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The Role of Civil Society

in the Appointment of "Mohamed Ali Pasha"

as the Ruler of Egypt in 1805

Introduction:

This study addresses the role of civil society in the appointment of Mohamed Ali Pasha (1805-1848) as the ruler of Egypt in 1805. The Egyptian people, led by their leadership represented by Mr. Omar Makram, the head of the nobility, played a significant role. He led the public in a popular celebration on May 13, 1805, and called for Mohamed Ali Pasha to be their ruler under their conditions. This occurred against the wishes of the Ottoman Sultan, marking a precedent in modern Egyptian history.

As a result of this movement, an unusual situation arose; the country had two governors: one appointed by the Sultan, namely (Khurshid Pasha), and the other (Mohamed Ali Pasha) ⁽¹⁾, who was appointed by the will of the Egyptian people.

This study will examine the conditions prevailing in Egypt before Mohamed Ali Pasha's ascension to power, which helped the Egyptians choose him as their ruler. It will then discuss the character of Mohamed Ali Pasha himself, followed by an exploration of popular leadership and its role in guiding Egyptian society in general, and in choosing Mohamed Ali Pasha as their ruler with their desire, consent, and conditions. We will also address the status of popular leadership after Mohamed Ali Pasha took power in Egypt.

Study Problem:

The Egyptian popular leadership led by Sheikh Omar Makram played a significant role in guiding the Egyptian people and advocating for Muhammad Ali Pasha to be appointed as the ruler of Egypt. However, after Muhammad Ali Pasha ascended to the throne, he dismissed the role of popular leadership and sought to eliminate it, waiting for the right moment to inform Omar Makram that his duty had come to an end⁽²⁾. Muhammad Ali Pasha took advantage of Omar Makram's protests against some of his actions, exiling him to Damietta and removing him from the Syndicate of the Nobles on August 8, 1809⁽³⁾.

Objectives of the Study:

- 1- To highlight the national role of Egyptian popular leadership.
- 2- To clarify that the Egyptian people have the capacity to assert their demands and choose the most suitable leaders for governance.
- 3- To demonstrate to the current generation that the ancestors played a positive role in safeguarding Egypt.



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4- To instill values of loyalty, belonging, and active participation in order to uplift Egypt.

Study Questions:

- 1- What were the conditions in Egypt following the withdrawal of the French campaign?
- 2- What forces were competing for the control of Egypt?
- 3- What was the makeup of the Egyptian popular leadership?
- 4- Did the Egyptian popular leadership succeed in achieving its goal of selecting its rulers?
- 5- What is the status of popular leadership after its success in appointing Muhammad Ali Pasha as the ruler of Egypt?

Study Methodology:

The methodology adopted in this study is the objective historical method and the analytical method, aimed at monitoring and analyzing historical events while adhering to the unity of the subject within the broader historical context, with the goal of striving to reach historical truth as much as possible.

Conceptual Framework of the Study:

The Concept of Popular Leadership:

Gustave Le Bon defines "leadership" as either individual or collective, symbolic or practical, and it invariably culminates in the embodiment of authority, which can either be traditional deriving its legitimacy from characteristics present within society or a specific environment or it can be authority arising from charisma, that is, from the appeal held by a particular individual or bureaucratic authority based on laws (4).

Popular leadership, as an idea and concept, is not confined in Egypt to a specific time, circumstance, timing, or authority; rather, it remains ever-present, especially during pivotal moments in our history, which are often followed by transformations in the structure of the state, the type of governance, or the nature of the relationship between authority and the people. Among these leaders are Omar Makram, Muhammad Kareem, Mustafa Kamel, Muhammad Farid, Saad Zaghloul, and Gamal Abdel Nasser, among others.

First: The Situation in Egypt Before Muhammad Ali's Rule:

The period between the withdrawal of the French occupation from Egypt in 1801 and the appointment of "Muhammad Ali" as the ruler of the

country in 1805 is known as a period of "political chaos." During this time, several Turkish governors held the position of Pasha in Egypt, most of whom met with either death, imprisonment, or flight⁽⁵⁾. Moreover, the economic situation deteriorated, particularly after the global trade route between the East and West shifted following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope⁽⁶⁾. As a result, the country returned to a state of complete isolation from the civilizational developments occurring in Europe. During this period, Egypt experienced a political struggle marked by intensified conflict between the two main political factions at that time: the Ottomans and the Mamluks. Additionally, new forces emerged that had not been previously considered, namely the strength of the Egyptian people and their leaders. This latter group represented a stable and enduring force, and the only legitimate authority in the country. This was all occurring in the context of British ambitions towards Egypt, driven by a desire to impose control to secure its communications with its colonies in India.

As for the Ottomans, they considered Egypt a cherished part of their empire and a source of income for their treasury. This meant, for them, that they had the legitimate right to regain control over Egypt, viewing it as a return of the branch to its origin. When they sought this, they resolved to fight the Mamluks and eliminate them so that they would not contest their authority in the country. Therefore, the instructions directed to the Grand Vizier "Yusuf Pasha Dhiya al-Din al-A'ma" (from October 23, 1798, to June 24, 1805) emphasized the necessity of exterminating the remaining Mamluks to prevent their resurgence (7).

The Ottoman forces in Egypt were composed of two armies. The first army consisted of 25,000 to 30,000 soldiers, led by the Grand Vizier. This army was made up of Janissaries, the minister's guard, and soldiers he had gathered from Syria, with its main camp located in Cairo. Its troops occupied the capital and most of the central Egyptian towns and Upper Egypt (Beni Suef, Minya, and Assiut). The second army was stationed in northern Delta under the command of "Hassan Pasha," who was nicknamed "the Alexandrian." He was the commander of the Ottoman garrison stationed in Abu Qir Bay, near Alexandria. This army numbered around 6,000 warriors, mostly composed of Albanians and Janissaries, and they occupied positions close to the port of Al-Imara⁽⁸⁾.

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As for the Mamluks, despite their decline, especially after their long wars with the French, which had left them severely weakened and morally degraded, making them unreliable⁽⁹⁾, they had lost their legitimacy as protectors of the country (10). Despite this, they still harbored ambitions to regain control of the country, motivated by the desire to plunder its resources. They justified their claim by asserting their historical right to rule, dating back to the mid-13th century until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (1250-1517). Even after the Ottomans took control, they relied on the Mamluks to govern the country (11). To achieve their goals of regaining power, the Mamluks sought alliances with the British and the French (12), a move that further alienated them from the Egyptian people.

For four years after the withdrawal of the French occupation from Egypt, the country remained under the control of the Ottoman Sultan. Turkish soldiers and others of various nationalities and origins, including Albanians and Moroccans, returned and began to wreak havoc, spreading chaos throughout the land. They imposed taxes, shared the livelihoods of craftsmen and merchants, seized food without payment, invaded homes and expelled their inhabitants to take over their residences. Consequently, during this harsh period, the Egyptian people faced the tyranny and brutality of the Ottomans alongside the injustices and barbarism of the Mamluks. The Egyptians were overwhelmed with complaints and turned to their leaders, marking the emergence of a national consciousness and resistance against the oppressions of their rulers. This also reflected the insistence of their leaders to have a say in what transpired on Egyptian soil, particularly regarding matters that affected people's lives, livelihoods, and dignity (13).

Some historians argue that the greatest variable that restricted the ability of any of the competing forces to monopolize rule in Egypt was the emergence of Egyptian popular and religious leaders, represented by the sheikhs, scholars, major merchants, heads of sects, crafts, and guilds. These figures held significant influence over the Egyptian people due to their religious and judicial authority (14). Politically, it is noteworthy that the awakening of popular and civil forces in Egypt occurred during the French occupation (1798-1801), as the ideas of the French Revolution permeated the minds of Egyptians (15). As for the

Egyptian leadership, it began to emerge politically with Napoleon Bonaparte's establishment of various councils composed of prominent scholars, merchants, representatives of sects, and heads of crafts, to discuss public affairs. Thus, Bonaparte was the first to introduce the parliamentary principle in Egypt (16). All of this accustomed Egyptians, both people and leadership, to resisting oppression and fighting it with armed force, hence their significant role in confronting and resisting the French occupation (17).

After the French withdrawal from Egypt, a few leaders emerged, shaped by events and experience. such as Sayyid Umar Makram (18), the leader of the Ashraf, Sheikh Abdullah al-Sharkawi (19), Sheikh Muhammad al-Sadat, Sheikh Mustafa al-Sawy, Sheikh Muhammad al-Amir, Sheikh Muhammad al-Mahdi, Sheikh Suleiman al-Fayyumi, and Sayyid Ahmad al-Mahruqi, a prominent merchant⁽²⁰⁾. These sheikhs played a significant role in shaping the nation's character and guiding it towards its best interests (21).

Sayvid Umar Makram stood at the forefront of this leadership, being a distinguished scholar and jurist. He had no inclination towards politics; he did not aspire to be a king or a prince, as it was not in the nature of scholars to engage in politics and its intricacies⁽²²⁾. However, as the leader of the Ashraf, he was part of the authority at that time, exercising judicial authority over his sect and managing extensive endowments that provided him with financial independence and connected him to the economic life, which was affected by the instability of public authority, heavy taxes, and military problems. He participated in resisting the French presence and even led the Cairo uprising against them, eventually assuming sole leadership⁽²³⁾.

Since Sayyid Umar Makram was disillusioned with the governors, pashas, and beys, he sought a man to entrust with the rule, a righteous, capable, merciful, and pious man. This man had to be an Ottoman, as this was dictated by the politics of the time, so as not to anger the Ottoman Sultan⁽²⁴⁾. Therefore, Umar Makram realized that Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1848) was the most suitable person on the scene to govern the country and its people. Umar Makram cooperated with Muhammad Ali in getting rid of the rebellious soldiers and their commanders and appointed him as governor, thus breaking a long-standing



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tradition in a radical manner. Before this, when the princes wanted to depose a governor they did not like, they would appoint someone to act in his place until a new governor arrived. However, this time. the deposition was carried out by civilians, not by the Mamluk princes. Moreover, he did not stop at appointing someone to act in place of the deposed governor until a new one arrived, but went further by appointing this governor himself⁽²⁵⁾.

And just as blessings follow trials, and after political chaos and civil wars, a strong and adventurous man appears on the political scene. seizes power, reorganizes the internal affairs, and restores order through his control of the situation⁽²⁶⁾. This is exactly what happened in Egypt after the French occupation. Muhammad Ali Pasha, one of the Ottoman forces that came to Egypt to reclaim it from the French, emerged⁽²⁷⁾.

Secondly, the personality of Muhammad Ali Pasha:

Although Muhammad Ali (28) was illiterate, he was neither dogmatic nor narrow-minded. He was highly intelligent, extremely ambitious, and had a quick grasp of new facts, as well as a keen analysis of the significance of those facts. He closely observed events, realizing with his shrewdness the inevitable outcome of the Ottoman-Mamluk conflict (29). He was also cruel and hard-hearted, ready to exercise brutal cruelty, but nevertheless possessed charisma. No matter how high the status of his foreign guests, they feared his piercing gaze, despite continuing to admire his impressive personality (30)

Muhammad Ali, due to the aforementioned qualities, realized early on the power of the popular will and sought to harness it⁽³¹⁾. Therefore, since his arrival in Egypt, he had been thinking about how to control the minds and hearts of the Egyptian people and present himself as a just and wise man. Muhammad Ali saw the Egyptian people as the primary and greatest pillar for achieving his ambitions. In the early days, he appeared before the people as a pure Egyptian who had nothing to do with the Ottomans. He would walk the streets of Cairo greeting people, dressed in attire similar to that of the Egyptians, having discarded his military uniform and adopting a cloak like a burnous. He often assured his soldiers not to harm the Egyptian people, as had been the case with previous Ottoman garrisons. He even expressed anger, along with his soldiers, against the governor of the country, and declared to the national leadership in more than one place: "We are of you, and you are the people, and we are the soldiers, and we do not accept these taxes imposed on you. Our salaries are from the state treasury. not from you" (32). Thus, people began to look towards Muhammad Ali and place their hopes in him, believing he might be their savior.

It is said that Muhammad Ali could have become a governor at that time, but he chose to renounce the governorship and withdrew from the governing political arena. He began to be cautious in his affairs and careful in his dealings so as not to anger the people or the Ottoman Sultan at the same time. This indicates his wisdom, cunning, administrative abilities, and political shrewdness⁽³³⁾. Then, Muhammad Ali used the scholars and sheikhs to solve the first problems he faced after assuming power in the country, especially since he was in dire need of money to pay the overdue soldiers' salaries. However, if the soldiers received their salaries, they would travel to their homelands, and only a small number would remain in the country to protect it. He even used them again to confront the Ottoman naval expedition sent by the Ottoman Sultan on July 17 of the same year. Muhammad Ali sent the scholars to collect money and wheat to appease the Ottoman Sultan (34).

Here, the Egyptian people saw that Muhammad Ali had succeeded in what no one before him had succeeded in: getting rid of the many competing leaders who ruled the country and oppressed the people. This made the Egyptian people feel that there was a strong and adventurous man, and they found solace in finding a non-Egyptian man who cared about them for the first time and felt their pain. They began to stand behind this man, until they made him a ruler by their own will and consent, which can be called the role of civil society in appointing Muhammad Ali Pasha as ruler of Egypt in 1805.

When matters worsened under Khosrow Pasha, the Ottoman Sultan Selim III (1798-1807) sent Ali Pasha al-Jazayirli to Egypt as governor. However, the Mamluks and the Arnauts deposed him, betrayed him, and killed him. When the differences between Muhammad Bek al-Alfi who had traveled to Britain in 1803 - and Osman Bek al-Bardisi increased (35), the latter was forced to form an alliance with Muhammad Ali, who

crossed the Nile with his soldiers in the middle of the night of February 20, 1804 (36), and attacked the forces of al-Alfi who were camped near Giza, pursuing them to the city of Menouf until they were eliminated (37). After al-Bardisi got rid of Muhammad al-Alfi, who died on January 28, 1807, al-Bardisi felt as if he were the sole ruler of the country. When he wanted to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors by imposing heavy taxes on the Egyptians, the Egyptians became agitated and marched to the house of al-Bardisi, chanting against him, saying, "What are you taking from my poverty, O Bardisi?" Muhammad Ali ordered his soldiers to join the Egyptians in their revolt against al-Bardisi. Al-Bardisi and his Mamluk followers fled Cairo, and Muhammad Ali eventually eliminated them seven years later (38).

Third: Popular Leadership and the Appointment of Muhammad Ali as Ruler of Egypt:

During this time, Muhammad Ali had gained the friendship of scholars and the affection of the locals, receiving popular support. They gathered and appointed Muhammad Ali as the deputy governor of the country, sending "Khosrow Pasha" to Istanbul, and appointing Rashid Pasha as the governor of Alexandria, bestowing upon him the title of Deputy of the Imperial Court over the Egyptian territories. Things began to work for Muhammad Ali's favor, but the Sultan sent "Mustafa Pasha Bash Qaptan" along with a decree for Muhammad Ali to be assigned to the governorship of Salonika, stipulating that Egypt be handed over to the Mamluks on the condition that they pay 5,000 purses annually to the Sultanate's treasury (39). However, the locals and sheikhs rejected this, stating: "We are servants of God, among the subjects and supporters. Regardless of the noble orders and high decrees we receive, we will accept and comply with them; however, in this dreadful matter, we will neither listen nor obey. As Your Excellency knows well, the Mamluks are the source of oppression and corruption in this land, having destroyed its people with their tyranny. None of them fits for leadership or is reliable for governance and politics." They then praised Muhammad Ali, describing him as possessing good qualities and emphasizing that they would not accept any governor other than him due to

his politeness, qualifications, virtues, and moral excellence. When Muhammad Ali saw their insistence on their request, he agreed to it (40).

Khurshid Pasha was appointed governor in March 1804. His first action was to agree with Muhammad Ali to attack the Mamluks. On March 11th of the same year, Albanian soldiers attacked the homes of Osman Bey and Ibrahim Bey, forcing them to flee and then occupying the Citadel. This reassured Khurshid Pasha, but he had assumed power without the Sultan's official decree. Muhammad Ali declared Khurshid Pasha's governorship illegal (41). Khurshid Pasha appealed to the Ottoman Empire for reinforcements, fearing Muhammad Ali and the Ottoman garrison. The Sultan sent a disorganized group of thugs and bandits from Syria and Asia Minor, who engaged in looting and plunder, further inflaming popular discontent and increasing animosity between the Egyptian people and the Ottoman Sultan (42).

In May 10, 1805, popular anger intensified when Khurshid Pasha issued a decree from the Sublime Porte appointing Muhammad Ali as governor of Jeddah, not Egypt. Although Muhammad Ali expressed willingness to leave, the Albanian soldiers surrounded Khurshid Pasha after he read the decree, demanding their unpaid salaries. Khurshid Pasha responded by proposing a tax on the people, further exacerbating their anger. On May 12th, scholars gathered in front of the Qadi's house (Dar al-Hikma) (43), while the masses gathered outside, expressing their discontent with the governor and the Ottoman Sultan, chanting the famous slogan, "O Lord, manifest Your power and destroy the Ottomans"(44).

People's leaders requested the Qadi to summon the governor's representatives to a religious council. When the council convened, the leaders presented the people's grievances, which were documented by Sheikh al-Mahdi in a document that Monsieur Volney called the "Document of Rights" (45), comparing it to the British Bill of Rights ⁽⁴⁶⁾. The key demands included:

- Taxes should only be imposed with the approval of scholars and notables⁽⁴⁷⁾.
- Soldiers should be removed from Cairo, and the city garrison should be moved to Giza.
- Communication between Cairo and Upper Egypt should be restored⁽⁴⁸⁾.
- The governor should order soldiers to cease attacks on lives, livelihoods, and property.



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 Soldiers should not be allowed to roam the city with weapons(49).

The people's representatives delivered the document to Khurshid Pasha, who realized the gravity of the situation and the imminent threat of a popular uprising⁽⁵⁰⁾. He summoned Omar Makram, the leader of the Ashraf, and Sheikh Abdullah al-Sharqawi, the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, to discuss the matter. However, they refused to go to the Citadel, possibly at the instigation of Muhammad Ali, who spread rumors that the governor was plotting to assassinate them (51).

The Egyptians, especially their scholars and sheikhs, believed that Muhammad Ali was the only one capable of defending their rights and protecting their homeland. Due to Muhammad Ali's political astuteness and intelligence, he sensed the love and appreciation the Egyptian people held for him, waiting for the opportunity to capitalize on these feelings. He was granted this opportunity when Khurshid Pasha's soldiers rampaged through Cairo, engaging in looting, destruction, and arson, leading to widespread complaints and cries of distress. In response, the sheikhs gathered and deposed the pasha, pledging allegiance to Muhammad Ali as their governor⁽⁵²⁾.

On Monday, May 13, 1805, the leaders, scholars, sheikhs, and guild leaders of the people, along with a large number of the general public. gathered at the Qadi's house (Dar al-Hikma) to discuss the situation. They were prevented from entering the Qadi's house, which was closed in their faces. They then turned to Muhammad Ali and said, "We do not want this Pasha as our ruler, he must be removed from power." Muhammad Ali asked, "Then who do you want as a ruler?" They replied, "We will only accept you, and you must be our ruler on our terms, because we see in you justice and goodness⁽⁵³⁾.

Muhammad Ali initially refrained from accepting the position to avoid being seen as the instigator of this political movement. However, due to the insistence of the masses and their leaders, he agreed to their demands (54). He also indicated that he did not deserve this position seeking to present himself as someone who was detached from the governorship and expressed concern that this appointment might infringe upon the Sultan's rights. The representatives of the people insisted, stating, "We have chosen you with everyone's consensus, and what matters is the satisfaction of the people of the land." They took oaths from him to govern with justice and not to make any decisions without their consultation⁽⁵⁵⁾. With the insistence of the popular leadership, Muhammad Ali agreed. At that point, Omar Makram and Sheikh Al-Sharqawi approached him and dressed him in "the cloak and caftan" during the afternoon, announcing this in the $city^{(56)}$. When they sent word to Khurshid, he rejected their order and began preparing for resistance. Two Albanian leaders Omar Bey and Saleh Agha Aq Qosh joined him out of envy and rivalry against Muhammad Ali, informing Hassan Pasha, Muhammad Ali's colleague, in hopes of gaining his support. Khurshid wrote to his forces in Minya seeking assistance and called on the Mamluks to ally with him, instructing them to hurry and rally around him. Consequently, Muhammad Ali Pasha was compelled to besiege the citadel from all sides while Omar Makram, other sheikhs, and many common people armed themselves with weapons, sticks, and clubs to protect the city. After they issued a declaration signed by the mufti legitimizing their movement, Khurshid decided to send Omar Bey to Omar Makram to persuade him and the scholars to abandon their stance. A lengthy discussion ensued between them; among other things, Omar Bey said: "How can you depose someone whom the Sultan has appointed over you? As God Almighty has said: 'Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you' (57). The chief replied: "Those in authority are the scholars and carriers of Sharia law; your companion is an unjust man. It has been customary since ancient times for the people to depose governors even caliphs and sultans when they rule unjustly. Omar Bey retorted: "How can you besiege us, deny us water and food, and fight us? Are we infidels that you would do this to us?" The chief responded: "Yes; for the scholars and judge have ruled it permissible to fight you because you are disobedient!" Omar Bey exclaimed: "This judge is an infidel!" he was Turkish like them and appointed by the Sultan. The chief replied: "If your judge is an infidel, then what about you?" This silenced Omar Bey, who returned from where he came. The siege intensified, and in the following days, "the leaders of the Delta" came to Muhammad Ali and acknowledged his governorship, declaring their complete withdrawal from Khurshid's authority he had brought them in hopes of using them against Muhammad Ali, the

Albanians, and the people. Muhammad Ali adorned them with gifts and garments as they set out with plans to confront Al-Alfi and his followers⁽⁵⁸⁾.

This movement resulted in a strange situation; there were now two Ottoman governors in the country at the same time: one appointed by the Ottoman Sultan, Khurshid Pasha, who asserted, "I am appointed by the Sultan, so I cannot be deposed by the peasants, nor will I leave the citadel except by order of the Sultanate," and the other appointed by the desire and conditions of the Egyptian people, Muhammad Ali Pasha. Khurshid Pasha began preparing to eliminate Muhammad Ali Pasha, Omar Makram, and those around them from among the Egyptians. The Egyptian people took up various kinds of weapons, including thick sticks, rifles, swords, and daggers, and appointed leaders and captains among themselves to follow their orders and ensure compliance with commands⁽⁵⁹⁾. The sheikhs and notables sent a representative to Istanbul carrying a request to the Sublime Porte to appoint Muhammad Ali as governor of Egypt instead of Khurshid Pasha⁽⁶⁰⁾.

Thus, May 13, 1805, is considered one of the significant historical days in the history of the Egyptian national movement (61), as it marked a major change in the system of governance⁽⁶²⁾. Egypt established a foundation for its freedom and independence by asserting its right to self-determination. This day showcased the authority of the nation, represented by its leaders and influential figures (63), in deposing the governor appointed by the Sultan and entrusting governance to someone chosen by the leaders and representatives of the people. The scholars of Egypt, with the support of the people and on their behalf, selected Muhammad Ali as the ruler of the country and imposed a covenant upon him to govern justly; otherwise, he would be deposed⁽⁶⁴⁾. Furthermore, what transpired was not merely the selection of Muhammad Ali Pasha by the leaders of the people but was accompanied by their stipulation that he must consult them on state affairs, thereby establishing a principle of consultative governance in the country (65). According to Islamic Sharia law, people have the right to appoint governors and to depose them if they deviate from justice and act unjustly (66). From this point, the Egyptian people laid the groundwork for their first constitution in choosing their ruler without imposition or condition from

the Ottoman Sultan⁽⁶⁷⁾. Therefore, it can be said that Muhammad Ali Pasha ruled in the name of the Egyptian people, not by virtue of a decree from the Ottoman Sultan (68). This was the first time that the leaders of the people established an important constitutional principle: the right of the nation to appoint its rulers⁽⁶⁹⁾. Thus, Muhammad Ali Pasha's governance in Egypt was confirmed thanks to civil society and its awareness, compelling the Ottoman Sultan to yield to the will and desire of the people⁽⁷⁰⁾.

On July 10, 1805, less than two months later. the Ottoman decree arrived, fulfilling the wishes of the Egyptian people by appointing Muhammad Ali Pasha as the governor of Egypt (71).

Muhammad Ali Pasha undoubtedly realized that Egypt could become the foundation of a great empire if the means were available. Thus, the plan was clear from the beginning for this ambitious governor: to preserve Egypt's power and strength, and to expand its borders to their natural limits. He even aspired to reach Constantinople and revive the Ottoman Empire and Islamic glory. Had it not been for the Sultan's need for Muhammad Ali Pasha, especially in the Hijaz and the Eastern Question due to the Balkan states and Greek uprisings, the Egyptian governor would not have had the freedom to build his power.

Muhammad Ali Pasha had initially agreed to be accountable to the Egyptians when he assumed power. However, after a short time, especially after consolidating his position and feeling like a powerful ruler, he began to think about redefining the relationship between him and the people. He wanted to remove their oversight and eliminate the popular leadership that had chosen him.

This marked the beginning of a new chapter in the relationship between Muhammad Ali Pasha, the people, and the popular leadership (72).

Conclusions and Recommendations:

It is clear from the foregoing that the French ideas that came with the French occupation alerted the Egyptians to change and revolution against Khurshid Pasha. The French ideas, unintentionally, helped increase national and patriotic awareness among the Egyptians.

The popular leadership, with its esteemed religious position among the people, played a major role in bringing Muhammad Ali to rule Egypt through their resistance to the French



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occupation. Their power was further increased by the intense conflict between the Ottomans and the Mamluks, which weakened both.

These moments marked the dawn of the Egyptian and Arab national renaissance. When the Egyptian people demanded that Muhammad Ali Pasha be their governor, he agreed and sided with the people's opinion, refusing to comply with the orders of the Sublime Porte and sacrificing his future to stand with the Egyptian people. Here, Muhammad Ali bet on the Egyptian people, and the Egyptian people never let down anyone who bet on their authenticity and understanding of historical situations. Thus, Muhammad Ali Pasha came to power with the will of the Egyptian people. and the poet's saying applies: "If the people one day want life, destiny must respond" (73).

It is also clear to us that Muhammad Ali Pasha ruled Egypt in the name of the Egyptian people and not by an Ottoman decree.

It also became clear that the leaders of the Egyptian people had established a constitutional principle - before the constitution was issued which is the right of the Egyptian nation to choose its ruler. This principle became applicable after the issuance of the Egyptian constitution in 1923.

Recommendations:

- 1. Benefit from the experiences of popular leaders, their wise national positions, and their ability to reject the Ottoman Sultan's decree to impose a ruler on them and refuse to submit to external dictates imposed on
- 2. The unification of all Egyptian sects and groups as one entity, which forced the Ottoman Sultan to fulfill their desire to choose their ruler with their consent, and they achieved what they wanted.
- 3. Affirming the issue of Egyptian national unity (Muslims and Christians), given its great impact on the national security of the country. History has proven that national unity has always been one of the most important pillars of Egypt's construction, progress, stability, security, and independence.
- 4. The research paper suggests holding conferences, seminars, and lectures to raise awareness and belonging among young people, and conducting training courses in administration, leadership, assuming

responsibility, and facing internal and external challenges.

- 5. Qualifying and developing the capacities and skills of the civil sector, especially young people, as they are the target group of the enemies of the nation.
- 6. Affirming the establishment of the principle of consultation and allowing others to express their opinions and benefit from previous experiences in various fields, thereby spreading an atmosphere of love and affection in society and preventing the monopolization of opinion.
- 7. The course "The History of Egyptian Nationalism Through the Ages" should be taught to all students at the pre-university and university levels, taking into account the individual differences of the nature of each stage (primary, preparatory, secondary), and it should be taught to university students in all scientific faculties (medicine, engineering, science, agriculture, computers and information, etc.). So that everyone understands the importance of Egypt, the greatness of its history, and how to preserve its national security and face challenges.
- 8. Egyptian drama should highlight the national role of the Egyptian resistance. For example, a film about the role of Mr. Omar Makram. al-Sharqawi, Sheikh Abdullah Muhammad al-Sadat, Sheikh Mustafa al-Sawy, Sheikh Muhammad al-Amir, Sheikh Muhammad al-Mahdi, Sheikh Suleiman al-Fayyumi, and Mr. Ahmed al-Mahrougi; these leaders played a major role in bringing Muhammad Ali Pasha to rule Egypt.
- 9. Civil society is one of the main pillars that shape the development of societies in partnership between the public and private sectors. Deepening its role and contributions and solving the problems associated with it and the obstacles it faces would achieve a qualitative shift on the ground, as it is closest to citizens and more capable of understanding their needs and problems.
- The state must pay attention to civil society institutions, as they are a genuine expression of citizens coming together to serve society economically and socially.
- 11. Civil society is the true support for the authority in any country; one of the

most important tasks of these institutions is monitoring, evaluation, accountability, follow-up, and development, and most importantly, active participation in developing and developing society and good governance by disseminating the concepts of civil life. rights, and basic freedoms.

12. Mutual recognition between the state on the one hand and civil society on the other, and the legitimacy of its right to work and carry out all its activities without obstacles.

13. Enhancing the role of civil society as a result of political, economic, social, and environmental changes to contribute to sustainable development in a real way.

The state, as a whole, with all its ministries, especially the ministries of culture, education, and media, and all state institutions and bodies, must implement these recommendations, each in its own area, for the sake of Egypt first and last.

15. Activating the participation of youth in policy dialogue through awareness of the different participation opportunities and the tools and mechanisms that must be followed to convey the ideas and demands of youth and to introduce the obligations and duties imposed by the participation process.

16. Civil society institutions are the core of civilized democratic societies. They are organizations that carry out the process of educating and activating people's participation and encouraging them to face crises and political changes that affect their level of life and livelihood, as they are one of the most important channels of popular participation, in addition to their role in qualifying and training new political leaders.

- 17. Raising awareness and training citizens through various volunteer work opportunities provided by active actors involved in the field of international cooperation. Volunteering also contributes to dismantling negative preconceived notions and facilitates understanding the positive interaction between cultures and training future generations of actors in the field of development.
- Working to promote and disseminate a set of values and principles aimed at developing and developing societies and achieving the principles of good governance, especially in the field of protecting human rights and freedoms.
- 19. Enhancing legitimacy, transparency, and justice in the processes of policymaking and decision-making, to ensure that the interests of all segments of society are taken into account and to obtain their support by providing an opportunity for stakeholders, especially the most needy and affected groups, to voice their opinions and ensure that their views and opinions are taken into account.
- 20. The state as a whole, with all its ministries, especially the ministries of culture, education, and media, and all state institutions and bodies, must implement these recommendations, each in its own area, for the sake of Egypt first and last.

Conclusion:

It is clear from the above that the Egyptian people and their leadership were ahead of their time in demanding the right to choose their rulers on their own terms. Therefore, May 13, 1805, is considered a pivotal and significant day in the life of Egyptian society as it marked the people's choice of their governor through their will, proving that they have the right to determine their destiny.

It is also evident that the generation of ancestors and fathers played an important and significant role in protecting Egypt and choosing its ruler based on their pure will, rather than having someone imposed upon them. Furthermore, it is clear that popular leadership served as a model and example for future generations to follow in exercising free will, choice, and active positive participation to uplift our beloved Egypt.



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- (٤٦) لائحـة الحقـوق: Bill of Rights الصادرة في ٢٢ ديسمبر عام ١٦٨٩م والتي وقـع عليها وليام أمير أورانج وزوجته «ماري Mary» مضطرين، شرط اعتلائهما عرش بريطانيا بعد هروب الملك جيمس الثاني، ولقد جاء في هذه الوثيقة سردًا لأعمال الملك جيمس الثاني غير القانونية، بالإضافة إلى تحديد سلطات الملك القادم والتأكيد على حقوق البرلمان والأفراد، ومن أهم بنود هذه الوثيقة مايلى: (لايمكن إبطال أى قانون إلا بموافقة البرلمان، يحظ رعلى الملك إلغاء أي من القوانين السارية، لا تُرفع الضرائب إلا بموافقة البرلمان، تحظر القسوة في العقاب، وكذلك التسامح مع المحكوم عليهم، ضرورة اجتماع البرلمان بشكل متكرر. حرية المناقشات البرلمانية. للمزيد ؛انظر، محمد سيد إسماعيل، الحياة النيابية في بريطانيا (١٨٣٢– ١٩١٩م)، رسالــة ماجستيــر، آداب قتا، جامعة جنوب الوادي، ٢٠١٢م، ص ٢٥؛ وانظر أيضًــا؛ Hansard: Application of Bill of Rights And .Claim of Right to Assembly Proceedings. HL Deb. 09 June 1998. Vol. 590. C971
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The Role of Civil Society in the Appointment of "Mohamed Ali Pasha" as the Ruler of Egypt in 1805

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This study addresses the role of civil society in bringing Muhammad Ali Pasha to power in Egypt in 1805. Egyptian civil society in the early 19th century played a significant role when it rallied around its popular leadership, represented by Omar Makram, the leader of the Ashraf, and his fellow sheikhs, to bring Muhammad Ali Pasha to power in Egypt in 1805. This was done against the will of the Ottoman Sultan, but with the desire, consent, and approval of the Egyptian people and their leadership. This proved the Egyptian people's awareness, and in the face of the Egyptians' desire, the Ottoman Sultan was forced to issue a decree appointing Muhammad Ali to rule Egypt.

The study refers to the concepts of popular leadership and civil society. The main axes of the study are as follows:

- The political situation in Egypt before Muhammad Ali's assumption of power.
- The personality of Muhammad Ali Pasha.
- Popular leadership and the appointment of Muhammad Ali to rule Egypt.

Keywords: Civil Society, Popular Leadership, Muhammad Ali Pasha.

دور المجتمع المدنى في تولية « محمد على باشا » حكم مصر ١٨٠٥م

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....الوستخلص:

تتناول هـنه الدراسة « دور المجتمع المدنى في تولية محمد على باشا حكم مصر عام ١٨٠٥م »، لقد لعب المجتمع المدني المصري في أوائل القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي دورًا كبيرًا عندما التف حول زعامته الشعبية الممثلة في السيد عمـر مكـرم نقيـب الأشراف ورفاقه مـن المشايخ في توليــة محمد على باشا حكـم مصر في عــام ١٨٠٥م، وتم ذلك على غيــر رغبــة السلطــان العثماني، وتم ذلــك برغبـة ورضا وموافقــة الشعب المصــري وزعامته، وأثبت أن مـن حقه اختيار من يحكمه وتعَـد هذه سابقة لم تحدث من قبل في تاريخ مصر الحديث، تبين مدى وعي الشعب المصرى، وأمام رغبة المصرييين اضطر السلطان العثماني أن يصـدر فرمانًا بتولية محمد على حكم مصر، وقد تمت الإشـارة بالدراسة إلى مفهومي الزعامة الشعبية، والمجتمع المدني، والمحاور الرئيسة للدراسة تكمن فيما يلي:

- الأوضاع السياسية في مصر قبل تولية محمد على حكم مصر.
 - -شخصية محمد على باشا.
 - -الزعامة الشعبية وتولية محمد على حكم مصر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المجتمع المدنى، الزعامة الشعبية، محمد على باشا.