

upon 1880 as a juncture in the process. However, for our purpose of providing a contrast with the Mandate period, a brief account of population growth and urbanization is sufficient.

2.2.1 1850s-1880

Although it is impossible to know with exactitude the population of Palestine around this time period, McCarthy's projections and corrections of Ottoman data, Scholch's critical analysis of Ottoman figures, European consular estimates, and calculations of other writers provide us with meaningful numbers.

For 1850-1865, Scholch calculates the total population of Palestine to be 350,000-360,000. For 1882, he estimates the population to be 460,000-470,000, excluding Bedouins.²⁹ McCarthy derives comparable figures.³⁰ He computes a total of 340,000 for 1850-1851 and 369,000 for 1860-1861. For 1981-1982 and 1982-1983, he computes a total of 462,465 and 468,089, respectively.

Simultaneously, there was a two-thirds growth in the size of Palestinian cities.³¹ The population of the cities represented 25-30 percent of the total population, a considerable proportion at the time, when compared to other

²⁹Scholch, 19-43; the results are summarized in Table 15, 40.

³⁰Justin McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine, Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). His findings are summarized in Table 1.4D, 10.

³¹Calculated from estimates as reproduced in Scholch, 38, from Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, "The Population of the Large Towns During the First Eighty Years of the Nineteenth Century, According to Western Sources," in *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), 68.