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Preface

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, railroads are enjoying a major revival worldwide. Railroads relieve congestion on the highways, reduce the number of casualties from traffic accidents, and are environmentally friendly. In many cases their expansion, refurbishment and modernization, including replacement of worn track and rolling stock, and the introduction of advanced signaling, is long overdue. This is the situation also in Israel, where highways are three times more congested than in other developed countries, and until the 1990s the rail network, apart from some freight services, was neglected. Moreover, passenger by passenger and mile by mile the railroad is the safest form of ground travel.

The state-owned Israel Railways is building new lines to serve the Negev region and to link Tel Aviv and Jerusalem with a high-speed service. New construction and refurbishment, however, invariably obliterate historically significant structures and equipment, which makes it important to record what went before, both as a reminder of why tracks were laid down in the first place and to preserve an accurate record of a past era. The aim of this monograph is to document the development of the railroad that was built to exploit the growth of tourism in the Holy Land at the end of the nineteenth century. Since it also integrates an account of the traffic that justified the construction of the railroad, namely tourists and pilgrims, the story commences at mid-century. The intended audiences, apart from general readers, are historical geographers, historians of the Holy Land in modern times, and railway historians.

With regard to sources, those documenting the growth of tourism to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century are limited. Both consolidation and failure of some companies in the travel industry have meant the loss or destruction of company records. Even less information is available on the history of the meter-gauge railroad that in 1892 connected Jaffa with Jerusalem. Most records were burned or removed by the Turkish authorities during the winter of 1917-1918. Moreover, potentially valuable British consular reports held in Jerusalem were destroyed in 1914, though copies of many are held at the National Archives, Kew, near London. Surviving annual reports of the railroad company provide little insight into day-to-day operations. Fortunately, some British and American consular reports were adapted for publication in the early 1890s. Apart from first-hand accounts by early travelers, Paul Cotterell’s The Railways of Palestine and Israel and R. Tourret’s The Hedjaz Railway provide useful descriptions of the railroad, its route, and equipment. Some of their information, as here, is based on the article by A. Vale that appeared in the Railway Magazine during 1902.

Others have described the prehistory of the railroad by reviewing the activities of two of the individuals mainly responsible for its promotion, Joseph Navon (Jerusalem) and Joseph Amzalak (Jaffa), and the steps leading to the formation in Paris of the Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman de Jaffa à Jérusalem et Prolongements. More recently, the English-language journal HaRakevet (a quarterly on railways of the Near and Middle East) has included extensive research notes, journal accounts, articles, etc., that enable earlier histories to be updated. The catalog Train Tracks to Jerusalem (2005), that accompanied an exhibition at the Tower of David Museum, Jerusalem, to mark the reintroduction of train services between Jerusalem and the coastal region, is also useful.
This documentation, first-hand accounts by visitors on pilgrimages, journalists and travel writers, as well as guidebooks, are the main sources. Because travelers and pilgrims provide the starting point for this chronicle on the history of the Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman de Jaffâ à Jérusalem et Prolongements, hereafter the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, the borrowings from their writings are liberal. For the decade or so after the opening of the railroad they are often the best, and sometimes only, surviving documentation; they make for compelling and colorful reading. However, as they are generally the impressions of Western writers, they invariably reflect and reinforce prevailing prejudices, particularly against Near Eastern peoples. Apart from that, they are replete with differences of detail and conflicting information, which imposes a certain circumspection and care in accepting them as historical facts.

The most important resource that captures the spirit of the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway consists of the magnificent photographs taken between 1891 and 1914. Without them, only railway enthusiasts and a few historians would probably know about the railroad. The early photographs in this book have been supplemented with those taken by British forces from December 1917 on, and a number of color images dating from the mid-1980s.

Renderings of place names, particularly transliterations from Hebrew and Arabic, are those adopted in maps, publications and railroad timetables around 1900. Some place names have changed, and where relevant these are noted. English names are invariably phonetic renderings of Turkish, Arabic and Hebrew, and thus the spelling can vary widely. Except in quotations, place names that have been integrated into English have not been transliterated.

At the present time, the railroad is hardly used by tourists and pilgrims both because the final section into Jerusalem has been closed, due to the busy highways that intersect its level crossings, and because the journey is long and time consuming and does not connect with Ben-Gurion International Airport. Tourists can avail themselves of a fast highway, that, at least outside of rush hours, transports them directly from the airport to Jerusalem in forty minutes. In a few years, however, tourists will once again arrive in Jerusalem by train, on Israel Railways new high-speed rail link connecting with the airport. This follows a route that in some respects is close to that surveyed by French engineers in the 1870s. The minor role now played by the railroad has diminished its importance, but as this book shows, that was not always the case.
Acknowledgments

Most of the obscure historical information derives from the resources of several individuals and organizations. Especially I place on record thanks to Yoni Shapira of L.H.S. (Landmark Heritage Services) Innovative Projects for sharing his vast knowledge of the history of the Holy Land, and for guidance and assistance with archival research. Chen Melling is also thanked for research and careful and willing help, particularly in sharing information from his own considerable resources.

Others, no less willing to share their knowledge, include Rupert L. Chapman and colleagues at the Palestine Exploration Fund, London; the late Paul Cotterell, Israel Railway Museum, Haifa; and Paul Smith, Thomas Cook U.K. Ltd, Archive, Peterborough, U.K. Thanks are also due to the following: Professor Haim Goren, Tel-Hai Academic College, Upper Galilee; Moshe Levinkron, Israel Railways, Tel Aviv; for kindly permitting archeological investigations at the former Jerusalem Station area; Dr Ulrich Charpa, Leo Baeck Institute London; Dr Yermiyahu Rimon; Rabbi Walter Rothschild; the late Ilan Falkov (Israel Railways); the late Professor Jacob (Yaakov) Wahrman (Hebrew University); Professor Ruth Kark, Geography Department, Hebrew University; David Bailey; Sybil Ehrlich; James Guilbeau; Jon Marsh; Paul Myatt; Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem (JNUL); Manuscripts and Archives Division, JNUL; Hava Noverstern, Sidney M. Edelstein Library, JNUL; (Dr) Fr Jean-Michel de Tarragon, photographic archive (Photothèque), French Biblical and Archeological School, Jerusalem; Jeffrey B. Spurr, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College; Jerusalem Municipal Archives; Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipal Archives; Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem; Deutsche Bundesbahn Direktion Nürnberg; Dr David Darom and staff, Scientific Graphics Department, Hebrew University; Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem; Photographic Department, Israel Museum Jerusalem; Photographic Archives and Department of Printed Books, Imperial War Museum, London; Science Museum Library, London; Special Collections, The Hartley Library, University of Southampton, U.K.; National Archives, Kew, U.K.; The Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection); Princeton University Library, New Jersey (Rudolf-Ernst Brunnow Papers, Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections); Silver Gallery, Ein Hod; Australian War Memorial, Canberra; and Associated Newspapers, London. For editorial assistance and many useful suggestions, thanks are due to Esther Herskovic, and also to Miriam Feinberg Vamosh, who shared the translations from Hebrew with Yoni Shapira and Yael Travis. I gratefully acknowledge the enthusiasm for this project shown by Menachem M. Grossman, CEO, Benjamin Shapell Family Manuscript Foundation, Eliyahu Honig, Associate Vice President, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Hai Tsabar, Director, The Hebrew University Magnes Press. Finally, thanks to Benjamin Shapell for the ongoing interest and encouragement that has helped bring this project to fruition. Without his tremendous support it would not have happened.

Anthony S. Travis
Jerusalem, January 2008
I N T R O D U C T I O N
Jerusalem and Jaffa

Reason, Passion and Romance

The city of Jerusalem has a history of astonishing complexity and unparalleled religious and cultural importance that goes back six thousand years, when it was founded by the Canaanites. Jerusalem was the capital of a region in the eastern Mediterranean ruled over by the Jewish kings David and Solomon, and their successors. The capital of present-day Israel, it rests on a ridge encircled by numerous valleys, that in the past hindered access but afforded protection. This ancient city was part of the lands conquered and lost by the armies of Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome, before passing through the hands of the Byzantine Empire, Arabs, Crusaders, who wished to capture what was now the Holy Land, and Mamluks. In 1516, the Ottomans took control of the Holy Land, including Jerusalem, in what became known as southern Syria or Palestine. They remained in power until the end of 1917, when General Allenby’s British, Australian and New Zealand (“Anzac”) forces captured most of Palestine.

Today, as in the past, Jerusalem is a pilgrimage and tourist destination mainly due to its importance to followers of the three monotheistic religions. Unique among all holy places, Jerusalem’s walled Old City is an enclave of prayer houses and sites of tremendous religious significance. Among them are the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, revered by Christians as Golgotha, the Hill of Calvary, the site where Jesus was crucified, buried and resurrected; the Western Wall, a remnant of the Second Temple, destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE; and the Temple Mount, with its Dome of the Rock, from where the prophet Mohammed rode to heaven on his winged steed to receive the Koran. Studded with churches, synagogues and mosques, the Old City’s Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Armenian quarters are linked via cobblestone streets and alleyways, where souvenir vendors offer their wares, such as multi-colored Armenian pottery and olive wood figurines. The chaos and rich mix of peoples stimulate images and cultures of other times. Black-clad Jewish men and
The "Citadel of Zion." Jerusalem, with the "Tower of David," from just outside the walls of the Old City, around 1890. The original tower, one of three, dates from the time of King Herod; they were the only structures not razed by the Romans. The tower was rebuilt by the later Moslem and Christian conquerors. Its appearance has changed little since the early fourteenth century, apart from additions made by the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the minaret. (Edelstein Center, Hebrew University.)

Introduction

boys mingle with priests, monks and nuns each in their distinctive robes, and with Arab merchants, pilgrims and tourists. Hotels, coffee houses, tour guides and money changers go about their business, while at the appointed times the bells toll from church steeples and the muezzins call the faithful to prayer from minarets. Reason, passion and romance blend with history in the Old, or Holy, City.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, tourists were infrequent in Jerusalem. There were several reasons: Anchoring was dangerous at the coastal port of Jaffa; travelers on the main roads were under threat of constant attack by bandits; and the Holy City was in disrepair and decline, under Ottoman rule, as Mark Twain and others recorded in the late 1860s. Egypt had become the prime destination of the “grand tours.” The land of the Nile offered better disembarkation facilities, a visit to the exotic pyramids and Sphinx, followed by a float down the Nile to Aswan, as well as mild
winter weather, considered more healthful than other destinations. These major attractions were supplemented by the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 and the special economic benefits and concessions given to the “Thomas Cook & Son” travel agency by the khedive (Turkish ruler of Egypt) to provide steamers, guides and land services. The visit of the British princes Albert Victor and George (later King George V) in 1882 to Egypt, Palestine and Jordan and positive accounts to the Palestine Exploration Fund, followed by the British attack on Egypt to gain control over the strategic Suez Canal, opened the way for Thomas Cook to become the leading promoter of tourism and pilgrimage to this area of the world.

The main travel season started in November, when weather conditions in the Mediterranean allowed ships to sail and steam without undue hazard to the Levantine ports. It was busiest in March and April, the months of Passover.
and Easter, when the two religious festivals often converge. On Passover, one of the biblically mandated Jewish pilgrimage festivals, and a time when Jesus also would have come to Jerusalem, pilgrimage tourism to the Holy City reached its peak. Many pilgrims came for the entire winter, staying mostly in Jerusalem, and headed back home, mainly to Europe, only after the celebrations. At Easter, groups of Christians faithfully followed (and continue to do so) the footsteps of Jesus down from the Mount of Olives into the walled city and along the Via Dolorosa, to celebrate Easter Sunday in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

Such religious events, and many of the sights and sounds, have hardly changed in centuries. Certainly, it is not difficult to imagine how it was in 1897 when the Lumière brothers’ cameraman Alexandre Promio set up his equipment on the open platform of the last coach of a train at Jerusalem Station, and, as the train moved forward, exposed 48 feet of film. The moving image recorded in “Leaving Jerusalem by Railway” shows a fleeting glimpse of the Old City and of locals on the platform. The Lumière brothers were out to capture exotic images that would attract paying customers to their shows at the Cinematographe Lumière. The Arabs, Jews, Africans, a few Europeans, and a solitary Franciscan monk on the platform came to admire the new technology, much as, five years earlier, they had marveled at the arrival of the railway in Jerusalem.2

Until the end of the 1860s, transportation to and from Jerusalem relied exclusively on donkeys, mules, camels or horses, moving in close convoys, in part to afford greater security from the marauding bandits. From 1869 onward, carts, carriages and “diligences” could also be seen plying their way to and from Jerusalem on the main Jaffa–Jerusalem highway.

As for the narrow gauge railroad, its destination was Jerusalem, over 700 m above sea level. The first section was almost a straight run from the ancient Mediterranean port of Jaffa across the flat coastal plain, known as the Plain of Sharon. The winding ascent to the Holy City of the meter-gauge tracks along a route cut through mountains by meandering rivers was more than twice the direct distance.

### Jaffa – Port and Portal

Since antiquity, Jaffa (the biblical Joppa) was an important Levantine seaport and the gateway to Jerusalem. The city was built on a rocky hill that extended just beyond the coastline. This created the harbor, a small bay sheltered by a natural breakwater of rocks lying between the harbor and the open sea. The reef-like ledge, running north to south, made up of jagged beach-rock, permitted the passage of shallow-draught small craft and lighters (similar to barges, and towed ashore by rowboats) through a narrow gap between the rocks and the breakers. Negotiating the gap required great skill on the part of the oarsmen.

The harbor was established in the Canaanite period, and was under Egyptian control until the twelfth century BCE. In the tenth century BCE, King Solomon turned Jaffa into Jerusalem’s seaport, through which he brought timber from Lebanon for building the First Temple (II Chron. 2:16), that was destroyed in 586 BCE. Some 70 years after its destruction, the Jews returning from the Babylonian Exile built the Second
Temple, which incorporated wood floated to Joppa (Ezra 3:7). It was at Joppa that Jonah "found a ship sailing to Tarshish" (Jonah 1:3). In 144 BCE, Simon Maccabee conquered the port and brought it under Jewish control, settling his soldiers there so that they could guard the opening to the sea.

In 64 BCE Jaffa was taken by Pompey, but was returned to Jewish control in 30 BCE. Greek mythology has it that at Jaffa Andromeda, chained to the rocks as a sacrifice, was freed by Perseus, her lover, who appeared on his winged horse and fought Medusa, killing the sea monster. To this day, the breakwater at the harbor’s entrance is known as Andromeda’s Rocks. For Christians Jaffa invokes strong associations with Peter’s visit to the city where he restored Dorcas, or Tabitha, to life (Acts 9:36-42), and the home of Simon the Tanner where Peter had his famous vision (Acts 10:9-16).

By the eighteenth century, Jaffa, the second city of Palestine, was a landing
point for merchant vessels. During the following century, as commerce and pilgrimage to the Holy Land grew, Arab oarsmen in small boats unloaded passengers from seagoing vessels anchoring beyond the obstacle presented by Andromeda’s Rocks and rowed them to the harbor. Lighters were used for the transfer of goods to offshore ships, particularly boxes of the famous Jaffa oranges from the extensive groves just east of the city. If the seas were rough, as was often the case, steam and sailing ships traveled on to Beirut, Port Said or Gaza to disembark. Steamships encouraged visits to the Holy Land, and by the 1860s steam engines had been introduced into mills near Jaffa and elsewhere. The inhabitants of Jaffa, as in Jerusalem, were Muslim, Jewish and Christian.

Two Historic Cities Linked

For those who had arrived safely at Jaffa there was, after 1892, a choice of ways to get to Jerusalem: By horse-drawn carriage along a road that had been improved in the 1860s, a 37-mile journey of fifteen or sixteen hours; or the train, a 54.5-mile journey that took less than four hours. Either way, pilgrim and tourist alike had time to look out of windows that framed biblical scenery, accented by the inhabitants with their traditional garb, their mules, donkeys and camels, and local agriculture.

The railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem, opened in 1892, was the first large civil engineering project of modern times undertaken in the Holy Land. The opening ceremony was a grand affair, commensurate with the grand scale of the enterprise, attended by representatives of the Ottoman Empire, consuls and foreign delegates from the various nations for which Jerusalem was at the nexus of their near eastern strategic interests.

The railroad approached Jerusalem from the southwest through the Judean Mountains (generally today referred to as hills), taking advantage of the deep, winding Soreq and Refaim, or Rephaim, riverbeds, or wadis (also known as Nahal Soreq and Nahal Rephaim; sometimes wadi and nahal are used interchangeably). This afforded the least steep route, though even then the grades were a challenge for the American-built locomotives hauling their diminutive coaches. The sharp and occasionally sweeping curves continued from just beyond the upper plain at Hartuv, or A’rtuf (Hebrew for “Good Mountain”), near the station at Deir Aban (later Bet Shemesh), all the way to the Rephaim Valley where the railroad turned east at the approach to Jerusalem. This route was first surveyed in the 1860s. Three decades later the railroad opened up Jerusalem to modern tourism, brought greater numbers of pilgrims, and contributed more than any other factor before 1914 to the tremendous growth of the Holy City.

The tens of thousands of pilgrims and tourists that the railroad brought to Jerusalem provided financial support for the inhabitants, whether hotel proprietors and staff, carriage owners, tour guides, souvenir manufacturers and vendors, money changers, or photographers, engaged in looking after the needs of visitors. They also supported beggars and swindlers. Moreover, the railroad and its travelers also had a major impact on the Europeanization and expansion of this remote outpost of the Ottoman Empire.
Europeanization of Jaffa and Jerusalem

From around 1860, the European powers erected outside the walls of Jerusalem’s Old City their schools, hostels, hospitals, churches, and monasteries, fueling considerable economic growth. They invariably modeled the new establishments on the familiar architectural styles of their home countries. The Russian Orthodox Church was the first to build on a grand scale when, following the visit of Grand Duke Constantin in 1859, it purchased land outside the walls, on the main route to Jaffa. In 1886, it built the Church of Mary Magdalene on the Mount of Olives, adorned with gold, onion-shaped domes and Pravoslavic crosses resembling the fifteenth-century church in Moscow’s Kremlin Square.

In the Holy Land, the Eastern or Byzantine Orthodox Christian sect included Greeks, Russians, and Balkans. A second major sect was the Catholic Church, both Roman and Greek, and including Franciscans. In addition there was the Coptic-Syrian Church, that included the Armenian Orthodox and Copts, and the Anglican and Protestant Churches, including German Lutherans and
Mennonites. Among other Christian groups that arrived during the nineteenth century were the Templers, who believed in messianic redemption. In 1868, the first members departed from their homeland in the state of Württemberg, in southwest Germany, and settled in the Holy Land, initially in Haifa. The members supported themselves with the help of the Western technologies they introduced to various enterprises: agriculture, light industry, architecture, construction, road development, transportation and tourism. They introduced overland horse-drawn stagecoaches and for local journeys the “short stages.” The settlements they founded in Jaffa and Jerusalem were close to where the train stations would later be built.

The British introduced their version of modernity in 1883 by building one of the most important medical centers in the region, the Ophthalmic Hospital of the Order of St John, which treated eye diseases for all communities. It was also located near the future Jerusalem railroad station on the main road between the Jaffa Gate and Bethlehem. Then, in 1885, to firmly assert their architectural tradition, the British built St George’s Cathedral resembling the medieval style of New College Oxford. The French built the Notre Dame de Jerusalem (1884), and the German Lutherans constructed the Church of the Redeemer, inaugurated during the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898. This was followed in 1900 by the German Benedictine Dormition Abbey, that borrowed architectural elements from Aachen. This trend of internationalization of Jerusalem by adding significant European landmarks to the Ottoman city continued well into the twentieth century, causing many new visitors to remark on the unique sense of dualism.³

The Ottoman Empire was a highly regulated society subject to various bureaucratic procedures (the government and court were often referred to as the Sublime Porte), and permission had to be granted for the erection of each of these buildings. This was accomplished by means of obtaining a firman, or proclamation, either from a local governor or from the sultan in Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The firman outlined the special concessions the sultan offered, and had to be purchased at considerable expense. Such a document was also required to build and operate the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway and, as will be shown, strict conditions were laid down, imposing time limits for raising capital and construction.

Steamship services to the Levant expanded from the 1850s, though the services were sometimes weekly. They included the Austrian Lloyd steamers that called at Jaffa from 1853.⁴ These and the organized travel business, the main justification for the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, also increased the Europeanization of the Holy City. Organized commercial travel emerged in the late 1860s, just after the American Civil War, with the expansion into the Near East of firms such as Thomas Cook of England and the rapidly growing political and theological significance of Jerusalem. The first postal service to Jerusalem was established in 1859 by the Imperial Royal Austrian Post Office, and was followed by a French postal service in the 1860s. Banks included those of Jacob Valero, founded in 1848, the Ottoman Bank, a British chartered company established in 1856 that became the Imperial Ottoman Bank in 1863, and the Frutiger bank. They were joined in 1892 by Crédit Lyonnais.
To promote his tourist services, Rolla Floyd posed dressed in Arab gear in the studio of the Bonfils concern, probably 1880s. (From a photograph by Bonfils, no. 612. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library. Harvard Semitic Museum Photographic Archives.)

Arab dragoman from Jaffa, 1880s. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Thomas Cook Archive.)

Palanquin, adorned with the flag of the United States, for the conveyance of lady excursionists in the Holy Land, probably 1880s. (From a photograph by Bonfils, no. 689. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library. Harvard Semitic Museum Photographic Archives.)
to other needs, and hotels were available in inclement weather or for those taken by sudden sickness.

Floyd claimed that in 1867 he was in charge of guiding in Jerusalem a group of sixty-six Americans that had arrived in the Orient on the steam-powered sidewheeler “Quaker City.” The trip was in part sponsored by Henry Ward Beecher’s Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn (though Beecher was unable to make the journey). Setting out in June on a five-month trip to Europe, the Holy Land, and Egypt, it was the first luxury tour of its kind. The passenger list included a certain Samuel Langhorne Clemens, better known as Mark Twain. This up-market package cruise for American tourists and pilgrims began its Near Eastern visit in Beirut, from where Twain and seven members of the group traveled overland on horseback. After visiting Damascus and the Galilee, they reached Jerusalem. The
the season is over – arrive and leave … In spring … hundreds of tourists often arrive by steamer, and trains have to be run in two or three sections…. I may cite the example of the “Celtic,” the largest steamer afloat, which was due at Jaffa about the beginning of March this year with a party of over 800 American tourists. Of these 450 had to be transported to Jerusalem at once.

Apart from the peak tourist months, the daily trains were mixed passenger-freight and passenger, the latter generally consisting of two or three coaches. Additional trains operated as required.

The maximum weight that can with ease be hauled by one engine being 80 to 85 tons, the train is made up with passenger and goods vehicles to approach this weight as nearly as possible. If there is any considerable excess a goods train is run leaving Jaffa at 7 a.m.,
arriving Jerusalem 11 a.m., and leaving Jerusalem 1 p.m., arriving at Jaffa 5 p.m. These two trains generally satisfy all requirements, and, except during the tourist season, the passenger vehicles of the regular train as a rule only consist of one third-class, one second-class, and one composite second and first class carriage.

Vale also gave an account of the company’s rolling stock. “To carry on its business the railway owns 15 bogie [two-truck] passenger coaches, of a total seating accommodation of 250 first- and 500 second-class passengers, and five locomotives, of which about ten carriages and two engines remain idle for nine or ten months of the year. The goods and cattle trucks, luggage vans and [vans that served the lowest class of accommodation] amount to 42 – a comparatively small number, considering that the size of these cars is only about one-half of the passenger stock. All the goods as well as passenger vehicles are of French construction.” Surprisingly, Vale made no mention of two four-wheel coaches that were probably included in the goods stock, despite the fact that they carried first- and second-class Russian pilgrims at Jerusalem Station, probably around 1908. Note that the canopy is under construction. (Russian Consul’s Album, Manuscripts and Archives Department, Jewish National and University Library, TMA 4159.)