand people. After digging the canal, it became between fourteen to fifteen thousand, and the population of Alexandria was five thousand and became forty thousand.

³Thessaloniki: a Greek city and the center of a municipality located in the north of the country. It is the capital of the administrative region of Central Macedonia. In the Ottoman era, it regained its importance as a commercial center for the whole of the Balkans, as a large merchant class formed in the city that had relations with all European countries.



power to oblige the Pasha to consult with them, and to respond to what they indicated to him. If he refuses, they threaten to provoke Cairo against him; in preparation for his expulsion; They also expelled Khurshid Pasha, before.

Mohamed Ali's need for money led to the abolition of the permitted lands" that were in the possession of notables and sheikhs of the country, and were exempt from taxes, since early July 1807; this was a sign of their confrontation. Nor did he consult them in managing the money. The Cairenes were surprised, in August 1808, by a 4% tax on grain and food in Cairo. Then their alarm and resentment increased when, in the same month, the Nile decreased, and the specter of famine loomed. Resentment grew. At this point, the sheikhs tempted the pasha to cancel the new tax. He advised them to perform the rain prayer, instead. For the next three days the people did not hesitate to perform it, and the water rose in the river.

The first round between Mohamed Ali and the sheikhs ended with the defeat of those who neglected to exploit their influence to exhaust their peasants and get rich at their expense. In June 1809, Mohamed Ali decided to impose taxes on the Ahbasyi (imprisoned) livelihood lands, i.e. endowments allocated to mosques and others. He ordered the collection of money from her, the examination of her arguments, then the imposition of a tax on the "Al-Wasiya"⁴lands, and he ordered the imposition of a surplus obligation.

The sheikhs, and a large group of people, whose livelihood depended on the endowment lands, felt that they had been deprived of a source of livelihood, as long as they enjoyed it. Many of them gathered, on June 30, 1809, in the Al-Azhar Mosque, complaining about their deprivation. The sheikhs asked Omar Makram, the captain of the nobles, to include the Pasha in this; He seized this opportunity to revive his leadership and to defend the rights of people and those in charge of religion.

A council of elders convened, on the first of July, in which a complaint was prepared, to be submitted to the Pasha, including the abolition of the sharing of surplus obligations. The sheikhs also pledged to the union, and leave Almnkarp. Mohamed Ali sent his secretary to them, while their council was in session; He asks them to meet him and discuss the matter with him, but they refused, and that was a declaration of boycotting him, and inciting negative resistance against him, Mohamed Ali realized the danger of the movement of the sheikhs. He sought to calm the strife. I worked hard to separate them. He succeeded in wooing some of them after assuring them that he would not return intercession to the sheikhs, nor would he interrupt their hope.

The pasha tried to woo Omar Makram; But the latter refused to meet him. He mourned the sheikhs for breaking the covenant they had made to unite in the face of Mohamed Ali. And he swore, as al-Jabarti says: "He will not see him, meet him, and see no face for him, unless he nullifies these events." No. Rather, he threatened to raise the matter to the Sublime Porte, and to revolt against him. Rather, he warned him that just as he had brought him to power, he would be able to bring him down.

The Pasha was informed by Omar Makram. His response was: "What you are doing, from

⁴Obedience is part of the commitment. given to the obligor. It is exempt from taxes. The surplus is the money left by the obligor after paying the tax to the government. And he was taking him in return for paying money for the commitment lands. Muhammad Ali's purpose in this was to obtain half of the surplus obligation. His workers deliberately scrutinize the endowment arguments, and the commitment bonds, with strict accuracy.



convulsing and meeting with Al-Azhar, to incite people, this is not appropriate for you. It is as if you fear me with this meeting, agitating feelings, and the rise of the people, as you used to do, before. I am not afraid of that. I command, they have nothing but the sword and vengeance for them with me.” The Pasha also blamed Omar Makram for his intransigence, and his refusal to come to the castle, to meet him. However, the Pasha, persistently wooed him, and requested a meeting with him, throughout July 1809.

But Omar Makram, clung to his abstinence. Omar Makram, in his hard-line position, relied on his ability to incite the Cairenes against the Pasha. He was also assured of the support of the sheikhs. But he was wrong in his estimation; Due to the different attitudes, between 1805 and 1809, his influence dissipated, along with the scholars and sheikhs, and they lost their influence on the people; this is for two reasons:

The first: Mohamed Ali’s victory over the British, his neglect of the sedition of the soldiers, and his expulsion of Yassin Bey Al-Arna’outi; The Sublime Porte was satisfied with him, after the British were expelled; The apparent inaction and weakness of the Mamluks convinced the Egyptians of the Pasha's sovereignty and submission to him.

The second: The departure of the “sheikhs of the time” - as Al-Jabarti called them - from religious affairs, their preoccupation with the world, their hoarding of wealth, and their preoccupation with their private lives - are all factors that led the Egyptians to deny them.

Mohamed Ali realized that fact. Therefore, he neglected the demands of the sheikhs, and did not respond to them; Rather, he hardly cared about their position, had he not warned them against meeting at Al-Azhar, and his concern for Omar Makram and his desire to meet him.

The Pasha was assured that the competition of the sheikhs in the sheikhdom of Al-Azhar and the endowment authorities would inevitably separate their unity. The evidence for this is the hostility of Mohamed al-Dawakhli and Omar Makram to Sheikh Abdullah al-Sharqawi; And competition Al-Mahdi and Al-Dakhali Omar Makram.

The crisis between Mohamed Ali and Omar Makram intensified in July 1809, when the latter refused to sign a memorandum, regarding Egypt’s inability to pay four thousand bags to the Sublime Porte, after it had spent huge sums of money on confronting the Frazer campaign, the suppression of the Mamluks and the sedition of the soldiers. No. Rather, Omar Makram refused to enter the castle to meet Mohamed Ali; Rather, he asked him to come out of her to meet him. That was the difference between the two men. However, the Pasha overlooked this insult, and on August 9, 1809, while he was in the house of his son, Ibrahim Bey, he summoned Omar Makram; To consult, he refused, and Mohamed Ali decided to isolate him from the Syndicate of supervision. He was exiled to Damietta.

When Omar Makram set out to travel to Damietta, his followers - as al-Jabarti says - "many turbans and others, weeping around him, mourning his separation"; But none of the sheikhs did not move a finger. The Cairenes did not rise, to prevent him from leaving, and perhaps he expected that. As for the sheikhs, they were eager to share his duties. Sheikh Mohamed Al-Sadat won the Syndicate of supervision.

Sheikh Al-Mahdi took over some important endowments. Al-Dawakhli won the Ashraf Syndicate, after Sadat's death. As for Omar Makram, he remained in exile, until 1812, when the Pasha allowed him to move to Tanta. Then he moved to Cairo, in 1819, but the Pasha returned him to Tanta, in 1822; He believed that he had a hand in sedition, in Cairo, because of a tax imposed by the Pasha on the houses, Omar Makram remained in Tanta, until his death, in 1822.

Despite the assistance provided by the popular leadership, led by the captain of the Ashraf Omar Makram, to Mohamed Ali, he began by calling him as a ruler, and then interceding



for him with the Sultan to keep him as ruler of Egypt. Despite the promises and approach that Mohamed Ali followed at the beginning of his reign with the popular leaders, with his promise to rule with justice and his contentment that they would have control over him, this did not last. As soon as the situation began to stabilize internally, with the disposal of Al-Alfi and the failure of the Fraser campaign, the defeat of the Mamluks and their expulsion to southern Upper Egypt, Mohamed Ali found that he would not give his hand in power, until he removed the popular leaders. This coincided with the division of Al-Azhar scholars on the issue of who should supervise the Al-Azhar endowments between the supporters of Sheikh Abdullah Al-Sharqawi and the supporters of Sheikh Mohamed Al-Amir[17].

In the month of June of 1809, Mohamed Ali imposed new taxes on the people, so the people revolted and resorted to Omar Makram, who stood next to the people and vowed to move the people to a massive revolution, and the informers transferred the matter to Mohamed Ali. Mohamed Ali took advantage of the attempt of a number of sheikhs and scholars to get close to him and the jealousy of some notables of Omar Makram's stature among the people, such as Sheikh Mohamed al-Mahdi and Sheikh Mohamed al-Dawakhli, so Mohamed Ali wooed them with money to sign Omar Makram.

And Mohamed Ali had prepared an account to send to the Ottoman Empire, which included the aspects of exchange, and proves that he spent certain amounts collected from the country based on old orders and wanted to prove the sincerity of his message, so he asked the Egyptian leaders to sign that account as a testimony from them to the truth of what he brought. However, Omar Makram refused to sign and questioned its contents.

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So he sent summoning Omar Makram to meet him, but Omar Makram refused, saying, "If it is necessary, then meet with him in Sadat's house." Mohamed Ali found this an insult to him, so he gathered a group of scholars and leaders, and announced the dismissal of Omar Makram from the Syndicate of supervision and the appointment of Sheikh Sadat, explaining the reason that he entered in the supervision book some Copts and Jews in exchange for some money, and that he was complicit with the Mamluks when they attacked Cairo on the day of the fulfillment of the Nile In 1805, then ordered his exile from Cairo to Damietta.

With the exile of Omar Makram, the real popular leadership disappeared from the political arena, and was replaced by a group of sheikhs whom Mohamed Ali was able to control either with money or deductions.

Although Mohamed Ali was able to defeat the Mamluks, and expelled them to the south of Upper Egypt. However, he remained suspicious of their danger, so he resorted to an alternative strategy, which is to pretend reconciliation and woo them by lavishing money,



positions, and deductions on them, in order to lure them back to Cairo. This was the bait that was swallowed by the bulk of the Mamluks, who responded to the call, preferring a life of comfort and luxury over the harsh life pursued by Mohamed Ali. However, some of the leaders of the Mamluks, such as Ibrahim Bey the Great and Othman Bey Hasan and their men, were not satisfied with this offer, and preferred to remain in Upper Egypt.

In December 1807, Mohamed Ali received a royal order from the Ottoman Sultan Mustafa IV, to disarm a campaign to fight the Wahhabis who had taken control of the Hejaz, thus losing the Ottomans control of the Two Holy Mosques, and thus threatening the religious authority of the Ottomans.

However, Mohamed Ali continued to argue the instability of the internal situation in Egypt, due to his continuous wars with the Mamluks[16]. However, after pretending to reconcile with the Mamluks, Mohamed Ali had nothing left to prevent him from dismantling that campaign, so Mohamed Ali decided to abstract a campaign led by his son Ahmed Toson to fight the Wahhabis.

The disarmament of that campaign and the departure of a large part of Mohamed Ali's forces was a great danger to the stability of his situation in Egypt, as the presence of the Mamluks near Cairo might encourage them to take advantage of the opportunity to pounce on Mohamed Ali and his forces. So Mohamed Ali resorted to the trick, and orchestrated the massacre of the castle, or the massacre of the Mamluks.

And the massacre of the castle is a famous event in Egyptian history, orchestrated by Mohamed Ali Pasha to get rid of his enemies, the Mamluks. Fire on them, and it is narrated that some of the Mamluks managed to escape by climbing the walls of the castle, riding their horses, and fleeing to the Egyptian level, including Ibrahim Bey, who fled in the Sudan and then returned about 3 years later to be killed by a trick similar to the massacre of the castle, this idea was the idea of Lazoghli Pasha, this massacre took place on March 1, 1811.

3. Mohamed Ali's position towards the Mamluks

Mohamed Ali saw that it was wise to purify the country from the Mamluks, whom he had fought fiercely in the past years until he stabbed their thorns, and thought that they would not rise up to them after that, then he brought their elders close to him, and cut them off as fiefs [7-8].

The number of Mamluks at that time was 2,500 fighters, as estimated by Monsieur Mangan, and Mohamed Ali Pasha had used their chiefs since 1807 with a trick, so he began to win over Shaheen Bey Al-Alfi, the successor of Mohamed Bey Al-Alfi, and he still offered him affection and serenity until he attracted him to Cairo and agreed to He resides in Giza and has the revenue of the Fayoum region, thirty villages in the Bahnasa region, and ten villages in Giza.

So, Shahin Bey accepted this peace and asked him for himself. He came to Cairo to visit Mohamed Ali Pasha. He honored him and invited him to a banquet with his son Toson. Then Shaheen Bey dwelt in the palace that had been prepared for him (Shawwal 1222 / December 1807), and he forgave his life of struggle and fighting. Some of the Mamluk princes followed suit, so they switched obedience to Mohamed Ali Pasha, and in January 1808 (DhulQa'dah 1222) he was sent to his fellow Mamluks in Upper Egypt, urging them to submit and allegiance to Mohamed Ali.

ShahinBey's call had the effect of breaking the intensity of the Mamluks, so the fighting movements stopped in Upper Egypt, and the situation calmed down relatively. To rest and tranquility after the years of his activity and strength, as well as Othman Bey Hassan, and



these are the two great Mamluks recognized for leadership after the death of Al-Alfi and Al-Bardisi, although despite the weakness and despair they took over, they remained on their old era of hatred for Mohamed Ali Pasha and lack of confidence in his intentions about The Mamluks, as for Shahin Bey Al-Muradi (the Caliph of Al-Bardisi), he had no influence alongside Ibrahim Bey and Othman Bey Hasan.

Mohamed Ali Pasha knew what was in the psyche of these two leaders, and he knew that experiences made them unsure of him, and not trust him, so he crossed them and diverted his efforts to win over the young beys and scouts from their followers, so he took advantage of the relative calm that prevailed in the ranks of the Mamluks, and he sent his messengers to them inviting them to eternity to obedience on the condition that he arrange for them salaries that would support them in Cairo, and by this means he ended up severing the bonds of the Mamluks and attracting some of them to the capital.

And when Shahin Bey Al-Muradi, the successor of Al-Bardisi (May 1808), died, Mohamed Ali wanted to show his dominance and that he was the guardian, so he appointed Salim Bey Al-Muharramji as head of the Al-Muradi Malik, succeeding Shahin Bey, and at the same time deposed Marzouq Bey, the son of Ibrahim Bey the Great, as the governor of Gerga, so the Mamluks appointed With this double appointment before the fait accompli, he combined at the same time declaring his authority over them and attracting Ibrahim Bey by appointing his son as governor of Girga. Their leaders were Upper Egypt at their absolute disposal. The heads of the Mamluks met, and they consulted about their position regarding this intervention, and after the introduction and response, their opinion settled on accepting the fait accompli.

But they did not pay the princely money that was owed to the countries under their authority, in cash or as a yield, so Mohamed Ali threatened them with stripping them of a campaign against them if they did not pay it. So Shaheen Bey Al-Alfi mediated between the two parties, and they agreed to pay a third of what they owed from the government's harvest, and that was estimated at seven thousand and one Hundred thousandArdeb (March 1809), but they did not fulfill it, so in September 1809, he armed them with an army to subdue them and extract Upper Egypt from their hands.

However, the Mamluks did not think of resisting him, so they withdrew to the mountains near Gerga and Assiut, and Mohamed Ali saw the opportunity to take over the rule of Upper Egypt, so he marched in October from Cairo with an army of six thousand fighters. He stipulated that they leave Upper Egypt and reside in Cairo, on the condition that he gives them some quarters to exploit and pay their money and the taxes imposed on them. These conditions indicate the extent of the weakness reached by the Mamluks, for their previous conditions were that they take over the rule of Upper Egypt to pay the tax, and the last conditions are based on abandoning the rule and residing in Cairo under the rule of Mohamed Ali.

This agreement was made on the 27th of Ramadan 1224 (November 1809) in Asyut, and the Mamluks asked for a period of three to spend their interests, then Mohamed Ali accepted this period, and returned to Cairo, and when the period expired, they asked for an extension of one month, and he accepted that, and when the deadline expired, he warned them if they did not attend that The army stripped them, so they complied and decided to leave for the capital.

Ibrahim Bey and his colleagues marched to Cairo (May 1810), and when he was near Giza, he camped on the western bank, and pitched his tent on the cannon from Giza, and there the messengers frequented between Ibrahim Bey and Mohamed Ali Pasha, and the Pasha was residing at that time in his palace in Shubra, and the messengers' interviews were



numerous. Useful: Since Ibrahim Bey had little confidence in the purposes of Mohamed Ali Pasha, and Mohamed Ali himself did not want from these negotiations except to gain time to trim the nails of the Mamluks and humiliate them, and Ibrahim Bey resented the treatment with which he was treated, as he was not struck for his defensive presence as it was He waits, and Mohamed Ali Pasha left him in Giza without paying any attention to him, so he decided to return to Upper Egypt, violating the peace, and thus renewed the quarrel between Mohamed Ali Pasha and the Mamluks.

Ibrahim Bey persuaded Shaheen Bey, the successor of Al-Alfi, to break his agreement with Mohamed Ali, and to leave Cairo to where he and his brothers united. Mohamed Ali was displeased with this movement, and recruited a new army to fight his opponents [17].

The fighting resumed, and the army advanced to Upper Egypt. It defeated the Mamluks in Bahnasa and Lahoun, and seized the province of Fayoum. Ibrahim Bey, Othman Bey, Hassan, and Salim Bey, the leaders of the Mamluks, withdrew to Aswan, exhausting their strength and shattering their resolve. He was allowed to reside in Cairo and gave him a beautiful house to live in in Azbakiya (October 1810), and perhaps he wanted to attract him this time to die in the massacre of the castle, as did many of the beys, scouts and the Mamluks, they asked Mohamed Ali for safety, so he gave them security and pardoned them, and authorized them to return to Cairo and reside there.

Mohamed Ali subjugated Upper Egypt to his rule, and Egypt owed him its far and near, and the Mamluks who submitted their obedience to Cairo returned, and began to focus on the causes of luxury and prosperity, and Mohamed Ali lavished them from the government treasury, which made them enjoy residence in Cairo, and prefer it to the life of struggle and fighting, and they set out to arrange Their new life, beautifying their homes and furnishing them with luxurious Riyadh and furniture, and most of them began to marry, and they imagined that they had rested from the hardships of life, and the horrors of hit and run, and they did not know what fate had in store for them in a terrible conclusion.

That is because Mohamed Ali Pasha was terrified of the Mamluks remaining in Cairo, especially when he intended to strip the campaign against the Hejaz to fight the Wahhabis in response to the orders of Istanbul, and feared that if the army left Egypt and its war power weakened, they would return to antagonize it and wrest power from his hand. Except to get rid of the rest of the Mamluks, and from here the idea of assassinating them grew in his head in the conspiracy known as the massacre of the castle or the massacre of the Mamluks [17.]

As for the details of the massacre [17], Mohamed Ali wanted to monopolize the authority of Egypt, so he had to get rid of the popular leadership and the Albanian soldiers who tried to kill him in 1815. Ali, the attempts to reconcile and satisfy them with the money that Mohamed Ali made, did not work, so that he wanted to appease Murad Bey, the leader of the Mamluks, and gave him the rule of the tribal face in return for an obligation of money and not to help the Mamluks to the English, but this did not work with them until the opportunity came to Mohamed Ali and sent the Sultan The Ottoman to Mohamed Ali asks him to prepare the armies and go out to fight the Wahhabi movement in the Arabian Peninsula.

Hence, Mohamed Ali began that if the army came out at this time, the Mamluks would think of seizing this opportunity and eliminating it, so Mohamed Ali thought of taking this opportunity to eliminate them, as he thought of inviting the Mamluk leaders to come to the castle on the pretext that he would establish A party to bid farewell to the army out to fight the Wahhabis, and the invitation went to the Mamluks in every corner of Egypt, from the east to the west.



The Mamluk leaders did not doubt Mohamed Ali's intention. Rather, they prepared and wore formal clothes in preparation for the ceremony, not knowing that it would be their last day in life. On the day of the fateful ceremony (March 1, 1811), Mohamed Ali prepared for the ceremony and the Mamluk leaders came with all their adornment, riding on their horses, and after When the luxurious party ended, Mohamed Ali invited them to walk in the convoy of the army going to war.

Before the start of the ceremony, the Mamluk beys entered upon Mohamed Ali, so he greeted them, and invited them to have coffee with him, and thanked them for answering his invitation, and alluded to the honor that his son would receive if they walked with him in the procession, and Mohamed Ali began to chat with them; Insisting on their safety and friendliness, was time for the procession to move, so the Mamluks rose and exchanged salute to Mohamed Ali, and joined the procession, and a group of knights was at the forefront of the procession, led by his son Ibrahim Bey.

Then he was the governor of the police and the governor of the city, then his group of Arna'ut (Albanian) soldiers, then Mohamed Ali asked the Mamluks to march in the ranks of the army in order to be at the forefront of his depositors. And after them another group of Arnaout soldiers, and after them the senior guests and statesmen.

The convoy moved to leave the castle, and walked in a narrow road towards the Azab Gate, and when the front of the convoy, the governor of the police and the governor passed through the door, the door was suddenly closed from the outside in the face of the Mamluks, and behind them were the soldiers, and the soldiers turned from the road, and climbed the rocks on both sides, and they started raining the Mamluks with torrents of lead. The Mamluks were taken by surprise, and chaos and chaos reigned among them, and they tried to escape, but the soldiers' guns were reaping them everywhere, and those who escaped from the bullets were brutally slaughtered.

The Mamluks fell dead, covered with their blood, until the courtyard of the castle was filled with corpses, and thus the victim of that massacre known as the massacre of the castle, all of the four hundred and seventy Mamluks who attended were all killed, and only one Mamluk survived named Amin Bey, who was able to jump over the castle wall[21]. Where he was at the back of the rows, and when he saw bullets raining down on his colleagues, he asked for salvation, so he climbed with his horse to the place overlooking the road and reached the castle wall, and saw death surrounding him, so he could only find that he threw himself from the top of the fence outside the castle, and the danger was The investigator in that attempt, as the wall was sixty feet above the ground (19 meters), but he risked himself, affecting death to kill, so he poke his horse, and he jumped with it, and when he became close to the ground, he jumped on foot, leaving the horse to receive the shock, so the horse immediately smashed, Amin Bey escaped death, and went jogging in the desert road, in disguise, until he reached southern Syria.

After that, the soldiers rushed to attack the houses of the Mamluks, and finish off those who remained of them, and looted and looted their homes. Rather, the looting and looting extended to the neighboring houses, and these actions did not stop until Mohamed Ali and his senior men and children came down the next day, and the number of those killed in those events was estimated at about 1000 owned [17].

Mohamed Ali Pasha ruled the planning of the conspiracy. Only four of his men stood on its secret. They are Hassan Pasha, the commander of the Arna'ut soldiers, Katkhuda Bey, MohamedLazOglu, Ibrahim Agha, the door guard, and Saleh Gosh, one of the soldiers' officers. He was leading the group of Arna'ut soldiers in the procession. Who ordered the closure of the bachelor's door and gave the signal to kill to his men.



While Salih Gosh was preparing to carry out the plot, Mohamed Bey Ali Pasha was sitting in the reception hall, along with his three trustees, and he remained in his place quietly until the procession began to move, and the terrible moment approached, so he became anxious and turbulent, and a deep silence prevailed in the castle, until he heard the first shooting. A bullet, and heralded the start of the massacre, so Mohamed Ali stood, his color became red, his face turned yellow, and the various emotions quarreled with him. The conspiracy, and then Monsieur Mandrichi, his Italian doctor, entered him and said to him: "The matter has passed and today is a happy day for your Highness." Mohamed Ali did not answer anything, and asked for a cup of water, so he drank it a long dose.

No one in Cairo had predicted before the massacre took place what fate had hidden between the walls of the citadel. The crowds were overjoyed in the streets prepared for the procession, waiting for its passage. The rows followed, and the people were astonished and began to wonder about the reasons, and their ideas went to explaining this by various sects, to the masses near the castle.

Soon the news spread with lightning speed to various parts, so the masses dispersed, shops and markets closed, people rushed to their homes, and the streets and roads were empty of pedestrians, and this panic was followed by the descent of groups of Arna'ut soldiers to the city, heading to the homes of the Mamluks throughout Cairo, so they broke into it and started killing everyone they met. There were their followers, and they plundered what they could reach, and raped the women they carried of jewels, ornaments and money, and they exceeded by killing and looting to the neighboring houses, and they committed on that day and the day that followed the atrocities of which chilling the body, and they were not satisfied with the killing of those who met him from the Mamluks and looted their homes and raping their women, and they even exceeded by killing and looting the neighboring houses,

Chaos reigned for three days, and five hundred houses were looted, and the next day (Saturday), looting and killing continued in the city, and Mohamed Ali Pasha was forced to go down from the citadel on the awakening of that day and was surrounded by the chiefs of his soldiers and his entourage to put an end to the looting and assault, so he passed the important neighborhoods that were A target of the Arna'ut's aggression, he ordered the beheading of those who continued to loot and assault, as did Toson Pasha. Thus, Mohamed Ali was able to rule alone, but on the bodies of the opponents, things were described to him to achieve his dream [17].

Al-Jabarti said: "Were it not for the arrival of the Pasha and his son in the morning of that day, the soldiers would have plundered the rest of the city and caused them severe damage[23]." He warned Al-Arna'ut to confine themselves to arresting the Mamluks who remained alive for their failure to go to the castle on the famous day, and to send them to the castle, The Katkhuda Bey was ordering to cut off their heads, and only those who escaped from Medina in hiding and migrated to Upper Egypt were spared, and Mohamed Ali issued orders to the scouts of the districts to arrest and kill all those they met from the Mamluks. The number of Mamluks who were killed in the Citadel and throughout Cairo and the districts in those terrible days amounted to about 1,000 princes, scouts, soldiers and Mamluks. Only a small number of them remained with Ibrahim Bey the Great and Othman Bey Hasan, who had not been satisfied before in the reconciliation of Mohamed Ali Pasha, and they remained in Upper Egypt, along with that group of Mamluks, and they also escaped from the killing, except for those about sixty Mamluks who fled to Syria.

It is strange that Ali Bey Al-Salanekli, the governor of Rosetta, who was the leader of the struggle of the Rosetta people against the Fraser campaign of 1807, was among those



invited to attend the celebration, but Al-Salanekli escaped from the soldiers' bullets because he was in the back rows, and there is another version that Ali Bey Al-Salanekli did not attend the ceremony because he was busy in one of the villages.

As for the opinion about the famous incident of the castle massacre, here we do not want to defend the Mamelukes, but no matter how bad they are, eliminating them by means of treachery is a matter of humanity. And if Mohamed Ali Pasha continued to fight them face to face until he got rid of them on the battlefields, that would have been good for him and his reputation, and in general, the massacre of the castle was a black point in the history of Mohamed Ali Pasha.

Some historians have tried to justify it by saying that he had to defend himself, and that when he went to Suez to take care of the affairs of the architecture prepared for the transfer of the Wahhabi campaign, he learned that the Mamluks were intending to kill him upon his return to Cairo (February 1811), so he left Suez at night untimely. And he hurried on his way until he entered Cairo, and when he realized that he was not safe from the killing of the Mamluks with him, especially if he carried out the campaign against the Hijaz and the country was emptied of soldiers, he intended to cut off their backs. The castle, rather, it is most likely that it was the result of deep thinking and a wide-ranging measure that preceded that incident and was before it [17].

The massacre of the Mamluks did not receive a strong justification, even from the friends of Mohamed Ali, who defended him and his rule. Monsignor Mangan, a friend of the Pasha, said: "I am far from justifying the killing of the Mamluks, although I consider it in some respects to be good for Egypt, for their survival leads to a war that is more harmful. The country had to stop them, just as the will of the Sublime Porte was leading to the continuation of that war. The daring blow that Mohamed Ali struck in implementation of the secret orders of the Porte had eliminated a regime that Turkey was working to get rid of gradually.

In this respect, the work of the Pasha can be justified, and on the other hand, to defend his safety, he had to resort to firm methods. His opponents, who were increasing in power and influence in this case, had heard what was said that they were conspiring to kidnap him upon his return from Suez, and when he learned that Frankish tourists blamed him on their travels and wrote them for the assassination of the Mamluks and considered it an act against humanity, he declared that he wanted to paint a picture in which he would put the massacre of the Mamluks in addition to the assassination of Duke Dangan [24], so that people can judge the two incidents." Monsieur Jomar says: "If this bloody document could be erased from the history of Egypt, Mohamed Ali would not have become the target of the harsh judgments of history" [17].

Mohamed Ali was subjected to many criticisms from Western historians for his treachery with the Mamluks in that massacre, while some, such as Mohamed Farid, considered it one of Mohamed Ali's good deeds by which he saved Egypt from the evil of the Mamluks. With Mohamed Ali rid of most of the Mamluks, the Mamluks who remained in Upper Egypt withdrew to Dongola, and thus Mohamed Ali had complete control over Egypt [17]. Mohamed Ali fought wars on behalf of the lofty state in the Arabian Peninsula against the Wahhabis and against the Greek revolutionaries revolting against the Ottoman rule in the Morea, and also expanded his state in the south by annexing Sudan. After that, he turned to attacking the Ottoman Empire, as it fought its armies in the Levant and Anatolia, and almost fell the Ottoman Empire, had it not been for this conflict with the interests of the Western countries that stopped Mohamed Ali and forced him to give up most of the lands he annexed.



And to talk about building the modern state in Egypt, Mohamed Ali realized that Egypt was affected by the realities of European politics. He asserted that the power of the Sultan alone is not sufficient to defend Egypt, or to save it from European occupation; Rather, it must have a self-defense force, with which to defend itself, without any external invasion. It was cut short that the presence of armed groups, the government's sharing of its authority, weakens the ruling authority, and exposes the country to foreign interference. The Pasha did not forget that his stay in Egypt was forcing the Ottoman Sultan, who might seize any opportunity to isolate him. He was determined to remain in the rule of Egypt, following a general plan, which is limited to the following:

1. Internally: eliminating its opponents. He extended and consolidated his authority through a general authority, or the so-called organized central government, on which the modern Egyptian state was built, strengthening the country with reforms that covered its various facilities and aspects of life.
2. Externally: Resisting European colonialism, which began its encroachment into the Islamic world. rallying the Eastern Arabic around Egypt, under his rule, on the basis of internal independence, within the scope of the Ottoman Empire; And if, later on, this turned into an attempt to separate from that state, in order to avoid the fate that it was heading towards, which is falling into the hands of the countries of Europe. In addition, it aimed to revive the ancient trade route; what prompted him to control the Red Sea and the country bordering it. However, some historians believe that Mohamed Ali was not a separatist; after building his empire, he wanted to include the Ottoman Empire.

4. Establishment of a modern regular military force

Mohamed Ali realized that to achieve his expansionist goals, it was necessary for him to establish a modern regular military force, which would serve as the tool that would achieve those goals for him. Before and at the beginning of the era of Mohamed Ali, the army was composed of irregular divisions that tended to riot and chaos, mostly Kurds, Albanians and Circassians, in addition to these forces groups of Arabs whom the governors resorted to as mercenaries, and their actions did not exceed the methods of guerrilla and hit and run. Mohamed Ali saw that this army does not depend on him, so he made an effort to create an army that would compete with foreign armies in fighting them, and decided to replace his irregular soldiers with an army based on the modern military system [23].

There was a need for a force that would protect the new regime, ensure stability and defend the regions from which Mohamed Ali formed his empire, in the Arab countries, Sudan and the Levant. The Pasha established a national army, trained according to the modern European system. The new army was known as: "The New Order".

Mohamed Ali's first attempt to establish a regular army came in 1815, when he returned from the Wahhabi war, when he decided to train a number of Albanian Arna'ut soldiers from his son Ismail's division on modern military systems, at a place he had designated for that in Bulaq. These soldiers did not like that, because of their nature that tends to riot and chaos, so they revolted against Mohamed Ali and attacked his palace, and a fight took place between them and the guard, during which Mohamed Ali's guard was able to control the situation, but Mohamed Ali realized that he could not rely on such soldiers, so he postponed Implementation of the idea [21].

In his attempts to form the new army, Mohamed Ali faced several obstacles. In 1815, he tried to train mercenary soldiers in the modern systems of armies. However, his attempt failed. He successfully repeated it in 1820, when he used a number of French officers, who had become unemployed, after the end of the French wars in Europe. Some officers were also used: Italians, Spanish and Portuguese, in training the soldiers of the "New Order";



The most famous of them was Suleiman Pasha al-Fransawi, who took over the administration of the Military Infantry School, which was established in 1820.

Mohamed Ali restricted affiliation to it to the sons of his family, the children of his employees, and some of the Mamluks loyal to him; to be the new army officers. Their training began, first, in Cairo, then in Aswan; to be close to Sudan, the recruitment center for the new army, which he hardly wanted to join, and established for the soldiers their barracks, except for a hospital, which takes care of them healthily. However, the experience of recruiting the Sudanese failed, due to the diseases that they had, and the large number of deaths; Subsequently, Mohamed Ali was forced to recruit peasants, who initially resorted to evading military service. But they soon merged with it, and achieved victories, which raised the position of the peasant soldier [26].

On February 17, 1822, Mohamed Ali ordered Ahmed Pasha Taher, to join four thousand Egyptians, from Upper Egypt, to Fakhr Bey LazOghli, the overseer of the military regime; to train in Aswan. After serving three years, they are returned to civilian life.

Despite the Egyptians' dissatisfaction with their conscription, they began to organize the training of the modern army, whose forces, in January 1823, consisted of six orts (equivalent to a battalion), each consisting of eight hundred soldiers. Then the size of these units increased to six verses, each of which includes five aurat. At the end of the year, they reached a good stage of training. After the training of the six ayats was completed, Mohamed Ali ordered that they be distributed on the battlefields. He sent the first deity to Sudan, and the second to the Arabian Peninsula. As for the four verses, they were sent to Greece. Pasha ordered the formation of three new mechanisms. It also consisted of regular artillery, then regular cavalry. Thus, the development of the army continued, until it reached 130,300 soldiers, in 1839.

5. Building fortresses and fortifications

Mohamed Ali took great care in building fortresses and fortifications to defend the country's borders and its capital, so he repaired Salah El-Din's castle in Cairo, loaded it with cannons, and built another fortress near it on the Mokattam mountain overlooking the first. And he fortified the tabs surrounding its edges [17-23].

He summoned a French military engineer in the art of fortifications called Galis and bestowed on him the rank of Bey, so he became known as Galis Bey and entrusted him with choosing the coasts of Egypt and developing a project for its forts and fortifications and making him the architect of the fortifications [17]. Galis began studying the country from the military point of view, then presented to the governor a report in which he presented his own views on the lines of defense and the necessary forts. He said that the most important lines of defense from the northern borders are three: The first: the coast line, and it needs to establish strong forts that can defend it and repel attacks by ships Enemies that threaten the country. The second: it does not need anything because it is reinforced by natural obstacles, such as the swamps and lakes in it, which are the lakes of Manzala, Burullus, Idku, Rosetta, Abu Qir and Mariout. And the third: It can be defended when necessary by establishing some light fortifications on the paths between the aforementioned lakes, which connect the coast line to the lower sea and inside the country, from which the enemy can be repelled if he succeeds in reaching the coast.

Galis mentioned that it is necessary to build some fortresses on the eastern borders in the areas of Salhia, because they are located on the road to Syria and the Aqaba Valley Road, which connects Egypt with the Arab countries and the destinations of Suez because it is the port of Egypt on the Red Sea, and other destinations on the Red Sea such as Al-Tur, Al-Qusayr and other coasts of Izab and Aqaba. When Mohamed Ali was briefed on this



report, he agreed to it, and proceeded to fortify Alexandria [27] and the other coasts on the Red and Mediterranean Seas.

Until 1840, Galis Bey had built a large number of those castles on the coast of Alexandria, namely al-Silsila, al-Yahud's graves, Kom al-Dikka, al-Nadora, Qaitbay, al-Ata (al-Qatta), Ras al-Tin, Ras al-Tin, Salih Agha, Umm Qubeiba, al-Qamariyya and Old Navigation, New Navigation, Dekheila, Ajami Island, and the Wall Circle. The number of Alexandria forts in 1848 reached 25, which were supplied with 617 large guns and 96 mortars[28].

As for Abu Qir, eight forts were built, namely Kom al-Shousha, Dam No. (3), Dam No. (4), Maadiya, Kom al-Agouz, Old Abu Qir, Dam No. (1) and Dam No. (2). These forts had 225 guns [28]. As for the area between Rosetta and Burullus, which contained The swamps, which represent natural barriers, were not built in them, but in Burullus there were two forts, eastern and western, and next to the Burullus lighthouse, a third fort. Tower (2), and to the east of it, Tower (1) [28].

There are two castles protecting the Boghaz of Damietta: Al-Boughaz Al-Gharbia (Sheikh Youssef) and Al-Boughaz Al-Sharqiya, and to the south of it, Ezbet Al-Borg. As for the area between Damietta and Port Said, there were two tabs, the first known as El-Diba El-Bahariya, located about 33 km east of Damietta's Boughaz on the sea and in its south, and at a distance of 200 meters, El-Diba El-Qibliya is located on the isthmus separating Lake Manzala from the sea.

There are two forts protecting the Boghaz of Damietta, they are the Western Boghaz (Sheikh Yusuf) and the Eastern Boghaz, and to the south of them is the fort Ezbet Al-Burj. As for the area between Damietta and Port Said, there were two forts, the first known as fort al-Diba, al-Bahriah, located about 33 km east of Damietta's sea and at a distance of 200 meters, fort al-Diba al-Qibliya is located on the isthmus separating Lake Manzala from the sea, and in the east fort al-Jameel and Sharqiya [28].

As for the area between Bughazof Rosetta and Ma'adiya, many forts were established in it, starting from Maadiyah, in the east of Hilaliyat al-Kaleh (Al-Libani) at a distance of 2,300 km, and in the east of al-Kaleh (Kalakh) at a distance of 2,500 km, then HilaliyahIdku (Al-Jazir), Idku, Hilaliyat al-'Alayem (Al-Nawa) and al-'Alayem and Hilaliah Al-Thaghr (Al-Farsh), Al-Thaghr (Al-'Abed) and Western Al-Boughaz. The distance between each two forts from the Idku Crescent to the Western Al-Boughaz is four kilometers, and in the eastern Al-Boughaz there are fort Eastern Al-Boughaz, the distance between them is 800 meters [26-28].

As for the castles that existed before that, which Mohamed Ali took care of and fortified, they are the Qaitbay Castle in Rosetta, Burj Abu Mandour, Al-Fanar (Qaitbay Castle in Alexandria), fort Abu Qir, the Mahmoudiyah Dam, Farsi, east of the Qaitbay Castle in Rosetta, Ezbet al-Burj in Damietta, Umm Farga, Al-Tina and Al-Arish, as well as Rosetta walls. And its forts, which are the Al-Abbasi, and the place of the Sharkah (the company) (light artillery placed at the front of the army to attack the enemy).

Mohamed Ali also ordered on Rabi' al-Awwal 20, 1247 AH (1831 AD) to the governor of Rosetta to build a corner in the Rosetta area, with the knowledge of Ahmed Effendi, the overseer of the buildings of Alexandria.

He issued an order on the 7th of Dhul-Hijjah, 1247 AH (1831) to the Governor of Rosetta to establish mills in the direction of Al-Boughaz and sent him mills, carpenters and mill stones in order to suffice the machines present in Rosetta [33], He took great care of fortifying Rosetta and the neighboring coasts, so he ordered the strengthening of its defensive power, so he placed six cannons in al-Nawa fort, six in the Abbasid fort, five in Al-TobJiya, three in Al-Manzala, one cannon, and one cannon in the Rosettatower



(Qaytbay) fourteen cannons, Al-Boughaz (al-‘Abed) eighteen, and the eastern fort ten cannons, as well as the placement of ten cannons on the western fort.

There was a jabkhana in every fort except for al-Manzali fort and mahal al-Sharkhahfort, the work on fortifying the coasts continued until the reign of Abbas I, his fear of the Sublime Porte, and his attempts to keep him away from power, prompted him to take great care in fortifying the Egyptian coasts from Alexandria to ‘Arish [34].

As for the planning of castles in the nineteenth century [35-36], the most important feature that distinguishes them is that they followed the old methods as well as the French methods that Galis Bey brought. The castles of the era of Mohamed Ali were distinguished by taking irregular shapes, especially for the section facing the sea, while the other section includes the facade supported by the facades and in the middle of the entrance, The façade ends with two towers prominent from the facade and equipped with mandrels, each of which takes the form of French towers, especially the two facades close to the facade of the castle, as the angle between the facade and the tower is an obtuse angle while it was existing with the previous square towers, and also we find that the angle inside the tower is obtuse as well. We find that the facade of the tower runs parallel to the line of the facade of the castle, and we see the aim of this being the possibility of controlling the facade of the castle through the tower as well. The corners of the towers and facades were reinforced with stone, and this is what we previously found in Qaitbay Castle from the renewal of the French campaign [37-38].

As for the shafts, they are of two types; the first is the traditional one in the south, while the northern ones are reminiscent of the shafts of the Castle (Bodrum) in Greece, which were modified in 1480 to fit the cannons, especially in the Carito tower and the northern wall [39].

Conclusion

- Mohamed Ali’s military and leadership talents were evident on two important occasions that made the Pasha of Egypt a heroic figure with a distinguished position among the popular circles, especially in the minds of the Azhar elites, namely: his ability to manage the conflict to reach power and his multiple maneuvers to deepen the hostility and disharmony between the contenders for power, and the investment Victory over the English army at the Battle of Rosetta.
- Thanks to his political brilliance and superior maneuvering ability, Mohamed Ali was able to quickly penetrate the general sense of the civil society and win over the Azhar elite, especially Omar Makram, who is very attached to lofty principles and has a great influence in the public, which made Mohamed Ali turn into a popular leader and a symbol of turn. He was surrounded by all social strata and classes to save them from the domination and tyranny of the Mamluks and to provide security and stability for the country.
- The process of Mohamed Ali's seizure of power in Egypt began in parallel with three civil wars between the Egyptian Mamluks, the Ottoman Turks, and Albanian mercenaries, which ended with the victory of the Albanians under the leadership of Mohamed Ali Pasha.
- The overwhelming victory achieved by the people of Rosetta was to assert their sovereignty in the Egyptian country, and to impose control over the frontiers, and thus became independent by managing the provisions in the Egyptian country and defending it at home and abroad.
- The research proved that the relationship between Britain and Mohamed Ali, at the



beginning of his rule, he entered into negotiations with them that lasted for four months, in which Mohamed Ali confirmed his seriousness and sincere desire to be associated with them, and even asked to put himself under their protection, and this was confirmed by the report of Frazer, the leader of the campaign, which included negotiations with Mohamed Ali And in which it was stated that Mohamed Ali, as a friend and ally of Great Britain, pledges on his part to prevent the French, the Turks, or any army of another country from entering Alexandria by sea in return for the cooperation of England with its naval forces if an attack occurs on him because he does not have warships.

- Fraser's campaign unintentionally caused some results, all of which were in favor of Mohamed Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, as Mohamed Ali was able to extend his control and rule over the city of Alexandria, to which he left after the arrival of the English. Mohamed Ali was able to subjugate the Mamluks to him through the peace he made with them before he went to Alexandria to besiege the British, and one of the results was also the establishment of rule in the country and its calmness, even as all of them belonged to Mohamed Ali voluntarily.
- Mohamed Ali was planning to get rid of the Ottoman army, which was in Egypt; For two reasons: the first, that the Ottoman soldiers were inclined to chaos and stir up unrest, and the second reason was Mohamed Ali's desire to establish a new army, organized, and trained in modern warfare, which he witnessed himself, when he participated in the battles, in order to expel the French campaign from Egypt.
- The British campaign resulted in the consolidation of Mohamed Ali's position in Egypt, and the humiliation of the British against the Egyptians; as well as the growth of national awareness of the Egyptian people.
- The continued success, in 1806 and 1807, increased the pasha's strength and self-confidence; So he pursued a policy of two parallel lines: monopolizing rule or absolute rule, and consolidating his authority; And he made the ruling hereditary to his family in Egypt.
- Despite what Rosetta offered, in defeating the invading forces and achieving a dear victory that Egypt had not witnessed before, the era of Mohamed Ali was the beginning of the decay of Rosetta, as Mohamed Ali ordered the excavation of the Mahmoudiya Canal, which caused the shift of trade to the city of Alexandria, where its people abandoned it and its homes were destroyed And its mosques and agencies closed, and covered with sand.
- The study confirmed the success of Mohamed Ali in getting rid of the popular leadership, suppressing the influence of the sheikhs, and breaking the power of the Mamluks, which helped him to monopolize power.
- Mohamed Ali realized that to achieve his expansionist goals, it was necessary for him to establish a modern regular military force, which would serve as a tool that would achieve those goals for him, protect the new regime, ensure stability and defend the territories from which Mohamed Ali formed his empire, in the Arab countries. Sudan and the Levant.
- Mohamed Ali took great care in building fortresses and fortifications to defend the country's frontiers and its capital, and charging these fortresses with soldiers, cannons and various weapons.

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