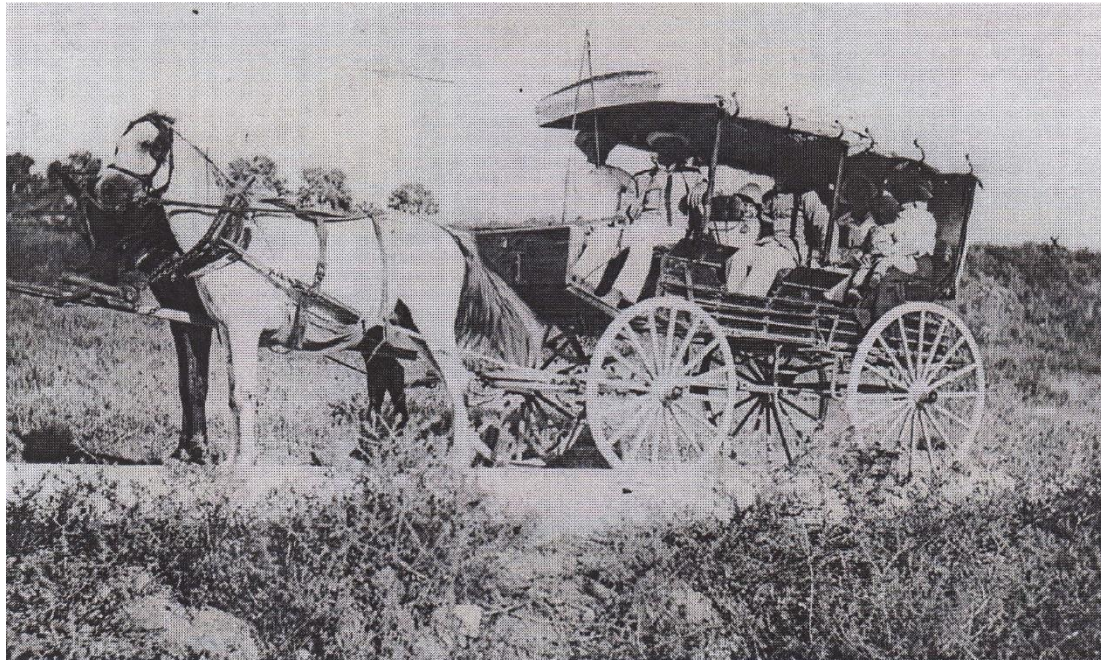


# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society in Ottoman Palestine



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# Structure of the Presentation

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- The Research Training Group „KRITIS“
- Subjects and Research Questions
- Introduction: The Street from Jerusalem to Hebron
- The Temple Society and Infrastructure
- The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

# The Research Training Group KRITIS



GRADUIERTENKOLLEG

**KRITIS**



**DFG** Deutsche  
Forschungsgemeinschaft



- In the RTG, historians, infrastructure and land use planners, civil engineers, philosophers, political scientists, architects, IT specialists and sociologists work together.

## Examples:

- M. Marathe: Significance of Traditional Water Management systems in current water supply systems. Case of Pune, India.
- A. Crespo: Dynamic, Intermodal Disruption Programs for Commuter Rail Lines.
- N. Thiessen: Flood Waters along Rivers as a Threat to Urban Infrastructure in Germany during the 20th Century.

# Subjects and Research Questions

- *Time Frame*: Ottoman Period until the End of WWI (1868-1918)
- *Spatial Limitation*: Jaffa/Jerusalem and Haifa
- *Core Subject*: Traffic Infrastructure
  - Re-Introduction of the Wheel (Kark/Thalman 2003)
  - Road construction and maintenance
  - Involvement in seabound Infrastructure (?)
  - Involvement in railway planning and construction (?)
- Three Stages of Templers Infrastructure Development:
  1. **The First Phase (1868-1884): Establishment of the Temple Colonies and first (private) Infrastructure Initiatives**
  2. The Second Phase (1884-1902): Turning Point? A „new“ Generation takes over, the Railway gets started and the Emperor visits Palestine
  3. The Third Phase (1902-1918) A new Dynamic? New Settlements, the Rise of Zionism and the Pre-War Period

# Introduction:

## The Street from Jerusalem to Hebron 1881

### Summer of 1881:

„Constantinopel“ wants a street built from Jerusalem to Hebron

- Planned by „a Greek Engineer, educated in Paris“ (no further info)
  - Plans the street through the valley of Gihon

Templers are deeply unsatisfied with the planned Route

- The best Route for the visioned Street would, in their opinion, go by the Settlers Colony, South of Jerusalem
  - Obviously, the Templers also wanted to be connected to the new street
- But also the planned construction site presents problems for the Colony
  - It would, so they say, heavily restrict paths the Templers already use with their carriages

# Introduction: The Street from Jerusalem to Hebron 1881

„Es wurde daher von Seiten der Gemeinde eine Deputation an den deutschen Konsul abgeschickt, um zu erfahren, was wir zur Abhaltung des Uebels thun können.“

„Thus, the local community sent a deputation to the German Consul, to ask what they can do to prevent this evil.“

- Consul establishes contact with the Pascha about the matter
  - Seems to meet with the Temple Community and shortly thereafter starts an Examination of the matter

# Introduction:

## The Street from Jerusalem to Hebron 1881

- The Templers were given the opportunity to alter the route, but they would have to finance the needed work
  - Due to financial problems, they said no, but kept arguing with the authorities
    - Original route is to be built with forced labour, so why should they (in their argumentation) finance something that does not need financing?
    - By reading between the lines, one can see, that the Colonists view this offer as a bribery for the authorities

# Introduction: The Street from Jerusalem to Hebron 1881

What can we learn from this example?

1. The Temple Society was very interested in infrastructural projects in the region
  - Active players, not passive bystanders
2. They are heavily involved in the countries infrastructure network
  - Original route would be an obstacle for their existing infrastructure
  - New proposed route would connect their own infrastructure more efficiently
3. They are often faced with the problem of an ultimately uncooperative Authority
4. They are confronted with Corruption
  - As we can see throughout their history, 3. and 4. often lead to private Initiatives



# The Temple Society and Infrastructure

## - The Criticality (Significance) of Infrastructure for the Temple Society -



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### Why is a religious society so invested in Infrastructures?

- Colonial character (need to stand one's ground in a foreign environment and make a living) → Infrastructures are central to that endeavour
  - But also the concept of „Hebung des Landes“/„Ascension of the Country“

### Learning from Failure?

- The first attempt at colonization from 1865 on (Kunisis, Mujeidil and Samunieh) failed, according to the Temple narrative, mainly because of the remoteness of the chosen places and the lack of infrastructure, with the result that help arrived too late.
- Therefore, the first “official” colonists paid great attention to the infrastructural situation of their colonies.
  - Haifa and Jaffa (instead of Nazareth) were chosen as seabound traffic junctions, especially for oversea transportation

# The Temple Society and Infrastructure

## - The Criticality (Significance) of Infrastructure for the Temple Society -



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### Infrastructures often served as *Conflict Catalysts or Explanations*

- „Karmelschenkung“ (Donation of a Carmel-part) in Haifa
  - The dispute with the Carmelite monks began at the beginning of 1871, when the colonists **planned to build a road** that would have connected the colony with the claimed territory. However, the monks built a wall which hindered this project.
- Explanations for the argument/break with Hardegg
  - 1874 a dispute arose over a municipal carriage in the colony of Haifa, which were maintained at the expense of the municipality. The colonists accused Hardegg of mismanagement.
  - Hoffmann: Due to bad infrastructural connection between the Colonies, the colonies and their leaders had grown apart (F. Lange, Geschichte des Tempels)

# The Temple Society and Infrastructure

- „Mission durch Vorbild“ / „missionizing by example“-



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One of the key goals of the Temple Society was the so-called „Hebung des Landes“ (Ascension of the Country)

➤ Infrastructural projects as an elementary part of it

They also associated with it a kind of a religious role model function:

- „durch das Hotel ist [dem Tempel] auch eine Art von internationaler Mission eröffnet unter der Klasse der intelligenten und bemittelten Europäer und Amerikaner.“ (SW 1869, 15)  
*“through the hotel the temple has also opened himself a kind of international mission among the class of intelligent and well-off Europeans and Americans.”*
- „Während dieser Verkehr unsern ackerbaureibenden Colonisten eine Gelegenheit zu einigem Verdienst darbietet, ist aber auch der Straßenverkehr an und für sich zur Hebung des Landes von Wichtigkeit und gehört also mit zur Aufgabe des Tempels.“ (SW 1875, 22)  
*“While this traffic offers our farming colonists an opportunity for some profit, road traffic is also important for the ascension of the country and is therefore part of the task of the temple.”*
- „Diese Straßengeschichte kann zeigen, wie die deutschen Kolonisten ohne Worte und bloß durch ihr Beispiel einen, wenn auch kleinen Beitrag zur Hebung des Landes liefern.“ (WT 1881, 35)  
*“This street story can show how the German colonists, without words and merely by their example, make a contribution, albeit small, to the uplift of the country.”*

# Main Part: The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society



- The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem
- The Street Haifa-Nazareth(-Tiberias)
- Carpools and Cooperatives

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem -



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# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem -



- Most important street venture for Palestine in the Ottoman Period
  - Prestige project for the Ottomans
    - „Modernity through Infrastructures“
- A modern street without vehicles?
  - After the failure of Adams Colony, the Templers establish step-by-step a „modern“ transportation infrastructure
- With the founding and growth of Sarona after 1872, the young colony became more and more central
  - Due to the Carriages used in Agriculture
  - In cases of a bad harvest, a good income was found here
    - More and more farmers engaged in the transportation business

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem -



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As early as 1870, the first negotiations took place as to whether the Colonists should obtain a monopoly on the use of the road for transport and repair

- Templers were very cautious, because of their low numbers
- Ultimately the deal didn't work out
  - But many Templers (e.g. Hoffmann) were relieved
- Nevertheless, the Colonists remained heavily involved
  - many reports by Templers about the bad condition of the road, how it could (and should) be improved, even after repair in 1874
    - High sensitivity to the vulnerability of the road to winter rains.

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem -



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„So wurden in der That in neuester Zeit auf der Straßenecke zwischen hier [Jaffa] und Ramleh Straßensteine aufgeführt, allein ohne Plan und Aufsicht. Nur an wenigen Stellen sind die Straßensteine, wie sichs gehört, auf der Seite der Straße angebracht, an anderen Stellen ist die Straße in ihrer ganzen Breite damit übersät, so daß man mit einem Wagen nicht mehr fortkommen kann, und der Fuhrmann förmlich gezwungen ist nebenher auf dem Feld zu fahren. Allein auch das geht nicht überall, weil andere Araber es für passend hielten nicht nur die Straße, sondern auch das anstoßende Feld mit Steinhäufen zu überfüllen. Nur durch einen größeren Umweg kann hier der Fuhrmann sich helfen.“ (SW 1874, 6)

*"Thus, in recent times, street stones have been displayed on the street corner between here [Yaffo] and Ramleh, but without a plan or supervision. Only in a few places are the road stones, as it should be, placed on the side of the road, in other places **the road is covered with them** in its entire width, so that one can no longer get on with a wagon, and the driver is **literally forced to move around on the field**. That alone is not possible everywhere, because other Arabs considered it appropriate not only to overfill the road, but also the bordering fields with stone piles. Only by taking a longer detour can the wagon driver help himself."*



# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

## - The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem -



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- In 1876, the Templers get hired to repair the road Jaffa-Ramleh
  - Theodor Sandel, Architect from Jaffa/Sarona as supervisor
  - They use their carriages to get local stones to the road
    - More efficient, but also „costly“ transport and weak material
      - Ottomans don't want to use the material the Templers suggested
- Because of the bad material the road is quickly damaged again
  - In 1877, the Templers are reporting damages due to the winter rain

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

## - The Road Yaffo-Jerusalem -



- 1879: Johann Wilhelm Gohl (Road builder from the Haifa Colony) is hired by the Ottomans to repair the Road to Jerusalem
  - Gohl immediately starts by fixing the worst parts first
    - Where the carriages and horses took the most damages
    - The ones most vulnerable to winter rains
      - Jerusalem to Colonia and Abu Gosh
- One of the main forces for this project was the German Consul, Baron v. Münchhausen
  - Good friend of the Colonists and influenced by the Templers complaints
- After 3-4 months, the road-repair is finished

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Street Haifa-Nazareth(-Tiberias) -



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# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Street Haifa-Nazareth(-Tiberias) -



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1873: J. Schumacher realized various construction projects in Nazareth  
(e.g. English Orphanage)

„Die dadurch mit Nazareth immer enger sich gestaltende Verbindung hat einige Brüder auf den Gedanken gebracht, ob nicht die Durchführung einer vorderhand in trockener Jahreszeit nothdürftig genügenden Straße, **sowohl zu der äußeren Hebung dieser Gegend, als auch von praktischem Werth und Nutzen für uns und unserem Werk** einigen Ausdruck zu verleihen, wie sehr uns auch die äußere Hebung dieses Landes am Herzen liegt, und **anderen Gesellschaften außer uns Aufmunterung zu geben.**“ (SW 1874, Nr. 17)

*"The ever closer connection with Nazareth has led some brothers to consider whether the implementation of a temporary road sufficient for the dry season, **both for the external elevation of this region, and for the practical value and benefits for us and our work,** as much as to express that the external elevation of this country is close to our hearts, and to **give encouragement to other societies besides us.**"*

- Templers want to improve the infrastructural connection with Nazareth through a street, but not only because of economic reasons

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - The Street Haifa-Nazareth(-Tiberias) -



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- Throughout the year 1874 the project was pushed forward
  - Several Templers, like C. Paulus, publicly supported the construction
  - Since the political authorities are not supporting the project in the beginning, the Templers search for regional co-investors
    - Arab Merchants and Land-Owners, as well as the Franciscan Community in Nazareth help out with minor capital
  - The street is finished in Mid-1875
- In the end, the Templers took over most of the costs involved themselves, as well as the construction itself

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

## - The Street Haifa-Nazareth(-Tiberias) -



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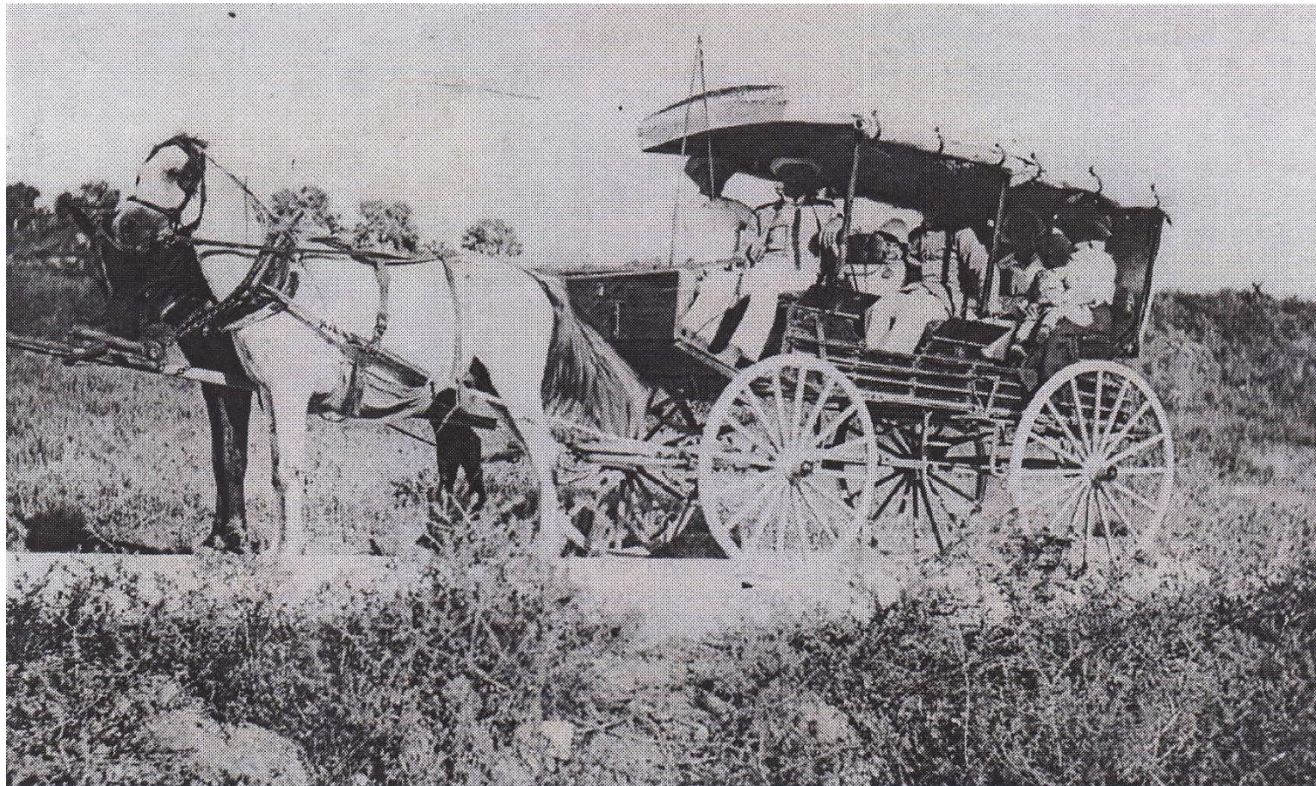
- Colonists are, in the aftermath, still far more interested in the southern road to Jerusalem
  - Haifa-Nazareth gets only a fraction of the attention in the Warté compared to the Yaffo-Jerusalem road
- Far less reports about the state of the road through the years
  - Less critical for the Templers?
- Source about a carpool or cooperative?



# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society - Carpools and Cooperatives -



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# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

## - Carpools and Cooperatives -



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- Initial transport between Jaffa and Jerusalem was relatively disorganized.
- Especially after the repair of Jerusalemstraße in 1874, the transportation business picked up speed.
  - In 1875 the temple council set up a commission on driving regulations for the transportation system there
    - Thereafter, regular journeys on a daily basis and a distinction between first and second class services were introduced
    - The Warte reports of numerous customers
      - In the beginning, those were mostly foreigners, but with time, also the natives began using the german carriages



# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

## - Carpools and Cooperatives -



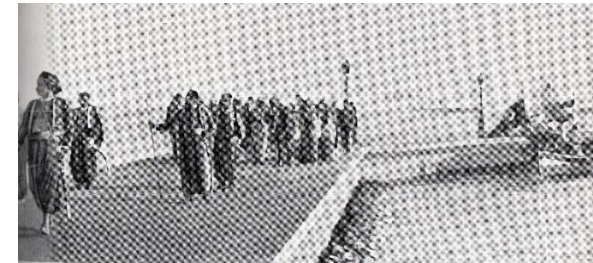
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- Over the years, the competition by Arabs and Jews, which adapted the new transport methods, brought economic trouble for the Colonists
  - Although the infrastructure experienced a strong demand, the price for trips was suppressed by the competition.
- “*Deutsche Fahrgesellschaft*” constitutes itself in 1883
  - Organisation vs. Competition
  - Was not exclusively for the Colonists, open to Arabs and Jews

# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

Other Infrastructures I plan to thematize in my project:

- Seabound Infrastructures
  - e.g. the “Kaiserstaden” in Haifa and its predecessors
  - Templers involvement about port extension in Jaffa
- Railway
  - How do the Templars feel about railway projects and construction?
    - (very skeptic about realization but strangely positive i.g.)
  - Any plans to get involved? How?
- Infrastructures in Wartimes
  - Revival of the Carriage Industry in the First World War?
    - Due to the deconstruction of railway lines





Other Infrastructures I plan to thematize in my project:

- Accompanying Infrastructures
  - Wagon builders
  - Blacksmiths
  - Carpenters and Wood trade
  - Hotels, Inns, Guest Houses, etc.



# The Infrastructural Network of the Temple Society

Wilhelm Beck With His Milkwagon for Haifa-Bethlehem Run During WWI



Thanks for your Attention