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4/9/2024

Egypt for the Egyptians:  
*Abou Naddara's Political Commentary in Translation*

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## Abstract

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By Tasneem Ahmed

Abou Naddara Zarqa (the Man with the Blue Glasses) is the nom de plume of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Egyptian satirist Yaqub Sanua, whose journalistic outlet was a magazine of the same name. From 1877 to 1910, Sanua issued hundreds of pamphlets, most of which were published from his exile in Paris and almost all of which criticized Egypt's Ottoman-backed government for its corrupt policies and collusion with the intruding Britain. This thesis explores the use of political satire as a method of confronting khedival government corruption and British colonialism in Ottoman Egypt. This project includes translations of select publications from *Abou Naddara's* archives, which will be available for the first time in English full text and will be accompanied by linguistic and rhetorical analysis of Sanua's confrontation of the Ottoman khedives and the officials of the British Protectorate.

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“And my success is not but through Allāh. Upon Him I have relied, and to Him I return.”

Quran 11:88

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## Introduction

On August 7<sup>th</sup> of 1878, Egyptian journalist Yaqub Sanua published the first of nearly a hundred journals he would write and publish in exile in Paris. His first issue in exile was titled *Rihlat Abī Naẓẓara Zarqa al Waliyy min Maṣr al Qāhirah ilā Bārīz al Faḥīrah*, “The Travels of the Saint of the Blue Glasses from Egypt the Formidable to Paris the Captivating.” Sanua had just been exiled from Egypt for his satirical writings criticizing the Ottoman governor Khedive Ismail for his reckless spending that had placed Egypt in massive debt to European investors. In Egypt, his newspaper was of a shortened name, simply *Abū Naẓẓara Zarqa*, The Man with the Blue Glasses. As Sanua continued to write in exile, he eventually reverted to this initial title but moved on to address varying issues of contention actively unfolding in his homeland. While he continued to criticize the Ottoman khedives’ corruption and incompetence, he additionally turned his attention to the encroaching British who eventually established a protectorate in Egypt in 1882. Channeling his scathing criticism of the corrupt political structures around him through satire, Sanua continued to write his journal until shortly before his death in 1912.

Sanua’s journal, referred to henceforth as *Abou Naddara* in line with Sanua’s own anglicized rendition of the name, was novel in its use of dialectical Arabic instead of Modern Standard Arabic as a means of providing accessibility to a largely illiterate population in Egypt. His use of political cartoons propagated a new visual element to the Egyptian literary scene through which Sanua transmitted very precise and hard-hitting political messages that were even more accessible to the average Egyptian. *Abou Naddara*’s political messages made bold and audacious claims against the political structures that governed Egypt at the time, Ottoman, Egyptian, and British alike, and served as a form of contention against the administrative colonial abuses against native Egyptians. In this way, Sanua’s writings provide insight into

Egypt's political scene in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and serve as an illustrative example of the use of political literature as a tool to resist the structural abuses of the common Egyptian people.

In this project, I will explore how *Abou Naddara* as a satirical newspaper employed structural and rhetorical devices to convey sharp and smartly delivered political speech to illuminate colonial and administrative exploitation in Egypt. With a chronological focus on the time of greatest political contention in the years 1882 and 1883, I will provide novel translations of select evocative articles to provide rare access to *Abou Naddara* to English readers and to guide my analysis of the journal's literary and political claims. This project will expound on the sociopolitical circumstances in which *Abou Naddara* emerged as a prominent political tabloid in Egypt and the novel contributions it made to anti-colonial literature as a satirical newspaper.

### **Literary precedent and contribution**

Though scarce in modern academia, *Abou Naddara* is not completely absent from literary and sociopolitical academic scholarship. A paper published in 2016 by Doaa Kandil under the title "*Abou Naddara*: The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press" outlines the chronological activity of *Abou Naddara* and the main political arguments Sanua makes in it<sup>1</sup>. The academic paper overviews *Abou Naddara*'s details about the publication's production and common tropes found within it as well as criticisms of Sanua's work. Kandil's paper narrows down Sanua's agenda to three items 1) condemnation of the Egyptian royal family's abuses, 2) promotion of

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<sup>1</sup> Doaa Kandil, "Abu Naddara: The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," *Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality* 13, no. 1, (June 1, 2016): 9–40.

Halim Pasha's right to the Egyptian khediveship, and 3) support for the Egyptian nationalist movement. One glaring point worth noting is Sanua's criticism of the colonial British government, which Kandil discusses briefly throughout the paper but does not dedicate substantial attention to because of the broad nature of the paper. Additionally, Kandil's work is systemically investigative and does not provide access to the Arabic text beyond short block quotes or caption translations for the caricatures of interest. Though Kandil's paper is one of the most outstanding publications on the subject, it is insubstantial in some of its literary and linguistic investigation in addition to underserving the analysis of anti-British writing in *Abou Naddara*.

Irene L. Gendzier's article "James Sanua and Egyptian Nationalism" analyzes the impact of Sanua's writings, journalistic and theatrical, in propagating nationalist sentiments to his Egyptian countrymen as well as to his European readership.<sup>2</sup> Her analysis, however, is focused on the political nature and impact of his claims with little discussion of the literary means by which he furthered these sentiments. Historian Ziad Fahmy published a comparative article contrasting the nationalistic writings of Yaqub Sanua and Mustafa Kamil, two Egyptian writers in exile in Europe.<sup>3</sup> Fahmy frames Sanua and Kamil's writings in exile as "European public opinion campaigns" aimed to frustrate British activity in Egypt by building critical public opinion for it in Europe. In this work, Fahmy recognizes the two journalists' work as serious and well-recognized methods of political demonstration that established a presence for Egyptian

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<sup>2</sup> Irene L. Gendzier, "James Sanua and Egyptian Nationalism," *Middle East Journal* 15, no. 1 (1961): 16–28.

<sup>3</sup> Ziad Fahmy, "Francophone Egyptian Nationalists, Anti-British Discourse, and European Public Opinion, 1885-1910: The Case of Mustafa Kamil and Ya'qub Sannu'." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28, no. 1 (2008): 170-183.

nationalist sentiment in the European sphere. In another discussion of Sanua's anti-colonial claims, Eve M. Troutt Powell discusses in the second chapter of her book *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* the framing of Sudanese leaders and servants as elements of the anti-colonial resistance to British colonialism.<sup>4</sup> Her analysis is confined to the scope of Sudanese contribution to and participation in the Egyptian nationalist movement as depicted in Sanua's writing. Alexander Schölch discusses Sanua briefly in his book *Egypt for the Egyptians!: the socio-political crisis in Egypt, 1878-1882*, comparing *Abou Naddara* to other newspapers of the time that were less aggressive toward the Ottoman khedival structures, and therefore their authors evaded governmental suppression, unlike Sanua.<sup>5</sup> I underscore here that the title of this thesis was conceived before consulting Schölch's work and was developed independently of it.

Works such as "Arabic Theater in Early Khedival Culture, 1868-72: James Sanua Revisited" by Adam Mestyan<sup>6</sup> and "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre: Ya 'Qub Sanua" by M.M. Badawi<sup>7</sup> explore Sanua's theatrical writings that were precursors to *Abou Naddara*. Though these theatrical pieces contained political messages of their own, they were not nearly as explicit as Sanua's later writings in *Abou Naddara*, not least likely because they were produced when Sanua still resided in Egypt and had much less to lose by being politically vocal.

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<sup>4</sup> Eve M. Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*, University of California Press.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians!: the Socio-Political Crisis In Egypt, 1878-1882*, London: Ithaca Press, 1981.

<sup>6</sup> Adam Mestyan. "Arabic Theater in Early Khedival Culture, 1868–72: James Sanua Revisited." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 1 (February 2014): 117–37.

<sup>7</sup> M. M. Badawi, "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre: Ya 'qūb Ṣannū'." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985): 132–45.

Beyond of the above mentioned scholarship there have been few academic studies that delve deeper into Sanua's political speech and its larger implications for Ottoman and British anti-regime contention in Egypt. Even more noteworthy is the absence of English language translations of Sanua's works, theatrical or journalistic. This project aims to fill both gaps in literature. After providing a detailed background of Egypt's political structure in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, I detail structural analysis of Sanua's work, highlighting the novelties it contributed to Egyptian journalism at the time. I then provide a deep dive into Sanua's rhetorical arguments against the khedival and colonial administrations that were the objects of his criticism. Additionally, I have isolated three select articles, which are fully transcribed and translated in the appendix of this text as a glimpse into Sanua's original writing and a reference point for much of my literary analysis. This translation is the first full text translation of *Abou Naddara*'s articles and thus provides English readers with a first glance into *Abou Naddara*'s direct Arabic writing.

## **Methodology**

Yaqub Sanua wrote for a total of nearly thirty-two years, with *Abou Naddara* being alive as an active publication for most of that time span. To limit the time bounds of this project and maintain a focus on dual criticism of Ottoman and British administrations in Egypt, I have chosen to focus on the early 1880's, specifically the years 1882 and 1883. These two years contained a great deal of political turbulence, most prominently the Urabi nationalist revolution and subsequent establishment of the British veiled protectorate in Egypt in the summer of 1882. Similarly, the following year of 1883 featured the early popular resistance to British presence in Egypt and the continued uplifting of nationalist thought. *Abou Naddara*'s writings in this time frame were notably in line with these two political trends that are central to my research

question, so my translation selections were made from this two-year block of publications. The three selected texts are dated August 4<sup>th</sup> of 1882, October 6<sup>th</sup> of 1882, and April 14<sup>th</sup> of 1883. These articles were selected to include diversity in literary choice and political argument in order to provide a well-rounded sampling of Sanua's writings of this time.

The *Abou Naddara* publications issued after Sanua's exile to France are well preserved and available through a number of collections, including a digitally available one curated by the University of Heidelberg. The Beirut-based Dar Sadir publishing house also curated a collection of their own in 1974,<sup>8</sup> which is now also digitally available and on open access. I have relied on Dar Sadir's collection for the collection of my primary source material.

I have defaulted to the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES) transliteration guide for any transliterations made throughout this project. The name of Yaqub Sanua (transliterated Ya'qūb Ṣanū') and his journal *Abou Naddara* (transliterated Abū Naḍḍāra) will be referred to by the more simplified anglicized titles. Similarly, proper names and the names of this paper's primary figures of interest will be referred to by the simplified English names, and these are namely Muhammad Ali, Khedive Ismail, Khedive Tawfiq, Halim Pasha, and Ahmad Urabi. The transcripts created for the appended articles were transcribed directly from the original handwritten online archives of *Abou Naddara*. Additionally, for the translation portion of this project, I utilized *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* by Martin Hinds and El-Said Badawi to investigate more antiquated terms that appear in the archival *Abou Naddara* texts.<sup>9</sup> In the chapter discussing the historical background of Sanua's Egypt, I rely heavily on Robert L.

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<sup>8</sup> Eliane Ursula Ettmueller, "The *Abou Naddara* Collection - James Sanua's complete works." heiDATA, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Hinds and El-Said Badawi, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, 1986.

Tignor's book *Egypt: A Short History* for my review of Egyptian history from 1517 to 1882.<sup>10</sup> I supplement Tignor's history with Vladimir Lutsky's *Modern History of Arab Countries*, which details more micro-level politics occurring at the administrative khedival level and especially features Egyptian-Western relations.<sup>11</sup> I additionally employ Khaled Fahmy's *All the Pasha's Men, Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt* for my overview of the Muhammed Ali period and the reforms that occurred during the Pasha's reign.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Robert L. Tignor *Egypt: A Short History*, Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>11</sup> Vladimir Borsovich Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, Progress Publishers, Moscow for the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute Peoples of Asia, 1969.

<sup>12</sup> Khaled Fahmy. *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt*. The American University in Cairo Press, 1997.

## A Background to Sanua's Egypt

### **Ottoman Egypt**

Ottoman rule of Egypt began with the overthrowal of the Turkic Mamluks in 1517, an event that turned Egypt into a colonial province as opposed to the imperial capital that it had been under the Mamluks.<sup>13</sup> The Mamluks would continue to have a presence in Egypt as mercenary groups that vied for political power, posing a threat that the Ottoman Empire sought to dissipate over the course of the following century. Egypt served as a tributary state as well as a location of multiple military bases for the Istanbul-based Ottoman sultan.<sup>14</sup> However, rebellions by soldiers of Ottoman and Mamluk ascription weakened the Sultan's hold on the province and forced his hand into making concessions with Egypt's governors who grew increasingly impatient with Istanbul's demanding and exploitative administration. In fact, toward the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the governors of Egypt ventured as far as negotiating with European diplomats and launching military invasions into nearby Syria, disregarding orders from the Ottoman capital.<sup>15</sup> The Ottoman Sultan regularly was moved to quell such insurgencies by the regional leaders of Egypt until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798.

### **The French occupation**

When Napoleon's fleet of 400 vessels appeared on the shore of Alexandria in the summer of 1798, it was army was the largest invading army Egypt had seen in recorded history.<sup>16</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 177.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 179.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 189.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 196.



French thirst for Egypt was both economic and political, as direct control of the well-placed Egypt would guarantee easier and more economical trade through the region and would enable France to interfere with British access to colonial India. Napoleon's army marched to Cairo from the Alexandria coast and faced Bedouin harassment along the way, prompting the issuance of a proclamation of good intentions on the French's part.<sup>17</sup> This proclamation alongside Napoleon's other efforts to portray a positive image of French intrusion were poorly received by the Egyptian people, not least likely due to the soldiers' abusive behavior. The ransacking of Al-Azhar Mosque in October of the same year dispelled any good standing between the Egyptian populace and the invading forces.<sup>18</sup> The simultaneous defeats of French fleets and ground forces by combined British and Ottoman armies weakened the already unstable French hold on the lucrative Egypt. Between the incessant Anglo-Ottoman counterattacks, the local riots, and a devastating loss in Syria, Napoleon abandoned his post and colonial project in Egypt only twelve months after its commencement, leaving it to the ill prepared General Jean-Baptiste Kleber.<sup>19</sup> After signing an armistice with the British and the Ottomans in January of 1800 under an agreement to withdraw French troops from Egypt, Kleber attacked when the British ordered the disarmament of the French army.<sup>20</sup> Violence ensued for over a year before the British successfully besieged French forces in Cairo and Alexandria. In October of 1801, the French officially deserted the colonial project altogether and Egypt returned to the hands of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 202.

<sup>19</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 2.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, chapter 2.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, chapter 2.

### **Muhammad Ali, his reforms, and the beginning of hereditary rule**

After the departure of the French, the British, Mamluk, and Ottoman armies continued to dominate the sociopolitical scene in Egypt, taking liberties to plunder, steal, and harass Egyptian civilians. A temporary departure of British forces in 1802 left the Ottomans at war with the Mamluks.<sup>22</sup> When the Mamluks drove the Ottoman forces to near-defeat with the help of Albanian militias, one particularly shrewd Albanian general decided to switch sides and turn the tide against the Mamluks. Muhammad Ali, an Albanian mercenary, took advantage of popular discontent with the Mamluk victory and galvanized the Albanian forces to turn on them, effectively framing himself as “the defender of the Egyptian people’s rights”.<sup>23</sup> He fought the Mamluks in Cairo and pursued them southward, quickly rising in popularity. A council of religious sheikhs eventually declared him The Pasha’s Deputy and then the ruler of Egypt in 1805. Preoccupied with disturbances the Ottoman Balkans and certain that he could not defy the rampant popular support for Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman Sultan could do nothing but accept Ali’s new position.<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Ali’s position as Pasha was solidified when he led the Ottoman Egyptian army in victory against an invading British force in 1807 and when he eliminated the Mamluks from Egypt once and for all in 1811.<sup>25</sup>

Once Muhammad Ali had reinforced his sovereignty over Egypt as a self-appointed Ottoman ruler of sorts, he began to institute structural reforms to the Egyptian province, moving toward a more interventionist rather than the traditional Ottoman preventionist governing style.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, chapter 3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, chapter 3.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, chapter 3.

<sup>25</sup> Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men*, 49.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 253

This was partly due to his bid for Egyptian autonomy from the ailing Ottoman Empire and partly driven by the generalized awe for the French exploits only made possible by the French modernization system.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that despite the French's egregious abuse of Egypt during the colonial attempt, the French military and political administration system was widely admired by Egyptian intellectuals as much as it was by Ottoman military generals. For example, Egyptian historian 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Jabartī, who wrote multiple accounts of the French invasion of Egypt, was equally indignant about the French's tyrannical actions in Egypt as he was inspired by the organization of the French army, the body of scholars accompanying the military cadre, and the sophistication of French technology, military or otherwise.<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Ali and his generals would seek to model the Egyptian army after this highly organized French one.<sup>29</sup> These Francophile views would endure in Egypt and would make their way through Egypt's intellectual and literary circles, such as those attended by Yaqub Sanua in the mid-to-late 1800's.

In initiating his reforms, Muhammed Ali started with the establishment of a conscripted army that would strengthen his claim to the governorship against Istanbul's encroachments. After a failed attempt to coerce Sudanese contingents into his army,<sup>30</sup> Muhammad Ali settled on recruiting the Egyptian peasantry to the utter outrage of the conscripted countrymen. Conscription efforts were initially met with violence and rebellion on part of the fellahin while some countrymen resorted to maiming themselves to evade the draft, temporarily blinding

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<sup>27</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 210.

<sup>28</sup> Haq, "Imapct of the West on Modern Egyptian Thought: Early Impressions," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 40 (1979): 983.

<sup>29</sup> Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 85.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 54

themselves with rat poison or amputating their index fingers.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the army grew to include over 130,000 soldiers that were very promptly put to work for the Ottoman Sultan, being dispatched to the Hejaz in 1812 to quell Wahhabi groups, which they successfully accomplished in their first large-scale campaign.<sup>32</sup> Muhammad Ali ordered educational missions for young Egyptian to European centers of power in France, Italy, and Austria, where they absorbed Western educational system, practices, and knowledge then brought them back to Cairo for analysis.<sup>33</sup> Educational content being brought back from abroad would be translated into Arabic and Turkish, and foreign language books were purchased in large quantities to furbish the Pasha's new "Westernized schools" that he began establishing around the country. Naturally, he also opened a number of military academies modeled after the French prototype.<sup>34</sup>

Muhammad Ali then moved to modernize Egyptian agriculture by installing irrigation technologies that transformed Egypt from basin-based farming to perennial farming by providing year-round irrigation that did not depend on the natural floods of the Nile.<sup>35</sup> This in turn enabled farmers to grow multiple crops in a year as opposed to just one and eventually launched Egypt to specialize in cotton production and become a world producer of the sought-after crop. About one-fifth of the cotton produced was processed locally in newly-opened Egyptian factories that were part of the limited industrial revolution that Muhammad Ali invited into Egypt.<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Ali also established state control over most agricultural land and monopolies over almost all agricultural produce, through which the regime bought agricultural commodities for

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>32</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 211.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 212

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 214.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 215.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 216.

low prices and sold them to local and foreign consumers for a profit that then funded the military and the aforementioned reform projects.<sup>37</sup> Naturally, this was at the expense of the fellaheen (the rural countrymen), whose attempts at rebellion were suppressed brutally.

Muhammad Ali's plans for modernization spilled out of the Egyptian border as his greed for greater territory and more natural resources directed his attention southward to Sudan and eastward to Syria and Palestine.<sup>38</sup> The whole East Sudan, including its administrative capital in Khartoum, was captured in the early 1820's and was exploited for its ivory, cattle, and enslaved labor in addition to the tax revenue collected from its residents.<sup>39</sup> This invasion of Sudan was one of Muhammed Ali's first major military undertakings to establish an Egyptian empire as a means of distancing himself from the Ottoman overlords, and this "imperial imagination" would trickle down to his successors even if Muhammed Ali's successors took it less earnestly.<sup>40</sup> Ironically, Sudanese nationalist leaders would feature in *Abou Naddara* as voices against Ottoman abuses and English colonial encroachments in Egypt and Sudan.<sup>41</sup>

When Egyptian fugitives and army defectors escaped to the Levant, Muhammad Ali used this as an excuse to invade the prized Ottoman province that would secure Egypt's eastern border and its autonomy from the Ottoman sultan.<sup>42</sup> Muhammad Ali led his forces to victory in Palestine en route to Syria and seized the Syrian domain twice, once in 1833 and the other time in 1841.<sup>43</sup> Muhammad Ali's capture of Syria posed a genuine threat to Istanbul, which lay only a few a

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<sup>37</sup> Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, xxviii.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, xxx.

<sup>39</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 7.

<sup>40</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 75.

<sup>42</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 8.

<sup>43</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 216.

miles away. France and England were naturally alarmed by the possible change in power balances in the region, and, for the sake of stability and their personal interests, intervened to mediate the conflict between Muhammad Ali and his Ottoman overlords.<sup>44</sup> Negotiations between Muhammad Ali's government and the Ottoman regime (with the loud voices of the European powers present) resulted in Muhammad Ali's loss of the Syrian and Palestinian provinces, the shrinking of his army, and the loss of his monopolistic powers over agricultural commodities.<sup>45</sup> In exchange, Muhammad Ali gained hereditary rule of Egypt that would be passed on to his offspring, an arrangement that would last until 1952.<sup>46</sup> Besides bequeathing the governorship of Egypt, Muhammad Ali would also leave his children with the same zeal for modernization and structural reform in the Egyptian province.

As Muhammad Ali grew older and stepped out of the political sphere in 1848, it became evident that he had planted the seed of Egyptian nationalism in the heart of the Egyptian homeland.<sup>47</sup> His establishment of a native-born standing army, the breeding of an Egyptian intelligentsia social order, and the increased opportunities for native social mobility due to Muhammad Ali's private land ownership initiatives were the first steps in blurring the lines between the ruling class and the ruled. Moreover, his attempts to frame Egypt as an imperial force itself, through the conquest of the Sudan and attempted conquest of Syria, contributed to the internalized identification of what (and who) is and is not Egyptian and distanced the Egyptian governorship from its overlords in Istanbul.<sup>48</sup> It follows that Muhammed Ali's eventful

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 217.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 217.

<sup>46</sup> Khaled, *All the Pasha's Men*, 264.

<sup>47</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 218.

<sup>48</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 51.

reign, however, left Britain apprehensive of the sharpened sense of an Egyptian self that does not always answer to the Ottoman Empire or Anglo-Ottoman interests, for that matter.<sup>49</sup>

### **Muhammed Ali's successors, the cost of reforms, and foreign debt**

Muhammad Ali's grandson Abbas Pasha took the governorship of Egypt in December of 1848 after the untimely death of his father Ibrahim who ruled Egypt for only three months. Abbas's five-year reign was marred with setbacks to modernization projects at the explicit discretion of the Pasha himself.<sup>50</sup> This is because Abbas had realized the stress that Muhammad Ali's projects had on Egypt's economy and the burden that came with the maintenance of factories and schools that brought to revenue to the treasury.<sup>51</sup> He thus halted many construction projects for irrigation systems and industrial factories and reduced the size of the army. However, one major project that Abbas initiated was the construction of a railway that ran from Alexandria to Suez, connecting the major Egyptian sea ports on the Mediterranean and Red Sea respectively.<sup>52</sup> Before the establishment of this line, European travelers and merchants seeking to cross from Europe to Central and South Asia had docked at Alexandria and traveled in caravans to Suez before boarding ships there once more to reach their destinations off of the Indian Ocean. The construction of a railway to connect the two major hubs would immensely facilitate this well-traveled route and would enhance Egypt's facilities as a trans-shipping hub. The new transport system was, unsurprisingly, a suggestion of the English diplomats,<sup>53</sup> as such a project

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<sup>49</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 8.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, chapter 7.

<sup>51</sup> Doaa Kandil, "Abbas Pasha: A Ruler at Odds". *Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality*, 16.

<sup>52</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 12.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, chapter 12.

would be especially valuable to England in facilitating easier access to its colony in India, both for the transportation of goods and troops.<sup>54</sup> The French, naturally, did not appreciate Abbas's unilateral support for English initiatives and subsequently pushed for a canal construction project to link the Mediterranean and Red Seas, the first pitch for the Suez Canal project.

In a break from his previous policy decisions, Abbas responded to this proposal in line with his grandfather's approach, which was to reject the project plan. Muhammad Ali had feared that a canal opening a waterway between the Mediterranean and broader Asia would be subject to competition over its use and control, a contestation that would reach the entirety of Egyptian political and financial affairs.<sup>55</sup> England was equally opposed to the canal project. Regardless of how profoundly a canal would serve Britain, its service to France as well as its symbolic indication of French prowess in Egypt was enough to compel the English to oppose the project.<sup>56</sup> Abbas's refusal of the French proposal incurred the wrath of the French and the Egyptian bourgeois class, who saw Abbas's actions as a deterrence to valuable and financially advantageous reform projects. Calls for his removal soon ensued, and it was not long before he was clandestinely assassinated by his own bodyguards.<sup>57</sup>

Abbas was succeeded by his uncle Said Pasha. Said was a Westernized and educated man in addition to being a friend of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the most prominent French advocate for the Suez Canal proposal.<sup>58</sup> Sure enough, Said gave into French pressures for the Suez Canal project only a few months into his reign and signed a concession which granted the French Canal

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, chapter 7.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, chapter 12.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, chapter 7.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, chapter 12.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, chapter 12.



Company open access to all the land and water supplies needed for the canal construction and compelled the Egyptian government to provide four-fifths of the labor needed to man the digging of the canal.<sup>59</sup> French investors held about 52 percent of the company shares while the Egyptian government retained 44 percent equity of the canal.<sup>60</sup> Said also bore the shares of the hesitant English, Turkish, Russian, and American investors, which compelled him to take out foreign loans. Said took on many of these investment burdens due to the extreme hesitancy of non-French investors to buy shares in the canal project, one that they were deeply doubtful of its success. British diplomats hesitant about the canal project as a whole believed it would only intensify English-French competition in the region.<sup>61</sup> Regardless, the digging of the Suez Canal started in April of 1859, and Said conscripted hundreds of thousands of Egyptian fellaheen to work on its construction as dictated by the agreement with de Lesseps. Coerced laborers worked the canal for meager wages and were subject to dangerous conditions and poor treatment that resulted in the estimated deaths of 20,000 workers by the end of the canal construction in 1869.<sup>62</sup> This coercive system of labor built immense resentment among the native Egyptian population toward the Pasha and his European compatriots, who exploited Egyptian labor and resources for financial gain and gave little in return to the people of the land.<sup>63</sup>

Besides launching the construction of the Suez Canal, Said implemented many other reforms. These included the abolishment of slavery in Egypt, an ironic step in light of the forced canal labor system, and extensive land reforms that granted fellaheen improved access to land

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<sup>59</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 222.

<sup>60</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 12.

<sup>61</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 222.

<sup>62</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 12.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, chapter 12.

ownership.<sup>64</sup> Said also expanded the army and promoted native Egyptians to the rank of officers for the first time, with the most prominent among them being given a military education and receiving high posts. Said's efforts to modernize the Egyptian nation and provide it with facilities meant to bring international acclaim and greater autonomy from the imperial capital in Istanbul were numerous, obvious, and most of all expensive. Said died in 1863 and left his successor with an unfinished canal that was sure to take longer to construct than what de Lesseps had anticipated as well as £6,000,000 of floating debt to various European funders.<sup>65</sup>

### **Ismail Pasha, Ahmad Urabi, and bankruptcy**

Said's nephew and heir Ismail was less enthusiastic about the Suez Canal project than his uncle had been but equally understood its importance in the greater scheme of Egyptian foreign affairs. What he did explicitly oppose was the use of native forced labor for the construction project.<sup>66</sup> Ismail sought to put an end to the coercive labor and received great support from Istanbul and England, to the great disturbance of the French. A court of arbitration ironically headed by the Emperor of France ruled that Egypt compensate the Canal Company with £3 million for the contractual breach, which Ismail paid for in foreign loans that pulled the country further into debt.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, the hurdle was overcome, and the Canal was officially opened in November of 1869 in a melee of lavish celebrations that featured the attendance of dozens of heads of states and high-ranking dignitaries as well as an especially composed opera (*Aida*) that had been commissioned by Ismail himself and premiered in the Khedivial Opera House in

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, chapter 12.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, chapter 15.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, chapter 12.

<sup>67</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 222.

1871.<sup>68</sup> The Egyptian treasury footed the bill for the extravagant festivities. With the opening of the Suez Canal, Egypt became more entrenched in European interests than ever before. The French initiative was complete, but it was English shipping that dominated the Canal waters and would continue to do so until World War II.<sup>69</sup>

Ismail continued to spend extravagantly on the building of ports, railways, bridges, and telegraph lines in addition to palaces and public works like the Opera House. The Egyptian treasury was also drained as a result of Ismail's various military campaigns in Ethiopia. Although Ismail's public-facing reasoning for the expansionary campaigns were the abolition of slavery and the opening of free trade routes in Abyssinia, his true objective was to renew Muhammed Ali's dream of an Egyptian empire.<sup>70</sup> But Egypt was drowning in more debt than Ismail and his administration could handle repaying at any reasonable deadline and the regime eventually suspended loan repayments in 1876, prompting the establishment of the Public Debt Fund (PDF). Through the PDF, France and Britain established dual control of Egyptian finances and placed their delegates at various levels of government and administration as overseers of Egypt's financial affairs.<sup>71</sup> They set up debt repayment plans that would span 65 years. This intimate encroachment of European powers into the financial affairs of Egypt was poorly received by the Egyptian people, whom Ismail treated with heightened censorship and repression. Among them was Yaqub Sanua, who received his sentence for exile to France around this time for his offensive writings against the khedive.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 224.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 224.

<sup>70</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 65.

<sup>71</sup> Eric Toussaint, "Debt as an Instrument of the Colonial Conquest of Egypt." *CADTM*, 2016.

<sup>72</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 12.

The disastrous defeats in Ethiopia caused much discontent among the foreign funders of the campaigns as well as within the mixed Egyptian and Turco-Circassian army. Egyptian soldiers fostered great resentment toward the elite Turkic officers who exclusively held the highest positions in the army, a resentment that was long-standing by the 1870's when the Ethiopian campaigns brought these tensions to surface.<sup>73</sup> When the European powers pressured Ismail to reduce the size of the army to accommodate budget cuts in 1879, the native-born cadre knew they would be affected most acutely because of these cuts. They presented their grievances to the Khedive, and at their head was native colonel Ahmad Urabi.<sup>74</sup> Urabi was a native Egyptian officer who had had a humble upbringing and had risen through the ranks of Ismail's army and gained the respect of fellow native compatriots for being outspoken about the structural inequality between Egyptian and Turco-Circassian soldiers in the army.<sup>75</sup> Urabi's prominence during Ismail's reign for his advocacy on behalf of the native officers was a precursor to his rise to leadership in the Egyptian nationalist movement, through which he would become of great interest to Yaqub Sanua. Ismail's sympathy toward the officers' complaints was obvious in his response to them, as he proceeded to replace his Council of Ministers, including the British and French delegates, with others who were more loyal to him.<sup>76</sup> Ismail had singlehandedly incurred the wrath of the French and English powers that feared his rebellion against their interests in the region and their debt repayment plans. They pressured the Ottoman Sultan to dethrone Ismail and to place his gullible son Tawfiq as governor of Egypt.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 225.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 226.

<sup>75</sup> Priest, Andrew. *Designs on Empire: America's Rise to Power in the Age of European Imperialism*. Columbia University Press, 119.

<sup>76</sup> Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History*, 226.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 226.

## Tawfiq, the Urabi Rebellion, and the British Protectorate

Tawfiq took over the khedivate of Egypt in 1879 and not without contention over his right to governorship. In 1866, Khedive Ismail advocated for a new law of succession that would establish primogeniture, a regulation that would place his son Tawfiq at the top of the line in succession and would bar Ismail's brother Halim from the khediveship.<sup>78</sup> When this regulation was signed into law by the Ottoman sultan following financial concessions on Ismail's part, Halim attempted to rebel against the new law that robbed him of his right to the throne. However, a failed coup d'état left him vulnerable and resulted in his exile to Istanbul,<sup>79</sup> from which he continued to be outspoken on Egyptian politics and continued to advocate for his right to power. An opponent to Ismail's and Tawfiq's rule and an alternative to their tyrannical regime, Halim would become a savior figure for Yaquub Sanua, who would later hail Halim's succession to the khediveship as a solution to many of Egypt's problems.<sup>80</sup>

Tawfiq was favored by the British for the khediveship on account of his gullibility,<sup>81</sup> which as we will see in the next chapter is explicitly represented in *Abou Naddara*. For the first few years of his rule, Tawfiq would settle into the foreign power's arrangement nicely, allowing them to continue manipulating Egyptian political and economic affairs for their benefit. The PDF continued to set the parameters and repayment dates for Egypt's outstanding debt with little input from Ottoman officials<sup>82</sup>. Additionally, Turco-Circassian officers continued to enjoy greater benefits and higher status within the Egyptian army. All the while, native discontent continued to

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<sup>78</sup> Ahmed Şeyhun, "Said Halim Pasha: an Ottoman statesman and an Islamist thinker (1865-1921)," 73.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>80</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 23.

<sup>81</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 16.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, chapter 16.

grow, particularly within the military body, and officers rallied around Urabi in the form of a more formalized National Party, waiting for a chance to present their demands for equity and greater national autonomy. The tensions came to a head in May of 1882 when Urabi, who was at that point publicly recognized as the leader of the nationalist movement and occupied the position of Minister of War, and his cadre of military men demanded the resignation of Tawfiq.<sup>83</sup> Knowing the control they exert on the naive khedive, the British advisors to Tawfiq ordered that he fire Urabi as well as other members of the cabinet, an action that was poorly received by the public. Riots in Alexandria broke out, allegedly instigated by Tawfiq to create disturbance that would pull Britain into a hands-on intervention.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, seeing violence break out between the Egyptians and Europeans of Alexandria, the British attributed the violence to Urabi and the nationalists and opened fire on the coast of Alexandria.<sup>85</sup> The Urabi rebellion and the Anglo-Egyptian War ended in September of 1882 with the surrender of Urabi to the British, his and the nationalist leaders' exile to Ceylon, and the establishment of the British veiled protectorate in Egypt. Under this protectorate structure, Egypt officially remained a province of the Ottoman Empire, but its internal affairs were fully dictated by British consuls, ambassadors, and military commanders who ruled the nation through its Ottoman figureheads.<sup>86</sup> With Tawfiq already a puppet in the hand of the British and with the nationalists divided and in exile, the British found themselves with free reign.

It was this Egypt for which Yaqub Sanua wept in his journals, and it was the courageous nationalists for whom his heart swelled. Though Sanua had started writing and publishing *Abou*

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid, chapter 16.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, chapter 16.

<sup>85</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 67.

<sup>86</sup> Sam Khan, "Sons of Egypt." *EPOCH*, 2022.

*Naddara* years prior to the establishment of the protectorate, it was around this time that his writing became more intense, organized, and targeted. This thesis will focus its analysis on the period of and immediately following the Urabi Rebellion but will additionally include a holistic overview of *Abou Naddara*'s structure and rhetorical arguments, which will be presented in the two chapters to follow. Textual evidence will be drawn from the three articles transcribed and translated in the appendix of this work.

## Structural analysis of *Abou Naddara*

Yaqub Sanua's writing was equally shaped by his personal experiences, upbringing, and learned skills as it was by the sociopolitical affairs of the Egyptian state. As his journal emerged, grew, and traveled geographically, it took on varying structures and adopted new features that catered to his shifting audience and the turbulent relationship between Egypt, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire. This chapter will present an overview of Sanua's biography and will examine the structural features of the *Abou Naddara* papers as well as the visual and literary qualities that made it accessible to the masses and hard-hitting to the ruling elite of British-controlled Ottoman Egypt.

### **Yaqub Sanua: his upbringing and training**

Yaqub Sanua was born in Cairo in 1839 to Jewish parents, a mother of Egyptian descent and an Italian father who worked as an advisor to Prince Ahmad Yakan, a grandson of Muhammad Ali.<sup>87</sup> His name يعقوب صنوع, transliterated "Ya'qūb Ṣanū'" and simplified "Yaqub Sanua", was further anglicized to "James Sanua",<sup>88</sup> and it is under this name that he eventually published his non-Arabic language writings. Even at an early age, Sanua displayed a talent for writing. Upon presenting a poem of his to Prince Ahmed, he was sponsored by the prince to study languages, arts, and sciences in Livorno, Italy. For three years, Sanua studied in Italy on a full scholarship provided by the prince, and he was exposed to various subjects including

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<sup>87</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 10.

<sup>88</sup> James being the Latin version of the name "Jacob," "Yaqub." "Etymology of the Name James," *Etymonline*, 2024.



political science, music, and law.<sup>89</sup> He also mastered a number of languages, and so when he returned to Egypt in 1855 after the death of his patron, he took up his first job as a foreign language instructor. He privately tutored children of royal families before taking up a teaching job at the Polytechnic School in Cairo, a school dedicated to training rising Egyptian officers in arts and sciences.<sup>90</sup> His tenure as a teacher thus enabled him to build connections with both the Turco-Circassian elite class as well as the native officer class and these lines of connection would go a long way in keeping Sanua updated on the nation's internal news even after his exile to Europe.<sup>91</sup>

In his mid-to-late twenties, Sanua found himself a part of the popular intellectual circles of the time, which were headed by figures such as Muḥammad 'Abduh and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. Al-Afghānī in particular, who Sanua considered a teacher and mentor, would play a pivotal role in shaping Sanua's political and nationalist thought.<sup>92</sup> His interactions with al-Afghānī coincided with Sanua's official entry into theater. He founded a theater troupe of amateur actors who performed plays in a small theater in Azbakiyya, his troupe even including two female actresses in a move that was not typical in Egyptian society of the time.<sup>93</sup> Sanua's theatrical works were popularly received with enthusiasm that reached even Khedive Ismail, who was much entertained by Sanua's compositions and even invited him to perform at the royal palace.<sup>94</sup> Sanua's ego was seemingly excessively boosted by the khedive's patronage, for he quickly developed an audacity potent enough to push him to criticize the elite class in his public

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<sup>89</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 10.

<sup>90</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 71.

<sup>91</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 10.

<sup>92</sup> Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians!*, 107.

<sup>93</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 11.

<sup>94</sup> Badawi, "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre," 133.

works. Social ills were at the center of many of his plays with references to the crimes of the elite and ill treatment of the Egyptian peasantry. The theater group was eventually shut down in 1872 and while Sanua claims that the group was disbanded by an order of the khedive incited by the British,<sup>95</sup> it is also quite possible that financial difficulties were at the center of the sudden closure.<sup>96</sup> This marked the end of Sanua's work as a full-time playwright and directed him to a new and promising career in journalism, even if he moved on with a pulsating bruise after he had fallen from the royal family's good graces.

### **The beginnings of *Abou Naddara*, the title name, and Egypt's literary scene**

In March 1877, Sanua published the first iteration of his journal under the title "*Abou Naddara Zarqa*," meaning "the Man with the Blue Glasses." Sanua claims that the name of the newspaper was inspired by an interaction he had with a stranger on the street after Sanua had walked out of a long meeting with Muḥammad 'Abduh and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. The stranger had asked Sanua for a ride on his donkey, calling out to Sanua by the attribute of his blue spectacles "Oh, man with the blue glasses!"<sup>97</sup> The title of the journal has many possible implications, most prominently that glasses provide clarity to their wearer and allow him to see his surroundings more clearly. That is to say, Sanua's papers were meant to expose the realities of the Egyptian nation's affairs to its people and to its rulers, to say loudly the quiet parts of the peoples' suffering under the corrupt khedivate. The glasses could similarly mean the magnification of the secretive or hidden affairs of the ruling elite, whose corruption was most

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 135.

<sup>96</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 11.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 11.

prominent behind hidden doors – doors that Sanua could apparently enter. In line with Sanua's story about the conception of the journal title, the glasses could possibly be a unique indicator of Sanua himself, a physical feature that set him apart.

As implied by the journal's title, the early *Abou Naddara* publications featured criticism of the khedive's administration and exposés of government corruption and the ensuing hardships it caused for the Egyptian people. There are no surviving copies of the journals published in the first year of *Abou Naddara*'s existence, but Sanua's exile to France in June of 1878 suggests that his early publications were particularly inflammatory and especially upsetting to Khedive Ismail. This geographic shift did not, however, spell the end of the *Abou Naddara* chronicles, but in fact signaled the beginning of the even more provocative publications of the journal. With nothing left to lose, Sanua strove to make his newspaper as potent as possible for his audience back home as well as for his new European audience.

It is important here to contextualize *Abou Naddara* in the existing body of journalism in Egypt at the time. Independent journalism was only sanctioned in Egypt after 1875, when Ismail Pasha allowed the issuance of publication permits in an effort that he hoped would invigorate Egypt's literary culture.<sup>98</sup> Members of Egypt's intellectual circles cautiously took advantage of this new opportunity for a political outlet, at their head al-Afghāni and 'Abduh. 'Abduh published five articles in 1876 stressing the importance of journalism to the nation's cultural prosperity and encouraging the diffusion of technologies and enlightenment philosophies from Europe. Meanwhile, al-Afghani galvanized his disciples to publish journals of their own, helping them obtain the necessary permits through his alleged connections with Ismail's ministry.<sup>99</sup> His

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<sup>98</sup> Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians!*, 108.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 109.

efforts precipitated in the publication of the journals *Miṣr* and *al-Tijārah*, which were regularly published papers that covered issues of national importance in an informational manner while occasionally addressing the impending and encroaching European danger. Compared to *Abou Naddara*, these papers took a much less critical approach, one that did not put them at odds with the khedive and may have even contributed to the sense of public participation that Ismail sought out through the initial reform of the journalistic scene.<sup>100</sup> Sanua, conversely, took public participation in journalism to a level that threatened Ismail beyond the possibility of keeping Sanua on Egyptian soil.

### ***Abou Naddara in exile***

The first of *Abou Naddara*'s publications in Paris was entitled *Riḥlat abī naẓẓāra zarqā al-walīy min miṣr al-qāhira ilā pāriẓ al-fākhira* meaning “The Holy Man with the Blue Glasses’ Journey from Victorious Egypt to Splendorous Paris.”<sup>101</sup> This set of publications, later shortened to *Riḥlat abī naẓẓāra*, consisted of twenty periodicals chronicling Sanua’s exile trip to Paris, later focusing its attention again on the corruption of Ismail and his cabinet. From there, Sanua’s journal adopted many names including *al- Ḥāwī* (the Sorcerer), *al-Naẓẓārāt al-Miṣrīyah* (the Egyptian Glasses), *Abū Ṣuffārah* (the Flutist), and *Abū Zummārah* (the Whistler) before the name settled almost permanently on *Abou Naddara* in 1881 once the journal had gained more stability. The reason for the almost frantic change in titles was Sanua’s efforts to avoid censorship by the Egyptian authorities. He reported multiple times in his writings news that *Abou Naddara* was

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 110.

<sup>101</sup> This transliteration and translation are courtesy of Heidelberg University Library. Heidelberg University Library, “Introduction: Journals.” *Abou Naddara Collection*, 2022.

being confiscated throughout Egypt and that its readers were apprehended by the police forces. Changing the newspaper's name helped bypass some of the censorship even if temporarily.

Sanua's papers were smuggled into Egypt regularly and at high volume – at least enough to keep circulation numbers up. Most publications were four to six pages long printed double-sided, making each issue quite small and easy to conceal and export in large numbers. *Abou Naddara* would be smuggled among other high-volume papers, books, and journals. Because *Abou Naddara* was distributed around Egypt so covertly, it is difficult to confirm the circulation numbers that Sanua claims in his own journal. In the June 24 issue of 1879, Sanua claimed that 10,000 copies of the paper were being delivered to Egypt into the two main hubs, the first in Cairo and the second in Alexandria.<sup>102</sup> This number jumped to a printing estimate of 15,000 in 1890, although Sanua does not make clear where to and in what numbers these papers were distributed<sup>103</sup>. However, there are limited sources through which we can triangulate Sanua's readership claims, such as the 1885 *Times* reports about circulation rates sitting at around 7000 and 4000 copies.<sup>104 105</sup> More prominently, Tawfiq sent a telegraph to the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul in September of 1881 claiming that “much of the political movement of `Uräbî can be attributed to the newspaper *Abü Nazzara Zarqa*”,<sup>106</sup> indicating that *Abou Naddara* was read widely enough to alert the khedival leadership to its role in impelling the growing nationalist sentiments around the country.

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<sup>102</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1879.

<sup>103</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1890.

<sup>104</sup> The *Times*, *Abou Naddara*, March 12, 1885, 5.

<sup>105</sup> The *Times*, *Abou Naddara*, March 3, 1885, 13.

<sup>106</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 226.

Another aspect of the journal's publication that remains hard to substantiate is its source of funding. Sanua himself never revealed the name of his sponsor, likely to avoid claims of prejudice as well as political hostilities.<sup>107</sup> Some have suggested the obvious Halim Pasha as being Sanua's patron, which can be deduced from the substantial pro-Halim propaganda rampant within the paper.<sup>108</sup> Sanua's unrelenting advocacy for Halim Pasha's right to the throne and Halim's frequent appearances in *Abou Naddara*'s caricatures as a savior figure is not backed by much logical or political rhetoric, insinuating that Halim relied on *Abou Naddara* as a platform for his own political campaign. Though the claim remains unsubstantiated, it is certain that Sanua had to rely on a patron for the publishing of his journal as the costs of printing, distributing, and hiring calligraphers and artists for the paper would have been beyond Sanua's financial scope.<sup>109</sup>

### **Visual elements of *Abou Naddara***

Each *Abou Naddara* article typically starts with a caricature drawing and a caption, with the caricature being reflective of a recent event discussed in the issue. The elements of the drawings themselves are sometimes dissected and discussed in detail in the main body of the article, providing nuance beyond the simple, catchy caption. Sanua was one of the first journalists to feature satirical caricatures in Egyptian popular press, and it certainly did wonders for the journal's readership. With Egypt's illiteracy rate estimated to be greater than 90% at the time,<sup>110</sup> the visual element was central to the *Abou Naddara* papers, providing greater

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<sup>107</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 14.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>110</sup> James Abel and Norman Bond, "Illiteracy in Several Countries," 48.

accessibility to the general Egyptian populace to Sanua's political claims. The caricatures are simple sketches that continuously gained extra levels of detail while maintaining conceptual simplicity. The characters featured in the sketches reappeared regularly, and new characters were promptly introduced for ease of understanding. Among the characters who appeared frequently in the caricatures were Khedive Ismail, Khedive Tawfiq, and Riyād Pasha, who was Tawfiq's prime minister,<sup>111</sup> as well as stereotypical stand-in characters representing the foreign powers, such as John Bull, the visual personification of Britain and a figure comparable to the American Uncle Sam (see figure 1).<sup>112</sup> Sanua often appeared in the sketches himself, frequently in a headshot at the top of one of the journal's pages and equally as often directly interacting with the characters in the opening caricature. Halim Pasha and Urabi Pasha also appeared frequently in the paper's visuals and



Figure 1 John Bull depicted, August 18th 1883.

donned particularly benevolent features, such as smooth faces and slim forms, as opposed to the portly pashas and the weathered British figures. The newspaper headers usually featured a pair of spectacles, sometimes standing alone under the title of the paper, other times worn by Sanua, and some other times worn by a figure representing Egypt. In the issues published from April of 1882 to December of the same year, the glasses are worn by a sphinx figure austere looking into the

<sup>111</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 16.

<sup>112</sup> Library of Congress, "John Bull and Uncle Sam: Four Centuries of British-American Relations," 2023.



Figure 2 Bespectacled  
Sphinx, November 3, 1882

horizon (see figure 2). Sanua often appeared in the newspaper header as well, more consistently starting in March of 1883. In that issue, Sanua stands underneath the *Abou Naddara* title and between two women figures, one labeled as “freedom” (*al-ḥurrīya*) the other as “wisdom” (*al-ḥikma*) (see figure 3). Sanua thus stands in the balance

between the two majestically dressed women with one hand extended, beckoning them

forward, assumingly to his readers. In this symbolic gesture, not only is Sanua metaphorically inviting freedom and wisdom into his reader’s heart, he also appears to be guided by the two women and their virtues in his presentation of the news that is to follow in his article.

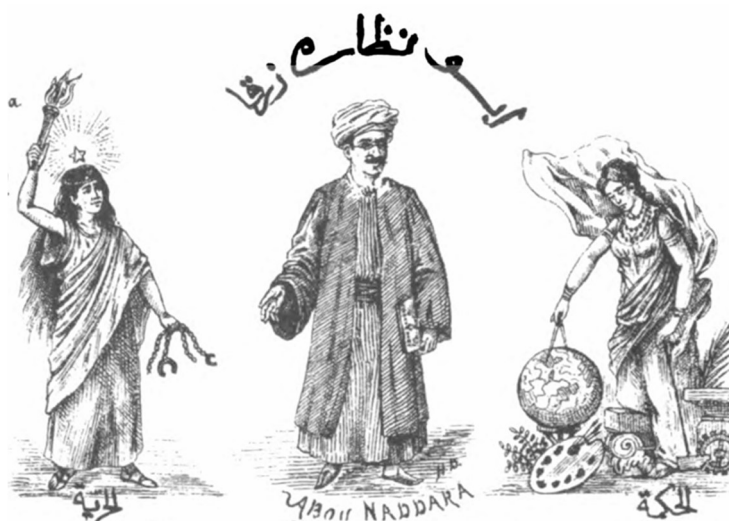


Figure 3 Sanua standing between the personification of freedom and wisdom, July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1883

### Organization and content forms in *Abou Naddara*

The journal’s main text is typically organized in double columns which usually contain two to three segments, each marked by a section title or “setting” sentence that identifies the writer and the addressee. The content of the sections varied greatly but generally took one of the following forms: an open letter from a guest writer, a news piece, a fictional dialogue, or a direct address from Sanua himself. Open letters are correspondences allegedly sent to Sanua by a fellow writer to be included in the paper. These anonymous writers hailed from everywhere from Cairo, to London, to Istanbul. The writers’ identities were occasionally disclosed in the special



cases where they were well-known figures. For example, Sanua published a lengthy address on behalf of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1883, in which he addressed the failing political socioeconomic state of the East and attributed the Orient's diminished status and vulnerability to colonialism to the Easterners' rejection of ideological enlightenment.<sup>113</sup> It is worthy to mention that it is hard to corroborate the authenticity of the guest writer contributions. While the leading scholars on *Abou Naddara* agree about his tendency to overexaggerate occurrences and dialogues,<sup>114</sup> none have uncovered evidence of the fabrication of guest writings. News pieces often sounded like charged narrations of upsetting events or glorified stories of victory of the nationalists in Egypt. These narratives, as well as Sanua's direct addresses, were made in Sanua's voice under the *Abou Naddara* penname.

Fictional dialogues were very common in *Abou Naddara* and occurred between any pairing of fictional individuals meant to represent a subset of a population (i.e., a rural farmer and an English soldier) or important figures debating or discussing the state of the nation. One such dialogue appears in the issue published on April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1883, the transcription and translation of which is included in the appendix. The issue opens with a conversation between Sanua and Khedive Tawfiq wherein Tawfiq childishly complains about the difficulty of his affairs as a khedive and the predicament he is in due to his brothers' imminent visit to Egypt. Sanua chides and taunts Tawfiq and goes on to reveal dangerous information about his brothers' intentions from their visit. Sanua advises Tawfiq on what to do with his brothers, devising a sly plot to set spies on them and turn their allies into his own puppets. When Sanua finally directs Tawfiq to step down from the governorship of Egypt and yield to his uncle Halim, Tawfiq admits that he

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<sup>113</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1883.

<sup>114</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 31.

cannot bring himself to do that, despite it being the logical course of action. This odd dialogue between the author and the Khedive provides a revealing example of the dynamics that Sanua imagined for himself with the various leaders of his time and highlights Sanua's main criticisms regarding how the khedival leadership deals with imminent conflicts. The use of these fictional conversations more generally provided a medium for more entertaining political speech on Sanua's end and were arguably one of the most prominent elements of his satirical work.

Sanua's journals were reprinted from handwritten originals, for which Sanua hired a professional scribe. This is evident from the change in the handwriting of the journals between March 17<sup>th</sup> and November 3<sup>rd</sup> of 1882, which Sanua embarrassedly attributes to his scribe's traveling and leaving Sanua to write the journal in his own hand.<sup>115</sup> In February of 1904, there was finally a shift to typewriting and typesetting in the printing of the Arabic columns.<sup>116</sup>

### **Linguistic characteristics of *Abou Naddara***

Sanua relied heavily on colloquial Egyptian Arabic in his main writing, supplementing with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) where appropriate and where it served to embolden his messages and warning to the Egyptian people. In response to criticism that Sanua received from an Italian critic for not using MSA but dialectical Arabic in his plays instead, Sanua retorted with the claim that theater was meant to reflect every day lived life.<sup>117</sup> In Sanua's reality, no one spoke MSA publicly. Rather, it was relegated to formal settings, and Sanua used it in this way to balance formality with dialectical satire in his journals. The vast majority of his satirical material

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<sup>115</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1882.

<sup>116</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1904.

<sup>117</sup> Badawi, "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre," 144.

was thus conducted fully in Egyptian Arabic, and this, like his use of caricatures, vastly improved popular access to his writings in a country with a high rate of illiteracy. The use of popular language greatly improved *Abou Naddara*'s readership in Egypt even when access to it required it to be smuggled from Europe without detection by the khedival administration's censors.<sup>118</sup> Sanua additionally used rhythmic prose in his narratives as an artistic means of appealing to readers and marketing *Abou Naddara* as a satirical paper and not solely a newspaper tabloid.<sup>118</sup> The discussion of *Abou Naddara*'s robust readership numbers in this chapter's subsection titled "*Abou Naddara* in Exile" supports scholars' claims that the above linguistic properties of the newspaper bolstered its popularity among its Egyptian readers.

As Sanua continued to write from his new home in Europe, there grew a greater audience for *Abou Naddara* in Paris and France. Sanua began inserting French captions for the caricatures and newspaper header as early as 1879, and on March 13<sup>th</sup> of 1879, he published a full-length introduction to his journal in French.<sup>119</sup> It was only three years later in 1882 that Sanua began publishing consistent full translations of his articles in French to be printed and published together with his Arabic journal. Though Sanua was not as eager to translate his journal into English, he included occasional English translations for picture captions, and he published his first full English translation of an article on September 29<sup>th</sup> of 1883, infrequently affixing English translations to subsequent journals.<sup>120</sup> It would be interesting to explore *Abou Naddara*'s French readership and the general public's reaction to his journal throughout Europe. Though

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<sup>118</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 14.

<sup>119</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1879.

<sup>120</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1883.

Sanua's French writing is outside the scope of this project, I encourage further scholarship about his presence in the European journalistic scene.

Sanua also developed a set of nicknames for the most popular figures appearing in his journal, especially those he frames as the antagonists. Ismail Pasha, for example, was known as *Šhaykh al Hārah* or Chief of the Quarter, while his son Tawfiq was nicknamed *al-Wād al-a'ḥbal* meaning the stupid boy.<sup>121</sup> These nicknames contributed to the general long-standing characterizations of these figures. In the case of Tawfiq, for example, the title of “stupid boy” was in line with Sanua's characterization of him as a puppet of the English and an unfit ruler who ought to step down in favor of his uncle. This is in contrast to his nickname for Halim, “Aboul Hilm” (the father of forbearance), which inverts Halim's name into an epithet that reflexively describes him as a person of forbearance.

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<sup>121</sup> Kandil, “The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press,” 12.

## Rhetorical analysis of *Abou Naddara*

In his writing, Sanua employs a number of rhetorical and literary tropes to promote his anti-colonial arguments about the political structures he opposed and the others he supported. This chapter will analyze the most prominent arguments made in *Abou Naddara* and the rhetorical methods by which they were presented. The broad trends in question can be seen acutely within the prescribed window of content analysis between 1882 and 1883, with specific examples being featured in the originally translated works presented in the appendix. This chapter will focus on four primary areas of interest, which are Sanua's nationalistic rhetoric, his framing of the tyrannical khedival government, his representation of the abusive British colonial administration, and his self-appointed title as a savior figure of the Egyptian liberation movement.

### Nationalistic rhetoric

*Abou Naddara* was one of the first public literary outlets for Egyptian nationalistic fervor and Sanua makes it abundantly clear that *Abou Naddara* was not only a channel for his own writing, but a canvas for other revolutionary thinkers to propagate their sentiments to the Egyptian populace. This is evident from the wide range of guest writers whose columns they send to him and he publishes. These range from anonymous civilians and soldiers in Egypt to high-ranking figures such as Ahmad Urabi and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, with whom Sanua claimed to have personal private correspondences.<sup>122</sup> In the issue published on October 6<sup>th</sup> of

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<sup>122</sup> Matti Moosa, "Ya'qub Sanu' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 403.

1882, a transcription and translation of which can be found in the appendix, Sanua includes a brief address from a few members of the National Party in which they mourn the loss of Egypt to the British. They “blame” Urabi for the predicament they are in, but not for the reasons one might expect. They exclaim:

“Oh, this is all Urabi’s fault for being a nobleman. The foolish boy was a prisoner in his hands. Why did he let him go to Alexandria and fire the English guns at us? He could have imprisoned Tawfiq with him in Cairo and forced him to give up our pure state.”

The nationalists grieve the lost opportunity of permanent revolution, one that would have upended the Khedival system altogether and placed Egypt in the hands of a native ruler, albeit a military one. They go on to reveal that Tawfiq betrayed the nationalists for one million Egyptian pounds and they threaten revenge upon those who betrayed them. The nationalists assert their agency over their country’s affairs and profess that necessity can push a man to do much. Interestingly, they end the letter with strong words for *Abou Naddara*, cursing him if he does not include their address in the paper. This almost sarcastic ending note is quite telling. The nationalists express a certain entitlement to the column space in *Abou Naddara* and see it as a necessary outlet for their domestic news and give glad tidings of upcoming victories. Sanua had at that point placed the journal at their disposal many times in the past, and in this time of calamity he was even more ready to provide the resource to them. In this way, he had become almost an organ of the National Party itself.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Kandil, “The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press,” 29.

Sanua took his affiliation with the nationalists more seriously when he started to plaster the motto مصر للمصريين, meaning “Egypt for the Egyptians”, on the front page of every *Abou Naddara* issue.<sup>124</sup> The slogan is a simple yet powerful one that concisely summarizes the objectives of the nationalist movement as well as Sanua’s personal goal of compelling the Egyptian populace to rebel against its oppressors. “Egypt for the Egyptians” integrates the revolutionaries’ initial strife against the oppressive khedival government of Tawfiq and the exploitative British colonial administration, which are the foci of this chapter on Sanua’s anti-colonial rhetoric because of their prominence in his writing and in the nationalist movement. The slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians,” however, also signals a poignant self-representation of Sanua himself as a writer in exile. The mention of the phrase at the outset of every issue of *Abou Naddara* is a reaffirmation of Sanua’s loyalty to the nationalist objective of establishing a native-run Egyptian state that is free from the exploitation of the Ottoman or the British Empires.<sup>125</sup> The simple motto thus came to embody the nationalist calls for colonial liberation and simultaneously bolstered Sanua’s public alignment with Urabi’s movement, aligning him closer to the revolutionaries he constantly encouraged the public to join.

It is unsurprising then that nationalistic writings are of a single perspective and exhibit little diversity in political ideology. Sanua was quite diligent about toeing party lines and consistently published letters and appeals that backed his calls for khedival reform through the return of Halim Pasha and the expulsion of the British.<sup>126</sup> The anonymity of many of his guest writers makes it difficult to gauge the diversity of social and political identities represented in

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 22.

*Abou Naddara* and makes it easy to assume ideological homogeneity based on the consistency of the views expressed in opposition to Tawfiq's governorship and British colonialism.

### Framing of the Khedival administration

Sanua harshly represents the khedival figures of his time and convincingly crafts them as the primary subjects of blame for the nation's state of affairs. To begin with Khedive Ismail, Sanua's once patron then banisher, he was framed as a greedy and disloyal ruler whose only concern was his own material interests. In caricatures, Ismail is drawn as stout and large-set often



Figure 2 "Pharaoh yells, come to the auction of the sphinx and the stones of the pyramids, Oh tourists and lovers of antiquities! The sale is in cash and the currency is pounds, pounds free of copper. One, two, come on people, raise the price" (Translation courtesy of Doaa Kandil, "Abu Naddara: The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 19).



donning a stupefied expression.<sup>127</sup> In *Abou Naddara*'s visuals and columns, Ismail repeatedly engages in treacherous actions in favor of the encroaching British. In the May 30<sup>th</sup> issue of 1879, Ismail is drawn manning an auction of the pyramids and sphinx of Giza with a crowd of mixed attendees, some obviously foreign investors (figure 1)<sup>128</sup>. In the caricature, he is referred to as “the Pharaoh,” one of his popular nicknames and a reference to the Pharaoh of Egypt who oppressed Moses and the Israelites. He is also often referred to as “the chief of the quarter,”<sup>129</sup> meaning the police of the block, likely in reference to his extreme censorship policies that landed Sanua in exile in France. In the 8<sup>th</sup> of July issue, Sanua depicts the members of the National Party striking Ismail, again referred to him as the Pharaoh, and his sons Hasan and Hussain are pictured on their way out of the country (figure 2).

In the distance, a crowd of Egyptian civilians watch on and ahead of Ismail stands the Ottoman sultan, barring a shocked Ismail from entering the imperial capital of Istanbul.

Sanua's depiction of the Egyptian people seeing



Figure 3 The National Party is joyous over the expulsion of the Pharaoh and his sons from the land of Egypt. The consuls are whipping him and the Commander of the Faithful bars him from entering his country.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>128</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1879.

<sup>129</sup> Kandil, “The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press,” 12.

Ismail off with celebration and relief coupled with the sultan's rejection of the fugitive khedive comes as a sort of climax to *Abou Naddara*'s previous representations of and anticipations of Ismail being ousted. Sanua's many calls for his deposition had finally come to fruition, even if not in the way he had hoped for and not in favor of Halim Pasha, and he would not waste the opportunity to harp on his anticipations coming true. Ismail's son Tawfiq would inherit the khediveship from his father along with Sanua's animosity and cunning wit.

Surprisingly, Tawfiq is drawn as vastly different than his father with a slim figure and strong physique. However, this does not mean that he was represented with any more dignity than his predecessor. Despite his masculine features, Tawfiq is often addressed using feminine pronouns with even his name being transformed into the feminine form "Tawfiqiyya" in some of *Abou Naddara*'s narratives. This is a means of demeaning Tawfiq and discrediting his masculinity, stripping him of traditionally masculine attributes of courage and honor.<sup>130</sup> The August 4<sup>th</sup> issue of 1882, translated as part of this project, includes a rhymed song celebrating Tawfiq's marriage to Lord Beauchamp Seymour, a British naval commander who led the bombardment on Alexandria.<sup>131</sup>

"Rise and sing, O Tawfiqiyya,<sup>132</sup> and entertain your lover Lord Seymour, who saved you from the fire, and then put you on the burner. Throw away your fez, girl, and put on a high hat. Urabi, Tulbah, Abdel-Al, congratulate the English Tawfiqiyya. O

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>131</sup> Andrew Priest, *Designs on Empire: America's Rise to Power in the Age of European Imperialism*. Columbia University Press, 119.

<sup>132</sup> Tawfiqiyya is the feminine form of the name Tawfiq. Addressing Tawfiq as a woman is a means of degrading him and implying his spinelessness in colluding with the British.

countryman and peasant, send Tawfiq off for marriage. Let's go, let's go, to see Tawfiq off from our land.”

Tawfiq metaphorical marriage to Seymour symbolizes his betrayal of the Egyptian people at the Battle of Alexandria and his capitulation to the British. Furthermore, it reflects his continued subservience to the English commanders, whom Sanua portrays as the puppet masters of the khedivate. Tawfiq thus becomes a reliable scapegoat for the nationalists’ defeat at Alexandria and he is blamed explicitly for the establishment of the British Protectorate in Egypt. This can be seen in the October 6<sup>th</sup> article in which Sanua exclaims that “It is Tawfiq the senseless who betrayed us and bought for the English some officers. Therefore, neither Urabi nor Abdel-Al can be called cowards.” Tawfiq’s collusion with the British transfers the blame of vulnerability to colonialism to him. In making this argument, Sanua essentially implies that regardless of what the nationalists could have possibly done to protect the nation from falling to the British, Tawfiq’s treachery would have undone all of it in minutes by virtue of his wealth, power, and greed.

The khedives addressed in Sanua’s early writings are clearly framed in *Abou Naddara* as enemies of the Egyptian people. From Ismail’s off-putting physical rendering in the paper’s caricatures to Tawfiq’s dishonorable metaphors, both khedives are continuously villainized in their roles as heads of state and blamed for the Egyptian peoples’ suffering at the hands of the British.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 99.

## Framing of British forces in Egypt

Similar to the paper's approach in admonishing the country's khedival governors, *Abou Naddara* takes a critical approach toward the colonial British forces in Egypt. The journal seeks to enlighten the Egyptian people to the British imperialists' greedy interests in the region and their manipulation of the nation's leaders for their benefit. The English, who Sanua refers to as الانجليز, *al-'Ingilīz*, are represented symbolically in the various British leaders that interact with *Abou Naddara*'s narrators in the columns, such as the aforementioned Lord Seymour metaphorically marrying the khedive to represent the establishment of the protectorate. However, the English encroaching force is most obviously represented in the figure of John Bull, which occasionally appears in *Abou Naddara*'s caricatures and sketches. John Bull originated in John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712) as a figure symbolizing the English country in the book's metaphorical narrative about the War of Spanish Succession.<sup>134</sup> Though he originally appears as a stout, friendly, and honest man, his renditions outside the context of domestic



Figure 3 John Bull slighting an Egyptian and Irish figure after eating their lunch, November 17th 1883.

<sup>134</sup> Alan W. Bower and Robert A. Erickson, "Reviewed Work: John Arbuthnot: The History of John Bull," November 1978.

British politics mar him with imperialist attributes and a domineering appearance, as does *Abou Naddara*.<sup>135</sup> In Sanua's publications, John Bull oscillates between having a lean figure and a heavy-set one and often dons a wicked look on his face that could include features such as sly smile or a cunning side-glance (see figures 3 and 4).<sup>136</sup> John Bull is featured prominently in the publications of the year 1881, with a near narrative chain of events telling the story of his metaphorical union with Riyāḍ Pasha, the Egyptian prime minister and Tawfiq's right hand man.<sup>137</sup> On May 27<sup>th</sup> of 1881, Monsieur de Blignières, the French Controller of the PDF in Tawfiq's cabinet,<sup>138</sup> is depicted officiating the wedding of Prime Minister Riyāḍ and John Bull.<sup>139</sup> As John Bull moves to place the ring on Riyāḍ's finger, the Egyptian soldiers can be seen rushing onto field to interrupt the ceremony while Tawfiq watches on with a puppet in his hands, symbolizing his own enslavement to British interests. Eventually, in the October 7<sup>th</sup> issue of the same year, Riyāḍ is depicted as having died while John Bull weeps by his grave. John Bull as a symbol of British-Ottoman relations in Egypt, specifically within the khedives' administrative



Figure 4 A sly smile from *John Bull*, September 29<sup>th</sup> 1883.

circles, illustrates the intimate embeddedness of the British in Egypt's internal affairs and their manipulation of native and Turkic leaders as a means to an end of exploiting the Egyptian people. John Bull is largely absent from the 1882 and 1883 publications and is instead replaced by named British

<sup>135</sup> Miles Taylor, "John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c. 1712-1929," *Oxford University Press*, 134.

<sup>136</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1883.

<sup>137</sup> Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, chapter 16.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, chapter 17.

<sup>139</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1881.



figures who take over leadership positions in protectorate Egypt, such as Seymour mentioned above.

Unidentified English soldiers are also depicted committing disgraceful acts against the Egyptian people. In a January paper in 1883, for example, an English soldier is shown riding on the back of a native Egyptian soldier at the order of General Evelyn Wood, the newly appointed British commander of the Egyptian army (figure 5).<sup>140</sup> In the August 4<sup>th</sup> issue of 1882, English



Figure 4 English soldier rides on Egyptian soldier at the order of an English commanding officer

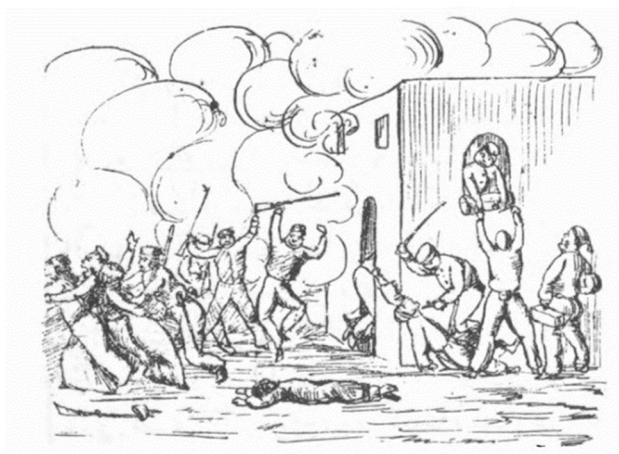


Figure 6 English soldiers plundering al Ramlah town

soldiers are shown plundering the Egyptian town of al Ramlah and violating its women (figure 6). English soldiers are also consistently shown to be drinking or in a state of drunkenness. In the anecdote at the end of the April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1883 issue, English soldiers enter a famous smokehouse where some Egyptian men are gathering to crack jokes and keep company. The English soldiers are visibly drunk and end up in a brawl with the intoxicated natives. In another issue, a British officer is shown drinking while his soldiers fire at and kill an Egyptian dressed in fellah clothes.<sup>141</sup> The British's engagement in these immoral acts is a further degradation of their image in the eyes of the Egyptian people as a point separate from their political subjugation of the

<sup>140</sup> Sir Evelyn Wood, *From Midshipman to Field Marshal*, 500.

<sup>141</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1882.

Egyptian nation. *Abou Naddara* sought to shed light on these violations and incidents of indecency as a supplement to the political arguments against the British occupation of Egypt, implying quite clearly that such immoral individuals should not have a say in the affairs of an Eastern people like the Egyptians.

It is worth mentioning that *Abou Naddara* depicted scenes of the European states opposing the British approach to the administration of the Egypt state. The cover of the November 18<sup>th</sup> issue of 1881 depicts Urabi blocking a shocked John Bull from entering through the gates of Egypt. Urabi is backed by a cadre of Egyptian soldiers and in the distance a crowd representing “the Powers” claps and cheers Urabi on. The figures representing the Powers are dressed very diversely, with some representing distinctly Eastern countries and others obviously of a European background. Sanua’s claim that foreign powers worldwide oppose British encroachment in Egypt is a powerful assertion, one that he used to validate the strife against English encroachment in the early years of Tawfiq’s rule. This is in fact a strategy he continued to employ after the establishment of the British Protectorate. In the opening caricature of the issue published on June 9<sup>th</sup> of 1882, a council of foreign ambassadors to Egypt meet to discuss the possible ascension of Halim Pasha into the khediveship at the suggestion of the Ottoman foreign minister, himself inspired by Egyptian public sentiment.<sup>142</sup> All ambassadors agree that Halim is much more fit for the administrative role than his nephew Tawfiq except for the English ambassador who asserts that, while Halim is better suited for the position, Tawfiq is more favorable to England because of his gullibility.<sup>143</sup> In this scenario, all foreign nations agree about Egypt’s best interest, but that interest is blocked by England’s pursuit of personal advantage.

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<sup>142</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, 1882.

<sup>143</sup> Kandil, “The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press,” 33.

*Abou Naddara*'s trope of British foreign policy being opposed by the vast majority of global powers furthers the vilification of the English forces' administration of Egypt and ties their decisions to the implicit greed that guides all of their actions. Coupled with the anecdotal recollections of immoral acts by the British, either metaphorically through symbolic figures, named leaders, or anonymous soldiers, Sanua builds enough logical backing for his readers to develop a deep-seated distaste, if not hatred, for the colonial forces occupying Egypt.

### **Sanua's self-perceived role as an enlightener and his Francophile attitudes**

As the author and editor in chief of *Abou Naddara*, a paper that was growing more popular and contentious by the day and published in major a literary and political hub in Paris, Sanua began to bestow upon himself the role of an official representative of the Egyptian people.<sup>144</sup> All articles issued from mid-1881 to the end of 1882 feature a banner that lies directly under the *Abou Naddara* title on the cover page bearing the slogan, *لسان حال الامة المصرية*, meaning "The Tongue of the State of the Egyptian Homeland". In this tumultuous period during which people were subject to a great level of misinformation about the political standing of the nation, Sanua framed his journal as the official source of news that is authentic to the Egyptian people themselves, written in their words. However, Sanua seems to go a step further in taking on this role of representative, as he takes upon himself the above attribute of *spokesman* and the additional role of *defender*. In the August issue of 1882, and following the nationalists' defeat in Alexandria, Sanua retells a bold exchange between him and Urabi:

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 33.



Oh! Two months ago, when I saw the situation was getting urgent, I asked the master of the brave [Urabi] if I could return to Egypt, but he ordered me to stay here because I am the tongue of the nation, and a defender of the rights of the homelands in Europe. Still, my soul and heart are with you. May God grant you success in your objective. (Don't deprive me of your news)

Here, Sanua fully adopts the role of a sort of Egyptian ambassador to Europe, one who can truthfully speak to the news of his home country and defend it against its enemies abroad. In this statement is a prime example of Sanua's common exaggeration of his role in the Egyptian liberation movement as well as the exaggerated role of his journal in furthering the nationalist agenda. Moreover, Sanua's claim that Urabi advised him against coming back to Egypt is far-fetched, and it is possible that Sanua made an empty claim to excuse himself from the moral obligation to return to the homeland in this time of strife.<sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> In reasserting his moral commitment to the cause, Sanua almost desperately seeks to keep himself connected to the events unfolding in Egypt and dismiss any of his readers' doubts about his complacency.

Sanua also demonstrates a consistent and explicit pro-French agenda in his writing. Given France's colonial interest in the Middle East and Africa as well as its historical incursions on Egyptian soil, *Abou Naddara's* praise for the French seems antithetical to his anti-colonial stance. However, Sanua's Francophile attitudes were likely an exploitation of the raging Anglo-French rivalry.<sup>147</sup> In flattering the French government and people with incessant praise and attributing to them pro-Egypt opinions, Sanua not only increased public awareness in France

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>146</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 91.

<sup>147</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 35.

around the Egyptian independence issue, but he also forged an allyship (even if only literarily) between the French and the Egyptian people.<sup>148</sup> Sanua leveraged the French's Anglophobic views to introduce the Egyptian nationalist movement to French readers as an example of Egyptians' contestation of English intrusion in Egypt.<sup>149</sup> Moreover, Sanua's pro-French writings served to increase his popularity in the French press and Paris's intellectual circles, leading to coverage of his writings appearing in major French newspapers like *Le Temps* and his cartoons being featured by artists such as Paul De Baignières.<sup>150</sup> External coverage of Sanua's writing inflated his European readership and fame as an "oriental writer" to the extent that Sanua began to participate in lectures and conferences on Eastern politics and even Islamic culture. Sanua went as far as publishing two additional journals that sought to acquaint Westerners with Eastern culture ("L'Univers Musulman) and Egyptians with European politics and philosophy (al-Tawaddud).<sup>151</sup> Sanua's nationalist messaging in his French language writing promoted his anti-colonial views to an audience living in the jurisdiction of a colonial entity itself but had reason to take issue with the English's particular encroachments in Egypt due to the dichotomous Anglo-French rivalry of the time.

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>149</sup> Gendzier, "James Sanua and Egyptian Nationalism," 26.

<sup>150</sup> Fahmy, "Francophone Egyptian Nationalists, Anti-British Discourse, and European Public Opinion, 1885-1910: The Case of Mustafa Kamil and Ya'qub Sannu'," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 28, no. 1 (2008): 172.

<sup>151</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 34.

## Conclusion

Egyptian journalist Yaqub Sanua proved himself a dedicated writer, revolutionary, and nationalist through his sustained writing of *Abou Naddara*. His use of political satire as a means of criticizing the ruling elite's administrative abuses was an audacious endeavor that was only made possible by his position in political exile in Paris, and it is precisely his apparent courage in criticizing the country's political affairs that made him so widely read in mainland Egypt.<sup>152</sup> *Abou Naddara*'s use of political cartoons and dialectical Egyptian Arabic made the journal popularly accessible and entertaining in nature in a way that was unheard of for Egyptian newspapers of the time. As the Egyptian public faced massive repression and censorship by the khedival and British colonial administrations, they saw Sanua's political tirades as representative of their own rage against the colonial dispossessors and the Ottoman sell-outs. Sanua quickly took on a more a more explicit role as a representative for Egyptian public sentiment, a political advocate, and defender of Egyptian rights. These titles were reflected unambiguously in his writing and even bestowed upon him by some of the nationalist leaders of the time, such as the leader of the nationalist movement, Ahmad Urabi.<sup>153</sup>

Sanua used scathing language and sardonic caricatures representing Khedives Ismail and Tawfiq to frame them as self-interested traitors, directing the public to move for their deposal. Pointing the blame at the khedives for Britain's colonial conquest of Egypt also served to exonerate the nationalist movement of any responsibility it might have held for Egypt's vulnerability to English rule. Sanua employed similar tactics to jibe at the English colonizers. *Abou Naddara*'s front piece caricatures featured iterations of British administrative leaders as

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<sup>152</sup> Troutt Powell, *In A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 91.

<sup>153</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 33.

well as the symbolic John Bull character that is often depicted taking advantage of Egypt, for example, by marrying her prime minister against the people's will. Sanua also highlights problematic elements of British soldiers' behavior, such as excessive drinking, and he makes consistent arguments that the British are opposed by the rest of Europe in their endeavors in Egypt. In making this assertion, Sanua reassures his readers that if they were to rise up against the British colonial administration, they would be supported by the European powers in doing so.<sup>154</sup>

*Abou Naddara's* claims against Egypt's Ottoman governors and British overlords came in many literary and visual forms that kept the newspaper from becoming a purely political forum while also preventing it from slipping into the category of entertainment journalism, keeping it squarely in the medium of political satire and making it the first publication of its kind in Egypt. What makes *Abou Naddara* an especially valuable body of text in studying late 19<sup>th</sup> century Egyptian politics is that the paper was not simply the child of Sanua's creative expression. Rather, it was a slate for public opinion to be broadcast on a level unattainable for the indignant Egyptian populace that was subject to severe censorship and government oversight. Sanua lent his experience in exile to the compatriots of his homeland, dedicating his newfound freedom in Paris to the service of the Egyptian nationalist and anti-colonial cause.<sup>155</sup> Sanua's objective is perfectly summarized in the slogan he popularized through his journal in the early 1880's, and that is *Maṣr lil Maṣriyyīn* a simply put, "Egypt for the Egyptians."

It is worth recognizing that Sanua's writings and his attributions to guest writers are difficult to corroborate. Though there is no clear evidence that points to the fabrication of events

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<sup>154</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, November 18, 1881.

<sup>155</sup> Kandil, "The Forerunner of Egyptian Satirical Press," 29.

described in his paper, he does have a tendency to exaggerate beyond the believable limits.<sup>156</sup> For example, the writings sent to him by his various ambassadors around the globe contain copious amounts of praise for him and for his journal, a praise that falls in line with into Sanua's self-proclaimed and almost egotistical role as a "savior." At the same time, Sanua makes it abundantly clear that his newspaper is satirical, branding it very early on as a *ḡarīdah hazliyyah*,<sup>157</sup> "a satirical paper." His exaggerations can thus be seen as either a) unethical journalistic sensationalization or as b) intentional comical choices of the artist. In my analysis of *Abou Naddara* presented here, I have displayed his consistent adherence to the satirical genre in his writing and his employment of a multitude of rhetorical and literary instruments to present his anti-colonial views. His personal assertion of his writing as satirical in nature should additionally compel readers to grant him a certain "benefit of the doubt" in relation to his hyperbolic contentions in *Abou Naddara* while still questioning the truth behind his more factual claims, such as his self-reported readership numbers.

This project contributes to the literature about colonial resistance by examining the use of political satire as a means of resisting abusive encroaching powers. In the case of *Abou Naddara*, the newspaper challenged both the British and the Ottoman overlords that ruled a native Egyptian population upon whom expensive modernization projects were forced and to whom the financial benefit did not return. Through *Abou Naddara*, Sanua uplifted the voices of repressed members of the Egyptian public and broadcast their grievances against the colonial governments that imposed themselves upon the Egyptian homeland and its people. Judging by *Abou Naddara*'s estimated readership numbers, this transmission of objections was efficient, sustained,

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>157</sup> Sanua, *Abou Naddara*, January 19, 1883.

and successful. Furthermore, the translations provided here are some of the first full-length translations of *Abou Naddara*'s articles and are the first step to providing English readers with access to Sanua's journalistic writing. Though the translations may not do justice to Sanua's original Arabic rhymes or dialectical jokes that are so closely intertwined with spoken Egyptian cadence, they provide a window to Sanua's rich use of rhetorical language in his sardonic writing. The complexity of Sanua's criticism and literary choices leaves much to be explored by academics seeking to build upon the scholarship presented here. Sanua's French writing in *Abou Naddara* and elsewhere is just as deserving of academic attention as his Arabic journalism, along with the strategies he employed to reach and speak directly to the European audience that he knew had access to his paper. Additionally, further analysis of Sanua's caricature figures is necessary to understand the implied dynamics between characters of different ethnic backgrounds (i.e., Sudanese, Ottoman, French, etc.), and thus the implied relations of allyship and antagonism between them. Finally, hundreds of Sanua's articles have yet to be translated into English, and with each article being distinctive from the next, there is sure to be great richness in any number of additional English translations added to the cadre of articles accessible to the English-reading academic sphere. If Sanua were to have it his way, he would certainly want non-academics alike to read and sneer at his journal, even if they were speakers of the language of the *ḥil*.

## Appendix

٤ أغسطس ١٨٨٢



عراي باشا وموسيو دوليسيس ياكلوا عيش وملح الاخوية  
اسد العرب يقول تعيش فرنسا والآخر يقول تعيش مصر وأهلها  
'Tantôt c'est de l'osépe mangeant le pain et le sel de l'asépe  
!...! Egypte! Vive l'Égypte! Vive la France! l'autre répond

عراي باشا وموسيو دوليسيس ياكلوا عيش وملح الأخوية  
أسد العرب يقول تعيش فرنسا والآخر يقول تعيش مصر وأهلها



صمور قاعد على حله يقول لعبده توفيق ما تقرأش بجر  
مضى دي لايحه منك تخبر المرعابان عراي عامي وانك عزله  
Seymour dit à son esclave Effik: Ne lis pas! signe  
cette proclamation contre l'arabie le rebelle !...!

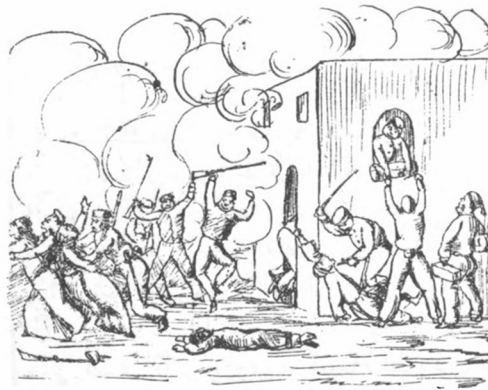
صمور قاعد على حله يقول لعبده توفيق ما تقرأش بس  
امضي دي لايحه منك تخبر المرعابان<sup>158</sup> ان عراي عاصي وانك عزلته

<sup>158</sup> Misspelled the words.



انظروا كيف العساكر الانكليزيه يتعاملوا  
مع الزناتى بيكر وعساكره بتبندق  
Les Fellahs égyptiens affranchis de toutes leurs souffrances par  
l'intervention anglaise en Egypte.

انظروا كيف العساكر الإنجليز يتعامل أهلي مصر الظابط يسكر وعساكره بتبندق



النوتيه الانكليزيه بينهموا بيوت الرمله متلما اخبر التيمز  
وسميتوا اعراض نساءنا الاحرار  
(D'après le Times) Les honorables marins Anglais pillent les maisons  
de Karsak et violent les femmes et les jeunes filles de cette ville.

النوتيه الإنجليز بينهموا بيوت الرمله متلما أخبر التيمز<sup>159</sup> و ينتهكوا أعراض نساءنا الإحرار

<sup>159</sup> Anglicized for "Times" newspaper.



باريس في ٤ اوجستو ١٨٨٢ . صيحة أبي نظارة . يا كبدي عليكي يا اسكندرية . يا بكا عيني على سراياتك الفاخره . صبحتك كوم رماد الجلل الإنكليزية . من نارها أحمي لنا يا عرابي القاهرة . مالها أصل ولا فصل أخبار التلغراف . لأن جميعها صادرة من كلب البحر صمور . فلا أصدق أن عساكر مصرنا الأشراف . ضد الإنسانية تحصل منهم أمور . الجهادي المصري يموت في حب وطننا العزيز . فكيف يحرق وينهب البيوت . عوض ما يحمل السلاح لمقاومة الإنكليز؟ دي جميع أعضاء الحزب الوطني الكرام . بيقولوا من زمان للفلاحين وأولاد البلاد . صاح أبو نظارة قايلًا سفك دم ضيوفنا الإفرنج حرام . والشطارة هي محاربة الإنكليز وخلع الواد . وفي الواقع اللي حصل من القتل باسكندرية. دا جاب علينا الحق لانه عار . ولو انه ابتداء من الجريج الدون والمالطية . اللي وزوهم إسماعيل وتوفيق و ماليت المكار . إنما المكتوب على الجبين تراه العيون . والحال لو كنتم سمعوا كلامي يا أصحابي . كان اليوم الواد عن أبيه فرعون . إنما المقدر عطل سعي عرابي . كان أمر سهل فتوه من العلما وعليها من النواب تصديق . يذكر فيها أن اللي خان الأهالي والأوطان . وباعنا الإنكليز هو توفيق . وأن مصر طالبة ابن محمد علي جنتم كان . انما اللي فات مات يا جدعان . ابعدوكم عن قتل الأبرياء لانه عار كبير . حاموا بشرف على بلادكم يا فرسان . لعنة الله على من يسلم روحه للعدو أسير . أنت كريمة يا أمة بريطانيا . إنما حكومتك بالمظالم مشهورة . أنتي بتدافعي في محافلك عن حقوق الأهالي المصرية . وحكومتك مرادها تخرب بلادنا المعمورة . الله يسعد أوقات الفرنسيين . لأن غاية قصدهم ومرادهم . يشوفوا القاهرة جميلة كباريس . ووادي النيل سعيدا كبلادهم . والبرهان ان حينما غامبيتا قال في مجلس النواب . أن أبناء مصر مايجوش إلا بالضرب قام كليمانسو وناقده بأفصح جواب . والمجلس ماقبلش أن يكون بيننا وبين فرنسا حرب . تعرفوا ليه غامبيتا منغاط منا يا اسيايدي . هو لكوننا طردنا حبيبه بلانور . أصل سبب خراب بلادي لان بلانور احتقر الجهادية والجمهور . إنما غامبيتا لما ما قدرش يشفي غليله . ويخلي فرنسا تحاربنا . قال لموسيو لافيت حبيبه وخليه . بأنه في جورنال الفولتير يضربنا . وده لكون جريدتنا هي لسان حال الأمة المصرية . فلذلك قال الفولتير بأنه جورنال أبي نظارة . بيهج القلوب الإسلامية . وببيوصيهم على اخوانهم النصاره . ففي وقتها جرنال كليمانسو لاجوستيس أعني العدالة . دافع عنا بالباع والدراع . وقبل من صاحبنا مارتين مقالة بعد ما قاله . يظهر متهما إن كلام فولتير كذب واختراع . وأيضاً كوكب المشرق جرنال عربي وفرنساوي بباريس جزاه الله خير . إللي به تستنير بواصر وبصائر . طعن بأفصح لسان في جريدة الفولتير . و بررنا<sup>160</sup> من تهمة مكاتبها الفائز . إنما يرجع مرجوعنا لوطننا العزيز . إللي مالنا فكر غيره . فنراه اليوم صبح اسمكم عظيم . ومحبوب عند جميع محبين الحرية . ما تخافوش ربنا كريم حليم . إن كنتم جدعان الإنكليزي يطلعوا ببعبوص من الديار

<sup>160</sup> This is likely a typo for برأنا.

المصرية . يا إخواني اتبعوا قدوة الأمم المتمدنة . وبعقل وشهامة حاموا على الأوطان . فلا دولة من الدول تبقى ضدنا . وأوروبا كلها تتعارض لتوفيق الخاين والإنكليزي الجربان . تأملوا يا سادة في رسومات النضارة. تتضح لكم الخبائثة الإنكليزية . وخيانة الأهل ابن شيخ الحارة . وطيبة موسيو دوليسبس حبيب قائد الأسود المصرية . أه . أنا من شهرين لما رايت الأحوال مهمة . طلبت أرجع مصر من سيد الشجعان . فأمرني أفضل هنا لكوني لسان حال الأمة . ومدافع في أوروبا عن حقوق الأوطان . أنا برضاها روحي وقلبي وياكم . أولاكم الله مناكم. (متحرمونيش من أخباركم)

وردت إلينا رسالة من مكاتبتنا بالقاهرة يقول فيها أن توفيق توفي لكون أهل مصر حذفوا حرف القاف من اسمه والحدق يفهم . يقول أيضا أن شبانا وجدوا في اسم حلیم أحرف يتركب منها لفظ مليح فلذلك الأهلي بمصر يتسلم على بعضها بهذه الجملة . المليح جاي لنا عن قريب . مكاتبتنا اسعد الله أوقاته ارسل لنا أيضا دور جديد بتقنية الأهالي على هوا المارسيلازة الفرنسية وترجانا بدرجة في هذا العدد . فما هو ...

ارفعني وغني يا توفيقية . وسلي عشيقك لورد صمور<sup>161</sup> . اللي نجاكي من الحريقة . وركبك على الوابور . ارمي طربوشك يا صبية . والبسي لك برنيطة عال . عرابي . طلبه . عبد العال . هنوا توفيقية الإنكليزية . يا ابن البلد يا فلاح . زفوا توفيق للنكاح . هيا بنا هيا بنا . نرى توفيقية خارجة من برنا . أخبار آخر ساعة . يا رب لك الحمد والشكر . عساكرنا تقابلت مع الإنجليز وضربتهم علقة بنت كلب وختهم يبزطعوا كالحمير ويرموا أسلحتهم ورا ظهرهم . ايوا كدا تعجبوني يا جدعان . . . ورد لنا من مكاتبتنا بيرلين تلغراف طويل عريض مضمونه إن عمنا بيزمارك أمر سفيره هارسفيلد الرجل السياسي الشهير بأن يخبر مولانا السلطان بأن دولة ألمانيا تحب أبناء الشرق زي عينيها وتشور على التركية بإرسال جنودها إلى مصر مش لمحاربة عساكرنا بل لخلع الإنكليز وحببهم الواد الأهبل وتولية أبي الحلم فلا شك أن هذا يحصل لأن اليوم ورد لنا تلغراف آخر من مكاتبتنا بالاستانة أن العساكر العثمانية مسافرة إلى مصر بكرة الساعة اثنين من النهار ربنا يبلغها السلامة . يا إخواني ما بعد العسر إلا اليسر . مكاتبتنا بلندره أخبرني أن الأهالي جميعها ضد الحكومة ومالها مراد في محاربتنا وعرّفنا أيضا أن الحكومة الإنكليزية خائفة من أسودنا المصرية وده سبب طلبها من باقي الدول المساعدة إنما محدش يرد عليها ..

<sup>161</sup> Different spelling for Seymour's name.

4 August 1882



عزاي باشا ومونسيو دو ليه سيبس ياكلوا عيش وملح الاخويه  
اسد العرب يقول تعيش فرنسا والاخر يقول تعيش مصر واهلها  
Arabi et de Lesseps mangent le pain et le sel de l'amitié  
L'un dit vive la France! l'autre répond Vive l'Egypte!....

Urabi Pasha and Monsieur de Lesseps eat the bread and salt of fraternity.

The lion of the Arabs says, “Long live France,” and the other says, “Long live Egypt and its people.”



صمور قاعد على حبله يقول لعبده توفيق ما تفراش مير  
مضى دي لايحه منك تخبر المرعابان عزاي عامي وانك عزله  
Seymour dit à son esclave Tawfik: Ne lis pas! signe  
cette proclamation contre Arabi le rebelle!....

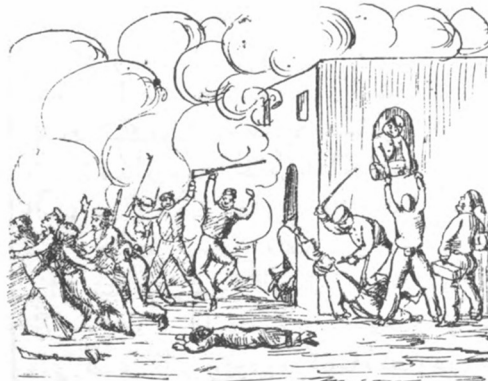
Seymour is sitting on his pots and tells his slave Tawfiq, “Don’t read.”

“Just sign. This is a declaration on your behalf that says that Urabi is disobedient and that you have sacked him”



انظروا كيف العساكر الانكليز ينشأ من اهل  
مصر الفلأبط بيكر وعساكره بنبت  
En Fillahs egyptiens affranchis de toutes leurs souffrances par  
l'intervention anglaise en Egypte.

Look at how the English soldiers treat the people of Egypt. The officer gets drunk and his  
soldiers fire their guns



النوتيه الانكليز بينهبوا بيوت الرمله مثلا احبر اليهم  
وسهتوا اعراضنا الاحرار  
(d'après le Times) Les honorables marins anglais pillent les maisons  
de Kamleh et violent les femmes et les jeunes filles de cette ville.

The English plunder the houses of Al-Ramla, as the *Times* reported, and violate our free women.

Paris on August 4, 1882. The Shout of Abou Naddara.

Oh my dear Alexandria. Oh, my weeping for your magnificent palaces. You awakened to the ashes of the British cannon shots. Protect Cairo from its fire, O Urabi. The telegraph news are baseless because they all come from the sea dog Seymour<sup>162</sup>. I cannot believe that the noble soldiers of our Egypt are taking immoral action. The Egyptian soldier dies for the love of our dear homeland, so how can he burn and loot homes, instead of wielding his weapon to resist the English? All the honorable members of the National Party have been saying for a long time to the farmers and countrymen that Abou Naddara has exclaimed saying that it is forbidden to shed the blood of our foreigner guests, but shrewdness is to fight the English and to remove the Boy. In reality, what happened with the killings in Alexandria has been counted against us because it is disgraceful, even if it was started by the depraved Greek and Maltese, whom Ismail, Tawfiq, and the sly Malet incited. But what has been decreed will always come to fruition, and the reality is, if you had listened to my words, my friends, the Boy would have been with his father the Pharaoh. But what was destined was the interruption of Urabi's effort. The matter would have been easy to get a fatwa from the Ulama and have it ratified by the representatives, in which it would have been mentioned that the one who betrayed the people and the homeland and sold us to the English is Tawfiq, and that Egypt wants the son of the departed Muhammad Ali [in his place]. But what passed is dead, everyone. Keep away from killing innocents because it is a great shame. Protect your country with honor, oh knights. May God's curse be upon whoever gives up himself as a captive to the enemy. You are noble, O nation of Britain, but your government is notorious for its injustices. You defend the rights of the Egyptian people in your forums, and your government wants to ruin our rich country. May God bless the French, because their

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<sup>162</sup> Beauchamp Seymour.

ultimate intention and desire is to see Cairo as beautiful as Paris, and the Nile Valley as happy as their country. The proof is when Gambetta<sup>163</sup> said in the House of Representatives that the people of Egypt would not acquiesce but through brutality, Clemenceau<sup>164</sup> and stepped up and gave the most eloquent answer, and the House did not accept that there should be a war between us and France. Do you know why Gambetta is angry with us, my sirs? It is because we expelled his beloved Blignières, the root of the cause of my country's ruin. Because Blignières<sup>165</sup> despised our soldiers and the public. But when Gambetta was unable to quell his fire and he let France fight us, he told Monsieur Lafitte, his well-loved friend, to attack us in the *Voltaire* paper, and this was because our newspaper was the mouthpiece of the Egyptian nation. That is why he said in the *Voltaire* that the *Abou Naddara* paper, delights the native hearts and calls them against their foreign brothers. At that time, Clemenceau's paper *La Justice*, meaning justice, defended us ardently, and he accepted from our friend Martin article after article accusing that the *Voltaire's* words are lies and inventions. And also, *The Star of the East*, an Arab and French Journal in Paris - may God reward [its authors] well - through which insights are enlightened, attacked the *Voltaire* newspaper with the most eloquent tongue, and we were justified from the accusation of its agitated writer. But let us return our focus to our dear homeland, other than which we think of nothing else. Today we see that your name has become great and beloved by all those who love freedom. Do not be afraid, God is generous and forbearing. If you are brave, the Englishman will have a dirty trick played on them and will leave the Egyptian lands. My brothers, follow the example of civilized nations, and with sense and nobility defend the homelands, for no country stands against us, and all of Europe opposes the traitor Tawfiq and the mangy Englishman.

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<sup>163</sup> Léon Gambetta.

<sup>164</sup> Georges Clemenceau.

<sup>165</sup> Monsieur de Blignières.

Consider, gentlemen, the images of the glasses<sup>166</sup>, and it will be clear to you the malice of the English and the betrayal of the foolish, the son of the chief of the quarter, and the kindness of Monsieur de Lesseps, the lover of the leader of the Egyptian Lions. Oh! Two months ago, when I saw the situation was getting urgent, I asked the master of the brave<sup>167</sup> if I could return to Egypt, but he ordered me to stay here because I am the tongue of the nation, and a defender of the rights of the homelands in Europe. Still, my soul and heart are with you. May God grant you success in your objective. (Don't deprive me of your news.)

We received a letter from our writer in Cairo saying that Tawfiq has died because the people of Egypt had deleted the letter “Qaf” from his name<sup>168</sup>, and the shrewd will understand. He also said that our young men found letters in the name Halim that can be rearranged into the word “malih<sup>169</sup>,” so the people in Egypt are greeting one another with this phrase. “The Malih is coming to us soon.” Our writer, may God bless his days, also sent us a new rhyme made of the peoples’ creativity, on the rhythm of the French Marseillaise, and he begged us to include it in this issue, so here it is,,,

Rise and sing, O Tawfiqiyya<sup>170</sup>, and entertain your lover Lord Seymour, who saved you from the fire, and then put you on the burner. Throw away your fez, girl, and put on a high hat. Urabi, Tulbah<sup>171</sup>, Abdel-Al, congratulate the English Tawfiqiyya. O countryman and peasant, send

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<sup>166</sup> The “Naddara” Could mean images through the lens of truth or clarity.

<sup>167</sup> Referring to Urabi.

<sup>168</sup> The deletion of the final letter of Tawfiq’s name changes the spelling from “Tawfiq” to “tawaffa,” meaning died.

<sup>169</sup> Meaning “good.”

<sup>170</sup> Feminine form of Tawfiq. This could also mean the Tawfiq administration.

<sup>171</sup> Could be a reference to the traditional ceremony of asking for the hand of the bride.

Tawfiq off for marriage. Let's go, let's go, to see Tawfiqa off from our land. News of the last hour. O Lord, praise and thanks be to You. Our soldiers met the British and struck them a nasty blow and made them bray like donkeys and throw their weapons behind them. Well done, I like to see this from you men ... We received from our writer in Berlin a long, broad telegram, in which we learn that our uncle Bismarck ordered his ambassador, Hartsfield, the famous politician, to tell our Lord the Sultan that the German state loves the people of the East like its own eyes, and is advising the Turkish nation to send its soldiers to Egypt, not to fight our soldiers, but to depose the English and their lover, the foolish boy, and appoint Abu Al-Hilm. There is no doubt that this will happen because today we received another telegram from our offices in Astana<sup>172</sup> that the Ottoman soldiers are traveling to Egypt tomorrow at two o'clock in the day. May God grant them to arrive safely. O my brothers, after hardship there is nothing but ease. Our writer in London told me that the people are all against the government and they have no intention of fighting us. He also told us that the English government is scared of our Egyptian lions, and this is why they are asking other countries for help, but no one should respond to them...

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<sup>172</sup> Istanbul.



٦ أكتوبر ١٨٨٢



رياضسون يقول للواد اه يا بتاع الإنكليزي ، وماليت يصيح أمام الجنرال طيب ولسيلي يا أبناء مصر اسجدوا لمن غلبكم سيفه

المرضع بالجنيهات



وقعة تل الكبير ، توفيق بعنا بمليون جنيهات ، بمليون جنيهات ، مائة الف اشترى حراس الاستحكامات

باريس في ٦ أكتوبر ١٨٨٢ . قال أبو نضارة لما تقع البقرة تكثر سكاكينها . جرايد أوروبا السياسية وأغلب الجرائد الإنكليزية . من يوم ظهور عرابي ليوم انهزامه . مدحته وعلت في مقامه . وجرنال التمس والدالي نيوز والإمستاندار . نقلت مخاطبته مع مكاتبينها باحترام ووقار . وجرانيل الرسومات شرقية وغربية . زينت صفحتها بصورته العربية . وكتبت ترجمته بمدح وثناء .

قائلة ان لم يظهر فارس مثله منذ خمسين سنة . و دوليسيس قال بباريس لناس أصحاب مقام . بأن عرابي أمير وشجاع ويستحق الاحترام . وقالت أحزاب أوروبا الوطنية . بأنه بسط بساط العدل ورفع لوا الحرية . وعادى القريب والبعيد . لحفظ وطنه السعيد . وأنه لما أصبح ناظر جهادية . قال في خطابه للعساكر المصرية . حبوا إخوانكم النصاره يا جدعان . يسعوا معكم في صلاح الأوطان . آدي لسان جرائيل أوروبا كبير وصغير . من يوم ظهور عرابي ليوم وقفة تل الكبير . إنما لما انتصرت الإنكليز ولو بخيانة على العساكر المصرية . غيرت مدحها بالذم الجرايد الإفرنجية . لما تقع البقرة تكثر السكاكين . لله الحمد أن فرنسا لها جرائيل تحب الشرقيين . فهم إللي عرّفوا الدنيا كلها . ان إنكلترا لم تغلبنا بجندها . إلا بجنيهااتها الحمر . إللي إشترت بها حراسنا الصمر . إنما دعاكم أبو نظارة يا أصحابي . قال في جوابه تاريخ 20 إبريل لعرابي . الجواب ده اطلعنوا عليه يا أولاد الاماره . في العدد العاشر من النظارة . قلت له فيه . سرت حتى وصلت لنقطة محظرة ووقفت عندها . غير يمكنك تتعدى حدها . فانتهى بك طريق إلى ثلاثة مفارق . الأول . إقامتك في النقطة التي انت فيها وهذا لا يمكن لما فيه من الخطر . والثاني أنك تطرد توفيق وتحوز مسند الخديوية لنفسك وهذا لا أظن أنك تتصوره لأنهم قالو للفار . مر من على شنب القط وخذلك دينار . فقال الأجرة طيبة بس الطريق شطة . وإذا سعيت في هذا الأمر تتسبب في خراب البر وسفك الدماء كما حصل في كثير من البلاد لهذا السبب وفي هذه الحالة فتكون معاذ الله سلمت وطنك للعدو بيدك . الثالث هو أنك تحفظ البلاد وتطمئن قلوب العباد . وفي العدد بذاته قلت لمحبين الوطن . العدو شديد والخصم عنيد . أنا كتبت الكلام ده من ستة شهور . وقتما كان عرابي بالشهامة مشهور . فقرأ جوابي ولرافعه تبسم وقال . قل لأبي نظارة يقرأ الطاييف يرسي على حقيقة الأحوال . فقرأت الطاييف ووجدته . محب للوطن ومدحته . أنما في عدد آخر من الصحيفة الوطنية . رأيت نوع تعصب وطعن في الجمعيات الماصونية . ففي العدد ١١ كتبت له جواب . لا بد أنكم فاكرينه يا أصحاب . قلت له أن الجرايد هي المرشد للأمة ولا يجوز للمرشد أن يرشد مسترشدته إلا إلى طريق الصلاح وتلك غير ما انت عليه فاعتدل واستقم واعرف الحق لأهله وكن بصيرا بالعواقب حكيما فإن العاقل هو من تبصّر وها قد نصحتك إن قبلت نصيحتي والنصح أحسن ما يباع ويوهب . ومن وقتها لليوم يعني في مدة ثلاثة شهور تمام . لم يصدر من جرنال يغير عديدين يا أبناء الكرام . أحدهم بعد حادثة إسكندرية . والآخر بعد حرقها بالمدافع الإنكليزية . وفي العديدين وضحت لكم يا أسيادي . أن الواد الأهل هو سبب خراب بلادي . فهو إللي جعل لمحبين الوطن ملام . وهو إللي خان وباعنا للإنكليز الانام . وبعد ما هتك عرضنا وأرمل نساننا ويّتم عيالنا . بيعمل لهم ولايم من أموالنا . الإنكليز ماعليهمش حق دول ناس تجار . اشتروا مصرنا من توفيق بالدينار . فهو توفيق الطرطور إللي خان . واشترى للإنكليز ببعض من الظابطان .

فلا عرابي ولا عبد العال . يقال عليهم إنهم اندال . عساكرنا في قصاصين . انتصروا مرارا على العدوين . فكيف ينكسروا في  
تل الكبير؟ . الخيانة ظاهرة والخاين توفيق باشا الطرايطير . يا أبناء مصر ما لكم وما للبلاد . خصم وعدو غير الواد.

من بعض أعضاء الحزب الوطني بمصر القاهرة إلى أبي نضارة بباريس الباهرة . أيها الأستاذ الجليل . أبكي وأندب معنا على  
وادي النيل . وعلى أبناء وطننا العزيز . اللي صبحوا عبيد لإنكليز . آه . الحق كله على عرابي لكونه أمير . الواد الأهل كان  
في يده أسير . ليه خلاه يروح إسكندرية . يسلط علينا المدافع الإنكليزية . كان يقدر يحبسه عنده في القاهرة . ويلزمه يتنازل عن  
ولايتنا الطاهرة . فلا كانت الأهالي تولي من تريد . ولا كان انحرب وطننا السعيد . وفي وقتها كان جاء صاحبنا ولا جرا اللي  
جرا . وخاننا توفيق وكلنا خرا . وباعنا للمستر الحمر بمليون من الجنيهات . إللي بمائة الف منها خرّس حرّاس الاستحكامات .  
إنما عن قريب تشوف شغل الرجال . الويل للخاين الأهل الويل للاندال . احنا ناس روحنا في كفنا . الحياة والموت واحد عندنا .  
لله الحمد لنا جمعيات سرية . بتجري أوامرنا شباننا المصرية . اليائس ياما يعمل يا ابو نضارة . إنما اطمان ماحناش جند  
إخواننا النصاره . إحنا حلفنا ننتقم من الخاين وأعوانه الأندال . عن قريب نسمع فعل الرجال . إذا ما درجت جوابنا ده في  
جرنالك . ورب الكعبة تشوف حالك . آدي جواب إلى نظارة . إهدوا يا إخواني . بلا جنان . الصبر مليح يلطف بكم الرحمن.

6 October 1882



Riyadson<sup>173</sup> says to the boy, “Oh, you servant of the Englishman,” and Malet<sup>174</sup> yells ahead of General Wolseley<sup>175</sup>, “Oh sons of Egypt, prostrate to the one who defeated you with his sword, which is imbued in pounds.”



The Battle of Tall Al-Kabir, Tawfiq sold us for a million pounds, for a million pounds, for a hundred thousand he bought the guards of the forts

<sup>173</sup> Diminutive or nickname for Riyadh Pasha.

<sup>174</sup> Edward Malet.

<sup>175</sup> Garnet Wolseley.

Paris on October 6, 1882. Abou Naddara said, “When a cow falls, the knives abound.”<sup>176</sup>

Europe’s political newspapers and most English newspapers from the day of Urabi’s appearance to the day of his defeat praised and exalted him. And the *Times*, the *Daily News*, and the *Imstander* reported his conversations with their writers with respect and reverence, and the visual journals of the East and the West decorated their newspapers with his Arab image and translated him with praise and admiration, saying that a knight like him had not appeared in fifty years. De Lesseps said in Paris to people of high standing that Urabi was a nobleman and brave and deserved respect. The national parties of Europe said that he had spread the carpet of justice and raised the banner of freedom. He opposed those near and far to preserve his happy homeland. When he became an officer, he said in his speech to the Egyptian soldiers, “Love your foreigner brothers, O gentlemen, and they will strive with you in the reform of the homeland.” Here is the tongue of the newspapers of Europe, large and small, from the day of Urabi’s appearance to the day of the Tall al-Kabir incident. But when The English were victorious, even if due to treachery, over the Egyptian soldiers, the foreign papers changed their praise to criticism. When a cow falls, the knives abound. Praise be to God that France has newspapers that love the Easterners, for they are the ones who told the whole world that England did not defeat us with its soldiers, but with its red pounds, with which it bought our brown soldiers. Abou Naddara had told you, my friends. He said in his letter, dated April 20, to Urabi. You were privy to this letter, oh children of the land, in the tenth issue of the Naddara. In it, I told him, you have walked until you reached a dangerous point and you stopped there. You cannot cross it, so you have ended up with three choices: the first is that you stay at the point which you are at, and this is not possible because of the danger it entails. And the second is that you expel Tawfiq and take possession of the

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<sup>176</sup> A popular phrase meaning that when a person becomes vulnerable, predators flock to him.

Khedive's seat for yourself, and this I do not think you can imagine. Because they said to the mouse, "pass by the cat's snout for a dinar." He said, "The fare is good, but the way is fiery." If you pursue this matter, you will cause ruin on land and the shedding of blood, as has happened in many countries for this reason. In this case, then, God forbid, you will have surrendered your homeland to the enemy with your own hands. The third is that you protect the country and reassure the hearts of the people. In the same issue I said to the lovers of the homeland, the enemy is tough and the opponent is stubborn. I wrote these words six months ago, when Urabi was famous for his courage. So he read my answer and smiled to the one who brought it to him and said, "Tell Abou Naddara to read *al-Ṭā'if* and he will ascertain the reality of the situation." So I read *al-Ṭā'if* and found it loving of the homeland and I praised it. But in another issue of the national newspaper, I saw a sort of fanaticism and criticism of the Masonic associations. So, in Issue eleven, I wrote an answer to him. You must remember it, my friends. I told him that the newspapers are the guide for the nation, and it is not permissible for the guide to guide his mentor except to the path of righteousness, and that is different from what you are doing, so be righteous and upright, and say the truth for its people, and be insightful of the consequences and wise, for it is the prudent one who has insight. Here I have advised you if you accept my advice, and advice is the best thing that can be sold or given. And from that time until today, a period of three months exactly, my journal has published only two issues, my dear sons: one of them after the Alexandria incident, and the other after it was burned by English cannons. In the two issues, I explained to you, my sirs, that the foolish boy is the reason for the ruin of my country. For he is the one who laid the blame on the lovers of the homeland, and he is the one who betrayed and sold us to the wicked English. After he violated our honor and widowed our women and orphaned our children, he makes the [English] feasts using our money. The English have no

right, for they are brokers. They bought our Egypt from Tawfiq for a price. It is Tawfiq the senseless who betrayed us and bought for the English some officers. Therefore, neither Urabi nor Abdel-Al can be called cowards. Our soldiers my accounts have repeatedly defeated the enemies, so how could they be defeated at Tall Al-Kabir? The treachery is apparent and the traitor is Tawfiq, the Pasha of Senselessness. O sons of Egypt, you and your country have no opponent or enemy but the Boy.

From some members of the National Party in the formidable<sup>177</sup> Egypt to Abou Naddara in the captivating Paris.

O venerable sir, cry and mourn with us for the Nile Valley and for the people of our dear country, who have become slaves to the English. Oh, this is all Urabi's fault for being a nobleman. The foolish boy was a prisoner in his hands. Why did he let him go to Alexandria and fire the English guns at us? He could have imprisoned Tawfiq with him in Cairo and forced him to give up our pure state. The people would not have appointed over them whomever they wanted and our happy homeland would not have been at war and at that time our friend would have come, and this all would not have happened. And Tawfiq betrayed us and we are all in ruins. He sold us to the Reds for a million pounds, of which a hundred thousand he used to silence the guards of the forts. But soon you will see the men at work. Woe to the foolish traitor. Woe to the cowards. We are a people who hold our souls in our hands. Life and death are the same for us. So, thanks be to God that we have secret societies, whose orders are carried out by our Egyptian youth. The desperate person can do much, O Abou Naddara. But rest assured, we are not the soldiers of our

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<sup>177</sup> Qaahira has a double meaning of formidable and Cairo.

foreign brothers. We have sworn to take revenge on the traitor and his coward collaborators.

Soon we will hear about the action of our men. If you do not include this letter in your journal, may the Lord of the Kaaba reprimand you. Here is the letter to the spectacles.

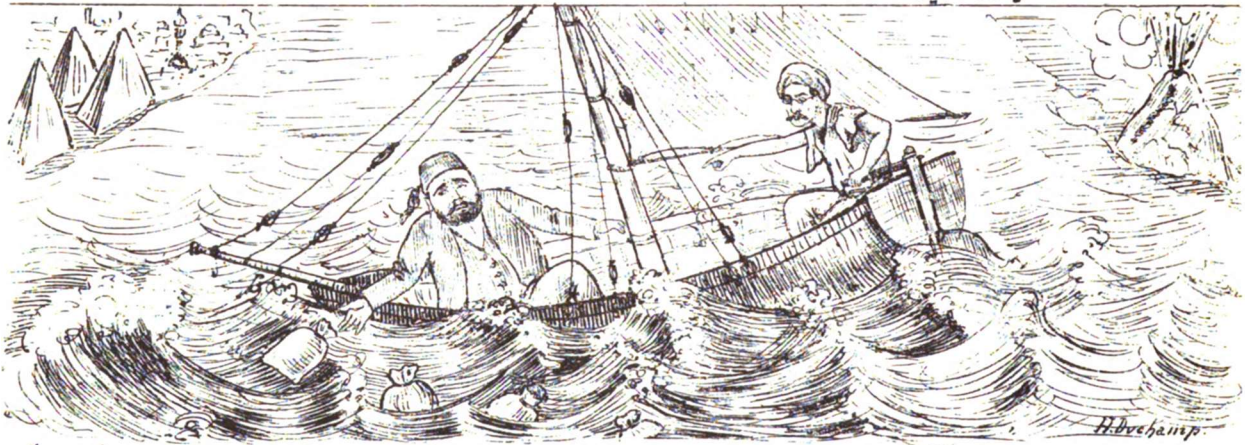
[in Abou Naddara's voice] Calm down, my brothers. Do not be foolish. Patience is *malīḥ* <sup>178</sup>, may the most Merciful be kind to you.

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<sup>178</sup> Meaning good. Reference to Halim.



١٤ أبريل ١٨٨٣



Ismail. — « J'ai beau jeter du lest, nous enfonçons toujours ; et pourtant quel lest précieux ! Des sacs d'or » — Abu Naddara. — « Jette toujours » — Ismail. — « C'est que j'en ai déjà jetté beaucoup sur les côtes d'Angleterre » — Abu Naddara. — « Jette toujours » — Ismail. — « Jettant le dernier sac » — « Arriverons-nous bientôt en vue de l'Égypte ? » — Abu Naddara niant sous ses lunettes. — « On n'arrivera jamais. »  
 (اسماعيل) رايحين نغرق يا رئيس (ابو نظارة) ارمي كمان كم كيس من مالك (اسماعيل) رميت كثير في بحر انكلترا (ابو نظارة) ارمي كمان  
 (اسماعيل يرمي آخر كيس) ادي الحيلة يا ترى ندخل مصر ؟ (ابو نظارة) عمرك ماتشوفها بالعين \*

(اسماعيل) رايحين نغرق يا رئيس (أبو نظارة) ارمي كمان كم كيس من مالك (اسماعيل) رميت كثير في بحر الانكلترا (أبو

نظارة) ارمي كمان. (اسماعيل يرمي اخر كيس) ادي الحيلة يا ترى ندخل مصر ؟ (أبو نظارة) عمرك ماتشوفها بالعين.

مخاطبة بين أبي نظارة وتوفيق ابن شيخ الحارة

(أبو نظارة) السلام عليك يا أبو عباس. (توفيق) جود مورنينج سار (أبو نظارة) دين النبي عربي. دعنا من لسان بلاد الفول

<sup>179</sup> وكلمني بلسان وطني العزيز (توفيق) فيري جود (أبو نظارة) الجود صفة الحليم. هم أسيادك حرجوا عليك ما تتكلمش

بالعربي ؟ (توفيق) سر إدوارد ماليت كال لنا مش أسبيك أرابي لكن أسبيك إنجلش. (أبو نظارة) ماليت سافر روحه بلا رجعة.

بقي خايف من إيه ؟ هو أنا بصاص ؟ (توفيق) أنت مين أمال ؟ (أبو نظارة) أنا أعز أحبابك. اه. الله يرحم أيامنا لما كنت أجيك في

العباسية وأنت لسة برنس وكنت أقرالك الجرانيل الإنجليزية وأشرب قهوتك الفاخرة وأشوفك راكب حمارك أياه الحساوي في

<sup>179</sup> Anglicized for "fool."

الجبيل (توفيق) أمان! ما تفكر نيش ايامي السعيدة. ياما كنت مبسوطة ومتهني. إنما ما قتلش حضرتك مين. أنا كان لي في وقها صاحب صوته تمام يشبه صوتك وطوله طولك لكن دكها كان له دقن سودا طويلة وكانت عيوننه مبصبصة (أبو نظارة) الدقن حلقوها هوانم باريس والعيون طيبوها الحكماء (توفيق) أنت امال تعرفه (أبو نظارة) اعرفه حق المعرفة (توفيق) ده كان حبيبي وأنا برنس إنما لما صرت خديوي صبح لعنة الله عليه اكبر اعدائي (أبو نظارة) ادي غلطتك يا جندي. أبو نظارة يحبك ويا ليتك كنت سمعت نصايحه ما كانشي حصل اللي حصل وكنت اليوم أسعد خلق الله (توفيق) إزاي (أبو نظارة) قبلما تركب كرسي الخديويه اللي شرفه محمد علي ونجسه أبوك. أبو نظارة قالك. يا توفيق إذا قبلت الولاية ما قدامك إلا الشر والنحس. وبعدها بسنة شار عليك تتنازل وتخلي الخديوي الحقيقي يتولى على الديار ويصلح أحوالها اللي تلفتها بقلة تدبيرك. وأخبرك بأن ابو الحلم يتوفى بك ويغرك ويجعلك ابنه. فأنت ماسمعتش نصايحه اديك اكلت على راسك. وبعد ما كنت سيد صبحت أسير.

والجماعة ضحكوا على دقنك ولعنوا خاشك. (توفيق) اخرس يا قبيح (أبو نظارة) بلا طولة لسان لأنك إذا طولت لسانك شبر أنا اطوله ذراع. بقي اتكلم بكمال (توفيق) الظاهر إنك حبيب أبو نظارة (أبو نظارة) نعم. أنا أصدق أصحابه يا أسفاه إنك ما بتفهمشي معاني جرناله وإلا لاحسين ولا حسن ولا إبراهيم كانوا يدخلوا مصر (توفيق) النظارة بتجيني من باريس ولو إني ما دفعتش قيمة الاشتراك إنما الجماعة مابخلونيش أقرأها. يا دوب اتفرج على رسوماتها وبيتشوها من يدي (أبو نظارة) من اليوم ورايح أقرأها سرا واسمع كلامها وتشوف الخير (توفيق) بارول دونور أقرأها. إنما أقول لي إزاي الوالد تحصل على الرخصة بدخول إخوتي مصر (أبو نظارة) صرف في المشوار ده مليونين من الجنيهات وتحصل بها على أوراقك اللي يظهر منها إنك كنت سبب حادثة اسكندرية. ثم وعمل أصحاب كبار من البرلمنت و اقترى مدح جرانيل لندن فيه وضمهم فيك وقنع بجنيهات الحكومة الإنكليزية إن مالها عدو غيرك وحبيب غيره واشتري هناك سرايات فاخرة وأنعم بها على أمراء الجوديم فكدا نجح.

والأمور دي كلها كتبتنها في عددي الأخير الشهر الماضي. (توفيق) بتقول عددك الأخير؟ بقي أنت أبو نظارة يا نينة تعالي لي. الحقني يا فريد بك. يا باي. جاي مسلمين جاي. (أبو نظارة) بلا علقنة يا واد. خليك جدع. هو أنا غول رايح اكلك؟ أنا صديقك إذا سمعت كلامي وأكبر أعدائك إذا عاندتني. بقي يرجع مرجوعنا لأبوك أنا ليا ناس حوله كما لي ناس حولك فكده علمت انه كتب لك جواب مسح جوخ وأنت كنت في غاية الحيرة لما اتطلعت عليه فاستشرت الباشا الفلاني وفلان بك والموسيو صاحبك. إنما دول كلهم اشتراهم أبوك بفلوسه اللي نهبها من البر. فالبعض قال لك تتنازل من الخديوية لابنك والبعض شار عليك تتنازل لأبوك. (توفيق) أنت سحار يا شيخ بتعرف كلما بيحصل هنا (أبو نظارة) هم قالوا لك كمان أن الأهالي كبار وصغار يكرهوك وإنهم مستحلفين لك على علقه بنت كلب وإن أذا تولى ثانيا الوالد يكسر انفهم وأنت تفضل بالقاهرة أكل ومرعة وقلت صنعة

(توفيق) دول خوفوني كمان بعمي حليم. وقالوا لي أن أهل مصر بدون علمي كتبوا لمولانا السلطان أنهم إذا ما تولى حليم عليهم يقوموا مرة أخرى. وأن السلطان ارسل اعراضاتهم إلى البرلمان الإنكليزي وأن إذا مالحتش أنا وتنازلت لأبوي يدخل عمي حليم وينتقم من العائلة كلها (أبو نظارة) وانت لما سمعت الكلام ده خفت وقبلت رجوع إخوتك والمال مالك أعداء اشر منهم يا مسكين. والله إنك واد أهبل وأبو الحلم يحبك ويشفق عليك أكثر من أبوك الغبي وأخوك حسين اللي يشوف العماء ولا يشوفك.

(توفيق) كلامك زين إنما العمل ايه دلوقت. (أبو نظارة) أعلم أولاً أن أبوك ما يرجع ولا يصير خديوي لأن جميع الدول راسية على كراهة جميع المصريين فيه وما نسوش كلام سلطان باشا حقه حيث قال للجماعة اللي كانوا ترجوا العام الماضي بأن يساعدكم في رجوعه للولاية. (توفيق) أنا فاكّر طبيب كلام سلطان باشا وهو أنه كل باره من الماية مليون جنيهه اللي بابا صرفها في الفساد وجعلها دين على كتافنا وكل نقطة دم مصري اللي سفكها في حروبنا ظلم عدوان لمقاصده السيئة. اليوم تجمعت وتكونت منها جبال عالية وبحور واسعة تفرق بين مصر وعدوها إسماعيل. (أبو نظارة) عفارم يا بو عباس والله تعجبنى لما تتكلم بعقل. بقى فهمت أن أبوك مستحيل يرجع وإذا رجع والله الويل له (توفيق) طبيب ورأيك ايه في إختي؟ أستقبلهم ولا لا؟

(أبو نظارة) أعلم أن أبوك بسلامته أعطي حسين مليون جنيهه وقزازه شراب أسود اللي كان نقطة منه في فنجان قهوة تخلي المؤمن اللي يدوقها بعيد عنك يطق وقال له يا ولدي. ملّق أخوك الأهبل وورسي إن ما له حبيب غيرك. ثم وأنعم بكرم على جميع اتباعه فإذا نجحت بالطريقة دي وشقلبتة أحمد رب العالمين وإذا ما حاس الهوى سوى حط له بصغة لطافة نقطة من القزازه دي في كوباية شميانيا زي ما عملت لصفوت بك عشيق اختك أو في فنجان قهوة كما أشور عليك تعمل لعشاق عين حياتك وكدا ربنا يخلصنا منه هو لآخر. (توفيق) يا حفيظ. ما أكفر أبوي! الله يسعد أوقاتك يا عمي حليم. أنت ما تعملش الامور الفاحشة دي (أبو نظارة) نور الله عقلك. بقى أنت ادعي الجهل واستقبل إخوتك بالأحضان ولا تظهر لهم إنك راسي على مقاصد شيخ الحارة وعاداته الخبيثة إنما حالا الامور صاحبك أبو شنب يعين لك كام بصاص من إياهم اللي قضوا عمرهم في الكار واتقوا على أيام الوالد واجعلهم خيال الجماعة أعني يمشوا وراهم من بعيد ويشوفوهم يروحوا فين ويجوا من أين ومين بيحبهم ولمين يبروحوا ويخبروك حالا بما يحصل. فهمت؟ فكذا حينما تعلم أنهم تقابلوا مع فلان باشا أو مع فلان ناظر أو وكيل ناظر أو جهادي أو مدير بنك أو مستخدم ميري فانت حالا تعزم الشخص المذكور عندك للطور وتكلمه بلسان حلو وتقول له إنك مسرور من صداقته ليك وتنعم عليه بنیشان افتخار من صندوق النياشين اللي تركه عندك درويش لما هرب ومن تحت لتحت برطل مستخدمينه ومحاسبه فهم يخبروك بكل ما يحصل بينه وبين إخوتك وتباعهم ففي وقتها أنت تدعي ذلك الشخص مرة ثانية عندك وتقول له. كدا كدا يصح منك؟ يبقى أنا ارقيك وأحترمك وأنت تخونني وتتفق مع البرنسات ضدي؟ إنما ماعليش أنا

بردي حلیم واعفی عنک المرة دي. فكون متيقن يا توفيق إن ذلك الشخص يصير صديقك ويصبح بصاص من طرفك عليهم.  
 (توفيق) والنبي إنك حدق يا بو جيمس ورائك عظيم وبالطريقة دي أطلع دامه<sup>180</sup> على الملاعبين ولا أتنازل لا لأبويا ولا لأخ  
 من إخواني. (أبو نظارة) لهم ماتتنازلش (توفيق) لا لهم ولا لغيرهم. ما اتنازلش لاحد أبدا (أبو نظارة) الكلام دا ايه؟ أنت لازم  
 تتنازل. إنما لعمك الكبير وتخلص من العذاب ووجع الراس ده كله وإلا الويل ثم الويل لك. اسمع يا توفيق ربنا يعلم اني أكره  
 سفك الدم واني بدون علمك نجيتك مرارا من الهلاك. بقي إذا أردت تعيش سعيد ومتهنى زي زمان أشور عليك تتنازل عن  
 الخديوية اللي ما شوفت فيها يوم خير وكن متقن إن الحكومة الإنجليزية تساعدك في هذا الأمر لعلها بأنك لا تصلح للولاية.  
 وأن طالما أنت خديوي الدول لا تسمح لها بخروج جنودها من برنا إلا إذا تولي حلیم الرجل اللي يقدر يمشي السبع والكلب في  
 طريق واحد لانه جدع شارب لبن أمه وحنكته التجارب. فهمت يا عم؟ (توفيق) فهمت. إنما الأمر ده صعب قوي ومستحيل  
 اجراه (أبو نظارة) الواجب اللي علي أنا عملته و نصحتك نصيحة أخ لأخيه. وانت عقلك في راسك تعرف خلاصك.  
 (قال الراوي جمس الحاوي. وهو الشيخ أبو نظارة. ركب الطائرة. وأمر إبليس. يرجعه لباريس. إنما قبل ما راح. ودّع ابن البلد  
 والفلاح)

<sup>180</sup> This is likely a misprint with the first letter of the word missing and intended to be قدامه meaning “ahead of.”



قال أبو نظاره

يظهر الحق ولو بعد حين . ويسود وجه الكاذبين . قالت أعداء حرية وطني العزيز . بأن هذا الأمير كان بصاص من طرف الإنجليز . أرسلوه لمصر يتصاحب مع رجالها . و يدخل في عيونهم ليخبر حكومته بأحوالها . وأنه لهذا السبب ادعى بأنه محب صديق . للحزب الوطني ولعرايي وعدو لتوفيق . إنما أنا يا سادة يا كرام . ما صدقت هذا الكلام . لأنني كنت اطلعت على تأليفاته العديدة . في مدح أبناء الشرق وفضائلهم الحميدة . ثم ورايته محامي على عرايي ورجاله . وينجيهم ببذل سعيه وهمته وجهده وأمواله . ونراه اليوم يبرهن في أعظم الجرايد والمحافل الإنكليزية . بأن توفيق هو السبب الوحيد في حادثة اسكندرية . وأن مالهم حق إنكليز . في التسلط على وطننا العزيز . فأقول والله إن هذا أمر غريب . كيف يصير لمصر من بين الإنكليز رجل حبيب . إنما فعل ربّي عجيب يا سادة . حفظ الله لنا ويلفرد سكاون بلونت صاحب السعادة . ثم هذا الأمير الفريد الف في هذه الأيام . كتابا نفسيا سماه مستقبل الإسلام . استحق به ثناء علماء أوروبا أجمعين . وشهر فيه حكمة المسلمين . فلذلك أرجوكم يا إخواني تقروا ترجمته في جريدة النحلة الصابنجية . وتشاهدوا رسمه فإن السيد ويلفرد سكاون بلونت حبيب الأمم الشرقية . أما قرينته اللادي عتا . فهي جميلة كحور الجنة . ليس فقط بالحسن والجمال . إلّا وأيضا فضائل وكمال . لسانها بالعربي فصيح .

ولفظها بلغتنا مليح . حفظت القرآن الشريف . ودرست كل شاعر عربي لطيف . تحب بنات الشرق الصالحات . وتسعى لهنّ في الخيرات . فلا عجب من ذلك لأنّ جدها اللورد بيرون الأمير . الشاعر الاسكوتيزي الشهير . حفظها لجوزها رب العالمين . هذا دعاء جميع الشرقيين.

وردت لنا هذه الرسالة العجيبة من القاهرة وكاتبها يطلبها بحروفها.

على العين والراس

قال الحدق . من ز علي وتراكم الهموم عليّ اخذت بعض ليلة الجمعة وقصدت محششة مشهورة في سكة مقطوعة من حواري المسلمين بالقاهرة إنما رحتها متخفي أعني لابس لي عري صافي وعمّة بني شداد والبلغة الصفراء إياها اللّي تزقزق وقطعة خزارانة محنشة في يدي ودخلت محل الحظ. جوزة من الهند مرّكب عليها غاب. مدندشة بالودع مجمعة الأحباب. فوجدت فيها الملك وارباب دولته. أرحب يا عم. يدك يا وزير. سعيدة يا ملك الزمان. وضحكة كسر قلل من اياهم وقعدنا. فحالا طلبت لهم تعمير مكن فكل واحد منهم سحب له من نفس ودارت القهوة الفاخرة وفاحت رائحة الحشيش اللّي تشفي العليل وغنوا الجماعة وطبّلوا ودار التنكيت اللّي كل كلمة منه بمحسوب وخذ دالزاي. وايش معني. وما أشبه وبعد ده كله سكتوا بني شداد نصف ساعة تقريبا. فنت المعاجيني وقال يا ملك الزغاليل اللّي بفستان ما همش جابين يتحفونا الليلة. ولا ايه؟ اه يا حظ. دُبل انكليز. اه يا ليالي الهنا عودوا. فردّ عليه الملك وقال. الله الله ليه هي كل ليلة حلاوه؟ ما دخلت ليلة امبارح بلاد الفول وعمت فيها وانت زي القطط تأكل وتنكر. ليلة العسل وليلة بصل. فقام صاحب المحل وقال. والله ما حد رايح يبوظ علينا إلا أبو الزرقاء. آهو نازل فيهم طحن كل يوم يطلع لهم صورة جنس بكرة يزعلوا ويسيونوا والكم كلمة اللّي حفصناها بلنجليزي تطير. هس. آهم جو - فدخلوا علينا أربع من الجوديم الحمر يقولوا للبدر غيب ونحن نحضر بذلك إنما شربانين لعينهم فقاموا الجماعة وأخذوهم بالأحضان. وكل حشاش استلم له واحد وطلبوا تعميره فشدّوا الزغاليل ورجّوا فقال الملك لصاحب المحل القناديل دي بتحرق العيون فانطفت القناديل والحدق يفهم فصار ده يصفر وده يشخر وتلخبط لسان الإنكليزي مع العربي وشي يقشعر البدن فصاح الملك قائلا إنتقموا في العدو وأكسروا عينه. فقمت أنا وخليت الشمطلي يطلي وخرجت فوجدت على راس الحارة كومسيون صعيدي فأخبرته فقال لي جبر يلهمم ليه هو الكلام ده في المحششة وبس ده اليغلي داير في السكك على عينك يا تاجر.



14 April 1883



Ismail. — J'ai beau jeter du lest, nous enfonçons toujours ; et pourtant quel lest précieux ! Des sacs d'or. — Abu-Naddara. — Jette toujours. — Ismail. — « C'est que j'en ai déjà jetté beaucoup sur les côtes d'Angleterre. » — Abu-Naddara. — « Jette toujours. » — Ismail. — « Jetant le dernier sac. » — « Arriverons-nous bientôt en vue de l'Égypte ? » — Abu-Naddara niant sous ses lunettes. — « On n'arrivera jamais. »

• (اسمیل) انجمن نغرق یا یس (ابونظارة) انجی کان کم کس من مالک (اسمیل) میت کثیری بجراد کلین (ابونظارة) ای کی کان (اسمیل یکی قورکس) آدی لبله یا تری ندخل ص ؟ (ابونظارة) عرک ما تشوفوا بالعین \*

(Ismail) We are going to drown, Chief. (Abu Naddara) Throw away some of your bags of money. (Ismail) I threw a lot into the sea of the English. (Abu Naddara) Throw away more.

(Ismail throws the last bag) There we go. Do you think we will enter Egypt? (Abu Naddara) You will never see it with your eyes.

A conversation between Abu Naddara and Tawfiq, the son of the chief of the quarter

(Abu Naddara) Peace be upon you, Abu Abbas, (Tawfiq) *Good morning, sir*<sup>181</sup> (Abu Naddara)

The religion of the Prophet is in Arabic. Leave the tongue of the country of *fūl*<sup>182</sup> and speak to me in the tongue of my dear homeland (Tawfiq) *Very Good* (Abu Naddara) Generosity is the

<sup>181</sup> Italicized text is English words written in Arabic script.

<sup>182</sup> *Fūl* in Arabic means fava beans, a popular Egyptian dish. Here, however, it is likely a stand-in for the English word fool, referring to the English and their country.

quality of the Forebearer<sup>183</sup>. Are your masters coercing you not to speak Arabic? (Tawfiq) Sir Edward Malet told us not to *speack Arabic* but to *speack English* (Abu Naddara) Malet has left without return. So what are you afraid of? Do you think I'm a spy? (Tawfiq) Who are you then? (Abu Naddara) I am your dearest loved one. Oh, may God have mercy on our days when I used to come to you in Abbasiya while you were still a prince, and I used to read you English newspapers and drink your fine coffee and see you riding your hinny donkey in the mountain. (Tawfiq) Aman!<sup>184</sup> Don't remind me of my happy days. How joyful and carefree I was. But you didn't tell me who you are, I had a friend at that time (of my childhood) whose voice was just like yours and whose height was like you, but he had a long black beard and his eyes gawked. (Abu Naddara) The beard was shaved by the women of Paris and the eyes have been softened by the wisemen (Tawfiq) So you know him? (Abu Naddara) I know him very well. (Tawfiq) He was my dear one when I was a prince. But when I became the khedive, he (may God damn him) became my greatest enemy. (Abu Naddara) This is where you are mistaken, soldier. Abu Naddara loves you, and I wish you had listened to his advice and none of this would have happened, and you would have been the happiest of God's creation (Tawfiq) How? (Abu Naddara) Before you took the throne of the khedive, which was honored by Muhammad Ali and defiled by your father, Abu Naddara said to you, O Tawfiq, if you accept the governorship you will get nothing but evil and misfortune. A year later, he advised you to step down and let the real khedive take over the administration of the homeland and amend its situation, which you ruined because of your lack of organization. He told you that the Aboul Hilm<sup>185</sup> will take care of you and make you his son. You did not listen to his advice. Because you did not take his advice,

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<sup>183</sup> One of the Islamic names of Allah, but also the name of Halim Pasha.

<sup>184</sup> Turkish exclamatory word meaning "have mercy!" or "goodness!"

<sup>185</sup> Halim Pasha.



it has now all come crashing down on your head. After you were a master, you became a prisoner, and the people laughed at your beard and cursed you. (Tawfiq) Shut up, you ugly one. (Abu Naddara) Do not give me sass because if you do I will give you even more. So speak with respect. (Tawfiq) It seems that you are a dear one to Abu Naddara (Abu Naddara). Yes, I am his closest friend. What a pity you do not understand the meanings of his newspaper. Otherwise, neither Hussein nor Hassan nor Ibrahim would have entered Egypt. (Tawfiq) *The Naddara* [newspaper] comes to me from Paris, even if I did not pay the subscription fee, but the folks<sup>186</sup> do not allow me to read it. I barely look at the drawings and they snatch it out of my hands. (Abu Naddara) From today on, read it secretly and listen to its words and you will see good come to you. (Tawfiq) Parole d'honneur<sup>187</sup> that I will read them, but tell me how my father obtained the permit for my brothers to enter Egypt. (Abu Naddara) He spent two million pounds for the purpose of this affair. And with that money he obtained your documents, from which it appears that you were the cause of the Alexandria incident. Then, he befriended senior figures from Parliament and fabricated the London papers' praise for him and disparagement of you. Using money again, he convinced the British government that it has no enemy but you and not a dear one but him. He bought luxurious palaces there and bestowed them upon the righteous princes, and thus he succeeded. I wrote all of these things in my last issue last month. (Tawfiq) You said your last issue? You are Abu Naddara! Nina, come! Help me, Farid Bey! The Egyptian is coming! (Abu Naddara) Calm down, boy. Be brave. Do you think I am a ghoul who is going to eat you? I am your friend if you listen to what I say and your biggest enemy if you cross me. Let us return to the conversation of your father. I have people around him just as I have people

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<sup>186</sup> Likely referring to his English overlords.

<sup>187</sup> French- "word of honor," you have my word.

around you. That is how I learned that he wrote you a phoney letter and that you were very confused when you saw it, so you consulted such-and-such Pasha, so-and-so Bey, and your friend Monsieur so-and-so. But all of them had already been bought by the your father the pasha with the money that he plundered from the land. Some told you to give up the khediveship to your son, and some told you to give it up to your father. (Tawfiq) You are a sorcerer, old man. You know everything that happens here. (Abu Naddara) They also told you that the people, old and young, hate you and that they are determined to deal you a hard blow. If [your father] takes over again, he will break their noses and you will stay here in Cairo to eat and lounge and do nothing else. (Tawfiq) They also threatened me with my uncle Halim, and they told me that the people of Egypt, without my knowledge, wrote to the Sultan that if Halim does not take the governorship then they would rise up again, and that the Sultan sent their protestations to the English Parliament. They told me that if I do not give the governorship up to my father, my uncle Halim will come in and take revenge on the whole family (Abu Naddara) When you heard all of this, you became afraid and accepted the return of your brothers. Of course you did, you have worse enemies than them, you poor thing. By God, you are a foolish boy. Aboul Hilm loves you and pities you more than your stupid father and your brother Hussein, who would see blindness before he sees you. (Tawfiq) Your words are true, but what is to be done now? (Abu Naddara) Know first that your father can never return or become Khedive, because all countries are certain of the hatred of all Egyptians for him, and they did not forget the words of Sultan Pasha in response to the people who begged him last year to returning Ismail to the governorship. (Tawfiq) I remember the good words of Sultan Pasha, which were that every penny of the one hundred million pounds that my father spent in corruption and made into a debt on our shoulders, and every drop of Egyptian blood that he shed in wars of injustice and aggression was for his evil

purposes. Today, it has all compiled and formed high mountains and wide seas that separate Egypt from its enemy Ismail. (Abu Naddara) Well done, O Abu Abbas. I like you when you speak with reason. Now you understand that it is impossible for your father to return, and if he does return, woe to him. (Tawfiq) Alright, and what do you think of my brothers? Should I receive them or not? (Abu Naddara) I know that your imprudent father gave Hussein a million pounds and a bottle of black drink, of which a drop in a cup of coffee that makes a person pop.

And he said to him, “My son, flatter your foolish brother, and show him that he has no dear one but you. Then he bestowed generosity upon all his companions. If you succeed in this way and win him over, then praise God, Lord of the worlds. And if you feel that you’ve secured him in your palm, just gently put a drop of this drink in a cup of tea, as you did for your sister’s lover, or in a cup of coffee, as I advise you to do for those envious of your life. And thus may God rid us of him [Tawfiq]. (Tawfiq) O God the Protector! What a disbeliever my father is! May God grant you happiness, uncle Halim. You do not do these obscene things. (Abu Naddara) May God enlighten your mind. So, pretend to be ignorant of their plans and receive your brothers with warmth and do not expose to them you’re your knowledge of the intentions of the chief of the quarter and his malicious habits. Rather, immediately order your friend with the mustache to appoint for you a number of spies from among those who have worked in the occupation for their whole lives and repented during the times of your father. Put them in the shadow of your guests, meaning make them walk behind them from afar and see where they go and come from, and who loves them, and who they visit. Tell [the spies] to tell you immediately what is happening, do you understand? Therefore, when you learn that they have met with such-and-such Pasha, or with such-and-such supervisor or his assistant, or a soldier, or a bank manager, or an employee, you immediately invite the aforementioned person for breakfast, speak to him in a

sweet tongue, and tell him that you are pleased with his friendship with you, and bestow upon him a medal from the medal box that Darwish left to you when he fled. And secretly bribe his employees and accountants and make them tell you everything that happens between them and your brothers and their companions. At a later time, you invite that person to your place again and say to him, "Is this alright by you? I promote you and respect you and in return you betray me and conspire with the princes against me? But I can't help but be kind and pardon you this time." So be certain, Tawfiq, that that person will become your friend and become your spy upon your brothers. (Tawfiq) By the Prophet, you are cunning, Abu James, and you have great ideas. And in this way I will be ahead of the players and I will not give up the khediveship to my father or to one of my brothers. (Abu Naddara) Do not give it up to them. (Tawfiq) Neither to them nor to anyone else, I will never give in to anyone. (Abu Naddara) What is this? You have to give it up, but to your older uncle and be rid of all this torment and headache, otherwise, woe then woe to you. Listen, Tawfiq. God knows that I hate shedding blood, and that I - without your knowledge - have repeatedly saved you from destruction. If you want to live as happy and prosperous as you did in the past, I advise you to step down from the khediveship, from which you have not seen a good day. Be certain that the English government will help you in this matter because it knows that you are not fit for the governorship. And that as long as you are the Khedive, the countries will not allow their soldiers to leave from our country unless Halim takes over, for he is the man who can make the hyena and the dog walk in the same street, because he is brave and was brought up right and has been made wise by experience. Do you understand, man? (Tawfiq) I understand, but this matter is very difficult and impossible for me to pluck up the courage for. (Abu Naddara) The duty that is upon me, I have fulfilled, and I advised you the advice of a brother to his brother. You with your mind in your head know what you should do.

(Said the narrator, James the sorcerer, who is Sheikh Abu Naddara. He boarded the plane and ordered Satan to take him back to Paris, but before he left, he bid farewell to the countryman and the farmer.)



Abu Naddara said

The truth will emerge, even if after a while, and the face of the liars will darken. The enemies of my dear homeland's freedom claimed that this prince was a British spy. They sent him to Egypt to accompany its men and befriend them to inform his government of the conditions of the nation, and for this reason he claimed to be a dear and friend of the National Party and of Urabi and an enemy of Tawfiq. But I, honorable gentlemen, did not believe these claims [of his treachery], because I had read his many writings praising the people of the East and their

praiseworthy virtues, and then I saw him defending Urabi and his men, saving them with his strife, determination, effort, and money. Today we see him asserting in the greatest English newspapers and forums that Tawfiq was the sole cause of the Alexandria incident and that the English have no right to dominate our dear homeland. So I say, by God, what a strange matter this is. How could Egypt have a beloved man among the English? It is an awe-inspiring act of God, gentlemen. May God preserve for us the bringer of happiness, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. This prince Blunt has written in these days a psychological book called *The Future of Islam*, which has earned him the praise of all European scholars, and in which he has made famous the wisdom of Muslims. Therefore, I ask you, my brothers, to read his translation in the al-Nahla al-Şabanġiyya newspaper and see his drawings, for Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt is a lover of Eastern nations. As for his partner, Lady Anne<sup>188</sup>, she is as beautiful as the women of Paradise, not only in goodness and beauty, but also in virtues and perfection. Her tongue is eloquent in the Arabic language and her pronunciation in our language is good. She has memorized the Noble Qur'an, and studied every gentle Arab poet. She loves the virtuous girls of the East and seeks to do good things for them. This does not surprise as her grandfather is Lord Byron the prince, the famous Scottish poet. May the Lord of the Worlds preserve her for her husband. This is the prayer of all Easterners.

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<sup>188</sup> Lady Anne Noel.

This strange letter came to us from Cairo, and its writer requests that it be included exactly as is.

My pleasure.

The cunning one said, “Because of my sorrow and the accumulation of worries upon me, I took to myself some of Friday night and went to a famous smokehouse off of a ghostroad in the Muslim neighborhoods in Cairo. But I went there incognito, I mean, wearing pure nakedness and a deep brown turban and the yellow shoe that squeaks and a sad cane in my hand, and I entered the place of luck. A plant stem fix on a coconut<sup>189</sup>. The gathering of loved ones is embellished with tranquility, and I found in it the king and the administrators of his state. Welcome, man. Your hand, O minister. Great seeing you, O King of time. And a bellowing laugh to break the ice and we all sat. Immediately, I asked them to load up a pipe and each of them took a puff and the fancy coffee circulated. Then swelled the smelled of hashish that heals the sick, and the group sang and drummed and paid each other to play jokes and much more. After all of that, the children of Shaddad<sup>190</sup> remained silent for about half an hour. Then Al-Ma’ajini<sup>191</sup> jumped up and said, “O King, the Zaghali<sup>192</sup> in the dresses are not here to come to entertain us tonight, or what? Oh, what luck. The withering of the English. Oh good nights, come back. The king replied to him and said, “God! God! Why are you shocked? Should every night

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<sup>189</sup> A popular contraption to make sheehsa is by fixing a cane-like plant to a hollow coconut that hold the pallet.

<sup>190</sup> This is a reference Antarah ibn Shaddad. The narrator is mocking the smoker’s inability to handle the strength of the hashish. But the intention may have more to do with a play-on meaning. The literal meaning of the word “shaddad” is “one who pulls,” the narrator may be referring to the smokers pulling smoke from the hashish.

<sup>191</sup> From ma’jūn, a drug mixture.

<sup>192</sup> A type of red date. Referencing the English’s red coats.

be sweet? Just last night, you entered the land of fūl<sup>193</sup> and swam in it, but you are like a cat – you eat and you forget. A night of honey and a night of onions<sup>194</sup>. Then the owner of the shop got up and said, “By God, the only one ruining this for us Abu el-Zarqa<sup>195</sup>. He bashes them every day, releasing this picture and that. Soon enough, they will get upset and leave us, and the few English words we memorized will be forgotten. Hush, here they come! Then four of the red jūdīm<sup>196</sup> entered upon us and said to the full moon to set and we will take your place. But they were drunk to their eyes, so the group rose and took them in their embraces, every smoker receiving one of his own. And the red dates asked for a smoke so they drew. And the king said to the owner of the shop, “These lanterns are burning our eyes,” so the lanterns were turned off. And the cunning one will understand<sup>197</sup>. So one person began to whistle and another to snore, and the English tongue mixed with the Arabic, and enough rumpus to make the body shudder. So the king shouted, saying, “Take revenge on the enemy and break his eye.” So I got up and let the striker strike. So I went out and found a soldier at the head of the neighborhood. So I told him what was happening, and he said to me, “why should I round them up? Do you think that this is only happening in the smokehouse? This is happening all over the streets in front of everyone’s eyes, merchant.”

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<sup>193</sup> Again, likely from the English word “fool,” meaning the country of the English-speakers.

<sup>194</sup> Meaning, some days are good while others are bad.

<sup>195</sup> The one of the blues - Abou Naddara.

<sup>196</sup> This is likely from the English word “good” – the good boys dressed in red.

<sup>197</sup> The Egyptians in the smokehouse attacked the English and started a brawl.



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