

MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

Volume 1

January 1965

No. 2

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PUBLISHED BY FRANK CASS & CO. LTD. 8-10 WOBURN WALK, LONDON W.C.1

Prolegomena to a Study of Secret Societies in Modern Egypt

Jacob M. Landau

I. Introduction

A knowledge of the character of secret societies in the Near and Middle East is essential to understanding its modern political development. During the nineteenth century, the evolution of these societies and their non-conformist activities had an important share, to varying extent, in the shaping of revolutionary movements in the area. It is symptomatic of the spirit of unrest caused by the penetration of Western concepts and the resulting material gains, and of the local dissatisfaction with some other aspects of this penetration, that secret societies should have offered a pattern of organization along with an outlet for resistance. This holds true of various Near and Middle Eastern countries, without any provable relation between such societies in these various countries.

General books on the modern history and activities of political secret societies have generally disregarded Near Eastern societies; this is also the case of the few books written on the subject in Arabic.¹ In particular, historical research on nineteenth-century Egypt, otherwise quite voluminous, has somehow neglected the subject of secret societies.² This is understandable, when taking into account the difficulties involved in any attempt to investigate extensively the secret societies of any Near and Middle Eastern country in recent years: most of these societies had hardly any well-organized archives at all; also, no regular records of the discussions were kept. Insofar as such records existed, they were either lost in course of time or, as was more frequently the case, destroyed

for fear of detection. This motive, along with the persecution of the authorities, has all-too-often done away with many other clues to the activities of secret societies, such as minutes of meetings, manifestoes, etc. Professor Richard Hartmann, in an excellent paper published in 1944,³ elaborated the point that Near-Eastern secret societies, after having achieved political success, hardly ever considered it worth their while to publish or even maintain their archival materials.⁴ This applies, *a fortiori*, to nineteenth-century Egypt: there, the short span of political activity of such societies and the final failure of this activity (through British military intervention in the year 1882) has not been conducive, indeed, to their keeping on hand their records; rather, the failure and the resulting imminent trials at the hands of Khedive and British may even have forced the conspirators to destroy evidence of their guilt. This, then, enhances the difficulties of any would-be historian of the Egyptian secret societies.

Despite these difficulties, an investigation of nineteenth-century secret societies in Egypt seems to be worth undertaking. In addition to shedding some indirect light on the Western impact on Egypt and on the country's early political organization in modern times, it is bound also to afford some information on the early political activities of many Egyptian personalities who have had a significant share in the country's political, intellectual or military leadership in the fateful 1870's and 1880's, as well as in the times immediately preceding or following them. Their *individual* activity is not without interest and has already been investigated to some extent. A study of their *common meeting-ground*, the secret societies, may assist one in understanding the period and its problems somewhat better. Unpublished documents in the archives of the British, French and Italian foreign offices, along with contemporary Arabic and non-Arabic sources, appear to make possible a preliminary study of some aspects in the development of secret societies in Egypt, during the second half of the nineteenth century.

II. *The Secret Societies*

a. PENETRATION

Examples of secret societies abounded in Egypt, both from ancient local rites and from the Muslim East.⁵ Whether these exercised any direct influence on the formation of political secret societies is doubtful. One is rather inclined to ascribe to Egyptian political

secret societies an eighteenth or nineteenth-century prototype. This could be either local—such as the inner organization of Egyptian society at the time,⁶ in particular that of the Dervish orders⁷ and Muslim guilds,⁸ with their own secret signs of recognition;⁹ or foreign—of which more details are in order. The earliest evidence about the existence of such foreign influence on secret groups relates to the times of Sa'id, ruler of Egypt during the years 1854–1863. It seems that Arabic and Turkish printed sources of the time are silent on the subject of secret societies in Egypt. The only tangible description, which though not complete in detail, is interesting, stems from the pen of a foreign resident in Egypt. This was a Swiss citizen, John Ninet,¹⁰ who had lived in Egypt since 1856¹¹ and had been not only a keen observer of the political scene, but an Anglophobe,¹² actively participating in the fermentation then taking place in the country. This was manifest, also, in his polemic—two apologetic, little-known books, *Savoir c'est pouvoir*¹³ and *Arabi Pasha*,¹⁴ as well as in a highly-informative article published in the London *Nineteenth Century*, under the title *Origin of the National Party in Egypt*.¹⁵ It is in the last mentioned work that he gives apparently first-hand evidence on early Egyptian secret societies.¹⁶

Whether Ninet was correct in stating that Egyptian freemasonic societies were active during Sa'id's time, and in assuming that Muslim Indian and Sanusi influences had so far-reaching an importance on the shaping of Egyptian secret societies is doubtful; it will probably be very difficult, well-nigh impossible, to establish this today. Turkish secret societies, also, could hardly have influenced Egypt in the period under discussion, as the Young Turks who fled to Egypt from persecution at home did not arrive there before nearly the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ It is not any easier, either, to gauge the influence of European secret societies in nineteenth-century Egypt. Of these the most famous were the Italian secret societies, with their long tradition of perseverance in secret revolutionary activity in Italy and abroad.

The earliest mention of an Italian secret society in 19th-century Egypt seems to be in a report preserved in the archives of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs. This relates that immediately after the failure of the attempt to assassinate Napoleon III (January 14, 1858), and after the summary trial and execution of the Italian conspirators, an Italian secret society was founded in Egypt for vengeance on the local French.¹⁸ A number of such societies came to be active in Egypt during the 1860's¹⁹ and their activities were

brought to the attention of the local authorities as well as to that of the Italian and other Consulates in Egypt. These activities interested greatly the young Kingdom of Italy, then engaged in the final stages of unifying the whole Peninsula; the archives of the Italian and French agencies and consulates in Egypt have preserved some enlightening materials thereupon. It would appear that only some of these secret societies were political in character, mainly imbued with the revolutionary ideals of Mazzini, of which the best-known in Egypt was a circle, self-styled "Thought and Action" (*Pensiero ed Azione*).²⁰ Others attracted lower elements from amongst the Italians who flocked into Egypt in 1865 and soon afterwards.²¹ Thus they became, intentionally or unintentionally, a meeting-place and refuge for the discontented and the criminal, briefly—for the Italians belonging to the underworld in Egypt. Indeed, these came to rule openly the affairs of most of the Italian communities in Egypt at the time.²²

Whether the existence of secret societies and clandestine activities of individuals—Orientals and Europeans—had any direct impact on the formative years of the local secret societies, it is difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge. It is likely, however, that the very existence and activities of such organizations had some share in preparing the ground for the formation of the local secret societies, at least in creating a receptive mood in the country for European freemasonry, which was making headway at the time in certain sectors of urban Egyptian society.

b. EGYPTIAN FREEMASONRY

The exact forms and extent of penetration of freemasonry into Egyptian society is very difficult to ascertain, due to the natural reticence of freemasons; an added difficulty lies in the near-impossibility for the outsider of grasping correctly the symbolism involved.²³ The limited activity of Egyptian freemasonry, as compared to other countries, gave it, as a rule, a very brief and quite unenlightening part in general works on the history and activities of world freemasonry.²⁴ A glance at freemasonic literature, published in Egypt, will show how scanty this is; also, most of it is either too late to be of any assistance in the investigation of the crucial years before the British Occupation or too general to be of any use for purposes of research.²⁵ Insofar as I have been able to peruse some of these publications or to learn of their contents, they are often indicative only of petty jealousies amongst various members or

factions; otherwise, they describe, in Arabic, rites already described previously in frequent publications in other languages. The same applies, also, to many questions and answers or comments on freemasonry in the Arabic press of Egypt.²⁶ These however serve as evidence of public curiosity about freemasonry, the same feeling which had helped the movement spread in Egypt and other parts of the Near and Middle East.

Freemasonry, of the European type, actually came into Egypt some time before Khedive Isma'il's rule (1863–1879), whose years (along with the first ones of his heir Tawfiq) are to be mainly treated in this paper. Some sources would have it that this came to Alexandria in the year 1747; others think it more likely that, during the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, some French officers, freemasons themselves, decided in 1798 to found in Cairo a local chapter, which they named "Isis".²⁷ Apparently for considerations of a political nature, local dignitaries were induced, after 1798, to join, which (if correct), was a significant step for the country's inhabitants. After the assassination of General Kléber and the withdrawal of the French armed forces from Egypt, freemasonic activity was slowed down for a time. A chapter was established in Alexandria, in 1802, and another, also there, four years later, both under the Grand Orient of France; their activity seems, however, to have been rather restricted.²⁸ One hears again, later, about the foundation of French chapters,²⁹ one in Cairo, in 1811, another in Alexandria, in 1812; they fared no better, as was also the case with another chapter, founded in 1815.

It was only in the year 1830 that a number of Italian freemasons³⁰ left Italy after the failure of revolution there. They founded in Alexandria—headquarters of the large Italian community in Egypt—an approved chapter belonging to the "Scottish" rite;³¹ they followed up, in 1838, with another chapter in Cairo. All this was done in the utmost secrecy, for fear of the local authorities. No such worries beset the French freemasons, when they reorganized—probably due to French influence at the court of Muhammad 'Ali. It was with public flourish and under the patronage of the authorities that the French freemasons organized in 1845³² a local chapter in Alexandria. This included some Muslim and local dignitaries, like the Algerian Emir 'Abd al-Qadir and Muhammad 'Ali's son, Prince Halim Pasha,³³ of whom more below.

In the immediately following years, others were recruited to the French freemasonic chapter, which reached in Alexandria, about

the year 1860, the thousand figure in membership. The Italians replied in kind, by reorganizing their chapter in Alexandria, in 1849 (possibly exploiting the death of Muhammad 'Ali, protector of French interests) and, later, starting freemasonic propaganda in the Italian schools in Cairo³⁴ and publishing various pamphlets.³⁵ However, as in some other aspects of foreign competition in Egypt at the time, it appears that the French were having the upper hand.³⁶ In 1856, the French freemasons sent a special delegate to Alexandria to found there a high chapter, a *Grande Loge*. Later, in the 1850's and the 1860's, a considerable number of chapters was added by French and Italian freemasons, particularly in Alexandria and Cairo, but also in Port Said, Suez and Ismailiyya (later in Mansura, too). Thus we hear that in 1863, a new French chapter was founded in Alexandria, named "Régénération de la Grèce," while others were already active.³⁷ The following year, one hears of an Italian chapter, with very mixed membership, the "Alleanza dei popoli," being active in hospital work.³⁸ As it has been said, certain Italian secret societies disguised themselves as freemasonic chapters which tended to draw away from the central supervision of freemasonic organizations.³⁹

In 1866, a German chapter, under the patronage of the Grand Chapter of Hamburg, was established in Cairo.⁴⁰ The following year, British freemasons⁴¹ enlarged their activities in Egypt. The British Consul Borg, whose name has already been mentioned as very familiar with the country's condition,⁴² was very active in this respect. In Alexandria, he recruited in a relatively brief time, some 300 members for British freemasonry, amongst them some of the most prominent Egyptians of the time (of whom more below).⁴³ Followed the foundation of two chapters, both in Cairo.⁴⁴ Soon afterwards, the French freemasons of the order of Memphis elected Prince Halim their Grandmaster.⁴⁵ During the years 1872-1878, most chapters fused into a united Grand Orient of Egypt, centred in Cairo,⁴⁶ an action that was to make them a force to be reckoned with in the country. This prompted the then ruling Egyptian Khedive, Isma'il, to consider it advisable to have freemasonry on his side, by showing interest in it and extending his protection to it.⁴⁷

In general, it may be said that the European-introduced freemasonry in Egypt remained true to its ideals of philanthropy and brotherhood. Its worst expression, conversely, was in some (by no means all) of the Italian chapters, which used freemasonry to hide

their clandestine activities. During the years 1868–1870, for instance, we have some highly-interesting manuscript reports of the Italian political and consular agents in Egypt, which show the freemasonic chapters as honeycombed with subversive elements: political, that is plotting against the Italian Royal House;⁴⁸ or criminal, that is active in the underworld of the Egyptian towns,⁴⁹ in murder and other crimes,⁵⁰ then receiving protection, shelter and help from their freemasonic chapters.⁵¹ These elements were, however, only a minority in the freemasonic chapters in Egypt. It is plausible that on the whole these organizations generally pursued their charitable aims. This is also evident from their periodicals: *La Ragione* (since 1871), *Memfrisorita* (since 1875) and the later *L'Egitto Massonico* (1896),⁵² all of them published in Alexandria.⁵³

Some local Egyptian freemasons had no doubt a contact of sorts with the non-masonic Italian secret societies in Egypt, which have already been mentioned.⁵⁴ While it is difficult today even to attempt to determine which of these published the clandestine journals which were passed from hand to hand, at the time, it is certain that some of them, at least, had a part in this. French clandestine journals had already appeared in Egypt in 1869 (*Le Nouvel Argus*)⁵⁵ and 1870 (*Le Crocodile*).⁵⁶ In the mid-1870's, Italian ones were started, such as the *Lavoratore* and the *Proletario*.⁵⁷ Very probably, there were more of these, during the 1860's and 1870's, of which one never hears because they must have been seized by the authorities. Some of these journals may well have served as models for clandestine and semi-clandestine Egyptian journals in Arabic, like *Abu Nazzara*⁵⁸ and others, published in the 1870's. Doubtless, at least some must have come to the attention of those Egyptians to whom secret association and clandestine publication must have appealed as ideal means for the furtherance of their political aims. Most freemasonic chapters, indeed, included local Egyptians, at varying levels. These Egyptians, then, came in touch with European influences and naturally learned in this way some methods of secret organization, invaluable to them then and later.

It was almost inevitable that some Egyptians should use for their purposes the freemasonic chapters, during Isma'il's rule—years that were a time of fermentation for the nationalist movement in Egypt. The same was to be repeated later, on a larger and more successful pattern, in Salonika, where the Young Turk movement would exploit, during the years 1906–1908, the local freemasonic organization for the preparation of the revolution.⁵⁹ It was natural that

where at least the records of freemasonry offer some help to the investigator. The assumptions that the origins of the officers' secret society go back to Sa'id's days⁸³ has not yet been substantiated. Nor has any proof been brought forward by James Sanua for his contention that its origins go back to the year 1869;⁸⁴ it is not unlikely that Sanua intended thereby to connect his name with it and thus lend an aura of importance to his Egyptian activities (for later, in 1878, Sanua fled from Egypt to France).

It seems fairly definite that the secret meetings of the Egyptian officers started in the year 1876. 'Ali al-Rubi seems to have been the moving spirit in the beginning, and was then overshadowed by Ahmad 'Urabi⁸⁵ when the latter joined the group some time later (it is unknown exactly when).⁸⁶ Whether this group of officers, meeting clandestinely at Helwan, near Cairo,⁸⁷ regarded itself from the start as a secret society is extremely doubtful; it is easier to conceive of them probably bound by mutual oath,⁸⁸ a secret conclave with their own grievance at heart. These grievances were not new, and had already led, in previous years, to secret discussions about concerted action⁸⁹ and even to disorderly conduct and insubordination.⁹⁰ Now, in the 1860's and 1870's, the grievances were indeed manifold: the general neglect by the Khedive and his officials of the armed forces, which resulted in the ignominious defeat of the Egyptian army in the Abyssinian campaign of 1876; the recurring preferment of Turkish and Circassian officers as well as discrimination against Egyptian officers in economy-dictated retirements; the continual postponement of payment to officers and soldiers;⁹¹ the poor quality of fare served in the army messrooms, etc.⁹² These personal grievances of the soldiers were, of course, symptomatic of the ever-widening dissatisfaction in Egypt of the 1870's with Khedive Isma'il's rule⁹³ (particularly with his financial measures), to which, somewhat later, was added discontent (e.g., on the part of Muslim religious leaders) with the growing European influence on, and intervention in, the country's affairs.⁹⁴ The Khedive's measures in convoking an Assembly of Delegates (almost yearly, since 1866)⁹⁵ and of instituting ministerial responsibility in the country's government (repeatedly, since 1878)⁹⁶ might or might not have deceived the European diplomats and creditors. It certainly did little to pacify the local malcontents, further embittered by a low Nile in the year 1877 and by the annually growing pressure of taxation, at the end of the 1870's. There is however no definite evidence of this discontent infecting the officers' group in the beginning of its organization;

of this one hears only later, not before 1878, or even 1879. Previously, as has been said, their grudges were mostly personal and professional, an expression of the Egyptian military against the ruling circles, Turks and Circassians, or of Turkish and Circassian descent. The anti-European feelings—directed mainly against foreign intervention, economic and political—were thus a later reaction, cleverly encouraged and exploited by Khedive Isma‘il himself.

Isma‘il came to know about the existence of the officers’ secret society, probably early in 1879. By then it had become increasingly difficult for the officers to continue keeping the existence of their society secret (even though they were still apprehensive of arrest⁹⁷). On one hand, their organization was growing and at least some of the officers were eager to show their hand; on the other, more semi-secret societies were beginning to appear on the political scene, e.g., one composed chiefly of intellectuals, called *Misr al-fatat* (*Young Egypt*).⁹⁸ It was inevitable that Isma‘il would soon hear about the officers’ society. Some sources say that ‘Ali Pasha Mubarak, of the Khedive’s entourage, stumbled into a meeting of the society by mere chance.⁹⁹ Others—that he was approached in order to convert him to the society’s aims.¹⁰⁰ ‘Urabi suspects one of the officers of breaking faith with the others and divulging the society’s secrets¹⁰¹ to ‘Ali Mubarak.¹⁰² Be that as it may, Isma‘il encouraged the society to come into the open; and his *Official Gazette* proclaimed, on April 13, 1879, its foundation as “The National Party” (or, rather, the foundation of “a National Party”) with this organization as its nucleus.¹⁰³ The studied vagueness of the announcement merits quotation:¹⁰⁴

“Since the former Council of Ministers had not proved itself successful, either in providing the services related to the material and moral needs of the fatherland, or in managing them according to the decision of the inhabitants—all the inhabitants of the beloved fatherland made up their minds with determination to substitute another Council of Ministers for this one and to hand the conduct of affairs (based on a sound basis) to those suitable officials who had won their confidence and support in governmental matters, as was commonly known. Starting from this, there gathered a festive meeting of the honorable members of the Assembly of Delegates, well-versed sages, great notables, respected officials, leaders of the country, personalities of the kingdom, and those esteemed by the population. Having considered what was necessary for this important function and for the reform of financial and internal matters,

and various memoranda having been signed, they petitioned His Highness the Khedive with a National Programme, edited by a common consensus.”

The most significant trait of this announcement is not its empty rhetoric (not uncommon in some official documents at that time), but rather the lack of mention of the members, or at least the functionaries of this National Party. This may have derived from either of the two following causes: a. That this organization, like similar parties in the Near and Middle East later, had the character of a loose association with a fluid membership, which included, besides the officers, various dignitaries of Egypt¹⁰⁵ (some of whom were very close to Isma‘il). b. That the officers cautiously preferred to keep their identity out of the limelight.¹⁰⁶ In view of later developments, there is some truth in both explanations.

How Isma‘il employed this National Party to curtail foreign supervision of his Budget; his deposition by his suzerain, the Ottoman Sultan, later, in June, 1879; and the further activities of the National Party during the years 1879–1882, up to the British Occupation of Egypt—are all fairly well known and lie outside the scope of this paper. What is interesting is that the officers, a leading core in the National Party, seemed to have kept on, at least partly, the clandestine character of their first group.¹⁰⁷ Thus, it was in secret that the group’s prominent leaders approached, in February, 1881, Baron de Ring, the sympathetic Agent and Consul-General of France in Egypt,¹⁰⁸ who later refused—at their request—to divulge their names to Khedive Tawfiq.¹⁰⁹ Together with a few other associates, they (rather than the personalities involved in freemasonic activities) decided the policies of the Party. It was in secret that they and such characters as Mahmud Sami‘l-Barudi met (it is unknown how frequently) to debate the interests of their caste and the means of achieving the national aims and their own. The clandestine character of these meetings, maintained as late as 1881, was known even to the Khedive Tawfiq, possibly through his spies. It is thus that he tells Monge, the Acting Consul-General of France in Egypt: “I am told that everything has ended, that the officers have again become orderly; I know that this is not true—they continue to meet at night clandestinely. I receive exact information; I am aware of the speech delivered, at one of these meetings by ‘Urabi Bey, on the occasion of the Occupation of Tunisia, to warn the officers to hold themselves ready, as the same fate was reserved for Egypt.”¹¹⁰ Corroboration of this continuing secrecy may be

found, also, in 'Urabi's autobiography, which otherwise treats meagrely all organizational aspects. There is in it however a revealing passage about how these "inner circle" meetings were conducted and to what purpose, again as late as the year 1881:¹¹¹

"After the meal, an officer came and informed me that many officers were waiting for me at my home. I went there immediately. They were all very excited, as they had just heard that the Minister of War had issued [new] orders . . . When they saw me, they immediately revealed to me what I had previously learnt from . . . I told them, 'I have already heard this from others, so what do you want?' They replied, 'The matter is not just that, but the Circassians have increasingly been meeting at the home of Khusraw Pasha; every night they retell one another the history of the Mamluk State . . . ' The officers then added that they had verified the reliability of this news from trustworthy persons. I said, 'So what do you want then?' They replied, 'We came only to ask your opinion.' I told them, 'My opinion is that you should do good unto yourselves, quiet your fears, rely on your leaders, and delegate to them the examination of your affairs. They will choose from among themselves a leader whom they trust completely, listen to him and obey his command; they will ask for your help if the Government shows evil intentions.' Then they all said, 'We have delegated this command unto you, for among us there is no one worthier of it and abler than you.' Then I replied, 'No, no, rather wait for somebody else . . . ' "

Naturally, 'Urabi's account is indicative only of a part of the interests and demands of the National Party. It is significant, however, that in this, it is a direct continuation of the interests and demands of the officers' secret society. Anyway, one has to bear in mind that satisfactory, detailed research in the ideological background of nationalist movements in Arab countries is difficult enough.¹¹² The lack of materials makes it impossible, for the time being, to connect definitely the ideology of the National Party in Egypt (of which one does have some written programmes) with the officers' secret society which preceded it; the most one can do is point out the obvious organizational connections between the two.

d. HALIM, FREEMASONRY, AND POLITICAL INTRIGUES

It is a provoking question who, if any, had encouraged certain political, often subversive activities by the freemasons in Egypt;

and who had channelled the "discussion group" of the Egyptian officers into a secret society, then prodding the same people, when organized in a still semi-secret nucleus of what they called a "National Party," to rebel against the Khedive's authority? The answers verge from utter silence on the subject to absurd guesses, such as that certain European creditors in Cairo, desirous of change, encouraged the officers.¹¹³ None of these is convincing. When searching for the only personality active in both clandestine organizations, as well as deriving a possible benefit from their activities, one cannot fail to note the advantages which could well accrue, from a revolt against Khedive Isma'il, to Prince Halim Pasha.

Halim, whose name was mentioned above,¹¹⁴ has not yet received from historians the attention he deserves. The last surviving son of Muhammad 'Ali, Halim was thus Isma'il's uncle and the most likely successor to the Khedivate, under the Ottoman succession law, which provided that the eldest male member of the ruler's family should be his heir. Isma'il, however, exploiting the Ottoman Sultan's desire for a reform of this law, succeeded in 1866 in obtaining the Sultan's sanction for a change in the law as applied to the Khedivate in Egypt.¹¹⁵ Halim was not slow to appreciate that these efforts of Isma'il constituted a deadly blow to his prospects for the succession to the Khedivate.¹¹⁶

The reaction of Prince Halim may be described as twofold: he strove to consolidate, during the years 1867-1868, his position in the freemasonic hierarchy of Egypt; and, at the same time, to engage in various political activities of a revolutionary character. Halim, as has already been said,¹¹⁷ joined freemasonry much earlier, apparently about the year 1845. His excellent connections with the nobility and the *intelligentsia*¹¹⁸ stood him in good stead with these circles; his mastery of the French language—with certain European circles in Egypt; his Saint-Cyr education¹¹⁹—with the army. Through his connections, Halim must have known of the tendency of a good many freemasonic chapters in Egypt to draw away gradually from the supervision of the authorities of freemasonry abroad; and he attempted to profit from this tendency.¹²⁰ A French adventurer who, under the assumed name of Marquis de Sard, was then Halim's secretary, may be credited with suggesting to his employer the details of the plan for unifying the local freemasons under his—Halim's—guidance.¹²¹ Opposition was manifested by several prominent freemasons in Egypt, among them a certain Pigari or Figari, an Italian citizen and freemason in the service of Khedive Isma'il;¹²²

it was only to be expected that Işma'il should do everything within his power to wreck Halim's plan. However, Halim succeeded and was elected, in the year 1867, Grand Master of the freemasonic Order of the Grand Orient of Egypt.¹²³

Encouraged by this initial success, Halim started plotting in good earnest against Isma'il. During the years 1867–1868, the French, Italian and British Consuls-General in Egypt paid much attention to Halim's doings. In January, 1867, Isma'il accused Halim of conspiring with some Egyptian shaikhs against him.¹²⁴ Later, on October 2, 1868, de Martino reported¹²⁵ that some of his colleagues thought Halim responsible for instigating an attempted assassination of Khedive Isma'il; the alleged weapon was a poisoned ball of bronze stuck with pointed, poisoned darts.¹²⁶ A short while later, in the beginning of November, 1868, the British, Italian and French Consuls-General in Egypt reported repeatedly, in confidential despatches, that Halim was engaged in revolutionary activities; all enclosed suggestive documents¹²⁷ to support these allegations. The matter cannot be examined at length within the scope of this paper.¹²⁸ Whether engineered by him or not, the attempted assassination as well as the intrigues ascribed to Halim worried Isma'il; he considered them serious enough to banish him from Egypt, at the end of the year 1868. Halim lived thereafter in Constantinople, plotting against Isma'il in France¹²⁹ and in Turkey¹³⁰ and continuing also to intrigue against Isma'il in Egypt itself.¹³¹ In 1869, a plot to murder Isma'il was attributed to his machinations.¹³² Halim's popularity, particularly among the Beduins, remained considerable—according to British consular reports.¹³³ Nor did he forget to keep up with his friends in the freemasonic chapters in Egypt and incite them for his own purposes, during the 1870's. He appears to have intensified his activities against Isma'il after the Ottoman Sultan had in 1873 definitely confirmed Isma'il's request to change the succession law of the Khedivate and to base it on the principle of primogeniture. A while later, one may assume that the accession of Murad to the Sultanate (May, 1876) encouraged Halim to hope that the Firman of the succession law would remain unratified by the new Sultan.¹³⁴ Indeed, in June, 1876, Italian Consul-General de Martino reported interesting details in this respect:¹³⁵

“Despite the confidence with which he honours me, the Khedive has not yet discussed with me the matter of direct succession.¹³⁶ Instead, he has talked to me very openly about the machinations of

Halim Pasha, his uncle, heir to the Khedivate according to the old system, since he is the eldest of the Family. He confided in me, saying that Prince Halim is exciting his followers to move; that he has sent a large sum of money, from Constantinople, for this purpose; and that he desires to use for these ends the foreign masonic lodges, founded in Egypt, and of which he had been Head while residing in Egypt. These confidential matters were imparted to me at the arrival from Constantinople of a certain Mr. Valenti, a Greek who had obtained Italian nationality, resident in Alexandria and noted partisan of Prince Halim. The Viceroy,¹³⁷ who had received warning (of this) from Constantinople, did not want to allow him to disembark. I allowed myself to advise him not to adopt such rash, public measures¹³⁸ . . . I do know however, that His Highness¹³⁹ will not employ the police only. He is a mason, and for some years has encouraged the foundation of national Egyptian masonry, of which the Grand Master is Mr. Zola, an Italian, who has assured me that it would have been recognized by all the Grand Masonic Powers of Europe and of the Americas. The Khedive would use this element, too, in order to fight against the secret machinations of his adversary. All this notwithstanding, the Khedive is very worried . . . ”

It was, however, evident that during the 1870's, Halim's influence on Egyptian freemasonry had waned, for various causes: his exile from Egypt; Isma'il's efforts to counteract his intrigues, both in Egypt and in Constantinople (as evidenced by de Martino's above despatch); the reduction, in the late 1870's, of Halim's pension to about a quarter (by the "Liquidation Law" of Egypt, meant to introduce economics in the country's finances);¹⁴⁰ and the emergence of a number of local personalities (other than Halim), like Afghani, 'Abduh and others. These had meanwhile joined freemasonic chapters in Egypt and must have been working, separately from Halim, by not so different ways—'Abduh reported, for instance, that al-Afghani had seriously considered Isma'il's assassination, and that he, 'Abduh, had been all for it¹⁴¹—but starting from very different premises and intent on quite other aims. It was then typical of Halim to plot even more desperately. Without abandoning his intrigues at the Court of 'Abdul Hamid,¹⁴² he intensified his propaganda in Egypt, among the pro-French elements,¹⁴³ the old Turkish families, the circles of al-Azhar, and the armed forces.¹⁴⁴ It can hardly be a coincidence that Halim's activities in Egypt were intensified in 1877 and the years immediately following, i.e., about

the time when the army officers were organizing their secret society. With his keen appreciation of secret association and its uses, probably sharpened during his freemasonic activity, he sent his agents to infiltrate the Italian clandestine societies in Egypt, as noted by the worried Italian Consul-General at the time, who reported to the Italian Foreign Minister that:¹⁴⁵

“ . . . I have made efforts so that this Government¹⁴⁶ should order the Police to watch attentively the society named ‘The International’. The number of proselytes increases, and the chiefs use to profit the general poverty of the land, due to unemployment, in order to reduce the working classes with terrible promises. It is claimed by some that they are used by the agents of Halim Pasha to swell the ranks of his followers.”

The Italian Consul-General in Egypt was not the only one who worried about deteriorating conditions and Halim’s growing prestige. Almost a year earlier, the British Consul in Alexandria, Charles A. Cookson, had reported to the Foreign Secretary in London as follows:¹⁴⁷

“The recent deposition of the Sultan has, I know, been hailed as a salutary example, and if political complications at Constantinople should breed coolness between the Viceroy¹⁴⁸ and the new Government of the Porte, and bring forward such a leader as Halim Pacha, already favourably regarded by a large portion of the Arabs, who would claim to be favoured by the Sultan, the Khedive might find that the army on which he would have to rely—being, as it is, without pay for several months and much demoralized by the disasters of the Abyssinian Campaign—would prove an inefficient barrier between him and revolution.”

Halim’s intrigues in Egypt continued during 1877, according to the above evidence of the Italian Consul-General¹⁴⁹ as well as that of the British consular agents.¹⁵⁰ In 1878, not only was Halim the alleged cause of much agitation in Egypt,¹⁵¹ but he also sent Khedive Isma’il a letter, urging on him reforms, which, when Isma’il refused to read it, he published in the press.¹⁵² The full text of the letter is too long, but, as it is typical of Halim’s methods, its gist, in Vivian’s words,¹⁵³ merits quotation:

“Monsieur Barrot, the Khedive’s Private Secretary, informs me confidentially that it is quite true, as stated in the Paris letter of the “Times” of the 29th ultimo,¹⁵⁴ that Halim Pasha, the Khedive’s Uncle, has addressed to His Highness a very strong and able letter protesting against the administrative faults and extravagance which

are bringing ruin upon Egypt and compromising the position and future of the Family of Mehemet Ali of which He (Halim Pasha) pretends, after the Khedive, to be the Doyen, and strongly recommending His Highness to agree to an Inquiry conducted by competent Europeans into the whole Financial position of the Country with a view to economy and the readjustment of taxation and to surrender to the State the vast properties held by Himself and His Family in exchange for a suitable Civil List which should be settled in accord with the European Powers.

“Monsieur Barrot tells me that the Khedive has refused even to read this letter, although He was warned that it was probably intended for publication.”

It is hardly necessary to elaborate on how clever this letter was, in conception and style. Were Isma'il to accede to the request, he would thereby give up a large part of his wealth and submit to an examination of Egypt's finances, as dictated by Halim; should Isma'il refuse—as was almost certain to be the case—Halim was going to publish the letter and appear in the press as the champion of economy and financial sanity in Egypt. This, Vivian correctly assumed, was meant to impress those European Powers which at the time were pressing Isma'il into the path of financial-reform-through-European-supervision. However, Vivian was then still unaware of the political fermentation amidst certain local circles in Egypt; the letter's forceful, aggressive style leads one to believe that it was directed at these circles, too. It has been pointed out previously that Halim's agents were active among them; may not one assume that he now intended to appear before them, also, in the guise of a reformer?¹⁵⁵

e. HALIM AND THE OFFICERS' SECRET SOCIETY

It is too much to expect, of course, that anything relating to a possible clandestine connection between Halim and the secret officers' society should be put in writing and reach us. Secondary sources, which aver with some certainty the existence of such a connection for the late 1870's, provide us with no definite proof, even when well-versed in Egypt's affairs at that time.¹⁵⁶ Of the main participants, none but 'Urabi seems to have favoured us, for this period, with his memoirs. Even 'Urabi's recorded views, however, in their early, abridged English version¹⁵⁷ and his written memoirs, in their longer, Arabic version,¹⁵⁸ are very briefly sketched

for the whole period before 1879, when the secret society became active publicly, through its becoming partly open. Particularly for the years 1881–1882, there is an abundance of evidence (most of it circumstantial, indeed) of implicit and explicit relations between Halim and the army officers, the same who had organized the secret society and were now grouped in a National Party.

As early as March 1881, the British Consul-General, Malet, while still doubting the existence of a formal alliance between Halim and the officers, nonetheless was inclined to concede that,¹⁵⁹ “Up to the departure of Baron de Ring,¹⁶⁰ Riaz Pasha¹⁶¹ was holding power on sufferance from the Military, who were supposed to have as their allies the French Representatives and consequently France, the discontented Pashas out of office, all disappointed place seekers and ‘cessionaires’ and the Agents in Egypt of the Ex-Khedive¹⁶² and of Halim Pasha.” This piece of information, about Halim being one of those connected with the rebellious army officers, had become by then public knowledge, but—as it was no doubt secret in character—no proof of it could be had. As Malet put it half a year later, succinctly:¹⁶³ “Your Lordship will observe that in endeavouring to trace the history of events I have made no allusion to intrigue from abroad. The first idea which has occurred to all is that the Ex-Khedive,¹⁶⁴ Prince Halim and the Porte itself are behind the scenes. It is impossible to prove that they are not. I have been able to trace no evidence that they are . . .” About the same time, Malet, who had been to Constantinople and had discussed there the Egyptian situation with Sultan ‘Abdul Hamid II, related to the French Agent in Egypt that the Ottoman Sultan suspected the intrigues of ex-Khedive Isma’il and of Prince Halim in the dissatisfaction of the army.¹⁶⁵ It goes without saying that Sultan ‘Abdul Hamid II, with his host of spies, had means of finding out even about possible secret ties between Halim in Constantinople and the army officers in Egypt.

At the end of the year 1881 and during 1882, more and more people in Egypt, who had close contacts with everyday life, suspected Halim of encouraging the officers, even of financing their plots.¹⁶⁶ Khedive Tawfiq, who should have known, had already voiced the gravest suspicions on the subject, some time previously. As early as July and November, 1879—soon after Tawfiq’s accession to the Khedivate—the French and Italian agents in Egypt reported thereupon.¹⁶⁷ In the year 1880, Tawfiq and the Egyptian authorities refused firmly Halim’s request to return to Egypt in order to present

his claims to the Commission for the Liquidation of the Egyptian Debt:¹⁶⁸ the two Egyptians Halim then sent to accompany his lawyer were summarily arrested and afterwards expelled from Egypt.¹⁶⁹ In October, 1881, Khedive Tawfiq told Malet frankly that he (the Khedive) disbelieved the officers' assurances of support for him against Halim:¹⁷⁰ "On my arrival at the Palace¹⁷¹ His Highness¹⁷²: said to me that a Colonel had just been with a message from 'Arabi Bey to the effect that the Army was entirely loyal to the Khedive, and would have nothing to do with Prince Halim. This message was sent out in consequence of a rumour being prevalent that the Sultan was to depose the Khedive and put Prince Halim in his place. His Highness observed that he no longer attached any value to assurances coming from the Army . . ." Halim's continuing intrigues among various circles of the Egyptian army¹⁷³ and ubiquitous activities in Egypt at the time (which impressed both the French¹⁷⁴ and the British foreign services¹⁷⁵), worried the Khedive even further. Sienkiewicz could not but report, a short while later: "The activity of Prince Halim, somewhat slowed up of late, has become very lively in Cairo and more particularly in Alexandria . . ."¹⁷⁶ Also in 1882, Tawfiq himself repeated his suspicion of Halim's intention to use the officers for replacing him. In the beginning of the year, he told Pierre Giffard, a French resident in Egypt:¹⁷⁷ "However, Arabi has not yet invented anything as wild as what he is doing now. The Prefect of police has just informed me of this. He orders all the low-class people who are passing in front of his house, or in front of the barracks, to be brought in and he makes them affix a seal at the end of a petition to His Majesty the Sultan, a petition which declares that I have reigned enough and that Egypt should be given another Khedive, Prince Halim . . ." This Tawfiq reasserted a little later, in conversations with the French and British representatives in Egypt, Sienkiewicz¹⁷⁸ and Malet. As the latter reported:¹⁷⁹ "I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that the Khedive sent for Mr. Sienkiewicz and me this morning and informed us that it had come to his knowledge that the Military intended this afternoon to depose him and proclaim Halim Pasha as Khedive of Egypt."

'Urabi and his fellow-officers were dead-set against Khedive Isma'il and, after his deposition, against Khedive Tawfiq. No doubt they considered, time and again, their deposition; 'Urabi, for one, was more than satisfied with Isma'il's deposition.¹⁸⁰ Whatever were their cherished personal ambitions, the officers could hardly have entertained truly serious hopes of one of their group rising to the

Khedivate: what little measure of political realism they had militated against the feasibility of such a plan; for neither the Sultan nor the European Powers would have acquiesced in such a course. Nor do we have any indication, from what they said or wrote, or from what was recorded by people in their *entourage*, like J. Ninet or W. S. Blunt,¹⁸¹ that such a project was ever entertained earnestly at all by any of the "inner circle" of the officers (although, truly enough, they did not need to advertise it before the proper time). When, later, in January, 1882, Mahmud Sami'l-Barudi, who was sympathetic towards the officers and was then Minister for War in the Khedive's Government, suggested something of the sort to 'Urabi, the latter refused on the spot even to consider it.¹⁸² Knowing the views and actions of the officers, it is more reasonable to suppose that they had an alternative to the then-ruling Khedive. If so, indications seem to point at Prince Halim as the man. While his connections with them before 1879 cannot be definitely ascertained as yet, in the light of available evidence, relations after that date have been established. This may mean that Halim was making a shrewd attempt to use the officers' secret society, and then their National Party, for his personal aims; hence the stress, referred to above, which he laid on his appearing before them (and others) as a patriotic reformer.

One would like, naturally, to establish more definitely the links between the officers and Halim. Because of the character of their connection, as has been said, this is extremely difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. Still, one such link is provided by Sanua, who might have known Halim in the course of their freemasonic activity, which ended for Halim with his exile to Constantinople in 1868 and for Sanua with his flight to Paris in 1878. In the various periodicals which Sanua published indefatigably in Paris and smuggled into Egypt, he espoused enthusiastically the cause of the Egyptian officers¹⁸³ and supported warmly the candidature of Halim¹⁸⁴ to the Khedivate, against Isma'il and then against Tawfiq.¹⁸⁵ A perusal of Sanua's periodicals, during the 1870's and 1880's, confirms this; Malet, in 1881, remarked on it, too.¹⁸⁶

" . . . with regard to Prince Halim it is a notorious fact that an Arabic newspaper printed at Paris in his interests entitled *Abou Naddara* is distributed gratis among the Troops here. The number of the 9th of September contains a caricature representing Riaz Pasha holding out a bunch of keys which he is restrained from

giving to an English sailor by the violent interference of Egyptian officers. Underneath is written 'L'Armée Egyptienne empêche Riaz Pasha¹⁸⁷ de livrer les clefs de l'Egypte à l'Angleterre'. The fact of this number having appeared in Paris on the day of the movement is naturally extremely suggestive of the complicity of the Prince in the agitation but though he may do much harm I believe he has no party among the officers."

To this one may add that in the same year, Sanua had already drawn, amongst other cartoons for his above-mentioned paper, also one¹⁸⁸ in two parts: the first shows the Egyptians (led by the army officers) revolting and driving away Tawfiq; the second—their welcoming Halim warmly and investing him with the Khedivate. Afterwards, in 1883, Baring remarked on this, too¹⁸⁹ and added, about a year later, that¹⁹⁰ "Both the *Irvet-el-Wuska* and the *Abou Naddara*¹⁹¹ are hostile to the present Khedive,¹⁹² and to the English-Occupation; and the *Abou Naddara* is moreover especially remarkable for its support of Halim Pasha, as being the nominee of the Sultan, and whom it considers the only man capable of restoring liberty and prosperity to Egypt."

Another link is provided by two other people, both in Halim's pay, who were meant by Halim to approach the army officers soon after Tawfiq's accession to the Khedivate in 1879. Imprisoned in 1882, after the failure of the officer-led movement, their part in the plot became known to Broadley, the lawyer of many of the accused, who related it, in a little-known passage, in his own words.¹⁹³

"Prince Hálím¹⁹⁴ and his sister were not disposed to sit down quietly under their most recent disappointment. The almost indescribable unpopularity of their nephew Tewfiq¹⁹⁴ strengthened their party in the Cairo seraglios, and they saw with satisfaction the rapid progress and growing strength of the National party. It was evident that a great political crisis was approaching in Egypt, and anything might be hoped for from the general scramble which it would undoubtedly occasion, even the impossible itself. At this juncture Hálím and his sister conceived a project of appropriating the ideas of Arábi,¹⁹⁴ coalescing either with him or his friends, and finally coming to power as a popular ruler on the shoulders of the National party. It became, consequently, a matter of great importance to them to open up some sort of negotiations with the nationalist leaders.

"Osman Pacha Fouzy¹⁹⁵ was the *vekil*, or general agent, of the Princess Zeineb¹⁹⁶ at Cairo. With him the memory of Mehemet Ali

was a fetish: he was willing to imperil everything for the sake of his old master's son.¹⁹⁷ To him was confided the task of sounding Arábi and his companions. To do this effectually, Osman Pacha Fouzy, Turk *pur sang*, became for the time being, to all appearances, an enthusiastic Nationalist. This was not sufficient. It was absolutely necessary for Osman Pacha to find some political broker who could act as a reliable go-between in Hálim's intended parleys with the chiefs of the National party.

"After mature reflection Osman Pacha Fouzy decided to sound Hasan Moossa el Akád,¹⁹⁸ who had some months previously returned from a second period of exile in the Soudan, and was now very loudly professing his devotion to Arábi and the cause of Egyptian liberty. Hasan Moossa was neither an incendiary nor a fanatic . . . he looked on politics only as a means of increasing his riches . . . He frequented Arábi's society merely in order to pretend to the possession of a certain influence which he in reality did not possess . . . Arábi did not fathom the wily schemes of Hasan Moossa¹⁹⁹ . . . Once and for all I am in a position to assert that Arábi was not only entirely ignorant of the proceedings of Osman Pacha Fouzy and Hasan Moossa El Akád . . . but he had never at any period of his career any direct or indirect communication or connection with Prince Hálim, or any of the other persons interested in the palace intrigue of which he became the central figure."

Halim's projects are thus revealed by his very agents,²⁰⁰ whose activities were not unknown to observers in Egypt at the time. At least partial corroboration to Broadley's main argument is given by the French Agent in Egypt, Sienkiewicz, who wrote, in June 1882: "Moussa-al-Akkad, notable of Cairo, serves as intermediary between Arabi Pasha, on one hand, Isma'il Pasha and Prince Halim on the other.²⁰¹ Whether Broadley is correct in asserting that 'Urabi was innocent of Halim's machinations may be debatable. Although Broadley gives this news item *bona fide*, one should remember that 'Urabi, on trial for his life, would hardly confess to any connection with Halim, a connection which would prejudice him ('Urabi) even more odiously in the eyes of Khedive Tawfiq, whose suspicion of Halim's intrigues has already been referred to above. Thus, when asked during the trial whether he had received from Halim any written message, 'Urabi confessed that this was so, but added that he had equally received many messages from a host of other people.²⁰² In the final analysis, it is however 'Urabi himself, the moving spirit of the officers' activities, who holds the

true key to an understanding of this connection. In later years, 'Urabi firmly asserted his patriotic intentions, denying that he had ever served the interests of Halim or of anybody else,²⁰³ "By Allah, the One and Only God . . . , I have served neither England nor France; I was not an instrument (in the service) of any State, neither of the former Khedive, the late Isma'il Pasha, nor of the late Halim Pasha; and I was not called upon by the Supreme Porte to assist it."

'Urabi's sincerity was never seriously questioned, nor his patriotic feelings doubted. However, he may well have been (as hinted above by Broadley) duped by Halim; he does not deny his connection with Halim, here or anywhere else. In general, if Blunt's impression²⁰⁴ can be trusted, although not a close partisan of Halim, 'Urabi would have welcomed him as Egypt's ruler. Indeed, in Egypt during the year 1882, Blunt "found him to prefer Halim to Tewfik";²⁰⁵ moreover, 'Urabi seemed to believe then that the Commissioner sent to Egypt by the Porte had "instructions . . . to depose Tewfik and replace him by Halim".²⁰⁶ Furthermore, in at least three other instances, 'Urabi has left on record, in a somewhat fuller manner, his sympathy for, and high opinion of, Halim, along with his conviction that the latter was by far the best suited, out of the Khedivial family, to rule Egypt.

In the first instance, 'Urabi recorded—at a later date—his feelings at the deposition of Isma'il, which he compared to the exile of Halim:²⁰⁷ "Isma'il travelled to Naples . . . banished, as Halim Pasha had travelled, banished, to Constantinople; but there is a difference between him who was wronged by banishment²⁰⁸ and him who was banished justly.²⁰⁹"

The second instance appears in a memorandum on desirable reforms in Egypt, drawn up by 'Urabi, in December, 1882, at the request of Lord Dufferin.²¹⁰ In the last paragraph (No. 26),²¹¹ 'Urabi considered the problem of Egypt's ruler: "The question of appointing a new Ruler (Waly) is an important one, and I will lay before you my own views and those of my comrades. I say: That the family of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali, is absolutely worthless for the sovereignty, no matter how they may be controlled by a constitution, for they are people of notoriously corrupt principles." The best alternative, as 'Urabi saw it then (1882) was for Khedive Tawfiq "To appoint Halim Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali Pasha, as Waly for Egypt under the conditions above laid down. He is a man who has been tried by misfortunes, and has tasted the bitterness of injustice, and has reached the age of about 55 years,

and I believe such a man may try to win the sympathy of the people by justice and kindness.”

The third instance dates from about a year and a half later. In a letter, sent in English²¹² to his British friend, Blunt, ‘Urabi repeated much the same view:²¹³ “I must strongly insist on the fact that Isma’il Pasha is a treacherous person who is notorious for his untrustworthiness, being the causer of the destruction of Egypt. The national Debt of our country is the work of his hands. There is no one of the prince’s family who possesses the requisite qualifications for the throne but Halim Pasha. He is, besides, the direct descendant of the first Khedive, being the son of Mohammed Ali. Tewfik (the present Khedive) and the others are members of a third branch, so that Halim Pasha, who is directly the ancestral representative, is the real owner of the throne. To add to his right he has the voice of all the Egyptians in Egypt to hail him, and he has for a long time undergone trials of a very grave nature, having been subjected to tyranny. Also, he would be able to make a treaty between the Mahdi²¹⁴ and the Government of Egypt, inasmuch as those whom the Mahdi trusts are able to effect this for him.²¹⁵

III. *Conclusion*

While the genesis of secret societies in Egypt resembles, to a considerable extent, that of others in the Near and Middle East, there ends most of the resemblance. The Egyptian secret societies differed in their evolution and were definitely less successful in their achievement than other clandestine bodies in Persia, the Greek and Turkish provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and Syria. The reasons are manifold; but hardly any common denominator can be found, to which one might ascribe the relative success in all the above-named regions, in contradistinction to Egypt. The time factor played an important role, no doubt, for while in Egypt revolution started early, during the years 1879–1882, in other parts of the area secret preparations were to bear fruit early in the twentieth century only. Another factor, even more significant, is the lack of co-ordination between secret societies in Egypt. This was not the case in other countries; in Persia, before the 1906 Revolution, various secret groups came to the conclusion that they should coordinate their efforts, and did so.²¹⁶ The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was preceded by a merger of conspiratorial secret societies.²¹⁷ In Syria, the national movement, anti-Turkish and then anti-French—

which was fed and then led by the secret societies at the end of the First World War and immediately afterwards—followed a joining-up of forces of these societies during that war.²¹⁸ The union which succeeded a period of fairly long activity, in every case (compared to Egypt), ensured success.²¹⁹

No such coordination merger or joining up of forces happened in Egypt during the 1870's and early 1880's, probably because there was no one to do it. The prominent leaders of the officers' secret society—al-Rubi, 'Urabi, al-Barudi, and others—apparently were not freemasons; very few officers were.²²⁰ The important freemasons with political ambitions were banished or driven away from Egypt by Khedive Isma'il, who possessed a keen sense of danger; Halim in the year 1868 and Sanua in 1878; Tawfiq, in his turn, expelled al-Afghani in 1879.²²¹ The only prominent member of both organizations, who had remained in Egypt, was Muhammad 'Abduh; however, despite his dabbling in politics, he was much more inclined to, and had better success in, theological studies than in political intrigue. Halim remained the only one—insofar as one can see today—who attempted seriously, from his exile in Constantinople, to move the two secret organizations, freemasons and officers, to joint action in his favor. However, the only known instance of mutual assistance (and this was not due, I think, to Halim) was in the year 1882. It was then that Broadley, the lawyer defending 'Urabi, 'Abduh and some of the officers charged with rebellion, received a considerable number of letters, composed by Egyptian freemasons and giving him important information for the preparation of his defence.²²² The failure of these organizations to coordinate their efforts in a meaningful way, and Halim's inability to bring this about, were undoubtedly contributory causes to the special character of the course pursued by the secret societies in Egypt and to their failure to bring about a successful revolution.

What did people like Halim, al-Afghani, 'Abduh, 'Urabi and others see in these secret organizations? It is very doubtful if any of them—with the possible exception of al-Afghani—really sensed the great socio-economic changes that were taking place in Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century. The traditional framework of society was breaking apart, with no other organized structure to take its place. True, Islamic religious circles were organized in a way that still held; Islam however had no hierarchy comparable to the Catholic Church; nor were these religious circles prepared to further reformist, *a fortiori* revolutionary, ideas.

Besides, in more than one Muslim country, the secret nationalist societies were soon to inherit, in a certain measure, the role of the religious organizations and orders.²²³ Egypt, as in some other fields, preceded here, too, other Muslim countries. Indeed, the *only* choice, then, of organized groups in Khedive Isma'il's Egypt was between freemasonry and the armed forces (both influenced by Western impact). Both had the added advantage either of the experience derived out of clandestine activity or of the needed data for it. They were not necessarily reformist or revolutionary by nature, but could be brought around to such ideas, in both theory and practice. The failure of the leading personalities of the 1870's in Egypt either fully to realize these potentialities, or ably to use them, is a key to understanding the failure of the 'Urabi movement and of the nascent Egyptian nationalism. The full lesson of this failure was learnt only early in the twentieth century: although, apparently, this is not generally known, Mustafa Kamil did initially organize his relatively successful, new National Party as an efficient secret society.²²⁴

It has been attempted in this paper, on the basis of available material, to draw a picture of these secret societies, their activity in Egypt during the 1870's, the share of some leading personalities in them, and their role in the events immediately preceding the British Occupation of the country. With the discovery of additional manuscripts and archival materials (perhaps in Turkey or in Egypt), it will no doubt be possible to enlarge the picture and improve some of its parts. However, I will consider myself rewarded, if I have succeeded in calling attention to the desirability of further research in this important, interesting field.

Appendices

I²²⁵

Ever since I have known Egypt I have known of secret societies there. Their origin may, I believe, be traced to the visits of Indian Mahometans to the Azhar University, where they were always cordially received, and where they developed those ideas of freemasonry so common throughout Asia. As early as Said Pasha's reign I was invited to join a lodge of Oriental Freemasons at Alexandria, and the movement has since become very general. This lodge has nothing to do with the European lodge of Egypt

called the 'Pyramids', nor did its members recognise any European Orient in their organization. Their ideas nevertheless were very similar to those of European Freemasonry, only with a certain religious tinge of thought absent from ours. The Freemasons of Egypt were, when I first knew them, wholly Moslems, but the union of the Copts with the Moslems in the national movement later caused many of the leading Coptic Christians to join the lodges, so that a humanitarian principle may be distinctly recognised now in their as in our ideas.

In connection with these was the earliest preacher of freedom in North Africa, Mohammed es Senusi, who twenty years ago was a student at the Azhar University at Cairo. He was a Mogrebbin—I believe of Tunisian origin; and though he left Egypt at the early age of twenty-three, he had already sown there the seeds of that society which has since made his name famous among Moslems. His system was a development of freemasonry, but distinctly religious; a religious socialism, in fact, based on those earliest principles of Mahometan teaching which inculcated a universal brotherhood in Islam, a complete religious tolerance. This may have been modified by Senusi later, since his retirement to Tripoli, and in view of the Panislamic movement of modern times with which they had originally no connection; but they have always remained in their early form in Egypt, and account for the language of brotherhood and toleration so constantly held by Arabi and his companions, and which have been thought an affectation by too-learned Europeans. The ideas of Senusi found a peculiarly congenial soil in those *employés déclassés* and their half-enlightened neighbours in the country districts whom I have already spoken of, and were adopted by the mass of the religious professors of the Azhar and by many of the notables and chief merchants of the towns. Es Senusi, however, left Egypt before the modern movement of a distinct Egyptian nationalism began and so can hardly count as one of its high priests. He was a forerunner rather than an apostle.

II²²⁶

Da fonte attendibile mi pervennero teste i seguenti ragguagli sui danni che possono derivare al nostro Stato dai centri che sarebbero costituiti ad Alessandria d'Egitto, a Malta ed a Corfù, di individui par la massima parte sospetti che colà recavansi, o per sfuggire alle ricerche della giustizia, o per cercare di trarre l'esistenza da inonesti guadagni.

Non è la prima volta che ho tenuto proposito ai di lui predecessori del gran fomite di idee sovversive che proviene dalle persone sospette che, dal nostro Stato se rifugiarono e vivono attualmente ad Alessandria d'Egitto, Malta e Corfù. Ciò non di meno, credo mio debito di tornare sull'argomento.

Si conosce ormai da tutti che esiste in Alessandria d'Egitto un'associazione di malfattori la quale, forte dell'impunità che i trattati internazionali assicurano ai sudditi delle Potenze Europee, non fa che accrescersi a dismisura.

Prima dell'istituzione del Regno d'Italia, la nostra Colonia conteneva nel suo seno elementi preziosi pel Paese, dopo questi furono rimpiazzati degli avanzi degli sgherri e dei malfattori dei cessati Governi borbonici e papalini. Taluni cittadini Italiani dimoranti in Egitto visti il grande incremento che la Massoneria faceva in Italia, vollero impiantare in Alessandria diverse Logge, ma questa istituzione filantropica attechì male in un terreno, ove non allignano che passioni triste e sovversive, epperò può oggi ritenersi che in Egitto evvi una Massoneria entro la Massoneria, nella quale si achierano i ladri e falsari ed accoltellatori. Lo serviente non può con precisione indicare chi fra i reazionari abbia pensato ad utilizzare questi elementi di disordini, coalizzandoli e disciplinandoli a modo da poter col tempo gettarsi in Italia, sulle sperate convulsioni rivoluzionarie, ora è certo che questa trista gente entra e sorte nel nostre Regno con grande facilità; riceve e da soccorsi, corrisponde colle Città più turbolenti delle Romagne, e coi reazionari più esimi che hanno stanza immune e sicura a Corfù . . .

III²²⁷

Giunto in questa Città²²⁸ sul finire del mese di Dicembre scorso,²²⁹ ed assunta la direzione dell'importante ramo di polizia Europea, posi principalmente ogni mia cura ed attenzione sopra le diverse colonie, e raccolte per quanto mi fosse possibile informazioni sulle speciali condizioni morali e materiali d'ognuna, procurai di constatare se fra queste popolazioni esistessero associazioni politiche popolari, che pel loro carattere ed atteggiamento potessero avere un più o meno probabile sintomo di perturbazione dell'ordine pubblico, e recar conseguenti inquietudini alle singole Autorità Consolari, nonche imbarazzi al Governo locale.

Mi venne diffatti segnalata l'esistenza di una associazione Cosmopolita di mutuo soccorso fra le classi operaje, che per dissensi nel

suo seno insorti, alcuni Capi più influenti di essa determinarono, forse per dare un diverso indirizzo politico, di costituire altra Società col titolo *Pensiero ed Azione*, la quale da otto mesi circa diede i primi segni di vita con una riunione degli stessi iniziatori, ispirati ed incoraggiati dalle altre d'Italia, e specialmente da quelle di Roma e Genova.

Proseguendo le investigazioni per conoscere gli adetti, i mezzi e lo scopo di questa novella associazione, fin qui ho potuto assodare ch'essa è capeggiata da certi Fuoco, Fabbri ed Avv. Levi Italiani, i quali ne diriggon le riunioni nel proprio Circolo esistente tuttora in un locale a pian terreno presso il Caffè Paradiso, e che il Fuoco esercita altresì le funzioni di Segretario. In essa primeggia l'elemento italiano, conta oggi 150 membri all'incirca, e va estendosi rapidamente tra i professionisti ed operaj europei. Dispone poi delle contribuzioni individuali di Franchi 5 per la formazione del fondo Sociale oltre alle quote mensili di Franchi 3.

Apparentemente tale Società si occuperebbe che di soccorrere, proteggere ed istruire le masse bisognose ed ignoranti, ma lo scopo vero e principale è quello di realizzare il pensiero degli agitatori e seguaci delle idee Mazziniane, di mantenere cioè un focolare repubblicano anche fuori dei centri d'Europa . . .

IV²³⁰

In ubbedienza agli ordini della S.V. III^{ma} mi pregio riferire l'esito delle mie accurate investigazioni.

Tuttora in Cairo esistono gli avanzi di quella terribile setta degli accoltellatori, composta di Faentini, Riminesi, ecc. ecc. i quali prima si vantavano di appartenere all'associazione dei Carbonari. Ora che è di moda l'*internazionalismo*, si fanno credere associati a quella congrega. Non hanno un fine politico che gli predomini, ed al quale facciano sforsi palesi, ed occulti per farlo trionfare. L'unica loro mira è rivolta a private vendetta, e la prova del mio asserto è luminosa e sicura, se pongasi mente agl'ultimi fatti di sangue accaduti in Cairo . . . In Alessandria le cose procedono di pari passo . . .

V²³¹

Note sur la franc-maçonnerie en Egypte

La franc-maçonnerie en Egypte appartient aux différents rites et aux divers obédiences. Ainsi les rites français et écossais, la grande

loge d'York y sont représentés et les Orient de Paris, Palerme et Turin comptent des loges ainsi que le conseil suprême ancien et accepté du rite écossais de France. L'ordre de Memphis peu important dans l'Europe occidentale, mais ayant beaucoup d'adhérents en Amérique et dans les provinces Danubiennes était aussi des nombres des puissances maçonniques en Egypte, mais à cette heure, à la suite de quelques intrigues, dont il sera parlé plus loin il a disparu des bords du Nil.

Les relations entre les loges et leurs chefs suprêmes se ressentent quelque peu de l'éloignement; aussi les loges de quelque rite qu'elles soient tendent elles à se soustraire peu à peu à l'action du gouvernement maçonnique. Cette disposition a fait naître dans l'esprit de quelques intrigants la pensée de réunir dans un seul pouvoir les différents éléments maçonniques épars et sans cohésion complète à cette heure. Le grand Maître était tout prêt: S.A. le Prince Halim maçon anglais depuis longtemps, grand dignitaire et délégué en Egypte de la grande et très-importante loge d'York avait promis d'accepter avec chaleur. Ce projet qui est loin d'être tout-à-fait abandonné, a été précédé d'une réunion de tous les délégués de toutes les loges qui déjà à deux reprises différentes ont discuté dans un convenant toutes les questions relatives aux intérêts maçonniques et à la propagation des idées de l'ordre parmi la population Européo-Egyptienne, la colonie chrétienne-Syrienne et même les indigènes. La seul obstacle qu'ont rencontré les promoteurs de ce projet *tout factice* sous des apparences maçonniques s'est rencontré dans les chefs des loges écossaises et de l'Orient de Palerme qui, aujourd'hui, presque libres en leur action n'ont pas cru utile à leurs oeuvres et leurs intérêts d'abandonner leur indépendance au profit d'une intrigue politique.

Le caractère du Prince Halim désigné parfois par le vulgaire sous le surnom de *Père à la Fantasia* n'a engagé personne à prêter son concours à cette intrigue. Tous savent que le Prince est un reveur en politique et qu'il n'y a de sérieux dans ses tentatives folles et sans but que l'argent qui lui est souttiré par son misérable entourage. Quelques hommes honnêtes peu nombreux ont cru un instant à l'efficacité de cette proposition et à l'influence de cette création toute Egyptienne sur l'éducation maçonnique des indigènes. Cette question ne ressort pas des limites restreints de cette note et ne peut être traitée qu'avec des nombreux détails sur la franc-maçonnerie Africaine et de l'Arabie . . .

Le plus grand ennemi de la maçonnerie régulière en Egypte se

trouve dans les loges irrégulières. C'est dans les rangs de ces dernières toutes italiennes qu'on compte les agitateurs de la voie publique et les complices de toute mauvaise action. M. le Consul Général d'Italie m'a déclaré qu'au sein de ces loges il n'avait aucun agent et qu'elles servaient de refuge à tous les recherchés par la vindicte publique. Le contre-poison de ce mal les loges régulières nous le donnent; elles épurent leur personnel, tiennent très haut les principes de morale et font la police des irrégulières mises par elles ouvertement en pratique et dogmatiquement au ban de toutes les assemblées d'une obédience régulière.

Quelques mots sur l'entrée des indigènes dans les loges. Depuis quelques mois on a reçu maçons dans les loges françaises et écos-saises d'Alexandrie et du Caire des sujets rayas et mahometans de religion. La curiosité, les besoins de la police, le désir de se créer au besoin des sympathies et des protections officieuses ont déterminé ces vocations en grande partie. Cependant quelques initiés, rares il est vrai, paraissent entrer dans la voie de l'émancipation des préjugés et des superstitions. Ils appartiennent à des loges françaises qui travaillent surtout à les amener partager les idées vraiment libérales de la France en dehors de toute sympathie pour une forme gouvernementale déterminée. Quel sera le résultat de ces efforts et de ces tentatives? Ce problème bien ardu échappe à ma mission et à mes forces.

Les loges du Grand Orient sont à Alexandrie la loge des Pyramides et de la régénération de la Grèce transfuge du rite de Memphis. La première composée de français, d'italiens et d'indigènes a une influence réelle . . .

Les loges anglaises se distinguent par leurs banquets; elles peuvent devenir dangereuses par l'entrée des éléments grecs et italiens; dévouées déjà aux projets du Prince Halim elles auraient été le noyau du nouvel grand Orient Egyptien. Les Garibaldi en vacances composent avec quelques avocats sans cause les loges régulières relevant des Orient de Palerme et de Turin. Elles sont dangereuses, très dangereuses et devraient être surveillées avec soin: on y saurait beaucoup par les indiscretions; a trois-cent lieues du théâtre de l'action on cause facilement et de bons renseignements sont souvent venus de l'étranger.

Les irrégulières grecques et italiennes, le désespoir des maçons réguliers, renferment toute la partie la plus fâcheuse et mauvaise de la colonie européenne. Ce sont de véritables associations de mal-faiteurs.

VI²³²

On a bien parlé, il y a peu de temps, de menées secrètes ayant pour but d'organiser dans l'armée Egyptienne et à un point de vue Anti-Chrétien une sorte de Franc maçonnerie musulmane. Mais ces menées ne pouvaient rester longtemps ignorées de Son Altesse et elles cessaient, dès lors, d'être un danger. A peine informé de ce qui se passait le Vice-Roi a fait arrêter en effet, avec les meneurs, les principaux de ceux qui s'étaient laissés gagner. Les coupables ont reçu en présence même des troupes une punition exemplaire et tout est rentré dans l'ordre. Cependant la surveillance continue et si des symptômes de même genre reparaissaient plus tard à Alexandrie ou au Caire, je ne doute pas que le Gouvernement Egyptien ne soit disposé à agir rigoureusement. C'est la première fois que le fanatisme religieux s'attaque a l'armée. Il pourrait y avoir là pour la colonie Européenne comme pour le Vice-Roi lui même un danger sérieux si Son Altesse faiblissait et si la repression n'était pas complète et immédiate.

VII²³³

During the year 1876-7-8 he²³⁴ organised a sort of secret society among the fellah officers, which was not noticed, thanks to the events which were then engaging the attention of the Khedive and the State. Some weeks previous to the *coup d'état* of Ismail Pasha against the European Ministry, several officers, among whom were Araby and El Roubi, went to Ali Pasha Moubarek, a fellah of Charkieh, like themselves, and proposed to place him at their head to overthrow the Khedive and the European Ministry. Ali Pasha Moubarek, who was a member of the Ministry of Wilson and Blignières, related the whole to the Khedive, who had an interview with the society of El Roubi and Araby, and with their aid made the famous revolutions which brought about the fall of the European Ministry of 1879. Ismail Pasha was too clever to allow this power to remain unsubdued, and he would have put it down had he remained a week or a fortnight longer in Egypt. This was the first public movement in which Araby was engaged.

VIII²³⁵

J'ai eu l'honneur de rendre compte a Votre Excellence, dans le courant de l'année dernière, de la transaction par laquelle le Vice Roi s'est rendu acquéreur des biens de son oncle Halim Pasha. Le Prince a livré, depuis longtemps, toutes ses propriétés mais, malgré

ses instances, il n'a pu obtenir encore la liquidation de ses comptes avec la Daira sous prétexte qu'on doit au préalable régler ceux qu'il a avec divers créanciers. Des tracasseries calculées ont provoqué une grande irritation chez le Prince Halim et déjà il s'exprimait avec une certaine vivacité de langage lorsque le changement dans l'ordre de succession est venu interrompre toutes ses relations avec le Vice Roi. Suivant les conseils de modération qui lui ont été donnés, il s'est abstenu de faire aucune protestation comme il en avait d'abord l'intention et retiré dans sa propriété de Choubra, seul bien qui lui reste de l'héritage de son père, il s'est adonné à la pêche et à la chasse en évitant de s'immiscer en rien dans les affaires publiques. Son abstention, sans étonner, a été fort remarquée et le Vice Roi en a pris l'ombrage. La présence en Egypte d'un fils de Mehemet Ali qui dit hautement que les firmans de la Porte peuvent être aussi facilement rapportés qu'ils ont été obtenus et qui affecte de ne pas douter qu'à la mort de son neveu²³⁶ il rentrera dans la plénitude de ses droits, cette présence donne les plus vives inquiétudes au Vice Roi et il n'a cessé de faire tout ce qui dépendait de lui pour obtenir l'éloignement volontaire d'Halim Pacha qui a toujours résisté.

Il y a quelques jours le bruit se répandit qu'on venait de découvrir les traces d'une conspiration ourdie par le Prince. En effet, le Vice Roi fit savoir qu'il avait entre les mains une lettre revêtue du cachet de Halim Pacha par laquelle le Prince s'adressant à un Cheik important mort il y a 3 ou 4 mois, promettait mille £ st. et un lot important de terrains à lui et à tous les autres Cheiks qui formeraient une alliance pour repousser le principe d'hérédité en ligne directe. Cette communication faite mystérieusement et en lui donnant une grande portée n'avait évidemment pour but que de connaître l'impression qu'elle produirait . . .

IX²³⁷

Conformément au désir que vous avez bien voulu m'exprimer, je viens ici vous rendre compte des différents renseignements que j'ai pu recueillir sur les tentatives de Son Altesse le Prince Halim et de ses adhérents pour jouer un rôle politique à la franc-maçonnerie française. Si la connaissance des faits dont j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous entretenir en temps utile, n'a pas été l'objet d'une constatation officielle c'est qu'il s'agissait de ne pas effrayer des relations utiles.

A la suite du banquet maçonnique donné en l'honneur du Prince à Alexandrie, en raison de ses hauts titres et dignités de francmaçon

anglais et de représentant en Egypte de la grande loge d'York et sur les conseils de quelques intrigants de son entourage, le prince qui avait cru un instant réunir toutes les loges des différents rites sous la bannière d'un grand Orient Egyptien dont il aurait été le grand maître et suprême directeur, crut pouvoir faire entrer les loges françaises des obédiences du grand Orient de France et du suprême conseil Ecossois, dans cette voie de conspiration; il eut des rapports assez fréquents avec les vénérables. Dans une conversation qui eut lieu dans les jardins de Choubrah entre le prince et M^{rs} Pigari et Dauphin, ce dernier au nom de la maçonnerie française chercha à enlever au prince ses illusions et lui déclara formellement que les loges écossoises d'Alexandrie et de l'Isthme ne se prêteraient en rien à de mauvaises manoeuvres et qu'elles ne suivraient nullement le Prince dans cette voie d'agitation publique, que toutes les fois qu'il voudrait se mettre à la tête de sociétés de bienfaisance ou d'instruction populaire il trouverait les loges disposées à lui prêter tout leur concours mais qu'en dehors de cette ligne, il ne fallait pas qu'il s'attendit rien des loges; qu'il était mal conseillé et que quelques intrigants ne chercheraient qu'à lui soutirer de l'argent sous les prétextes de conspiration qui n'avaient ni racines ni écho dans le pays.

Au départ du Prince, ses adhérents ont cherché à faire organiser une manifestation franc-maçonnique en son honneur, mais les vénérables des loges Pyramides (Rite français) et 166 (rite écossois) se sont refusés à donner un exemple fâcheux et c'est devant vous-même, Monsieur l'Agent et Consul Général, qu'ils ont déclaré qu'aucune manifestation n'aurait lieu, qu'ils étaient loin de rien faire ou tenter contre le Gouvernement de Son Altesse et votre bon plaisir.

Pour mieux suivre ces intrigues et d'un autre côté pour ne pas leur donner plus d'importance qu'elles ne le méritaient pas vous m'avez ordonné de ne pas les perdre de vue . . .

X

*A Preliminary List of Freemasonic Publications in Egypt*²³⁸

a. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

1. *Précis des travaux de la R. : des amis de Napoléon le Grand à*

*l'O.: d'Alexandrie relatifs à une fête à la paix, célébrée le 19 j.: du 9. m. de l'an de la V.: L.: 5809 (A l'O.: d'Alexandrie; 46 pp.)*²³⁹

2. Raffaele Scarozza, *Alla massoneria universale generalmente ed a tutte le potenze massoniche particolarmente sulla legale regolare esistenza del Grande Oriente Egiziano contra la guerra fatta degli oppositori questo povero lavoro a tutti inditiuta-imente un massone dedica* (Alexandria, 1874; 40 pp.).²⁴⁰

3. F. G. de Nichichievich, *Memorandum du F.: F. G. de Nichichievich comte de Nichea 33e.: contre le Suprême Conseil des 33.: pour la France et ses dépendances* (N.p., n.d.; 13 pp.).²⁴¹

4. Jurji Zaydan, *Ta'rikh al-masuniyya al-'amm mundh nash'atiha ila hadha'l-yawm* (Cairo, Matba'at al-mahrusa, 1889; vi, 256 pp.).

5. F. G. de Nichichievich (ed.), *Annuaire maçonnique universel pour 1889-90* (Alexandria, 1889).²⁴²

6. Ilyas Munsî (translator), *al-Nizamat al-'umumiyya al-masnuma bi-ma'rifat al-majlis al-shurawiyy al-sami li'l-tariqa al-iskutlandiyya al-qadimat al-'ahd li-Fransa wa-mulhaqatiha* (Cairo, al-Matba'a al-'umumiyya, 1890; 132 pp.).²⁴³

7. *Dustur al-mahafil al-misriyya al-wataniyya al-tabî'a li-'ashirat al-banna'in al-abrar dhawi'l-'ahd al-qadim wa'l-riya al-'amma al-musahhaha n.s.* (Cairo, Matba'at al-ta'lif, 1893; 130 pp.).²⁴⁴

8. Idris Raghîb, *al-Qanun al-masuniyy li'l-mahfal al-akbar* (Cairo, 1893).²⁴⁵

9. Shahin Makariyus, *Kitab al-adab al-masuniyya* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1895; iii, 223 pp.).²⁴⁶

10. *Id.*, *al-Jawhar al-maṣun fi mashahir al-masun.*²⁴⁷

11. *Il Grand'Oriente d'Egitto a Roma per il xx settembre 1870-1895. Ode quadrilingue del F.F.O.:* (Alexandria, Lagoudakis, 1895; 5 pp.).²⁴⁸

12. Shahin Makariyus, *al-Haqa'iq al-asliyya fi ta'rikh al-masuniyya al-'amaliyya* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1897).²⁴⁹

13. G. Athius, *Statuto della società dei massoni e regolamento secreto della società dei Gesuiti al tribunale della pubblica opinione* (Alexandria, 1897; 130 pp.).

14. Idris Raghîb, *Rusum al-daraja al-thalitha al-ramziyya li'l-mahafil al-masuniyya al-misriyya* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1898).²⁵⁰

15. Shahin Makariyus, *Kitab fada'il al-masuniyya* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1899; 232 pp.).²⁵¹

16. *Id.*, *Kitab al-asrar al-khafiyya fi'l-jam'iyya al-masuniyya* (Cairo, Matba'at al-tamaddun, 1900; 122 pp.).²⁵²

17. Iliya'l-Hajj, *al-Khulasa al-masuniyya, al-Nubdha al-ula* (Cairo, Matba'at al-taraqqi, 1900; 33 pp.).²⁵³

18. *Mahfal al-sidq al-muwaqqar numrat 305 bi-sharq Shubra* (Cairo, 1901; 80 pp.).²⁵⁴

19. Idris Raghib, *Rusum al-daraja al-ula'l-ramziyya li'l-mahafil al-masuniyya al-misriyya* (2nd ed. Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1901; 32 pp.).²⁵⁵

20. *Id.*, *Rusum al-daraja al-thaniya al-ramziyya li'l-mahafil al-masuniyya al-misriyya* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1901; 23 pp.).²⁵⁶

21. *Haute cour, Grand Orient National d'Egypte, suprême conseil du rite de Memphis et des rites indépendants pour l'Egypte et ses dépendances. Séance de 1 juin 1901* (1901; 5 pp.).²⁵⁷

22. Idris Raghib (ed.), *al-Daraja al-ula. Sharh lawhat al-rasm wa-maqalat khassa bi-hadhihi al-daraja wada'atha lajna min al-asatidha* (2nd ed., Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1902; 107 pp.).²⁵⁸

23. Mustafa b. Isma'il al-Misri, *al-Hadiyya al-ula'l-islamiyya li'l-muluk wa'l-umara' fi'l-da' wa'l-dawa'* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Baruniyya, A.H. 1321).²⁵⁹

24. Shahin Makariyus, *al-Daraja al-ula'l-masuniyya hasb tariqat al-mahfal al-Urushalimi* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1905; 30 pp.).²⁶⁰

25. *al-Qanun al-dakhili li'l-mahfal Simnin Sh.: al-Shuwayr min sanat 1904 ila 1909*²⁶¹ (1905; 17 pp.).²⁶²

26. *al-Haqiqa al-jaliyya fi'l-shi'a al-masuniyya* (Cairo, 1907; 32 pp.).²⁶³

27. Joseph Sakakini, *Rapport concernant l'irrégularité de la Gr. L. d'Egypte* (1910; 30 pp.).²⁶⁴

28. *Id.*, *Incident avec la Grande Loge d'Egypte. Rapport du*²⁶⁵ Joseph Sakakini, *de l'irrégularité de la Grande Loge d'Egypte présidée par Idris Ragheb Memphitique. Cette brochure ne doit être livrée qu'a la maçonnerie* (Constantinople, 1910; 40 pp.).²⁶⁶

29. *Le livre noir. L'anarchie dans la Grande Loge Nationale d'Egypte* (Cairo, n.d.,—1912–1913; 35 pp.).²⁶⁷

30. Ahmad Zaki Abu Shadi, *Ruh al-masuniyya* (1926–1927; 100 pp.).²⁶⁸

31. *Id.*, *al-Binaya al-hurra* (Cairo, 1927; 115 pp.).²⁶⁹

32. *Id.*, *Sawt al-masuniyya* (Cairo, Matba'at 'Ataya, 1929; 193 pp.).²⁷⁰

33. 'Abd al-Rahman Sami 'Ismat, *al-Sahyuniyya wa'l-masuniyya* (2nd ed., Alexandria, Matabi' Ramsis, 1950; 132 pp.).²⁷¹

b. UNDATED PUBLICATIONS²⁷²

1. Shahn Makariyus, *al-Dustur al-masuni al-'amm li'l-tariqa al-Urushalimiyya* (104 pp.).²⁷³

2. *Mahfal al-salam al-iskutlandi numrat 908* (14 pp.).²⁷⁴

¹ A characteristic instance is 'Abd Allah 'Inan's *Ta'rikh al-jam'iyyat al-sirriyya wa'l-harakat al-haddama* (Cairo, Idarat al-hilal, 1926). This Egyptian lawyer, who has done extensive historical research, omitted the modern Near and Middle East from his study.

² As far as I know, this subject—for Egypt—has been dealt with, albeit perforce summarily, only in my book *Parliaments and parties in Egypt* (Tel-Aviv, Israel Oriental Society, 1953—N.Y., Praeger, 1954), part 2, chs. i-iii; and in my paper *The Young Egypt party*, in *BSOAS* (London), vol. xv, 1953, pp. 161–164. See also article 'Djam'iyya' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v.

³ R. Hartmann, *Arabische politische Gesellschaften bis 1914 ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des arabischen Nationalismus*, in R. Hartmann & H. Scheel (eds.), *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft* (Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz, 1944), p. 439. The paper treats of Arab groups, clandestine and non-clandestine, in Syria and, to a lesser extent, in Iraq.

⁴ A marked exception was that of the Jewish population of Palestine, during the first half of the twentieth century: secret archives were, in general, guarded jealously. Since 1948, i.e., after the establishment of the State of Israel, some of this material is being published.

⁵ See *al-Hilal*, vol. xxvi, Apr. 1, 1918, p. 605.

⁶ On which cf. H. A. R. Gibb & H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, vols' i-ii (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1950–1957), *passim*.

⁷ See, *inter alia*, O. Depont & X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes* (Alger, Jourdan, 1897).

⁸ E.g., H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur islamischen Vereinswesen* (Türkische Bibliothek, xvi, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1913). In modern Egypt, definite information on these guilds dates from Muhammad 'Ali's days—cf. A. A. Patton, *A history of the Egyptian revolution, from the period of the Mamelukes to the death of Mohammed Ali; from Arab and European memoirs, oral tradition and local research* (2nd ed., London, Trübner & Co., 1870), vol. ii, p. 13—for the years 1804–1805.

⁹ Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office series (hereafter FO), 141/73, No. 404, despatch by Raph. Borg's (Registrar of H.B.M. Consulate, Cairo & Acting Consul) No. 40 to Colonel Stanton (British Consul-General in Egypt), dated Cairo, Sep. 20, 1870, Enc. (for Cairo). On artisan guilds in Alexandria, cf. the report of Dr. Mackie (surgeon to the British Consulate), *ibid.*, No. 524, dated Alexandria, Sep. 25, 1870.

¹⁰ *Sic*, although Jean Ninet was to be expected.

¹¹ FO, 141/30, Stephan Bey's despatch No. 18, to Bruce, dated Cairo, Feb. 7, 1856. According to Mary Rowlatt, *Founders of modern Egypt* (Bombay, etc., Asia Publishing House, 1962), p. 83, Ninet came to Egypt even earlier; Ninet was known to M. Rowlatt's grandfather.

¹² As evidenced by Ninet's "open letter", in *L'Égypte* (Alexandria) of Oct. 9, 1863, as well as by the archives of the French Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris (hereafter: AE), Corr. Pol. (=Correspondance Politique), *Égypte*, vol. 32, f^{os} 201–218, E. Tastu (Political Agent and Consul-General of France in Egypt), to de Lhuis (French Foreign Minister), Alexandria, Oct. 9, 1863, and Appendices; cf. also *ibid.*, f^{os} 265–268.

- ¹³ J. Ninet, *Savoir c'est pouvoir M. Nubar révélations opportunes sur l'imbroglio égyptien* (Geneva, Jules Sandoz, 1879).
- ¹⁴ *Id.*, *Arabi Pasha* (N.p., 1884).
- ¹⁵ *Id.*, *Origin of the National Party in Egypt*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. xiii, 1883.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126. See also App. I, at the end of my paper.
- ¹⁷ E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks* (Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 27, 29, 37, 39, 54.
- ¹⁸ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 27, f^{os} 358 ss., Sabatier's (French Consul-General in Egypt) letter to Walewski (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, Apr. 20, 1858. Cf. also the following despatches of Sabatier.
- ¹⁹ For an incident between an Italian and a Frenchman in one of these secret societies (a freemasonic chapter), in 1862, see *ibid.*, vol. 30, f^o 178, de Beauval's (Secretary at the French Agency in Egypt) No. 67, to Thouvenel (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, July 8, 1862.
- ²⁰ The Italian archives, Archivio Storico, Affari Esteri, Roma (hereafter; AER), Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, G. de Martino's (Italian Consul-General in Egypt) letter to General Menabrea, dated Cairo, Mar. 4, 1869, marked "reserved"; cf. *ibid.*, *ibid.*, for the three reports (and enclosures) of G. Cantelli (Italian Minister for the Interior) to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, numbered 557, and dated, respectively, Apr. 3, 5, & 10, 1869. *Ibid.*, de Martino's despatch to Visconti Venosta, dated Alexandria, June 17, 1873, marked "reserved." *Ibid.*, de Martino's despatch to Visconti Venosta, dated Alexandria, June 29, 1873, marked "reserved"; and *ibid.*, Marchetti's (a police officer) report, prob. to de Martino, undated (1876), being Enc. in *ibid.*, vol. 1297, Egitto, Ministero dell'Interno's No. 6912, Div. Politica, No. 50R. Egitto. *Ibid.*, Carlessimo's (Director of European Police, Alexandria) report to de Martino, dated Alexandria, Mar. 1, 1877, marked "confidential," being Enc. in de Martino's despatch, *ibid.*, No. 397, to Melegari, dated Cairo, Mar. 8, 1877. See also below, App. III-IV.
- ²¹ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 37, f^{os} 178 ss., M. Outrey's (French Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) No. 54, to de Lhuys, dated Alexandria, Nov. 19, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. 38, f^{os} 182 ss., Outrey's No. 25, to de Lhuis, dated Alexandria, May 17, 1866. *Ibid.*, vol. 43, f^{os} 48-49, E. Poujade's (French Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) No. 10, to de Moustier (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, July 11, 1868. *Ibid.*, f^{os} 61-61 bis, Poujade's No. 12, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, July 19, 1868. *Ibid.*, vol. 45, f^o 102, Poujade's No. 98, to de la Valette (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Cairo, Feb. 8, 1869.
- ²² *Ibid.*, vol. 45, f^o 6, Poujade's No. 90, to de la Valette, dated Cairo, Jan. 8, 1869; *ibid.*, vol. 47, f^{os} 146-147, B. de Montmorand's (French Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) No. 8, to the French Foreign Ministry, dated Alexandria, May 18, 1870. AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, de Martino's No. 127, to Visconti Venosta, dated July 8, 1870. See App. II-III-IV, below, for some of this information, concerning both Alexandria and Cairo.
- ²³ Of limited help are several books on the subject, such as that by U. G. Porciatti, *Simbologia massonica* (3rd ed., 2 vols., Rome, Atanor, 1948-1949); F. G. Endres, *Die Symbole des Freimaurers* (Stuttgart, Mittelbach, 1952); and J. Boucher, *La symbolique maçonnique ou l'art royal remis en lumière et restitué selon les règles de la symbolique ésotérique et traditionnelle* (2nd ed., Paris, Dervy, 1953).
- ²⁴ See, e.g., H. L. Haywood & J. E. Craig, *A history of freemasonry* (London, Allen & Unwin, n.d.—1927); and E. Lennhoff, *Die Freimaurer Geschichte, Wesen, Wirken und Geheimnis der königlichen Kunst* (Vienna, Phaidon, 1932).

b. UNDATED PUBLICATIONS²⁷²

1. Shahin Makariyus, *al-Dustur al-masuni al-'amm li'l-tariqa al-Urushalimiyya* (104 pp.).²⁷³
2. *Mahfal al-salam al-iskutlandi numrat 908* (14 pp.).²⁷⁴

¹ A characteristic instance is 'Abd Allah 'Inan's *Ta'rikh al-jam'iyyat al-sirriyya wa'l-harakat al-haddama* (Cairo, Idarat al-hilal, 1926). This Egyptian lawyer, who has done extensive historical research, omitted the modern Near and Middle East from his study.

² As far as I know, this subject—for Egypt—has been dealt with, albeit perforce summarily, only in my book *Parliaments and parties in Egypt* (Tel-Aviv, Israel Oriental Society, 1953—N.Y., Praeger, 1954), part 2, chs. i-iii; and in my paper *The Young Egypt party*, in *BSOAS* (London), vol. xv, 1953, pp. 161-164. See also article 'Djam'iyya' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v.

³ R. Hartmann, *Arabische politische Gesellschaften bis 1914 ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des arabischen Nationalismus*, in R. Hartmann & H. Scheel (eds.), *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft* (Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz, 1944), p. 439. The paper treats of Arab groups, clandestine and non-clandestine, in Syria and, to a lesser extent, in Iraq.

⁴ A marked exception was that of the Jewish population of Palestine, during the first half of the twentieth century: secret archives were, in general, guarded jealously. Since 1948, i.e., after the establishment of the State of Israel, some of this material is being published.

⁵ See *al-Hilal*, vol. xxvi, Apr. 1, 1918, p. 605.

⁶ On which cf. H. A. R. Gibb & H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, vols' i-ii (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1950-1957), *passim*.

⁷ See, *inter alia*, O. Depont & X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes* (Alger, Jourdan, 1897).

⁸ E.g., H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur islamischen Vereinswesen* (Türkische Bibliothek, xvi, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1913). In modern Egypt, definite information on these guilds dates from Muhammad 'Ali's days—cf. A. A. Patton, *A history of the Egyptian revolution, from the period of the Mamelukes to the death of Mohammed Ali; from Arab and European memoirs, oral tradition and local research* (2nd ed., London, Trübner & Co., 1870), vol. ii, p. 13—for the years 1804-1805.

⁹ Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office series (hereafter FO), 141/73, No. 404, despatch by Raph. Borg's (Registrar of H.B.M. Consulate, Cairo & Acting Consul) No. 40 to Colonel Stanton (British Consul-General in Egypt), dated Cairo, Sep. 20, 1870, Enc. (for Cairo). On artisan guilds in Alexandria, cf. the report of Dr. Mackie (surgeon to the British Consulate), *ibid.*, No. 524, dated Alexandria, Sep. 25, 1870.

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- ¹³ J. Ninet, *Savoir c'est pouvoir M. Nubar révélations opportunes sur l'imbroglie égyptien* (Geneva, Jules Sandoz, 1879).
- ¹⁴ *Id.*, *Arabi Pasha* (N.p., 1884).
- ¹⁵ *Id.*, *Origin of the National Party in Egypt*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. xiii, 1883.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126. See also App. I, at the end of my paper.
- ¹⁷ E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks* (Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 27, 29, 37, 39, 54.
- ¹⁸ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 27, f^{os} 358 ss., Sabatier's (French Consul-General in Egypt) letter to Walewski (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, Apr. 20, 1858. Cf. also the following despatches of Sabatier.
- ¹⁹ For an incident between an Italian and a Frenchman in one of these secret societies (a freemasonic chapter), in 1862, see *ibid.*, vol. 30, f^o 178, de Beauval's (Secretary at the French Agency in Egypt) No. 67, to Thouvenel (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, July 8, 1862.
- ²⁰ The Italian archives, Archivio Storico, Affari Esteri, Roma (hereafter; AER), Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, G. de Martino's (Italian Consul-General in Egypt) letter to General Menabrea, dated Cairo, Mar. 4, 1869, marked "reserved"; cf. *ibid.*, *ibid.*, for the three reports (and enclosures) of G. Cantelli (Italian Minister for the Interior) to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, numbered 557, and dated, respectively, Apr. 3, 5, & 10, 1869. *Ibid.*, de Martino's despatch to Visconti Venosta, dated Alexandria, June 17, 1873, marked "reserved." *Ibid.*, de Martino's despatch to Visconti Venosta, dated Alexandria, June 29, 1873, marked "reserved"; and *ibid.*, Marchetti's (a police officer) report, prob. to de Martino, undated (1876), being Enc. in *ibid.*, vol. 1297, Egitto, Ministero dell'Interno's No. 6912, Div. Politica, No. 50R. Egitto. *Ibid.*, Carlessimo's (Director of European Police, Alexandria) report to de Martino, dated Alexandria, Mar. 1, 1877, marked "confidential," being Enc. in de Martino's despatch, *ibid.*, No. 397, to Melegari, dated Cairo, Mar. 8, 1877. See also below, App. III-IV.
- ²¹ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 37, f^{os} 178 ss., M. Outrey's (French Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) No. 54, to de Lhuys, dated Alexandria, Nov. 19, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. 38, f^{os} 182 ss., Outrey's No. 25, to de Lhuis, dated Alexandria, May 17, 1866. *Ibid.*, vol. 43, f^{os} 48-49, E. Poujade's (French Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) No. 10, to de Moustier (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, July 11, 1868. *Ibid.*, f^{os} 61-61 bis, Poujade's No. 12, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, July 19, 1868. *Ibid.*, vol. 45, f^o 102, Poujade's No. 98, to de la Valette (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Cairo, Feb. 8, 1869.
- ²² *Ibid.*, vol. 45, f^o 6, Poujade's No. 90, to de la Valette, dated Cairo, Jan. 8, 1869; *ibid.*, vol. 47, f^{os} 146-147, B. de Montmorand's (French Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) No. 8, to the French Foreign Ministry, dated Alexandria, May 18, 1870. AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, de Martino's No. 127, to Visconti Venosta, dated July 8, 1870. See App. II-III-IV, below, for some of this information, concerning both Alexandria and Cairo.
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- ²⁴ See, e.g., H. L. Haywood & J. E. Craig, *A history of freemasonry* (London, Allen & Unwin, n.d.—1927); and E. Lennhoff, *Die Freimaurer Geschichte, Wesen, Wirken und Geheimnis der königlichen Kunst* (Vienna, Phaidon, 1932).

The only history of freemasonry I have found to devote some real space to Egypt and the Near East is R. F. Gould. *The history of freemasonry its antiquities, symbols, constitutions, customs, etc.* (3 vols., London, T. C. Jack, 1887).

- ²⁵ For a preliminary list of such publications—see App. X, at the end of this paper.
- ²⁶ E.g., *al-Hilal*, vol. v, Apr. 1, 1897, p. 567; xxxv, Feb. 1, 1927, p. 495, & Mar. 1, 1927, p. 629; xxxvi, Dec. 1, 1927, p. 237; xxxvii, Feb. 1, 1929, pp. 501–502, & July 1, 1929, pp. 1137–1138; xl, July 1, 1932, p. 1347; xlv, Jan. 1, 1937, p. 356, *al-Muqtataf*, vol. xxii, Feb. 1, 1898, p. 149; xxiv, June 1, 1900, p. 537; xxvii, May 1, 1902, p. 495; xxix, Mar. 1, 1904, p. 272; xxx, July 1, 1905, p. 584; xxxvi, Feb. 1, 1910, pp. 157–162; xxxvii, July 1, 1910, pp. 713–714, & Aug. 1, 1910, pp. 815–816; xxxviii, Apr. 1, 1911, p. 407; xli, July 1, 1912, pp. 98–99, Dec. 1, 1912, pp. 609–610; xlvi, May 1, 1915, pp. 504–505; l, Apr. 1, 1917, p. 404; lv, Dec. 1, 1919, p. 532; lxvi, Jan. 1, 1925, p. 100; lxviii, May 1, 1926, pp. 563, 587; lxx, May 1, 1927, p. 586. For later years, see e.g., *al-Misri*, Oct. 26, 1948, p. 3; *al-Musawwar*, Aug. 31, 1951, p. 2.
- ²⁷ This and most of the immediately following information is based on Gould, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 340–342; on an article in a freemasonic encyclopaedia—Verein deutscher Freimaurer (eds.), *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei* (Leipzig, Hesse, 1900), s.v. *Ägypten* (= vol. i, pp. 8–9); and on a historical monograph of freemasonry by Jurji Zaydan, *Ta'rikh al-masuniyya al-'amm mundh nash'atiha ila hadha'l-yawm* (Cairo, Matba'at al-Mahrusa, 1889), esp. pp. 210 ss.
- ²⁸ They did however celebrate what they considered the contributions of Napoleon to peace, as described in a booklet, published in 1809 (?), called *Précis des travaux de la R. des amis de Napoléon le Grand a l'O d' Alexandrie relatifs à une fête à la paix, célébrée dans son temple le 19.e j. du 9.e m. de l'an de la V. L. 5809*. See also below, App. X.
- ²⁹ A known book about French freemasonry is A. Lantoine's *Histoire de la francmaçonnerie française* (2 vols., Nourry, 1925–1935). A more recent book is that by M. J. Headings, *French freemasonry under the Third Republic* (John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. lxvi, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1948). Both works, however, make no mention of the spread of French freemasonry in Egypt.
- ³⁰ On the methods and influence of Italian freemasonry, cf. G. Francocci, *La massoneria nei suoi valori storici e ideali* (Milano, Bolla, 1950), esp. part 4, chs. iv–vi. However, this book, also, does not mention the spread of the Italian freemasonry's influence in Egypt.
- ³¹ On the Scottish rite in freemasonry much has been written. Three of the best books on the subject are A. Lantoine's *Le rite écossais ancien et accepté* (Paris, Nourry, 1930); P. Barecca's *I rituali massonici scozzesi di Leo Taxil* (Reggio Calabria, 1932); and D. Knoop & G. F. Jones, *The Scottish mason and the mason word* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1939). All, again, omit any reference to Egypt.
- ³² In 1847, acc. to Verein deutscher Freimaurer, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Ägypten*. See also *Latomia Freimaurerische Vierteljahrsschrift* (Leipzig), vol. xxiv, 1865, p. 269.
- ³³ Zaydan, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–213. Ed. St. J. Fairman, *Prince Halim Pacha, of Egypt—a freemason. Egyptian affairs; or, how Ismail Pacha found, and left, Egypt. The cause and origin of the Egyptian question, and the only, because the just solution* (London, publ. by the author, 1884), p. 14.
- ³⁴ A. Orlandi, *Conquiste dell'ingegno italiano in Egitto durante il secolo xix*, in *Rassegna sociale dell'Africa Italiana*, vol. ii, July 1939, p. 860.
- ³⁵ Of which some have been listed in App. X, below.

- ³⁶ See below, App. V.
- ³⁷ *Latomia etc.*, vol. xxiii, 1864, p. 277.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. xxiv, 1865, p. 85.
- ³⁹ On this subject, cf. the detailed interesting ms. report by A. Dobignie (Chancellor in the French Consulate-General in Egypt), entitled *Note sur la franc-maçonnerie en Egypte*. This report, dated Nov. 19, 1868, is Enc. 1 in AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 44, f^{os} 189–197, Poujade's No. 69, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Nov. 18, 1868. See also below, App. V.
- ⁴⁰ *Latomia etc.*, vol. xxvi, 1868, p. 246.
- ⁴¹ On British freemasonry of the time see, e.g., L. Martin, *L'Angleterre et la franc-maçonnerie (moeurs anglaises)* (Paris, Savine, 1894). No information about activities in Egypt; for these, see *Latomia etc.*, vol. xxvi, 1868, pp. 196, 246.
- ⁴² See above, footnote 9.
- ⁴³ M. Sabry, *Episode de la question d'Afrique l'empire égyptien sous Isma'il et l'ingérence anglo-française (1863–1879)* (Paris, Geuthner, 1933), p. 349.
- ⁴⁴ Acc. to Verein deutscher Freimaurer, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Ägypten*—8 chapters in Cairo and 1 in Ramleh. *Latomia etc.*, vol. xxvi, 1868, pp. 196, 246, mentions a smaller number; but see *ibid.*, vol. xxix, 1873, p. 223.
- ⁴⁵ Zaydan, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–217. Verein deutscher Freimaurer, *loc. cit.* Acc. to *Latomia etc.*, vol. xxvi, 1868, p. 247, this was accomplished with the concurrence of the British chapters, too; if true, this again shows Halim's growing importance in the freemasonic movement in Egypt.
- ⁴⁶ Zaydan, *ibid.*, pp. 218–231. A list of these chapters is to be found *ibid.*, pp. 232 ss.; see also *Latomia etc.*, vol. xxix, 1873, p. 223.
- ⁴⁷ This was granted in 1872—acc. to the Verein deutscher Freimaurer, *loc. cit.*
- ⁴⁸ AER, Serie Política, vol. 1296, Egitto, de Martino's despatch to General Menabrea, dated Alexandria, July 31, 1868, marked "reserved." *Ibid.*, Lanza's (Italian Minister for the Interior) letter No. 213, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Florence, Feb. 6, 1870, marked "reserved and urgent." See also below, App. II.
- ⁴⁹ *Id.*, *ibid.*; *id.*, *ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ For a description of such a murder, in June 1868, see AER, *ibid.*, Marchetti's report to de Martino, dated Alexandria, July 28, 1868, being Enc. in de Martino's despatch to General Menabrea, *ibid.*, dated Alexandria, July 31, 1868, marked "reserved."
- ⁵¹ For a descriptive statement in this matter—*ibid.*, de Martino's despatch No. 103, to Visconti Venosta, dated Cairo, Mar. 13, 1870. See also below, App. II-III-IV.
- ⁵² Verein deutscher Freimaurer, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Ägypten*. It is significant of their activity that *all* freemasonic periodicals in Egypt, during the years 1871–1896, seem to have appeared in Italian.
- ⁵³ It should be remarked that Alexandria, the cosmopolitan city of Egypt, served as the center of foreign and local freemasonic activity, although there were chapters in other cities and towns, too.
- ⁵⁴ See above, the end of section II a.
- ⁵⁵ FO, 141/70, No. 74, Zouflicar's circular letter No. 120, to Stanton, dated Cairo, Mar. 21, 1869.
- ⁵⁶ FO, 141/72, No. 52, Nubar's (so-called Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Khedive's Court) letter No. 31, to Stanton, dated Cairo, Feb. 2, 1870. See also my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, pp. 74–75.
- ⁵⁷ AER, Serie Política, vol. 1297, Egitto, de Martino's despatch to Melegari, dated Cairo, May 11, 1877. By their names, these journals were apparently intended, in the main, for the working-class?

- ⁵⁸ On this and other semi-clandestine Egyptian journals of the period, see my papers *Abu Naddara an Egyptian Jewish nationalist*, in *The Journal of Jewish Studies* (Cambridge, U.K.), vol. iii, 1952, pp. 30–44; and *L'Ebreo Sanua nazionalista egiziano*, in *La Rassegna Mensile* (Rome), vol. xix, 1953, pp. 291–301. Also I. L. Gendzier, *James Sanua and Egyptian nationalism*, in *The Middle East Journal* (Washington, D.C.) vol. xv, 1961, pp. 16–28.
- ⁵⁹ Ramsaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 *ss.* Ramsaur convincingly refutes the argument that the Young Turk revolution might have been schemed by “International Freemasonry”—*cf. ibid.*, *ibid.*, and p. 144. In Syria, freemasonry started later than in Egypt—in Beirut, 1862 (Zaydan, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196), in Palestine still a while later—in Jerusalem, 1873 (*ibid.*, pp. 200–201). I have been unable to uncover any connections, if indeed they existed at all, between the freemasons of these countries.
- ⁶⁰ Ramsaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 *ss.*
- ⁶¹ Dobignie’s well informed report—see above, footnote 39, and below, App. V.
- ⁶² For further information on him see my paper *Al-Afghani’s Panislamic project*, in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad), vol. xxvi, July 1952, pp. 50–54.
- ⁶³ See Hartmann, *op. cit.*, in *Beiträge etc.*, 1944, p. 444, and footnotes *ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi’i, ‘*Asr Isma’il* (Cairo, Matba’at al-nahda, 1932), vol. ii, pp. 160–161. Mahmud Qasim, *Jamal al-Din al-Afghani hayatuh wa-falsafatuh* (Cairo, Maktabat al-Angello al-misriyya, n.d.), pp. 40–42.
- ⁶⁵ Sabry, *op. cit.*, p. 349. K. Itani, *Les déclarations des droits de l’homme dans les constitutions récentes de l’Orient Moyen* (Paris, Jouve, 1926), p. 111.
- ⁶⁶ *al-Hilal*, vol. v, Apr. 1, 1897, p. 567. Jurji Zaydan, *Tarajim mashahir al-sharq fi’l-qarn al-tasi’ ‘ashar* (2nd ed., Cairo, Matba’at al-hilal, 1910–1911), vol. ii, pp. 60–61 (same wording).
- ⁶⁷ Sabry, *op. cit.*, p. 349. Gould, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 342. See however E. Kedourie, ‘Nouvelle lumière sur Afghani et Abduh’, *Orient*, (Paris) No. 30, 1964. Iraj Afshar and Asghar Mahdavi, eds., *Documents inédits concernant Seyyed Jamal-al-Din Afghani* (Tehran 1963), reproduce (plate 40) Afghani’s application, written in Arabic and dated 22 Rabi’al-thani 1292 to enter the masonic chapter. The letter does not indicate which chapter precisely Afghani wished to join.
- ⁶⁸ Sabry, *ibid.* ‘Uthman Amin, *Muhammad ‘Abduh* (Cairo, Da’irat al-ma’arif al-islamiyya, 1944), pp. 34–35.
- ⁶⁹ Sabry, *loc. cit.* ‘Uthman Amin, *loc. cit.* Rowlatt, *op. cit.*, p. 26. A. M. Broadley (‘Abduh’s lawyer, in the 1882 trial, when ‘Abduh was charged with revolutionary activity), *How we defended Arabi and his friends. A story of Egypt and the Egyptians* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1884), p. 227: “Sheikh Abdu . . . was the zealous Master of a Masonic Lodge.” *Cf. ibid.*, p. 262. It is interesting to note, also, that ‘Abduh attested to Afghani’s participation in the free-masonic movement of Egypt—presumably from personal knowledge—*cf.* ‘Abduh’s remarks, in 1903, to W. S. Blunt, who printed them in his *Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt* (2nd ed., London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), p. 491.
- ⁷⁰ The best work on ‘Abduh’s life and teaching is still C. C. Adams’ *Islam and modernism in Egypt* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1933).
- ⁷¹ Acc. to the revealing biographical note on ‘Abduh, by his pupil and collaborator, Muhammad Rashid Rida, in his periodical *al-Manar*, vol. viii, A.H. 1323 (= 1905), p. 402: ‘Abduh joined freemasonry for socio-political purposes.
- ⁷² Salim al-Anhuri, quoted by al-Rafi’i, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 160–161. Sabry, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 353.
- ⁷³ E. Guillon, *Notes pour l’histoire de notre temps. L’Égypte contemporaine et les intérêts français* (Grenoble, Gratier, 1885), p. 27. Guillon, who had some

personal knowledge of Sanua, wrongly attributes to him the *foundation* of the first Arab freemasonic chapter. See also, on Sanua's freemasonic activities, Ibrahim 'Abduh, *Abu Nazzara imam al-sahafa al-fukahiyya al-musawwara wa-za'im al-masrah fi Misr* (Cairo, Maktabat al-adab, 1953), pp. 36, 38, 59.

⁷⁴ On his activities see, besides the material in the preceding footnote, my paper in *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, *loc. cit.* and my article on him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. *Abu Naddara*.

⁷⁵ *Cf. my Studies in the Arab theater and cinema* (Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), pp. 65–67 (transl. into French as *Etudes sur le théâtre et le cinéma arabes*, Paris, Maisonneuve-Larose, 1965, pp. 67–69).

⁷⁶ Sabry, *op. cit.*, p. 349. If correct (which is in doubt, since only Sabry mentions this, and he was not a contemporary of those days; it is also difficult to understand how Zaghul's later biographers neglect this point), Zaghul apparently had a very minor part in this organization. Here an obvious parallel may be drawn to Mustafa Kemal, the founder and leader of the Turkish Republic after the First World War. Kemal, too, had a share in the secret preparation of the young Turk revolution of 1908, but obviously a lesser one than that which is sometimes ascribed to him—*cf.* Ramsaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–101, 106–107.

⁷⁷ Sabry, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ They led the military against the Foreign Ministers in the Egyptian Government near the end of Isma'il's rule. See the eyewitness description of Ahmad Shafiq, *Mudhakkirati fi nisf qarn*, vol. i (Cairo, Matba'at Misr, 1934), pp. 33–35; also the later testimonials of both Ahmad 'Urabi and Muhammad 'Abduh—*cf.* them in Blunt, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., App. I, pp. 484, 489. See also Sabry, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 353; Itani, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Apparently this was the end of their activity as rebels.

⁷⁹ Acc, to Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahim Mustafa, *al-Thawra al-'Urabiyya* (Cairo, Dar al-Qalam, 1961), p. 44.

⁸⁰ See above, section II b.

⁸¹ Sabry, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 353.

⁸² 'Uthman Amin, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸³ Article on *Ahmad 'Urabi wa'l-hawadith al-'urabiyya*, in *al-Hilal*, vol. xx, Oct. 1, 1911, p. 28. See also the quotation from the French archives, below, footnote 89, and App. VI.

⁸⁴ Sanua made this assertion to Martin, editor of the Parisian *L'Illustration*, quoted by P. de Baignières, *Album d'Abou Naddara illustré de 48 pages de gravures l'Égypte satirique visions et conférences du cheikh Abou Naddara* (Paris, Lefebvre, 1886), p. 13; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 13–15. Also, the date in Magd Ed Din Nassif (*sic!*), *Party politics in Egypt, March 1945*, in M.L.R. Choudhury, *Egypt in 1945* (Univ. of Calcutta, 1946), pp. 17–18, seems a typographical error; by the events described, I think it should be 1879, instead of 1869.

⁸⁵ Commonly called in European books Arabi. On this personality much has been written—for and against him. The most detailed biography (xi, 562 pp.) is that by Mahmud al-Khafif, *Ahmad 'Urabi al-za'im al-muftara 'alayhi* (N.p., Matba'at al-risala, n.d., prob. 1947). Although rather inclined to hero-worship, the biography is full of interesting material—but hardly anything about the secret "officers' society."

⁸⁶ Article on *Araby Pasha* in the London *The Observer*, July 23, 1882, based on an article contributed by an Egyptian to the *Correspondance Politique*; see below, App. VII. P. Giffard, *Les français en Égypte* (Paris, Havard, 1883), p. 179. Ilyas Zakhura, *Kitab mir'at al-'asr fi ta'rikh wa-rusum akabir al-rijal bi-Misr* (Cairo, al-Matba'a al-'umuniyya, 1897), pp. 102 *ss.* See also below, footnote 91; 'Urabi's autobiography (vol. i, pp. 45–46) states that in 1876 he,

- al-Rubi, and another officer, Muhammad al-Nadi, were suspected of agitation against Isma'il.
- ⁸⁷ Hence, occasionally referred to, by some later authors, as the "Helwan Group," *cf.*, e.g., al-Khafif, *op. cit.* pp. 58 ss.
- ⁸⁸ Acc. to 'Umar Q. Rahmi, 'Urabi's Chief of Cabinet, reported in the Egyptian *Le Bosphore Egyptien*, July 12, 1882, Supplement. This report is unsigned, but its author seems very well-informed of behind-the-scenes activities.
- ⁸⁹ "On a bien parlé, il y a peu de temps, de menées secrètes ayant pour but d'organiser dans l'armée Egyptienne et à un point de vue Anti-Chrétien une sorte de Franc maçonnerie musulmane."—AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 28, f° 212, Sabatier's No. 91, to Walewski, dated Alexandria, May 3, 1859. Full text see below, App. VI. Such importance ought not, perhaps, be attached to it.
- ⁹⁰ See, e.g., *ibid.*, vol. 29, f°s 79 ss.; L. Bechard's (Political Agent & Consul-General of France in Egypt) No. 11, to Thouvenel, dated Alexandria, June 27, 1860; *ibid.*, f°s 328-329, de Beauval's conf. despatch (unnumbered) to the French Foreign Ministry, dated Alexandria, Aug. 19, 1861; *ibid.*, vol. 31, f°s 61 ss., de Beauval's No. 95, to de Lhuys, dated Alexandria, Feb. 2, 1863; *ibid.*, vol. 36, f°s 74 ss., Outrey's No. 32 to de Lhuys, dated Alexandria, Sep. 9, 1865.
- ⁹¹ See information in 'Urabi's autobiography, Ahmad 'Urabi al-Husayni al-Misri, *Kashf al-sitar 'an sirr al-asrar fi'l-nahda al-misriyya al-mashhura al-'urabiyya*, vol. i (Cairo, Matba'at Misr, n.d.), *passim*, e.g., p. 153. A second and last vol. of the same, treating of later events, was published in Egypt, 1953—*cf.* Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahim Mustafa, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
- ⁹² *Kashf, ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 166 ss.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 45.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 47, 50 ss. For examples of some manifestations of this discontent and their analysis, see my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, pp. 73-75, 84 ss.
- ⁹⁵ 'Urabi, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 8 ss.
- ⁹⁶ See my *Notes on the introduction of ministerial responsibility into Egypt*, in *The Journal of Modern History* (Chicago), vol. xxviii, Mar. 1956, pp. 21-34.
- ⁹⁷ The reports of the British Consuls in Egypt remarked on this apprehension more than once. See also Muhammad Sabri, *Mahmud Sami'l-Barudi*, in his *Adab wa-ta'rikh* (2nd ed., Cairo, Dar al-kutub al-misriyya, 1927); pp. 41-42.
- ⁹⁸ First mention of it in 1879; probably organized not much earlier. I have examined its composition and demands in my above paper in *BSOAS*, vol. xv, 1953, pp. 161-164; and, with slight alterations, in my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, pp. 85, 101-103.
- ⁹⁹ J. Ninet, *Arabi Pasha*, p. 38. Ninet has already been mentioned as well versed in the affairs of Egyptian secret societies.
- ¹⁰⁰ *al-Hilal*, vol. v, Sep. 15, 1896, pp. 45-46. Giffard, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180; Giffard was in Egypt at the time and had some connection with the matters he described.
- ¹⁰¹ 'Urabi, *Kashf al-sitar etc.*, vol. i, pp. 161-162 (however unfortunately giving no date for the alleged incident.)
- ¹⁰² 'Ali Mubarak is the author of the monumental *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*. I have it on the good authority of my colleague Dr. Gabriel Baer, who has made a thorough study of this work, that no mention of this incident is reported there. Even though 'Ali Mubarak intentionally avoided political reference in his book, one might still have expected an allusion to this incident, if it occurred.
- ¹⁰³ al-Khafif, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ss.

- ¹⁰⁴ *al-Waqa'i' al-misriyya*, No. 806, Apr. 13, 1879, also cited by al-Rafi'i, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 220–221 (translation mine).
- ¹⁰⁵ For the names of the more prominent, see my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, pp. 87–88 and footnote 230, *ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ However, 'Ali al-Rubi, 'Ali Fahmi and Ahmad 'Urabi *did* sign their names on the petition presented to the Khedive on April 7, 1879—*cf.* the list of signatories in AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 63, f° 47, Enc. in Godeaux's (Agent & Consul-General of France in Egypt) No. 71, to Waddington (French Foreign Minister), dated Cairo, Apr. 7, 1879. They were only a few among the many signatories, so they may have thought it wiser not to abstain, anyway.
- ¹⁰⁷ See al-Khafif, *op. cit.*, p. 59; my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, p. 90.
- ¹⁰⁸ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 68, f°s 211–212, de Ring's No. 20, to Barthélemy St. Hilaire (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Cairo, Feb. 7, 1881.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, f°s 259–262, Tawfiq's autograph complaint to Grévy (President of France), dated Feb. 14, 1881.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 69, f°s 152–153, Monge's No. 57, to St. Hilaire, dated Cairo, June 13, 1881. Translation from the French mine.
- ¹¹¹ 'Urabi, *Kashf al-sitar*, vol. i, pp. 152–154. The account of this meeting was also given by 'Urabi, in an autobiographical memorandum, outlining the main events of his life, reproduced by Zaydan, *Tarajim etc.*, 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 268–270 (translation mine).
- ¹¹² A good example of how the subject may be approached is C. E. Dawn's *Ideological influences in the Arab revolt*, in J. Kritzeck & R. B. Winder (eds.), *The world of Islam studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti* (London, Macmillan, 1959), pp. 233–248.
- ¹¹³ Giffard, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
- ¹¹⁴ See above, section IIb.
- ¹¹⁵ Primogeniture as the principle, under which the succession to the Khedivate was to be regulated, was confirmed by the Sultan definitely, in 1873—*cf.* Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (London, Macmillan, 1908), vol. i, pp. 136, 155. However, Isma'il had been working to this end for a few years previously and a first Firman in this matter had already been issued as early as 1866.
- ¹¹⁶ For Halim's immediate reactions, see AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 38, f°s 166–171, Outrey's No. 23, to de Luhsy, dated Alexandria, May 8, 1866; *ibid.*, f°s 299–300, Outrey's No. 45, to the Foreign Ministry, dated Alexandria, Sep. 8, 1866; *ibid.*, vol. 39, f°s 6 ss., Outrey's No. 1, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Jan. 7, 1867 (below, App. VIII).
- ¹¹⁷ See above. For a general outline of Halim's life, see Zakhura, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54. Also, Jurji Zaydan, *Ta'rikh Misr al-hadith* (2nd ed., Cairo, Matba'at al-hilal, 1911), vol. ii, p. 246; *al-Hilal*, vol. ii, June 15, 1894, pp. 637–638.
- ¹¹⁸ For instance, Sharif Pasha—who has already been mentioned as a freemason—had been his secretary during 1852–1853; *cf.* Zaydan, *Tarajim etc.*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 241.
- ¹¹⁹ A. Biovès, *Français et anglais en Égypte 1881–1882* (Paris, Roger & Chernovitz, 1910), p. 14. Halim had started his education in France in 1845, acc. to FO, 78/623, Barnett's No. 18, to Aberdeen, dated Alexandria, May 8, 1845.
- ¹²⁰ Dobignie's report (above, footnotes 39, 61, and below, App. VIII–IX).
- ¹²¹ See G. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. ii, (Rome, Reale Società di geografia d'Egitto, 1934), p. 96. Douin has consulted a number of manuscripts and archival sources in Egypt and elsewhere.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 98. *Cf.* Dobignie's second report on freemasonry in Egypt, being Enc. No. 4 in AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 44, f°s 200–201, Poujade's No. 69, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Nov. 18, 1868 (below, App. IX).

- ¹²³ Gould, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 341. Zaydan, *Ta'rikh al-masuniyya al-'amm*, pp. 203, 213, 217. Fairman, *op. cit.*, p. 14. F. Uhlmann, in his guide book to freemasonry (which I could not find in its German original, only in a Hebrew translation, Tel-Aviv, n.d., prob. 1938), fixes the date (Hebrew transl., p. 70) as 1865. This however seems too early an estimate; it happened in 1867, anyway not earlier than 1866.
- ¹²⁴ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 39, f^os 6 ss., Outrey's No. 1, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Jan. 7, 1867.
- ¹²⁵ AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, de Martino's despatch to Menabrea, dated Alexandria, Oct. 2, 1868, marked "reserved." Cf. *ibid.*, de Martino's despatch, to Menabrea, dated Alexandria, Oct. 9, 1868, marked "reserved," concerning investigations about several Italians suspected of having taken part in the attempted assassination.
- ¹²⁶ De Martino's above despatch of Oct. 2, 1868: "una palla di bronzo, intorno alla quale erano infinite a modo di raggi molte punte di dardi del Sudan, armi avvelenate." The French Agent & Consul-General, however, considered this the work of Italians and Greeks—cf. AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 43, f^os 395–396, Poujade's No. 48, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Sep. 26, 1868. He later modified his view however, to suggest—in Khedive Isma'il's name and his own—that this was the work of Halim and the Italian masonic societies, see *ibid.*, vol. 44, f^os 66–67, Poujade's No. 58, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Oct. 19, 1868.
- ¹²⁷ FO, 78/2039, Stanton's No. 142, to Lord Stanley, dated Cairo, Nov. 5, 1868, marked "confidential" and Enc. AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, de Martino's No. 42, to Menabrea, dated Alexandria, Nov. 6, 1868, marked "reserved," and Enc. AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 44, f^o 108, Poujade's telegram to the French Foreign Ministry, dated Alexandria, Nov. 7, 1868, and Encs. Douin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 94–96.
- ¹²⁸ I have attempted to examine Halim's intrigues during those years, in the light of available evidence, in my *Parliaments and Parties in Egypt*, pp. 78 ss.
- ¹²⁹ E.g., AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 44, f^os 266–267, 301–306—Halim's letters to Napoleon III.
- ¹³⁰ See *ibid.*, vol. 40, f^o 191, Th. Roustan's (Outrey's deputy in Egypt) No. 60, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Oct. 29, 1867; *ibid.*, vol. 46, f^o 128, Tricou's (Acting Consul-General of France in Egypt) No. 7, to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, Aug. 7, 1869.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 42, f^os 94–97, undated, App. to Roustan's No. 124, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, May 27, 1868; *ibid.*, vol. 44, *passim*, esp. f^os 347–349, 372–375—Poujade's despatches.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, vol. 45, f^os 264–268, Poujade's No. 112 bis to de La Valette, dated Cairo, Apr. 3, 1869; cf. the following despatch, No. 113, dated Cairo, Apr. 8, 1869. See also B. Jerrold, *Egypt under Ismail Pacha being some chapters of contemporary history* (London, Tinsley, 1879), ch. viii; Biovès, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ¹³³ FO, 78/2092, Stanton's No. 42, to Clarendon, dated Alexandria, April 9, 1869. *Ibid.*, Stanton's No. 47, to Clarendon, dated Alexandria, April 17, 1869.
- ¹³⁴ That such a possibility was envisaged in Egypt itself is confirmed by AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 58, f^o 163, H. Pelissier's (acting Consul-General of France in Egypt) No. 79, to Decazes (French Minister for Foreign Affairs), dated Alexandria, June 3, 1876.
- ¹³⁵ AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1297, Egitto, de Martino's No. 343, to Melegari, dated Cairo, June 15, 1876. Translation from the Italian—mine.

- ¹³⁶ Khedive Isma'il was definitely worried, in 1876, about the possibility that the whole problem of succession could be raised again with reference to Egypt, now that Sultan 'Abdul 'Aziz had been deposed and Murad installed in his stead. His worry was very probably deepened by his suspicion that Hafim, an exile in Constantinople, might seize the occasion to intensify his intrigues against him.
- ¹³⁷ I.e., the Khedive.
- ¹³⁸ De Martino, as the Consul-General of Italy in Egypt was, of course, bound to protect the right of an Italian citizen to disembark in Egypt.
- ¹³⁹ Referring to Khedive Isma'il.
- ¹⁴⁰ Bievès, *op. cit.*, p. 14, based on S. de Chonsky, *Croquis égyptiens* (Paris, Dentu, 1887), pp. 91–92.
- ¹⁴¹ Acc. to 'Abduh's remark to Blunt in 1903, printed in Blunt's *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., App. I, p. 489: "Sheikh Jemal ed Din was in favour of it, and proposed to me, Mohammed Abdu, that Isma'il should be assassinated some day as he passed in his carriage daily over Kasr el Nil bridge, and I strongly approved, but it was only talk between ourselves, and we lacked a person capable of taking lead in the affair. If we had known Arabi at the time, we might have arranged it with him, and it would have been the best thing that could have happened, as it could have prevented the intervention of Europe." The fact that 'Abduh's words are reported by no other than Blunt—who admired highly both al-Afghani and 'Abduh and certainly would not just have invented this evidence, rather unfavorable to their character—adds credibility to them. They are anyway in line with what little is known with certainty of al-Afghani's views and deeds.
- ¹⁴² For examples, see AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 63, f° 344, Tricou's No. 2 bis, marked "confidential," to Waddington, dated Cairo, June 22, 1879. See also *ibid.*, f° 355, Tricou's cable to the French Foreign Ministry, dated June 25, 1879.
- ¹⁴³ Attested by the British Consul-General in Egypt, Edward B. Malet, in his *Egypt 1879–1883* (London, Murray, 1909), pp. 282, 284, 291. See also A. Hasenclever, *Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert 1798–1914* (Halle a.S., Niemeyer, 1917), pp. 217–220, 228.
- ¹⁴⁴ Biovès, *loc. cit.*, based on Chonsky, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁴⁵ AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1297, Egitto, de Martino's despatch to Melegari, dated Cairo, May 11, 1877, marked "reserved." Translation—mine.
- ¹⁴⁶ I.e., the Government of the Khedive.
- ¹⁴⁷ FO, 78/2503, Cookson's No. 214, to the Earl of Derby, dated Alexandria, June 3, 1876, marked "confidential."
- ¹⁴⁸ As the Khedive was often called in European writings; see also above, footnote 137. The term was obviously borrowed from the title of the British Viceroy of India—and wrongly so, for the functions and authority of the Egyptian Khedive and the British Viceroy of India differed widely.
- ¹⁴⁹ See above, footnote 145.
- ¹⁵⁰ FO, 78/2633, H. C. Vivian's (British Agent & Consul-General in Egypt) Pol. No. 192, to Derby, dated Cairo, June 23, 1877.
- ¹⁵¹ FO, 78/2855, Vivian's Pol. No. 182, to the Marquis of Salisbury, dated Alexandria, May 23, 1878, marked "confidential."
- ¹⁵² It was printed, e.g., in the *Bulletin Hebdomadaire du Comité des Créanciers du Gouvernement Egyptien* (Alexandria), No. 8, Apr. 8, 1878, pp. 1–2; and in some other newspapers.
- ¹⁵³ FO, 78/2854, Vivian's Pol. No. 109, to Salisbury dated Cairo, Apr. 5, 1878, marked "confidential."
- ¹⁵⁴ I.e., Mar. 29, 1878.

- ¹⁵⁵ Vivian, *loc. cit.*, remarked with justice, at the end of his despatch, that he doubted very much Halim's "liberalism."
- ¹⁵⁶ Such as Giffard, *op. cit.*, p. 180. For a listing of other sources on this subject, see my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, p. 94, footnote 241.
- ¹⁵⁷ In W. S. Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum being a personal narrative of events in continuation of "a secret history of the English occupation of Egypt"* (London, Swift & Co., 1912).
- ¹⁵⁸ See above, footnote 111. 'Urabi's short biographical account in English (Blunt, *Secret history etc.*, App. 1), treats only of the years 1881–1882. The same is true of a Ms. memoir of 'Urabi, reported by O. Schofield, *An auto-graph manuscript of 'Urabi Pasha*, in *BSOAS*, vol. xxiv, 1961, pp. 139–141.
- ¹⁵⁹ FO, 78/3322, Malet's Pol. No. 92, to Earl Granville, dated Cairo, Mar. 14, 1881.
- ¹⁶⁰ French Consul-General in Egypt up to February, 1881, was suspected of active sympathy with the rebellious army officers—see Cromer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 180–181; *cf. ibid.*, p. 295. Rowlatt, *op. cit.*, p. 52. See also above, in this paper, footnotes 108, 109.
- ¹⁶¹ The so-called Prime-Minister of the Khedive at the time.
- ¹⁶² I.e., Isma'il who, as will be remembered, had been deposed in 1879 and replaced by his son Tawfiq.
- ¹⁶³ FO, 78/3324, Malet's Pol. No. 249, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 23, 1881.
- ¹⁶⁴ See above, footnote 162.
- ¹⁶⁵ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 70, f° 89, Sienkiewicz's (Agent & Consul-General of France in Egypt) No. 29, to St. Hilaire, dated Cairo, Sep. 19, 1881, reporting on his conversation with Malet.
- ¹⁶⁶ Giffard, *op. cit.*, pp. 303–304. Also Zakhura, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- ¹⁶⁷ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 64, f° 64, Tricou's No. 8 to Waddington, dated Alexandria, July 21, 1879. AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1298, Egitto, de Martino's No. 645, to Cairoli, dated Cairo, Nov. 27, 1879.
- ¹⁶⁸ AER, *ibid.*, vol. 1299, Egitto, de Martino's No. 696, to Cairoli (by mistake, to "Wilson" was written instead), dated Cairo, May 31, 1880. On Halim's interest in the matter, see above. For the whole affair, see also AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 66, f°s 151 *ss.*, de Ring's despatches to de Freycinet (French Foreign Minister) during May, 1880; *cf. also ibid.*, f°s 353–354.
- ¹⁶⁹ AER, *ibid.*, de Martino's No. 701, to Cairoli, dated June 1, 1880. At the end, the commission approved the request of the Egyptian authorities to reduce Halim's pension from £60,000 to £15,000 a year—*cf. ibid.*, *ibid.*, de Martino's No. 704, to Cairoli, dated June 24, 1880.
- ¹⁷⁰ FO, 78/3325, Malet's Pol. No. 274, to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct. 6, 1881, marked "most confidential."
- ¹⁷¹ On Oct. 3, 1881.
- ¹⁷² I.e., Khedive Tawfiq.
- ¹⁷³ FO, 78/3326, Malet's Pol. No. 339, to Granville, dated Cairo, Nov. 21, 1881, marked "confidential": ". . . several foreigners in his (i.e., in Halim's) pay have recently been intriguing on his behalf, with some success, among the subaltern officers of the Army."
- ¹⁷⁴ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 71, f° 63, Sienkiewicz's No. 65, to St. Hilaire, dated Cairo, Nov. 8, 1881, marked "confidential." *Cf. Affaires Étrangères, Documents diplomatiques. Affaires d'Égypte. 1881–1882* (Paris, 1882), No. 5, Gambetta's despatch to Challemeil Lacour (then Ambassador of France in London), dated Paris, Dec. 15, 1881, p. 3: "Combien de temps durerait un équilibre aussi instable (i.e., in Egypt)? Ne serait-il pas troublé demain par . . . , ou bien encore par les prétensions du Prince Halim, qui se présente aux partis comme le sauveur éventuel de l'Égypte?"

- ¹⁷⁵ FO, 78/3436, Cookson's Pol. No. 139, to Granville, dated Cairo, Mar. 20, 1882, marked "confidential": "Nor is the party (i.e., the agents and sympathisers) of Halim Pasha idle. It relies chiefly on the support of the Sultan and the old Turkish party." It must be noted, however, that Consul Cookson continues: "but hardly seems to have any adherence among the Military leaders or Civil functionaries."
- ¹⁷⁶ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 73, f^o 14, Sienkiewicz's No. 151, to de Freycinet, dated Cairo, March 5, 1882. Translation from the French—mine.
- ¹⁷⁷ Giffard, *op. cit.*, p. 308; translation mine. Sienkiewicz, also, reported this—AE, *ibid.*, vol. 74, f^{os} 218–219, Sienkiewicz's cable to the French Foreign Ministry, dated May 29, 1882.
- ¹⁷⁸ AE, *ibid.*, vol. 73, f^o 228, Sienkiewicz's cable to the French Foreign Ministry, dated Cairo, Apr. 1, 1882.
- ¹⁷⁹ FO, 78/3438, Malet's Pol. No. 309, to Granville, dated Cairo, June 1, 1882. This was then publ. in a British Blue Book—Egypt No. 11, 1882, then copied in Blunt's *Secret history etc.*, p. 297. See also the article on *Arabi Pasha*, in *The Observer*, July 23, 1882.
- ¹⁸⁰ 'Urabi's autobiographical Memorandum, as repr. in Zaydan's *Tarajim etc.* 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 266.
- ¹⁸¹ For Ninet's activities and ties with 'Urabi and his circle, see, besides his own works (above, footnotes 13–15), AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 74, f^{os} 423–426, Ninet's speech, in French, undated (prob. June 1882); *ibid.*, vol. 75 (f^o unnumbered), E. de Vorges's (Minister Plenipotentiary of France in Egypt) unnumbered letter to Duclerc (French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister), marked "confidential," dated Alexandria, Aug. 20, 1882. For Blunt's activities and relations with 'Urabi, see his various memoirs and books.
- ¹⁸² Full details in 'Urabi's *Kashf al-sitar etc.*, vol. i, pp. 271–272. As this was written about twenty years after the events, when 'Urabi was a broken old man, and as Khedive Tawfiq had already been dead ten years by then, one is inclined to give credit to the above account.
- ¹⁸³ For examples, from Sanua's various periodicals, and some comments thereupon—*cf.* Ibrahim 'Abduh, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 *ss.*, 124 *ss.*, 136 *ss.*, 147 *ss.*, 157 *ss.*
- ¹⁸⁴ E. g. Sanua's periodical *Abu Nazzara Zarqa'*, 6th year, No. 9, cit. by Ibrahim 'Abduh, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
- ¹⁸⁵ See also, for other examples from Sanua's publications, 'Abduh, *ibid.*, pp. 53, 55, 71–72, 99–106, 119, 122–123, 134, 136, 140, 143, 147 *ss.*, 155, 178. Ahmad Shafiq, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 122–123.
- ¹⁸⁶ FO, 78/3324, Malet's Pol. No. 255, to Granville, dated Cairo, Sep. 25, 1881.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Sic.*
- ¹⁸⁸ Photograph reproduced in Ibrahim 'Abduh, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
- ¹⁸⁹ FO, 78/3558, Baring's Pol. No. 444, to Granville, dated Cairo, Oct. 8, 1883, marked "confidential." See also *The Saturday Review*, vol. xlviii, July 26, 1879; and Jerrold, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- ¹⁹⁰ FO, 78/3682, Baring's Pol. No. 1199, to Granville, dated Cairo, Dec. 31, 1884. Enclosed is a valuable collection of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa* and of diverse papers of Sanua, for the years 1879–1884.
- ¹⁹¹ Sanua edited and published *Abu Nazzara*. He may have participated in *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa*.
- ¹⁹² I.e., Tawfiq.
- ¹⁹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 361–363. See also *ibid.*, pp. 363–371.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Sic.*
- ¹⁹⁵ *Sic.*
- ¹⁹⁶ Halim's sister and alleged co-plotter.
- ¹⁹⁷ I.e., Halim.

- ¹⁹⁸ On this personage, see Broadley, *op. cit.*, pp. 256, 260, 362 ss. For al-'Aqqad's role at the time and his later activities in Egypt, in the first years of the British Occupation, cf. my *Parliaments and parties in Egypt*, pp. 94-95, and esp. footnote 245. In the mid-1880's it seems that Halim was supported by the Sultan in his claims for the succession to the Egyptian Khedivate; cf. Broadley, *op. cit.*, *passim* (for 1882); Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum etc.* pp. 302, 321 (for 1884); Chonsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92 (for approx. 1886). Cromer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 136, claims that, as early as 1879, "it was known that the candidature of Prince Halim found favour at Constantinople; "see also *ibid.*, p. 196—for the same in 1881. This is corroborated independently, for 1881-1882, by Blunt, *Secret history etc.*, pp. 262, 305. If correct, this lends an even more sinister character to Halim's personality.
- ¹⁹⁹ That 'Urabi had a high opinion of this al-'Aqqad is attested also by Blunt, who calls him (*Secret history etc.*, p. 135) "a special friend of Arabi" and also "a man of considerable wealth, influence, and patriotism" (*ibid.*, p. 344, cf. also pp. 343, 484, 487, 491, 523, 529). This would seem to lend some, but not definite, support to Broadley's main argument.
- ²⁰⁰ It is interesting to note, also, that Sanua mentions this 'Aqqad in his periodicals, in a few instances, during the year 1880, praising him for his patriotism and his support of the army officers—cf. Ibrahim 'Abduh, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126, for examples. I have, however, been unable to establish any more definite connection between the two; but then it was probably considered prudent that various agents and partisans of Halim should know little about each other's activities!
- ²⁰¹ AE, Corr. Pol. Egypte, vol. 74, f° 396, Sienkiewicz's cable to the French Foreign Ministry, dated Alexandria, June 26, 1882. Translation mine.
- ²⁰² al-Khafif, *op. cit.* p. 490.
- ²⁰³ 'Urabi's memorandum, repr. in Zaydan's *Tarajim etc.*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 279. Translation mine.
- ²⁰⁴ Blunt, *Secret history etc.*, p. 262; cf. *ibid.*, p. 276.
- ²⁰⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 341.
- ²⁰⁶ As confided by 'Urabi to Ninet, and reported by Blunt, *ibid.*, App. II, p. 529.
- ²⁰⁷ 'Urabi, *Kashf al-sitar etc.*, vol. i, p. 48. Translation mine.
- ²⁰⁸ Obviously, Halim; this may be taken as an indication of 'Urabi's sympathy for this Prince.
- ²⁰⁹ Obviously, Isma'il.
- ²¹⁰ This memorandum has been reprinted a few times, see e.g., E. W. P. Newman, *Great Britain in Egypt* (London, etc., Cassell, 1928), pp. 283-291. I quote from the somewhat fuller version in Blunt's *Gordon at Khartoum etc.*, pp. 33-37.
- ²¹¹ Blunt, *loc. cit.*, p. 36. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 13, 15.
- ²¹² 'Urabi and his fellow-exiles in Colombo had learned English there diligently—see Broadley, *op. cit.*, preface, pp. viii-ix.
- ²¹³ Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum etc.*, App. B, pp. 547-548, dated Colombo, June 2, 1884.
- ²¹⁴ Who was then consolidating his power in the Sudan.
- ²¹⁵ This argument, about Halim being so popular that he could be expected to influence the Sudanese Mahdi, is also adduced by Fairman, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 14-18.
- ²¹⁶ A. K. S. Lambton, *Secret societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6*, in *St. Antony's Papers, Number 4, Middle Eastern affairs, No. 1* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1958), pp. 52 ss.
- ²¹⁷ Ramsaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.
- ²¹⁸ Hartmann, *op. cit.*, in *Beiträge etc.* (1944), pp. 450-452, 459, 463. His paper is based on Antonius and many firsthand sources. Hartmann proves an interest-

- ing point—that in the Syrian secret societies there were many people who were members in more than one society, at one and the same time.
- ²¹⁹ Hartmann, *ibid.*, p. 441, elaborated this point; he apparently refers in the main to Syria.
- ²²⁰ See above. Cf. also Broadley, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
- ²²¹ Cf. C. C. Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.
- ²²² Broadley, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–263.
- ²²³ This point has already been made, albeit in too general a vein, by H. Lammens, *L'islam croyances et institutions* (2nd ed., Beirut, Imp. Catholique, 1941), pp. 181–182—speaking of the early twentieth century: “Dans ces milieux (i.e., progressive circles, even amongst orthodox Muslims) des sociétés secrètes semi-politiques tendent à se substituer aux anciennes confréries. Comme les Bektachis en Albanie, ces sociétés ont partout adopté, en les exaspérant, les revendications des nationalismes locaux. Ce fut le cas en Syrie, à la veille de la guerre mondiale. Après l’octroi de la Constitution Ottomane de 1908, on constate surtout l’action de sociétés politiques secrètes qui précipitent l’évolution du nationalisme arabe.”
- ²²⁴ As attested by one of the founding members, the writer Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, in his autobiography *Qissat hayati* (Cairo, Dar al-hilal, n.d.), pp. 34–36.
- ²²⁵ J. Ninet, *Origin of the national party in Egypt, in The Nineteenth Century*, vol. xiii, 1883, p. 126.
- ²²⁶ AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1296, Egitto, Lanza’s letter No. 213, to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Florence, Feb. 6, 1870, marked “reserved and urgent.”
- ²²⁷ AER, *ibid.*, Carlessimo’s report to de Martino, dated Alexandria, June 15, 1873, marked “confidential,” being Enc. in *ibid.*, de Martino’s despatch to Visconti Venosta, dated Alexandria, June 29, 1873, marked “reserved.”
- ²²⁸ Alexandria.
- ²²⁹ I.e., December, 1872.
- ²³⁰ AER, Serie Politica, vol. 1297, Egitto, G. Marchetti’s report, probably to de Martino, undated, prob. 1876, being Enc. *ibid.*, in the Ministry of the Interior’s No. 6912, Div. Politica, No. 50, R. Egitto, returning this report.
- ²³¹ A. Dobignie’s report to Poujade, dated Nov. 19, 1868, being Enc. 1 in AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 44, f^{os} 189–197, Poujade’s No. 69, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Nov. 18, 1868.
- ²³² AE., Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 28, f^o 212, Sabatier’s No. 91, to Walewski, dated Alexandria, May 3, 1859.
- ²³³ *The Observer* (London), July 23, 1882, based on an article by a native of Egypt (anonymous) in the *Correspondance Politique*.
- ²³⁴ ‘Urabi?
- ²³⁵ AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 39, f^{os} 6 ss., Outrey’s No. 1, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Jan. 7, 1867.
- ²³⁶ I.e., Khedive Isma’il.
- ²³⁷ A. Dobignie’s report to Poujade on Halim and Freemasonry in Egypt, dated Nov. 18, 1868, being Enc. 4 in AE, Corr. Pol., Egypte, vol. 44, f^{os} 200–201, Poujade’s No. 69, to de Moustier, dated Alexandria, Nov. 18, 1868.
- ²³⁸ This list is—as far as I know—the first of its kind; therefore it is perforce far from complete. Periodicals are excluded, as no definite information could be obtained (see, however, above, footnote 52, and L. Shaykhu, *al-Sirr al-maşun fi hi’at al-farmasin*, Beirut, 1909–1911, p. 190). For typographical reasons diacritical marks have been kept to a minimum throughout.
- ²³⁹ The masonic date corresponds to 1809. A copy of this booklet may be consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

- ²⁴⁰ A. Wolfstieg, *Bibliographie des freimaurerischen Literatur* (Leipzig, Hierse-mann), Suppl. vol. (1926), p. 213.
- ²⁴¹ Publ. in Egypt, about 1887-1889; a copy may be consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- ²⁴² *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque nationale, Auteurs* (Paris), vol. cxxiv, 1933, p. 209. I was unable to consult this book on the spot, as it has been missing from the library since 1946.
- ²⁴³ Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 181. The author of this work, transl. from the French, is not mentioned by Shaykhu.
- ²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.
- ²⁴⁵ Yusuf Ilyan Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-matbu'at al-'arabiyya wa'l-mu'arraba* (Cairo, Matba'at Sarkis, 1928), p. 414.
- ²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1095, Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, pp. 182-183. *al-Muqtataf*, vol. xxii, Feb. 1, 1898, p. 149.
- ²⁴⁷ Acc. to Shaykhu, *ibid.*, p. 183, publ. in Egypt about 1895.
- ²⁴⁸ Wolfstieg, *op. cit.*, Suppl. vol., p. 213.
- ²⁴⁹ Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 183. Sarkis, *op. cit.*, p. 1096.
- ²⁵⁰ Shaykhu, *ibid.*, p. 190.
- ²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 184, Sarkis, *op. cit.*, p. 1096.
- ²⁵² Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 185, Sarkis, *op. cit.*, p. 1095.
- ²⁵³ Shaykhu, *ibid.*, p. 186, *al-Muqtataf*, vol. xxiv, June 1, 1900, p. 537, *al-Mashriq*, vol. iii, fasc. 18, Sep. 15, 1900, p. 859; cf. *ibid.*, fasc. 20, Oct. 15, 1900, pp. 955-956. Sarkis, *op. cit.*, p. 731, mentions, by the same author, another book (or is it the same?): *al-Khulasa al-masuniyya fadhilaka fi ta'rikh al-masuniyya wa-wajibatiha bi-hasb mawaddiha* (Cairo, 1900).
- ²⁵⁴ Shaykhu, *ibid.*, pp. 185-186.
- ²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190. Date of 1st ed. not mentioned.
- ²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
- ²⁵⁷ Wolfstieg, *op. cit.*, Suppl. vol., p. 213.
- ²⁵⁸ Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 186. Date of 1st ed. is not given.
- ²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 236 ss. Sarkis, *op. cit.*, p. 1750.
- ²⁶⁰ Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 190.
- ²⁶¹ Should be : 1905?
- ²⁶² Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 190.
- ²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- ²⁶⁴ Wolfstieg, *op. cit.*, Suppl. vol., p. 213.
- ²⁶⁵ *Sic.*
- ²⁶⁶ Wolfstieg, *loc. cit.* Obviously the same subject as the preceding.
- ²⁶⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.*: treats of discontent with the elections in the *Grande Loge*. May be consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- ²⁶⁸ *al-Hilal*, vol. xxxv, Feb. 1, 1927, p. 495.
- ²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. xxxv, Mar. 1, 1927, p. 629. *al-Muqtataf*, vol. lxx, May 1, 1927, p. 586. Yusuf As'ad Dagher, *Masadir al-dirasa al-adabiyya*, vol. ii, part 1 (Beirut, Manshurat ahl al-qalam fi Lubnan, 1955), p. 60.
- ²⁷⁰ *al-Hilal*, vol. xxxvii, July 1, 1929, pp. 1137-1138. Smaller works (lectures, articles) of the same, on freemasonry, are mentioned by C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. iii (Leiden, Brill, 1942), pp. 100, 107; cf. *ibid.*, p. 111.
- ²⁷¹ I have as yet been unable to find the date of the 1st ed.
- ²⁷² Includes publications whose date I was unable to ascertain.
- ²⁷³ Shaykhu, *al-Sirr etc.*, p. 183.
- ²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190.