

The new imposed dress code should also be understood in the context of other rebel actions in the late summer and early fall of 1938. Urban residents were instructed by rebel commanders to stop using electric power, produced by an Anglo-Jewish company. (Villages did not have electricity at the time.) The rebels extracted large sums of money as "contributions" to the revolt from wealthy Palestinians, particularly big orange-growers and merchants of Jaffa. And the rebel command declared a moratorium on all debts, taking effect on September 1, 1938, and warned debt-collectors and land agents not to visit the villages. (Usurious loans were one of the chief means by which large landowners exploited peasants and kept them dependent.) The command also cancelled all rents on urban apartments, which had reached scandalously high levels. They warned Arab contractors and their workmen not to construct police posts and roads, and attempted to disrupt the orange harvests on plantations owned by big Palestinian landowners.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, the rebels were setting up an alternative state apparatus in the countryside that included law courts complete with white-wigged judges and court stenographers, printed legal codes, lists of village residents, and taxation schedules. This system threatened not only the British administration but also the upper classes' hold over the countryside. The order to don the *kufiya* therefore appeared in concert with rebel actions in support of popular interests, a "revenge of the countryside" that drove hundreds of wealthy Palestinians to seek exile in order to escape taxation and the humiliation of rule by "unruly masses."

Many effendis put the *tarbush* back on, in part due to British pressure, after the revolt ended in 1939 (Morton 1957: 98–100). In the waning days of the revolt the fez became the insignia of the Nashashibi-led Opposition, which by this time had broken with the rebel command and the official leadership and by late 1938 was openly collaborating with British efforts to break the revolt.<sup>11</sup> By the summer of 1939, the ruptural moment of rural hegemony over the urban had ended.

Official Palestinian nationalist accounts have generally smoothed out this discontinuous history, representing the order to wear the *hatta* as a matter of military exigency rather than as a manifestation of social antagonism (al-Muzayyin 1981: 197).<sup>12</sup> Even many contemporary accounts claimed that all Palestinians enthusiastically embraced the *kufiya* as their national emblem, an assertion that