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Yuxuan Ye,
Georgetown Prep School, MD

LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD JERUSALEM: THE EXPANSION OF THE HOLY CITY BEYOND THE WALLS

Abstract. The development of European and local settlements outside of the Old City of Jerusalem during the late nineteenth century reflected many of the trends described above, including the growing influence of Europe in international politics and the rise of industrialism and modernization in the Holy Land. These tendencies were demonstrated through the introduction of new technologies and agricultural techniques; the exodus from the ancient, overcrowded Old City; and in the advancement of modern ideas such as religious liberty [1]. In order to illustrate these developments, the following paper offers a description of the topography of the city as the foundation to understand the expansion of these communities beyond the Old City Walls. Thereafter, the paper examines the advent of each community that settled outside of the Old City and explains the motivations behind their origins and the contributions that they made to the city.

Keywords: European, Old City of Jerusalem, Holy Land, religious liberty.

Introduction

Jerusalem is indeed a city with a profound and complex history. As the holy city of three major religions of the world – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – Jerusalem was destined to be a place of conflict and coexistence [25]. Throughout history, pilgrims from all over Europe as well as the Middle East came to the city to trace the spiritual origin of their faiths. However, conflicts over the control of the Holy City of Jerusalem between Christians and Muslims were inevitable, and reached their peak during the Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries CE [30; 6; 33]. In the following centuries, countless faithful Christians and Muslims fought and died in the Holy Land, only enlarging the hatred between the two religions that has persisted into the modern era. Nevertheless, after the Conquest of Saladin and the fall of Crusader States, the city of Jerusalem fell under neglect and insignificance. As time progressed into the 15th century Europeans focused their attention on the discoveries in the New World while the Ottoman Empire embarked on its ambition of unifying the Islamic world

[5]. During this time, Jerusalem remained relatively peaceful and open, because of the tolerant administration of the Early Ottoman Empire between 16th and 18th century, which allowed Christian and Jewish inhabitants to live freely and safely with the price of higher tax and lower social status [22]. Eventually, the peace and status quo of Jerusalem were shattered with the arrival of the 19th century.

The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century changed the world dramatically and permanently, and these changes were felt in important ways in Jerusalem. With powerful, new inventions, such as steam engines, railroads, and machine guns, the great powers of Europe finally had the ability to surpass the ancient empires of Asia and start the Age of New Imperialism [41, 5–6]. It was during this period that the Ottoman Empire, Mughal Empire, and Qing Dynasty all fell into a rapid decline that was punctuated by nationalistic revolts and government corruption. In contrast, the great European powers, namely Britain and France, were progressing faster than ever and became fully ready to dominate the world as they

acquired new colonies around the globe. For example, the scramble for Africa carved out and colonized almost the entire continent of Africa and during the same period India was soon also brought under British colonial rule. In the face of this growing influence, the Ottoman Empire and Qing Dynasty were pressured to yield to foreign influence with the grant of more and more economic and political privileges to Europeans [11; 45]. As the global order shifted to the West, Jerusalem, the Holy City of Christianity, would inevitably fall under the influence of European colonial powers.

The development of the city of Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Period represented a microcosm of these great imperial developments. Various nationalistic revolts in 19th century against the Turkish rule throughout the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire began stretching from the Balkans to Egypt [32]. The strength of this once powerful empire was exhausted, and the failure of Tanzimat Reforms, which were intended to modernize the administration as well as military, further doomed the fate of the empire [26, 11–12]. As a result, many concessions were made and privileges began to be granted to the Europeans [11, 9]. For example, consulates were opened in the city and foreigners were allowed to settle down, opening them to opportunities such as purchasing properties and building constructions inside and courteside the Old City [19, 93–96]. Protestant Britain, Catholic France, Orthodox Russia all had their own plans for the Holy City and this was the chance to fully implement them. Foreign settlements were established in the suburbs of the Old City as new churches and monasteries were built. Jerusalem was gradually and peacefully transformed by Christians [22, 10] However, the competition over the control of the Holy City existed among the European great powers themselves. Britain, France, and Russia all intended to seize control over the city in order to protect their religions and settlers, eventually triggering the Crimean War [5, 485–486]. In order to prevent Russia from further expanding into

the Ottoman Empire, France and Britain declared war over disputed claims in the Holy Land. Eventually, peace in the Ottoman Empire was preserved when Russia was defeated, and prominent Orthodox churches within Jerusalem were weakened dramatically, achieving a new balance between Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims [46].

The development of European and local settlements outside of the Old City of Jerusalem during the late nineteenth century reflected many of the trends described above, including the growing influence of Europe in international politics and the rise of industrialism and modernization in the Holy Land. These tendencies were demonstrated through the introduction of new technologies and agricultural techniques; the exodus from the ancient, overcrowded Old City; and in the advancement of modern ideas such as religious liberty [3, 34]. In order to illustrate these developments, the following paper offers a description of the topography of the city as the foundation to understand the expansion of these communities beyond the Old City Walls. Thereafter, the paper examines the advent of each community that settled outside of the Old City and explains the motivations behind their origins and the contributions that they made to the city.

The Expansion of the Old City

In order to understand the development of Jerusalem during the late nineteenth century, it is first necessary to explain how the city's topography influenced its development. The city of Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Period was on an upward trajectory of development, transforming from a small, regional city to an international metropolis. Historically, Jerusalem has had two parts, the Old City and suburban extramural areas built outside of and surrounding the Old City [22, 4–5]. The Old City refers to Ottoman Jerusalem, a Turkish-styled fortress with solid city walls, which were built by Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) [5, 442–443]. And within the protection of these walls are the holy sites of three religions: the Church of Holy Sepulcher for

Christians, the Dome of Rock for Muslims, and the Western Wall for Jews [22, 7–9]. People of the Old City lived in different quarters according to their religions, with the Muslim Quarter in the north, the Christian Quarter in the northwest, and the Jewish and Armenian Quarters in the south [2; 24]. Despite their religious differences, inhabitants were able to cohabitate peacefully with each other during the Ottoman Period, respecting or even participating in the festivities and celebrations of other religions [42]. Moreover, although not a large city, Ottoman Jerusalem was quite self-sufficient. For example, one could find city halls, markets, schools, mosques, churches, synagogues, and more importantly city walls, which protected its inhabitants from frequent Bedouin raids [42]. Jerusalem was a relatively insignificant but peaceful city during the Early Ottoman Period until the arrival of the 19th century.

As the 19th century dawned, the narrow streets within the city walls no longer had the capacity to hold the rapidly growing population. Intensifying this problem was the pressure of more and more pilgrims and settlers who poured into the city from Europe and America. For instance, in the year 1860 only 18,000 people lived in the frontier city of Jerusalem, whereas Istanbul, the capital and center of the Ottoman Empire, had 715,000 inhabitants. Fifty years later in 1910, there were already 70,000 Jerusalemites, almost four times more than the number of 1860 [5, 482]. The Old City, therefore, became cluttered and crowded, and the living conditions within Jerusalem deteriorated. Soon suburban settlements began to appear around the city walls. The eastern and southeastern sides outside the city, which were mostly occupied by hills and mountains, were not suitable for large settlements and as a result, settlers had to build their settlements in the plains to the north and west of the Old City.

The beginning of this process was not entirely natural and reflected both political and religious considerations. Britain, unlike other European great powers, had its own plans for Jerusalem, which included

efforts not to occupy or control the Holy City but instead to convert the Jews within the city, in accordance with the final prophecies of the Gospel of John in the Bible [5, 481]. Yet, Jews in Jerusalem, whose lifestyle was tightly centered on the activities of synagogues within the Jewish Quarter, firmly rejected the efforts of British missionaries. The British solution for this conundrum, thus, was building new settlements for Jews outside the crowded Old City. As British influence continued to expand in the area after victory in Crimean War, the British plan gained momentum and more and more Jews left the Jewish Quarter for the new settlements. This move made them self-reliant but also vulnerable to missionary efforts [10, 236]. Overall, Jews benefited greatly from this resettlement, for the living and sanitary conditions of the new communities were much better and the education provided by British schools helped many achieve a decent living. Similarly, Arabs and Christians built their own settlements and colonies around the city, with Arabs in the north and Christians in the west [5, 491]. Jerusalem was developing fast, with more and more settlements, schools, and hospitals built outside the Old City, steering the city as it gradually underwent a process of modernization.

The German Settlement

While the German Colony was neither the earliest nor the largest European settlement outside of the Old City, it represented a key moment in the industrialization of Palestine. While not technically part of the colonization of the region or a settlement with a large population, the colony became a crucial part of the rise of European influence in the Holy Land. The colony was established by a Protestant, liberal, independent religious association from Kirschenhardtshof, near Stuttgart, Germany, known as the Templer Society [44, 375]. The society was founded by Christophor Hoffmann, a Protestant theologian from Luwigsburg in Wurttemberg, who had split from the Lutheran Evangelical Church in Germany several years before coming to the Holy Land [19, 56]. The Templers were distinct from the ancient

crusader order, the Templars, who were dismantled hundreds of years ago in France. The Templar Settlement in Jerusalem was located in the Rephaim Valley, southeast of the Old City, and was one of seven Templar settlements in Palestine [28, 113–115]. The neighborhood had two main sections, Emek Refaim and Bethlehem, which interestingly were both biblical locations. Emek Refaim, also called the Valley of Rephaim, was the battlefield between King David and Philistines, and Bethlehem was the birthplace of Jesus, according to the New Testament Gospels, (See 2 Samuel 5:17–22; on the description of the birthplace of Jesus in the Gospels, see Luke 2:1–39. For further discussion of the Gospel accounts' description of Bethlehem, see E. P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Penguin, 1993), 85–88).

At first, Templars focused on agriculture, draining the swamps, and planting the fields since the livelihood of 80% of people at that time depended on it [23, 3]. However, they were the first settlers to implement more advanced European agricultural techniques and machinery, such as irrigation, fertilizers, and regular crop rotation, which were not familiar to the local Arab farmers at the time. The Templars also introduced tools such as steel plows, horse gear, and later steam engines into Palestine [23, 4]. The methods and machines in the German Colony represented the first step for Palestine into the modern world, marking the productivity and efficiency of advanced agriculture. Eventually neighboring settlements of Arabs and Jews began learning and adapting these modern techniques and machinery from the Germans. Moreover, the Templars also cooperated with local Jews and Arabs in fields such as agriculture, industry, transportation, and construction, which furthered the progress of industrialization in Palestine. One notable example of such cooperation was the founding of a formal carriage-owners cooperative in 1884 to regulate transportation between Jaffa and Jerusalem [23, 9–10]. The company consisted of both German and local drivers, who divided the profits each month. This greatly improved the

technological progress as well as social conditions for the local population while allowing the Templar Colony to maintain a stable relationship with this community, despite the view of some who only saw them as intruders and exploiters [23, 7–8].

A central motivation for the German settlement of this area was the connection between their own religious beliefs and the Holy Land. The first organized Templar Colony in Jerusalem was founded in 1868, whose principle was “building God’s spiritual temple in the individual and in mankind,” which accurately reflects its name [44]. As a consequence of the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, in which Hoffmann participated as the only representatives of Pietism, the Templars believed that a true Christian community must be separated from governmental and political influence, unlike the German church system at that time [19, 60]. They intended to build small, simple, organized congregations of like-minded Christians especially in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, so that they could serve as examples to revitalize other churches in Europe. The Germans in Palestine, therefore, had a very different plan than the British, who wished to return the Jews back to the Holy Land and convert them to Christians. The settlers represented the direct ambition of European Protestants in the Holy Land [27, 44–45].

The German settlers brought with them their own distinctive architectural style, meaning that just outside of the Old City, the colony would have the physical appearance of a European village. Compared to the local, stone domed buildings made in the Arab style, the homes of the Templars were quite exotic, which set them apart from the older parts of the city. The colony was mostly made up of neatly ordered single-family cottages with pitched roofs of red tiles and green gardens with flowers, just like the small rural villages in the Templars’ hometown of Wurttemberg [7, 237]. The Templars also built one community hall for meeting and prayer and two schools, all of simple construction similar to South Germany [28, 115]. Moreover, as the city of Jeru-

salem developed rapidly, a railroad connecting Jaffa and the Old City was opened in 1892, with a station very close to the colony [18, 52]. With this, the Templer Settlement was finally brought out of isolation, as more Arabs began travelling to the colony and, subsequently, more Palestinian elements were incorporated into the architectural style of the buildings.

During the 20th century, however, the fate of Templers was less fortunate. As a result of strong national sentiment and pride, most German overseas colonies, including the Templers in Jerusalem, managed to retain their German nationality. Consequently, two generations of Templers went back to Germany and fought for their fatherland in the two World Wars, but the failures of Germany in both conflicts eventually led to the demise of Templer colonies in Palestine. The outbreak of the First World War and the British conquest of Palestine in 1917 labeled the once respected Templers as “enemies” and many were deported to British camps in Egypt [43, 136]. In the end, all Templers were eventually released and returned to their former colonies without obstructions after the end of the Great War.

The consequences of the loss of the Second World War, though, were much harsher for the Templers, as many of them returned to fight for Hitler’s Reich and the Templer community. Though not fully accepting of it, they tolerated the newly-formed Nazi party in the German colony of Jerusalem [43, 136–138]. Because of this, the Templers were once again classified as “enemies,” this time forever. The discovery of the cruel atrocities in the Holocaust after the Second World War sealed the fate of the Templers in Palestine, for they were unwanted and unwelcomed by both the Jews and British [44, 376]. All of the Templers in Palestine, 2,300 people in total, were required to leave their homes immediately to be either sent back to Germany (1000 of them) or deported to Australia (the rest of 1300). In addition to this, all of their property was confiscated first by the British Mandate Government and then transferred to the new Israeli Government [43, 148]. Luckily for the

Templers, despite their history as potential ex-Nazis and the devastating loss of their property, Australia became their new homeland, as all of them were cleared of security risk and given the opportunity to naturalize [43, 376]. The Australian government treated these German refugees with acceptance and tolerance, and the remaining Templers were later shown to be law-abiding citizens in the country. The Templer Society of Australia continues to function as a community, with new members fully integrating themselves as citizens in the multicultural nation of Australia [43, 377]. Despite this new settlement, problems persisted. The matter of compensation for Templer property was not brought up until 1952 and solved after 10 years of negotiations, reflecting the sensitive and complex nature of the dilemma. In the end, the Israeli government agreed to pay a total sum of 6,057,885 German Marks for the properties of the Templers, whose aspiration and ambition in the Holy Land finally ended after almost a hundred years of efforts [43, 149].

Mishkenot Sha’ananim Settlement

By the mid-19th century, the narrow streets within the walls of the Old City were home to already 15,000 Muslims, Christians, and Jews. In this confined space, the people of Jerusalem struggled to survive under the horrible living standards caused by poverty and unsanitary conditions, which often led to waves of epidemics, such as a severe outbreak of cholera in Jerusalem in 1866 [7, 265]. Yet scarcely was there settlement outside the Old City. For Jerusalemites at the time, the ancient city wall represented more than simply a decoration as in the modern eyes, it provided them with safety and security. Bedouin raiders and bandits commonly roamed the plains and deserts of Palestine after sunset, attacking and raiding every caravan or person they saw [14, 87]. Moreover, moving out of the city meant giving up every public and established institution an urban area could offer, including religious sites, schools, and shops. Therefore, settling outside the city walls of Jerusalem was no doubt a terrifying and difficult

decision to make and involved risking one's wealth and even one's own life.

The establishment and eventual success of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, nevertheless, was the first step for Jerusalemites, especially Jews, to begin the Exodus from the overcrowded Old City to a more independent and modern lifestyle [5,487]. Although this new neighborhood was a Jewish neighborhood, it nonetheless reflected the influence of European involvement in the city of Jerusalem. The brave and risky action of settling outside of the walls reflected the interests of influential, foreign benefactors, who aimed to further develop the city of Jerusalem. One way to illustrate this is to look at the role that Sir Moses Haim Montefiore played in establishing and supporting the founding of this Jewish neighborhood [5, 487]. Sir Moses Haim Montefiore was a Jewish-British philanthropist [1, 631–632]. Born as the son of a second-generation Italian immigrant living in London, he was a member of a large Sephardic family, who were the descendants of Jews exiled from Spain in the 1492 Expulsion. Montefiore had relatives across the entire Mediterranean and even in the New World, which possibly accounts for his frequent travels later in his life [1, 289]. Not following in the steps of his father, a merchant in cross-country trade, Montefiore made his fortune in the stock exchange and, like many Victorian businessmen, later scaled down his business and devoted himself to philanthropy and politics. This work earned him membership into the Board of Deputies, where he later served as president, as well as entrance into the Fellowship of Royal Society and an appointment as Sheriff of the City of London. In Queen Victoria's coronation year, Moses was granted the prestigious honor of knighthood [20, 636].

Beyond Montefiore's domestic achievements in England were his efforts at fighting against discrimination of Jews internationally. During his first trip to the Holy Land in 1827, he reverted to being a devoted and orthodox Jew, which later focused most of his attention on practicing his religion and help-

ing fellow Jews. He traveled to Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Morocco, Russia, Romania, and many other countries to free falsely accused Jews, alleviate the living conditions of the local Jewry, and negotiate with various rulers to ameliorate the treatment of oppressed Jews [20, 636]. For the Jewish communities of Jerusalem especially, Sir Moses Montefiore represented more than simple philanthropy. He founded and promoted various programs for the education and development of the community, intending to render Jerusalemite Jews independent and self-reliant from diaspora charity [20, 636–637].

The neighborhood of Mishkenot Sha'ananim was built upon a shallow hill to the west of the Hinnom Valley, opposite to Mount Zion at the southernmost tip of the eastern ridge of ancient Jerusalem [5, 487]. The location of this new Jewish settlement was important because it stood relatively near the Jaffa gate, the western gate, and close to the historic Jewish Quarter of the Old City, reflecting an interest in maintaining a close physical relationship to the Jewish Community in the Old City. In order to understand the location of this new neighborhood we have to remember that the topography of the city to the south and east posed major obstacles for expansion, as the southern side is blocked by a long valley and the eastern side is covered by hills and mountains, forming natural boundaries for the ancient city and determining the flow of the defensive walls of the Old City [47, 14]. As a result, the only possible directions for expansion are to the west and south. For Sir Moses Montefiore, the decision of choosing the west side was not at all difficult. Traditionally the Jewish Quarter in the Old City lies in the southwestern part of the city, allowing most of its inhabitants to enter the quarter by accessing the Jaffa Gate. In contrast, the northern part of the city is occupied by the Arab Quarter, which historically did not have a friendly relationship with Jews. For the purpose of both assuring the safety of its residents and having easy access to the defense provided by the city walls, Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the first local neighborhood

settled outside the Old City, developed in a location very close to the Jaffa Gate. This strategic setting allowed some of its first inhabitants, fearful of nighttime Bedouin raiders, to run back to their small and crowded homes in the Jewish Quarter [5, 487].

The architectural style of the neighborhood also reflects the European influence from England. The neighborhood was constructed roughly at the same time as the Schneller and Russian compounds, which all demonstrate the different European architectural influences according to their respective countries [28, 74]. The English influence in this Jewish settlement can be seen in the decorative, structural cast-iron components, which were imported directly from England, as well as the flat, slightly-sloping roofs of the buildings, which stand out among the traditional domed roofs of local houses [28, 126]. Moreover, the building style of Mishkenot vividly reflects the deep worry of its first residents for safety and security, with the inclusion of defensive, crenelated parapets on the roofs; heavy, wooden doors covered with iron bands; and barred windows [28, 127]. Despite all these English characteristics, Mishkenot Sha'ananim reflected the work of the local stonemasons of Bethlehem, who actually built the neighborhood. This can be seen easily from the features of neighborhood's buildings, such as the stone-framed, ogive-arched windows and doorways [28, 126].

The American Settlement

The American Colony in Jerusalem was indeed one of the most unusual settlements in the Holy Land. Unlike most European settlements in the region, which, like the Templers, were established in the wilderness far away from the local communities of the Old City, the American Colony began within the city walls in 1881. Instead of "Colony" or "Settlement", the most appropriate name for the first stage of the American presence is perhaps "Community". Led by the Spafford family, the American settlers first lived in a large communal building in the Muslim Quarter [9, 265]. This meant that compared to the other earlier settlements in Jerusalem outside the walls, the American

presence was first established within the northern sector of the Old City near the Damascus Gate, leading to constant and direct interactions between the settlers and local Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

The settling of the Spafford family in this area of the Old City would then form the springboard for the eventual establishment of an American colony just north of the Damascus Gate north of the Old City Walls [7, 240]. In this way, the movement of the Spafford family to the north of the Old City fell within a wider tradition of Protestant interest in this area of Jerusalem. For instance, British and American Protestants in the late nineteenth century had identified the place of Jesus' crucifixion and burial north of the city in what is known as Gordon's Calvary and the Garden Tomb [34, 199–216]. Beyond the fact that this area was directly north of the Muslim quarter, the topography of the Old City meant that there was no major valley to separate the Old City from the American Colony. Whereas deep valleys separated the Old City from the new neighborhoods constructed by the Templers and Jewish communities to the west and southwest, movement north of the Old City was not impeded by such natural barriers. This meant that most of the residents north of the Old City would also be Muslim, since it formed a natural bridge extending from the Muslim Quarter through the Damascus Gate.

The role that the topography played in the development of this neighborhood is illustrated by the movement of the Spaffords. When they left the Old City, the family took up residence in properties purchased from the Muslim Husseini Family [28, 123]. As the Old City became increasingly overcrowded, the number of colonists grew rapidly from 30 to 150 when more Swedish-American families from Chicago joined the community in the 1890s. This new wave of Swedish immigrants was led by Olof Larson, a charismatic leader who held similar religious beliefs as the Spaffords that the "Approach of the Last Day was imminent and they must hurry to meet their Lord in Jerusalem" [4, 646–647]. This movement

also transformed the colony from a purely philanthropic community to an economically independent settlement with successful farms and workshops, as many of the Swedish immigrants were skilled farmers and artisans [7, 240].

The founders of the colony, the Spafford Family, came from Chicago, Illinois. Heratio Spafford, a prosperous lawyer and a senior member of the local Presbyterian Church, lost all four of his daughters in a horrible maritime accident. Devastated and rejected by his own church, Heratio and his wife, Anna, remained in Chicago for another seven years, during which a daughter, Bertha, and a son, who later died due to an epidemic of scarlet fever, were born. In 1879, they organized several family friends and departed for the Holy Land together [4, 643–644]. Their original intention of coming to Jerusalem was never to settle down and form a colony, but instead to wait and witness the Second Coming of Christ on Mount Olives, which was predicted by a Scottish astronomer [29, 98]. When the prediction failed to materialize, the Americans, although frustrated, persisted and formed a philanthropic and benevolent settlement.

Bearing witness to the Second Coming of Christ was a central motivation for the settlement of many European colonies in the Holy Land during the Late Ottoman period. This event, which is one of the central beliefs in Christianity, holds that Jesus Christ, after his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, will return to the earth and begin the Final Judgment. The exact location of the return, however, is not specifically stated in the Bible. The common belief of many Christians, including the Spafford family, is that the Second Coming of Christ will take place on the Mount of Olives, for according to the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 1, Jesus ascended to heaven on the Mount of Olives and “will return in the same way as you have seen him going into heaven” [Acts 16, 6–9]. This belief, therefore, might also have led to the later formation of the American Colony at the northern side of the Old City, since it provides a good view of the Mount of Olives, which lies to

the east of the Old City. What is interesting here is that Muslims in the city also held that the Last Judgment would take place at the bottom of the Mount of Olives in the Kidron Valley [21, 395]. Hence, this shared connection between the Spaffords and the Muslim families also reflect some of the similarities between Christians and Muslims about the location of the Final Judgment east of the city.

This motivation of mere waiting and anticipation of their own Messiah instead of spreading their faith to advance the establishment of the American Colony earned the Spaffords the most esteemed reputation among the locals out of all the European settlements [31, 70]. Missionary efforts were without any doubt one of the major reasons for the tension and conflicts between Europeans and the local residents in all parts of the world during the Colonial Period. One good example of this in the Holy Land is the hostile relationship between the British and traditional Jews of the Old City, who were greatly agitated by the relentless efforts of British missionaries to convert their fellow Jews to Christianity [5, 480]. Without this goal and combined with their strict adherence to political and religious neutrality, American colonists were able to forge good relationships with almost every group in Jerusalem. For example, they taught free of charge in the local Muslim and Jewish schools and their philanthropic efforts, including opening a soup kitchen; orphanage; and lace factory, where poor women could work, were open to people of all faiths [7, 240].

Moreover, the tolerance shown by Americans was quite novel and divergent from the traditional interactions in the local population. Indeed, for the past two thousand years, Christians, Muslims, and Jews have largely lived peacefully in the Holy Land, as they simply learned to tolerate the existence of each other. Despite this, there has never been a complete equality of religions, for differences always exist between brethren of the same faith and the heathens of another. The Ottoman Empire, for example, allowed people of different religions to live safely and

separately, still regarded the Christian and Jewish, "People of the Book," as different and inferior [8, 15–17]. It was the open and charitable reputation as well as absolute compliance to neutrality which eventually helped the American Colony survive the troubled and changing times of 20th century, from the Ottoman Period, to the British Mandate, then to Jordanian control, and eventually the Israeli administration. Even today, the American Colony Hotel, which was directly remodeled from one of the original buildings of the American Colony, is one of the few places where Palestinians, Israelis, and foreigners can meet comfortably as equals [7, 240].

Conclusion

The establishment and development of European and local communities outside of the Old City represented the industrialization, modernization, and opening of the city of Jerusalem. As more and more European influence and immigrants poured into the Holy Land, the way of life in Jerusalem forever changed from an insignificant fortress city to a di-

verse and dynamic metropolis. First, the Templers from Germany brought with them machines and technologies, which transformed the local production methods and initiated the engine of industrialization in the Holy Land. Next, the founding of the Jewish settlement of Mishkenot Sha'ananim witnessed the British influence in the world and the beginning of the great Exodus from the overcrowded Old City. Finally, the Americans became the beacon of tolerance and neutrality, providing a peaceful resting place for Jerusalemites in the gradual, but inevitable intensification that defined religious and political activity in the 20th century. Jerusalem progressed along with and because of these settlements, as its people tried to find a place for themselves and their religions in the changing and developing world of the late 19th century. In this way, the arrival of these new settlements, like many of the older settlements inside of the walls, represented the fusion of religion, politics, and economics in the continued development of the city.

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