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AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN
EGYPT DURING 1919-1924
POLITICAL CARTOONS IN EGYPT'S
REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

TONIA RIFA'Y

1997

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The American University in Cairo

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN EGYPT DURING 1919-
1924: POLITICAL CARTOONS IN EGYPT'S REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Arabic Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by

Tonia Rifaey

Cairo, Egypt

April/1997

1997
45

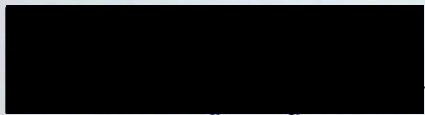
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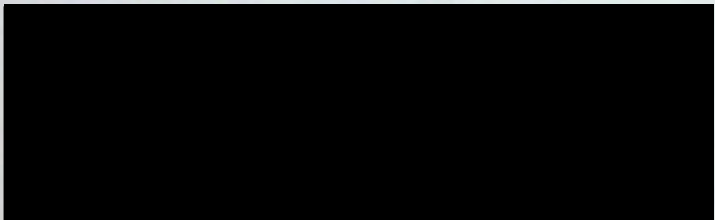
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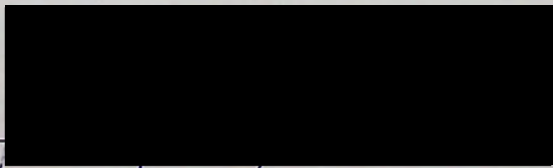
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ABSTRACT

The American University in Cairo

for the study of the Traditional Period in Egypt During 1919-

1924

To my Grandparents

Tania Elsay

Or. Shafiq Zuhair

This thesis presents the 1919 revolution in Egypt and its effects on the Egyptian political scene as portrayed by the political cartoons during that period. The political cartoons portrayed a visual and tangible approach to a review of nationalism during this era. The cartoons also focused on Egyptian efforts to end British colonialism and imperialism. A review of the cartoons within a six-year period (1919-1924) yielded one hundred and eighty-two political cartoons. The criteria for the selection of the cartoons was their political nature - pertaining to political actors and political events followed closely the rise and fall of the various political parties that assumed power. The cartoons were collected from al-Nahda and al-Dustur. However, one newspaper was not published right before the revolution and thus these publications are viewed as a rare and valuable source for the historian.

This thesis concludes that political cartoons are vital to

ABSTRACT

The American University in Cairo

An Illustration of the Transitional Period in Egypt During 1919-
1924: Political Cartoons in Egyptian Revolutionary History

Tonia Rifaey

Dr. Sherifa Zuhur

This thesis presents the 1919 revolution in Egypt and its effects on the Egyptian political arena as portrayed by the political cartoons during that period. The political cartoons portrayed a visual and tangible approach to a review of nationalism during this era. The cartoons also focused on Egyptian efforts to end British colonialism and imperialism.

A review of the cartoons within a six-year period (1918-1924) yielded one hundred and eighty-two political cartoons. The criteria for the selection of the cartoons was their political nature - pertaining to political actors and politics. The cartoons followed closely the rise and fall of the various political parties that assumed power. The cartoons were collected from *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara*. However, both magazines ceased their publication sixty years ago, which allows these publications to perform as a rare and valuable source for the historian.

This thesis concludes that political cartoons are vital to

the study of history due their symbolic power and accessibility. Political cartoons stress weaknesses in all political figures for the essence of the political cartoon is its humanization of political actors and issues. The humanization in political cartoons represents and interprets events and actors rather than merely recording them, and in doing so allows for the weaknesses, strengths and peculiarities of the cartoons subjects to be revealed.

The study of political cartoons allows for a richer understanding of the subjects studied. This can be attributed to the cartoonist inventing new ways to depict strengths and weaknesses of their subjects. Historical literature often approach history with a linear perspective, while cartoons approach those who make history through a symbolic and visual approach. What this thesis has done is to approach Egyptian history from 1918-1924 through both avenues.

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Political cartoons from the onset of their creation have been a useful tool in gathering information on the nature of a nation's political condition. The cartoonist, however, is not free to depict his country as he wishes. He is constrained by the need to be understood. For anyone who has suffered hardship or distress at the hands of his government, there is a sense of release in seeing a joke that depicts a situation to which he feels he is entitled. A sense of relief, as well as a sense of community, that he/she is not the only one who feels this way.

In defining the political cartoon, one must understand what is a political cartoon - the joke, the political joke, and the cartoon (the drawing). In its essence, the joke, is a twist or twist that deflates our expectations and both

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The History of the Political Cartoon in Egypt

"The Graphic humor of a people is in essence a vernacular record of the social and political history of that people. It is opinion in motley, and laughter homespun."¹

Political cartoons from the moment of their creation have been a useful tool in gathering information on the nature of a nation's political condition. The cartoons humanize the powerful by mocking their strength and poke fun at distressing conditions as a form of comic relief for people. For anyone who has suffered hardship or mistreatment by his/her government, humor is a means of escape. Laughing at a joke that depicts a shared injustice allows a citizen to feel a sense of relief, as well as a sense of community, that he/she is not the only one persecuted.

To define the political cartoon, one must understand what makes a political cartoon - the joke, the political joke, and the cartoon (the drawing). In its essence, the joke, is a "sudden jolt or twist that deflates our expectations and both

¹William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor*, v.1 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933) 9.

expresses and releases our anxieties."² Political jokes span a wide array of subjects, for they question

who are we and where do we fit in? On what and whom can we rely on? How should we interpret the central institutions that shape our lives? How can we respond to arbitrary and repressive power, above all where it claims to liberate us? Which burdens are truly inescapable and how should we adapt to them?³

The cartoon itself, "Is with or without humor - a forceful presentation by means of exaggeration of a topical political or moral issue. It is intended for a wide audience, and it makes use of popular symbols and slogans."⁴ Thus, we have a definition of political cartoons. By combining these three definitions we are left with a drawing that allows a wide audience to collectively cope with a problem through laughter, ridicule, and irony.

Laughter as a function is a public affair compared to weeping which is a private act.⁵ "Laughter is therefore a sudden and fast comparison between the state in front of you and the state which you imagine."⁶ The political cartoon excites its readers' amusement incited by governments and dictators by distorting their appearances or conjuring images of worse

²Steven Lukes and Itzhak Galnoor, *No Laughing Matter: A Collection of Political Jokes* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985) x.

³*Ibid.*, xi.

⁴William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor*, v.1 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933) 4.

⁵Khalid Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985) 5.

⁶*Ibid.*, 4.

tyrants in comparison, such as Hitler, Napoleon and Mussolini. "Viewed from this angle, humor is the natural medium for representing politics in an artistic and intellectual form. It gives reason, according to [Arthur] Koestler, precedence over emotions and demands detachment and self-criticism."⁷ Thus, for the disgruntled employee or the poor farmer political cartoons are a source of relief from his/her daily troubles.

The cartoons signify hope to these people, for they remind them that just as Hitler, Napoleon, and Mussolini toppled, so may their current government or dictator. The irony allows the reader to associate "the state in front of [him/her] and the state which [he/she] imagines."⁸ Thus, the reader is reminded of Hitler when he/she sees a cartoon of their current dictator raising his right arm high in the air in front of an audience.

Koestler developed the theory of the bisociation, which he defined as: "an idea or event with two incompatible matrices."⁹ Koestler offers this example to explain his theory:

Louis XIV who found his wife in the arms in the arms of the bishop. The marquis went to the window and started to bless the people outside. 'What are you doing?' asked the wife. 'Monseigneur is performing my function. So I am performing his,' said the husband.¹⁰

The two matrices serve to oppose one another and produce humor. The irony in the joke appears in this rationale that since the

⁷Ibid., 4-5.

⁸Ibid., 4.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

bishop was performing the marquis' job then the marquis may as well perform his.

Although, censorship usually does not affect political cartoons, in some places it has. In Egypt for example it was forbidden to mock the king, and when Ya'qub Sanū'a portrayed the Khedive Isma'il dancing he was exiled for it.¹¹ In Eastern European countries (before the fall of the Berlin Wall) many were imprisoned for telling a joke, perhaps this can be attributed to George Orwell's paranoia when he referred to political jokes as "tiny revolutions."¹² Itzhak Galnoor and Steven Lukes argue that this is a one-sided statement but that in any case "they [political jokes] are a form of participation, albeit a very passive one, perhaps a substitute for real politics."¹³ Galnoor and Lukes further state that the real threat is not the jokes themselves but the lack of them,

Consequently, in a society with a high level of political jokes, when the joking stops, it could mean that people are busy doing something else. People then have neither the time nor need to relieve anxiety through political jokes. They have started the Revolution. Alternatively it may mean that they have given up completely.¹⁴

I shall try to exhibit this hypothesis later when I recount the history of Egyptian political cartoons. However, it may be

¹¹Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 3-4.

¹²Steven Lukes and Itzhak Galnoor, *No Laughing Matter: A Collection of Political Jokes* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985) viii-xii.

¹³*ibid.*, Xii.

¹⁴*ibid.*, Xii.

useful to mention that when the press was censored in Egypt during the war years (1914-1919) there was evidence of a great deal of student agitation as well as of various parties formed to change the fate of Egypt.

The political cartoon, according to Charles Baudelaire in his essay, *L'Essence du Rire*, shows that:

Even more than in the other arts, there exists two kinds of work, precious and commendable for different-almost contradictory-reasons. Some have value merely because of the fact that they represent something: these, no doubt, merit the attention of the historian, the antiquarian, even the philosopher; they should take their place in national archives and in biographic records of human thought. As with the ephemera of journalism, they are carried away by the very winds that brought them and, in their place, bring fresh novelties. But the others-the others bear within themselves an element mysterious, eternal, and this commands the attention of the artist.¹⁵

Baudelaire's argument appeals to the historian for it states that political cartoons can be beneficial as a representation of human thought. Human thoughts or expressions that can be deduced from cartoons are perhaps what are lacking in historical literature. Baudelaire distinguishes the cartoons through two categories: the precious, which appeal to the historians and the philosophers, and the commendable, which are powerful and eternal and appeal to the artists.

Political cartoons, regardless of how exaggerated the depiction, are a form of journalism or even history that describes an event, a leader or a government's actions toward its subjects. In any event they are as Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid

¹⁵William Murrell, as quoted in *A History of American Graphic Humor*, v.1 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933) 6-7.

Marsot states: "a commentary on the events of the day."¹⁶ Political cartoons have been a forgotten rich source of historical events for many decades, and only now are beginning to be used as a reference. Cartoonists themselves are now being seen as much more than journalists. For not only do they report the news but they also interpret it so that it can be understood by the public.¹⁷ This can be described best through a cartoonist saying: "You'll never understand inflation intellectually, so think of it as an overpowering monster, that, by implication, the public must endure with fortitude until it goes on its own accord."¹⁸ Cartoonists are constant thorns in the side of those who hold the nations future in their hands, for they can "convey instantly in an image as much as a columnist can in 1,000 words."¹⁹ To the illiterate in Egypt, where illiteracy during the 1920s was close to 90%, political cartoons symbolized participation and relief from politics. Political cartoons were a means to explain the predicament that these people found themselves in and collectively share a laugh together over their situation.

Another dimension of Baudelaire's argument concerns the

¹⁶Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 1.

¹⁷Personal interview with Gomaa Farahat, Cairo, Egypt, 4 February 1997.

¹⁸Raymond N. Morris, *The Carnivalization of Politics: Quebec Cartoons on Relations with Canada, England and France 1960-1979* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995) 6.

¹⁹Lexington, "The Ink of Human Kindness." *The Economist* (18-24 June, 1994)

"ephemera of journalism" wide circulation. Political cartoons circulate, especially those that amuse their readers, disperse new images and are then replaced by other images. They share some features with traditional storytelling, with earlier means of communicating news, and with jokes. In Egypt verbal cartoons or jokes (the *nukta*) are deeply rooted in society. Marsot states that:

It is a common place that when two Egyptians meet, their second question is invariably, 'What is the latest *nukta*?' The *nukta* is seldom a simple joke, it is more of a state of mind, a farce in the capsule form, or instant satire. It is endemic in Egypt, arises at the least or the slightest provocation whether of a private or a public nature, and rises to dizzy heights of virtuosity in times of crisis. Where in other countries editorials are written and read as a measure of public reaction or where an irate reader might send off a letter to the Times, in Egypt *nuktas* circulate.²⁰

The *nuktas* usually inspire many political cartoons that can be found today in circulation. The *nuktas* like the political cartoon, are a way for the public at large to engage with their government. Political cartoons criticize the current policies and conditions and beg for different ones to ensue. It is no coincidence that the President of Egypt, Husni Mubarak, has his staff collect political cartoons and *nuktas* following every law that is passed in Egypt.²¹

It seems that wherever there was centralized power political cartoons were created to relieve the anxiety of the people. This phenomena dates back to the ancient Egyptians, circa 2,000

²⁰Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 6.

²¹Personal interview with Nashua al-Bindārī, Cairo, Egypt, 10 November 1996.

BC. The ancient political cartoons were drawn on papyrus, they represented the truest form of political cartoons, one that needed no words to explain its meaning.²² However, these examples (Figures 1.1-1.4) are merely reminders that political cartoons have been with us for a very long time, but only recently have begun to be acknowledged for their importance.

The political cartoon was introduced to modern Egypt in Khedive Isma'il's rule by Ya'qub Sanū'a (1839-1912). The press was developed in Egypt during Muḥammad'Alī's reign in 1828, however it was in Isma'il's reign that it began to flourish.²³ Sanū'a, born to an Italian father and an Egyptian Jewish mother, was brought up with the knowledge of all three major religions. "By the age of twelve, he was reading the Qu'ran in Arabic, the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in English, and finished his education in Italy, whose language, together with French, he had already mastered."²⁴ Sanū'a went on to study both painting and music, and was responsible for many "firsts in the history of Arabic comedy and humor."²⁵ His satirical plays and newspaper created a new genre of comedy that was both praised and condemned. During his early years in Egypt he gained much favor with the Khedive. Khedive Isma'il bestowed

²²Sa'id Abu al-ʿAnain, *Rakha. . . Faris al-Karikatir*, (Cairo: Akhbar al-Yum, 1990)

26.

²³Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 7.

²⁵Khalid Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985) 70.

²⁵*ibid.*, 70.

upon him the title of 'Egypt's Molière' for his play *The Two Wives*, in which he mocked polygamy. Unfortunately, he angered the British who labeled him a potential danger to the regime due to his play *The Tourist and the Donkey* in which he mocked British imperialism. This ended Sanū'a's theatrical debut, but with strong encouragement from Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī, he started a satirical newspaper in 1877, called *Abu Naddara Zargha* (The Man with the Blue Spectacles).²⁶

Sanū'a's stories were in the form of a dialogue between the characters of Abu Khalīl and Abu Naḍḍara. "With a typical tongue-in-the-cheek piece, he defended the corrupt and despotic Khedive Isma'il in what was known in Arabic literature as *al-tham min bab al-madh* (dispraise in the way of praise)."²⁷ Sanu'a soon lost favor with the Khedive and was eventually exiled to France. Ironically, the press, that Khedive Isma'il encouraged to show his popularity to the Europeans, was the very thing that showed his despotic nature to his people.

Sanū'a was urged to return to Egypt in 1907 after the departure of Cromer. This event incited Sanū'a to write this following story:

The Roman Despot who was surprised to see a woman, on his way to war, praying to the gods that he may return safe and victorious. He, therefore interrogated her on the matter and she gave him this answer: Your father was a tyrant and when he died he gave us a worse tyrant in you. I fear if you die we may have someone still worse than you. I am not going to rejoice at the departure, Sannu

²⁶ibid., 70-71.

²⁷ibid., 71.

commented, until I see the one who is coming next.²⁸

The parody is a reminder to the reader that whatever form of tyrannical leadership that exists in one's country, there are far worse consequences. The leadership that follows may be far worse than the one currently in place and thus may leave its subjects wishing for the lesser of two evils. In Sanū'a's case, he was justified in proceeding with caution for the British leadership that followed Cromer made him look benevolent in comparison.

Sanū'a gave a great deal to those who followed in his footsteps. His style was traditional, based on lampoon (*saj*, a type of rhymed prose, and *zajal*, a type of vernacular poetry).²⁹ He introduced the graphic cartoon to Egypt in 1877 (figure 1.5-1.7), a primitive cartoon, but one that developed later in the 1920s. Sanū'a will forever be remembered for Abu Naḍḍara Zarqa,

An allusion to the perception of the newspaper since the word 'glasses' in the Arabic language is derived from the root 'perception' or 'sight'. The newspaper presented the people with cartoons which even the most ignorant could understand, and indeed that is what Sanua aimed to do, to reach as wide an audience as possible.³⁰

The second man to influence graphic humor and to rely heavily on the use of *zajal* was 'Abdullah al-Nadīm, who published

²⁸ibid., 72-73.

²⁹ibid., 73. Kishtainy gives these examples of *zajal*: swearing and slander, resort to moral fables and historical episodes and mockery of the broken Arabic of the foreigners. However, *zajal* is also a very important genre of folk poetry and lyrics.

³⁰Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 11.

al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt (Joking and Censure) in 1887.³¹ Al-Nadīm (1845-1896) came from a working class family in which he was inducted as a servant to a rich aristocrat. "At a very early age he showed his predilection for satire and rebellion when he composed a piece of *zajal* mocking the lady of the house, for which he was beaten up with clogs until he was unconscious."³² Al-Nadīm took up arms against the British during the 'Urabi revolt, in which he became known as the 'Orator of the Revolution.' "The day had come for al-Nadīm to throw in his lot with the patriots and use his power of oratory to agitate the people to rise and fight the foreign occupiers of the country."³³ Not very much is known of al-Nadīm following the British invasion. However, an example of his great satirical work on the exploitation of the peasants by their government and the influence of the European powers in Egyptian affairs can be understood clearly in his piece on the capitulations:

One day a policeman saw a burglar descending
with a bundle of loot from a window.
The Policeman shouted: 'Who is there?'
'A Khawaja, replied the burglar.
'Oh, pardon me. . .,' said the policeman, 'I thought
you were an Egyptian.'³⁴

The parody is making reference to the inequities in the system. The capitulatory treaties established extraterritorial privileges for foreigners or minorities holding a "burat," they

³¹Ibid., 9. 'Abdullah al-Nadim used *zajal* or vernacular language in his columns.

³²Khalid Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985) 70.

³³Ibid., 76.

³⁴Ibid., 76-77. The term 'Khawaja' refers to foreigners.

acquired tariff advantages and could be tried in consular rather than national courts. The Mixed Courts introduced in 1877, did not alleviate the prejudicial aspects of a dual process.

During the period between 1880-1920 political cartoons virtually disappeared from the Egyptian press. Marsot attributes this to journalism becoming a "very grave profession to the Egyptian nationalists."³⁵ However, this takes us back to an earlier point made by Galnoor and Lukes who maintained that absence of political cartoons and jokes from a society can signify the inception of a revolution. In 1914, Egypt was declared a protectorate, and for the next four years British censorship exercised more stringent control over everything published. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* (Pictorial Anecdotes) continued publication until 1920, but disappeared soon after that. Its leading cartoonists were Nihad Khulūṣī, a Turk, and Ihab.³⁶ As *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* disappeared largely because of the censorship that was enforced on Egyptian newspapers. While circulating it could not dabble in many subjects which the average Egyptian wanted to read and see, but were forced by the British to restrain themselves (figure 1.8).

The end of the War, however and the rise of the struggle for national independence produced the leading magazines which played an important role in Egyptian politics and occupied a lasting place in the history of Arabic journalism. In 1921 Sulayman Fawzi started *al-Kashkul*, which opposed the anti-British nationalist leader and founder of the

³⁵Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 12.

³⁶Khalid Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985) 79. It is unclear what nationality Ihab was.

Wafd Party, Sa'ad Zaghlul.³⁷

Al-Kashkūl chose to approach the nationalist movement in Egypt rather critically. It satirized those who attained high positions in the various governments that came during the period between 1921-24 as well as the various party members and naturally the British. However, no cartoon was ever published of King Fuad.

Al-Kashkūl employed an artist by the name of Juan Santez, of Spanish origin, to draw the cartoons (figure 1.9-1.11). Santez studied at the Institute of Fine Arts established by Prince Yusīf Kamāl in 1906.³⁸ Santez was influenced by the French style of caricature, which induced him to bring to the cartoons a very distinctive style.³⁹ The caption writer for the cartoons drawn by Santez was most probably Hūsain Shafīq al-Misrī. He was a "writer with great sense of humor and wit, which he used repeatedly, often in poetic *zajal*, ridiculing the establishment and its application of the laws and regulations."⁴⁰ The graphic cartoon had returned, this time to be a fundamental staple in Egyptian newspapers and magazines (figure 1.12).

The Egyptian is often referred to as *Ibn Nukta* (the son of a joke) which can be taken to "connote the power to be a critical

³⁷*Ibid.*, 79.

³⁸Sa'īd Abu al-ʿAnain, *Rakha. . . Faris al-Karikatir*, (Cairo: Akhbar al-Yum, 1990)

35.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁰Khalid Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985) 80.

observer of society, a fearless judge of the issues and, more importantly, a spokesman for the folk."⁴¹ Thus, it is fair to say that Egyptian humor:

Attempts to be dynamic, by encouraging change primarily in people's attitudes, on the assumption that changes in thought perspectives can bring on change in the realm of action. In that respect, Egyptian jokelore, similarly, constitutes a charter for action.⁴²

Whether the political cartoons incited the nation to taking action during the period of 1919-1924, is rather hard to assess. This was a time of great agitation and constant demonstrations and confrontations between the British and Egyptians, as well as among the Egyptians themselves. However, any actions seen as contradictory to what Egyptians wanted were immediately ridiculed in *al-Kashkūl* and to some extent in *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara*. Marsot summarizes the function and importance of the political cartoon as:

As with cartoons in other countries, the function of the cartoon in Egypt is to criticize both socially and politically in order to draw the attention of the public or even that of the government, to evils which need to be remedied. It is difficult to assess the success of such a function just as it is difficult at times to decide whether the artist is influencing the public or the public the artist. Nevertheless the cartoon has become as element of public opinion in Egypt.⁴³

No study of Egyptian history, beginning with the 1919

⁴¹Nadia Izzeldin Atif, "Awlad al Nokta: Urban Egyptian Humor" (Ph. D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1974) conclusion.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971) 14-15.

Revolution, can be sufficiently explored without an examination of the political cartoons. The political cartoons in Egypt are an appeal to the masses and typically the popular "voice" is not represented in the historical record. *Al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* examined a fascinating part of Egyptian history. As it acquired a larger circulation, the cartoons relayed the message allowing the masses to become involved and participate in the nationalist movement. This was so even for the illiterate, as *al-Kashkūl*'s cover featured a large scale cartoon.

The content of *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* produced mostly editorials on current events and social changes in society. For example in *al-Kashkūl* on the 6th of July 1923, there was the typical cartoon on the front of the magazine and following this page, there was an editorial on the veil, a story on the Wafd referring to those that were in exile as champions and finally a long editorial on 'al-Khawaja Dumanī.' The editorial on the veil was in response to a rumor that had been circulated concerning the elite women discarding their veils. The story on the Wafd was merely stating that the Wafd had decide to name all those who were imprisoned or exiled as champions. The final editorial on 'al-Khawaja Dumanī' was a satire on Dumanī and the previous corrupt government. The story seems to be intended as a mockery of the government through fictitious characters.

The circulation of *al-Kashkūl* seemed to be aimed at university students and intellectuals. However, the cartoons were also aimed at the illiterate due the cartoons ability to

speaking to the reader with very few words, but were most likely never purchased by them due to its steep price of 10 piaster. The magazine must have been quite popular, however, since in 1924 Sa'd Zaghlul was threatened enough by it to impose censorship.

The circulation of *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* began in 1885 and continued until 1985. However, what was available at Dar al-Kutub were the years included in this thesis, 1918 to 1920. Its editor was Iskandar Makarius, and its content included a great number of photographs that seem to have been touched up to give the effect of a drawing. There were also editorials on current events such as World War I, which was covered closely by *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara*, and editorials on cartoons taken from French and English newspapers. The cartoons drawn by Egyptians were mostly done by Ihab, but those that weren't were done through contests, the winner receiving one Egyptian pound and his cartoon published in *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara*. The audience that *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* catered toward was most probably the Egyptian middle class, since again the steep price of 10 piasters would have been too high for the lower class, and the magazine's language would have been of interest only to those that spoke Arabic. The Egyptian higher class tended to speak French, and rarely read Arabic, so the magazine would have been of no interest to them either.

I shall approach the historical events through political cartoons as a parallel to the means of constructing the 1919 revolution in Egypt and what followed until the resignation of Sa'd Zaghlul as Prime Minister in 1924. Such a parallel

construction of history will largely show the opinion of the illustrators, who thematically represented corruption and Egypt's quest for independence in their work. The themes of the political cartoons are reflected in both *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* and *al-Kashkūl*. However, *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* chose to focus on the two issues themselves, while *al-Kashkūl* chose to focus on the personalities behind the issues.

I shall construct the analysis of the cartoons by dividing the thesis into four parts. The second chapter will follow the theme of the personification of Egypt as a woman in political cartoons. This chapter will examine the "Egyptian question" and how World War I affected the native Egyptian population. The chapter will integrate the currents leading to the outbreak of the revolution in 1919 and the history of the political parties in Egypt.

In chapter Three, I shall examine the British and Egyptian positions and the demands proposed by both sides. The political cartoons depicted the members of the various Egyptian governments formed throughout the period of 1919-1922. I shall use those cartoons to reconstruct the parallel history of this period. Similarly, I shall try to examine the British position during this period, again utilizing the political cartoons of this set period.

Chapter Four will discuss the abolishment of the protectorate, and the establishment of the constitution and parliament. The political cartoons cynically depicted both British and Egyptian leaders who involved themselves in the processes that took place between 1922-1924. This chapter will

also examine Zaghlūl's rise to the position of prime minister and his ultimate political demise at the hands of the British leadership.

The final chapter will examine the themes addressed in the cartoons and their relation to the historical events, and present a summary of the findings. It will also assess the depiction of Zaghlūl and other leaders during Egypt's transitional period of 1919-1924. Finally, the chapter will assess the utility and significance of using political cartoons for the study of this period of history.

By examining this important transitional period in Egyptian history through political cartoons, I hope to discover a level of symmetry between the cartoons and the events themselves. By symmetry, I mean to find verification for what occurred and what is recorded in the history books. I have found that the history recorded concerning this period tends to vary a great deal, making it difficult to separate interpretation from facts. The interpretation that exists in historical literature is natural due to the subjectivity of the authors, however interpretations can in turn give a false impression of a situation of political persona. An example of such interpretation would be Zaghlul's description in British sources exposing his egotistical and uncompromising side, while Egyptian sources depict him as a hero.

The cartoons surveyed in this thesis spanned a six year period (1918-1924). Out of one hundred and fifty issues, there were seventy cartoons from *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* (which featured photographs as well as cartoons), and four hundred

from al-Kashkul. I selected from this collection the cartoons which pertained to the Egyptian national movement or events of the era. Unfortunately, due to the lack of importance granted to these two magazines and political cartoons in general, many issues were lost or simply not included in the collection consulted in Dar al-Kūtub. These were the only publications available in these years which included cartoons. This explains the limited number of political cartoons I had to work with. However, I feel that the number I have reviewed was sufficient to assess the cartoons historical value. I selected the cartoons that pertained to the Egyptian National Movement by first reviewing all the cartoons from both periodicals. I then selected the cartoons that dealt with the national movement and the political actors involved. Lastly, the written material in the cartoons' captions allowed for a final selection based on relevance to the historical literature of the period.⁴⁴

Recorded history has always been subjective, relying on the point of view of the author or government. Naturally, cartoons do fall prey to much the same type of subjectivity by the artist himself. Political cartoons tend for the most part to express the cartoonist's views of popular opinion society regards as important, and reflect it in a manner that is worthy of historians' attention. The cartoonists' for both magazines had their own political motives when they drew their cartoons. However to maintain their audience they must have had to ridicule what was important to that audience to maintain their

⁴⁴Certain cartoons on the various political actors in the national movement pertained to trivial events that occurred in Egypt and had no bearing on the history of the period.

interest. Thus, the political cartoons from *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* and *al-Kashkūl* could be seen as indicators of what the audience of the magazines believed to some degree. Perhaps then by combining the two tools, political cartoons and historical literature, one may find new light shed on the past, as is my intention in this thesis.

Figure 1.1. Pharaonic Cartoons. Abu al-ʿAṣan, Makha. . .
ʿArṣ al-Karikatur, (al-Ḥaṣṣ al-Ḥaṣṣ, 1990).

Figure 1.2. Pharaonic Cartoons. Abu al-ʿAṣan, Makha. . .
ʿArṣ al-Karikatur, (al-Ḥaṣṣ al-Ḥaṣṣ, 1990).

Figure 1.3. Pharaonic Cartoons. Abu al-ʿAṣan, Makha. . .
ʿArṣ al-Karikatur, (al-Ḥaṣṣ al-Ḥaṣṣ, 1990).

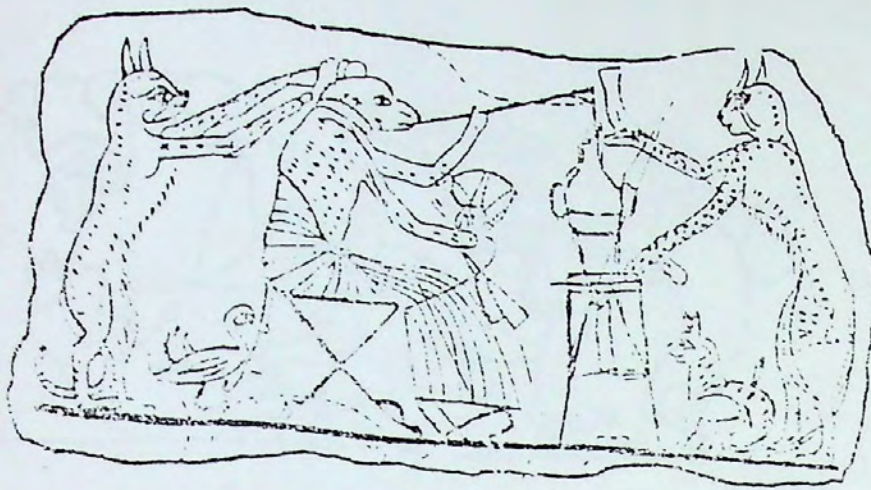


Figure 1.1. Pharaonic Caricature. Abu al-ʿAnan, Rakha. . .
Faris al-Karikatir, (Akhbar al-Yum, 1990).



Figure 1.2. Pharaonic Caricature. Abu al-ʿAnan, Rakha. . .
Faris al-Karikatir, (Akhbar al-Yum, 1990).

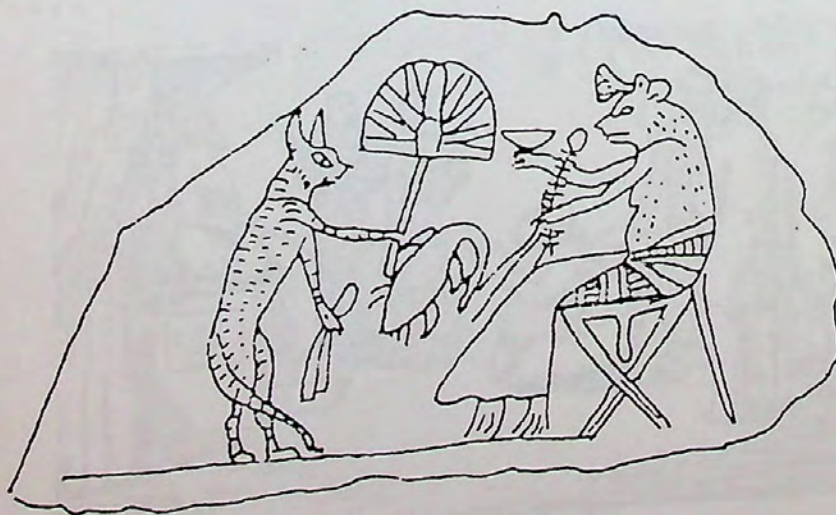


Figure 1.3. Pharaonic Caricature. Abu al-ʿAnan, Rakha. . .
Faris al-Karikatir, (Akhbar al-Yum, 1990).

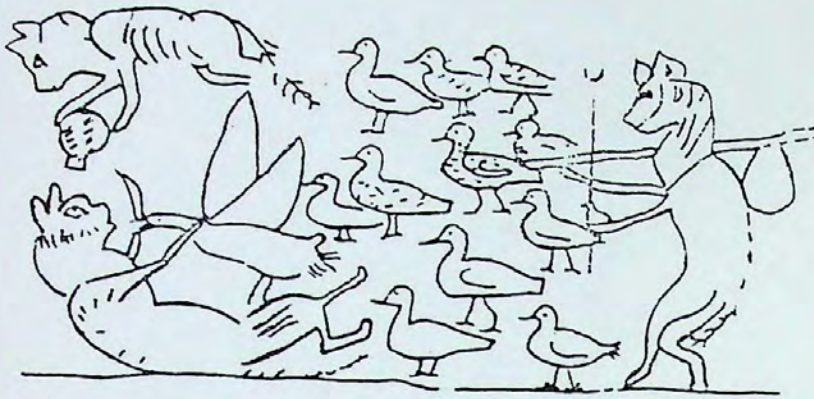


Figure 1.4. Pharaonic Caricature. Abu al-⁴Anan, Rakha. . .
Faris al-Karikatir, (*Akhbar al-Yum*, 1990).



Figure 1.5. Ya'qub Sanū'a. Afaf al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon
in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13
(January 1971).



Figure 1.6. Ya'qub Sanū'a. Afaf al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon
in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13
(January 1971).



Figure 1.7. Ya'qub Sanū'a. Afaf al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Cartoon in Egypt." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (January 1971).

اللطائف المصورة في ٨ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١٩



هذه الصورة فكاهية رمزية من نوع الكاريكاتور الاوربي الذي افردت اللطائف المصورة باقتباسه في الصحافة العربية ولاقي استحسان حضرات القراء وارتياحهم والصورة هنا تمثل احتلال دنوتزو لمدينة فيوم ورضوخها له وسيرها معه على النعم الذي يطلبه وقبول سوريا ان ترقص دورها مع جورود عن طيبة خاطر (ولو لم يجمع رأي سائر السوريين على ذلك) وتقوم مصر من الرقص واعتذارها. والصورة اقترحتها حضرة الشاب الاديب مصطفى افندي فهني الحكيم فاعزنا الى مصورنا ايهاب افندي خلوصي ان يرسمها بخاتم غاية في الاتقان وهي تعبر عن الحالة الحاضرة وترمز اليها بطريقة فكاهية لا بأس بها

Figure 1.8. **The Dance.** The cartoon is of the European type of humor, which was burrowed uniquely by *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* in the Arab press, and was accepted by the readers. The cartoon represents the occupation of Fiume [City] by D'Annuzio, and Fiume's submission to him, and her (Fiume) dancing to his tune. The acceptance of Syria to dance her turn willingly with Gouraud out of respect (even if this is not the opinion of all the Syrians). Where as Egypt offered her apologies and refused to dance. This cartoon was drawn by the young literary Mustafa Affandi Khalūsi, who drew it in a perfect manner. (Right to Left) The British general: (man in white) "Come dance, my dearest Egypt." Egypt: "Not on your life!". *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 252 (1919: December 8).

الشمس الثالثة
يوم الجمعة ٢٥ مارس سنة ١٩٢٣
عدد ١٠٦

الكشكول

الكشكول في عامه الثالث



يتقدم الكشكول الى قراءه بواجب الشكر والتبرك

Figure 1.9. Juan Santez. *Al-Kashkūl in its Third Year*. The Kashkūl presents to its readers its gratitude. *Kashkūl* 106 (1923:March 25).



أحدهما — الرجال الذين لا يشتغلون بصلحة بلادهم يكونون كالأنثويات

Figure 1.10. Juan Santez. **The Interest of the Country.**
 One of the ladies: "The men that do not work for the interests
 of their country are like eunuchs." *Kashkūl* 132 (1923: November
 23).

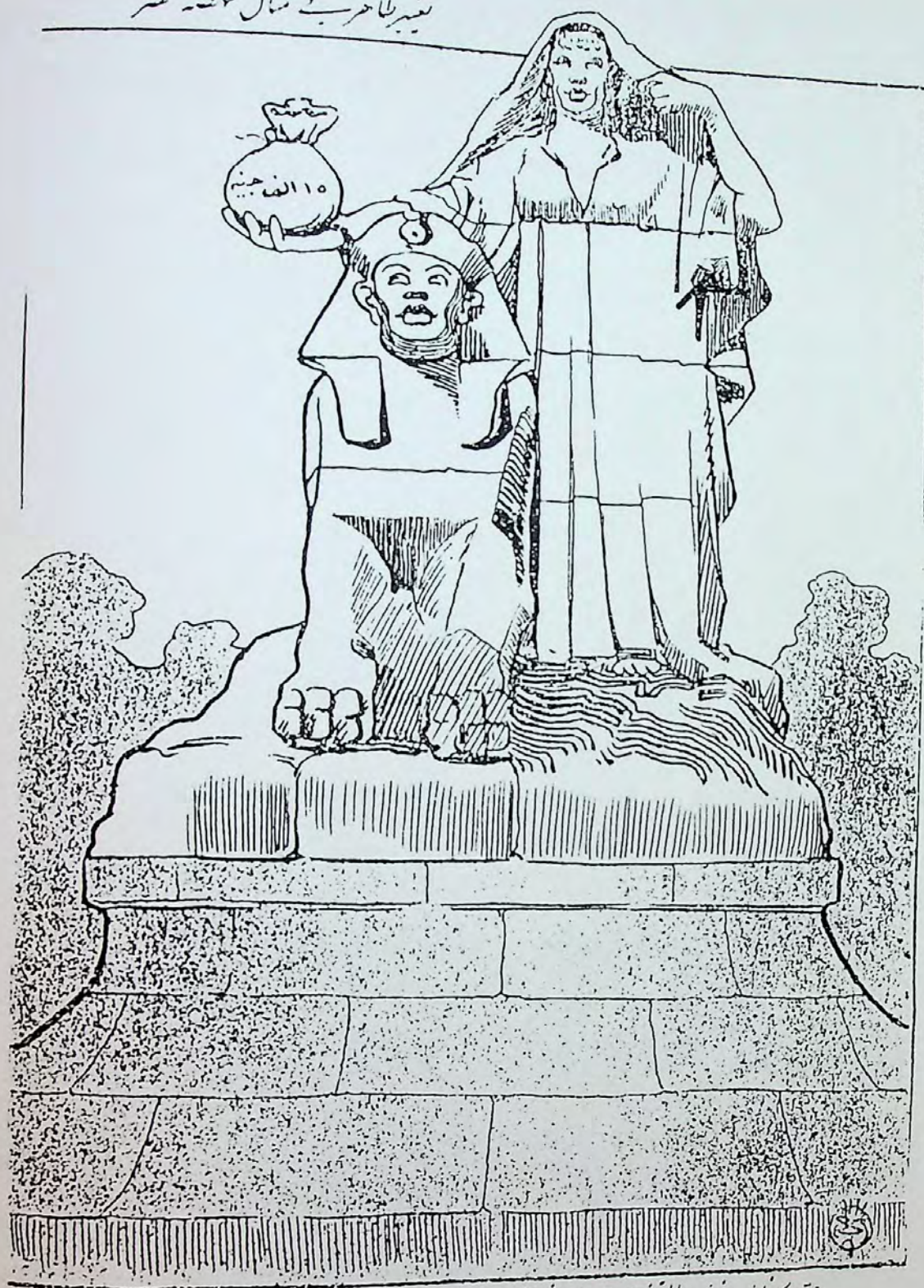
الولد للبحر



- اعطني - انه ملين - ثلاثة ادماع منه رأس خروف واحد

Figure 1.11. Juan Santez. **The Boy to the Butcher.** "Give me - if it's possible - three brains out of one of the sheep's heads." *Kashkul* 14 (1921: August 23).

تغیرِ ظاہر فی مثالِ نہایتِ مصر



غير المحار وضع يد التمثال للمرد الثالث حتى يفهم الجمهور مستدار المال اللازم لتكملة

Figure 1.12. Juan Santez. **Visible Changes in the Statue 'Nahdat Misr'** (1919-1928), sculpted by Mahmūd Mukhtar (1891-1954). The engraver changes the hand (holding 15,000 LE in its hand) for the third time, the people of Egypt can now understand how much it will take to finish it. Kashkūl 57 (1922: June 18).



situation until it was too late. Figure 2.1 portrays the anxiety felt by the Egyptian population. The British officers' boots and coats stand at the door, symbolizing their permanent presence.

Egypt under Cromer began to prosper, and the peasants were content to see certain reforms being carried out such as the abolishment of the *corvée* system.³ However, the advanced method of irrigation introduced, as Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot points out, was instituted to transform the "agriculture of the country into a monoculture, cotton, to feed the mills of Lancashire."⁴ Furthermore, the peasants were witnessing their traditional way of life destroyed and the introduction of another way of life that could displace their own.⁵ Naturally, these reforms were beneficial to the British, thus welcomed, while equally important issues such as education were neglected.

The beginning of the century brought new changes to Egypt. Lord Evelyn Baring Cromer's health began to deteriorate, and he began to spend extended periods outside Egypt. During one of these retreats, the famous Dinshawai incident occurred, which

³Ibid., 67-72. The *corvée* was a system of forced labor, usually for the khedival lands and public works.

⁴Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *A Short History of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 78.

⁵Ibid. Egyptian farmers were accustomed to living off the fruits of the land, however by using the land for only one crop their traditional way of life was threatened. Furthermore, cotton farming was a cash crop industry, which meant that when the farmer planted his seeds (which was his entire fortune) he would have to wait until the cotton was picked to see his livelihood. As such, these reforms, displaced many, who according to Marsot's account took to staging violent protests in the villages and could be blamed for the Dinshawai incident.

triggered a new era in Anglo-Egyptian relations.

On June 13, 1906, a group of British officers went to the village of Dinshawai to hunt pigeons. This escapade was known to the entire village, as the year before a similar pigeon hunting expedition took place. When the group of five officers arrived they separated and at once were surrounded by an angry mob from the village. Accounts of what took place after this differ from one historian to another. Marsot writes that the incident was simply the British trespassing on the Egyptians livelihood.⁶ The British officers were then attacked by the villagers. In the scuffle a woman and three men were wounded by a gun going off, which set the village off, attacking with stones and sticks. The result was that the officers were beaten quite severely, except one who managed to escape but died of heat stroke and shock.⁷

A tribunal was set up with two Egyptians and three British officials. However, the court was mostly handled by the British official, Sir Walter Bond, who spoke little Arabic, and according to his colleague Judge Marshall:

The case was conducted with such a want of method that when minutes of the proceedings were called by the parliament in London, they had to be compiled from reports made by native journalists for their papers.⁸

⁶Ibid., 78-79. Pigeons are a delicacy in Egyptian cuisine, and thus are raised by villages to sell.

⁷Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) 168.

⁸Ibid., 169. The two Egyptian members of the tribunal were: Fathi Bey Zaghlul and Butros Ghali.

The trial took thirty minutes to determine that out of fifty-two people accused twenty-one were guilty. Four were sentenced to death, two to life imprisonment, six to seven years imprisonment, and the rest to fifty lashes in front of the entire village.⁹ The punishment seemed rather harsh for one death that was the result of heatstroke. The travesty of the proceedings shook the nation, and compelled Qasim Amīn to write on the subject the following:

Everyone I met had a broken heart and a lump in his throat. There was nervousness in every - gesture in their hands and voices. Sadness was on every face, but it was a peculiar sadness. It was confused, distracted and visibly subdued by superior force. . .¹⁰

The Dinshawai incident remained in the minds of Egyptians for many years. The recreational activities of the British: hunting, gambling, and dancing, their exclusive clubs and lounges, and the alcohol and foods imported for their consumption jarred local traditions. Egyptians involved in such "comprador" activities gained income. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* in 1919 reminded its readers of the incident in a number of cartoons (figure 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4). Figure 2.2 portrays justice as a knife that will be used to kill the various districts mentioned, and is being sharpened for the occasion. In figure 2.3 it is interesting to see that it is an Egyptian entrapped in the pigeon net. The cartoonist was alluding to the literal and cultural entrapment that the Egyptians felt from their

⁹Ibid. One of the men sentenced to life imprisonment was the husband of the women killed in the incident.

¹⁰Ibid., 169-170.

occupiers.

The Dinshawai incident was significant in another way, for it marked the turning point for many nationalists. The following year it precipitated Lord Cromer's resignation allowing his successor Lord Eldon Gorst to take his place. Lord Cromer firmly believed that: "British rule was the best that the Egyptian masses could hope for in the indefinite future."¹¹

Figure 2.5 shows an example of how the British felt about Egyptian independence. "The Egyptian Pet" was ideally to be strengthened by the British to eventually be able to care for itself. The cartoon represents the national trust that the Egyptian population had put in British hands until the end of World War I. It was that very trust that on the conclusion of the war, Egypt believing that it had proved her strength demanded her freedom. A reflection on the period before World War I is important to the understanding of the political cartoons from 1918-1924, for it explains the later uncompromising attitude the Egyptians acquired. The British had allowed the Egyptians to believe that eventually they would be granted self-rule, by not fulfilling such promises they had lost the trust of the population.

The Establishment of Political Parties in Egypt

Mustafa Kāmil, born into a middle class family in 1874, went on to study law first in Cairo, then later in Toulouse, graduating in 1894. Although educated in France with the

¹¹Ibid., 178.

principles of the French Revolution, he was also influenced by Marx. Upon his return to Egypt he formed what was to be known as al-Hizb al-Watan (the Nationalist Party) with a group of young Egyptian lawyers. ʿAbbas Ḥilmī had replaced Khedive Tawfīk in 1892, and by 1895 was exasperated by his efforts to rule the country without British interference. The Khedive was very supportive of Kāmil's newly found party. He later helped finance Kāmil's return to France in 1898 to gain support for the Egyptian cause in Europe.¹²

In 1900 he founded *al-Liwa* (the Standard) which reached a circulation of 10,000 within its first years.¹³ This showed clearly the link that the press and the nationalist could form in order to influence the public. In figure 2.6 Egypt is asked what it would like and it replies independence and freedom. Such a cartoon represented what Egypt longed for, however figure 2.7 portrays the realization that many had already begun to feel, especially after Dinshawai, that the British were there to stay.

The "disease" that had plagued the country refers to the western ideology that had infiltrated Egyptian society. In later cartoons, *al-Kashkūl* contrasts Egyptian Eastern traditions represented by the young Egyptian woman and the overbearing British traditions represented by John Bull. The Eastern traditions are seen as wholesome and pure corrupted by British influence and thus changed over time. The young Egypt that is

¹²Ibid., 166-167.

¹³Ibid., 164.

seen in figure 2.6 is veiled and traditionally dressed, but not afraid to stand up for independence. Later, the cartoons will depict the young Egypt unveiled, driving and attending conferences, symbolizing the liberation that Egypt had attained. The use of a young woman to represent Egypt dates to the Pharaohs, who utilized the female to represent fertility. Egypt's name until today is *Misr Umm al-Dunya* (Egypt the mother/cradle of civilization); a *mathal* (proverb) and a title simultaneously. Linguistically, "Egypt" in the Arabic language is feminine, adding further to her gender identity. Thus, the use of the female in the cartoons to represent Egypt is a normal progression for the cartoonists whose culture referred to her as a woman, a mother, or a beloved.

In 1904, the Khedive bestowed upon Kāmil the honor of Pasha, which gained an unfavorable reaction from Lord Cromer: "Predictably, Cromer seized on the pan-Islamic element to accuse the national party of fanaticism."¹⁴ Kāmil countered Cromer's reaction by encouraging Egyptian Copts to join his movement. The Wafd, later followed in that same policy but under the slogan of a party that represented everyone.

During the following years, things began to change for the Watanists. Kāmil began to distrust the Khedive. Muḥammad 'Abdū, Shaikh al-Azhar and important reformer, died, and the momentum of the movement was almost lost. Unfortunately, it took the Dinshawai incident to re-establish the party in 1907, at which time they formed ten principles. The foremost

¹⁴ibid., 164.

principle on the agenda was independence for Egypt and the Sudan, which was in accord with the Treaty of London, signed in 1840.¹⁵ The second important principle was the establishment of a constitutional government.¹⁶ In figure 2.8, Kāmil's second principle is recalled, and the reader is reminded that these were Watani principles before they were Wafdist. The ghost of Kāmil has returned to Egypt so as not to be forgotten for those who served as heroes in exile. The Seychelles, Almaza and al-Maharik refer to men such as Zaghlūl and 'Urabī who had been exiled by the British and became heroes of their movements. The ghost of Kāmil reminds the people that he too had fought for a constitution but due to his death and never having been exiled he is not remembered for it. In 1908, Kāmil died, and the leadership of the Hizb al-Watani was passed on to Muḥammad Farīd. That same year the first Coptic Prime Minister was appointed, Butros Ghālī Pasha. In 1911, Sir Gorst, who was dying of cancer, was replaced by Lord Kitchener.¹⁷

During Kitchener's administration of Egypt, he managed to restrict the Khedive's power by establishing a Ministry of Awqaf to administer the religious endowments previously under the Khedive's control. He also established a decree that:

The Khedive could in future only confer titles or decorations on the recommendations of his ministers

¹⁵Mohammed Alaa el-Din Aly and Shawky el-Hadidy, "Mustafa al-Nahhas: A Case Study of Egyptian Political Leadership" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1985) 29.

¹⁶ibid.

¹⁷Christine Phelps Harris, *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1981) 67.

and with the approval of the British agent. Even his right to preside at cabinet meetings was removed. The Khedive had become a constitutional monarch in a country without constitutional government.¹⁸

Kitchener increased the number of British officials in higher places and reintroduced the Press Censorship Act, the Criminal Conspiracy Act and the School Discipline Act. This allowed him to deal a great blow to the Watanists, many of whom like Farid had to flee the country or face imprisonment.¹⁹

In 1913, Kitchener also reformed the Legislative Assembly. It was an assembly composed of seventeen appointed members and sixty-six nominated members. "It had the power to veto proposals for the increase of taxation, but otherwise its functions were only consultative and deliberate."²⁰ The new Legislative Assembly could delay legislation and ask for justification from ministers on their proposals. This, the Assembly did and in its first session it spent the time "baiting Ministers in pursuance of personal feuds." In figure 2.9, an illiterate representative is sending his regards to his village, as he sits in his shack outside the parliament gates. The cartoon hints at the corruption evident in the new democracy, for it questions what is an illiterate representative to do in parliament? The cartoon mocks the very nature of the entire system of representation, which developed in this earlier

¹⁸Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) 195.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 194-195.

²⁰Lord Lloyd, *Egypt since Cromer*, v. 1 (New York: AMS Press, 1933) 141.

period. How was the Egyptian population expected to rule itself when it had never been given any training in self-government? Kitchener may have realized this, and thus relied on his reforms to fail, or he may have been responding to changing opinion in Britain. It is certainly evident from his statement that he never intended to increase the Assembly's power.

Anglo-Egyptian Relations Before the War. Butros Ghali's cabinet was ill fated from the start. Ghali had followed Mūstafa Fahmī's thirteen year cabinet, which resigned over the Dinshawai incident. Furthermore, the British were pressuring the Suez Canal Company to accept a convention that would "extend the existing concession for forty years beyond its terminal date in 1968, in exchange for some minor benefits in the interim."²¹ Ghali, and oddly enough Sa'd Zaghlūl, who had joined the cabinet, were in accord with this arrangement. Unfortunately, the public response turned violent and ended with the assassination of Ghali.²² Muḥammad Pasha Sa'id, a follower of Kāmil's Watanist movement, became the next Prime Minister.²³

In 1906, Lutfi al-Sayyid, founded *al-Jarīda*, which in 1907

²¹Christine Phelps Harris, *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1981) 66.

²²*Ibid.* Sa'd Zaghlul became the Education Minister in 1906, during his father-in-law's, Mustafa Fahmi, Premiership. Butros Ghali was assassinated on the 20th of February 1910.

²³*Ibid.*, 67. During Sa'id Pasha's cabinet Zaghlul transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Justice.

composed their own party by the name of Hizb al-Umma (the People's Party) from within the confines of the paper. Its appeal to young readers was immense, as al-Sayyid "confined himself to the theme of national regeneration as an essential preliminary to any demands."²⁴ However, the British imposed censorship on many of these efforts, "Thus no outlet for nationalism except through terrorism or an appeal to some foreign power."²⁵ Al-Sayyid had been a follower of Kāmil's, but thought that the Hizb al-Watani had become too moderate. Zaghlūl, during this period was pro-British, and as such Hizb al-Umma was ideal, for carrying on:

The Abduh tradition - namely, to support the British, since Britain was the Occupying power, and strive to achieve their desired reforms in Egyptian society under the aegis of an occupation that was presumably sympathetic to their principle to the unchecked exercise of power by both the British and the khedive.²⁶

Marsot states that Zaghlūl was neither a founder nor a member of the Hizb al-Umma. However, because the Khedive suspected his involvement, it was thus assumed he was a member.²⁷ Signs of animosity had already begun to show between the Khedive and Zaghlūl and which further led to his resignation from Sa'īd

²⁴Jacques Berque, *Egypt Imperialism and Revolution*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Faber and Faber, 1972) 257.

²⁵Jean Lacouture, *Egypt in Transition*, trans. Francis Scarfe (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1958) 84.

²⁶Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) 76.

²⁷Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger) 178.

Pasha's government in 1912. Zaghlūl did affiliate himself, however with Hizb al-Watani under Farīd. Muḥammad Sa'īd himself was dismissed as Prime Minister in the Spring of 1914, and Ḥūsain Rūshdī succeeded him. The disillusionment with 'Abbas Ḥilmī was becoming evident in the country, an opportunity that the British seized in 1914 on the eve of World War I.

Kitchener remained as determined as ever and when he left Egypt for his 1914 summer leave he had decided to insist to the British Government on the Khedive's deposition. This proved unnecessary. Abbas left Egypt at the same time as Kitchner with the intention of ending his European tour in London. Kitchener saw to it that he was informed that if he came to England King George V would refuse to see him. Abbas was therefore in Constantinople when war broke out on 4 August. When Turkey joined the central powers on 5 November Britain decided to declare a protectorate over Egypt. Abbas issued a violently anti-British declaration and was told that he could not return to Egypt.²⁸

Ironically, Kitchener never returned to Egypt either, and as Milne Cheetham became the acting British Agent, Kāmal Ḥūsain ascended the throne as the Sultan of Egypt.

The Protectorate. On 19 December 1914 Britain declared its protectorate over Egypt. The term used in Arabic was *himaya* which "was in itself humiliating, since it was the word used to describe the status of local Christian minorities under the protection of some European power."²⁹ The protectorate was never defined by the British and no Egyptian was asked for an

²⁸Lord Lloyd, *Egypt since Cromer*, v. 1 (New York: AMS Press, 1933) 201.

²⁹John Marlowe, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations 1800-1953* (London: The Cresset Press, 1954) 215-16.

opinion on the matter. Martial law was declared and censorship was strongly enforced along with the suspension of the Legislative Assembly. Figure 2.10 shows an example of the censorship enforced due to the ink influencing the emotions of the people. The symbolism of the use of ink and paper as those that influence the people rather than the writer is important as it represents the writer as a victim and his tools as the culprit. However, in the second caption it is the writer that is struck by the bolt from the department of printing press, and thus silencing his tools. The use of ink as a tool to influence the emotions of the people is further evidence of the press' power over its readers. Figure 2.11 portrays the frustration that an Egyptian is having with the actions of the government and his inability to publish it because of censorship. The enforcement of censorship was a means for the British and later the Egyptians to contain the truth.

No government would be insane enough,' he [Kitchener] wrote, 'to consider that because an advisory council had proved itself unable to carry out its functions in a reasonable manner, it should therefore be given a larger measure of power and control.'³⁰

In figure 2.12, the serpent represents an eminent danger that is ready to strike, yet the Egyptian government and the newspapers are unconcerned. A young boy is the only one courageous enough to fight and kill the poisonous serpent of the desert and the untruths. Symbolically, the cartoonist seems to have been asking the Egyptians to stand up for themselves against the injustices and publish the truth. However the other

³⁰Ibid., 142. This was taken from *Annual Report*, March 18, 1914.

Egyptian newspapers stand by while the valiant *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* slays the serpent. The cartoonist has written pigeon hunting across the serpent alluding, in my opinion to Dinshawai, British oppression and the continued bird hunting, all of which angered *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara*.. In figure 2.13, a two-part cartoon showing the distrust that the Egyptians had of *al-Ahram* newspaper, which they believed was a tool of the British, however this might have been *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara's* own propaganda. *Al-Ahram* was owned by Egyptianized immigrants from Syria and it's success was resented in some quarters. In addition it was the only paper that did not found its own political party.

The Egyptian Fallah. The idea that the Egyptian *fallah* was dim-witted according to the British was perpetuated in the historical literature and the political cartoons. The British also asserted that they were uplifting and improving the lot of the *fallah*. Many cartoons were directed toward the *fallah* and his difficult life. Many more showed the British and Egyptian governments' unjust policies and the *fallah* for the most part accepting his lot in life. In figure 2.14, we see a British soldier confounded (as he is being hit with a jug) as to why this Egyptian woman does not like him. Marsot states:

Many local and foreign authors writing about Egypt have made the mistake of assuming that because the *fellah* was ignorant he was also stupid. Jokes abound in all the chronicles, ancient and modern, about the credulity of the *fallah*, and how easily he was gulled by the townsman when he came to sell his wares. The reality is quite different. There are

obviously clever fallahin and stupid ones, as in any society, but the major characteristics of the Egyptian peasant is one shared by many other peasants, distrust of the stranger. The fallah may be gulled by his shaikh, but rarely by anyone else except by a foreigner. In the past, however, his major handicap was his illiteracy, so that he often signed documents that he could not read and was cheated out of his land by the foreign moneylender. His mistrust of the outsider was born of oppression and exploitation and honed during the struggle for survival and his hunger for land.³¹

In figure 2.15, we can see the gullible *fallah* being taken in by the Armenian Matosina cigarettes. Figure 2.16 shows the *fallah* in pursuit of knowledge for his son, but his own ignorance hinders him from achieving it. In figure 2.17 we see two *fallahin* discussing a new process of irrigation, however they seem to have clearly missed its point. Lastly, the description that Marsot gives of the *fallah* is important especially when studying the nationalist leaders such as Sa'd Zaghlul and other Wafd members. Their fierce tenacity to stick with their demands no matter what the cost was, is a local construction of Egyptian character traits. In figure 2.18, one can see the *fallah's* resistance, just as the crocodile is unwavering in his demand for independence. Unfortunately, he seems to have met his match in his adversary, the stubborn bull dog, the British. The failure by the British to understand the determined character of the nationalists shows a lack of respect for the people whose country they had occupied.

The administration of Egypt by the British continued to bring many hardships upon the Egyptians. The Egyptians thought

³¹Afaf al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) 31.

that if they endured these hardships they would ultimately be free and independent. As such, since the price of cotton had fallen by 50 percent and the size of the harvest fell by 15 percent, the cotton industry was suddenly in dire straits.

Cotton cultivation was put under state control to create an artificial shortage. By autumn 1915 the effects could already be felt. The demand for cotton on the world market in the summer of 1925 caused prices to climb steadily, quadrupling within four years.³²

The *corvée* system was again imposed upon the Egyptian farmers. However, the profits that arose from the quadrupling of the cotton prices were never enjoyed by the poor *fallahin*. Figure 2.19 portrays the disillusionment from working in the fields to satisfy the British. Bales of cotton are turning into bags of money in figure 2.20, symbolizing the money flying away from the *fallah*. In figure 2.21, the British are stripping the *fallah* of everything he owns, and the Egyptian government, perhaps unable to do anything, stands watching. Ironically, the British were not directly responsible for the hardships themselves. It was the British delegating the responsibility of administration to the *'umdahs*, which allowed the injustices to be carried out and blamed on the British.

During the war, the British declaration of a protectorate over Egypt created a great deal of animosity between the Egyptians and the British. The increased number of British officials who had replaced the Egyptians in government posts, as well as the large British contingency in Egypt, caused the

³²Farhad Kazemi and John Waterbury, eds., *Peasants and Politics in the Modern Middle East* (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991) 185.

British presence to be felt,

If we also bear in mind that the British Empire's forces amounted, according to official records, to a million men, one can imagine the shock given to Egyptian society by the presence of such a horde of buyers, turbulent young men, thirsty soldiers on leave and hunting for women: it was no doubt good for trade, but gave rise to a wave of hatred for the foreigners.³³

Egyptians suspected "then that a war proclaimed for the liberties of lesser nations was being pursued in order to partition the lesser nations of the East among Western powers."³⁴

In November 1917, General Edmund Allenby ordered that all the supplies for the war come from Egypt, this required the *fallahin* to give up their livestock and grain.³⁵ Furthermore, conscription was enforced on the peasants, beginning with 6,000 Egyptian volunteers and rising to 1.5 million recruits. In figure 2.22 the farmer is complaining that the Ministry of Agriculture should pay more attention to the catastrophe that is occurring on the farms. Al-Sayyid Marsot explains the catastrophe that had occurred:

Whatever friendly feelings the *fallahin* might have harbored for the British presence in Egypt, totally evaporated as the price of foodstuffs rose, and food, requisitioned for the army, became rare, threatening some areas with famine. War profiteering undoubtedly made things much worse, for while the British army protested that it paid good prices for all the things it took, the *fallah* saw little of that money and believed that he had

³³Jean Lacouture, *Egypt in Transition*, trans. Francis Scarfe (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1958) 83.

³⁴George Young, *Egypt* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927) 220.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 185.

gone back to the days of the three C's - the curbaj (lash), the corvee and corruption."³⁶

Figure 2.23 shows the suffering of the people, attacked from every angle by the companies, the merchants and the wealthy as the caption delineates. In figure 2.24 we see again the lack of concern which the government and the elite Egyptians showed for their starving countrymen. The economic crisis was reflected, again in the following figures 2.5 to 2.28, as Egyptians could not afford to buy meat, intellectuals fuel the people, as do the newspapers; and even the police went unpaid. In figure 2.27, *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* gives to the poor and the children in order to encourage them and show kindness and support for their courage. The other newspapers voice their objections by stating that they are not required to give donations and those who try to help the poor should be reprimanded and suppressed. The cartoon symbolizes a grotesque image of the press, that was ideally a protector of the nations rights but has shunned its responsibility. *Al-Ahram* states: "I published the list of donations, isn't that enough?" The statement represents the press's abandonment of the people and its rationalization for doing so, for it holds that it has done all it can do for them.

The Armistice. In October 1917, Sultan Kamal Husain died and was succeeded by his brother Ahmad Fuad. In November 11, 1918 at the eleventh hour the Armistice was signed with Germany

³⁶Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *A Short history of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 80.

and the war was officially over. The economic situation in Egypt had changed due to the war, the country's wealth had doubled due to the increased demand of Egyptian cotton.

However, those who benefitted were:

An irresponsible class. . . the distinction between the ruling class of the Turko-Circassian, the Copto-Syrian middle class and the Arab-Nubian peasantry, now gave way to a reclassification of the Western type-wealthy, well-to-do, and workers.³⁷

The population had doubled since the British had occupied Egypt, to twelve million people.³⁸ "Egypt was taking its revenge by means of quantity."³⁹ This increased population could be expected to affect the political situation. Internal demographics were also important, as can be seen in this humorous cartoon, figure 2.29, the Coptic minority is trying to grow by having women give birth to infants with two heads.

The concept of nationalism had been instilled in the Egyptian population from 1882, and the Egypt that emerged after the war would no longer submit to imperialism. This was due to three main elements: first, the industry that had been set up before and during the war. Secondly, the schools set up by Muḥammad 'Alī and Isma'īl and the exchange programs to Europe, had created a new class of civil servants who thought they were capable of governing themselves. Thirdly, the geographical

³⁷Jean Lacouture, *Egypt in Transition*, trans. Francis Scarfe (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1958) 83.

³⁸Jacques Berque, *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Faber and Faber, Limited., 1967) 287.

³⁹*Ibid.*

position of Egypt allowed it to absorb the various nationalist movements that were occurring around it.⁴⁰ President Wilson's speech in 1918, known as the Fourteen Points, gave Egyptians their green light.⁴¹

In figure 2.30, Egypt is mourning its dead but awaiting a bright future over the horizon. Two days after the Armistice was signed, Zaghlūl along with Isma'īl Sidqī and Muḥammad Mahmūd, in the name of the Egyptian people, requested independence for Egypt from Sir Reginald Wingate, the then High Commissioner in Egypt. Wingate stalled by responding that this was a matter for the London government to discuss. Thus, Zaghlūl requested that he and his delegation be allowed to state their case in London. Their request was refused.⁴²

Zaghlūl was acting with the support of King Fuad and the Prime Minister, Ḥusain Rūshdī, and 'Adlī Yaḡan, the Education Minister. Elie Kedourie states that these men were merely testing the waters, not certain of what the outcome would be,

As for Zaghlul and his unofficial associates they seem to have ventured hopefully, without really knowing the true extent of their demands of what they would consider a satisfactory outcome. This was the attitude of Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, who was a member of Zaghlul's group which soon came to be shown as the Wafd. He told Muhammad Husain Haikal at the time that the plan, as he saw it, was for Zaghlul's Wafd to proceed to Paris and lay the

⁴⁰Jean Lacouture, *Egypt in Transition*, trans. Francis Scarfe (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1958) 84. The nationalist movements referred to by Lacouture were the Russian and Irish revolutions.

⁴¹See Appendix 1.

⁴²John Marlowe, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations 1800-1953* (London: Cresset Press, 1954) 229.

Egyptian demands before the Peace Conference; if they succeeded in this, well and good; if not, then Husain Rushdi would go to London on his own and endeavor to make precise conditions of the protectorate and to set up a true constitutional government for the country.⁴³

It is therefore unclear what it is that the newly founded Wafd or those in the current cabinet wanted. Was it that they wished to have the protectorate be defined or be abolished and Egypt given its independence? Furthermore, what did independence entail and was Egypt ready to be ruled by a constitutional government? These are questions that will subsequently be answered in the following chapters.

Figure 2.31 symbolized the long road ahead of Egypt, which the political cartoons followed closely. Naturally, much laughter was extracted at the expense of the mighty as is the role of the cartoon, and also the historicity of the political cartoon is made apparent. A piece of advice was given to Zaghlūl by *al-Kashkūl*, as he embarked on his long journey. Figure 2.32 warns Zaghlūl not to forget history and the mistakes of his predecessors. The history of the long British occupation that had forced a great number of hardships on the Egyptian population which they had endured in order gain independence. 'Urabi's ghost's warning to Zaghlūl not to forget the mistakes his predecessors made is a symbolic reference to the failures of nationalism in the past. The importance of the history of the British occupation from 1882 upon the revolution in 1919 can be illustrated by this cartoon, and for that reason it was reviewed

⁴³Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle-Eastern Studies* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970) 95.

in this chapter. Zaghlul was warned not to forget the failure of Egyptian nationalism in the past and the British power to influence the Egyptian leaders and the Egyptian population.



Figure 2.1. Juan Santos. How Along Are they Sleeping? The
 Subian Narrating to Ghassali: How long are they staying?
 Masakli 6 (1991) June 23.



البررى يحاطب نفسه . أنا لارى . درل ينظر لبقه استى

Figure 2.1. Juan Santez. **How Long Are they Staying?** The Nubian Murmuring to Himself: "How long are they staying." *Kashkūl* 6 (1921: June 28).



انهم بنا من مصدر يوثق بصحته ان ولاية الامور يتكرونها في سن قانون لمحات | اصحاب هذه المحلات الملهكة للجيوب التي استنفذت امرها وتناظم خطرهما واصبحت اقل
صيد الحمام بعدما اتضحت لهم اضرارها السكتيرة قاعونا الى مصورها ان يرمز الى | على كرامل الناس من الطاعون او الحمى الاسبنولية. والى القاري مزجلا لطيفاً بقلم
ذلك بصورة فكاهية رمزية فعمل وجاءت الصورة كما يرى القاري اندازاً كاتباً | سدبنا رمزي افندي نظم جدير بالشبان والادباء ورجال حكومتنا قرائته

Figure 2.2. **Every Approaching Event is Close by.** We received information from a reliable source that the authorities are thinking of enacting a law for the stores of pigeon hunting after they had clearly seen danger. We asked our cartoonist to depict such a cartoon, which he did. The cartoon, as the reader can see, gives enough warning to the owners of these stores, who are ruinous to what is in the customers pockets to a harmful degree. It has laid a heavy burden on the people, a burden heavier than that infected by the plague or Spanish fever. The reader may enjoy the poetry (below) presented by our reader Ramzi Affandi Nasim. It is worth reading by the youth, the literary people and our government. Left to right: The owners of the pigeon hunting stores: (chickens) Misr al-Jadida; Rawd al-Faraj; al-Zamalik; Shubra. The government: (soldier) holding the law (the knife) Al-Lata'if al-Musawwara 295 (1920: October 4).

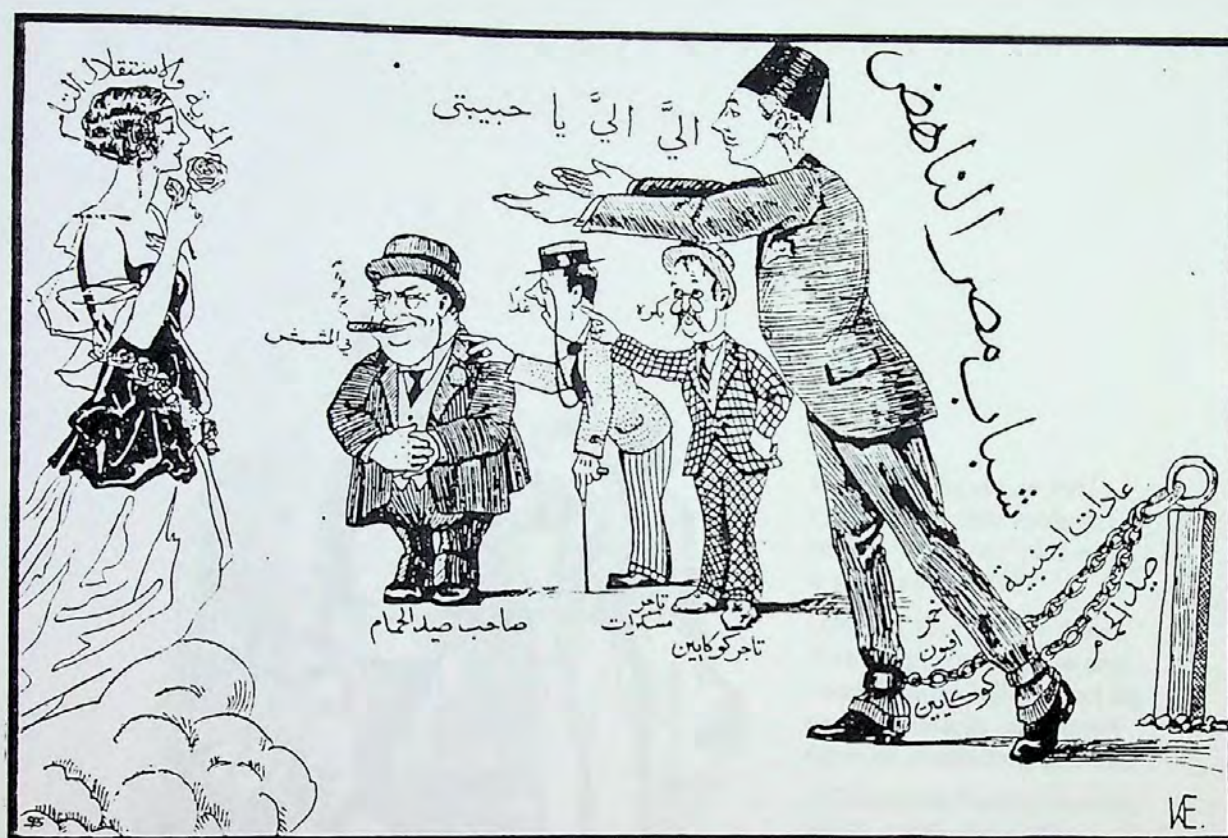


وقع الشعب المصري في الفخ

انهالت على اللطائف الرسائل والمنظومات في انتقاد محال صيد الحمام فتعذّر اللطائف الى حضرات مرسلها عن نشرها كلها لضيق المقام . وقد اكتفينا بنشر منظومة باللغة العامية على الصفحة الحادية عشرة ونشير على القراء ان يحولوا جانباً من رسائلهم الى زميلاتنا الجرائد الاخرى التي سكنت عن الموضوع وصمتت وانه والحق يقال لمن العار على الصحف المصرية ان تترك اللطائف تكافح وتنازل هذه المحال الضارة ولا تشد لها ازراً بل وتركها وحدها في ميدان التزال والصدام . فان الجرائد اذا حمت على محال صيد الحمام حلة شعواء ولم تتوان في الكتابة عنها ؛ منّا فلها ولا ريب تؤثر في قرائها وتنجح في حملهم على مقاطعة تلك الاماكن الشديدة الضرر . اما اذا كان قراؤها ممن لا يفشون تلك الاماكن فانهم يؤثرون في اصداقائهم واخوانهم الذين يعلمون انهم امرى عادة الذهاب اليها فيساعدون المجتمع في التخلص من تلك الادران وغني عن البيان لكلام الجرائد في الموضوع تأثيراً نافعاً في اهل الحل والربط من رجال الحكومة اذ تنبهون ويرشدون ويرون ما يحيق بالشعب من الاخطار الاجتماعية والادبية . والصورة التي نشرناها اليوم لا تحتاج الى تفسير وايضاح وقاية ما يلفت اليه نظر القراء ان اصحاب صيد الحمام لا يبالون بحالة الشعب الذي وقع في الفخ الذي نصبوه بل انهم يستعيطونه ويضحكون عليه اذ يرونه يتعثر باذياله محاولاً التخلص من الشرك ولكن بلا جدوى وعلى غير طائل ...

Figure 2.3. The Entrapment of the Egyptian People.

Today's cartoon needs no further explanation. What draws the readers' attention is that the owners of the pigeon hunting stores couldn't care less about the people who fell in the trap and whom they fooled and laughed at in scorn. They see the people whom they entrapped, struggling and trying hard to climb out, but their efforts are in vain. Left to right: The owner of the pigeon hunting store: (man standing behind a rock) "ha, ha, ha . . . the trap caught him good!" The Egyptians: (man entrapped in net) "Help me people! The owner of the pigeon hunting store: (man standing behind tree) "ha, ha, ha . . . and who could help you out? Pitiful one thing." Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara 285 (1920: July 26).



هذه الصورة الهزلية الرمزية لا تحتاج الى ايضاح فهي تشير الى القيود المتينة الصلبة التي تقيد بها الشباب المصري فلا يمكن ان يتقدم الى الامام ليحصل على غايته الا اذا قطعت القيود فمن لنا بقطعها الا بد الحكومة القوية

Figure 2.4. **The Rising of the Egyptian Youth.** The humorous and symbolic cartoon needs no explanation. It points out at the strong restrictions imposed on the Egyptian youth blocking their advances to accomplishing their goals. But how can they, unless these letters and shackles are unlocked and removed! And who can break them and remove them except for the hands of a strong government? Left to right: Woman: "Full independence." Owner of the pigeon hunting club: "'fi al-mishmish' never." Liquor merchant: "Tomorrow." Cocaine merchant: "Tomorrow." Man wearing a fez: "Come . . . Come to me my beloved." Shackles: "Foreign habits: Pigeon hunting, alcohol, cocaine." *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 297 (1920: October 18).



Left, "The Egyptian Pet." Professor of the Noble Art of Self-Defence: "Not up to it yet, young 'un."

Lord Salisbury: "We desire that Egypt should be strong enough of herself to repel all external attacks, and to put down all internal disturbance."

—Cartoon in *Punch*, November 21, 1891. Below, Construction of the first Aswan Dam, c. 1900. Although now overshadowed by the much larger High Dam it remains the most solid achievement of the British occupation. Popperfoto

Figure 2.5. **The Egyptian Pet.** Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972).



هو - ماذا تطلبين يا سيدتي ؟ . . .

هي - صحن استقلال تام وبجانبه تحريشة حرية

صورت هذه الصورة الرمزية بناء على فكرة الاديب مصافي افندي فهمي محمود بالاسكندرية وقد نال عليها جائزة ١٠٠ قرش صاغ

Figure 2.6. **Full Independence.** Britain: (he) "What do you like, my fair Lady? Egypt: (she) "A warm entree of Full Independence and a side order of freedom." *Al-Lata'if al-Musawwara* 287 (1920: August 9).

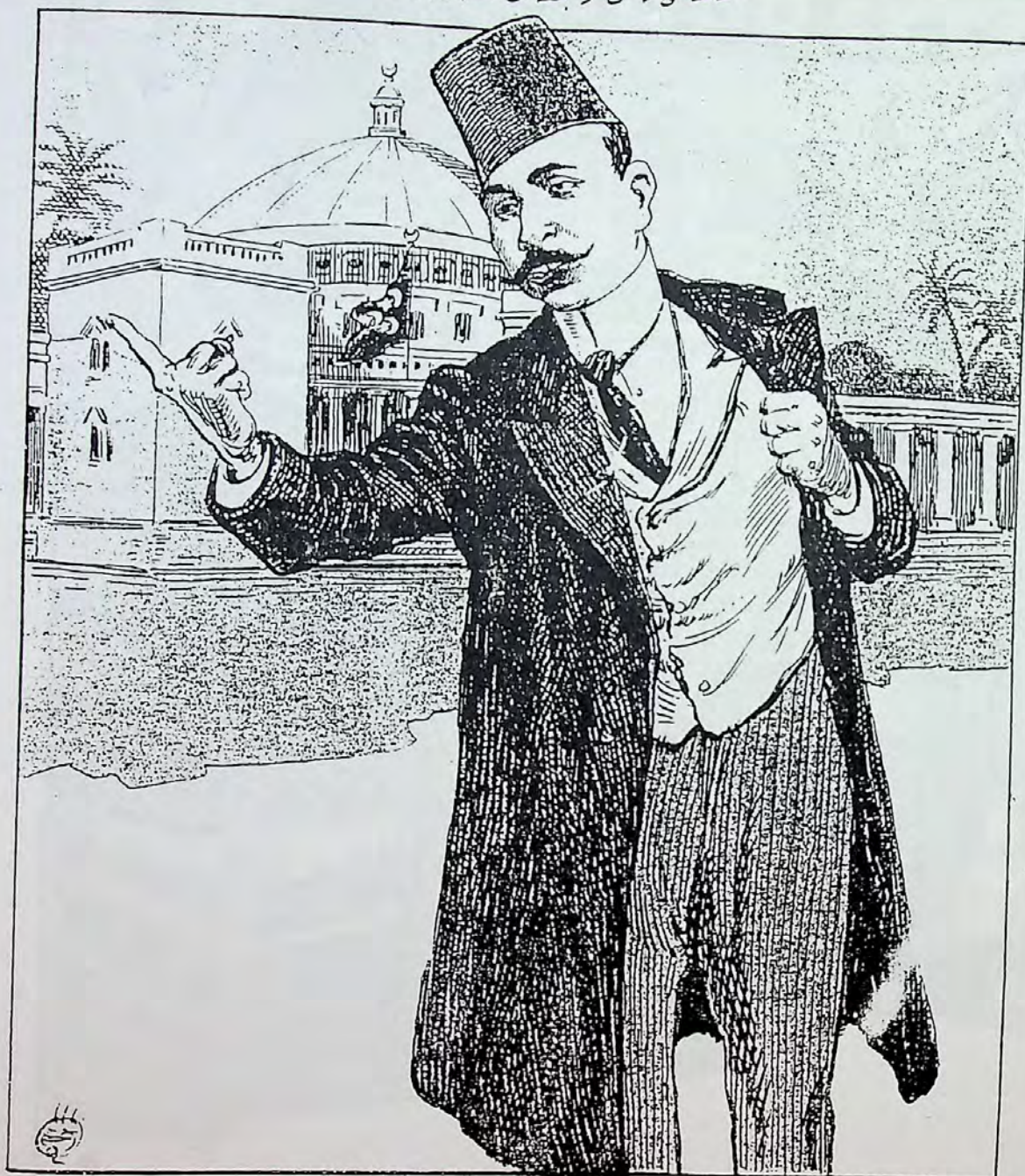


يعتقد احد المديرين ان الانجليز لا يخرجون من مصر كما ان بعض الامراض لا تخرج من الجسم

Figure 2.7. Juan Santez. **The Disease That Has Plagued Egypt.** One of the directors thinks the fact that the English are never going to leave Egypt like certain diseases never leaves the body. *Kashkūl* 61 (1922: July 16).

الكشكول

مصطفى كمال وأبطال سنة ١٩٢٣



مصطفى كمال - انهم قد ينكرون عني جهادي في البرلمان لأنني ليس لي شرف ان اكون «بطلا»

منه أبطال «سيثيل» او «المازة» او «المحاربين»...

Figure 2.8. Juan Santez. **Mustafa Kamil and the Heroes of 1923.** Mustafa Kamil: "They might deny me my struggle in the parliament because I was not one of those 'heroes' from those exiled in the Seychelles, Almaza or al-Maharik." *Kashkūl* 116 (1923: August 3).



النائب - اكتب لي من فضلك كلمتين كويسين للبلاد اسألهم عن العيال والزراعة وكونم السباح وتل لهم البرلمان يسلم عليكم...

Figure 2.9. Juan Santez. **An Illiterate Representative and a Clerk.** Representative: "Write for me, if you will, a few good words to my village. Ask about the children, the agriculture, the pile of manure, and deliver to them the parliament's regards." *Kashkūl* 155 (1924: May 2).



هذه رواية ذات فصلين مصورين لا تحتاج الى ايضاح. ونعرف بطل الرواية حسن بك الشريف للقراء بكونه الكاتب الاجتماعي الشر. فهذا الاديب اندفع في مأزق السياسة الحرج وشطبه القلم فكان ما كان من توقيف جريدته. وما كان احراه لو بقي مثابراً على نفع الهيئة الاجتماعية المصرية بمباحثه البسيكولوجية الموسيولوجية الاخلاقية وترك السياسة لاربابها. والصورة عظة له وعبرة لسواه

Figure 2.10. **Hasan al-Sharif**. This is a story in two scenes that required no explanation. We introduced the reader to the principle actor Hasan Bek al-Sharif, who writes on social issues, and who was also rushed head long into the predicament of politics, which led to the suppression of his newspaper. We should have been constant in pursuing his sociological and moral search to serve society and left politics for those concerned. A. left to right: large sign: Head of Misr newspapers; notice: Dear Hasan, don't forget that the department of printed matters hindered us a few times; ink holder: The ink which stirred the emotions of the people; paper which he writes on: Third article . . . Oh you ministers, one more day after today and that is it! fez: Hasan al-Sharif (the honest); chair: The editorial office of Misr newspaper; sign: The chief editor. B. left to right: The owner of the Misr newspaper (fez): "Didn't I tell you!" Thunder bolt: from the department of printed matter: Oh, you smart journalist, you have one more day to spend in your office before you lose it. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 264 (1920: March 1).

... من يدري "فصاح البلدية بالانتخاب"



- (الاعاوينيشه روافي الجرائم . انا عاوينيشه روافي الجرائم . فصاح المجلس البلدي)
كان النفس ايج تفعلع بالنشر

Figure 2.11. Juan Santez. **Censorship.** "I want them to print in the newspapers! I want them to print in the newspapers! The scandals of the Municipal council. As if by printing the scandals they will cease." *Kashkul* 64 (1922: August 6).



Figure 2.12. **The Egyptian Newspapers.** This symbolic critical cartoon portraying: pigeon hunting. the government, the newspapers as well as the magazine 'al-Latā'if al-Musawwara' needs no explanation. It was based on the idea of Muhammad Affandi 'Abd Ma'būd 'Imara, a resident of the town of Zaqqīg, whose idea won him a prize of one pound. Nevertheless, it hints at a state of indifference exercised by the government, and by the Egyptian newspapers toward this imminent danger which is represented by this very large serpent. No one but this young boy (the magazine) took interest nor took the initiative to fight and kill this fierce animal. The boy gathered all his strength to kill the serpent with one blow. 'Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara' - the young boy - is only six years old, yet, there are long standing press establishments of 20 to 30 years of age. There are also more that stand, regarding themselves satisfied with the opulence God has bestowed upon them through publishing the news on the war and the great trial. And so what is there to do, the readers of 'al-Latā'if al-Musawwara' say to this portrayal! Is it not compatible with the truth? Left to right: The Egyptian newspapers (thin and fat man), the government (man in white hat), the pigeon hunters (the serpent), 'al-Latā'if al-Musawwara' (boy with an axe). Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara 288 (1920: August 16).

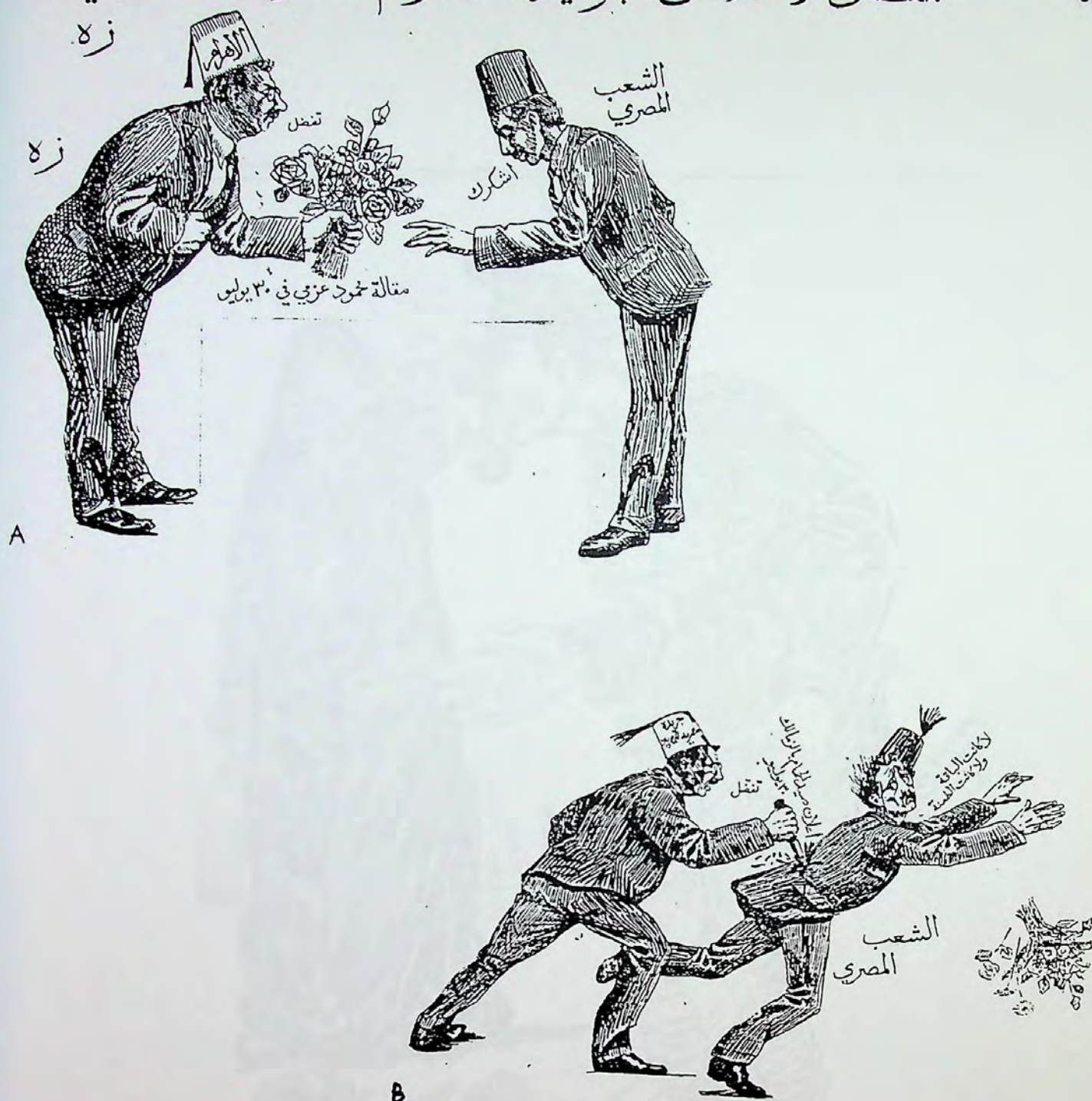


Figure 2.13. A. Examples of Sincerity, al-Ahram Newspaper for Egypt and the Egyptians. Left to right: Al-Ahram: "Please take this." Egyptian people: "Thank you." B. The Egyptian Newspapers and the Egyptian People. Left to right: The Egyptian newspapers: (for the Egyptians) "Take this." Knife: "Advertisement of the pigeon hunting at Zamalik, July 30." Egyptian people: "It was neither the bouquet of flowers nor the stab." Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara 292 (1920: September 13).



Figure 2.14. Juan Santez. **Stupidity.** "It's very strange that you do not love me after all that!" *Kashkūl* 27 (1921: November 20).

سجایر ماتوسه — میان
احسن سجایر مص



— هل تعرف سجایر ماتوسینا؟
— انا اشرب منها.

Figure 2.15. **Matosina Cigarettes.** First man: "Do you know the cigarettes Matosina?" Second man: "I smoke them." Kashkūl 58 (1922: June 25).



- اعطني الكرة الأرضية لابني - سعادتك عاوز لها باي حجم - بحجم الطبيعة

Figure 2.16. Juan Santez. **The Globe.** Shaikh: "Give me this globe for my son." Clerk: "What size do you want?" Shaikh: "The natural size." *Kashkul* 15 (1921: August 30).

الطائف المصورة في ٢١ يوليو سنة ١٩١٩



نبيه وأنبه منه

(الصورة على اليسار)
الاول - شوف
يا أخى السبيل التقالي
الثاني - لا يا عبيط
ده استخراج جديد
عشان الميال
ما يشمطوش في العربية ..
(بقلم احمد مشركي المجلة)



Figure 2.17. **The Intelligent and the Shrewd.** The first: "Look my friend, a mobile, sprinkling, water carrier!" The second: "Don't be silly, this is an innovation to prevent the children from chasing it and clinging to it." *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 232 (1919: July 21).



Figure 2.18. Juan Santez. **After the Resumption of the Negotiations.** The bull dog: "Independence, but with enough guarantees for the English and foreign interests." The crocodile: "Guarantees, but on the condition that they do not conflict with our full independence." *Kashkūl* 23 (1921: October 23).



Figure 2.19. **A New Method for Gathering Cotton.** This cartoon also alludes to pigeons and another form of economic exploitation of Egypt. Gathering cotton is but the gathering of bank notes which they draw from the customer's pockets. Left to right: The stores for pigeon hunting (bundle that the man is carrying), the Egyptians (small men in field), owners of the pigeon hunting stores (man with white hat and dark hat). *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 298 (1920: October 25).



ما کتا محکم با لورین بیاید کا لورین کافورسیر

Figure 2.20. Juan Santez. **Cotton.** "We would have never dreamt that cotton would fly like light thread." *Kashkūl* 32 (1921: December 25).



Figure 2.21. **Taxation.** The foreigner: "Would you give me the money, or am I going to bankrupt you?" The farmer: "The land has not yielded any profit, therefore take my clothes instead." *Kashkūl* 13 (1921: August 16).



Figure 2.23. **The Egyptian People Sorely Distressed.** Our critical cartoonist used his brush to portray the problem of the Egyptian people and what they are suffering from these days. These days of hardships which are causing them excruciating pain - from the rising consumer prices, the rising rents, the companies, and the banks tyranny, and confused and contradictory to interest borrowing, the return commonly paid to workers, customers and employees. The careful reader will see the suffering of the Egyptian people, weeping their hearts and their eyes from the pain that is caused by the arrows and weapons which were shot at them injuring, and many parts of their bodies dripping with blood. What is said about the Egyptians applies to the Syrians in Egypt and to many Europeans, whose people bitterly complain of the voracious appetite of merchants, land owners and companies. Left to right: The Companies, the merchants and the rich. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 302 (1920: November 22).



الزبون : نعم !
الزبون : لا شيء !
الزبون : أنا فقط أرى !

Figure 2.25. Juan Santez. **The Butcher.** The butcher: "Yes."
The customer: "Nothing." The butcher: "Yes, sir." The
customer: "I am just looking." Kashkūl 27 (November 20)

اللطائف المصورة في ١٩ مايو سنة ١٩١٩

أغنياؤنا وفقراؤنا وابن باؤنا



Figure 2.26. **Our Wealthy, our Poor, and our Intellectuals.** Poor man: "Your excellency, time has judged me." Rich man: "Why don't you appeal?" *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 223 (1919: May 19).



Figure 2.27. Egyptian Newspapers, al-Latā'if, the Institute of Freedom, the Poor Children and the Egyptian People. Left to right: Sign behind the group of people: The Egyptian Nation, people from all walks of life; the children of the rich; the woman: the women of Egypt join in helping the work to benefit the children. The fellah: "The commoners are also thankful to al-Latā'if for its kindness." The affandi with the fez: "The literary and the students applause in adoration and admiration, bravo, bravo..." The children and the poor souls: "Try to help us, please deliver us, lend us a hand, have mercy upon us, be kind to us, help us, deliver us." The child: "My lady, I did not think it was enough to express my thoughts in speeches and in writing, as did my older brothers who ahead of me in age and rank. I have collected for you all I could, hoping you would accept it to help those poor souls who have been beaten." Humanity: orphanage: "On behalf of these weak and poor souls I do thank you, and I am very much obliged." Al-Watan: (man sitting in spotted suit) "This child has courage, we should praise him and not beat him if we are truly liberals." Al-Ahali: (man sitting with white jacket) "Not bad." Al-Basir: (man bending on to al-Ahali in black jacket) "I think this child was born at the beginning of 1919." Egypt: (man sitting in grey suit) "I can't bear to see the child ahead of me! I ought to beat him and suppress his strong will and sense of purpose." Wadi al-Nil: (man leaning on al-Basir in a white suit) "I wish I could give another donation in Alexandria." The natives: (man in black suit, standing behind Wadi al-Nil) "It is not enough for me to criticize the idea of selling one's own conscience." The thoughts: (man standing in grey suit, on top of Egypt) "No, No, man, our discourse and our writings are something and our benevolence is something else." Al-Ahram: (man in checkered suit, next to the thoughts) "I declare myself the beater of the drum and the player of the pipe and I publish the list of donations, Isn't that enough?" Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara 226 (1919: June 9).



لو ان الحكومة صرفت هذه المبالغ في زيادة رواتب رجال البوليس لانتبهوا لواجباتهم

Figure 2.28. Juan Santez. Notice: Reward for Information leading to Arrests of Offenders. . . "If the country gave the money to the police in salary increases the police would pay attention to their duties." Kashkūl 56 (1922: June 12).

(روت الصيغ ان سيده قبطية ولدت فلما ما برسين)



الدكتور لست - اذا كانت كل السات اقباط تولد منك فلاقية تكون اكثرية

Figure 2.29. Juan Santez **The Newspaper Printed that a Coptic Woman Gave Birth to a Child With Two Heads.** The doctor to the mother: "If all the Coptic women gave birth like you, then you would no longer be the minority but the majority." Kashkūl 59 (1922: July 2).

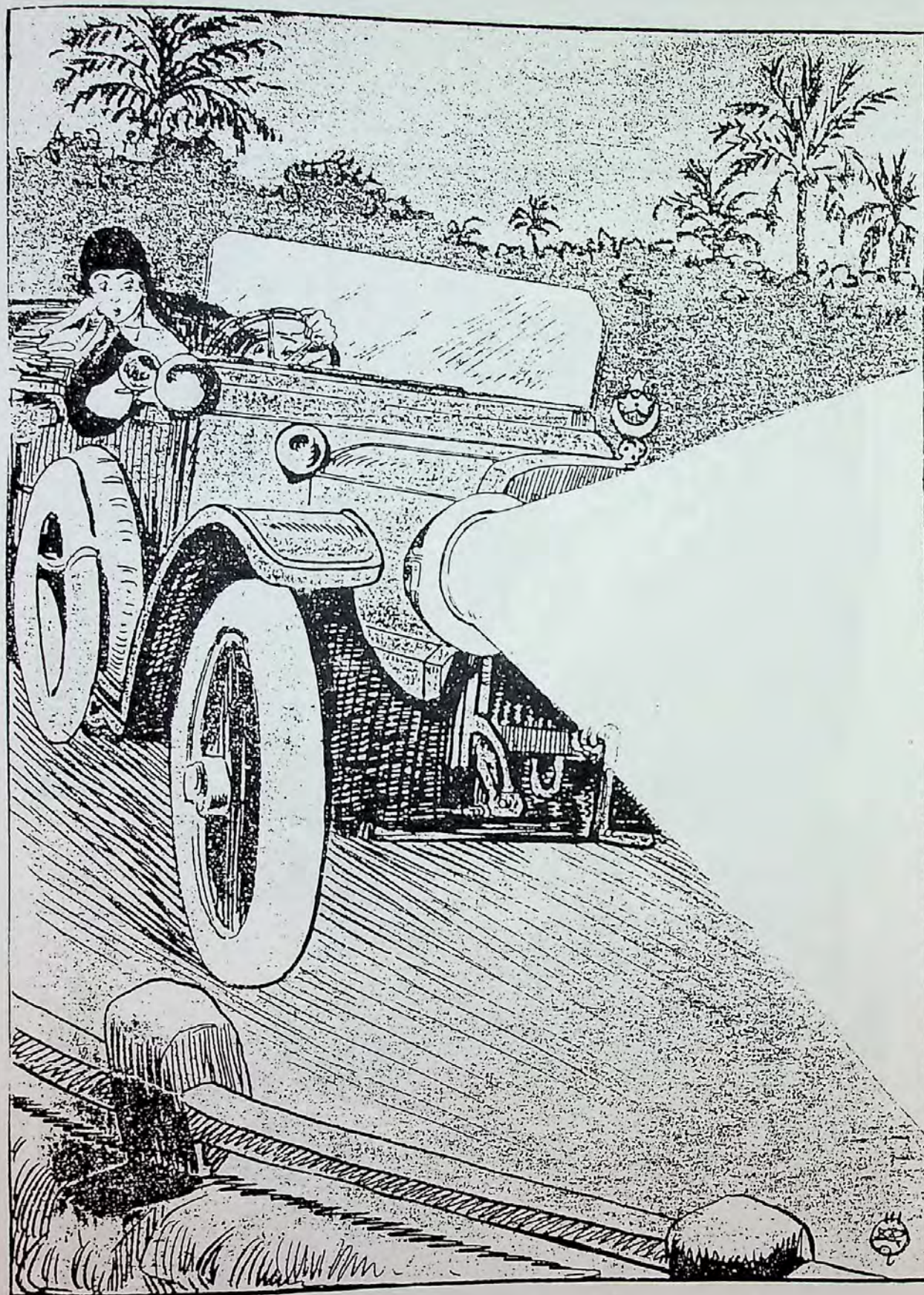
اللطايف المصورة في ١٢ أبريل سنة ١٩٢٠



نشر هذه الصورة الرمزية
المؤثرة لأنها تطابق الحالة الحاضرة
وفيها معنى مؤثر يعبر عن شعور
الامة المصرية ازاء مصابها العظيم

اذ تمثلت الامة بفتاة بالزي المصري أشهر الدمع على خديها بكاء، وحنناً على ابنائها فرفعت يسراها شهادة استشهادهم في سبيل العلم والوطن واخذت بيدها اكليلاً تضعه
على ضريحهم حباً بهم وتكراً بما لذكراهم وتمجيداً لاستشهادهم وقد برزغت شمس العلم من وراء الاهرام في فجر عصر جديد على وادي هذا الاقطر السعيد

Figure 2.30. **Egypt in Mourning.** We publish this touching picture which moves the readers feelings toward the present situation. It represents Egypt mourning for her irretrievable disaster. Egypt is shown as a young woman dressed in Egyptian style clothing, weeping her heart out and lamenting her children with tears. She raises her left hand in witness of their martyrdom to their country and to their higher education and holds in her right hand the wreath which she lays upon their grave in their memory and in their honor of their martyrdom. The sun is seen rising behind the pyramids illuminating and enlightening the era of knowledge and learning and shining upon the valley of this country. Left to right: The sun is rising (over the pyramids), illumination and enlightenment as possessed by the mind (the coffins), Martyrs to knowledge and learning and the country (in the woman's hand). *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 270 (1920: April 12).



ممر — من الصعب ان اصل من تيران أنير الزمالكشور — فابوس الأومويل الكشاف — لأن الطريق مثير — بالخطاطير

Figure 2.31. Juan Santez. **The Long Drive Home.** Egypt: "It's difficult to reach my destination without flashing my headlights because the road is full of dangers." *Kashkūl* 137 (1923: December 28).



شیخ ابراهیم - حجاز اور مکہ کی تحریک کے ۱۸۸۲ء اور ۱۹۲۳ء کے تحریک کے ۱۹۲۳ء

Figure 2.32. Juan Santez. Does History Repeat Itself? 'Urabi's ghost: "Beware that the 1923 movement does not end up like the 1882 movement." Kashkul 127 (1923; October 19).

THE GRAND OLD MAN: THE FACE OF COLONIALISM IN EGYPT

In the Orient, as has been said, there is no one who might buy from me for an aircraft." *Amintola*

A hero for the people

national struggles, heroes and demagogues are created. An exception is the one who is regarded as the 'father' of the people. Figure 3.1 shows the cartoon of Zaghari, assuming a regal position. Although the cartoon has no words, it is as if Zaghari was demanding one thing, full independence. A great orator and agitator for his cause, Zaghari could rally the masses in an instant to suit his purpose. Zaghari's rise to power was due both to his ability to capture the people's heart and to the people's perceived need for a charismatic leader. One wonders if Kamel could have filled such shoes. Nonetheless, the void in leadership created with Kamel's death was the primary reason for Zaghari's assumption of leadership.

Figure 3.2 shows a man playing his rebab and singing "How? How? How [is it that] Egypt does not achieve its independence?" The cartoon represents the disappointment and disbelief that Egypt's population felt at the conclusion of the war in the form of the *marabba*, a sung verbal improvisation.

لويد جورج - يظن ان عزلة انكلترا الخفية تهدد بان تكون حتمية واقعة

لم يكن (1985) London: Quartet Books, 1985) Arab Political Humour (Khalid/Kishtainy)

Chapter 3

THE GRAND OLD MAN: THE FACE OF COLONIALISM IN EGYPT

"I am the Orient . . . I have philosophies, I have religions, is there anyone who might buy them from me for an aircraft."¹

Amin al-Rayhani

A Hero for the People

In the face of national struggles, heroes and demagogues are created. Sa'd Zaghlūl was no exception, as he slowly emerged as the 'beloved leader' of the people. Figure 3.1 portrays the great leader assuming a regal position. Although the caricature has no words, it is as if Zaghlūl was demanding only one thing, full independence. A great orator and agitator for his causes, Zaghlūl could rally the masses in an instant to suit his purpose. Zaghlūl's rise to power, was due both to his ability to capture the people's heart, and to the people's perceived need for a charismatic leader. One wonders if Kāmil could have filled such shoes. Nonetheless, the void in leadership created with Kāmil's death was the primary reason for Zaghlūl's assumption of leadership.

Figure 3.2 shows a man playing his *rehāb* and singing "How? How? How [is it that] Egypt does not achieve its independence?" The cartoon represents the disappointment and disbelief that Egyptians population felt at the conclusion of the war in the form of the *mawwāl*, a sung verbal improvisation.

¹Khalid Kishtainy, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quartet Books, 1985) 161.

The need for a leader to unite the country in war against the British was presented by Zaghlūl. Figure 3.3 presents Zaghlūl as a peasant father planting his seeds so that his children, the Egyptians, reap the harvest. The depiction of Zaghlūl as the father of the nation is a powerful image. Its appeal must have been quite strong to the Egyptian readers, who were searching for someone to trust to lead them to freedom.

The Watanists' leader Farīd had remained outside Egypt, leaving only Rūshdī and 'Adlī, neither of whom possessed the ability or the background to move the masses. 'Adlī was a man of royal breeding, a diplomat of sorts, raised in the midst of the wealthy upper classes of Egypt. Politics was his birthright, "Never [having] to fight for survival or recognition" he was lost against Zaghlūl's prowess.² Yet, figure 3.4, depicts Michel Lutfalla, a member of the Wafd, questioning 'Adlī about the ambiguity of the proposed "temporary occupation." Rūshdī, was similarly oriented in both background and career and fared much the same way as 'Adlī against Zaghlūl. Rūshdī was always represented as a short man with a thick mustache, just as in figure 3.5. The caricature in figure 3.5 portrays Rūshdī as resembling a mouse, with his head far too small for his hands and the regal suit he is dressed in. Both men were seen as pro-British (figure 3.6) due to Rūshdī having accepted the protectorate over Egypt and 'Adlī by association. The cartoon portrays the two men wearing a top hat rather than the customary Turkish fez, symbolizing the attitude of the

²Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977) 54.

Egypt's government. The caption under the cartoon states: "Be careful not to be an Englishman," a warning to those in Egyptian politics not to allow the seeping in of British influence over Egypt. Therefore, when the Wafd was created and Zaghlūl was appointed its leader, the people had found their savior.³

Zaghlūl was born in 1860, into a wealthy family in Ibyana, a province of Gharbiya. His father, Ibrahim Zaghlūl, was a *'umda* (head of the village) who owned over a hundred *faddans* of land. Zaghlul was educated in the traditional Islamic schools and then at al-Azhar, under the tutelage of Muḥammad 'Abdū and was influenced by Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī. He learned French at the age of forty, a language that did not help him with the British later, but did further his legal career. Zaghlūl possessed a great many strengths for an Egyptian, apart from his ample knowledge of the law. He had the ability to converse with the *fallah* in a manner he could understand, and French and English in order to converse with the world.⁴

Zaghlūl has been the subject of numerous works, for regardless what anyone thought of him, he was the only man who won the hearts of the masses. Was he a man of revolutionary ideas? Perhaps to the British, but to the Egyptians, talk of independence had been heard from the time of Kāmil. Zaghlūl's political life had commenced by marrying the daughter of Mūstafa Faḥmī, Egypt's Prime Minister for thirteen years. He became

³Muhammad Kamil Salīm, *Thawra 1919, Kama 'Ashirtuha wa 'Arafuha* (Cairo: Kitab al-Yūm, 1975) 55-56.

⁴Jacques Berque, *Egypt, Imperialism and Revolution*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Faber and Faber, 1972) 279.

Minister of Education and Justice, and even Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, but never Prime Minister until after the revolution.

When he took his place on the stage of history, he was not a young hero like Mustafa Kamil, nor an imaginative rebel, a touching forerunner like Farid. Zaghlul was fortunate enough, or powerful enough, to act cumulatively, and to do at the right moment what could and must be done. It needs great strength to sup with the devil.⁵

Zaghlul had a history of working with anybody that would further his cause. He worked with the British in the earlier part of the century, then turned adamantly against them. His history with the palace was one of constant altercations, even his own allies in the Wafd were never safe. The cartoons portrayed much of Zaghlul's constant shift in position with the British and many of the Egyptian political leaders, including members of the Wafd.

The Wafd was created during the final months of the war. Its members included eight men from the Legislative Assembly, 'Alī Sha'arawī, a wealthy land owner; 'Abd al-'Azīz Faḥmī Bey, leader of the Bar; Muḥammad 'Alī Bey; Sinut Ḥana Bey, a notable Coptic; Ḥamad al-Basīl Pasha; Ḥūsain Wassīf Pasha; Michel Lutfalla, 'Abd al-Madkūr Pasha, President of the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce. Other members included: 'Abd al-Latif al-Makabātī; Muḥammad Mahmūd Pasha, former governor of the Mūdīr province; Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, journalist and former director of the National Library; Isma'īl Sidqī Pasha, a former minister; Mahmūd Abu'l Nasr Bey, former leader of the Bar; George Khayat

⁵ibid., 281.

Bey, a notable Copt; Dr. Hafiz 'Afīfy Bey and Mustafa al-Nahas, both former members of the Watani Party.⁶ Many of these men were featured in various cartoons over the six-year period. A great deal was made of the constant infighting between the members as well as with 'Adlī and Rūshdī by al-Kashkūl.

Wingate's refusal to entertain the Wafd's suggestion to present Egypt's case to the Peace Conference did not discourage the Wafd. Instead, Zaghlūl and other Wafdist began a mass promotion for their cause. Towns and villages were sent petitions to sign that included lists of the members of the Wafd, who were to accompany Zaghlūl to London. Along with the list of participants was a form to sign that gave the Wafd the right to act on Egypt's behalf.⁷

Many of these petitions were seized by the British authorities, but enough were collected by the Wafd to prove their legitimacy. Zaghlūl in one of his correspondences to Sir Wingate spoke of this matter in such terms:

It was not permissible for him or for any member of the delegation to make suggestions that were not in conformity with the wishes of the nation expressed in its mandate to the delegation - a mandate signed by the elite of the nation, comprising the members of the Legislative Assembly, which would have had as well the signatures of the electors had not the authorities confiscated the forms. He explained the object of his visit to England - to meet the representatives of the nation and those who direct public opinion, knowing that the success of their mission would

⁶Muhammad Kamil Salīm, *Thawra 1919, Kama 'Ashirtuha wa 'Araftuha* (Cairo: Kitab al-Yum, 1975) 57. M. Travers Symons, *Britain and Egypt: The Rise of the Egyptian Nationalism* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1925) 114-15.

⁷M. Travers Symons, *Britain and Egypt: The Rise of Egyptian Nationalism* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1925) 53.

depend upon the spirit of justice, liberty, and the safeguarding of the interests of the weak which characterized British public opinion. . . He then declared himself unable to believe that the refusal to permit him and the delegation to go to London fitted in with the principles of liberty and justice which, through the victory of Britain and her allies, had opened avenues for the good of humanity and the redemption of the people.⁸

Such letters were sent to Lord Lloyd, President Wilson and members of the Peace Conference as an appeal to them on behalf of Egypt. In figure 3.7, we see the weary *fallah* carrying the wonders of the great powers and the injustices they have caused the poor countries, such as Egypt, just as a circus displays an exotic animal. Zaghlul's letter similarly symbolized the *fallah* calling attention to the injustices practiced upon his country. Figure 3.8 involves a group of *fallahin*, a woman, a Sudanese, a shaikh and a farmer all of whom have come together to inform the British that they would not be their slaves. This cartoon may be attributed to the:

Politically-minded section of the people [letting] loose an insidious propaganda, in order to persuade the ignorant *fallahin* that all their grievances were the direct result of the Protectorate, and they were thereby destined to the bonds of slavery at the hands of the ever-increasing numbers of affluent Englishmen which the necessity of the war brought to Egypt.⁹

The rumor itself may have caused Egyptians to anticipate a heightened oppression. Or it may simply represent the deeply-experienced populism then emerging in Egypt and warranted a political cartoon to be drawn for it.

⁸Ibid., 53-54.

⁹E. W. Polson Newman, *Great Britain in Egypt* (Surrey: The Chapel River Press, 1928) 114.

Rūshdī and 'Adlī both had resigned over Britain's dismissal of Egyptian demands. They however, had been told that at some point they would have been allowed to go to London to discuss the Egyptian question, just not at the present time: "The British cabinet members were preoccupied now with the [peace] conference question and had no free time to debate with the Egyptian ministers."¹⁰ However, Rūshdī and 'Adlī earlier had declared that they would not go without Zaghlūl.¹¹ "Their reason was precisely what it had been when they had discreetly joined Zaghlūl in objecting to the protectorate, namely self-protection."¹² Rūshdī and 'Adlī understood the power Zaghlūl held over the masses and thus the need to align themselves to preserve their positions. Figure 3.9 shows shaikhs and politicians all climbing the pole to reach the Zaghlūl masks. The cartoon symbolizes the rush of the politicians to align themselves with Zaghlūl, even superficially.

As the days progressed, names of kings and princes from the Ottoman empire began to appear on the list of envoys departing for the Peace Conference.¹³ Egypt had played her part in the war effort, given all it could and fought as hard it knew how,

¹⁰Muhammad Farid, *The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader (1868-1919)*, trans. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr. (San Francisco: Mellen University Research Press, 1992) 508.

¹¹Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and other Middle-Eastern Studies* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970) 99.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, 55-56.

believing that freedom would be her reward. The outcome of the war proved quite different. Of all the territories in the Ottoman Empire some of whom sacrificed little compared to the Egyptian effort, Egypt was not permitted to attend the Peace Conference. What made matters worse was that Egypt had always prided itself on being the center of Islamic thought having housed al-Azhar for a thousand years. Yet, the Sharifians were of some concern to the British whereas it seemed that the Egyptians were not.

On the 6th of March 1919, Zaghlūl and nine members of the Wafd were warned by General Watson to cease the public agitation in Egypt. The following day, the Wafd published a protest. Consequently, Zaghlūl, Mahmūd, Sidqī and Ḥamid al-Basīl were all deported to Malta by Sir Milne Cheetham.¹⁴ *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* did not publish any cartoons on the revolts that took place during March and April of 1919. This can be attributed to the tight enforcement of censorship.

The 1919 Uprising

In the beginning of March 1919 a revolt broke out on the streets of Cairo composed of every walk of life. What took place after the arrests of the members of the Wafd would be remembered as a revolution that again asked for an 'Egypt for the Egyptians.' As protesters took to the streets, chanting *il istiqlal al-tamm, aw il mawt al-za'm* (full independence or

¹⁴Ibid.

death) along with Yahya Sa'd (long live Sa'd). The same such words were used in many of the political cartoons regarding the Milner Mission. However, during this period of 1919, press censorship was quite tight which put political cartoons under stricter control. In figure 3.10 we see how the press felt about censorship, as depicted in the cartoons. The boy representing Egypt is portrayed as strong and able to withstand the fall he has taken. Others, however, if they continued to tread carefully, not exceed their limitation may get ahead, as *al-Ahram* has done. The press is represented by young children playing, and the teacher, representing censorship, was keeping them in line. Ironically, by portraying the press as children, the reader wonders if the cartoonist was hinting at the press' inexperience or its immaturity and selfishness, as well as its inability to elude the channels of censorship. Here is an example of the rich metaphors contained in a complex cartoon.

The uprising that took place in the months of March and April in Egypt after the news of the Wafdists arrests spread to every part of the land. Farid described the reaction in his memoirs as:

The news of their arrest and deportation abroad set off demonstrations in Cairo, Tanta, and elsewhere, made up of students from higher and secondary schools, Azharites, many of the younger functionaries, lawyers, and even judges. Some of these demonstrations ended peacefully, but during some of them clashes occurred with the police and the occupational army, in which guns were used and many were killed or injured in Cairo, Tanta, Alexandria, and elsewhere. The nation's anger was intensified by these atrocities, and a number of societies were formed at once to destroy rail lines, burn stations, and cut telegraph and telephone lines in all parts of

the country from Alexandria to Aswan.¹⁵

This was a revolution in every sense of the word. The fact that people revolted was not a unique feature in Egypt. However, the fact that for a month the entire country was in upheaval signifies a very different phase in Egyptian history. The Egyptians could use their collective power to paralyze the country and achieve their goals. Unique features of the revolt were women's participation, and Copts and Muslims working together to rid themselves of a common enemy. In figure 3.11 the Women's Wafd refuses Allenby's cigarettes preferring to smoke their own. The smoke that rises from their cigarettes reflects their demands, namely *Zaghlūl*. Unfortunately, this was the only cartoon published by *al-Kashkūl* on this subject. Perhaps, there was no issue for mockery useful for the situation nor could any criticism be pointed out. Regardless, the revolution that occurred in 1919 was monumental in changing Egyptian society.

There are those who question labeling these events a 'revolution' since they do not fit the textbook requirements for a revolution. Yet to all Egyptians they do stand for a revolution for they displaced one ruling elite to make way for another and mobilized the masses. It was definitely a revolt against the British presence in Egypt and in support for the Wafd and its leaders and the principles for which they stood. By resorting to repressive measures the British authorities catapulted a sick, sixty-three-year-old man with a long history of collaboration with the British into becoming a revolutionary and the leader, *zaim*, of his

¹⁵Muhammad Farid, *The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader (1868-1919)*, trans. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr. (San Francisco: Mellen University Research Press, 1992) 508.

country.¹⁶

General Allenby entered the Egyptian political arena on the 25 of March 1919. Upon his arrival, Allenby recommended the release of Zaghlul and the other members of the Wafd and that they be allowed to attend the Peace Conference. Zaghlul and the members of the Wafd arrived in Paris on the 20th of April.

Upon the arrival of the Wafd in Paris, they were informed of President Wilson's decision to recognize the British Protectorate over Egypt.¹⁷ However, in August of 1919, the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs declared that "Egypt, from the point of politics, was neither under Turkey nor Great Britain, and that she should be responsible for her own decisions."¹⁸ The statement was translated into a cartoon (figure 3.12) portraying Uncle Sam, America's symbol, telling the Grand Old Man, Britain's symbol, that the protectorate must end after the conclusion of the war.

The turmoil in Egypt continued, eight hundred Egyptians had been killed and fourteen hundred had been wounded within the ten-month period.¹⁹ The British government decided to send a mission to investigate the matter under the leadership of Lord Milner. They arrived in December of 1919 and remained until

¹⁶Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 51.

¹⁷Amine Youssef Bey, *Independent Egypt* (London: John Murray, 1940) 83.

¹⁸Muhammad Kamil Salim, *Thawra 1919, Kama 'Ashirtuha wa 'Araftuha* (Cairo: Kitab al-Yum, 1975) 137.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 51-52.

March. Figure 3.13 shows Milner scrutinizing the situation in Egypt under a microscope in order to find the problem. The cartoon mocks the very core of the mission, for it questions the need to investigate the situation when the solution was so clear, full independence. The cartoon was a reflection of society's view of the Mission and perhaps this added to Egyptian readiness to boycott it. The Egyptian people boycotted the Mission and in figure 3.14, the cartoon makes their point quite clear, 'Full independence' and 'no negotiations without Sa'd.' This was a clear message sent to Milner from every corner of Egypt by the Mission.

Figure 3.15, the reader can see a flame blazing through the building, symbolizing the same flame that was running through the souls of the Egyptians. It was a flame that could only be extinguished by a declaration of freedom through independence. To the Milner Mission, figure 3.16, represented all that the Egyptian population wished to convey to the British, and all they needed to know. Independence was the only means by which any negotiations would proceed.

On the May 12, 1919 the Peace Conference at Versailles concluded that Egypt should remain a British protectorate.²⁰ The war had been lost internationally, but the battle was beginning on the home front. The cartoons portrayed a general disillusionment with the Peace Conference as seen in figure 3.17. The Conference was symbolized by a woman impregnated with the worlds troubles, and no immediate solutions in view.

²⁰Muhammad Kamil Salim, *Thawra 1919, Kama 'Ashirtuha wa 'Araftuha* (Cairo: Kitab al-Yum, 1975) 134.

The Wafd had become the symbol of hope to the Egyptians. The Egyptian *fallah* followed his beloved leader and gave what he could to pursue his cause. However, the donations were extracted from the population by questionable means as was their use. Figure 3.18 questions the uses of the donations as Zaghlul, from behind bars, yells that this is his money. "Donations to the Wafd, whether given in self-protection or whether extracted by threats, became usual."²¹ Such donations were left to the discretion of the Wafd to choose what to do with it. Allenby objected to this, and termed the donations as a forced collection, which he tried to stop but failed. However, there was a much more serious outgrowth resulting from the Wafd's fund raising activities, its terrorist apparatus. Figure 3.19 shows Egypt's disgust at the terrorist acts, alluding to the masses' response to the blood of Egyptians spilt by Egyptians.

This was the Wafd's terrorist apparatus, directed by Abd al-Rahman Fahmi (1870-1946), who himself acted as the secretary of the Wafd committee in Cairo. Abd al-Rahman Fahmi, ex-official and his uncles Ali Mahir and Ahmad Mahir, showed great organizational skill in organizing demonstrations, riots, intimidations of public men and newspaper editors, in addition to the forced collections which Allenby was unable to prevent.²²

The other members of this group were: Mahmūd Fahmī al-Nuqrashī, 'Abd al-Latif al-Sufanī, and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Raf'ī.²³ They

²¹Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and other Middle-Eastern Studies* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970) 117.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

excelled in strike formations and assassinations were a common tactic.

The employees of the tram proved to be one of Egypt's most powerful vehicles for paralyzing the country. Although, the tram workers strike began at the end of 1918 it continued throughout the 1919 revolt, and contributed to the success of the nationalist movement. The basis of the strike was a demand by the workers for higher pay, shorter work days, paid vacation days and free uniforms.

The tram workers' strike enjoyed widespread public support. The indigenous population of Cairo perceived the strike as an important part of the national struggle and displayed sympathy and support for the workers as fellow Egyptians oppressed by foreign bosses.²⁴

Figure 3.20 and 3.21 portray the tram officials as evil and dangerous. In figure 3.20, the official, who personifies death, is crushing the passengers of the tram and a warning is issued to the public that to love the tram (a symbol of popular resistance) is to love death. Figure 3.21 portrays the same destructive behavior from the tram officials, however this time the conductor is a foreigner. Yet if the reader looks carefully at the cartoon he/she will see that a member of the Wafd's terrorist apparatus is responsible, but is blaming the chaos on the foreigner.

The Wafd's terrorist apparatus, soon after 'Adli and Rushdi formed a new government, were able to put their skills to work in a civil service strike. This naturally, caused the new

²⁴Joel Beinin and Zachary Lochman, *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 92.

cabinet to fold. Muhammad Sa'id became Prime Minister again, following much the same pattern of indecisiveness that the previous government had pursued.²⁵ Figure 3.22 shows the distrust that Egyptians acquired for their leaders. A man is depicted as trying to profit from the finger prints and official documents in order to furnish the public with evidence of their leaders' corrupt ways.

An attempt was made on Sa'id's life, which compounded with the announcement of the Milner Mission's arrival in Cairo, persuaded him to resign. Yusif Wahba, a Copt, courageously accepted the position of Prime Minister, and awaited the arrival of the Milner Mission.²⁶

The Milner Mission. The Milner Mission as stated earlier was greeted by a general boycott and strikes organized by 'Abd al-Rahman Fahmī. The purpose of the Mission was stated in a letter to Allenby from Lord Curzon: the Milner Mission was to "devise the details of a constitution which would define the respective provinces of the British protecting power and of the Egyptian government."²⁷ The Mission was essentially to treat Egypt as a wild horse that needed to be tamed (figure 3.23). Milner arrived in Cairo with this policy in mind, however he

²⁵'Abd al-Rahman al-Raf'i, *Thawrat 1919*, v.2 (Cairo: Maktaba al-Nahda al-Misriyya, 1946) 40.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 120.

soon changed his mind.

During the first days of Milner's stay he was greeted with:

Yusif Wahba [finding] administration impossible. Lawyers struck; the judicial machine broke down. Tradesmen, reaching their shop on the 9th of December, found notices saying 'Closed' on their doors; which most of them accepted. Muslim ladies, led by Huda Sha'arawi, walked in procession to the Cathedral. An intense and unprecedented unity between various elements of the population was witnessed. Needless to say, there were also demonstrations of civil servants and 'ulama' of al-Azhar. In short, a few days after his arrival, Milner felt compelled to publish a pacificatory declaration, saying that his aim was to try to conciliate 'Egypt's aspirations with the special interests of Great Britain.'²⁸

Conditions were radically different from those the Mission anticipated. No one would communicate with the Milner Mission. Jacques Berque wrote that Lord Milner asked a *fallah* how many children he had, and the *fallah* responded by stating "I'll have to ask Sa'd Zaghlūl."²⁹ Zaghlūl had captured the hearts of his people and in turn they had refused to cooperate with the British without him. Zaghlūl would later use the relationship that had been cemented between himself and the Egyptian population to achieve his demands with the British and the King. In figure 3.24 we can see Milner's dilemma, there was no one who would talk to him, thus making his job impossible and strengthening the Egyptian cause.

The Milner Mission published its findings upon their return to Britain. What was found by the committee was:

²⁸Jacques Berque, *Egypt Imperialism and Revolution*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Faber and Faber, 1972) 315.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 316.

The fixing of the cotton prices at an unfair level, forced subscription to the Red Cross, the conscription of laborers and transport workers and so-called volunteers, the arbitrary power of the 'umdahs, on whom the system had been based for thirty years, all this had lost the British the advantage of their original reforms.³⁰

Berque states that what the report does not mention and has missed is the "cause of the people's anger - the incompatibility of the colonial regime with twentieth-century history."³¹

Figure 3.25 agrees with Berque's statement, for it also shows that Milner seems to be missing the point. Figure 3.26 represents the suffering of Egypt, what the British doctors seem unable to cure. The other "patients" are Britain's global holding: Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and Persia, divided into spheres of influences. Milner (3.27) attempts to distract Egypt politicians with a partial independence, but Egypt is not fooled and continues her incessant crying for full independence.

Britain's intentions toward Egypt were never unanimous and had altered since 1882. It had promised on several occasions independence for Egypt, but had never delivered on that promise. Unfortunately for Britain, Egypt was ready to collect on those promises, but Britain was not willing to pay.³² Finally, the Milner Mission concluded that Britain held vested interests in Egypt and needed to safeguard them. The conclusion was unacceptable since Egypt would not accept anything but full

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., 316-17.



independence.

Anglo-Egyptian Negotiations. The Wafd was still in Paris, when Milner returned to London, neither party conceded to speak to the other. 'Adlī had to be called in order to arrange for the Wafd to meet the Milner Mission in London. Zaghlūl had decided not to join the 'Adlī's government, formed in February. He had also decided not to negotiate with the Milner Mission in Cairo so as not to limit his freedom. However, after receiving an invitation from London, Zaghlūl did proceed toward London.

The agreement that Milner and Zaghlūl unofficially decided upon was that:

A treaty would be concluded under which Great Britain will recognize the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with representative institutions. In exchange for this abolition of the protectorate and the virtual abandonment of the British position, the agreement envisioned that Egypt would concede to Great Britain the right to protect the privileges of foreigners and to safeguard imperial communications and strategic interest.³³

Unfortunately, Milner was not prepared for the shrewdness that Zaghlūl possessed. Britain had accepted a number of concessions allowing Milner to fall prey to Zaghlūl's manipulations. For the agreement was not binding, and thus Zaghlūl was under no obligation to accept it. In figure 3.29 Milner presents to Zaghlūl the bird of independence and Zaghlūl in turn walks toward it in a manner that assumes acceptance. Zaghlūl however,

³³Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and other Middle-Eastern Studies* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970) 134.

decided that: "Since the agreement did not fulfill all his demands that he had been mandated to pursue, it was necessary for him to go back to his principles, the Egyptian people, and seek their approval."³⁴ Zaghlūl assured Milner that he would come out in support of the agreement before the Egyptian public.³⁵ However, what leaked to the press in Egypt was that he disapproved of the agreement, and would hold out for full independence. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Raf'ī attacks Zaghlūl vehemently for his underhanded tactics and states that he should have told the nation his opinion directly.³⁶ Milner's policies had lost the British the upper hand.³⁷ Milner resigned in January 1921 and Winston Churchill replaced him, declaring almost immediately that Egypt was a part of the British Empire.³⁸

Zaghlūl had allowed the news to leak out to the press, as he had done before in connection with other misunderstandings between 'Adlī and himself. Figure 3.30 shows the constant fighting between 'Adlī and Zaghlūl, a powerful image in comparison to written accounts of their struggles. As the two men battle over Egypt, 'Adlī asks why Zaghlūl has not resorted

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵'Abd al-Rahman al-Raf'ī, *Thawrat 1919*, v.2 (Cairo: Maktaba al-Nahda al-Misriyya, 1946) 125.

³⁶Ibid., 129.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid., 170.

to his usual tactics of agitating the public? One telegram, serving as a leak to the press claimed "that 'Adli had impeded negotiations and had been a disaster' for the Wafd."³⁹ This was never the case, but rather Zaghlūl's inability to handle not being the center of attention was the problem. The disunity of the Wafd was becoming evident to all. *Al-Kashkūl* responded in a number of later cartoons depicting the infighting within the Wafd. In figure 3.31 Makabātī and Abū al-Nasr are taking their fight to the boxing ring. In figure 3.32, Makabātī seems to have scared everyone including Naḥas into hiding from him. Makabati had been a Watanīst who had joined the Wafd upon its formation and had been portrayed constantly by *al-Kashkūl* as angry and destructive, as seen in figures 3.31 and 3.32. Finally, in figure 3.33 we see Fatalla Barakat and Hamid al-Basil tearing each other apart while Zaghlūl's picture smiles at them. The cartoonist may have been hinting that Zaghlūl enjoyed the Wafd's infighting, perhaps sensing that it kept them busy and away from his position.

Zaghlūl returned to Egypt in April 1921, a hero of the people, and 'Adli was viewed as the traitor. In figure 3.34, 'Adlī and Rūshdī are proceeding cautiously, to avoid the traps on the road of negotiations. What remains unclear is whether the traps were laid by Zaghlūl or the British. Eventually the negotiations broke down. Ironically, as can be seen in figure 3.35, it is Zaghlūl's uncompromising attitude that had left him in his own corner, while Rushdi can be seen clearly negotiating

³⁹*ibid.*, 135.

with the British.

Zaghlūl had initiated a smear campaign against 'Adlī in the press in order to strengthen his position. In a speech that Zaghlūl gave, he stated: "I have done all the work. I have suffered, and I have the confidence of the Egyptian people. I will not see credit for what I have done taken away from me by 'Adlī or anyone else."⁴⁰ Figures 3.36 and 3.37 show *al-Kashkūl's* portrayal of the egotistical Zaghlūl. In figure 3.36 he is seen content to hear the blazing melody of his own name hailed, while in figure 3.37 he is drowning the public with his rhetoric.

The May riots of Alexandria are credited to the Wafd's accomplishments in inciting the people against the government, and 'Adlī. No cartoons were published about the riots, but one alluded to them indirectly. Figure 3.38 depicts the governor of Alexandria sweeping the British pounds off the street. The reader will notice that a large clawed hand, Britain portrayed as a monster, is reaching in to grab the money but is being swept away too. The bags of British pounds are symbolically represented as dirty money that have polluted the streets of Alexandria and must be removed. The governor of Alexandria tries to sweep away the large clawed hand, but is unable to.

'Adlī went to London in the summer of 1921, despite Zaghlūl's efforts to denounce him as a traitor, to negotiate a treaty with the British. *Al-Kashkūl* captured 'Adlī's diplomatic prowess in figure 3.39, trying to explain to Lloyd that

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 139. It should be noted that when negotiations broke down between Zaghlūl and Milner, the question of whom would continue the negotiations arose. Milner began negotiations with 'Adlī, which angered Zaghlūl, even though he knew that there was hope that they could succeed. Zaghlūl was afraid to lose the glory.

Independence meant that British troops had to be removed. Lloyd, perhaps too removed from the situation refuses, figure 3.40 portraying him drowning the demands of the colonies in music. Figure 3.41, shows the lion, Britain, standing victorious having devoured Egypt next to Lloyd George and signaling a new turn of events.

'Adli returned to Egypt in November 1921, defeated (figure 3.42) and resigned his post as Prime Minister, allowing his acting deputy Prime Minister, Tharwat Pasha, to seize power. Figure 3.43 shows 'Adlī issuing a warning to whomever succeeds him. *Al-Kashkūl* often depicted the chair of the Prime Minister ridden with thorns, symbolizing the great difficulty which would face whoever sat in it.

The problem arose once more as to who was to form the next government (figure 3.44) a dilemma that the Egyptian public was accustomed to by now. Allenby in figure 3.45 is seen auctioning the chair, but under his terms. Tharwat, however, agreed to form a cabinet on the conditions that the protectorate was abolished, the independence of Egypt recognized and the Foreign ministry reconvened.⁴¹

Zaghlūl, who had been warned to cease all political activity, a warning which he disobeyed. Consequently, Zaghlul, Naḥas and Hamid al-Basīl were all exiled to the Seychelles shortly after. Figure 3.46 shows Zaghlūl blindly opposing the order against him, as if almost on purpose to rally support. In figure 3.47 the reader can see that he succeeded, although the

⁴¹Amine Youssef Bey, *Independent Egypt* (London: John Murray, 1940) 89.

rope is wearing thin.

Allenby, realizing that a solution needed to be found for the situation in Egypt, left for London hoping to achieve a treaty.⁴² What he returned with was a treaty that would subdue the climate of revolution for the time being and allow the fighting to be concentrated among the Egyptians. Figure 3.48 portrays the triumphant Allenby presenting Egypt with a box, but she must accept it without question.

The period between 1919 and 1922 marked an intricate phase in the Egyptian political arena to which *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* responded by publishing their opinion of the events. As Zaghlūl's popularity increased among the masses so did the number of cartoons that were created in praise or in ridicule of him. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* praised Zaghlūl and Egypt's effort during this period while all the time ridiculing the British intentions toward their country. *Al-Kashkūl*, with the exception of figure 3.1 and 3.2, ridiculed all the political actors, constantly portraying their weaknesses as well as their misfortunes, as in the case of 'Adli. It may appear to the reader that the cartoons from *al-Kashkūl* gave very little credence to the negotiations between the Egyptian leaders and the British government, as can be seen in figure 3.41 and 3.48.

This chapter focused on the revolutionary climate that prevailed in Egypt during 1919-1922. The themes such as Zaghlūl as Egypt's savior, the Egyptian boycott of the Milner Mission, the negotiations between Egypt and Britain and finally the need

⁴²Jacques Berque, *Egypt Imperialism and Revolution*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Faber and Faber, 1972) 322.

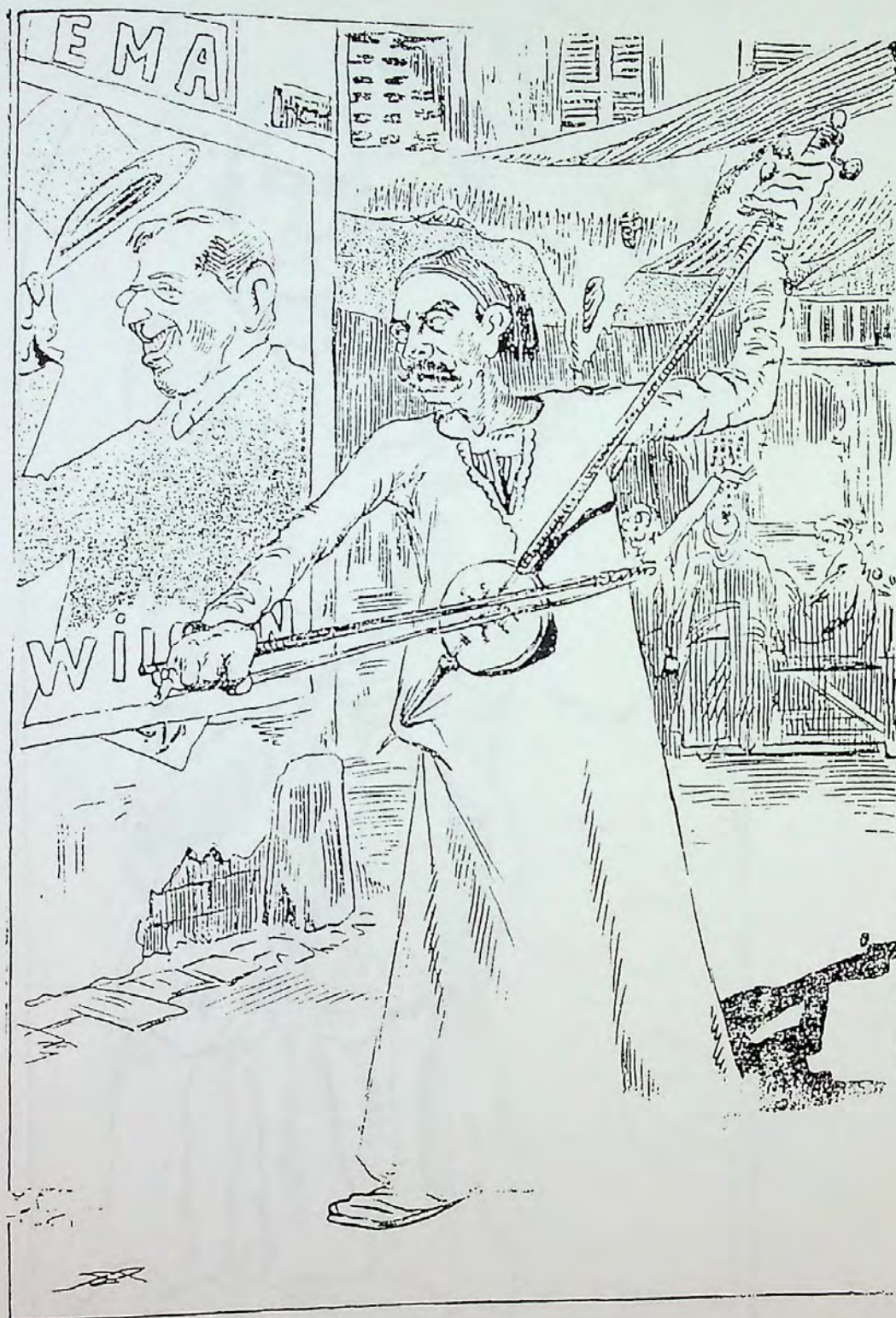
for a solution to end the battle between Egypt and Britain, were all portrayed in the cartoons and indicate to the reader their seriousness. In Chapter Four the focus shifts to the solutions that the British and Egyptian governments agreed upon and the reaction by *al-Kashkūl* to the various leaders.



Figure 4.1. Sa'ad Pasha Raghida. *Yasakūl* 3 (1911) June 21.

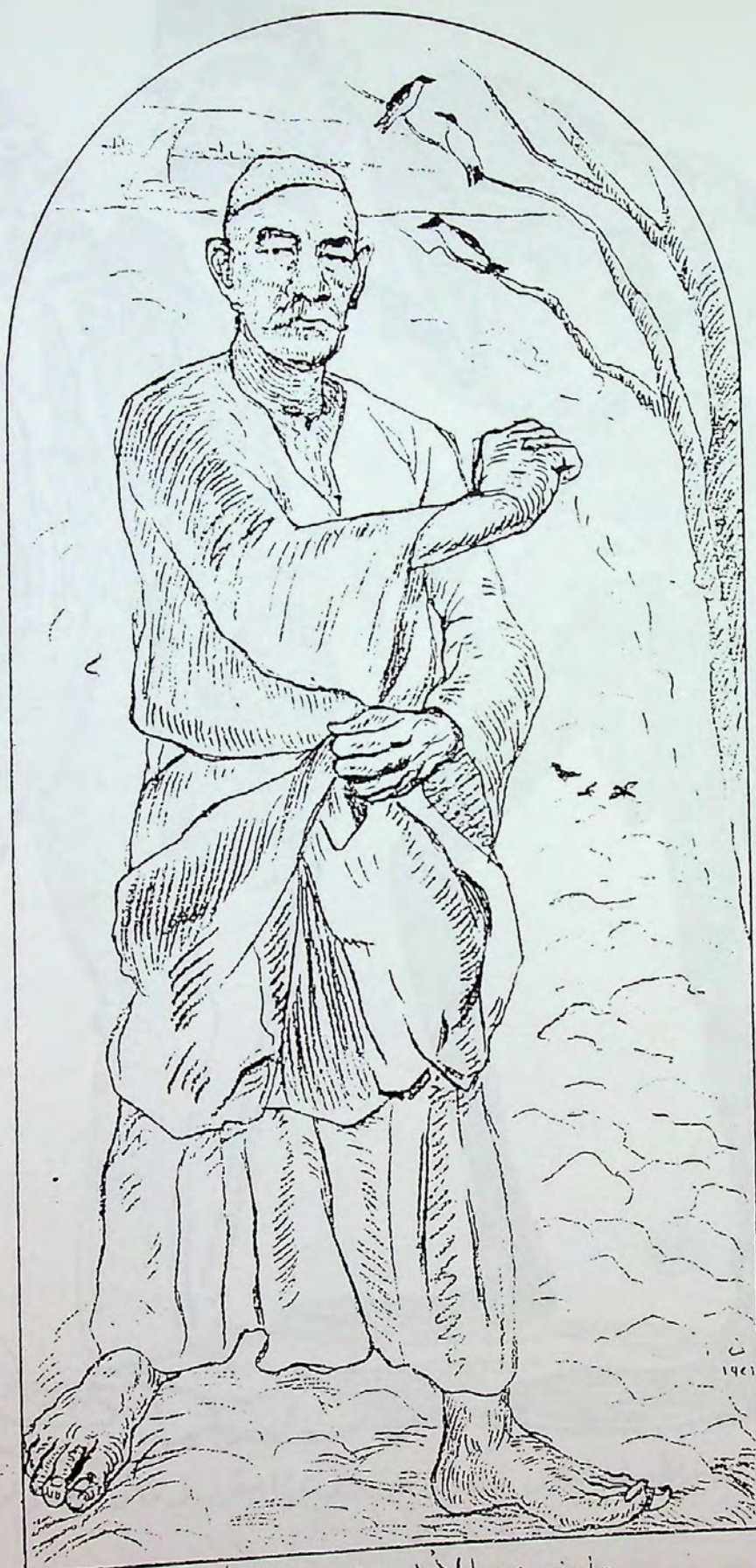


Figure 3.1. Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul. *Kashkūl* 3 (1921: June 7).



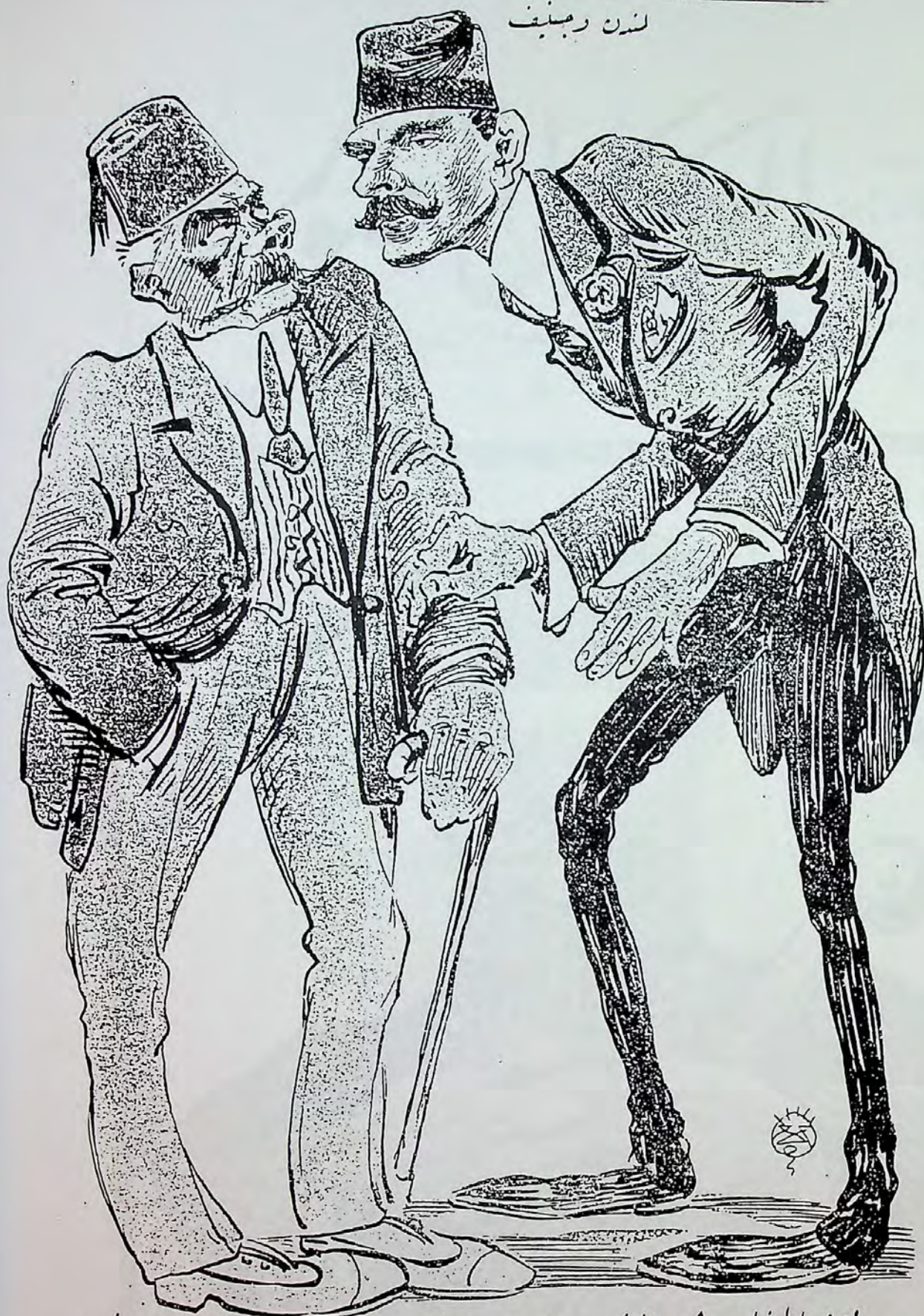
كيف . كيف . كيف . مصر ما تـ ... (راجع الأجزاء المشيرة وجدد العدد)

Figure 3.2. **The Independence Tune.** "How? How? How [is it that] Egypt doesn't get its independence." *Kashkūl* 5 (1921: June 21).



مايزرعه الآباء يحصده الأبناء

Figure 3.3. **The Harvest.** What father's grow, their sons' reap in harvest. *Kashkūl* 8 (1921: July 12)).



الامير لطف الله - هل ينفصل دولة عملي باسا فيقول لي معنى الامتداد الوفي وكيف يبدأ ؟

Figure 3.4. **London and Geneva.** Prince Lutfalla: "Would your excellency, 'Adli Pasha, explain to me the meaning of temporary occupation and how it would start?" *Kashkul* 30 (1921: December 11).

الاشتراكات
١٠٠ غرض عن كل سنة



يوم الثلاثاء ١٦ يونيه ١٩٢١

الكشكول المصور

جميع المخابرات
باسم صاحب الكشكول المصور
سليمان فوزي

تليفون نمرة ٣١٣٨ جريدة مصورة اجتماعية انتفاوية تقيده رايوم الثلاثاء من كل اسبوع
عدد ٤ السنة الاولى

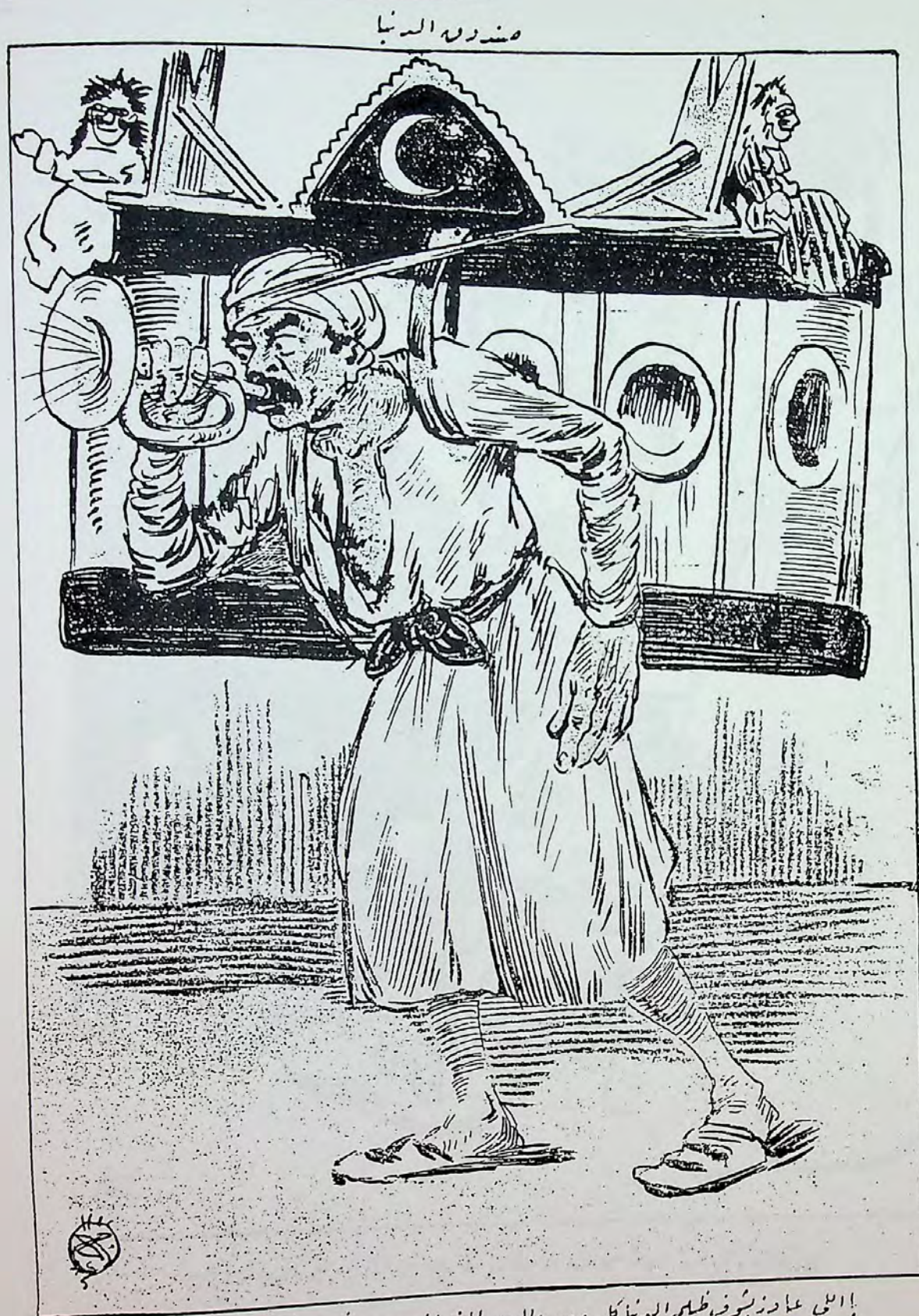


Figure 3.5. Rūshdī Pasha. Kashkūl 4 (1921: June 4).



هذه من ان تصبح انكليزياً

Figure 3.6. The Fez is the Symbol of Egypt. Be careful not to be an Englishman. *Kashkul* 15 (1921: August 30).



يا اهل العالم! من يريد ان يرى ظلم الدنيا ... واليه والظلم ... وفقره والحرمان ... ؟ ؟ ؟

Figure 3.7. **The Box of Wonders.** Who wants to see the injustices of the world. . . The poor countries. The despotic knights. *Kashkūl* 2 (1921: May 31).



نحن الموقعين على هذه فئته نشكر الله الأسياد نصريح بأننا لا نريد أن نكون لهم عبيداً ...

Figure 3.8. **The People.** We, the undersigned, who serve these masters, declare that we do not wish to be their slaves. Kashkūl 28 (1921: November 27).



سعد في ان نضمد الى « البرقعا »
 ربه هو الذي يصل
 ان الله الملك الوهاب

Figure 3.9. **The Pole.** We are climbing up the pole. The happy one will be the one who climbs to the top and touches the mask. Kashkūl 3 (1921: June 7).



الاولاد في هذه الصورة هم اصحاب الجرائد المصرية وحيولهم الصناعية التي يلعبون باللعبة عليها هي جرائد مصر. انتهز بعض اولئك الاولاد المعروفون بالمكر فرصة خروج المربية « سيدتنا قلم المراقبة » من حجرة اللعب فاطلقوا خيولهم الخشبية العنان اندفاعاً الى الامام والى الوراء فتقطعت الغلام « الافكار » ولكنه تمكن بعد قليل من استعادة صهوة حصانه الخشبي اما الغلام « مصر » فقد كان تدهوره شديداً ولكن ينتظر ان يسترجع مكانه ايضا ويرى في زاوية الصورة الغلام « الاهرام » مندفعاً متهوراً الى الامام وكذلك رفيقه « النظام » متعقراً كثيراً الى الوراء فيخشى على هذين البطلين الصغيرين ان يقعوا كما وقع الغلامان السابقان اذا لم يحسنوا الموازنة ولم يحافظا على حدود اللعب كما فعل الغلام « المقطم » والغلام « وادي النيل » وبأسف مصورنا انه لم يتمكن من تمثيل الاولاد الآخرين المحروسة والوطن والمنبر والاهالي والامة فانه اكتفى بما « قل ودل » على رأي الخاطاه

Figure 3.10. **The Playground of the Press.** The children in the cartoon are representations of the owners of the Egyptian newspapers and their rocking horses are representations of their newspapers. Some of the children, known for their cunningness, grabbed the opportunity of the teachers absence, (our lady the supervisor) to leave the play pen. They began to rock their rocking horses back and forward, until the boy fell (al-Afkar), but after a brief period he was able to get back on the rocking horse. However, the boy's (Misr) determination was strong, and he is expected to bring back his rocking horse back in circulation. In the corner of the cartoon, we can see a boy representing al-Ahram pushing forward carelessly while his companion (al-Nizam) is pushing backwards too much. It is feared that the other young heros may fall down like their counterparts did previously. If they are careful to keep their balance and do not exceed their limits then they will not follow in their companions "al-Mukatam" and "Wadi al-Nil" footsteps. Our cartoonist regrets that he did not represent the other boys "al-Mahrusa," "al-Watan," "al-Minbar," "al-Ahali" and "al-Umma," but he is satisfied with what he has portrayed in the cartoon, little but meaningful. Picture: Left to right: Boy on white horse with sailor's hat: al-Ahram. Boy with cowboy hat: Wadi al-Nil. Boy who fell off his horse: Misr. Boy with bow tie: al-Afkar. Boy falling off his horse: al-Mukatam. Boy off his horse: al-Nizam. Woman: Our lady the supervisor. Al-Lata'if (1919: December 15).



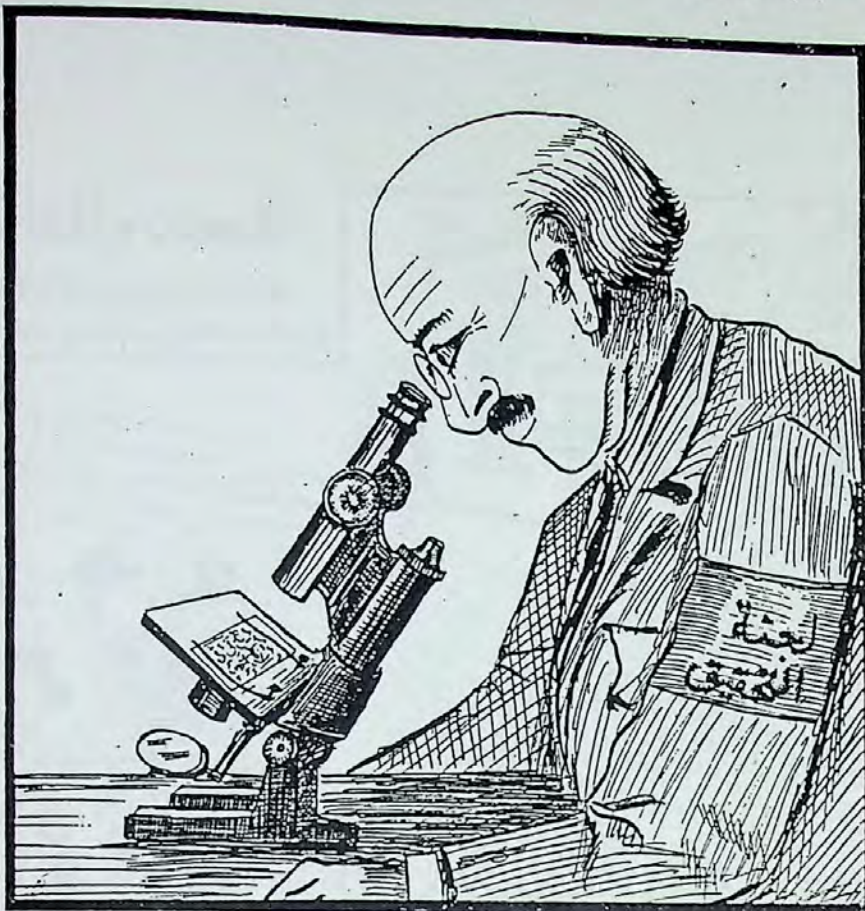
المارشال - تفضل يا سيدات سيجاره
السيدات - لا . سيجارنا احسن لاننا نرى في دخانها صورة (مطلبنا)

Figure 3.11. **The Women's Wafd at Marshall Allenby' House.** The Marshall: "Ladies, please help yourselves to cigarettes." The Women: No, Our cigarettes are better because we find a picture of what we want (our demands). Kashkūl 64 (1922: August 6).

الصور الفكاهية
الرمزية الانتقادية
من شؤونها ولهذا
اثبتنا في العدد
الماضي الصورة
الرمزية التي تمثل
اللورد مطلاً من
شباك سيرايمس
مستفهماً متوضحاً
وافراد الامة المصرية
يجيبون جواباً واحداً
لا يتغير

اما صورنا
الهزلية اليوم في
الموضوع نفسه
ولكنها تختلف
شكلاً عن الصورة
الماضية فقد مثل

المصور رئيس لجنة التحقيق اللورد ملر هيئة طبيب يحقن
ويفحص بالمكروسكوب ليعلم العلة الحقيقية للمسألة التي وضعا



لم تهتم جرائدنا
المصرية بأمر من
الامور اهتمامها
119
بالكتابة عن لجنة
اللورد ملر الموفدة
للتحقيق. في مسألة
الاضطرابات الاخيرة
والذي يفتح جريدة
من هذه الجرائد يرى
اعمدتها طائفة بالمقالات
السياسية عن مستقبل
مصر ولجنة ملر
والموقف الذي تقترحه
الجريدة على الامة
ان تقفه حيال هذه
اللجنة عند قدومها
واخبار ورسل الطلبة
والزعماء السياسيين

والكتاب واصحاب الرأي والفكر الى الجرائد عن اللجنة
وصور الرسائل التي ارسلوها بالعثرات الى دولة رئيس الوزراء.

Figure 3.13. Careful Investigation: Lord Milner Examines the Evidence under a Microscope. Our Egyptian newspapers have taken a great interest, more than usual, in Lord Milner's Commission, which was sent to investigate the incident that caused all the problems. A reader of any Egyptian newspapers will have realized the large amount of attention given to the future of Egypt, the Milner Commission and its proposed position, and state (Egypt) vis-a-vis the commission. The reader will also observe that the newspapers were flooded with letters to the editors from the students, the political leaders, the writers, regarding the said commission. Copies of their letters were sent to the Prime Minister appealing to him, not to negotiate with the commission with respect to the policy and future of the state (Egypt) and they reminded him of his declaration, which he issued when he took office namely that his ministry will be an administrative body rather than a political body. Since *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* is not a political magazine, it will not show interest in the subject matter of this commission. However, portrayal of symbolic and comic drawings in criticism of the people and events is a part of its duty. For this reason we published, in the last edition, a symbolic cartoon portraying Lord Milner looking through a window at the Semi Ramis hotel. The cartoonist portrays the head of the Commission, Lord Milner, as a physician looking through the microscope hoping to discover the root of the problem. But what will he find (as any intelligent reader realizes) other than the answer that is represented in two words, beginning with the letter "F" and ending with the letter "I," namely full independence. Picture: Investigating Committee. *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 245 (1919: October 20).

اللجنة والمقاطعة

ظلت الجرائد المصرية (ولا تزال) تنشر رسائل
أفراد الأمة بإعلان مقاطعتهم للجنة اللورد ملر



القادمة الى مصر ويريدون بالمقاطعة عدم اجابة احد
منهم الدعوة لمقابلة اللجنة او المفاوضة معها والبحث
في شؤون البلاد. وحجة المقاطعين ان الامة
انابت عنها وكيلاً كفوّاً ووفداً نايباً وهما وحدهما المفاوضان بالمفاوضة. وقفوا يقرأون ما كتب على خارج المنزل مما يكتبه الناس يوماً
وتناول مصوراً الموضوع فمثل مصر بمنزل شرقي والمقاطعة بالابواب فيوماً على صفحات الجرائد والصورة من نوع الكاريكاتير الذي اعتادت
والنوافذ المغلقة واللجنة القادمة بنفر من المسافرين معهم امتعتهم وقد الجرائد الانكليزية نشره وهي لا يقصد منها الحق من كرامة اللورد ودورجال لجنته

Figure 3.14. **The Commission and the Boycott.** The Egyptian newspapers continue to publish letters to the editors from all nationals, declaring their boycott of the Milner Commission, which is on its way in Egypt. What they mean to accomplish by the boycott is that each and everyone who is involved in the negotiations refuses to attend. Their excuse is based on the fact that the country has appointed representatives and a parliamentary delegation who alone can represent her (Egypt) in the negotiations. Our cartoonist expresses this situation in the following form: Egypt is represented by an oriental house with its the closed doors and windows that signal the boycott. The expected commission is represented as a group of travellers along with their baggage. They stand reading the signs outside the house, which are no different from those published daily in the newspapers. As to the picture depicted, it is the kind of caricature usually seen in the English newspapers; it is not meant to degrade or dishonor the Lord and the members of his commission. Picture: Left to right: Man in black suit: "Full independence." Man in spotted suit: "Sa'd Zaghlul." Man in striped suit: "Oh, good Lord, the windows are locked, look!" Signs: Left to right: The House of the Institution of Full Independence; Negotiations with our representative Sa'd Zaghlul in Paris. *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 250 (1919: November 24).



من معمل الاستقلال التام

اقترح رسم هذه الصورة صديقنا أ. فتواد
افندي ابو السمود والى القاري والمحاورة بين الرجلين
رجل المطلق — عجباً لهذه النار. كلما
صوبت اليها المياه زادت سميراً واللهاباً...

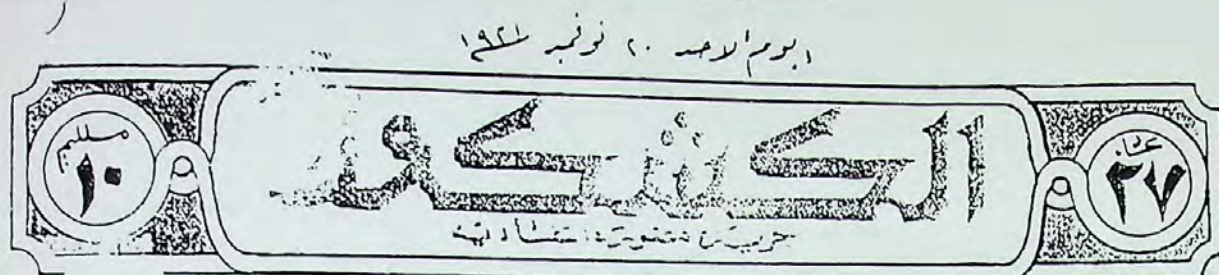
الاستاذ المصري — كيف تتمتع؟ الا تعلم
ان لاشيء يطفئها غير المواد المستخرجة من معمل الاستقلال التام؟

Figure 3.15. **From the Laboratory of Full Independence.**
The Fireman: "It is indeed strange. . . This fire. . . The more water pored on it the more the flames burn." Mr. Egyptian: "How is it you wonder? You don't know that the only thing that extinguish this fire is the materials extracted from the laboratory of full independence!" Picture: Right to left: The trouble, the worry, the assault. Sign on Building: The House of the Institution of Full Independence. Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara 251 (1919: December 1).



اللجنة وحقت واستجبت واستوضحت واستفهمت فان جميع ابناء الامة من رجال وسيدات من فقراء ومتوسطين واغنياء من اطفال في
السنة الاولى الى شيوخ عجزة على حافة قبورهم... جوابهم واحد وقولهم واحد وطلبهم واحد واملهم واحد ونظرم واحد وهو: - الاستقلال التام

Figure 3.16. **The Semiramis Hotel.** To the readers, the magazine 'al-Latā'if al-Musuwwara' portrays the symbolic and humorous cartoon which tells the true position of the Egyptians should the Milner Commission arrive in Egypt, as advertised in the newspapers. Should the Commission ask questions or enquire, cross examine or interrogate, ask for an explanation or demand it, the members shall realize that the entire nation: the men and the women among the poor or the middle class and the rich, the children in their first year of age, the elderly and those on their death beds, that is from age 1-95 will respond with one and the same answer, the same words, the same demand, the same hope as well as the same point of view, namely: "full independence." Picture: Left to right: Milner: "Why? When? What? Where?" 90: "full independence." 80: "full independence." 70: "full independence." 60: "full independence." 50: "full independence." 40: "full independence." 30: "full independence." 20: "full independence." 10: "full independence." 1: "full independence." Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara 244 (1919: October 13).



فهي ان تكون نسيجة مؤتمراتهم ان يملئ مني البطن و اصبح مبيلى ... ؟ !

Figure 3.17. **The International Conferences.** I fear that the result of all their conferences will fill my belly and make me pregnant. Kashkūl 27 (1921:November 20).



اختیار ... ده صندوق نذر و الا صندوق نوفر

حضور ...

النبي في القفص - شجرة الصندوق صندوق غنيمة

Figure 3.18. **The Donation/Hope Box.** A member of the audience: "It is a donation/hope box or a saving's box." Prisoner in the cell: "This is my box. The box is. . . ." Kashkūl 13 (1921: August 16).

الكشكول

جريدة أسبوعية مسورة باسمه الشريف

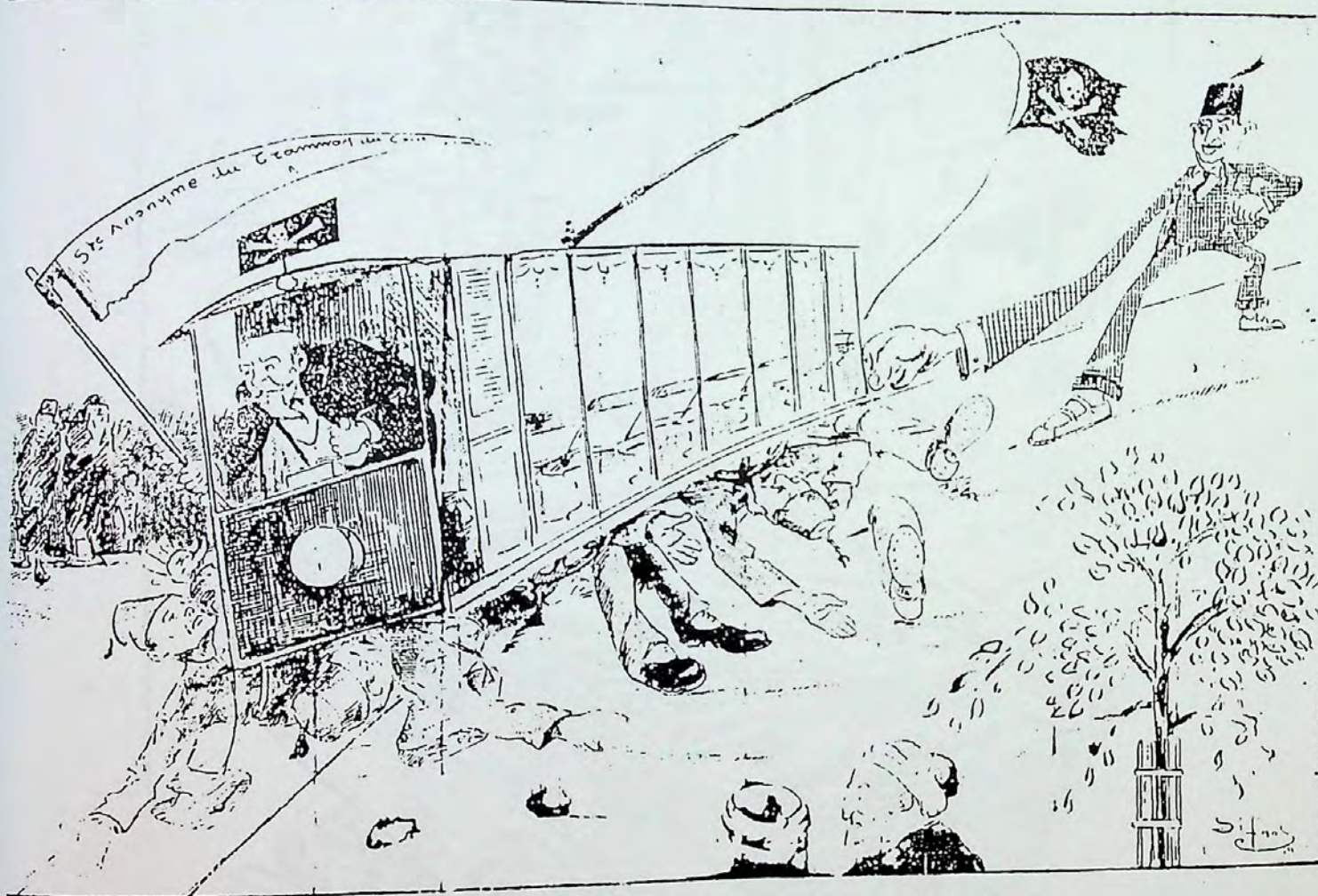


Figure 3.19. **Egypt and the Assassinations.** Egypt: "No, No. . . Such vile assassinations frighten me and spoil the air. The smell of the innocent bodies suffocates me and is hindering my progress on the road to independence." *Kashkul* 86 (1923: January 7).



میترا شرکتہ المصنوعی کما یتیموا عزرائیل الموت

Figure 3.20. **Azrail.** Love the company of the tram the way you love 'Azrail (the angel of death). *Kashkūl* 28 (1921: November 27).



شركة الترام لا تعرف الا مصلحتها. والمجاني المستشار. لا يعرف الا اسرار الله يرحم اليهود

Figure 3.21. **The Public and the Tram.** The company doesn't know of anything except its own interests. And the consultant of the company is a lawyer, who does not help anyone except the company. And God have mercy on the public. Kashkūl 3 (1921: June 7).

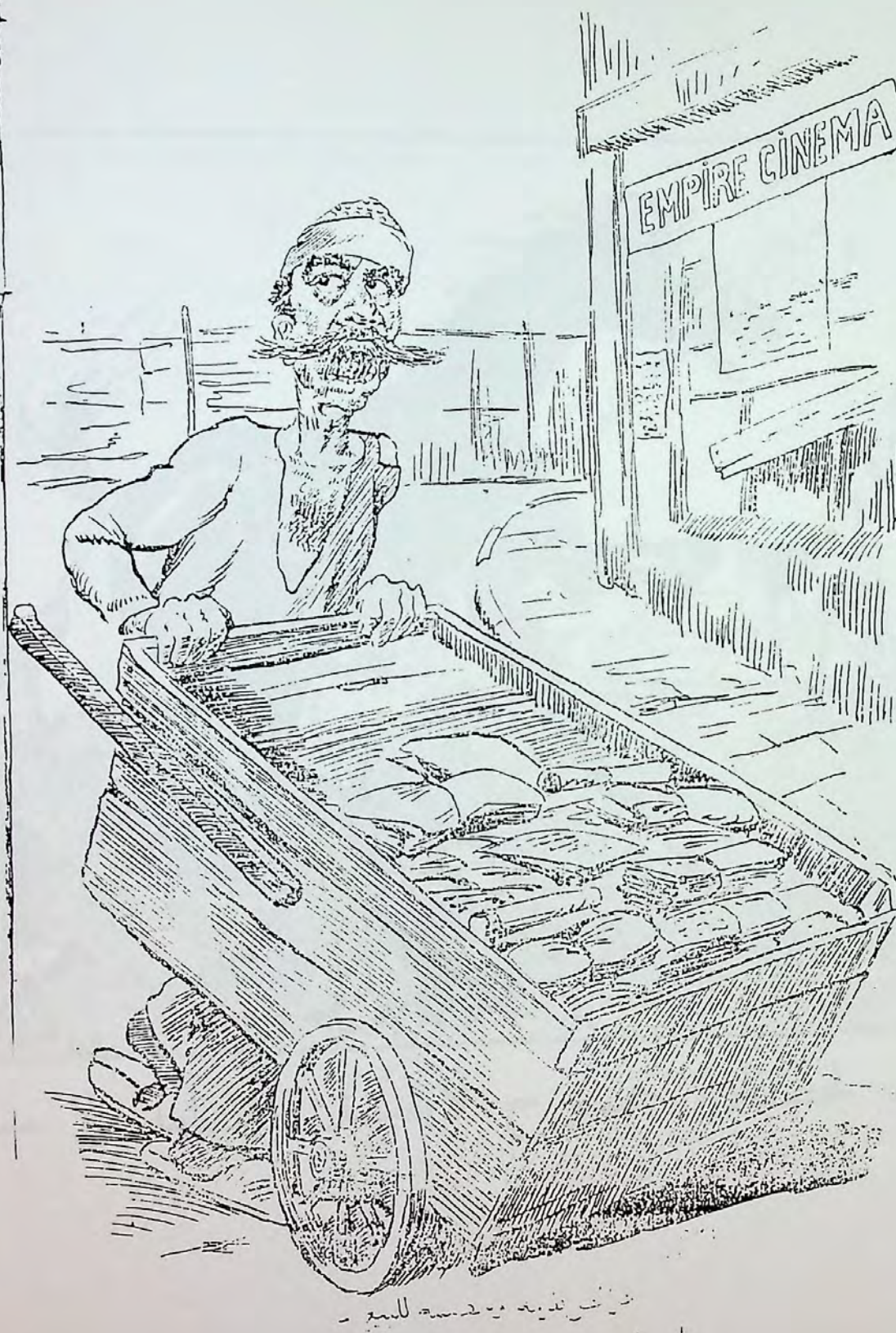
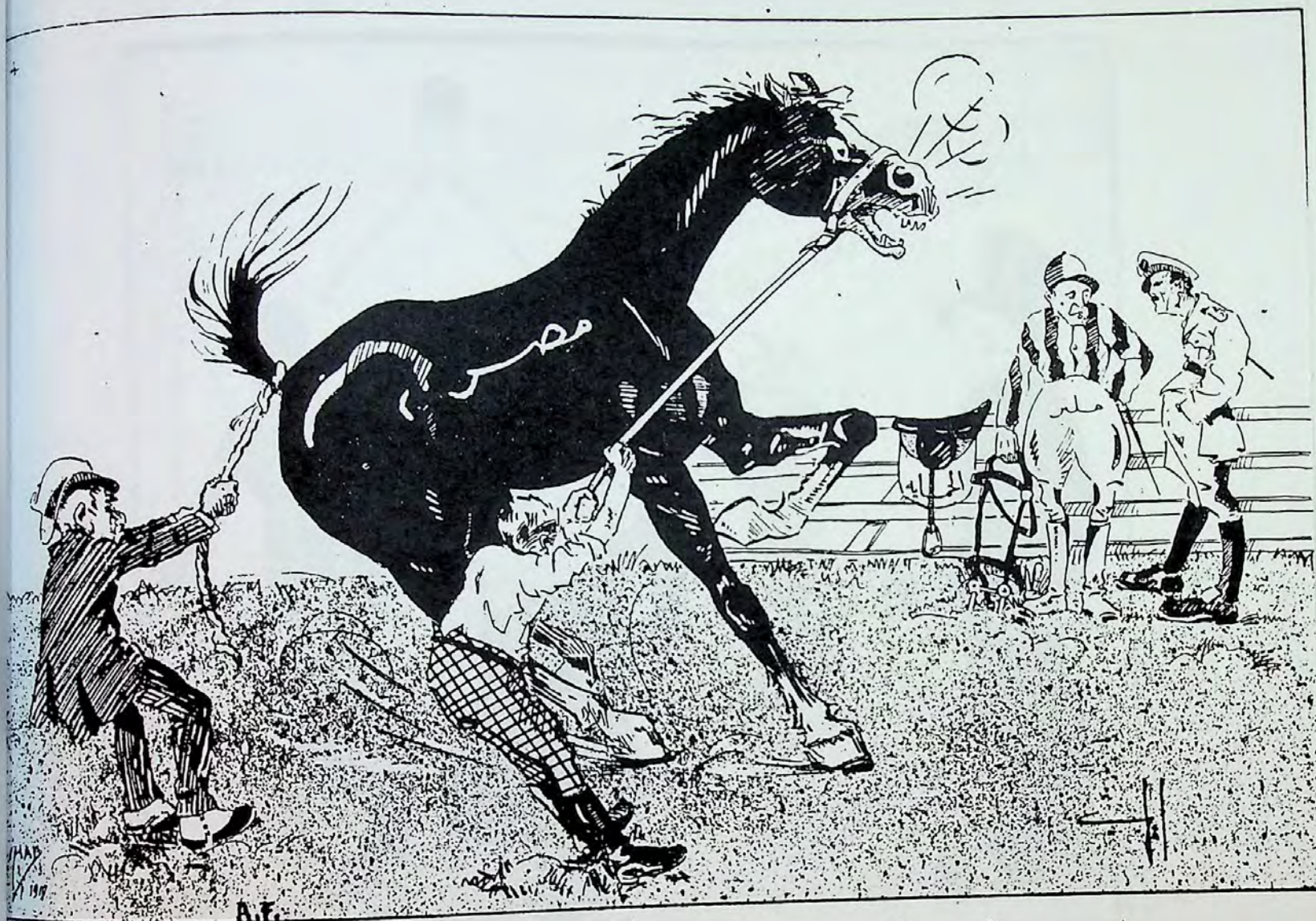


Figure 3.22. **Fingerprints.** Official offers, with fingerprints, for sale. Kashkūl 9 (1921: July 19).



... انه لخصان جموح لا يقبل لجاما ولا سرجا!

Figure 3.23. **Stubborn Horse.** It is an ungovernable horse which refuses both the bridle and the saddle. Picture: Horse: Egypt, saddle: protectorate, jockey: Milner. *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 256 (1920: January 5).



ان الحزب المستقل وان لم يموت تماماً فقد انحل انحلال الموت وتناثرت اعضاؤه ومثل مصورتنا دفنه القريب واللورد يتأمل حزينا يتأجج نفسه قائلا «تركنتي لين وا كلم مين»

Figure 3.24. **The Burial of the Independent Party.** Although the Independent party is not quite dead, nevertheless, it has fallen to pieces. Here you see as our cartoonist portrays the party on its way to burial. Lord Milner stands, mourning, talking to himself: "To whom did you leave me, and to whom shall I speak to?" Picture: The Independent Party. Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara 257 (1920: January 12).

اللطائف المسورة في ١٩ يوليو سنة ١٩٢٠



سعد باشا (يخاطب اللورد ميلر الذي أخذ يحاول فك عقدة المسألة المصرية السياسية) — لا تنب نفسك يا عزيزي ملر ان العقدة قديمة وصعبة ولا تحل الا بطريقة واحدة

Figure 3.25. **Sa'd Pasha and Lord Milner.** Sa'd Pasha: (speaking to Lord Milner, who is in the process of untying the knot representing the Egyptian political problem) "My dear Milner, this knot is too old and hard, it can only be untied one way. *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 284 (1920: July 19).

اللطائف المصورة في ٢٣ فبراير سنة ١٩٢٠



السياسة المصورة

الى يمين هذا الكلام صورة هزلية
رمزية صورها للطائف محمد افندي البابلي
من نوع صور الكاريكاتور تمثل الحالة
الحاضرة وهي لا تخلو من فكاهة وعبرة
ولولا بعض العيب الفني في التصوير ولا سيما
تصوير الاسرة والذين فيها كانت من
احسن الصور الهزلية التي من نوعها
وتنشرها الصحف الاوربية

Figure 3.26. **The Great British Hospital.** Picture: left to right: Doctor: "Drugs have no effect on him, sir." Man in uniform: "Try another injection of morphine." Egypt: (man in uniform: "I'm not sick, so why this torture? I just want to get out of this prison." Beds: left: Australia. Middle, top to bottom: New Zealand, Ireland, Persia. Right, top to bottom: South Africa, Canada, India. Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara 263 (1920: February 23).



صور مصورنا هذه الصورة بعد ما سمع ان لجنة ملنر بيدها الربط والحل وهي مفوضة بان تدبر تنظيم مستقبل البلاد السياسي وليس فقط ان تحقق اسباب الاضطرابات الماضية فرسم هذه الصورة الكاريكاتورية وهي تمثل «الداده» تمنع عن الطفل اللبن اللازم لحياته وتقدم له لعبة ليلهو بها والطفل يصرخ «كفا كفا»

Figure 3.27. **The Milner Commission and the Fate of Egypt.** Our cartoonist drew this cartoon after he heard the news that the Milner Commission is in full control of the fate of the people. Members of the commission were delegated and given the power to organize the political future of the country, not merely to look at the causes of past troubles. The artist portrayed this caricature of the nurse denying the baby the feeding bottle (the milk which is essential for its survival). Instead the nurse offers the baby a toy to play with, but the baby cries out loud, expressing its rejection. Picture: Left to right: Feeding bottle: Full independence; nurse: Milner; toy: Independence; Baby: Egypt. *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 258 (1920: January 19).

﴿ الأمة واللجنة والحزب المستقل الحر ﴾

لأنهم (والحمد لله) من رجال اللجنة المنيرة أحداً ولا من أعضاء الحزب المستقل الحراحداً ولكننا نشعر كما يشعر كثيرون غيرنا من الشبان باستياء من أعضاء الفريقين بعدما ظهر أنهم لا يراعون عواطف الاغلبية الساحقة من الأمة المصرية بل يعملون على طرقي تقيض معها في جهادها للحصول على استقلالها الشرعي الطبيعي الموروث. بل قل على حقها من الحياة. والصورة الرمزية المدرجة هنا تعبر عن حقيقة حالة الحزب المستقل رغم كونها صورت قبل اعلان الحزب لخطة حيال الوفد المصري واللجنة المنيرة. تلك الخطة التي ترجح ان الحزب أرغم « ادبياً » على اتباعها واعلانها كما تمثل صورتنا الهزلية بوضعها ورمزها. فقد اندفع الحزب نحو الوزير الاستعماري يريد مصاحته

وتقبيل عارضيه ومقابلته مقابلة الاحباب بعد طول البعد والفتاب ولكنه لم يكذب بكفه كف صديقه حتى شعر بعنف الجبل الذي جذب يده الى الوراء ومنع هذه المصافحة. والقارئ يقرأ في اسارير وجهي الرجلين الحبيبين دلائل القتل والكسوف والسخط. والصورة لتقوم يعتبرون. ويد الله مع الجماعة في كل حال



Figure 3.28. **The Nation, the Commission and the Independent Liberal Party.** Picture: Right to left: The commission (bald man). The Independent Party: "Let me go, let me shake his hand." The nation (pulling the rope backward). *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 254 (1919: December 22).

القطائف المصورة في ٢٣ أغسطس سنة ١٩٢٠



أرسل إلينا فكرة تصوير هذه الصورة الرمزية الفكاهية محمد أفندي مختار من حلوان ونال عليها جائزة مئة قرش ماغ وهي تمثل المفاوضات الدائرة بين الوفد المصري في لندن والحكومة البريطانية على إعطاء مصر الاستقلال التام وقد رمز إلى الاستقلال بطاووس فتح القورد ملنر له باب القفص ليقدمه إلى سيد باشا

Figure 3.29. **The Egyptian Wafd.** Picture: Left to right: The Peacock of liberty and independence, Lord Milner, The Egyptian delegation 'al-Wafd'. *Al-Latā'if Al-Musawwara* 289 (1920: August 23).

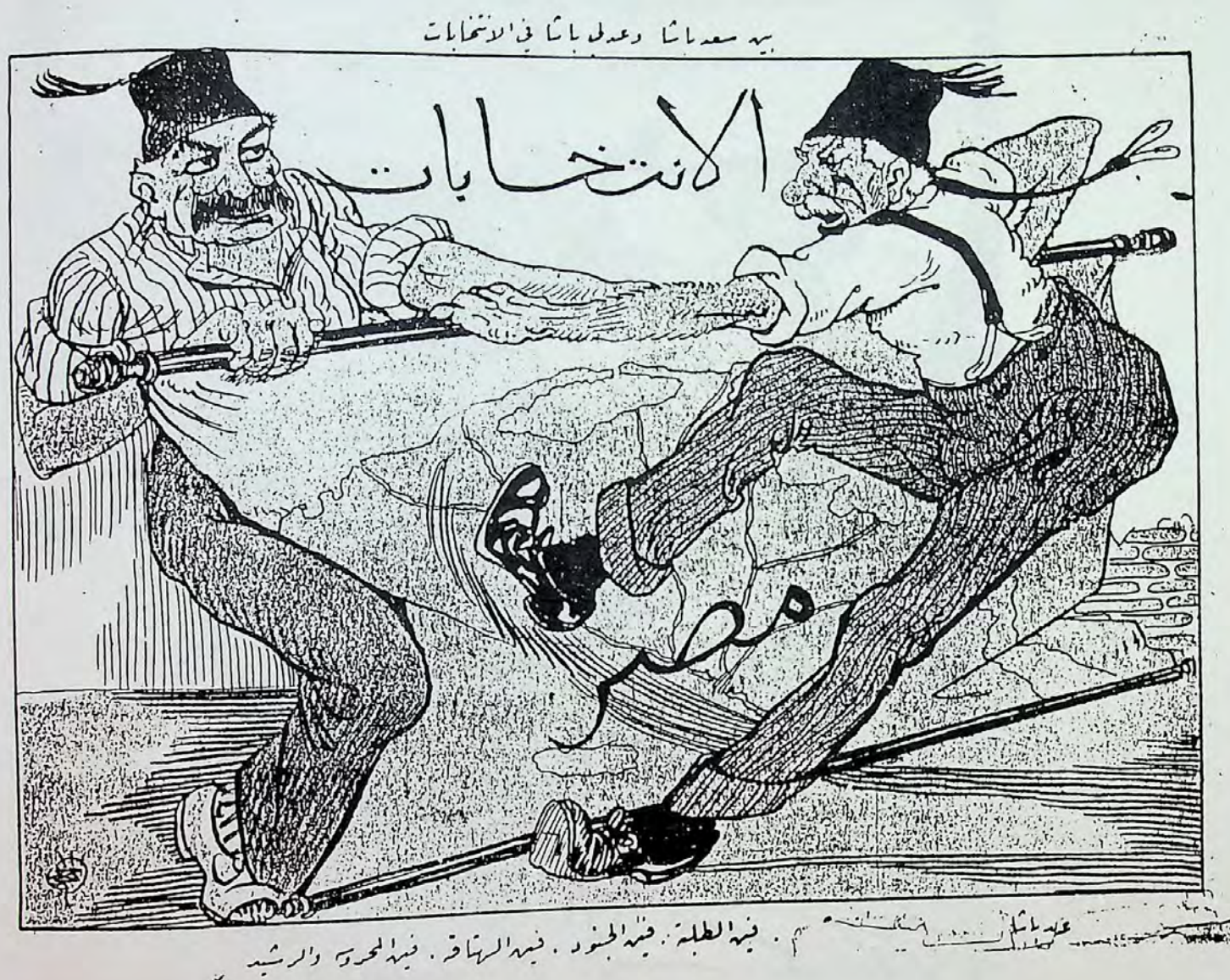
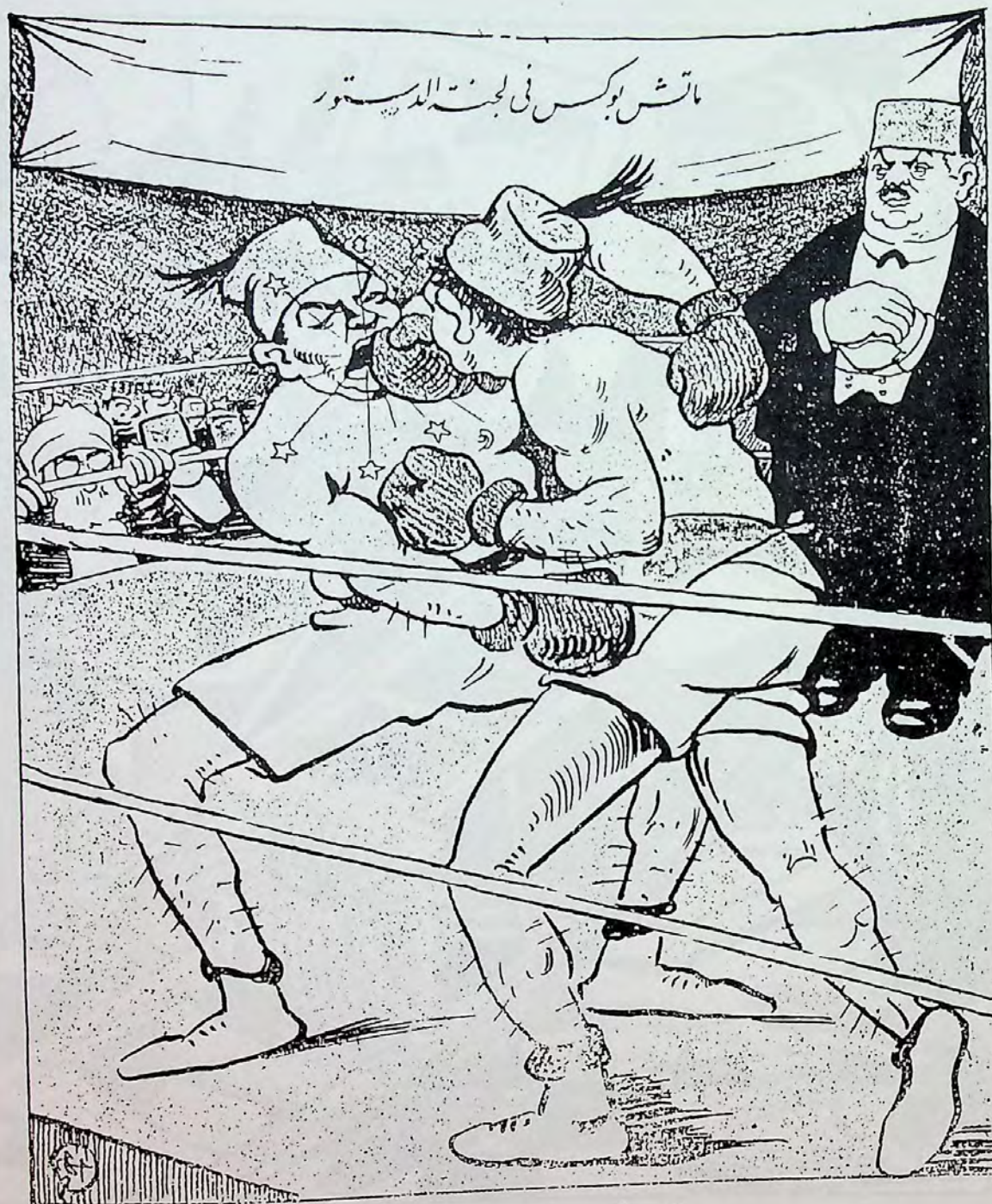


Figure 3.30. Between Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul and 'Adli Pasha in the Elections. 'Adli Pasha: "Where are the students, the soldiers, the hailing crowd. . .The Mahrusa', the Rashid." Kashkul 109 (1923: June 9).

يوم الاحد ١٠ سبتمبر سنة ١٩٢٢
السنة الثامنة

الكشكول

جريدة مصورة انتقادية



م. كاشكول

Figure 3.31. **Boxing match in the Constitutional Committee.** Between Makabātī Bik and Abu al-Nasr Bik. Kashkūl 69 (1922: September 10).

الكشكول



الماكباتي بك — حتى أنت بمقتول يا نحاس !!! ان كنت حزين قطع ذريتي وشت...

Figure 3.32. Between al-Wafd and al-Ahrar Before the Return of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl. Al-Makabātī Bik: "Even you Mustafa al-Nahas??? If you are really brave, come out and let me see your face. *Kashkul* 123 (1923: September 21).

السنة الأولى ١٩٢١
 المجلد ٩
 المصنوع
 الكشكول
 حرية مصورة اجتماعية انتقادية تقدر يوم الثلاثاء من كل أسبوع
 لصاحبه سليمان فوزي



نحن في لندن را نمشي - انتقادي - على مصائد فخاخ . فحذار منم حذار

Figure 3.34. **Beware of the Traps.** We in London walk to the negotiations upon the traps, but beware, beware. *Kashkūl* 9 (1921: July 19).

السنة الأولى
يوم الثلاثاء ٢٨ يونيو ١٩٢١
السنة الأولى

الكشكول

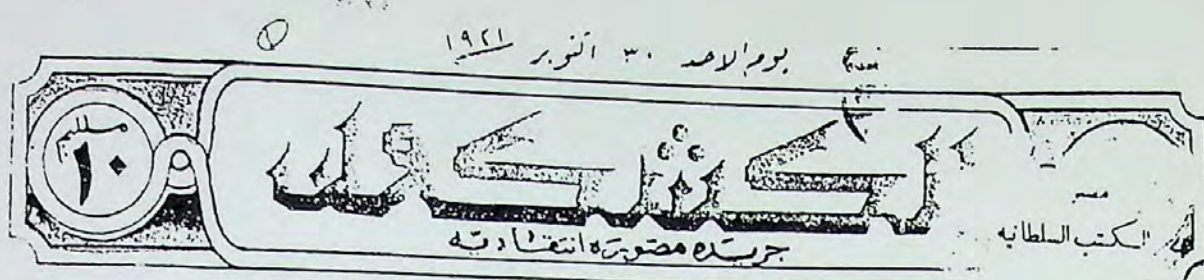
المجلد ٦
العدد ٥٠٥
العدد ٥٠٥

جريدة معنونة اجتماعية انتقائية تصدر يوم الثلاثاء من كل اسبوع
لصاحبها سليمان فوزي



لم يبق إلا أن اقتل المفوضين بالمصادرة

Figure 3.35. **The Negotiations.** What remains is that I should take a strong stand against the negotiations. *Kashkul* 6 (1921: June 28).



به لاله يمشي الفضا فضا باكي دون ان يراه دماد

Figure 3.36. **The Music.** Accordingly, the atmosphere is full of wailing without bloodshed. Kashkūl 24 (1921: October 30).



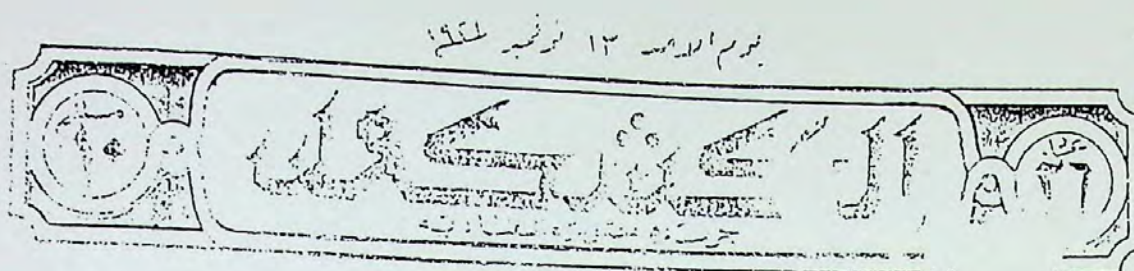
Figure 3.37. **Public Opinion.** The tree: Public opinion. The leaves: 1. No president without. 2. Sa'd the president. 3. No negotiations without. *Kashkūl* 28 (1921: November 27).

في بلدة الإسكندرية



هل كل هذا لصل نظافة المدينة . انسى ذلك

Figure 3.38. In the Township of Alexandria. Is all that for the cleaning of the city? That is something dirty. Kashkul 30 (1921: December 11).

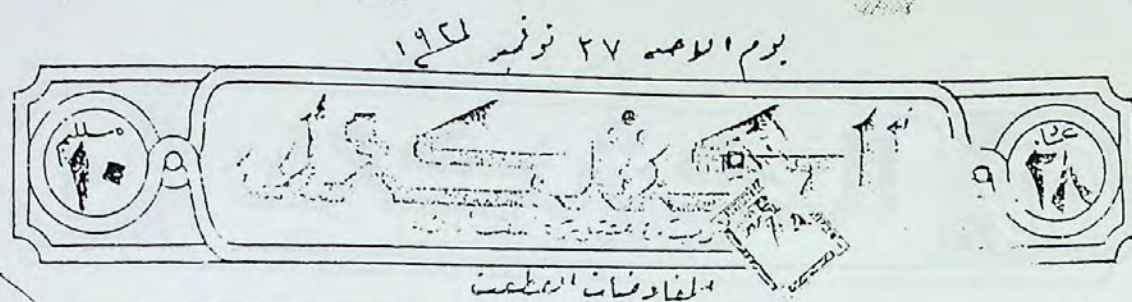


عدي باشا للوزير جورج
معنى الاستقلال التام انه تكون بمفردكم خارج الحدود المصرية

Figure 3.39. 'Adli Pasha to Mr. Lloyd George. The meaning of full independence is that your troops should be moved away from the Egyptian borders. *Kashkul* 26 (1921: November 13).



Figure 3.40. **The Sorcerer.** Lloyd George: I have now documented that I have not experienced what music can do to make life pleasant. *Kashkūl* 25 (1921: November 6).



القوة ندرس على اليسار... ولا بد لمن البور ؟

Figure 3.41. **The Negotiations Have Stopped.** The might steps on the right...And now who's turn is it? *Kashkul* 28 (1921: November 27).

يوم الاثنين ٤ ديسمبر ١٩٢١

الكشكول

جريدة مقبولة استنادية

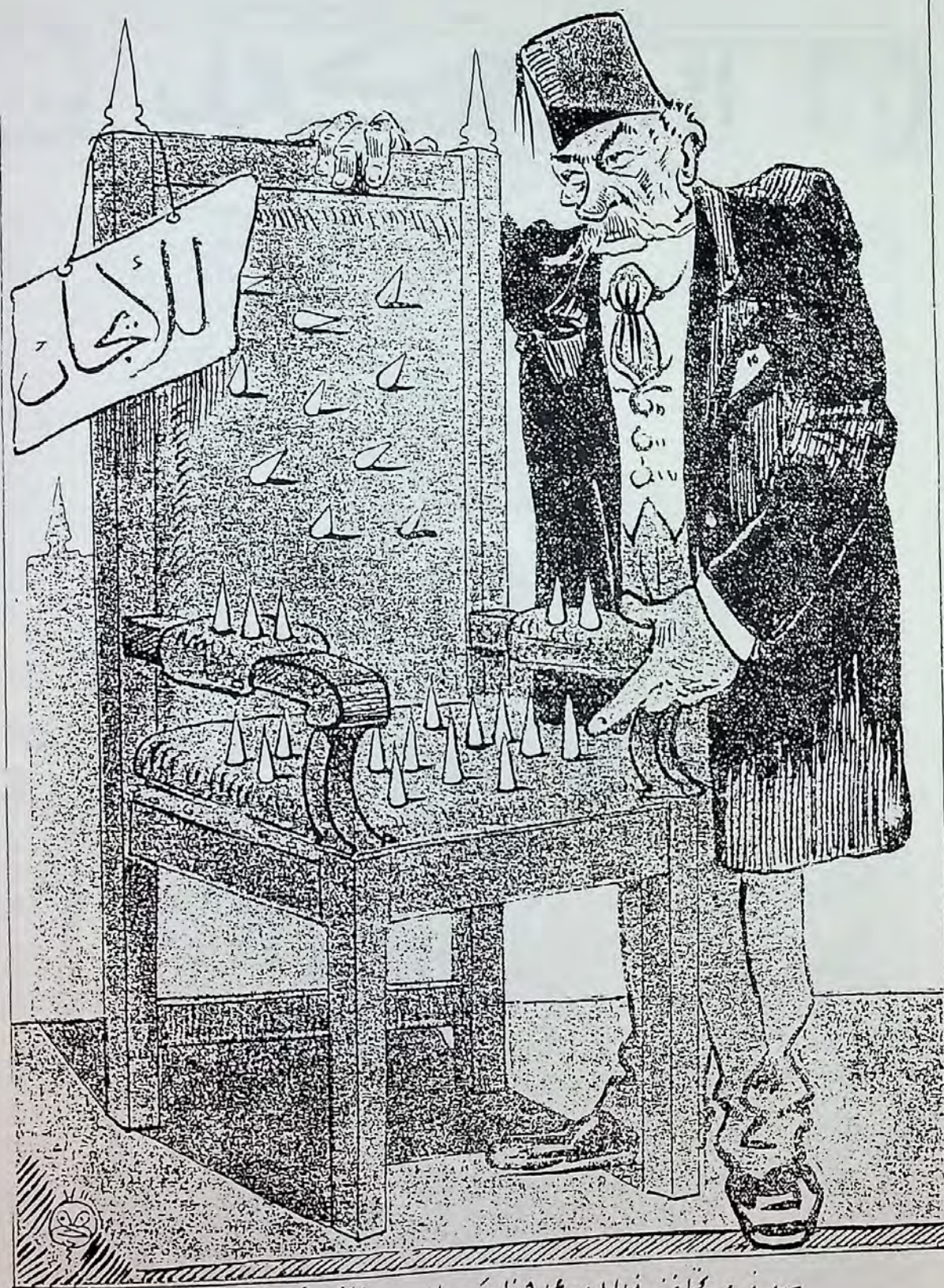
٢٩

في العودة



عزلي باشا يعود هامل... الآمال

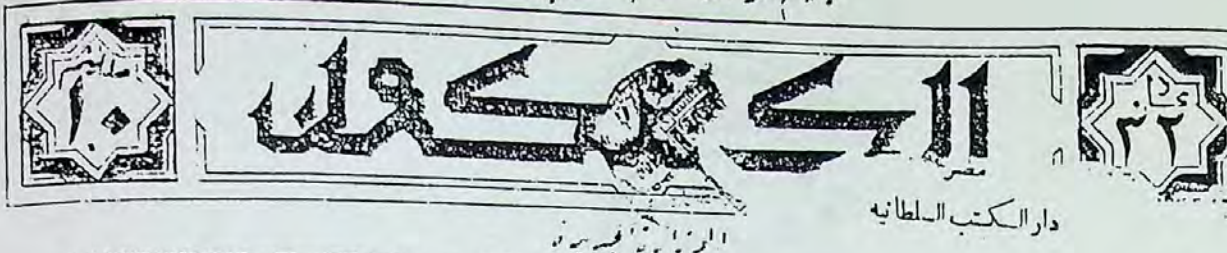
Figure 3.42. **On the Return.** 'Adli Pasha returns carrying hopes. *Kashkūl* 29 (1921: December 4).



سيفر من يجلوس على هذا الكرسي المزعج التي لا قنبرها اناء و زادى

Figure 3.43. **The Chair of the Premiership** The one who succeeds me in sitting on this chair will realize the difficulties that I went through during my cabinet. Kashkūl 32 (1921: December 25).

يوم الاربعه ٢٥ ديسمبر ١٩٢١



ميه يقبل، يا واه الله! الرجل ؟

Figure 3.44. **The New Government.** Who accepts to be that man? *Kashkul* 32 (1921: December 25)



كرسى بيعت وثلاثه . واحدة حماية . واحدة امن . والثالثة لبيع . والمثل وزارة . باله باءارات . باله باءارات .
الادوات ... الادوات
الادوات ... الادوات

Figure 3.45. **Here is the Auction Chair.** A Chair for three documents. One occupation, One slavery. All for the government. Come on Pashas. Come on politicians. . Going twice. *Kashkul* 2 (1921: May 31).



بعد تعطيل النظام

Figure 3.46. **The Order.** After the delay of the order.
Kashkūl 9 (1921: July 19).

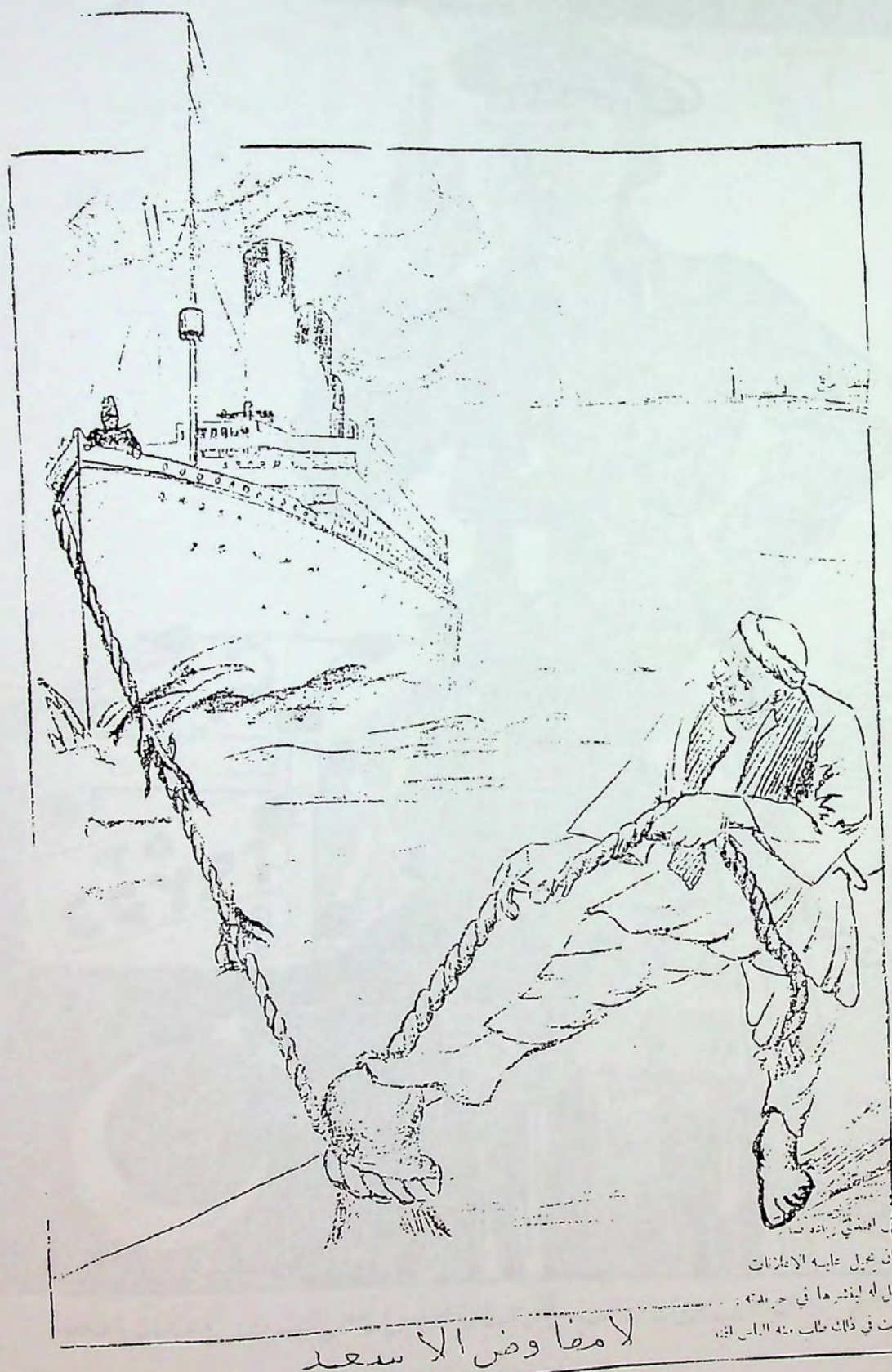


Figure 3.47. **Sa'd Pasha.** No negotiations without Sa'd.
Kashkūl 9 (1921: July 19).



الجنرال - اعمل ليك من لندن هدية ولكنك يجب ان ترضى قبل ان ترضى الصدوق بالله عليك يا الله فليكن

Figure 3.48. **England's Gift to Egypt.** Allenby: "I carry with me for you from London, a gift, but you have to sign for it before you open it, and its you and your luck." *Kashkūl* 31 (1921: December 18).

Chapter 4

'MISR LIL MISRIYYIN,' EGYPT FOR THE EGYPTIANS

"If we invoked the soul of Julius Caesar, we should find no two countries in whose rule he had so much trouble as Egypt and England."¹

Sa'd Zaghlul

The Declaration of the 28 February 1922

In January 1922, Allenby asked the Home Office to grant approval for the abolition of the protectorate and the declaration of an independent Egypt and the reinstatement of the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Ministry. The British concession also included the abolishment of martial law as soon as the Emergency Act was passed.² However, the price that Egypt had to pay for its independence was inclusion of the four conditional points that the British stipulated. They were:

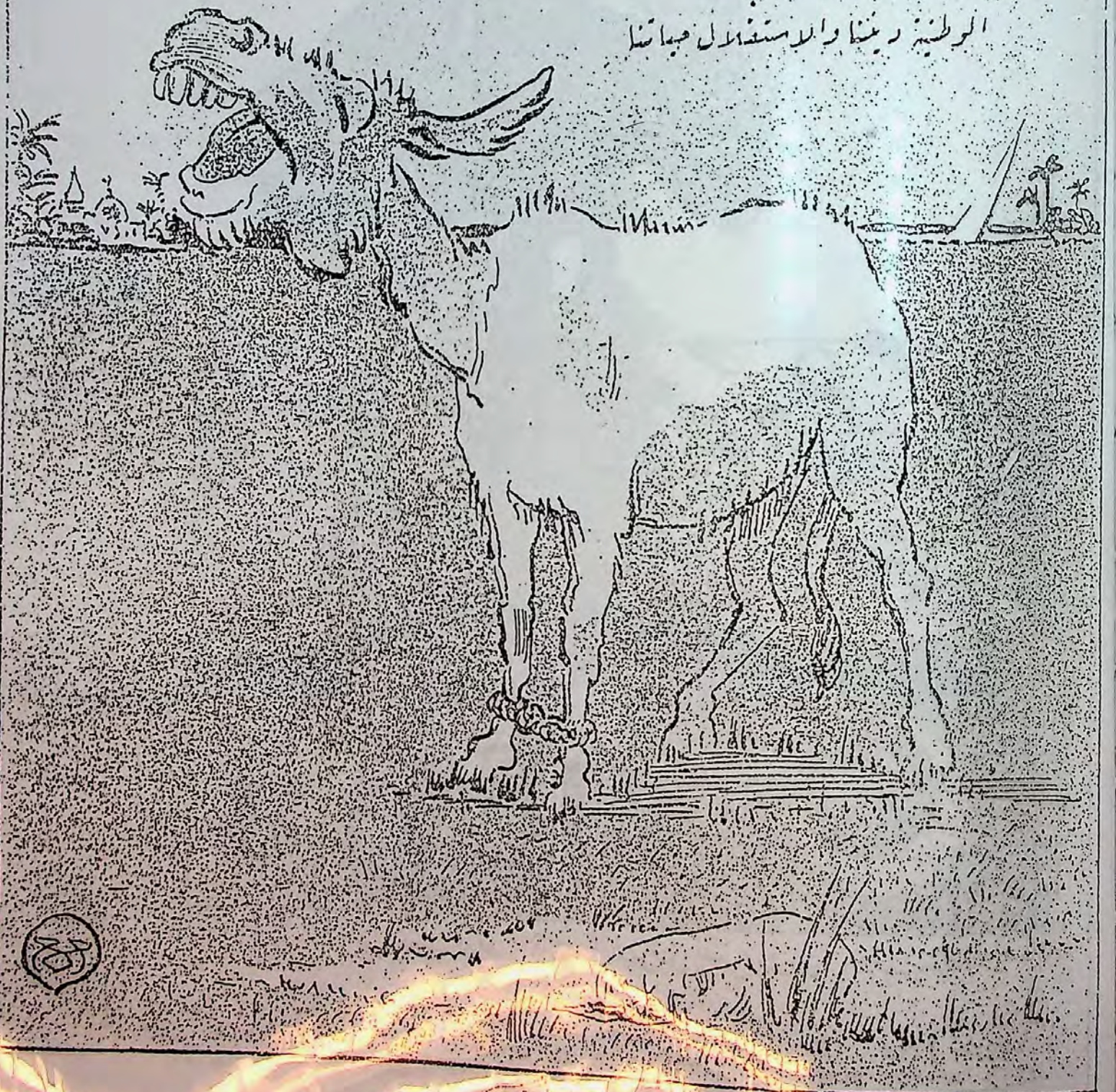
- [1] Security of communications of the British Empire;
- [2] defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect;
- [3] protection of foreign interests in Egypt and protection of minorities;
- [4] the Sudan.

Al-Kashkul reacted with great suspicion to the Declaration

¹ Khalid Kishtany, *Arab Political Humour* (London: Quarter Books, 1985) 106. Quotation was taken from the London talks in 1920. Zaghlul addressing his British audience was trying to find something in common between Britain and Egypt.

² E. W. Phipps, *Great Britain in Egypt* (Surrey: The Chapel River Press, 1928) 23.

الوطنية ريتنا والاستقلال جياتنا



ان انتم

Chapter 4

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²E. W. Polson, *Great Britain in Egypt* (Surrey: The Chapel River Press, 1928) 234.

³*ibid.*

of 28 of February. The cartoons published on the subject depicted Britain and Tharwat's cabinet pushing the declaration on the unwilling Egypt. The medical metaphor recurs in figure 4.1, where Tharwat and his cabinet are huddled over the sickly Egypt awaiting her recovery from the trauma of the British occupation and impact of the Declaration of the 28th of February upon her. In each hand, the cabinet member has a saw or an injection that they have used to force the declaration upon Egypt. Egypt herself, lies frightened under the blankets with only her head visible, wary of what they may do to her next. Figure 4.2 shows John Bull reprimanding the young Egypt as if she were a school girl who had somehow misused her parents important documents. The young Egypt had shed her earlier traditional attire and veil, and appeared in European fashion, Egypt's commitment to modernism. However, the reprimand that she receives from John Bull signifies that although she had molded herself in a Western image in order to gain her freedom, that freedom was not attained. The young Egypt, clutches her hands in defiance as if to say that she has every right to play with this declaration and mold it to her taste. Curious enough is the Wafd's reaction to the Declaration which parallels that of *al-Kashkūl* as is seen in figure 4.3. Sa'īd Pasha of the Wafd is refusing Allenby's offer and waiting for the next serving at the diplomatic table, meanwhile Zaghlūl is asking the Egyptian politicians to put their differences aside and fight the declaration (figure 4.4).

The Declaration in reality was by no means a declaration of independence. Neither was it accepted by the Wafd nor the

Watanists, just as Milner's report before had not been accepted.⁴ However, "It was a unilateral statement of policy by Britain and those moderates prepared to accept the end of the protectorate as a useful step were not called on to persuade the country to accept it."⁵ Which the country did not, as can clearly be seen throughout all the cartoons on the Declaration of 28 of February. The irony is that the Declaration was no different from what was offered by Curzon and was denied by 'Adlī and his colleagues. Perhaps, their reasons can be explained by figure 4.5. Those who did not agree with the British were not welcome. The British would not accommodate to Tharwat, the outsider in London. Thus, Tharwat, 'Adlī and Rūshdī knew that to be welcome they had to adjust to British demands to a certain extent.⁶ Eventually, they might have felt, that they could change the Declaration once independence had been reached.

The Declaration was represented by *al-Kashkūl* as Britain allowing Egypt to gain its independence in name only. John Bull is depicted in figure 4.6 opening the Egyptian gate, boasting that as long as he had the key the garden was his. The concessions that Egypt signed to gain her independence allowed British troops to remain, British employees to receive

⁴Christina Phelps Harris, *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1981) 77.

⁵Ibid.

⁶'Abd al-'Azīm Ramadān, *Tatawurat al-Haraka al-Wataniya fī Misr* (Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabī lil Tab'at wa al-Nashr, 1968) 343.

compensations and an ambiguity as to the status of the Sudan. What might have seemed at first to be a victory for the Egyptians and a loss for the British (figure 4.7) soon became apparent as another British ruse to secure Egypt (figure 4.8). The British forced important agencies such as the police to do their bidding, hence the visual image of the (British) bull dog dragging Badr al-Dīn Bey behind it.

British employee compensation was a great source of ridicule for al-Kashkūl. In figure 4.9 Tharwat sits upon the treasury demanding that the employees wait until the Egyptians or parliament decides the amount they are to receive. The whole issue of compensations did indeed cause a great deal of agitation between Tharwat's government and the British as well as the governments that followed. Figure 4.10 depicts 'Alī Yahya Ibrahim in 1923 agitated by an unknown member poking him with the employee compensation issue. Britain stands watching, content that she had secured her employees' money and unconcerned about the infighting that is taking place. The entire issue of compensation was viewed as a fleecing of the Egyptian treasury by foreigners carried out by the Egyptian government. Figure 4.11 portrays the Finance Minister as the Egyptian treasury, which is being scoured by rats, representing foreigners. The Sudan was yet another predicament faced by the Egyptian government. Britain was not willing to allow the King to rule in the name Egypt and the Sudan but the creators of the constitution were adamant. Figure 4.12 shows the dilemma that was facing Egypt over the Sudan, and the fighting it was creating between her politicians.

The Declaration was adopted and sent to the Sultan on the 28 of February, as the Declaration of Independence.⁷ Immediately after the declaration, Sultan Fuad proclaimed himself King of Egypt and Tharwat formed a government, against the Kings wishes.⁸ King Fuad came to the throne at the age of fifty, barely speaking Arabic or having anything in common with his subjects. He was the son of the exiled, and hated Khedive Isma'il, who, according to George Young provided him with no legal claim to the throne.⁹ "Conscious, probably of his false position and of the prejudice against him as a foreigner, he at first made no attempt to canvass his popularity or to get contacts with his people."¹⁰ He proved however to be a political actor of great acumen.

No cartoons could be published to mock the King, however many satires were made of Michel Lutfalla, a Wafdist parodied as the "Prince of Syria" and Hūsain the self-proclaimed King of Hijaz. Figure 4.13 shows Lutfalla's anger over the attacks launched upon him by *al-Kashkūl*, which he compares to Satan. One cannot help but wonder if the cartoon was not indirectly mocking Fuad himself. In the right-hand corner one can see caricatures of all the Egyptian political figures that *al-Kashkūl* has ridiculed hinting that ideally the King should have

⁷Ibid.

⁸Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) 242.

⁹George Young, *Egypt* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927) 262.

¹⁰Ibid.

been included.

On the Road to a Constitutional Government

Allenby and Tharwat's al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyin (Liberal Constitutionalists) pushed for a constitution, much to the dismay of the King, who would have preferred his own autocratic rule. "Fuad tried hard to avoid a constitution, but could not withstand Allenby who continued to press for it."¹¹ However, it was not for another year that the King granted a constitution that allowed for elections and a parliament. His determination to punish al-Ahrār was evident when he decided to align himself with Zaghlūl, once thought to be one of his enemies.¹²

In April of 1922 the Council of Ministers approved a memorandum that proposed the creation of a commission to oversee the writing of the constitution. The Commission consisted of thirty members, appointed by 'Abd al-Khalīq Tharwat and presided over by Rūshdī Pasha. The Commission of Thirty or 'Lajnit al-Dustūr' included four ex-ministers, nine members of the Legislative Assembly such as Isma'īl Abaza, Ḥūsain Ḥaikāl. The religious sects were represented by Shaikh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Bakrī, head of the Sufi orders; Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhīt, an ex-mufti of Egypt; and by five Copts including the bishop of Alexandria; one Jewish representative. Other members included

¹¹Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle-Eastern Studies* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970) 158.

¹²*Ibid.*, 158-159.

the Bedouins represented by Salih Lamlūm Pasha; the governors of Cairo and Alexandria, the secretary-general of the council of ministers, 'Abd al-Ḥamid Badawī, and the permanent secretary of the minister of finance. Members of the Wafd who had broken with the party but were included were 'Abd al-Latif al-Makabātī represented the Watanīst; Muhammad 'Alī Allūba and 'Abd al-'Azīz Faḥmī, who were now associated with 'Adli and Tharwat's party, al-Ahrār; 'Alī Mahīr, who represented no party.¹³

Al-Kashkūl satirized Egypt's progress in creating the constitution as well as the whole process. Historical allusions aided the satire, as seen in figure 4.14 which portrays a Pharaoh laughing at Tharwat for his cabinets sluggish progress in creating a parliament. The Pharaoh mocks the Prime Minister by saying that he could have built three pyramids during the time he has taken to create a parliament. In figure 4.15 we see why the process took so long, for according to *al-Kashkūl*, the Lajnat al-Dustūr did nothing but sleep.

The Wafd distanced itself from the process since they,

flatly refused to have anything to do with the Constitutional Commission which Zaghlul denounced as the Malefactor's Commission (lajnat al-ashāqiya'), alleging that a constitution was properly the business not of a commission but of a constituent assembly.¹⁴

Zaghlūl was angry and lashing out at not being allowed to lead this effort, even though his arguments were sound. *Al-Kashkūl* sympathized with Zaghlūl, and published a cartoon depicting the

¹³*Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 165.

'beloved leader' angry that his efforts were being used by others to reap the glory (figure 4.16). Al-Kashkūl did mock the efforts of the British to keep Zaghlūl away from the country and for the creation of the constitution. Figure 4.17 portrays Zaghlūl's exile as the fist of Gibraltar clamping down over him. Figure 4.18 represents a reminder to Allenby, the presentation of the map of Gibraltar, so that Zaghlūl's demands would not be forgotten.

Despite, Zaghlūl's rhetoric on the matter, the Commission was made up of a well balanced group representing different interests. However, much of the discussion on the constitution was spent on the powers of the King. Other matters that were also included were universal suffrage for all males above twenty-one years of age. This was a matter that generated a great deal of controversy within the Commission, for was it justified to allow an illiterate vote? Women also unsuccessfully pursued their rights to vote.

Rūshdī intervened when the Commission threatened to dwell on certain issues and he broke the Commission into smaller subgroups. Ḥaikāl describes Rūshdī as vital to the process of formulating the constitution and surprisingly conceding a great number of rights to the king.¹⁵ Rūshdī had a difficult job of "compromise between the ideal and the possible,"¹⁶ in the drafting.

¹⁵Ibid. 166-167.

¹⁶Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) 64.

Figure 4.19 portrays the eminent role that Rūshdī played in the creation of the constitution. The young Egypt is adorned in a magnificent dress and cloak, the constitution, and Rūshdī shorter than the statuesque Egypt, is seen finishing the last stitches. Again, the young Egypt here portrays the image of the modern woman, however if one looks carefully one can observe that the figure resembles an ancient Egyptian woman. The bracelet on the leg and the head piece, which resembles the figure of a snake, were traditionally ancient Egyptian symbols, as is the hair which is cut in the same manner as Cleopatra. The use of ancient Egyptian symbolism indicates the need to compose a true Egyptian identity, which had over the centuries been influenced by many other national groups.

Figure 4.20 shows the liberal Rūshdī, depicted as believing women should be represented in parliament. The shaikh on the other hand, uses *zajal* to repress the women's right to sit in the parliament, by referring to men's dominance 'qawamun' over women, "Delay them, as God delayed them before you." The parody itself hints at a further conflict than the issue of parliament seats. It hints at the women's movement that had formed in Egypt under Ḥuda Sha'arawī. The movement had begun within the confines of the upper strata of society but gained a wide momentum with the outbreak of the revolution in 1919. The women of Egypt in 1919 took to the streets in mass demonstrations alongside the men, an unprecedented move in Egyptian history. To aid the nationalist effort, the wealthy women sold their jewelry to help the workers on strike, they hid important documents when their husbands were arrested, and suffered

casualties at the hands of British.¹⁷ Sha'arawi commented that: "Repeated hardships. . . will not deter me from fighting for the full independence of my country."¹⁸ After the revolution, however, when the women of Egypt were ready to take their place alongside the men, the men refused their request. In a moving statement by Sha'arawi she expressed her disappointment,

Exceptional women appear at certain moments in history and are moved by special forces. Men view these women as supernatural beings and their deeds as miracles. Indeed, women are bright stars whose light penetrates dark clouds. They rise in times of trouble when the wills of men are tried. In moments of danger, when women emerge by their side, men utter no protest. Yet women's great acts and endless sacrifices do not change men's views of women. Through their arrogance, men refuse to see the capabilities of women. Faced with contradiction, they prefer to raise women above the ordinary human plane instead of placing them on a level equal to their own. Men have singled out women of outstanding merit and put them on a pedestal to avoid recognizing the capabilities of all women."¹⁹

Figure 4.20 satirizes the debate that the founders of the constitution held in order to deny women's suffrage and the right to sit in the parliament. The Egyptian women interpreted these acts as a rejection of their liberation, and their disappointment was echoed in many statements such as that of

¹⁷Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) Chapter 4.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁹Huda Sha'arawi, *Harem Years: The Memories of an Egyptian Feminist*, ed. and trans. Margot Badran (London: Virago Press, 1986) 131.

Creating the Constitution. The creation of the constitution brought more governmental bickering to the public's attention than ever before. The Egyptians, who were mostly illiterate did not comprehend much of this talk of constitution, and thus many parodies were created from the situation. Figure 4.21 depicts two men building the parliament, one is putting an iron window grille and the other questions his reasons for doing so. The man placing the railings on the window replies that he is doing so because if the building is not used as a parliament it can be used as a prison. The cynicism and resignation of the workers is such that they may not have perceived the creation of a parliament as an avenue for further liberty. Certainly, it shows the great distrust that the people had for their government, for the use as a prison implies that many government officials were crooks. Another interpretation may be directed at the British, for who had exiled or imprisoned powerful Egyptian politicians in the past. Figure 4.22, shows how easily Britain could remove kings and politicians from power, as in the example of the Khedive's "escape." The constitution was seen by al-Kashkūl as almost a curse that had befallen the nation. Figure 4.23 shows the young female Egypt blinded by it and in figure 4.24 the constitutions creators have withdrawn their support for the obese Egypt, who has been left to ward off the

²⁰Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 96.

fever of the constitution on her own.

The King was strengthening ties once more with the Wafd, during the constitution's creation. The main reason behind his shift in alliance was his distrust of Tharwat. Tharwat close relation with 'Adlī, and his ability to stand up to the King eventually led to his loss of favor with the palace.

The King's intentions were no secret. 'Adlī, Tharwat and Sidqī thus created a political party that would guard the interests of Tharwat's government and ensure the creation of a constitution. Al-Sayyid organized the party and the formation of their newspaper, *al-Sīyasa*, and made Ḥaikāl act as the editor.²¹ In 'Adlī's speech, in October of 1922, he announced the party's creation and its purpose as "support for an independent Egypt; constitutional rule, the protection of civil rights; free speech; and the establishment of social justice."²² Figure 4.25 portrays the man behind *al-Sīyasa*, 'Adlī, sharpening his pen ready to attack his enemies. Figure 4.26, shows 'Adlī's inability to keep up with his enemies, namely the Wafd, and thus he cannot muster enough decisiveness to get out of bed.

The party consisted of mostly dissident Wafdists, young professionals and the land owners.²³ "They believed that a policy of moderation and of compromise with Britain would yield

²¹Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) 64-65.

²²*Ibid.*, 65.

²³*Ibid.*

more rapid results than Zaghlūl's intransigence had done."²⁴ Unfortunately, Britain's refusal to allow the constitution to include the Sudan created further turmoil. The result was that Tharwat was unable to conclude the creation of the constitution. The King and the Wafd were all pushing toward an Egypt that included the Sudan. In figure 4.27 al-Ahrār are praying that the new day will bring consensus for the constitution in the cabinet; just as the two statues at Abu Simbal miraculously sing at sunrise. Further adding to his demise, Tharwat closed al-Ahram and enforced a greater censorship on the press.²⁵

A campaign to discredit the Ahrār was mounted by the Wafdists. As 'Abd al-Rahman Fahmī had been incarcerated in 1921, the terrorist apparatus found a new leader in Shafīq Mansūr.²⁶ In November of 1922, a plot to assassinate 'Adlī and Tharwat at a party meeting backfired. The meeting was canceled, but two members, Ḥasan 'Abd al-Razīq Pasha and Isma'il Bey Zuḥdī who resembled 'Adlī and Tharwat, and never received word of the meeting's cancellation were shot dead.²⁷ Figure 4.28 portrays the Wafd's terrorist apparatus detonating bombs which subsequently hindered the release of those in exile.

The Conference at Lausanne to discuss the fate of the

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992) 277.

²⁶Shafīq Mansūr was later hanged for the assassination of the Sirdar.

²⁷Ibid., 67.

Ottoman Empire convened at the end of 1922. Britain it appears, figure 4.29, was reluctant to allow Egypt to go, playing on her Eastern traditions to influence her not to go. What John Bull seems to have forgotten is that the traditional way of life for women had changed since the 1919 revolt. The "harem years," when elite women had remained secluded from men, sheltered in their own private worlds, were drawing to an end.²⁸ However, "The Egyptian woman, from the moment of the first spark of the revolution of 1919, entered public life from the most honorable door, the door of national struggle for freedom and independence."²⁹ That same door allowed women the freedom to unveil, to participate in political organizations and even represent Egypt in international feminist conferences.

Egypt did send a delegation made up of the different political parties, Ḥafiz Ramadān from the Watani party, Hasan Hasib the student leader and ʿAlī Shamsī from the Wafd, and Saif Allāh al-Yūsri, was the official representative sent by Tharwat.³⁰ Ironically, *al-Kashkūl* portrayed a reluctance on the part of Nisīm's government to send representation, citing the same reasons advanced by John Bull (figure 4.30). This cartoon alludes to a man's ability to declare his wife (Egypt) to be *nashaz* or disobedient and subject to divorce. Perhaps, *al-*

²⁸The "harem years" was the term that Huda Sha'arawi had used to describe her life until the revolution in 1919.

²⁹Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 96.

³⁰Jacques Berque, *Egypt Imperialism and Revolution*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Faber and Faber, 1972) 344.

Kashkūl feared what would occur once the Conference began. Figure 4.31 depicts the countries sharpening their swords in anticipation. Turkey is crushed beneath the weight of her sword while death spins its sharpening wheel and an angel cries in the arms of Uncle Sam for what the nations are about to do. Once at the Conference Egypt seems to have relaxed and was even attempting to flirt with her old friend the Sudan (figure 4.32), for Egypt always desired unity and control over the Sudan. Unfortunately what was decided at the Conference was to plant the seeds of war and animosity for future generations (Figure 4.33).

Tharwat, unable to handle all the pressure brought on by the King's hatred of him, the Wafd's terrorist attacks and the demonstrations, resigned on November 29, 1922. Figure 4.34 describes the chaotic state of affairs the government is focusing on and the interchangeability of politicians. *Al-Kashkūl* compares the situation to a carnival, where one may pick a mask and clothing to suit one's fancy.

Tawfīk Nisīm Pasha attempted forming a government for a short duration which lasted only for three months. The country was in upheaval, with demonstrations and assassinations becoming part of daily life. Nisīm resigned largely due to the renewal of disorder over the question of the Sudan. In figure 4.35 Nisīm hands Allenby an envelope with the terms for the Sudan and asks him to take his time deciding on them. The King finally conceded to Allenby's threats and dropped the Sudan from his

title.³¹

In March 1923, Yahya Pasha Ibrahim's government was formed.³² The Ibrahimiya government came to power after a month of utter chaos and upheaval. Figure 4.36 shows the Ibrahimiya cabinet, ready to battle, holding the globe of the foreign ministry, symbolizing Egypt's fight with the world for its rights. A light shines over them in the corner and they are prepared with their picks, books, balances, phones and globe to go to battle. Bayt al-Umma had been closed by Allenby because of all the protests demanding the return of Zaghlul.³³ Ibrahim himself was the source of great amusement for the cartoonists, for he was constantly depicted in the cartoons. Figures 4.37 to 4.42 portray the ribaldry extracted at the Prime Ministers expense. The cartoons represented Ibrahim's government as a caretaker government, waiting to hand over its power to Zaghlul, thus anything that the Ibrahimiya government proposed to do was ridiculed. Figure 4.40 shows Yahya Pasha whispering in the ear of the Sphinx hoping that inscrutable fate will be revealed. Figure 4.42 shows the lack of legitimacy Ibrahim's government had in the face of Zaghlul's return.

³¹George Young, *Egypt* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927) 264-65. Nisim resigned on February 9, 1923, denouncing the King as a coward for giving into Allenby's threats to stop insisting on an Egyptian monarchy that reigned over Egypt and the Sudan. Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle-Eastern Stories* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970) 172.

³²Amine Youssef Bey, *Independent Egypt* (London: John Murray, 1940) 111.

³³P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992) 278. Bayt al-Umma was the residence of Zaghlul and had been kept open by his wife Safiya Zaghlul, known as Umm al-Misriyyin.

Zaghlul was finally released in March from the Seychelles,³⁴ along with other political prisoners. Figure 4.43 portrays Zaghlul bowing in front of a mirror and stating that he had "tried lying down" from politics but had found that it was an impossible task. The cartoon portrays a dual theme, that neither Zaghlul nor the Egyptians would allow Zaghlul to remain removed from Egypt's political sphere. In April the constitution was finally announced and the electoral law was passed.³⁵ Figure 4.44 mocks the constant bickering of the various parties, and compares the opening of parliament and the abolishment of martial law to a mirage. The idea that the bickering might cease for the good of the country seemed quite remote. A number of cartoons were published over the abolishment of martial law and the law of indemnity. Figure 4.45 shows two shaikhs debating the complicated procedure involved in the abolishment of martial law, which they believe will never happen in their lifetime. The cartoon echoed the feeling that most Egyptians held after living for a number of years under martial law. Another cartoon, figure 4.46 shows the great desire the people had for lifting martial law, during World War I. A *fallah* is drawn burying the law deep within the earth hoping this time its life has run out. Figure 4.47 shows the shaikhs wisely reminding the people that the opening of the parliament requires one more thing to complete it, Zaghlul. The

³⁴Zaghlul did not return, however, until September 1923 to Egypt.

³⁵Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) 67.

British may have appeared to feel uneasy at the lifting of martial law, for now their vehicle for repression had been removed. Figure 4.48 portrays John Bull erasing Egypt from Britain's world globe, as if to symbolize his loss.

The constitution was based on the Belgian model. It was based on a constitutional monarchy that was of French culture, which must have stung the British. The monarchy was to be hereditary, there were to be guarantees for political parties, freedom of the press, and public meetings.³⁶ The King did get everything that he had wanted, however in order for that to have happened, he had to have the Wafd's help. To do this meant that the King in turn would have to help the Wafd gain power.³⁷

Independent Egypt. Zaghlūl, upon landing in Alexandria on the September 17th, 1923, was greeted with cheers of 'Yahya Sa'd' ringing through the streets, while all disorder ceased.³⁸ Figure 4.49 portrays the superstitious improvisation held to greet Zaghlūl, perhaps in an effort to ward off the evil eye. "Zaghlūl being restored to Egypt, Nationalism again took to the field as a political party, and lost no time in making full use

³⁶George Young, *Egypt* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927) 267.

³⁷Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle-Eastern Stories* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970) 175-176.

³⁸Amine Youssef Bey, *Independent Egypt* (London: John Murray, 1940) 111.

of its new constitutional liberties."³⁹ Figure 4.50 portrays Zaghlūl leading his followers despite the danger they may face due to him. The poor donkey only sees the reward he will get if he follows and not the obvious danger before him. Figure 4.51 portrays the authoritarian nature of Zaghlūl, silencing his critics and requiring constant cheering from the masses.

The first elections in Egypt were held in January of 1924, which the Wafd won by a large majority. The Wafd gained 151 seats, while the Ahrār won only seven seats although they had brought out their large guns for the occasion (figure 4.52), the Watanists two seats and fifteen to independents.⁴⁰ Zaghlūl had finally won.

The victory was short lived, Zaghlūl's term was riddled with problems from the beginning. Figure 4.53 portrays the arrogance that Zaghlūl possessed as he tried to overturn what the Tharwat's government had agreed upon with the British. Zaghlūl may have truly believed that he was stronger than the British, therefore they would submit to his demands. Figure 4.54 shows Zaghlūl using the masses to force the British hand. It seems that Zaghlūl had forgotten al-Kashkūl's warning to remember history and not to forget the mistakes of his predecessors. His loyal cabinet was prepared, figure 4.55 shows the three Musketeers, Sa'īd, Mazlūm and Nisīm off to the next battle.

Zaghlūl's cabinet included a mixture of Wafdists and former

³⁹George Young, *Egypt* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927) 270.

⁴⁰Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977) 69-70.

politicians. The list included, Sa'īd, Nisīm and Aḥmad Mazlūm the President of the last Legislative Assembly, all of whom Zaghlūl felt would obey him. Nisīm was allowed to join Zaghlūl's cabinet when he decided to join Zaghlūl's party line, figure 4.56. Nisīm and Sa'īd were constantly mocked in *al-Kashkūl* for their blind devotion to Zaghlūl, figure 4.57 shows the two men racking their brains to please their leader's appetite. Figure 4.58, portrays the two men trying to imitate their leader by placing Zaghlūl like masks on their faces. However, Sa'īd cannot hide his moustache under the mask which he justifies by saying that he cannot be exactly like Nisīm or Zaghlūl for that matter. In this cartoon Nisīm and Sa'īd (figure 4.59) are asking each other about each's respective ministry. Nisīm is complaining of the skeletons which they find in every closet of the ministry.

"The rest of the cabinet was Wafdist, among them two Copts - Markūs Ḥana and Wasīf Ghālī - then Ḥasan Ḥasīb, Najīb al-Gharablī, Fathalla Barakat, and Mūstafa al-Naḥas."⁴¹ Markūs Ḥana is shown in figure 4.60 presenting the Wafd with the heads of Rūshdī, Tharwat, Ibrahīm and 'Adlī, the Wafd's main opposition. Figure 4.61 portrays Ḥana's unquestionable devotion, as demanded by Zaghlūl. The cartoon also represents how Zaghlūl wanted to be perceived by the members of his Wafd, for those who opposed him were bitterly criticized in the press. Hasīb became defense minister, a role from which *al-Kashkūl* extracted great ridicule. Figure 4.62 portrays the tiny Ḥasīb

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 73. Fathalla Barakat was Zaghlūl's nephew and right hand man, as well as having accompanied him, along with Mūstafa al-Naḥas, on his last exile in the Seychelles.

next to the overshadowing British soldier. The soldier knows that the Defense Minister is no threat, thus he burrows deeper in the earth, never to leave. Figure 4.63, Hasib is asked whether he is ready to fight the British if Zaghlul ends negotiations with them. Hasib, with his little toy cannon seems a little hesitant. Nahas was one of Zaghlul's most devoted followers, having even served him in exile. Figure 4.64 shows a theme followed throughout the cartoons. The government worked in the dark and the press brought light upon it, symbolizing the exposure of their secrets.

The King at first seemed to remain in favor of Zaghlul, however this did not last long. Within the first four months of Zaghlul's term in office he resigned twice over differences with the King.

Each time he resigned he drove to the Palace to tender his resignation he was accompanied by a mass of demonstrators who stationed themselves under the palace windows and shouted 'Saad aw al-thawra,' 'Saad or the revolution.' Zaghlul was very secure in the knowledge of his popularity in the country. On one occasion he said with pride 'if he [Fuad] is the King of Egypt, I am the King of their hearts.' The demonstrations were visible and audible proof of the claim.⁴²

Many of the differences that Zaghlul had with the King were justified. However, Zaghlul seems to have won them by threats rather than by justice. Zaghlul's constant threat to resign in order to incite the masses into action against the King were seen as ill favored tactics to gain the upper hand. Consequently, Zaghlul's readiness to urge the masses to mount demonstrations to achieve his goals contributed to British

⁴²ibid., 74-75.

claims that he was responsible for the death of the Sirdar in 1924. That incident then allowed the British to contain his power.

On the 15th March 1924, the first Parliament was inaugurated. Figures 4.65 and 4.66 commemorate the event in a rather an ostentatious manner. In figure 4.65, Nisim leads the procession in a Sufi dance, while Zaghlūl is depicted with a wreath on his head, alluding to Julius Ceaser. Sa'īd and Mazlūm brought the flowers and Ḥasīb brought the key to the parliament. Figure 4.66 portrays the parliament as a child that Zaghlūl will raise, and try to erase what his mother, the Declaration of 28 February, and his father, Tharwat, have taught him. The child's mother is angry and yelling for the child taken from her. In his opening speech "he announced that he wanted a government that 'was Zaghlūlist, flesh and blood' from the lowest 'umda to the top bureaucrat."⁴³ Zaghlūl thus set the pattern for the next generation of governments to follow, autocratic rule and the spoils system.⁴⁴

Zaghlūl's promises were mostly forgotten once he came to power. Censorship was enforced, "Editors, who, in 1924, criticized the Zaghlūl Government were subjected to far harsher treatment than they experienced under British martial law."⁴⁵

⁴³Ibid., 76.

⁴⁴Ibid. The spoils system of party patronage, meant that supporters of the Wafd were brought into power and their opponents dismissed.

⁴⁵M. Travers Symons, *Britain and Egypt: The Rise of Egyptian Nationalism* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1925) 323.

The Freedom of the Press that the Wafd had fought for was soon forgotten. Papers such *al-Sīyasa*, *al-Akhbar* and *al-Kashkūl* were under constant persecution by the Wafd government.⁴⁶ Censorship was greatly enforced by the Zaghlūl government. *Al-Kashkūl* on several occasions published humorous cartoons depicting the way Zaghlūl preferred the press to behave, figure 4.67. Figure 4.68 uses the theme of the press bringing light to the censorship policy practiced by Zaghlūl, and figure 4.69 shows Zaghlūl's distaste for *al-Sīyasa*, the opposition's paper, which criticized him, he insinuates, even in seeming flattery.

Civil unrest returned once more. Sudan had broken out into riots in the summer of 1924, over the issue of its future. Zaghlūl firmly stood by the Sudan, stating that he would not abandon it. Thus, when Zaghlūl left for England that summer, he carried a number of demands to his old friend Ramsay McDonald, the Prime Minister of Britain. The demands were: "withdrawal of British forces from Egypt; union of Egypt and the Sudan; and Britain's relinquishment of its claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt."⁴⁷ Figure 4.70 shows McDonald assuring Zaghlūl that the Sudan is safe in their hands, and so not to worry. The whole issue was threatening both governments, as seen by what figure 4.71 shows, and it was necessary to come to a hasty conclusion. Figure 4.72 portrays Rūshdī off to London to try his luck, but warns Zaghlūl that he will not allow him to

⁴⁶P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) 282.

⁴⁷Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977) 80.

do to him what he had done to 'Adli.

McDonald had a small majority in the House of Commons and was not willing to jeopardize his power to concede to Egypt's demands. So Zaghlūl returned to Egypt with nothing. The situation in Egypt, however, had changed. The King had incited al-Azhār against the Wafd as well as appointing Ḥasan Nashat without consulting his government. Zaghlūl played his usual card, he threatened to resign which brought the masses out threatening a revolution. The King backed down for the last time. Three days later, on November 19, 1924, Sir Lee Stack, the Sirdar or Commander and Chief of the Egyptian army was assassinated.

The incident choked the nation's early political development, for Allenby blamed it on Zaghlūl. Allenby demanded an

Apology, punishment of the criminals, prohibitions of all political demonstrations, and payment of an indemnity of £500,000. It also required the withdrawal within twenty-four hours of all Egyptian troops from the Sudan, removal of the limitation that had, in the interest of Egypt, been placed on the area to be irrigated in the Sudan 'Gezireh'.⁴⁸

All these demands were met. The demands themselves were Allenby's way of crushing Zaghlūl and Egypt in one blow. For Zaghlūl this was the end, in his own words when he heard the news of the Sirdar's death: "We are lost."⁴⁹ As for Egypt, by increasing the cultivation of land in the Sudan, Britain could

⁴⁸George Young, *Egypt* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1927) 276.

⁴⁹Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977) 82.

create a rival cotton crop.⁵⁰ Britain in a sense had given Egypt just enough rope to eventually hang herself, figure 4.73.

Zaghlūl resigned on November 23, and Aḥmad Zīwar Pasha became the next Prime Minister of Egypt, figure 4.74. And so the Zaghlūl era came to an end. Zaghlūl was never allowed to lead a government again, and he died in 1927. The climb to the top, as depicted in figure 4.75 was long and hard, but the fall downwards was too much for the leader to handle. It was later proved that Zaghlūl had nothing to do with the murder of the Sirdar. However, the agitation that he cultivated with the masses could not have been expected to recede peacefully. Al-Kashkūl had published a cartoon, figure 4.76 sympathizing with 'Adlī and Tharwat's positions toward the Zaghlūlist government. In it, 'Adlī and Tharwat are angry that all the problems of the government are blamed on al-Ahrār. 'Adlī, however, is sure that this government will not last and they will be back to pick up the pieces once more. In his lifetime, Zaghlūl accomplished the impossible, he scared the British into giving in to the Egyptian demands, for independent status and legitimizing institutions for self-government. It may have all been an illusion, with the British pulling the Egyptian politician's strings, or it may have been quite the opposite as figure 4.77 implies.

The period between 1922 and 1924 can be seen as a reconstruction period. Britain had in theory compromised its position and allowed Egypt its independence while the Egyptian politicians began to install for the first time a constitutional

⁵⁰ibid.

form of government. Elections were held to chose a government for the first time in Egyptian history, and the people of Egypt chose their beloved leader Sa'd Zaghlul.

Al-Kashkul chose to represent this period rather cynically and critical of all politicians involved in Egypt's reconstruction and transitional period. The cartoons on Ibrahim and later on Zaghlul and the Wafd party tended to adhere to this critical cynicism, as can be seen in figures 4.38 and in 4.61. The cartoons depicted distrust of the Declaration of the 28th of February and those that tried to impose it upon Egypt, figure 4.1, as well as the formation of the constitution, figure 4.23. *Al-Kashkul's* message during those transitional years was clearly that its readers should look past the great speeches of their politicians and closely examine the motivations and actions of those that claimed to have Egypt's best interest at heart.



ثروت باشا يقرر ان الخطير زال عن المريض

Figure 4.1. **A Political Consultation.** Tharwat Pasha thinks that the danger has been removed from the patient. *Kashkul* 66 (1922: August 20).



Figure 4.2. Britain, Egypt and the Declaration of the 28 of February. John Bull: "The Declaration of 28 February is not a toy. . . If you do not like it, I can tear it up." Kashkūl 92 (1923: February 18).



المایشال - تفضل مایعید باشا

سعدی باشا - انا انتظر یا نجمة اللورد الطبق الشانی حتی لا یكون حلی من مثل حلی فی هذا الطبق

Figure 4.3. At a Dinner at Marshall Allenby's House.
Marshall: "Please, help yourself Sa'id Pasha?" Sa'id: "I am waiting, Oh great Lord, for the second course, so that hopefully my luck will not be as with this plate." Kashkūl 63 (1923: July 30).

الكشكول

حريّة اسبوعية مصورة سياية انتقادية

مسدود است و تصریح ۲۸ فبرایر



المستشارين في المجلس الأعلى للمعاشرة في مصر

Figure 4.4. Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul and the Declaration of 28 of February. Sa'd Pasha: "If the men that decided on the Declaration of 28 of February combined their personal bickering in my name for the Declaration, the walls which I am looking at freedom through will be worthless in light of this historical and glorious Egyptian work." *Kashkul* 95 (1923: March 11).

الكشكول

زيت بامبار لونيير



ج. ر. وارد - لا شك في أن لوندون محرمه إلا على الذين إذا
 من أن لا يخرجوا من بلادهم - لا شك في أن لوندون محرمه إلا على الذين إذا

Figure 4.5. **Tharwat Pasha in London.** The Wafd's Newspapers: "No doubt, London is prohibited except to those who ask the English to deal with them and those that don't leave are dismissed." *Kashkūl* 121 (1923: September 7).



Figure 4.6. **The Occupiers or the Good Land Lords.** John Bull: "As long as I have the key, the garden is mine." Kashkūl 33 (1922: January 1).



فيما اليمين - لورد آلينبي - مصر كبريسه خالفين
 لورد آلينبي - وكنا فليست من يدنا

Figure 4.7. The Crown Prince's visit to Egypt. The Crown Prince: "Egypt is good." Lord Allenby: "But it slipped from our hands." Kashkul 57 (1922: June 18).



بدرالدین بک الامن العیام ولکن لاکتایرید هو . بل کتایرید هو (البول دوج)

Figure 4.8. **The Bulldog.** Badr al-Dīn Bey manages the police department, not the way he would like but the way he is led (the bulldog). *Kashkul* 66 (1922: August 6).

الكشكول

حريته مقصورة انتفاعه

تعوين الموظفين الأجانب



هذا هو المفتاح الذي يفتح الخزانة العامة. مفتاح خزانة البلاد. فهو مفتاح كل شيء والواجب ان يقرر ان يقرر لما هو

Figure 4.9. **Compensations for Foreign Employees.** Tharwat
 "This is the national Pasha to those asking for compensations: "This is the national
 treasury, the key to the product of the country. So the
 government of Egypt, is to decide what you are all to get from
 it." *Kashkul* 58 (1922: June 1922).



جون بول - ماذا يصدق في ان يملأوا اذا كنت قد نفذت بقانون التعويضات
دعيت في سيادة منباسة الامم الواقع ??

Figure 4.10. The Laws of Compensation Between Britain and Both Tharwat's and Ibrahim's Cabinet. John Bull: "What do I care if they disagree. If I had come out with the law of compensations I could have succeeded in making a 'fait accompli' policy supreme." *Kashkul* 117 (1923: August 10).



حشمت باشا - حتى فأطأ ألبد اشتغلت بالسياسة وسابت الفيران تبرطع في الخزينة !!

Figure 4.11. **The Egyptian Treasury and the Compensation for Foreign Employees.** Hishmat Pasha: "Even the country cats have been working in politics and have allowed the rats to play in the treasury." *Kashkūl* 123 (1923: September 21).



الدكتور مجيب - يا صاحب الدولة. خشي إذا ذهب دولة عدلي باشا ان يطالب بمصر فقط.
 ولكن انا اطالب بمصر والسودان

Figure 4.12. **Egypt at the Conference of the Near East.**
 Doctor Mahjūb: Oh, Prime Minister, I fear that his eminence
 'Adlī Pasha will only ask for Egygt. But I ask for Egypt and
 the Sudan." *Kashkūl* 74 (1922: October 15).



Figure 4.13. Lutfalla Complaining about al-Kashkūl to the King of Hijaz. Lutfalla: "Only you, oh great savior, can save me from Satan. Al-Kashkūl has attacked the crown that you have placed upon my head, so put a spell on them to guarantee their defeat." Kashkūl 116 (1923: August 3).

مین فرعون و ثروت پاشا



مین فرعون پاشا - عجلو ایمنی بالبرلمان لانکم اخذتم وقیست کان کیفی لائن فیسه ثلاثه اهرام است

Figure 4.14. **Pharaoh and Tharwat Pasha.** Pharaoh: "Hurry up with building the parliament, in the time you have taken I could have built three pyramids." *Kashkūl* 71 (1922: September 22).



الأول - أياهم بعض أعضاء اللجنة الدستور ؟
 الثاني - إذا استند آخر فأنهم ينامون كذلك طوال العام المقبل

Figure 4.15. **The Commission of Thirty.** The first: "Are some of the members of Lajnat al-Dastūr sleeping? The second: "If the heat continues they will remain sleeping the entire year to come." *Kashkūl* 61 (1922: July 16).



يُظنّ وزارةً باسمه نهيل الشعب للثورة ووزارةً فع بن لثورة وزارةً الحرة . . . ولكن زغلول باشا
لا يزال - بعد استئذان " بيت الأمة " فى منفاه . فمن يصور لثورة الوزارة وزارةً الحرة !!!

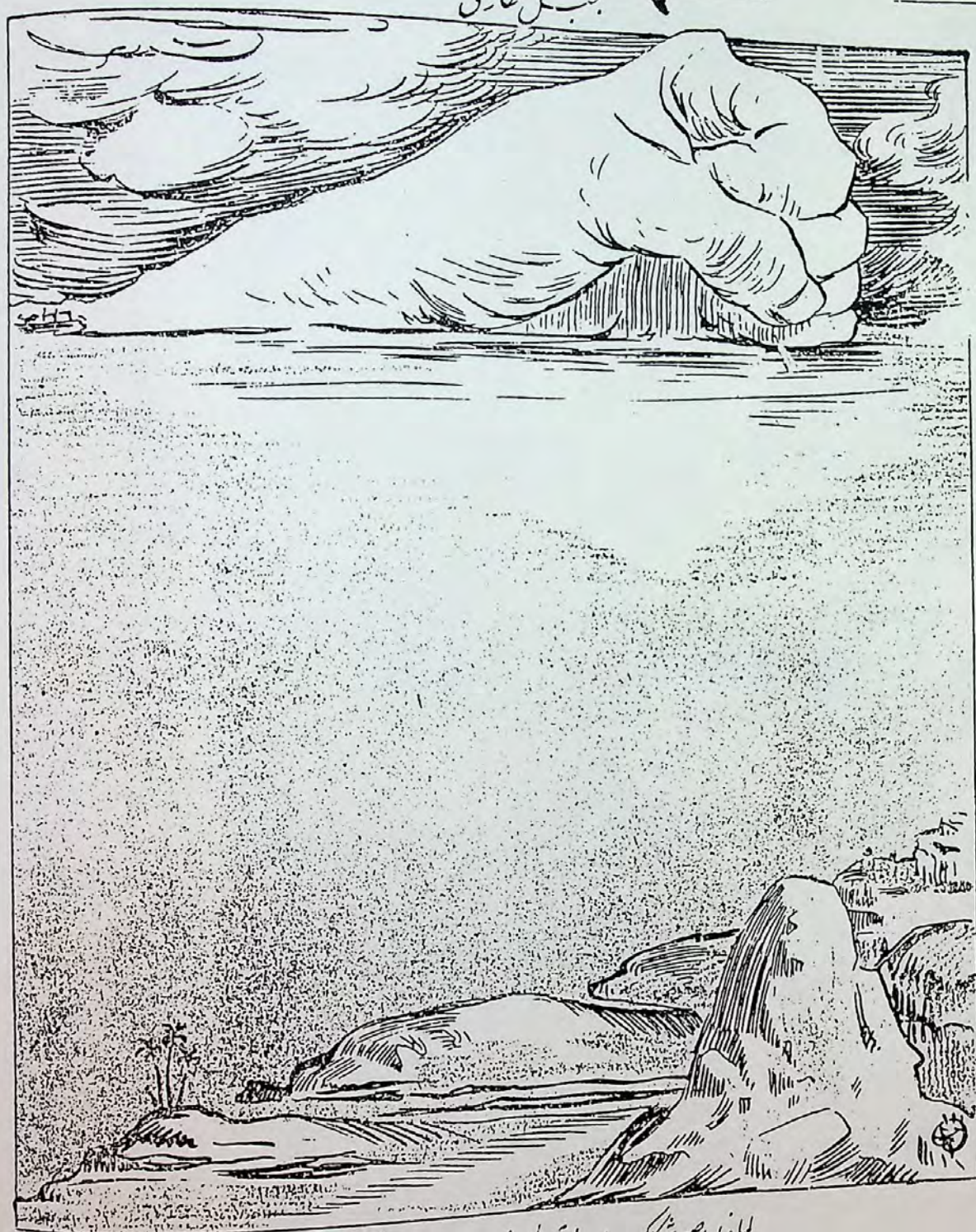
Figure 4.16. **His Excellency, Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul in Exile.** The government of Nisim Pasha, among the cheering of the people, to be formed, not to be a government for oppression but rather one that allows for freedom. . .but Zaghlul Pasha, after gaining permission for Bayt al-Umma, remains in exile. So when will he return so that the government will truly represent freedom? Kashkul 84 (1922: December 24).

الكاشكول

جريدة مستقلة انتقادية

عدد ٧٠

الطبعة ٣٠



لماذا أصبح شكلها كأيدينا المشددة في سجن جبرار ؟

Figure 4.17. **The Rock of Gibraltar.** Why, oh you rock, do you look like the hand of a monstrous jailer? Kashkul 70 (1922: September 17).

لأهل رأس السنة الميلادية



مصر تقدم للساريسال اللبني لعيدتها في رأس السنة فخرية جبل طارق مني لإسنى فقامه مطلبها

Figure 4.18. **For the New Year.** Egypt, presents to Marshall Allenby, in honor of the New Year, the map of the Rock of Gibraltar so that he does not forget its demands." Kashkul 83 (1922: December 17).

مصر ولجنت الدستور



رشدی پاشا فیضیہ آفرینہ الماس

Figure 4.19. Egypt and Lajnat al-Dastūr. Rūshdī Pasha puts the final touches on the fitting of the cloak. Kashkūl 69 (1922: September 10).

الكاشكول

جريدة مصورة انتقادية

في بناء البرلمان الجديد



- بتوضع حديد ليه في الشباك يا معلم علي ؟
على شان ان ما كانش يفتح برلس ان يفتح سجن

Figure 4.21. On the Building of the New Parliament. "Why do you place iron railings on the windows, Mr. 'Ali?" "Because, if it doesn't work out as a parliament it can be used as a prison." *Kashkūl* 87 (1922: August 27).



جون بول - كنت أظن أنني سأكون متعباً بعد نقل كل ما كان للخليفة السابق
ولكن أنا متعجب لأن الخليفة السابق كان أخف وزناً مما كنت أظن

Figure 4.22. What is Remembered of the Previous Caliph's Escape. John Bull: "I thought that I would be exhausted after moving all the Caliph's belongings, more than anyone else's, but I am surprised at how light his weight is." Kashkūl 81 (1922: December 3).



Figure 4.23. **Egypt and the New Government.** Egypt: They are trying to blind me with their constitution." Kashkūl 97 (1923: March 25).



Figure 4.24. **The Constitution Between the Committee Head and its Deputy.** Egypt: "Rūshdī is allegedly sick, Hishmat has been excused by the government. Therefore, both have abandoned me and left me to treat this fever from the constitution which is going to kill me." *Kashkul* 86 (1923: January 7).



عدلی با شایری قلم

Figure 4.25. *Al-Siyasa*. 'Adli sharpens his pen. Kashkul 69 (1923: September 10).

الاحرار الدستوريون وحرب زغلول



عدي باشا — (وهو يتأهب بقطع الوردة ورقة ورقة) — أقوم والا سأقوم مش . . .

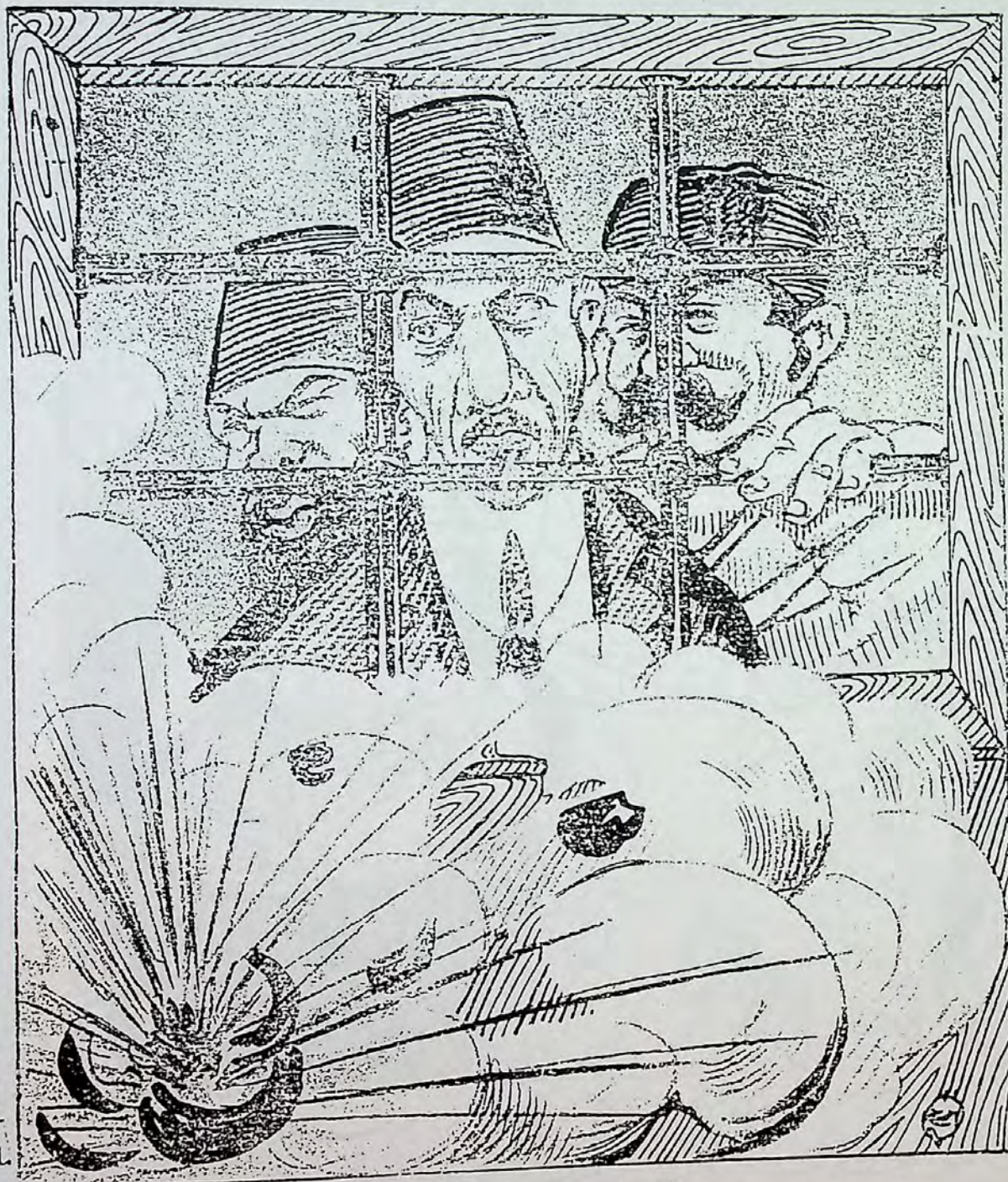
Figure 4.26. **Al-Ahrar in their Fight Against Zaghlul.**
 'Adli Pasha: Tearing the flower petals one by one "Should I get up or should I not. . . ." Kashkul 125 (1923: October 5).



الوزراء المستقرون في الأقصر
 في ٣١ كانون الثاني ١٩٢٣

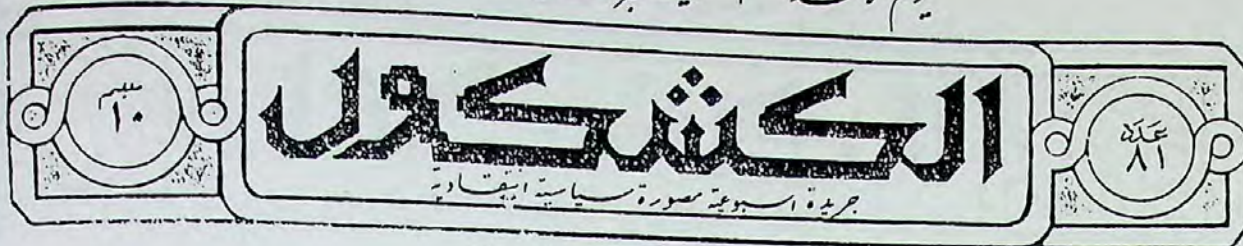
Figure 4.27. **Al-Ahrar Ministers in Luxor.** Tharwat: "They said that these two statues are singing with the rising of the sun each morning, and we shall hear whether they are singing also the tune of the new government's approval of the constitution." *Kashkūl* 88 (1923: Junaury 31).

القنابل والمدة أرن بيسبيل والمائل والمباري



سينوت بك هانا - سامع يا دكتور بحبوب اولور الكلب دول الى ياخروا غروجهنا...؟؟

Figure 4.28. **The Bombs and the Exiled in the Seychelles, Almaza and Mahariq.** Sinut Bik Hana: "Did you hear, Dr. Mahjub? Those sons of bitches are delaying our release." Kashkūl 104 (1923: April 13).

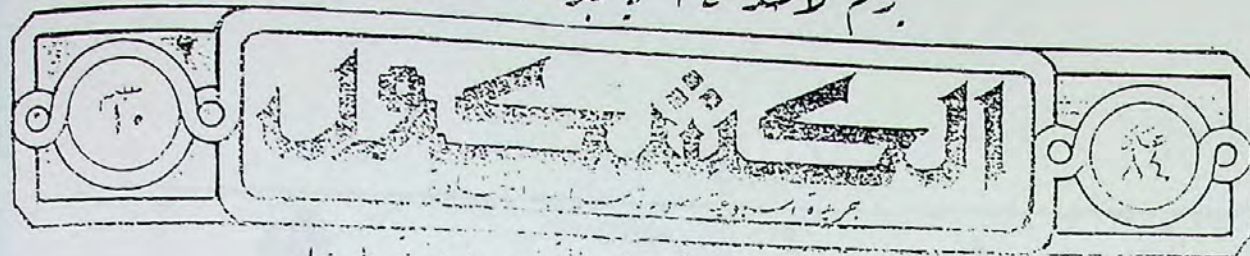


لماذا تأخرت دعوة مصر لمؤتمر لوزان



جون بول - عاوزه تروحي المؤتمر ليه ادا كانست الدول كلها اعترفت معنا باستقلالك
انت يا ست شرقية وعوايدك لست تمنحك من الاختلاط بالرجال ...

Figure 4.29. **Why Was Egypt's Invitation to the Conference of Lausanne Delayed?** John Bull: "Why do you want to go to the Conference? Even if all the countries accepted your independence, you Lady, are Eastern and your traditions still forbid you from mixing with men." *Kashkul* 81 (1922: December 3).



صدر الوزارة اليوم في ١٢ ديسمبر ١٩٢٢



نسيم باشا - انما نس عاوز اروح لوزان ولا اسب مع صبيتم
 ان رحت لو صديك نبقي نايك واطلبك محل الطاعة

Figure 4.30. Egypt and the Nisimiya Government Demand of Representation at the Conference of Lausanne. Nisim Pasha: "I don't forbid you to go to Lausanne, I don't want to be with any other woman. If you go you will be disobedient and I ask for your obedience." *Kashkūl* 83 (1922: December 24).

في مؤتمر لوزان



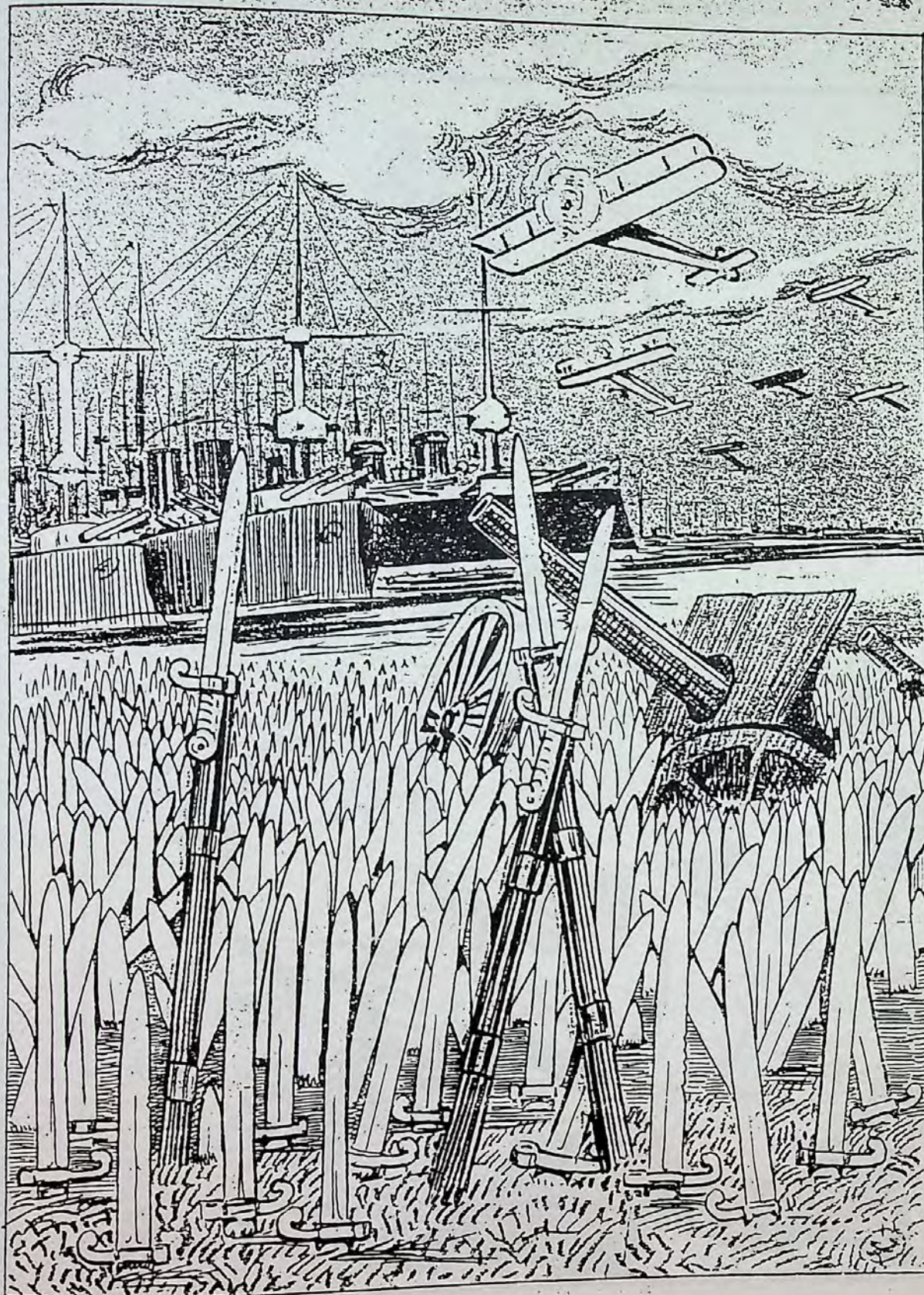
Figure 4.31. **The Lausanne Conference.** The countries are sharpening their swords for war. *Kashkul* 89 (1923: February 4).

مصر والسودان في مؤتمر لوزان



مصر للسودان - اوع تصيق يا جيسي ان السج بياع لوزان يبرد قلبى من حرارة حبك

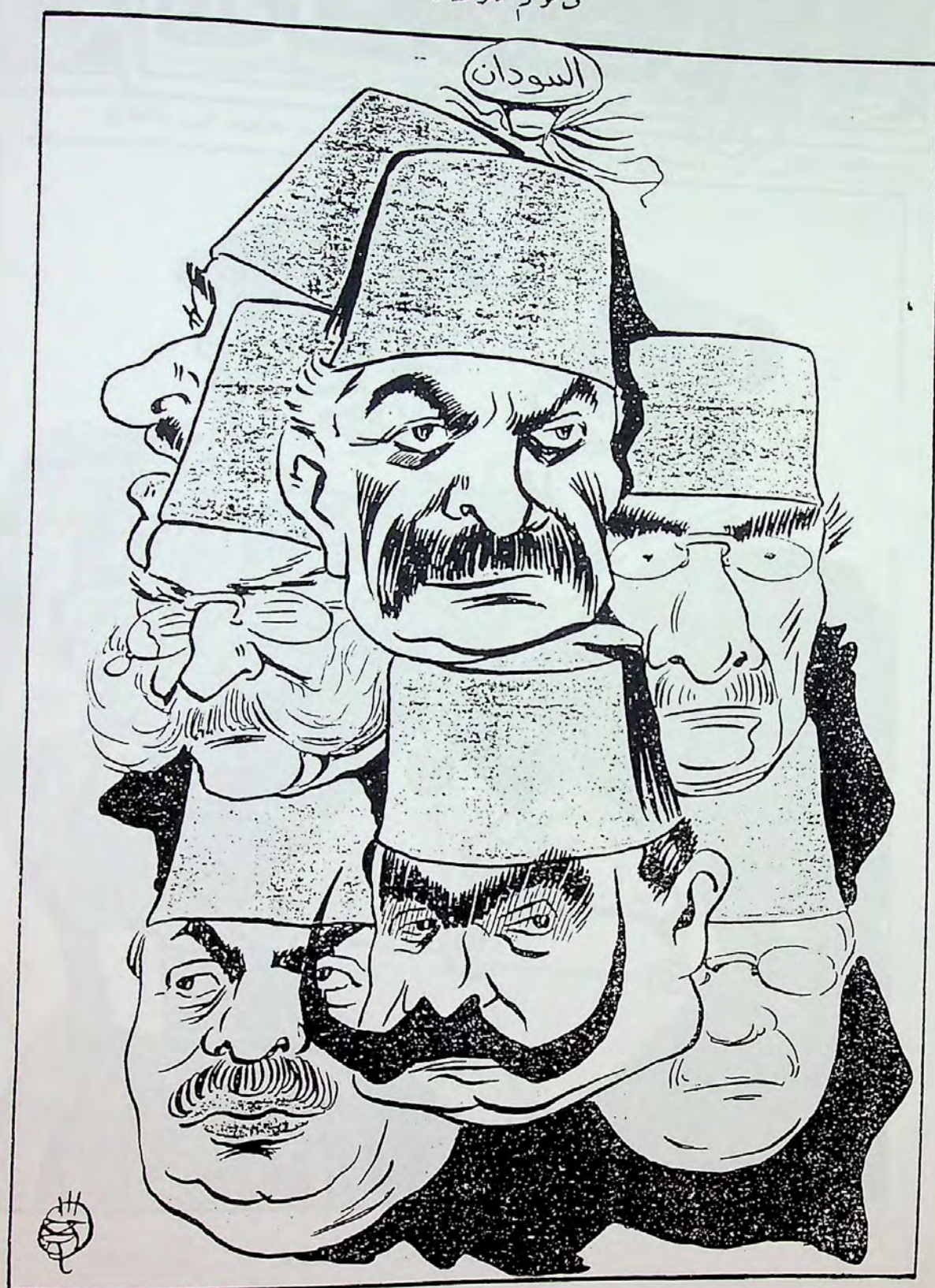
Figure 4.32. Egypt and Sudan at the Conference of Lausanne. Egypt to the Sudan: "Don't believe, my love, that the ice of Lausanne will cool my heart from the fire [its] love for you." *Kashkūl* 78 (1922: November 12).



ان من بزرع الشوك يجمع الثمار . ولقد لانت ارض لوزان اذا ما القوا بذورهم فيها

Figure 4.33. What they Have Decided at the Conference of Lausanne. Whoever plants the thorns will gather the colocynth. And so the land of Lausanne will grow the seeds which they have spread. Kashkul 88 (1923: January 31).

في موسم الكرنفال



في موسم الكرنفال يختار الحكومة

Figure 4.34. **In the Carnival Season.** Egypt chooses a mask for the government from the clothes store at the carnival. *Kashkūl* 91 (1923: February 11).



Figure 4.35. The Government - in a Semi-official Notification- Declared that it Is Waiting for. . . The High Commisioner to Issue the Constitution. Nisim Pasha: "Your Excellancy . . . This is the information that you requested on the relevant terms of the Sudan for the constitution. . .We are in no hurry for your reply." Kashkūl 89 (1923: February 4).



Figure 4.36. **The Ibrahimiya Cabinet.** [Caption illegible]
 Kashkul 109 (1923: April 15).



الپوسچی - الخوابات الی بحیرا لدولتک ترهشہ بعد اعلان الدستور . اد الخوابات
الی کنت بحیرا لہمہل شتمہ

Figure 4.37. A Letter to Congratulate Yahya Pasha Ibrahim After the Declaration of the Constitution. The Postman: "The letters I bring your honor are congratulating you on the declaration of the constitution and are as many as those that I bring you that are insulting you." Kashkūl 99 (1923: April 8).



يحيى باشا - ونعمت المديريين بالمشور ونهت عليهم بترك الانتخابات فردوا ومن ان لم يكون
هذه الرعدة كمثل الرعدة التي قد ستم...

Figure 4.38. The Prime Minister and the Meeting of the **Mayors**. Yahya Pasha Ibrahim: "You promised the mayors the constitution and you warned them about free elections and I hope this promise is like all the other promises you made." Kashkul 110 (1923: April 22).



Figure 4.39. **The Ibrahimīya Government and the Declaration of the Constitution.** Yahya Pasha Ibrahim: "I thank the lady nurse, your assignment is over because I am going to give the baby to an Egyptian nurse now. Kashkūl 102 (1923: April 29).

الكاشكول

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



يحيى باشا - آدي سري طهر ، بارى سرك ايه يا بحر ، واه ايه بحيره له القدر ... !!

Figure 4.40. After the Ibrahimiyah Cabinet Reshuffle.
Yahya Pasha: "There, my secret is out. I wonder what secrets
you are hiding, and what is fate hiding from both of us."
Kashkul 117 (1923: August 10).



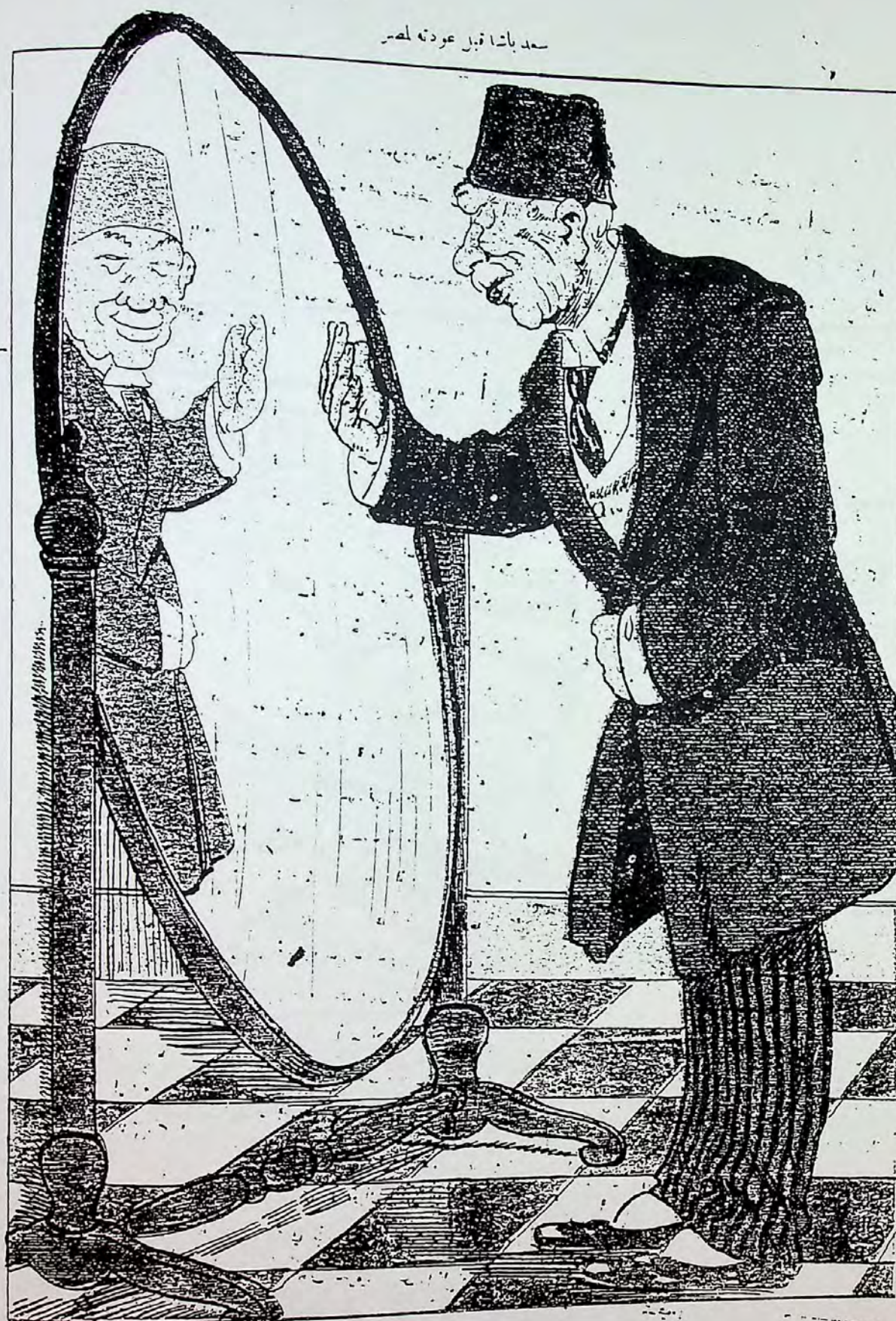
يحيى باشا - ان القواني التي يسير فيها الشعب تجعله وئسا كاسرا فوجب ان تكون سلسلة
القواني التي تربطه قوية ...

Figure 4.41. **The Head of the Laws and the New Laws.** Yahya Pasha: "The mess that the people are finding themselves in is turning into a terrible monster, so the chain of laws that contain it should be as strong as possible." *Kashkūl* 119 (1923: August 24)



رئیس‌نوزاد - یکنال یا عزیز ری‌الباسا ان سخل فقد فتحت لک الباب علی صراغیه . فقد یوتسی
ان الباب له بواب . . .

Figure 4.42. **Between the Prime Minister and the "Beloved Leader"** The Prime Minister: "You can, my dear pasha, come in, for I have opened wide the door for you, just don't forget that the door has a guard. . ." Kashkūl 117 (1923: August 10)



سعد باشا — أفند حركات الاستقلال ومن السياسة أن أفند الأتقاء هذه المرة

Figure 4.43. **Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl Before his Return to Egypt.** Sa'd Pasha: "I tried lying down but it is politics to master bowing this time." *Kashkūl* 131 (1923: September 7)



الاحكام العرفية والاتفاق على قانون التضمين
للدستور في البرلمان وقد لا يخفى بالاسر

Figure 4.44. **The Egyptian Parties and a Mirage of Parliament.** The Egyptian parties are united to lift the Parliament. The Egyptian parties are united to lift the martial law and to agree upon the law of indemnities for the constitution in parliament, and so they might attain the mirage. Kashkul 87 (1923: January 14).



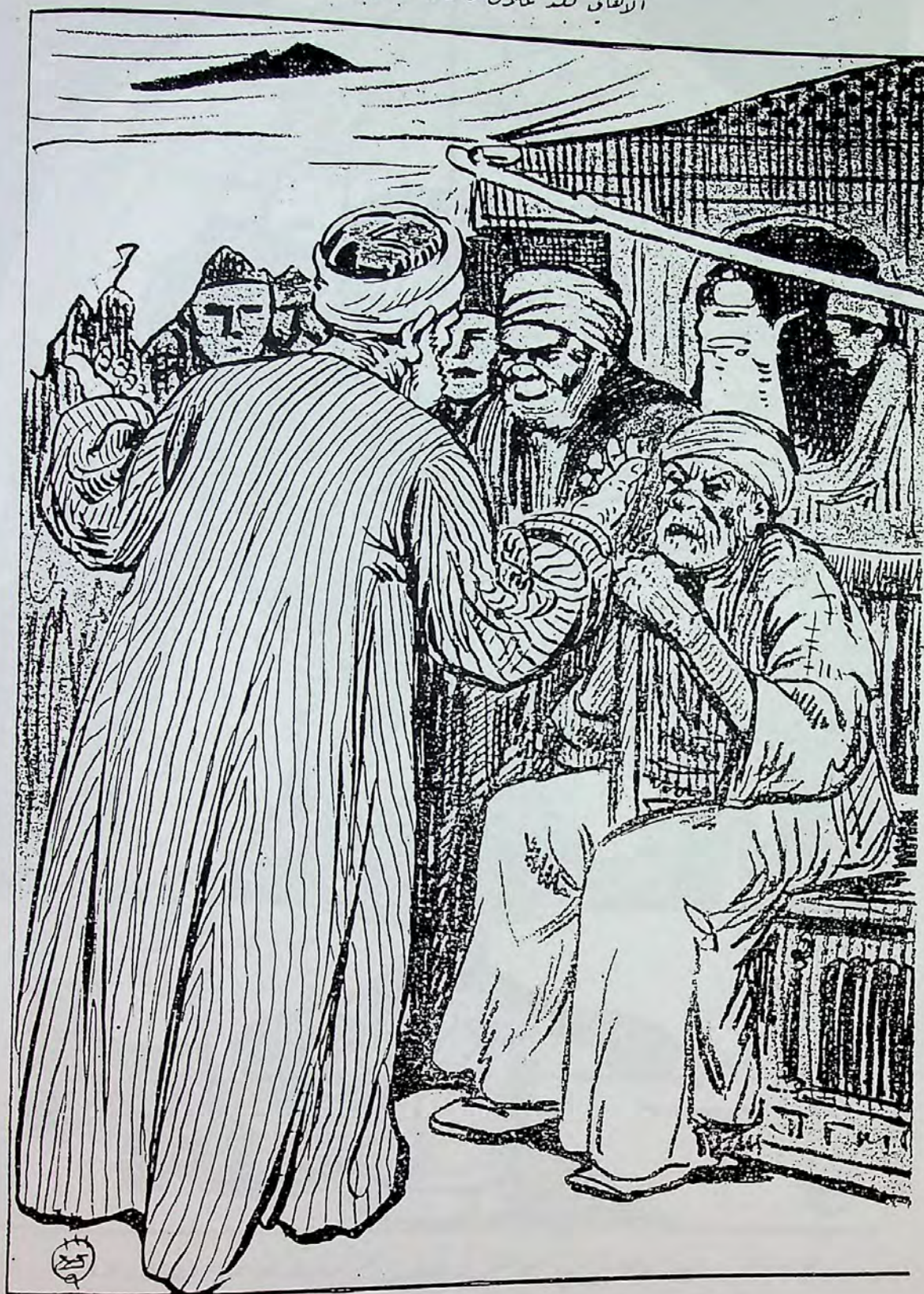
ابن علي - اما عرابي . علان يسلموا الاعظام العربية لازم يصدروا قانون الضمانات . وعلان يصدر
قانون الضمانات لازم يصدر عليه البرلمان . وعلان يعملوا البرلمان لازم يعملوا الانتخابات . وعلى كذا ما
انها اسه عارفيه ان كانت الاعظام العربية تسال واما عاربيه واللا طاموت

Figure 4.45. Bewteen Shaikh Muhammad and Shaikh 'Alī in the District of al-Azhar. Shaikh 'Alī: "This is strange. In order to remove the martial law they have to enact the law of indemnities. And do to enact the law of endemnities they have to get approval from parliament. And to create the parliament they have to hold elections. And after all this they do not know whether the martial laws will be removed in our lifetime." Kashkūl 83 (1922: December 24).



الحكاية في نفسه - اضاف ان يكون الاحكام العرفية كالقطط بسبعة ارواح . ولذلك فخر لها مقبرا عميقا لئلا يمكن ان تخرج منه

Figure 4.46. The Martial Laws Are on their Death Bed. To himself: "I am afraid that the martial laws are like cats with seven lives, therefore, I will dig a very deep hole so that they cannot escape." *Kashkūl* 71 (1922: September 24).



أحد الرافعي - البرلمان - يا جماعة - يبقى « رئيس محبوب » بدل سعد باشا

Figure 4.47. **The People After the Declaration of the Law of Elections.** One of the people: "The parliament my friend, is missing our beloved leader Sa'd Zaghlul." *Kashkul* 99 (1923: April 8).



جون بول . رفعنا الاملاك العربية عن مصر فانقطعت ارض علاقه لنا بها ولذلك فاني

اسمها من خريطة املاكنا

Figure 4.48. **Britain's Possessions and Egypt.** John Bull: "We have lifted the martial law from Egypt. The relationship between Egypt and us has been severed. So wash it off our map of possessions." *Kashkūl* 115 (1923: July 27).



حميد پاشا الباس - طمها (منايا)، المشايخ - شيخ والبربر - حارود - من سيرة شيخ واليهاد (البيادر) في عين الانبياء
 سيد اشيا - هم حميد اشيا كان اشيا في رقة مشهورا

Figure 4.49. **Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul's Welcome.** Hamid Pasha al-Basil: "Strike it Pasha and let the salt and gunpowder fall in the eyes of the envious. And salt and spices in the eyes of the evil ones." Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "Has Hamid Pasha been working in 'Ra'wit 'Ashra?" *Kashkul* 124 (1923: September 28).



هذا يقود الوعد «أبناهم يدعونه إلى التطلع للرسم ولا يحذرونهم الهاوية»

Figure 4.50. **The Donkey and the Cliff.** This is how the Wafd is leading its followers by telling them to look at the fodder and does not warn them against falling off the cliff." Kashkūl 131 (1923: November 16).



سعد باشا — لقد تضدعت جدران « بيت الامة » من صياح الذين يسون انفسهم « أنصار حرية الرأي » ولا بد ان يختاطي هتاف أعدم به الاساس قبل ان يقع انقراضاً

Figure 4.51. Bayt al-Umma and the Continuation of the abandonment of the followers. Sa'd Pasha: "The walls of 'bayt al-umma' have been falling down due to the screams of those who call themselves "friends of the freedom of opinion." I must be surrounded by hailing in order to support the foundations before it falls to pieces." Kashkul 131 (1923: November 16).



عدي باشا — حشونا انفدع والكر لا يزال لا يتطلق ولا تزال اصوات « الفوغا » تدوى

Figure 4.52. **The Meeting of al-Ahrār.** "Adli Pasha: "We have loaded the gun but it still won't fire, and still the mob's voices are exploding." *Kashkūl* 133 (1923: November 30).



سعد باشا - أجلس على كرسى الوزارة « من غير أن يعتبر قبولى لتحمل أعبائها اعترافاً بآية حالة أو حق استنكره الوند الذى لا أزال منتفراً برئاسته » ولم يبق - لا كون صادقاً - إلا أن افتتح في الحال - وأنا رئيس الحكومة وصاحب الكلمة الأولى - باب السجون للمسيجون البائسين وأن أصدر الأمر في الحال للخزينة بإيقاف صرف التعويضات

Figure 4.53. Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul and the Declaration 28 of February. Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "I'll sit on the cabinet chair, but my acceptance to the chair, to carry its responsibilities, and not a confession of any case or any right that the Wafd denied, I am honored to be the leader and nothing remains - to be truthful - except that I am the head of the government and have full authority - the door to the prisons will be opened to discharge its political prisoners and to close the treasury and stop paying compensations." *Kashkul* 142 (1924: February 1).



Figure 4.54. **Between Sa'd Zaghlul and John Bull.** Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "You ask me about independence, don't you see these demonstrations?" *Kashkul* 143 (124: February 8).



سید پاشا - آن‌وقت که در آن - عیاً با آن‌ها
 مملوک پاشا - زالی به و شاع به ۲ اجناس کشا و جلاش
 نسیم پاشا - به قلعه پاشا - و زمان به باقی سید پاشا - به پشتمن به ۲۲

Figure 4.55. **The Three Musketeers.** Sa'id Pasha: "To the fight, get going heroes." Mazlūm Pasha: "What fight? Haven't we won the fight?" Nisim Pasha: "By God tell him Pasha. And what kind of a fight is that Sa'd Zaghlūl doesn't get involved in?" *Kashkul* 142 (1924: February 1).



محبي باشا — أنت نسيت نعيم في السودان
 سعد باشا — لقد انضموا تحت علمنا . فهل نسيت أنت أن (الوطن) عفور رحيم !
 ثروت باشا — ناس لها تحت وناس لها . . .

Figure 4.56. Deserving the "Appreciation of the Nation"
 Yahya Pasha Ibrahim: "You have forgotten Nisim's deed in the Sudan." Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "He has united with us under our flag. Have you forgotten that the (nation) is forgiving and merciful." Tharwat Pasha: "Some people are God and others. . ."
 Kashkūl 128 (1924: October 26).

في خدمة زغلول باشا



سعيد باشا - الطبخ "مرئيس" أبيه النهارده باسم باشا

Figure 4.57. In the Service of Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha. Sa'id Pasha: "What should we cook for the "leader" today, Nisim Pasha?" Kashkul 126 (1923: October 12).



اسم نك — خدای بابك شواریك بره عشاك بقرودا من اعض
سمید پاشا — بطیمة حال مش لاقی مطرح خبیثه به . وادی الی مش سا بکی زبیت . . .

Figure 4.58. Sa'id Pasha and Nisim Pasha Placing the Mask of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul on their Faces Before Entering Parliament. Nisim Pasha: "Let your moustache be seen from your mask so we can tell each other apart. Sa'id Pasha: "Naturally, I can't hide it anyway. And for that same reason I can't be exactly the same as you." *Kashkul* 133 (1923: November 30).



Figure 4.59. **Between the Minister of Education and the Minister of Finance.** Sa'id Pasha: "How are you doing in finance, Nisim Pasha?" Nisim Pasha: "Just as your are doing in education, they have placed for us a ghost in every 'kharaba' (shack)." *Kashkūl* 148 (1924: March 7).



سینوت حنا - لا حياة للوفد الا بوزل هذه الرؤوس فهو يقدمها لكم ويوصيكم بنوشها جيداً . لانها دسمة ان سهل مضغها تدبر مضغها

Figure 4.60. **Sinut Hana Presents to the Nation, on Behalf of the Wafd, Breakfast Every Morning.** Sinut Hana: "There is no life for the Wafd without the removal of these heads, so I, on behalf of the Wafd, present them to you, and recommend that you eat it all up. It is kind of heavy, easy to chew but hard to digest." *Kashkul* 124 (1923: September 28).



سعد باشا - انا في "المتحاب"، واليك في الزمان. الا يراونون بكرو. زعماني.
 سينات حنا - سبحانك جلت قسوتك. ونقدت مشيقتك. خلفت من عدم. ورايتك من عدم. ... حرمنا. ما ابلغ هذه الدلالة التي على
 وليم شبيد

Figure 4.61. **Sinat Hana in Front of the 'Beloved Leader.'**
 Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "I'm among the clouds, all the rest are in
 the dust. Are they still denying my leadership?" Sinat Hana:
 "Your Graciousness, how powerful your abilities and sacred your
 will is. You have created me from nothing, what a marvelous
 prayer that William 'Abaid has taught me." Kashkul 131 (1923:
 November 16).



حبيب باشا - يا لطيف !! العسكري واقف على الأرض وصوائع رجليه تاتنية في بطنازي جذور الشجر
من ك لى للممارسين الجانين الى مانتهمش د نبريدة ولا قوة بالجلاد فكيف نفس ان جذور هذا الاحتلال مانتهمش
م... 11

Figure 4.62 **Defence Minister and the Occupation.** Hasib Pasha: "Ya Latif", the soldier is standing on the ground, yet his toes are growing deep inside the earth, just like the roots of the trees. If we give in to the mad opposition, who process no 'power' and accept evacuation. How are we to guarantee that the occupant's root wouldn't grow anew!" Kashkul 159 (1924: May 30).



سعد باشا - هل انت بعفكك وزير الحرية مستعد فيسبب مني ان اقطع المفاوضات ... وعين تأخذ على مشوليتك ذلك ..

Figure 4.63. Between the Head of the Negotiations and the Minister of Defence on What has been Asked by the Representatives in Executing the Law of Compensations. Sa'd Pasha: "Are you as a minister of defence ready, so if i am asked to end the negotiations would you take that on your responsibility." Kashkūl 154 (1924: April 25).



Figure 4.64. **The Wafd and its Enemies the Journalists.**
 Mustafa al-Nahas: "What's the use of this umbrella if it shades
 me from the rays of the sun, it won't protect me against the
 rays of truth that those newspapers reflect." *Kashkul* 139
 (1924: January 11).



Figure 4.65. Celebrating 'Majlis al-Shaiyyūkh' to Honor the Leader and the Festival of the Opening of Parliament. Leader: "God help our clown." Kashkūl 150 (1924: March 28).



سعد باشا - استغلنا أن نسكر (ثروت) والد الفلام (البرلمان) وليس في قوتنا أن ننسبه أمه (تصريح ٢٨ فبراير) إلا إذا خطفناه
أوغذناه ولم يبق نسله ...

Figure 4.66. **Sa'd Pasha Claims that March 15th is Parliament Day and Independence Day.** Sa'd Pasha: "We have denied that Tharwat is the father of the child (the parliament) and it is not in our power to forget his mother (the declaration) except if we kidnapped the child from her and fed him with Nestle milk." *Kashkul* 150 (1924: March 28).

مليم
١٠

الكشكول

عدد
١٥١مكشكول
هكذا يريدون أن تكون جريدة الأخبار وجريدة الكشكول

Figure 4.67. *Al-Kashkul* and *al-Akhbar*. That's how they wish *al-Kashkul* and *al-Akhbar* Newspapers should be. *Kashkul* 151 (1924: April 4).



Figure 4.68. **The Kashkūl is Prohibited from Attending the Parliament in Session.** Sa'd Pasha: "What is this? Remove from my face this lantern because I can only work in the darkness." *Kashkūl* 151 (1924: April 4).

جريدة السياسة تنزف الى « الرئيس المحبوب »



« السياسة » — أقدم الى دولة الرئيس الحبيب هذه الباقة التي جمعتها من أحسن أزهار بلاغتي وبياني ...
 سعد باشا — كم مرة وسمعت أفنك الشاكر ... من الأزعاج !!

Figure 4.69. *Al-Siyasa* Newspaper Flattering the 'Beloved Leader.' *Al-Siyasa* Newspaper: "I present to you, your excellency, great leader, this bouquet of flowers, which I have gathered from the best and most wonderful flowers in my garden of words and articles." Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "How many time have you put your most bitter medicine between your flowers." *Kashkul* 143 (1924: February 8).

السودان بين رئيس الوزارة المصرية ورئيس الوزارة الانكليزية



مستمر ما كدوناك - ما الذي يشغل بالك يا عزيزي زغلول / ان تغادرك ومد كراتك يوم مفاوضاتك الاولى وقبلها وبعدما غفوة
لجنة بوزارة الخارجية بطلب تأجيل القرار في أمر السودان . واسكترا ارحب بوجهة نظرك وها هي تربية وتغذية لك حتى يكبر ..
وانتي قائل ..

Figure 4.70. Sudan Between the Egyptian and British Prime Minister. Mr. McDonald: "What is troubling you. My dear Minister. Zaghlul your reports and notes in the day of your first negotiations and before and after are kept in custody in the ministry of foreign affairs demanding putting off the issue of Sudan and england welcomes your point of view and here she is raising and feeding it until it grows, and we will be in touch." Kashkul 153 (1924: April 18).



مصر من كبحها - رأيت من أين غمرنا حتى السباحة
سعد باشا - هذه السباحة من المفاوضات حتى غرقنا في غرق

Figure 4.71. **Deep Political Waters.** Mr. McDonald: "Are you aware of how far we have drifted into the deep political waters. Sa'd Pasha: this is why I pressing for speedy negotiations so as to reach a settlement before we drown." *Kashkūl* 156 (1924: May 9).



سعد باشا — دولتك يا باشا تعرف خريضة انك انا طبيب . فيمكنك ان تنهب حيث شئت على ان تستدعيك ان دعت الحال
 رشدي باشا — فقط اتوس بادولة الباشا ان لا تعمل العملة واشيها ي . ذي ماتحت مع عندي في حكاية ملير

Figure 4.72. **The Negotiations Between Sa'd Pasha and Rūshdī Pasha.** Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl: "You pasha, know the map of England, so that you can go wherever you please, on the condition that we can call you back if the situation arises." Rūshdī Pasha: "Only you, pasha, on the condition that you don't do the deed and make me responsible as you have done with 'Adli in the matter of Milner." *Kashkūl* 156 (1924: May 9).



Figure 4.73. **Independence Between Egypt and England.**
 John Bull: "I've given you - sweetie - the rope so freely. Mind
 you could be useful for playing and useful for hanging."
 Kashkūl 140 (1924: January 18).



Figure 4.74. **The Ministers** Robes. Zīwar Pasha and Hishmat Pasha in Ministers Clothing. Kashkūl 97 (1923: March 25).

سعد باشا على قمة الهرم



سعد باشا سخطد بئر الله وصعدت على أكتاف الامة الى قمة الهرم الاكبر . ويخيل لي ان النزول أصعب من الصعود . . .

Figure 4.75. **Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl on Top of the Pyramids.**
Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl: "God has helped me and I have climbed on the
soldiers of the rotation to the peak of the Khufu pyramid. And
I imagine climbing down would be much more difficult." Kashkūl
144 (1924: February 15).



بوت پاشا: "وہیں میں نے بدترین حالت دیکھی ہے۔
 آدلی پاشا: "یہ دنیا کی بدترین حالت ہے۔
 آدلی پاشا: "اس دن آئے گا جب تم کو پتہ چلے گا کہ تم نے کیا کیا ہے۔"

Figure 4.76. "Adli, Tharwat and the Parliament. Tharwat Pasha: "This was one of the worst catastrophes that I have seen, cannot be contained and what we are held responsible for, all the world's problems, while we are in power." "Adli Pasha: "The day will soon come when you will be called to put right what they have spoilt, and rebuild they have ruined, a long life allows for the discovery of hope." *Kashkūl* 140 (1924: January 18).

الكشكول

الكترا والسياسة المصرية



جون بول - ان مركز انكترا في مصر يمدده مهارتي في اللعب بالسياسيين المصريين المشواين أو مهارتهم في اللعب بي ...

Figure 4.77. **British and Egyptian Politics.** John Bull: "England's position in Egypt is renewed by my skill of playing with Egyptian politicians or their skill in playing with me." Kashkūl 119 (1923: August 24).

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Political cartoons in Egyptian history have attained a greater importance over the years. They hold a dual role as a primary source and a visual reaction to events. A historian, with a background in Egyptian history, can re-tell much of what occurred during the 1919 revolution and after merely by studying these political cartoons. Furthermore, in some instances they were more valuable visually than historical literature, for they focused on the specific aspect of situations from an Egyptian perspective and allowed the reader to picture the event. This gives the reader a more in-depth understanding of the period.

I chose to write this thesis utilizing political cartoons in order to understand this revolutionary period in Egyptian history. The cartoons verified what was recorded in the history of the period, but also reflected a side of the political actors and issues that could not be written. The strong images that the cartoons presented show the reader many aspects of the revolution and the period that followed. The cartoons cemented the images of Egyptian political leaders and issues that the historical literature discussed. However, unlike the historical literature, the cartoons allowed the reader to question the events and political actor's motives, constantly striving to show the latest reaction.

Al-Kashkūl and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* both recorded their perception of the events visually allowing the reader to draw

upon various faces or characters that each of the leaders who graced the Egyptian political arena had. Merely reading about a history that occurred over sixty years ago does not impart a living understanding of the situation as do political cartoons. The cartoons touched upon important facets such as weaknesses in the political leaders, Zaghlūl's need to dominate the political arena against all odds; economic hardships, the high cost of living compared to the poor salaries that the peasants received; social transformations, women's unveiling; popular hopes and cynicism, the hope that one day Egypt would gain its independence but realizing the British where there to stay. It is virtually impossible to obtain similar information in an indigenous tone from any one history book. However, interpretation of the cartoons required research into a number of historical books, journals, and personal interviews.

The political cartoons from *al-Kashkūl* were a fascinating source of material. *Al-Kashkūl* began its circulation in 1921, showing early signs of a sharp critical wit and humor. The early humor was limited to social issues such the introduction of the automobile in Egypt. The cartoons themselves were rather primitive, the artist approaching the cartoons as sketches. As *al-Kashkūl* matured, the cartoons became stronger and more vocal, striking out at all political social injustices. By 1924, *al-Kashkūl* had reached its peak and the cartoons reflected the magazine's strength in its criticism of Egypt's newly created constitutional government. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* never reflected the strength and humor that *al-Kashkūl* had attained; one can see this by merely comparing the two magazines cartoons

it had been weakened by censorship by 1918.

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The power of the political cartoon is immense, for one picture can tell its reader what a book may require in a chapter to relate. Highlighting the important facts and ridiculing them allows the reader to experience the history rather than merely read about it. Unfortunately, because of the cartoon's association with entertainment and with popular culture it has been largely ignored by historians, anthropologists, and sociologists alike.

The political cartoon combines two forms of language, the visual and the textual.¹ "This double coding leaves greater space for ambiguity and contradiction, making strips an ideal location for the examination of unconscious messages."² The unconscious message in the case of *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* had been Egypt's independence and the need for Egyptians to stand up their oppressors. Alan and Fedwa Malti-Douglas describe cartoons as a form of ideology, which *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* presented as nationalism and Egyptian self-rule.³ The cartoons could act, to the illiterate masses, as a priest to his parishioners, a shaikh leading the Friday prayers, or a political agitator summoning his audience

¹Alan and Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Arab Comic Strips* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) 6.

²*ibid.*

³Centre d'Études et de Documentation Economique Jurisdiqes et Sociales, 1991, *Images d'Egypte: De la Fresque à la Bande Dessinée*, 78.

to battle, in other words, as an impetus to the masses.⁴ Thus one can deduce that *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* could have struck at the nations collective unconscious and incited them to revolt in the name of nationalism.

Political cartoons are only today being preserved around the world, which is timely, but many past examples, unfortunately, have already been lost. This was the predicament I faced when researching political cartoons in Egypt.⁵ The other problem faced was the use of vernacular language to illustrate the cartoons. Much of the vernacular language used had lost its meaning sixty years later, and proved difficult to translate.

The vernacular language used in many of the cartoons reflects the desire on the part of the magazines to attract all facets of society. The language and the cartoons allowed any Egyptian to understand the symbolism and metaphors behind the cartoons. Benedict Anderson writes that: "Print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness."⁶ *Al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* were no exception, having chosen a method of presentation that was more useful than any other printed material could have ever been in furthering the national cause.

Historically, Sa'd Zaghlūl and the entire transformative process in Egyptian political life can be broken into two lines

⁴Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983) chapter 2.

⁵Due to the large turnover in circulation that these magazines had it was impossible to locate the publishers and request back issues. The only available means of requesting back issues was Dar al-Kutub, which unfortunately, for a number of reasons had lost many of the issues.

⁶Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983) 44.

of approach. These represent those who opposed Sa'd Zaghlūl and how the Wafd developed and those who saw legitimacy in what he and the Wafd did. Al-Kashkūl remained critical of anyone on either side who assumed a political position, more so than al-Latā'if al-Musawwara. Therefore, Zaghlūl as a political character in a public sphere was criticized and ridiculed as was everyone who graced the political stage.

Censorship was a great problem during this period, enforced first by the British, then by the Egyptians and was a constant subject for the cartoons, for censorship constituted a form of repression. As was the law of Assembly practiced by the British to exile Zaghlūl and his colleagues and later by Zaghlūl to silence his opposition. Many cartoons touched upon the hypocrisy that existed, displaying what the British practiced in their own continent or in Egypt, and what Zaghlūl preached and what he enforced. In Zaghlūl's case, the concept that the oppressed becomes the oppressor can be seen in figure 5.1. Zaghlūl stands over the fallah's back, as if to break it, and says "this is how you should follow me." This vivid image portrayed gives a very different picture from that described by most Arab historians. Figure 5.2 allows the historian to see the image of a Zaghlūl cooperating with the British, a picture that varies completely from those generated by British authors.

Thus, the cartoons allow historians to search for a new version of the past. As Zaghlūl was portrayed by the cartoons as a cross between what the British and Arab historians recounted, one can see an image of a great man who fought to rid his country of colonialism. As he was a man who simultaneously

a great number of mistakes that eventually cost him the power he had fought so hard to attain.

The political cartoons gained their legitimacy in historical literature concerned with nationalism through the institutional and cultural pressure they lent to movements.⁷ No one can deny the influence the press had on the nationalist movement in Egypt; for why else would the various parties have created their own newspapers? Furthermore, why would Zaghlūl have used censorship to silence his opposition, which included *al-Kashkūl*?

The use of the mass media to promote a national cause was used by the Wafd until the first formal elections in Egypt. "Newspapers, commercial advertising, movies, radio, were not only increasingly 'national' but they attempted to make the readers, listeners, and viewers good patriots."⁸ Political cartoons took their cause a step further, for they allowed the illiterate in Egypt to join in the movement by allowing them accessibility to ideas. After the national cause gained power, the need to promote nationalism subsided, Zaghlūl was faced with the task of promoting his administration. This was a difficult task, for he had engendered some of the distrust that the masses held for their government. The press did not always agree with Zaghlūl or other politicians who gained power, thus were not willing to promote him. In addition, political cartoons questioned blind belief in any government, ridiculing the

⁷Boyd C. Shafer, *Nationalism, Myth and Reality* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), 182.

⁸*ibid.*, 191.

absolute power of any authority.

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The cartoons spoke to the Egyptian public in a way that no newspaper could. Inciting the xenophobic feelings that Egyptians had always possessed for their British colonizers. E. J. Hobsbawm observes that nationalism found new ways to express itself after World War I through,

The rise of the modern mass media: press, cinema and radio. By these means popular ideologies could be both standardized, homogenized and transformed, as well as, obviously, exploited for the purposes of deliberate propaganda by private interests and states.⁹

This signaled the beginning of a new means to channel nationalism to the masses. The political cartoons in contrast to the rest of the press remained critical of ideologies that the various Egyptian governments propagated. When censorship was enforced upon these publications, *al-Kashkūl* found ways to get around it, allowing it to survive through a troubled era.

The political cartoons that appeared during 1919-1924, ridiculed the British indiscriminately, carrying a very clear message that Egyptians were no longer prepared to allow the British to rule them. The relationship that the cartoons maintained with the Egyptian political characters during this same period was quite different. The cartoons exaggerated the weaknesses and corrupt practices that the various governments practiced. The message here was that the government was not to be trusted, no matter who was in power, and that only the people could help themselves. Thus, when Zaghlūl finally came to power

⁹E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 141.

in 1924 the cartoons focused on the promises he made before he came to power. When Zaghlūl's government did the exact opposite, *al-Kashkūl* exposed this in various cartoons.

"And after independence, what then?"¹⁰ The problem that faced Zaghlūl in 1924, was that everyone in the country was watching his government intently, waiting for him to make a mistake. The cartoons focused on Zaghlūl's autocratic personality and his broken promises. Figure 5.3 portrays Zaghlūl force feeding the young Egypt the Declaration of 28 of February after he fought so hard against that same Declaration. Figure 5.4 again follows the same theme, Zaghlūl feeding the same poisoned water to the country that his predecessors had done, and which he fought bitterly against. However, this is the function of political cartoons, unfortunately for Zaghlūl the cartoons gained more recognition at his expense. The success of *al-Kashkūl* inspired other magazines to publish political cartoons and in the 1930s political cartoons began to appear in *al-Ahram* and *al-Akhbar*. In 1926 Fatma Yusif began publication of what was to become the most widely read magazine featuring political cartoons in the Middle East, *Rūz al-Yusīf*.

In chapter One, I discussed a definition of political cartoons and questions answered by them. This is how I believe *al-Kashkūl* and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* answered them. Egypt was to be ruled by one of its own, and preferably one from peasant origins. In order to gain Egypt's independence the masses needed to put their trust in Zaghlūl. The people could not,

¹⁰Anthony D. Smith, ed., *Nationalist Movements* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1976), 134.

however, rely on any government before or after independence had been secured. The cartoons expressed this distrust of the government as a long history of abuse and corruption of the system. Thus, *al-Kashkūl* proposed that there was a need for the masses to rely on themselves. The final response which the cartoons give to the question of burdens that the masses must carry is that the Egyptian must endure an inefficient government. In addition they must also endure the remaining British presence and the imposition of a constitutional government that did not implement the political freedom that it preached. The deliverance of to the masses would come thirty years later in yet another revolution that would finally allow Egyptians to settle their own affairs, for better or worse.

Al-Kashkūl and *al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* were always critical of the Egyptian government. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara*, due to heavy censorship during its existence, never singled out individuals to mock. Figure 5.5 portrays a man rolling a bowling ball at the government in an effort to stop the corruption. *Al-Kashkūl* on the other hand, sought to create caricatures for each political actor in order to ridicule the government's practices as a whole.

Certain political leaders were singled out by *al-Kashkūl* and as such stuck out from all the others. Figure 5.6 portrays *Rūshdī*, always a small man with a powerful mission. If respect was to be measured on a man's moustache, *Rūshdī*'s was always the most becoming. *ʿAdlī* was constantly ridiculed for his pettiness, a character that is never included in his historical descriptions. Figure 5.7 shows an unshaven *ʿAdlī*, investigating

the latest cabinet in hopes to find something to use against them. He was always portrayed as tall with rather dark rugged features, unlike anyone else. Nisīm and Sa'īd were always drawn as large figures, always concocting a new scheme to help Zaghlūl, figure 5.8. Sa'īd's moustache and eyebrows were always exaggerated to give an impression of distrust. Yahya Ibrāhīm resembled Zaghlūl in the cartoons, figure 5.9, differing only in stature and expressions. Zaghlūl himself was portrayed either glorifying himself, fighting or joining the British depending on the year, or going against his promises. Figure 5.10 shows Zaghlūl promising to shave the nation with a sharper razor than his predecessor had done.

The Sudan, although not a political figure but rather a problem, was always represented by a man dressed in tribal African attire, figure 5.11. Al-Kashkūl portrayed the Sudanese women, figure 5.12 as half clad, symbolizing Egyptian belief that the Sudanese population was composed of tribal, uncultured people that needed looking after by the Egyptians. Egypt was always represented by a naive young woman, a reflection of the country's youth and innocence in world affairs.

Egyptians after World War I were unwilling to remain under British "protection.". Independence was their ultimate goal. However, a program promising full independence was merely an illusory, although it promoted the nationalist cause.¹¹ No country even today can achieve full independence, as each relies on the other for a number of things. Thus, the question

¹¹Anthony D. Smith, ed., *Nationalist Movements* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1976), 134.

did Egypt seek? Zaghlūl, who began his career as a British sympathizer, decided that Britain must withdraw all political functions from Egypt. Rūshdī and 'Adlī seem to have preferred the moderate road that eventually led to the Declaration of 28 of February.

The Declaration was by no means represented Britain conceding to full Egyptian independence, but rather a partial independence, which was a starting point. Britain after the war was not even prepared to enter into negotiations with the Egyptians. Yet, after a rather chaotic state of affairs that plagued Egypt for three years, Britain finally allowed Egypt to conduct its own affairs to quite a large extent. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons Zaghlūl, upon assuming the Premiership, was faced with many crises' which eventually resulted in his demise. The British and Egyptian uncompromising attitude over the Sudan, foreign employee compensations and British troops remaining on Egyptian soil, resulted in more violence which cost the Sirdar his life.

Zaghlūl has been remembered by all Egyptians as the father of the nation. It is true that he fought with his life for his country, but one must question his motivation as did the cartoons that mocked him. His egotistical character prevented him from sharing the spotlight with anyone and destroying those who attempted to. One cannot forget that by the time he became Prime Minister he had become a bitter, sickly, sixty-three year old fighting to maintain absolute power. He had remained exiled during the constitution's creation and thus upon his return was paranoid of those around him. The King, although a great help

at first to Zaghlūl, became a relentless thorn in his side. It could not have been easy for Zaghlūl, who had the love and support of a nation of twelve million Egyptians not to expect the same devotion from those in power.

Yet, Zaghlūl did mobilize an entire nation to spare no effort in fighting for their right to freedom. A country that had endured worse oppressors than the British, finally took to the streets in the name of Sa'd Zaghlūl and said enough. One cannot help but admire such a great politician.

It would be unfair to dismiss *al-Kashkūl* as simply anti-Wafdist and anti-Zaghlūl, for then it was also anti-Watanīst and most certainly anti-Ahrār. *Al-Kashkūl* was merely a media observer whose main goal was to inform its readers, the Egyptian masses at large, that its government was not to be trusted. This may not seem to the reader today as a large fête, however in 1919-1924 this was a new phenomena. A magazine whose *raison d'être* rested on the follies of politicians represented as an important development in Egyptian history. From that point on no politician was ever safe from satire. When censorship was enforced there were those who defied it, allowing this minor revolution to continue.



Figure 5.1. **The Relationship Between the Wafd and the Nation.** Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "That's how the 'Wafd' stands with the nation, an that's how the nation demands to be." *Kashkul* 152 (1924: April 11).

الأسبوع الثاني

يوم الأحد ٢٠ مايو ١٩٢٣

الكشكول

جريدة أسبوعية مصرية سياسية

عدد ١٠٥

باصمير وماتامoras

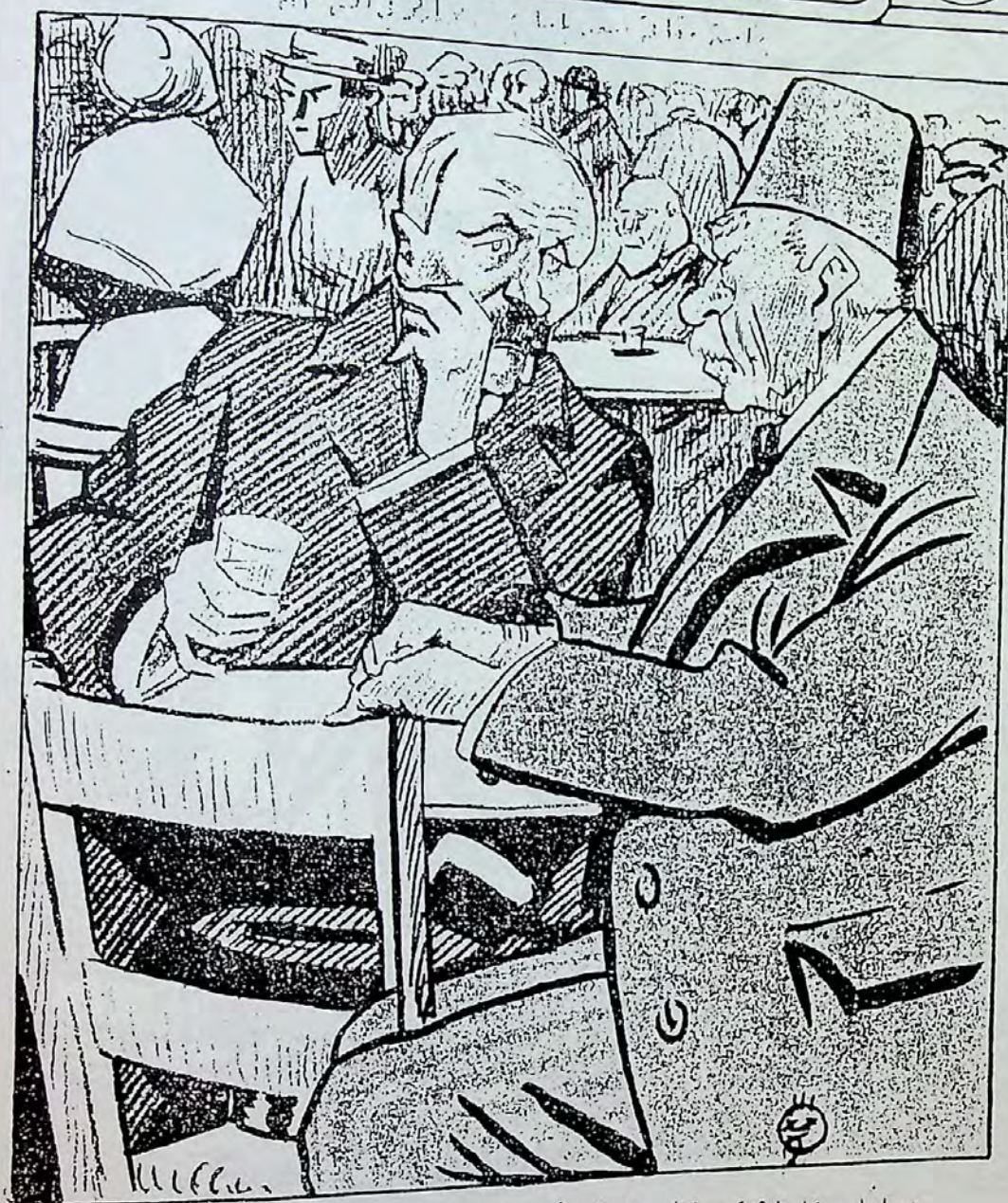


Figure 5.2. On the Occasion of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul Meeting Mr. Bunarlu in Exile. Sa'd Pasha: "I said a long time ago, Mr. Bunarlu, that no one could deliver the goods except for the one we all trust, and the Sudan was the first shipment." *Kashkul* 105 (1923: May 20).



Figure 5.3. Egypt and the Declaration 28 of February Between Tharwat's and Sa'd Zaghlul's Governments. Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "I have found that the Declaration of 28 of February a type of poison before I became Prime Minister, but now that I am I will force feed this to you (Egypt)." Kashkūl 158 (1924: May 23).



سعد باشا - الله يكافئ ثروته . جعلتني شاربه أدخل على الأمة أنه سمم البئر بتصريح ٢٨ فبراير . وها ليس في وسمي - بعد أن
آل إلى الأمر - إلا أن أشرب ... واسقي الأمة منها ...

Figure 5.4. **The Poisoned Well.** Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl: "God rewards Tharwat, fighting him made me inform the nation that he had poisoned the well with the Declaration of 28 of February - Now I can't help it - but after I came to power - I had no choice but to drink and make the nation drink too. . ." Kashkūl 152 (1924: April 11).

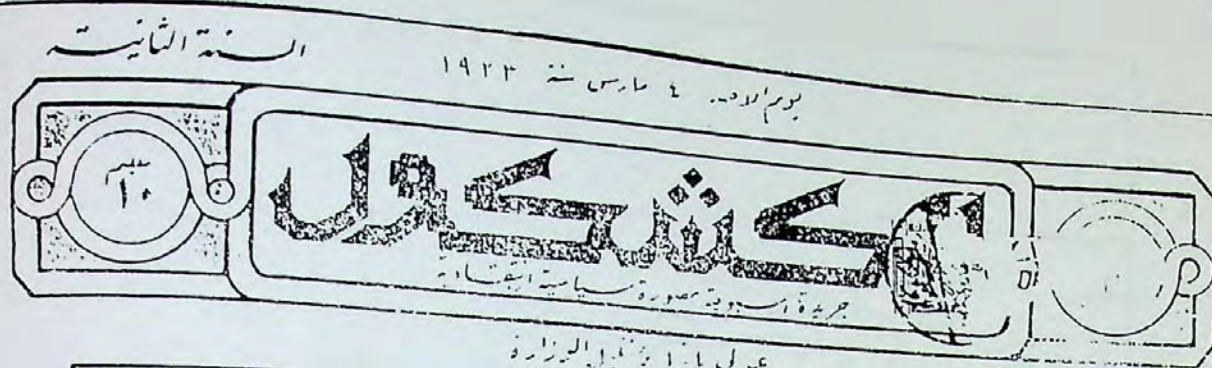


Figure 5.5. **The Egyptian Government and Public Opinion.**
 Picture: left to right: The people (the man), the notion of full independence (the head), public opinion (bowling ball). The Egyptian government: public works (public opinion has knocked this one over), interior ministry, education, discrimination communication, justice and finance. *Al-Latā'if al-Musawwara* 265 (1920: March 8).



رشدی پاشا — فقال يا « فريتس » اعلمك كيف تنقضي حاجتك من الآن حتى لا تعمل عملك « راطل » في بيت « انريس الخبوت » وتكون اشكالا لا يقل عن اشكال المسألة المصرية

Figure 5.6. Rūshdī and his Dog, After Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl Rented a House Near him in Heliopolis. Rūshdī Pasha: "Come Fritz let me teach you to do your business, so you won't do it at the house of the 'beloved leader' which could turn into a problem no less than that of the Egyptian question." Kashkūl 131 (1923: November 16).



م. كاشكول - رئيسان تحت ادلة عن الميكروبات بالانكليزية

Figure 5.7. 'Adlī Pasha and the Formation of the Cabinet.
 'Adlī Pasha: "I will discover - first - the microbes with the
 microscope." Kashkūl 94 (1923: March 4).



سيد باشا - ايه رأيك يا سيدي الزاجل بدأت شمس غيب ولازم نشوف لنا طريقة ثانية

Figure 5.8. **After the Party of the Friends of Freedom of Opinion.** Sa'īd Pasha: "What is your opinion Nisīm. The man, the sun is setting and we have to figure out another way." Kashkūl 129 (1923: November 2).



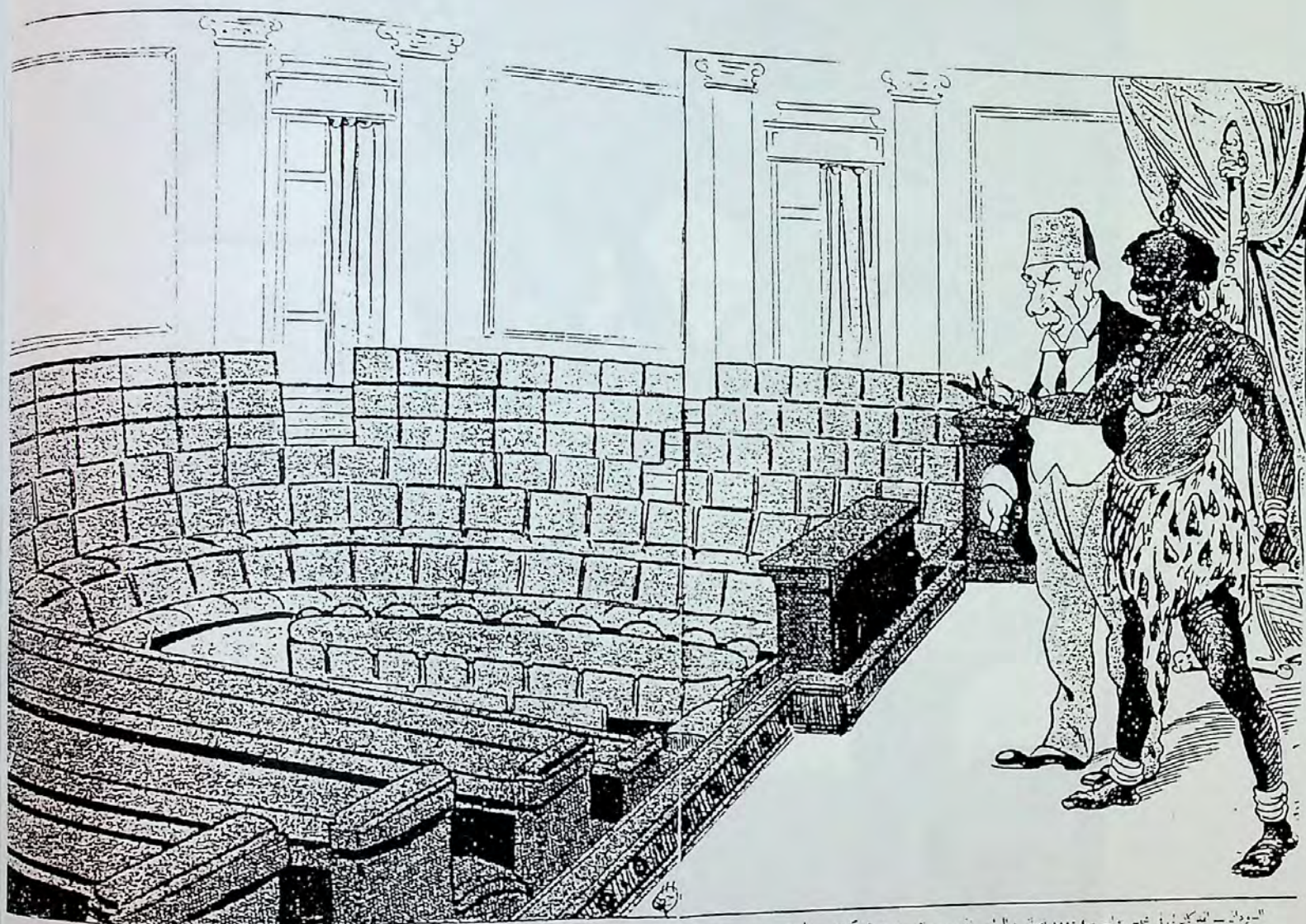
Figure 5.9. **The Ibrahimiya Cabinet and the Nationalist's Demands.** *Kashkūl* 109 (1923: April 15).

قانون الاجتماعات وقانون التضيقات ووزارة سعد باشا



سعد باشا أن كل حرية يجب أن تكون بين الناس هذه الأمور وهي « ضلعة ». ولا شك في أن ثقة الأمة في لا تعجز عن أن تحملها ما ضياء مشحونة

Figure 5.10. **The Law of Assembly in the Sa'di Cabinet.** Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul: "The crime that Yahya Pasha committed was that he shaved the people with a blunt razor, and no doubt the trust of the nation in me will not fail to make it as sharp as it could possibly be." *Kashkul* 144 (1924: February 15).



السودان - المحاكم في خمس نواب من ١٨٨٢ إسماعيل - الرئيس الجديد - التي عشرة مائة - اليوم لا أولئك حذفت من قلمها
 واحدا وانت تترك انما
 سعد باشا - رادست أنا في البرلمان - كنت - ما عك وعك كل انسان . . .

Figure 5.11. **Representation in Parliament.** Sudan: I had in the Assembly of 1882, your excellency, the 'beloved leader' twelve seats. Today, I don't see that you have reserved for me one single seat." Sa'd Pasha Zaghlūl: "As long as I am in parliament, I represent you and everyone else. Kashkūl 135 (1923: December 14).



بختة — نسيم إيه ومهجوب (محبوب) إيه يا أختي (أختي) !! « الرئيس المجهوب (المحبوب) » هت (حظ) في بروجرامه ان البلاد « لارم تسع
هت (محبوب) العليمي في الاستقلال الحقيقي (الحقيقي) ليه والسودان »

Figure 5.12. **The Sa'di Cabinet and the Sudan.** Bakhit (Sudanese): Nisim and Muhjub, eh, my sister, the beloved/dirty leader has put in his program that the country should enjoy her true and natural independence for Egypt and the Sudan." *Kashkul* 145 (1924: February 22).

APPENDIX 1

8 January, 1918:

President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which

are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world, -- the new world in which we now live, -- instead of a place of mastery.

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