CHAPTER THIRD:

Political and Administrative Reforms of
Mohammad Ali Pasha
Mohammad Ali Pasha stands to be the most important ruler of Egypt who more than others paid his attention to the political and administrative reforms of the country. Because of these efforts to reforms these fields the political and administrative institution became highly developed and effective. Although it was not supposed to be a complete independent ruler of Egypt as he worked as the governor under Ottomans but he worked almost independently. It is therefore, he without any hesitation diverted his full attention to develop Egypt and reformed about all the fields. The politics and administration of the country first needed by him to be reformed, with this he might be able to hold his full control over the country. For this purpose he created a controlled administration to run the country smoothly, that would help in securing his positions and future and his generations in Egypt. He, as per need of the time used to take adhoc decision related to his administrative policies. Being an efficient ruler and administrator he could take steps in the right direction. With this he started making Egypt a modern state. These advancements begin with a chain of practical made by Mohammad Ali in which there were the possibilities of errors. However, he with his efforts created a centralized authority. These reforms and others brought his proper hold on trade commerce agriculture, and industry. He also made his position strong for the expansion of the state beyond the frontiers of his territory.
The main step that was taken by Mohammad Ali Pasha was that he tightened the screw of law and order. It is because of this the government functionaries worked properly. This became a great reason for the satisfaction of the people of the country with regard to the function of the administration under the Mohammad Ali. He was therefore supported both the Ulama and Tujjar who were much impressed by his reforms for the betterment of the state and its subject and, the stability and security of the business. Earlier the country was in the wrong hands during last few decades which ruined out the commercial life of the country.

NEW STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION:

Mohammad Ali’s first priority, related to his internal policy, was to maintain law and order for which he brought various political and administrative reforms. Most important reforms introduced by him for this purpose, was the establishment of the “Centralized Bureaucracy” that survived both during him life and after him. During early period of his regime Mohammad Ali had to face different problems in establishing his control over the administration of the country. He used Ottoman institution such as – ‘Ruznama’ that was the executive department and the provincial government was composed of Turkish governors known as “Nazirs”. The “Kashifs” were the subordinates of Nazirs. The village headmen, of Egypt were at bottom in the administration, who were called “Shaykh al –Balad”.¹
Later on, in 1824, Mohammad Ali decided to further reform in the field of administration by establishing the administrative hierarchy on centralized pattern that ranging the command from Cairo to the villages. For the purpose the whole country was divided into twenty four parts which were arranged into sub district, district, departments and provinces, sub districts were known as "Khutts", districts as "Qsim", the departments as "Mamuriyas", while the provinces were called by them as "Mudiriyas". To direct these units there was the requirement of officials who could replace the Ottoman 'Kashifs' and 'Nazirs'. After some time, this new provincial organization came under the general supervision of the "Department of Inspectorate" namely, Diwan umum al -Taftish. This department was given under the charge of an official called "Mufattish umum", the inspector general.

The officials, under this new hierarchal order, had to work in two ways. Along with the administrative responsibilities they were also assigned the political duties. The provincial governors, under the general responsibility were given the charge of all government projects, the judiciary and general supervision of the officials working in the administrations. Moreover, they were also given the responsibility of the implementation of orders and the proper collection of taxes. Reports of all the political and administrative affairs of them were sent from different provinces to the capital, Cairo by the officers called ‘Mudirs’ and the
‘Mamurs’ deputed in the provinces for the viceroy’s assent. The functions assigned to the Mamurs, were: to hear the complaints against the local officials and prescribed punishments on these complaints, give their advice in agricultural matters, inspect the factories, visit personally to see the condition of land and crops in their localities, and direct the officials working under them. Besides there, they were also given the responsibility to examine the accounts maintained in the villages and appoint the Khawlis and Qa’im maqams.

The new structure of administration that was introduced by Mohammad Ali in Egypt was as follows:

```
Viceroy
    |'
Administrator of Cairo diwan or inspector general
    |'
Mufattish Umum
    |'
Provincial governor (Mudir al -Mudiriya)
    |'
Department head (Ma’mur al- ma’muriya)
    |'
District chief (Naziral-qism)
    |'
Sub district head (Hakim al- khutt)
```

Village mayor (Shaykh al-balad) Tax collector (Sarraf) Supervisor of agricultural lands (Khawli) Administrator of a number of villages (Qa’im maqam)²
The introduction of this administration helped Mohammad Ali in his complete hold on Egypt. Under this administration, at central level, administrative powers were assigned to the two governmental bodies. These were the departments known as ‘Diwans’ and councils called ‘Majlises’. Being the head of the whole administration the viceroy used to preside over these bodies. The chief function of these bodies was to supervise and coordinate the daily governmental affairs in the capital and also perform different duties in provincial administration. One of the departments at central level was “The departments of civil affairs” named as ‘al-Diwan al-Mulki’ or ‘al-Diwan al-Khidwi’, which looked after the Egypt’s internal affairs. This department dealt the matters like the salaries of the government employees. Similarly, this department used to decide the matters on the requests of different other administrations. It also used to issue various orders to the provinces it and received the accounts sent by the provinces to the centre. By 1837 different other responsibilities to this department were given in addition to others. These included the administration of the Mahmudiya canal, the mint, the arsenal at Bulaq, the civil hospitals, the commercial councils, and the Ruznama. Alongwith a large number of administrative responsibilities the department of civil affairs also provided its service to the people. It was ‘Court of justice.’ Under it, the investigation regarding different matters such as murder and treason was performed. In view of a large number of duties and
responsibilities two councils, called ‘Majlises’ were established so that they could assist the “Department of civil affairs”. Among them one was set up at Cairo and another at Alexandria.\footnote{3}

Another, main body of central government was ‘vice regal cabinet’ called ‘al-ma’iya al- saniya’ at the viceroy’s palace that consisted of those officials who used to coordinate and supervise regularly all governmental affairs both military and civil. This cabinet provided its services as a channel of communication between Mohammad Ali and other administrative bodies. Its other responsibilities were to collect information about the works of different administrative bodies make an investigation for the clarification purpose, if need, to inform the viceroy. It also used to issue orders in the name of Mohammad Ali after the decisions were made by him. Another powers enjoyed by the vice regal cabinet were to supervise accounts, to made appointments and dismissals of the government officials’ correspond with the foreign countries, adjudication of administrative disputes and to try the officials for committing crimes. A High Court was formed by this cabinet also. Following are important court offices that were the main component of the administration under Mohammad Ali:

1. Director in chief. vice regal cabinet (Bashmu ‘awin)
2. Chief interpreter. (Bashmutarjim)
3. First lieutenant of viceroy. (Katkhuda)
(4) Chief Treasurer. (Khazanadar)
(5) General master of ceremonies. (Tashrifati)
(6) Keeper of the seal. (Muhurdar)
(7) Sword-bearer. (Silahdar)
(8) Chief physician. (Hakim basha)
(9) Inkstand-bearer.
(10) Key-bearer.
(11) Pipe-bearer.
(12) Chief eunuch.

PRINCIPAL UNITS OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER MOHAMMAD ALI 1837:

After some time, in 1837, due to the financial crisis, Mohammad Ali realized that his administration should further be reformed and reorganized. For the purpose, all the councils were abolished, some existing departments were reorganized, and some new were established. After reorganizing the administration the principal units of the central administration under Mohammad Ali were:

- Vice regal cabinet. (Diwan al-ma’iya al-saniya)
- Department of civil affairs Cairo. (Al-diwan al-mulki)
- Council of civil affairs. (Al Majlis al-‘Ali)
- Department of war. (Diwan al-jihadiya)
• Council of military affairs. (Majlis al-jihadiya)
• Department of finances. (Diwan al-maliya)
• Department of foreign affairs and commerce. (Diwan al-umur al-ifranjiya wal-tijara al misriya)
• Department of public education. (Diwan al-madaris)
• Department of marine. (Diwan al-bahr)
• Department of industry. (Diwan al-fabriqat)
• High court of justice. (Jam 'iyat al-haqqaniya)
• Office of the first lieutenant of the viceroy. (Diwan al-katkhuda)
• Department of inspectorate. (Diwan umum al-taftish)
• Advisory council. (Majlis al-shura) 5

These were the major administrative changes that were made by Mohammad Ali. These changes caused a movement that was started by bureaucracy of the country. During Mohammad Ali’s power these administrative offices were the subject to buy and sale. With this right to the collection of taxes was given to the private parties. Such taxes levied on the food stuffs like salt, fruit along with wine, and small river craft. Moreover, after Mohammad Ali’s personal retainers were given villages in order to administer as tax forms. This new type of bureaucratic structure was of a complex nature which was based on European models and the highly centralized organization of Napoleon. For example,
Mohammad Ali’s provincial structure was formed as Napoleonic prototype. According to the new administrative policy, the army of Egypt under Mohammad Ali adopted French “Lev’ee en masse: etc. He justified his reforms on European models in the name of “progress” and “civilization”. And to carry out all these progressive policies, he relied upon Europeans especially for their technical advices, equipments, and ideas.

**MOHAMMAD ALI’S NEW RULING CLASS:**

Under the new political order the country’s new ruling class consisted of almost the Turkish military men. By employing them, Mohammad Ali wanted to get advantage of the sentiments of ethnic solidarity. The new employed Turkish officials were generally from viceroy’s home town, Kavalla who were not aware of the masses of Egypt. Initially these officials were dependant on Mohammad Ali himself who prevented them from establishing any ties with Egyptian society. These Turkish officials were paid higher salaries than non Turk officials even in the case they hold same positions. Not only they were paid high salaries but they were allowed to receive along with gifts other favours that were also provided to them. In addition to other facilities and favours they were entitled to own their estates in the countryside.
In Mohammad Ali’s new household elite, there were four types of men:

- Those who were in Mohammad Ali’s blood relation.
- His in-laws among whom many were related to him even before his coming the viceroy.
- Freed white slaves, or Mamluk, and
- Those who were not in relation to him they had entered into the service on the basis of private agreements. The detail of these ruling elites is as follows

### Mohammad Ali’s Ruling Elite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth place</th>
<th>Civil position</th>
<th>Household Position</th>
<th>Relation to Viceroy</th>
<th>End of service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Pasha</td>
<td>Kavalla</td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Viceroy’s first lieutenant</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>d.1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbas Pasha</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Inspector general</td>
<td>Viceroy’s first lieutenant</td>
<td>Grandson</td>
<td>d.1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuhrshid Pasha</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Governor of al-Daqahlīya</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Freed slave</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Yaghan</td>
<td>Kavalla</td>
<td>War director</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Nephew</td>
<td>d.1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Yaghan</td>
<td>Kavalla</td>
<td>Governor of al-Gharbiya</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Nephew</td>
<td>d.1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Manikli</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>War director</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>d.1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Bey</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Son-in-law</td>
<td>d.1833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boghos Bey</td>
<td>Smyrna</td>
<td>Director of foreign affairs</td>
<td>Translator</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>d.1844</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among these new elite Mohammad Ali’s kin were posted in highest offices, such as Ibrahim, his son and Abbas, his grandson were appointed for civil and military assignments in internal as well as external departments. Ibrahim was also given the responsibility of the ‘commander in chief’ of the Egyptian army. Being very competent officers these two proved to be very supportive to Mohammad Ali in his administration. They also presided the meetings in the central departments. In addition to the responsibilities mentioned above supervise the government officials, visit to the provinces on special assignments. Above all they were given the authority to govern the state in absence of the viceroy. In 1829 Ibrahim was given the charge of the entire administration, and with this charge he used to visit the treasury
two or three times daily. While on his visit to the treasury he used to give directions to the officials related to the government affairs. From this it seems to be obvious that his family member played an important role in the political and military affairs during Mohammad Ali’s regime.

As the responsibility of such a vast administration could not be beard only by his son and grandson, so other members of his family and his close relatives were involved by Mohammad Ali in the same. These included the sons of his sisters. The names Ibrahim Yaghan, Ahmad Yaghan and Muhammad Sharif are worthy to be mentioned in this regard. Muhammad Sharif, his nephew, was assigned at different times the responsibility of the lieutenant of the viceroy (Katkhuda), governor of lower Egypt, governor of Damascus, director in chief of the viceroy’s cabinet (Bashmu’a-win) and director of finances. Another name among high officials in the administration of Egypt under Mohammad Ali was Ahmad Tahir. He was also related to Mohammad Ali. He was given the governorship of Upper Egypt. He also led a military expedition to crush a revolt there in Upper Egypt. Beside these officials others like Muharram Bey, Yusuf Kamil and Muhammad Daftartar Bey were those who married to Mohammad Ali’s family members and worked as high officials in the administration of that time. Among them Muharram Bey worked as the president of the council of civil affairs at Alexandria and the commander of Navy. Yusuf Kamil took the responsibility of the
director of the department of civil affairs and of vice regal cabinet, and Muhammad Daftardar Bey was given the important responsibility of the treasurer.

Besides the family members and relatives of Mohammad Ali, a large number of persons, who were appointed at different position in the civil and military administration, were Mamluk. These Mamluk originally belonged to Morea or the Caucasus. They were employed as the officer corps of the army along with other position in the civil administrations. Apart from this these Mamluk were also given the assignment of tutors to teach the princes. These Mamluk were given much importance by Mohammad Ali, sometimes more than the Turks as they were efficient in their work. They were given the patronage by the viceroy for different reason. They speak Turkish language and dressed like them.

Thus, Mohammad Ali’s household was considered as the pillar of his government. These household people also known as court officers were given appointments in the civil and other administrations by the government. For example, the viceroy’s ‘Katkhuda’ was given the charge of the “Department of Civil affairs”, though he was appointed on position of the governor in Cairo. In fact, these courtiers were to perform the adhoc assignments such as Baqqi Bey who was given the assignment to make visit to the government offices, to inspect accounts, and to dispense punishments to wrongdoers. Muhammad Sharif other court officer was
given the task to supervise the harvest into the provinces and make sure
that the government registers was sent to Cairo on time. Boghos Bey, the
other one was assigned the duty to distribute government orders to the
officials and to collect revenues for the viceroy. Besides all these
officials, the darker assignment were carried out by Ibrahim Pasha who
was ordered to kill a recalcitrant tax collector in the situation of non-
cooperation by him. Muallim Ghali is the example of such an order that
was killed by Ibrahim Pasha on the same charges. He was the head of the
Coptic corporation. Thus, all these assignments issued to the court
officers were specific and provisional.

In this way, Mohammad Ali made a new bureaucracy that included
the household elite too. The combined bureaucracy under the new system
of administration created an independent autocracy in the country where
all governmental powers were concentrated to the ruler and his close
associates and relation having an advanced and strong army. During this
newly established administration he was powerful enough to fix prices of
the commodities in the markets, impose new taxes, confiscate land, and
order to arrest and imprison the undesirable elements. In this autocratic
rule of Mohammad Ali high officials were authorized to exercise only the
delegated powers. Regarding those officials, Mohammad Ali had power
in his own hand to confer titles, increase their salaries, bestow on them
generous pensions, and pardon the criminals. Though Mohammad Ali
was the great benefactor who was termed as 'Wali al-Niam' and the source of all truth known as 'Ayn al-Sawab' but he was a great disposer also. It is because of the fact that he was empowered to deprive an official of his rank, salary, and office as well. Similarly a peasant might deprive of his livelihood, his land and its product and even of his life at his wish, the viceroy was also given the right to pardon a criminal or reduce his prison sentence by the "Organic Law of-1837". However, within this autocratic rule the soldiers of Egypt were considered by Mohammad Ali as his "property", officials as his employees known as "Khadamat sa 'adatihi", who were not even authorized to make remuneration for their services and were not entitled to government pensions.

By 1837 the reaction was started from within the administration against the steps taken by Mohammad Ali and his programmers to impose the central authorities at different positions in his administration to have complete control on it. Moreover, the peasants of the big towns and the desert started fighting against the government at mass level on its demand for excessive revenue. It was the time when the country was suffering from the International Monetary Crisis. Because of this financial crisis the merchant houses of the country became bankrupt upon which the government had relied for credit. Due to the great loss of revenues, and to overcome from this crisis Mohammad Ali had to grand himself, his family and close officials the pieces of land in the provinces.
'Uhdas' were granted to the military commanders and high officeholders in these villages were given in the form of concessions. In this way the officers had to pay the tax arrears and guaranty the future tax due on those pieces of land. "Shaliks" were other type of fields that were granted by the ruler to himself and his family members. These lands were either in the villages, on which there were tax arrears or uncultivated lands. High officials, and others who were not the members of vice regal family, were also given uncultivated lands; these estates came to known as "abadiyas".

The adoption of such type of policy of land grants was to ensure the payment of the land tax. With such policy the government wanted to reduce the government expenditure and deficits. In fact the main strategy behind this policy was to preserve the viceroy’s monopoly on the system and administration. Mohammad Ali with the adoption of this policy was authorized to dictate the crops grown on the land of these estates and to purchase them at this own decided prices. This monopoly continued until 1844-1845. By 1848 Mohammad Ali’s monopoly on the crops of the estates came to an end when Europeans merchants reached Egypt to purchase the crops from the cultivators. It was in fact due to the pressure of the European powers on Egypt that resulted the end of Mohammad Ali’s monopoly on the crops. Another major blow to his centralized rule was the 1839 war with the Ottomans that led to the European military
intervention in Egypt. After this war Mohammad Ali was forced to accept the ‘London Treaty of 1840’. He was, thus, forced to reduce his army to 18,000 men, cede all territories conquered from the Ottomans (except Sudan) and accept the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838 that banned all monopolies in the Ottoman Empire. He had to make all these agreements in return of the recognition of the hereditary rule of his family over Egypt as Ottoman viceroy.8

Mohammad Ali’s introduction of new administrative reforms led to the division of Egypt into two broad parts:

Lower Egypt, and

Upper Egypt.

Lower Egypt was divided into fourteen “Aqsam”. It was grouped under three units headed by Pasha, Ibrahim and the Defterdar. The region of Upper Egypt was divided into ten “Aqsam” that was grouped into two major units under the ‘Katkhoda’ and ‘Tahir Pasha’. Each ‘Qism’ was given under the governorship of a ‘Mamur’. This new administrative setup was controlled by Mohammad Ali himself instead of giving it to either ‘Kikhya’ or ‘Katkhoda Bey, ‘Consul Salt states that Mohammad Ali used to sit in the judgment from 8 to 10 hours at his diwan everyday and his Kikhya was sent by Mohammad Ali around the country to determine the true cause of general misery. While making a new setup the districts were grouped into provinces. These provinces were named
‘Iqlim’ and ‘Mudriyya’. These provinces were governed by the heads of these provinces. The head of the province was called “Mudir”. Initially there were only seven provinces but with the passage of time the number of provinces increased. By 1834 the number of the provinces in the country reached up to ten. Among these seven were in the Delta and three were in the middle and upper part of the country. However, the main function of this hierarchical system was to maintain public order to collect the taxes and to administer justice.

Within this new system the authority to take major decision was rested on viceroy and his cabinet, the ‘Maiyya-Saniyya’. During the period from 1833 to 1844 the names of the administrative positions and officers were changed under the new system. For example the cabinet that was earlier called “Maiyya- Saniyya” was, later, started calling ‘Shura al-Muawana’. In this way it again returned to its previous nomenclature. The responsibility of this cabinet was to see the function of internal affairs of the country. This included the promulgation of vice-regal orders to the various officials, to prepare and present reports (Kushufat) to the wali, Mohammad Ali, and to act as the administrative channel that made wali enable to govern effectively. Besides these responsibilities it also worked as the disciplinary council to try the officials who were found accused of any misconduct. It was also given the responsibility to deal with foreign powers and their different officials.
With regard to this important administrative body Deny is of the opinion that they were chosen with a careful regard to their degree of education. The administration of ‘Maiyya- Saniyya’ had its two branches. They were ‘Maiyya -Saniyya Turki’ and ‘Maiyya -Saniyya Arbi’. In the administration the whole communication made in Turkish language was translated and transcribed into Arabic language before it was sent. Similarly any incoming material was translated into Arabic language for its official use. Regarding the statue issued in 1818 two main principles were dominant in the entire administrative organization. These principles were that all the matters must be examined in the council and settled according to the majority of vices and that all the matters must come under the control of the viceroy. After that the decision in such matters was taken by him.

However, these two principles contradicted each other. So, for the first principle in concerned it was aimed at to inculcate a spirit if initiative and reasoning in the field of administration. On the other hand, the second one was the principle of the absolute authority of the wali. The reason behind this was the wali’s autocratic nature and military exactitude that required supervision of the personnel working in the administration of the state. Such an extreme centralized policy kept the officials on toes, and due to this, an accumulation of papers and weighty bureaucratic culture was developed in this administrative system. This hurt the
government officials and that affected the efficiency of the diwan and the officials that is much important in any administrative system.⁹

However, to keep ‘Maiyya’ as a powerful entity the government needed certain safeguards for the protection of the function of the rest of the administration from being overwhelmed by it. Because of this the government had to issue an ordinance to the officials who were assigned various functions of the diwans of administration. In this ordinance it was made clear by the government that each functionary had as much power to exercise an influence within its field as the benefactor (viceroy) in the whole public domain. The officials who were recruited under the said ordinance were called aide or assistant, who were known as “Muawin”, and who were put under the direct orders of a chief called “Bash Muawin”. The term “Muawin” was a little used at various levels in the administration under Mohammad Ali Pasha. For example in the army it was a rank equal to that of a lieutenant-colonel. At the same time the term was used for the minister of war. In this way the “Muawinun” varied at different levels in that new administrative system. One of the “Muawinun”, namely Sami Bay who enjoyed his position for ten years from 1831-41, he was succeeded by Husain Pasha. After him Raghib Pasha and Yusuf Kamil Pasha also worked on the same position of “Muawin”. Regarding the functioning of the ‘Majlis’ or assembly of the country Deny is quoted by Afaf saying, The ‘Majlis’ or ‘assembly’
corresponded to the tendency the *wali* had to use a deliberative system of government. Under the *Majlis* different departments such as *Diwan al-Khidwi* and *Diwan* of War or *Diwan al-jihadiyah* were existed. Among the assignments of the *Majlis* were judicial duties and disciplinary matters. These assignments were later given to the “*Haqqaniya*” or the High court of the state. Under this administration department or *Diwan al-Khidwi* was the daily management of the state. This *Diwan* dealt with the internal matters except finances. The “*Diwan Kidiwi*” was a combination of various *diwans*. By 1846 a number of bureaus were depended upon this *diwan*. Among them were the treasury, awqaf, real state, expenses, accounting, census, payments, secondary affairs, quarantine, passports, post, law suits and disputed matters, orders of viceroy and the Arabic bureau. Beside these the *diwan* had to deal with judicial matters except the religious or commercial matters. The religious and commercial cases were sent to the competent courts. The matters related to the crimes of murder, theft treason, defamation and other infamous activities were dealt by this *diwan*. After due process that included the enquiry regarding the cases the account was sent to *Mudir* of which the affair was charged in the *diwan*. The member of the *diwan* were very sincere in visiting the prisoners regularly to check and make sure that a prisons had not been detained illegally for more than ten days.

According to the statute made in 1837 there were nineteen
administrations under the *diwans*. Among these were the *wali*'s household provisions, cattle, and the arsenal of Bulaq, the treasury, marble quarries, the Mahmudiyya canal, the mint, the post, and commerce with Europe.

*Kikhya or Katkhoda* who used to be the governors of the city of Cairo had their separate *diwans*. Sometimes the *wali* himself used to take over the function in his hands. At such occasions and in such periods these governors became null and void. But when the viceroy resided for a number, of years in Alexandria, the function of governor of Cairo was again assigned to the *Kikhya*.

Another body that was known as *Diwan al-taftish* used to deal with the matters related to the inspectors in the whole country. This *diwan*, Inspectorate general, was headed by *Kikhya* or the Inspector general. It was its responsibility to issue the circulars, regulations and decisions related to them. On the reports called *"Jurnalat"* the *wali* used to given awards to the officials of this *diwan*. The reports, which were sent to the *wali*, were of two types: the first one was sent on monthly basis regularly while, another was sent on an adhoc basis. The later one was sent on the basis of the independent studies and reports called-*"Jurnalat Mustaqila wa faniiyya"*. These reports were generally of technical nature. Among these reports were of the irrigation engineers that were supposed to be most important.
In 1837 some other diwans came into existence as a result of the reformation policy in the administration of the government. With the creation of these diwans their number reached to seven. Following are the diwans that were working in the administration of Mohammad Ali after the reforms.

1) Diwan al-khidiwi (The treasury). This diwan was divided into two sections: One for Upper Egypt and other for Lower Egypt.

2) Diwan al-Jihadiyya (Diwan of war)

3) Diwan al-bahriyya (Diwan of the navy)

4) Diwan al-madaris (Public instruction)

5) Diwan umur afraniyya wa tijarat

6) Missr (Foreign affairs and Egyptian commerce)

These diwans were divided into Qalam or bureaux and wurash or workshops headed by the appointed persons by the government known as “Nazir”. Later the title of this post was changed to “Mudir”. To carry out the business of these diwans the officials were recruited from government schools through an entrance examination. During Mohammad Ali’s reign the function of chief financial officer called ‘defterdar’ were reinstated. Earlier the functions of this position were banned during the Ottoman rule due to the corruption of the Mamluk Beys who, in that period, were appointed to this position. At that time the responsibility of the defterdar was shuffled to ruznamji. With this revival the responsibility of defterdar
was given by Mohammad Ali to his son Ibrahim in 1807. Ibrahim worked on this post for about six years.

Due to different major problems related to the finances of the country many attempts were made by the administration of Mohammad Ali to bring reforms in the whole system. With these reforms several financial organisations were handled that were dated from Ottomans days. Among these reforms was to take the *ruzname* under the supervision of *defterdar*. In this way, with these reforms, the *ruznamji* was assigned the duty to assess and collect the taxes and to make the payments of all the expenditures of the state. The whole amount received through land tax or the "*miri*" were paid, under the new reformed system to the *ruzname* and allocation, or *muratabat* were paid out from it. Mohammad Ali also made arrangements for the payment of the ‘*Faiz*’ to the former *multazimun* from the *ruzname*. At the same time to supervise the tax registers and to assess the taxes, he changed the system and appointed his private secretary. On this position a Coptic Sarraf namely Muallim Ghali was appointed by the *wali*. Along with the assigned duty Ghali also used to suggest Mohammad Ali the means of new taxes to be imposed on the people of the country and enrich the treasury. Contrary to this, very soon, differences between Mohammad Ali and Ghali started on the issue of imposing a new tax on date palms. These differences started an account of its opposition by Ghali. This made Mohammad Ali feel his
government at stake and as a result he advised his son Ibrahim to change the position of Ghali. Ibrahim was, at that time, deputed to organize the region of Upper Egypt. To save the interest of the government, Mohammad Ali decided to do anything in this regard. He, therefore, ordered Ibrahim to first convince Ghali but in case of failure in his efforts his head is cut off. In this way he decided not to compromise the wrong ideas of Ghali in the interest of the government. The result of this controversy was same as was decided by Mohammad Ali and due to the continuous opposition of the said tax by Ghali Ibrahim had to execute him. In spite of this opposition of Ghali Ibrahim himself took the responsibility to support and educate all the children of Ghali. Moreover, they were given government positions and the fields were also granted to them. Thus, the *ruzname* became a part of *Diwan khidiwi* in 1837, and by 1848 it was incorporated into the *diwan* of finances.\(^{11}\)

*Khazina* or treasury was the second financial center during Mohammad Ali’s regime. Its main function was to maintain and control the accounts of the provinces which included the Hijaz and the Sudan. The responsibility of *Khazina* was also to prepare the accounts of the receipts and the expenditure on monthly and yearly basis. These accounts were submitted to the viceroy at the beginning of every month and every year. After that these accounts were submitted to the ‘*Majlis*’. During the period of 1834 to 1835 a parallel institution, *Diwan al- Iradat* was
established that affected the institution of khazian. In 1837 namely established Diwan al-Iradat was divided into two diwans. These two bodies were assigned the responsibility to handle the accounts of all revenues other than agriculture and also to handle the accounts of the provinces of Crete and Sudan. The accounting of the agricultural department was given to the Diwan al-tijara. Along with this separate accounting of Syria was made under the supervision of ‘Mubashir’ of the said province. The taxes were collected by the Mudiriyyun (the officer deputed by the government to collect taxes) of the provinces and then these taxes were remitted to the Diwan al-Iradat. In 1884, due to unsatisfied performance and result ‘Diwan al-iradat’ was abolished by the government. In this way, all financial transaction of the government came completely under “Diwan al-maiyya al-sisriyya” supervised by a ‘Nazir’. In this way all the reforms made by Mohammad Ali attempted to put the malversation, fraud, and careless handing of government funds to an end. Apart from these reformative steps taken by the government, it was decided to have an efficient control over the whole country. This control, in the opinion of the government functionaries, was possible both with the help of urban centers and the government collaboration with the rural leaders. This idea of efficient control led to the assembling of ‘Majlis al- shura’ (consultative council) in August 1829. This council was presided over by Ibrahim Pasha who represented it as the parliament.
In this body there were 33 high officials, heads of *diwans* and departments religious dignitaries, 100 *Shuyukhs al-balad*, Muftis, Sheikhs al-Bakri and Al-Sadat, and 24 *Mamurun* of departments. In this way it seems that the majority of the members of the *Majlis* were from the lowest bureaucratic echelon i.e. of *Sheikh al-balad*. The duty assigned to this body was to advise the government in reference to the administration of the country. Due to its consultative nature, the *Majlis* was not entitled to any legislative powers. It, thus, used to pass the recommendations which came into implementation. This proved to be a standard procedure of consultation and implementation. Within the period of four months of the creation of the *Majlis* its internal body came into existence in 1829 A.D. This body was called "*Laihat Ziraat al-Fallah wa tadbir ahkam al-siyasa al- bi-qasd al-najah*," the ‘Laiha, dealt with how to grow the crops in the proper manner, and how the different hierarchies were to conduct themselves in the rural milieu, in order to achieve success or *najah*. Regarding the punishments of those *Sheikhs*, bureaucrats or officials who found guilty of any misdeed, a number of ordinances were passed. Under the centralized bureaucracy the *wali* wanted to control it encouraging the population to complain to him personally against any abuse of the authority against the population. These abuses included the cheating and stealing.¹²
Besides these Mohammad Ali introduced certain balancing measures regarding the treatment of the fallahin by his administrators. In the case of ill treatment with the fallahin, wali ordered the fallahin appeal to the Mudir. If the appeal to the Mudir gave no response, then they had the right to appeal directly to him (wali). Furthermore, during the trips of the wali around the countryside any falah could present his petition to the wali. Different examples of the complaints made by either the fallahin or the villagers to the wali during his visit to some area are reported by the scholars in their works. These complaints were not only attended by the wali but also taken care. In this way the problems were immediately solved by the wali during his trips. An example of such an event is reported when in 1821 a villager complained to the governor of Buhaira province stating that the village had been ruined with a disastrous flood ‘Qaryatuna ashrafat ala-ikharab’ and the government officials were asked by the villagers to help to restore the village in return for mal on the harvest. Unfortunately the officials had requested the mal twice from the same village. Later, when the governor got to know about that he ordered the officials not to collect tax twice from the village complaints like- dual taxation, abuse of authority, taking bribes, (rashwo) were there against the officials. For such a dishonest act done by any government official three years hard labour was sentenced by the government.
It was very unfortunate that the *fallahin* of the country were exploited by many groups that included both the government officials and non-governmental groups. These groups included the merchants, money lenders and the Bedouin tribes. The Bedouin tribes to impose themselves on the village and received from the *fallahin* the protection money. In this way the *fallahin* were exploited by the Bedouin tribes also. The *fallahin* were also exploited by these tribes in another way. They used to have their share in *fallahin* agricultural production. The government under Mohammad Ali made it’s almost efforts to stop such an exploitation. In this regard it issued its orders that if any Bedouin claimed ownership of any piece of land then for the purpose he should provide a written document of his claim, a *ruksa*. Further he should also pay the ‘*mal*’ on it. The *Sheikhs* belonging to the middle Egypt were also warned for severe punishment if they were found involving in any type of cheating or any illegal claim.\(^{13}\)

Mohammad Ali was well aware about the quality of his officials and his subject. That is why when on 5\(^{th}\) August 1832 the *wali* came to know that the defeatist rumors were whispering due to the Syrian army’s performance. He wrote a letter to Habib Effendi, the “*Mamur al- diwan*” mentioning,

“The people of our circle and the inhabitants of Egypt fall into three categories. The first cares for nothing but his personal comforts, the
second group, though people of high rank, because of their brutality thinking not to distinguish the bad and the good, the third group are by way of being animals (fi hukm al- bahaim) and think nothing of spreading idle talk for which they must be punished”.

To combat such alarming situation Mohammad Ali ordered to appoint spies who gave reports about those who were found guilty of spreading defeatist rumors. To make this system efficient one officer was set by him to check the work of the others. In this way, wali’s concept of government was summed up in a memorandum sent to the council from his diwan, within which responsibilities of each link in the chain of command in the country were elaborated as:

“It was known from time back that who die are succeeded by their children who, on reaching maturity, become capable of sowing and reaping and enter the work force automatically, and pay their taxes so that the land tax is little affected by reason of deaths. As to the matter of escapees, if the mamurun occupied themselves and punished the escapees and those responsible for their escape, even if they were from among the Sheikhs, and transferred them from their areas to other areas, them escaping would diminish in time. Weak lands if given to affluent people and those who possess Faiz would solve the problem (they would have the means to spend on the land and improve it). Similarly the lands of those who are conscripted into the army and who leave behind no one to work the land should be divided little
by little among those able to work (the land). If the *Nazir qism*, the hakim *al-khutt* and the *Sheikhs* all united and were as one man working towards that goal, there is no doubt that that would induce prosperity in the land. Such a process would impose on those *hukkam* and *Sheikhs* the necessity of setting in order tax register, and financing (*tamwil*) villages every year, and making a comparison between the number of escapees and those who are deceased and the number of sons of either who have reached maturity, and between the number of those who have little money (*al-duafa*) and those who have means, and comparing the villages which are blighted because of their distance from water with those which are healthy because of their proximity to water, so that those who have funds could pay the tax (mal) for those who have none, thereby effecting an equilibrium in government finance. When the hakim and sheikh *khutt* present their registers, to *Nazir qism*, the latter must go to the *mamur* and investigate the registers, check a village or two and put a seal to the register every year. If every year village is checked, every year they can catch up with any deficits or money owed the state. It is clear that such prosperity and progress will be attained through building dykes and digging canals and good management. The *mamuriyya* of *qaliubiyya*, while it was late in collecting the mal last year, because of its preoccupation with preparing the *sharqaniyya* canal in *zifta* and *qaliubiyya*, knows at present the value of irrigation in the planting of maize (*dura*) and that the inhabitants of the canal banks are content and as
though they had witnessed a new world and have applied themselves to agriculture."\(^{14}\)

The "Sheikhs al-balad" or "umda", the lowest man in hierarchy, was the beginning of the chain of command in the administration under Mohammad Ali. Traditionally it was a hereditary function within a family in which the former Umda was succeeded by new member of that family. It is worthy to note here that in this hereditary system it was not necessary that former Umad would be succeeded only by his son. Umda who collected the taxes in the village in the eighteen century from the fallahin on iltizam was the man of multazim and worked under him. He was authorized to declare the uncultivated piece of land (bur) exempted from the taxation. He was also assigned the duty to distribute the land of the deceased or escaped fallah to other fallahin. At the same time the Umda was also given the authority to chase the fleeing fallah and arrest him in the interest of the state to realize the amount of tax from him. This was the major source of power given to them who utilized this power against their enemies and their belongings. Another major power given to this Shaikhs was that they were given lands free from taxation in return of their function which was known as "masmuh al-mashayikh wa masmuh al-masatib."\(^{15}\)

The Umda or Sheikh, the Sheikh al-khutt (section head) used to inform the Shaikhs of their divisions, or district known as (nahiya) of the
quota of crops required by the government. These sheikhs supervised the crops all over the district. In this way the taxes gathered by the local Shaikhs remitted to the khutt officials who used to hand over the collected tax to the district treasurer. With this the department chief (the Nazir) gave report to the ‘Mamur’. They were supervised by the provincial governor, the ‘Mudir’. Hence Mudir was responsible of the entire governorate. He was in direct contact with the capital and he, in this way, used to receive the orders from the wali. It is important to note that Mudir was always of a Turco- Circassian origin. The Egyptian fallahin on the other hand, were recruited on lesser important position. At the same time the position of Mamur was filled by Egyptian by late 1820s. In the new administration system under wali, it is worthy to mention that governors became the government employees rather than semi-autonomous ‘Iqta or Iltizam’ holders. They were closely supervised by the wali himself. Hence this system differed greatly from the old Mamluks system and wali’s new centralized system. Although this new system underwent through various improvements but different problems also arose in this. These problems included the problems of that the wali’s new system of administration had to face. Three main issues in this regard were to be resolved. These issues were;

1. The issue related to Bedouin
2. The issue related to the army and the consequence of conscripting the *fallahin*

3. The issue of revolts or uprising

The first issue was related to the Bedouin tribes, the members of which roamed the land, willingly, going from west parts of the Sahara to the western provinces of Fayyum, Buhaira, Minufuyya and Giza. Some of the tribesmen had been sedentarized which made them major ‘*Multazimun*’ in the area while some among these were semi-sedentarized who used the *fallahin* their laborers, or living off their produce. Rests of these tribesmen were nomadic who roamed from one place to another and used to take at their will from the *fallahin* what they wanted. They earn for their livelihood from guiding the caravans across the desert and collecting protection dues. The tribes that were sedentarized completely, were given land either as “*masmuh al-mashayikh*” or as “masmuh al-urban” and whoever, they turned into local rural gentry. On the other hand the other tribes that were not sedentarized were induced to leave their nomadic way of life by grants of land. They were also recruited the army as irregular cavalry.

So for the land grants given to the Bedouins by the *wali* were of three kinds: the first kind of land was supposedly granted and taxed at half the *kharaj* tax. Second one was exempted from taxation on condition
that the Bedouin tilled the soil themselves. The third kind of land grant was in the form of *ibadiyya*.

Second issue was related to the ‘army’. It also became a source of problem in that period under Mohammad Ali. Before Mohammad Ali’s reign the army was comprised of *Mamluks* or mercenaries with the establishment of the rule of Mohammad Ali. The army was formed of Albanian troops, Turkish troops, *Mamluks* and North Africans who had joined the new administration. In this way a major part of new recruitments was made from Turkey. The Tunisian Algerians, and Bedouin auxiliaries were also important components of the Egyptian army under Mohammad Ali; these soldiers obeyed their superiors and fought bravely in their own style against the enemy. Because of this division in the army, there was no unified command. This became evident during the Hejaz campaign. In this campaign Tussun had complained about the Maghribi’s that instead of one leader they worked under eleven who had wide disagreement among themselves. Moreover, their close attachment with their leader may be recognized from this fact that the payment of these troops was made by their own commanders. These commanders used to get the funds from treasury. It is also worth mentioning that the troops were loyal to their commanders only, and not to the state or the *wali*. Besides this the indiscipline was also prevalent.
among them. These troops opt out of battle on their own desire. In this matter the commanding officers could not do much.

Some Sudanian regiments were also the part of the Egyptian army. Due to the failure of the slave army an idea of the recruitment of the Egyptian fallahin in the army was suggested to Mohammad Ali. This idea was strongly opposed. He, therefore, strictly ordered not to recruit any fallah in the Maghribi troops in 1814 when the recruitment of these Maghribi troops in the army was going on. The idea to recruit an army of fallahin was given to wali by the French military advisers who were in the military service under Mohammad Ali. Such recruitment method had been adopted in France before coming of Napoleon to Egypt and after him by the "racoleurs". The "rcoleurs" were those who received a fee for every man whom they brought into the army of the country. After the recruitment if any recruit escaped from the army he was chased and forcibly dragged back.\textsuperscript{17}

During the Egyptian campaign in Syria under Mohammad Ali ‘Nuzzar aqsam’ were threatened by him to cut off their heads if did not send recruits immediately. Generally, the soldiers who were married did not pay the ‘Firda’ tax. If they were not able to cultivate their athariyya lands it was ordered by the government to distribute their land among their relatives and neighbours. Along with these soldiers the Coptic soldier were also recruited into the Egyptian army. Those, who were
working in the shipyards in Alexandria, were exempted from the payment of both the ‘firda’ and ‘jizia’ or poll tax.

In Egyptian army only those recruits who were literate among the rank they were promoted to the higher ranks. At the same time it is also an important fact that the Egyptians were never promoted beyond the first or the second rank of lieutenant. Due to this the differences between Mohammad Ali and his son Ibrahim started, as Ibrahim wanted to promote two of his dead brother’s Mamluks to the rank of colonel, Ibrahim, in this regard stated that those who were superior to their fellow officer in reading and writing should be promoted. Mohammad Ali brought Mamluks into the army and ordered that his Mamluks were to be appointed as the majors and lieutenant colonels. He, at the same time, ordered that they should be literate. Ibrahim objected this saying that if they were incapable of controlling their men, how could he take into the lands of the other people ‘bilad al-nas.’

During the Syrian campaign a large number of Egyptian soldiers lost their lives. There included young officers of different battalions. In this situation Ibrahim got an idea to appoint the Turkish prisoners of war as second lieutenants in the Egyptian army. Further, he decided to promote the Egyptian to higher ranks. The wali on the other hand was of the opinion that the Egyptians did not possess the leadership qualities. In this conflicting situation Ibrahim appealed his father, Mohammad Ali to
promote the Egyptian to the higher ranks of the army. As a policy matter this was against the ideology of Mohammad Ali. He believed that Egypt was a piece of property that he had acquired by guile and ability. He was, at the same time, of the opinion that the Egyptians could only become cannon fodder, workers *fallahin* and minor administrators. These Egyptians, as believed by Mohammad Ali were not able to acquire the positions above these positions. Regarding the Turks he was of the view that they were fit for the government and high positions of the army because of their ethnicity. Those who were rulers spoke and read Turkish language while the subject class spoke Arabic language. The general impression was that the rulers Ottoman gentlemen, while the Egyptian were dirty peasants. Such an attitude of the ruling class towards the Egyptians was not unique. Lord Cromer also believed that, “Egyptians were a subject-race fit to be ruled and incapable of self government”. Ibrahim, on contrary, possessed a different view about Egyptians. He, with his different thinking hated his Ottoman identity, in this way the appeal for promoting Egyptians to the rank of lieutenant-colonel (*Binbashi*) did not work and they were only promoted to that rank. It is evident from the fact that in 1882 there were only four native Egyptians colonels in the entire Egyptian army.

It is worthy that though the Egyptians were not promoted beyond a certain rank, but it became a reason to displace the Turkish officers in the
not only this but *wali*, in 1829, dismissed a number of Turkish officers also in his navy and replaced them by Egyptians trained by French naval officers.

In maintaining law and order, the revolts and uprisings were the great source of problems for the administration under Mohammad Ali. The first cause of these revolts was said to be the removal of necessary man power from agriculture, recruitment of *fellahin*, these lead to the uprising in the indifferent parts of the country. According to the Baer five ‘peasant revolts took place in 1812, 1820-21, 1822-23 and 1828 in Minufiyya and Qusair’; in 1846, due to same reason, a big revolt broke out in Egypt. In 1812 when the government adopted a policy of monopolizing grains produced in the country, it was opposed and a number of revolts broke out that is described by Drovetti. He writes that when the Egyptian army was defeated by the Wahhabis in 1812 in Hejaz, four of the chief generals’ flight from there by different routes reached Egypt. After their return they made a conspiracy to overthrow Mohammad Ali and put in his place Ahmad Bey. Ahmad Bey was of an Albanian origin. The conspiracy against Mohammad Ali was failed and Ahmad Bey was imposed. The remaining three generals were exiled from the country. Drovetti continues mentioning about the later developments and writes about uprising in Upper Egypt. He writes that many uprisings took place against the tax collectors that resulted into the dispatch of the
troops to support them. In retaliation of these revolts several villages were burnt down and the inhabitants were brutally killed. He is of the opinion that these uprisings were not made by the peasants but was plotted by Laz Ahmad the governor (Amir) of Qus and Qina. In this, the population of Upper Egypt were handled rudely by the new regime for their, support of Mamluks, that resulted their revolt against Mohammad Ali. With this revolt they assumed the return of power of the Mamluks with the aid of Laz Ahmad.¹⁹

During this disturbing period, at Minufiyya and Sarqiyya, the revolt took place against Mohammad Ali and government. The revolt is said to be led by Sheikh Ahmad al- Salah in 1820 with 40,000 men. In this revolt the rebellions seized government stores and government funds. Later this revolt was suppressed by the army. One year later a movement was started against the Egyptian government in al Bairat by Ahmad al-Mahdi (al-wazir). After this movement a revolt against the government was started by Ahmad ‘Mogrebin Fanatique’. He stood in revolt against the tax as he refused to pay the tax levied on his goods. To motivate people against the government he went to Qina, Isna and parshut. There he had to meet the army of the country. In this way, his revolt was also suppressed by the army.

The main reason behind all these insurgencies was different government policies. These included levying different new taxes on the
people of the country like *firda* imposed in 1822, the increase of land
taxes up to 22 percent, the conscription and corvee. In 1823 an
insurrection took place in the province of ‘Menouffi’ which was started
by the agents of Mohammad Ali Pasha and by military conscription. In
1846 the last uprising broke out in Shatqiyya where the entire villages
armed themselves to defy the officers of the government. It was due to
the absence of Mohammad Ali and Ibrahim that led to a series of passive
revolts. In this, some of the village *Sheikhs* refused to pay their customary
taxes and send their men to serve the government. At many places the
executives were beaten by the villagers Hekekyan reports that a ‘*mudis*’
told him that the Pasha used to take 80 per cent of the land produce from
the formers. The people were not ready to pay the capitation tax, the
*firda*. Therefore, they used to run away from their villages. Although
Mohammad Ali has run administration efficiently and successfully; but at
different place in different provinces, due to different causes, especially
the imposition of heavy taxes and conscription the people stood in revolt
against the government. These insurrections, uprising and revolts caused
a great problem for the government of Mohammad Ali.²⁰
REFERENCES:


2. Ibid, pp. 18-19.


8. Ibid, pp. 29-32.


10. Ibid, pp. 103-105.


