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IN MA'ADI, NEAR CAIRO: LOCATING GLOBAL HISTORY

IN BRITISH-OCCUPIED EGYPT, 1878-1962

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company (Delta Land) broke ground on Ma'adi, a new residential development seven miles south of Cairo. The company organized Ma'adi as a town-and-country space, offering well-to-do residents the leisure of the country only a short train ride from the city center. Miniaturizing Haussmann's Paris, the space included a series of wide, tree-lined boulevards that met at garden-filled *midans* (Arabic for roundabout). Residents then built large villas and spacious gardens along the town's smaller streets. Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, these places became home to a mixture of former British colonial civil servants, European commercial expatriates, influential Egypt-born Jews, and upper middle-class Egyptians. Asking how the establishment of Ma'adi was possible, who supported Delta Land's venture, and what kind of social life and culture formed within the town, Ma'adi's history alters the focus of the Egypt's early-twentieth century political narrative. More than a story of growing Egyptian national independence in the face of British imperial decline, Ma'adi's history identifies a shared society and culture among the country's multinational elite, which continued to flourish despite major political changes. While the country saw two world wars and a nationwide revolution in the first half of the

twentieth century, Ma'adi continued to thrive under Delta Land's leadership. Identifying the means of the town's ongoing growth, Ma'adi's history locates in a single place British imperial compromise, ongoing Ottoman influence, Europeans rivalries over Egypt, and Egyptian nationalists' use of this multinational context when claiming independence. Significant change only came to Ma'adi in the years following the Second World War, when a military coup ousted Egypt's king and gradually looked to reorient the country's geo-political relationships. Even then revolution came to Ma'adi gradually, as residents organized to preserve the social and cultural norms associated with the town. As Egypt's new regime embraced a socialist Pan-Arab ideology, however, Ma'adi could not abide in its earlier form. With Egypt's place in the world changing, Ma'adi was absorbed into the sprawl of greater Cairo and increasingly appeared as the relic of a former elite who had lost their place of influence.

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Because the following addresses the history of a place built largely out of privilege, I would be remiss in not acknowledging my own advantages as I researched and wrote about Ma'adi. There is one existing history of the town, *Maadi, 1904-1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb*, written by longtime resident Samir W. Raafat. His book offered me a roadmap to the possible sources I might find on Ma'adi's history. While I never had the opportunity to meet Mr. Raafat in person, his work provided the foundation for much of my own.

The majority of my research was conducted in 2010 and 2011, when I received a Fulbright Scholarship from the U.S. Department of State to work in Egypt. When I arrived in Cairo in the autumn of 2010, I was not sure what kind of materials I would find, and prepared myself for a long year of combing through newspapers and tracking down oral histories. While both of those avenues proved promising, the real success of that year came when Mr. Raafat donated a large portion of his own research materials to the Rare Books and Special Collections Library at the American University in Cairo. I am especially grateful to Stephen Urgola, the university archivist, and his staff, who assisted me throughout the research process, turning me on to additional resources that further aided my efforts.

My research year came during a revolutionary period in Egypt's history, and the events of January 25, 2011 and their aftermath necessitated that I leave the country. I heard the news of Hosni Mubarak's downfall from England, where I continued my research for several months as conditions in Egypt remained unstable. I found an especially welcoming environment at Oxford University where the Middle East Centre Archive at St. Antony's College provided ample materials. The centre's archivist Debbie Usher offered invaluable assistance as I continued my

work. In England I also had the opportunity to conduct oral history interviews with some of Ma'adi's former residents, and I thank Gabriel Josipovici and his cousin Anna Joannides for allowing me into their homes and for sharing their memories with me.

Once I returned to Cairo, I had the opportunity to conduct oral history interviews with several of Ma'adi's longterm residents. Nadia Salem, Maggie Safwat, Ingy Safwat, and Maggie Zaki were especially gracious as they shared their recollections of their home, and the deep meaning Ma'adi's past had gained for them. Paul-Gordon Chandler provided valuable resources on the history of the Church of St. John. Amy Widener was not only my first friend in Ma'adi, but also paved the way for my first research breakthrough when she put me in touch with Ma'adi's expansive network of gardening enthusiasts. My research would not have been possible without the ongoing support and friendship of Mike and Mary Reimer, whose Digla flat became home to me. I am additionally grateful for the friendship of Bethany Andrews, GJ Tesar, Jenna and Julie Kuntzman, Kate Stricklan, Felicity Jaffrey, and the women of the *Maadi Messenger*.

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My own story ultimately became a small part of Ma'adi's ongoing history. I would not have known the town existed had my Aunt Tina, Uncle Sam, and cousins Micah and Mark not moved there in the early 1990s. My parents and siblings Matt, Jessica and Joel have been the stable base of my support network. I am ever grateful for my dad's charge since childhood to pursue my dreams, and my mom's constant faith that such achievement was possible. My life today is another instance of the global ties that form in places like Ma'adi, where multinational relationships continue informing the town's social fabric. Like so many Ma'adi residents before me, I met and eventually married another global traveler after our paths briefly crossed in this small suburban space outside Cairo. Because our story began in Ma'adi, it seems only fitting that I dedicate the following to my love and my constant companion in life's adventures Stephen DeVries.

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INTRODUCTION: “*fi Ma ‘adi, bal-Qahira*”

On the night of March 31, 1939, Lucy de Cramer died in her sleep at her home in Ma‘adi, seven miles south of Cairo. In reaction, Cairo’s English-language press gave an outpouring of condolences that described de Cramer as a fixture in an especially multinational sector of Cairene society. Imagining their Ma‘adi villa without Lucy, an anonymous “friend” wrote in the English weekly *The Sphinx*, “The hospitable Maadi house with its lovely garden will always be bright with the memory of Lucy de Cramer’s glowing personality at the piano and among the flowers. Her friends are innumerable and they belong to all classes, all countries and all ages.”¹ The *Egyptian Gazette*, the English newspaper of record in Egypt, similarly commented, “She and her husband made for themselves a charming house and lovely garden at Maadi, a few miles out of Cairo, which became a centre of a very varied circle.”² De Cramer (née Adamoli) was the daughter of an English mother and Italian father, and moved to Cairo from Naples in 1908, after her father became an Italian representative in Egypt’s international debt management. In Cairo, she met Erwin de Cramer, who was also employed by the Egyptian government.³ Erwin came from a similarly international background — an Austrian national, he grew up in Izmir, Turkey, where his father was the Austrian consul.⁴ The couple married in 1913, and subsequently moved to the up-and-coming garden suburb of Ma‘adi. Amid the newspapers’ sentimental portrayals of the de Cramers’ home life, both accounts also emphasized a household that participated in an

¹ “Lucy de Cramer, by a friend,” *The Sphinx*, 8 April 1939, Newspaper Clippings, Ma‘adi Collection (MC), The American University in Cairo (AUC), Egypt.

² “MME DE CRAMER,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 1939, Newspaper Clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

³ “Lucy de Cramer, by a friend,” *The Sphinx*, 8 April 1939.

⁴ “Bornova Cemetery Listing,” *Levantine Heritage*, <http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/bo.pdf>, accessed on 4 June 2012.

affluent and diverse social circle, located just outside Cairo among the homes and gardens of Ma'adi. What actually made this place and the community within it possible, however, is less obvious. How had this Anglo-Italian and Austrian couple made and maintained a home in Cairo until the late-1930s? Who was included among their “very varied” social circle? And why did the newspapers take care to associate them with this particular suburban space in Ma'adi?

Understanding how and why the de Cramers and other foreign nationals took up residence in Ma'adi and what that community came to mean requires a careful analysis of the specific terms on which foreigners came to Egypt. Beyond the global flow of state-led imperial influence into Egypt, the de Cramers participated in something more intricate and complicated. Ma'adi's story asks who these people were, how Egypt, and especially Cairo became their home, and how their influence not only shaped the landscape, but also informed the growth of the Egyptian nation during the first half of the twentieth century.⁵

For the de Cramers and those like them, Ma'adi served as the geographical focal point of their domicile in Egypt. The town became home to English engineers and lawyers, American heiresses, German scientists, amateur French archeologists, Syrian newspaper proprietors, Ottoman notables, Australian soldiers, and Egyptian government administrators — to name a few of those involved. Asking how this place and the relationships that formed there took shape means digging beneath the surface of this seemingly cosmopolitan community. Ma'adi is best understood when each layer of its existence is peeled back and carefully interpreted. In this way,

⁵ I present pathways as a both a social and spatial process, where movement helps construct social relationships, while also being shaped by the surrounding society. I take my understanding from geographer Allan Pred's work on space and structuration. See Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74:2 (1984), 279-297.

the circumstances that informed each stage of its development and the interests the town served can be identified.

The history of Ma'adi's establishment and ongoing growth runs from the late-nineteenth century context of its founding to Egypt's mid-twentieth century period of revolution, when the basis of its earlier society was uprooted. These years coincided with the British occupation of Egypt, which began in 1882 and lasted until the early 1950s. While this simultaneity was more than coincidental, analyzing the nature of Ma'adi's connection to British imperial power offers a lesson in the empire's compromises and inconsistencies. John Darwin describes the British empire as a complex and multifaceted "world-system," which he argues looked to gain influence more than control.⁶ He presents Egypt as a central part of this nuanced arrangement, explaining that the British did not identify the country as a sovereign state but as a semi-autonomous part of the Ottoman empire. As such, occupying Egypt with an aim to maintain its economic and political stability had the strategic value of not only securing passage to the Indian Ocean, but also of preventing another foreign power from taking its place of influence with the Ottoman sultanate.⁷ While the British occupation involved significant force and myriad unintended consequences — particularly as its leaders anticipated it would only be a brief interlude — the work of British officials in Egypt looked to refortify the country's existing form of governance

⁶ John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 64.

⁷ Ibid., 70-71.

rather than replace it altogether.⁸ The development of multinational places like Ma'adi depended not only on the perceived political and economic stability brought by the British occupation, but also on the maintenance of older Ottoman systems and policies.⁹

Ma'adi was founded in 1904 as a foreign-owned venture in private real estate development, which grew out of Egypt's late-nineteenth century economic growth under the British. It was owned and operated by the Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company, Ltd. (Delta Land Company), which was initially created to build new residential areas on the lands surrounding the railway lines of its parent company the Egyptian Delta Light Railways (Delta Railways).¹⁰ Both Delta companies were registered as English. While several former British colonial civil servants served on the board of directors or worked as managers of the companies, Delta Railways and Delta Land were not the direct products of British imperial prerogatives. Instead, the companies had deeper local roots and depended on the financial backing and administrative leadership of Egypt's leading Jewish bankers. Delta Land concentrated its efforts on Ma'adi because the company's Jewish owners sold their lands south of Old Cairo to the company so that they could be developed through the new venture.¹¹ Understanding how these companies became "English" while they depended on Egyptian Jewish support requires an

⁸ Because the British empire worked within Egypt's existing statecraft, their complex and often inconsistent form of influence has yielded a number of different historical analyses. For Ronald Robinson and Jack Gallagher Egypt served as a clear example of the transition from informal to formal empire. Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher and Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians*, 2nd ed. (London: MacMillan Press, 1981) In contrast, P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins describe Egypt as an example of the prioritization of British imperial prerogatives, where the empire in North Africa did not control the country as substantially because it was of less overall significance than the dominions and India. P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, 2nd ed. (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2002).

⁹ Bent Hansen, "Interest Rates and Foreign Capital in Egypt under British Occupation," *The Journal of Economic History*, 43:4 (Dec., 1983), 867-884.

¹⁰ "Dissolved Companies 1972: No. of Company 80708; Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company Limited; F VOL," 1904-1972. BT 31/43735.

¹¹ Ibid.

examination of the detailed ways that Ottoman financial and judicial systems remained in place during the British occupation.

Until the mid-twentieth century, Egypt offered foreign subjects near extra-territorial status, exempting them from taxes and the jurisdiction of local courts. These financial privileges, known as the capitulations, dated back to the sixteenth century when the Ottoman sultan created them to increase trade with Western European countries.¹² Throughout the Ottoman territories, including Egypt, the policies exempted foreign subjects and foreign-registered businesses from local laws, including taxation, which, in turn, encouraged foreign domicile in Egyptian cities and other commercial hubs under Ottoman authority. In Egypt these policies were further institutionalized by the Mixed Courts, which established a separate legal system for foreign nationals that remained in place from 1876 until 1949, thus preserving the capitulation benefits well after the fall of the Ottoman empire.¹³ While the the Mixed Courts were created to keep a preponderance of foreign consuls from overrunning Egypt's legal system, they also allowed each of the world's "Great Powers" and "middle powers" to have a representative judge in the country. This meant that the United States and most European countries, especially England, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia, had a hand in Egyptian governance for first half of the twentieth century.¹⁴

¹² Mauritis H. van den Boogert, *Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beraths in the 18th Century*, Studies in Islamic Law and Society, Ruud Peters and Bernard Weiss, eds., 21 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 7.

¹³ Nathan J. Brown, "The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt, *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*, 25:1 (Feb. 1993), 33-52.

¹⁴ Sir Richard Vaux, "Egyptian and Other Episodes: Personal, Political, and Legal," unpublished memoir, 1941. GB165-0293, Middle East Centre Archives (MECA), St. Antony's College, Oxford University, UK.

For their part, British authorities in Egypt officially deplored the capitulations and Mixed Courts. Lord Cromer, the British consul-general of Egypt from 1883 to 1907, considered them part of Egypt's "heterogenous mass of international cobwebs" — elements that the Englishman, whose "mission was to save Egyptian society," had arrived to combat, not benefit from. Yet, Cromer relented, the delicate balance of power worked out among the states invested in the courts made their abolition impudent and diplomatically implausible.¹⁵ Instead, the British Residency, as the seat of imperial power in Egypt was known, exerted its influence by placing former colonial civil servants on the boards of important private commercial endeavors. For instance, Ma'adi's founders included Sir Elwin Palmer, a former Anglo-Indian official who came to Egypt to serve as the financial adviser to Egypt's khedive (Ottoman viceroy). In 1898, Palmer left government employ to start the National Bank of Egypt.¹⁶ Although he was now a private citizen, his establishment of the bank fulfilled British imperial aims for reforming Egyptian finance, even as the new initiative worked within the parameters of the capitulations and Mixed Courts and allowed Palmer to profit from his status as a foreign citizen. Incidentally, it was also through this endeavor that he first partnered with the Egyptian Jewish bankers with whom he would help establish Ma'adi six years later.

The maintenance of the capitulations and Mixed Courts not only attracted foreign businesses and their employees to Egypt, it also made acquiring foreign nationality profitable for Egyptians. France and Italy, which were heavily invested in preventing Britain from gaining full control over Egypt's affairs, regularly granted their respective nationalities to Egyptians with the means to pay for it. For the European powers this afforded them more influence within the

¹⁵ Evelyn Baring, Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, Vols. 1-2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 125.

¹⁶ No. 14 of 1906, "Sir Elwin Palmer, KCB, KCMG, deceased," FO 841/87.

Mixed Courts. This also meant that many people born and raised in Egypt were technically foreign subjects. The Egyptian Jews who helped found Ma'adi, for example, had lived in Egypt for generations yet retained foreign nationality in order to ensure that their various banking and commercial endeavors enjoyed the benefits of the capitulations.¹⁷ So while Ma'adi was ostensibly founded by former British colonial civil servants and Egyptian Jews, the various nationalities involved in its establishment included Italian, Austro-Hungarian, and one English passport holder who had all spent their lives in Egypt.¹⁸

The continuity of the capitulations and Mixed Courts until the mid-twentieth century helped ensure the basic legal and economic terms of Ma'adi's ongoing existence. As a real estate development, however, Ma'adi's success also relied upon its connection to the society and culture that surrounded it. The human stories that informed life within this place — ones like those expressed by Egypt's English newspapers about the de Cramer family — offer a detailed look into who utilized these foreign privileges to set up a life in Cairo and why. To understand how these people made homes for themselves on the outskirts of the Egyptian capital, their participation in Egyptian society must be carefully unpacked.

At the same time that Ma'adi's ongoing growth abutted British imperial influence, the town also developed in tandem with Egyptian nationalists' movement for independence. This begs the question: how did foreign domicile in Egypt affect the nationalist movement? Did Egyptians claim independence as a counterpoint to the impact of foreigners, or did Egyptian

¹⁷ Gudrun Krämer, *The Jews of Modern Egypt, 1914-1952* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1989), 31-32.

¹⁸ BT 31/43735 "Baron Jacques de Menasce and Barnon Charles de Mensace," FO 141/655/6.

nationalists, like British imperialists, accommodate and adapt to the multinational influences simultaneously located in their country? Until the Second World War, Egyptian nationalism was largely led by the *effendiyya*, which roughly translates to the intelligentsia.¹⁹ Michael Eppel explains that the *effendiyya* included a growing upper-middle class of Egyptian lawyers, scholars, business leaders, and other professionals who strategically incorporated certain European influences into their vision of modern Egyptian identity.²⁰ Lisa Pollard identifies these adoptive acts with changes to elite Egyptian households, where influential nationalists, particularly those associated with Egypt's leading opposition party, the Wafd (Arabic for delegation), emphasized their rejection of the harem by embracing the single-family home.²¹ For wealthy nationalists, establishing that single-family home among the villas and gardens of places like Ma'adi became an advantageous way of exhibiting their nationalist modernity and prestige. Particularly after the First World War and the subsequent Wafd-led nationwide revolution in 1919, Ma'adi saw a significant increase in its population of upper middle-class Egyptians.²²

As it participated in trends informing both Egyptian nationalism and British imperialism, Ma'adi's history drew together what might otherwise be seen as incompatible halves of the country's history. Egypt's political history during the first half of the twentieth century is characterized by a number of combative encounters between imperialist and nationalist forces.

The onset of the First World War saw Britain declare war on the Ottoman empire and proclaim

¹⁹ An extensive exploration of the significance of the *effendiyya* to Egyptian middle-class identity is undertaken in Arthur Goldschmidt, ed. *Egyptianizing Modernity Through the 'New Effendiyya': Social and Cultural Constructions of the Middle Class in Egypt under the Monarchy* (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2005).

²⁰ Michael Eppel, "Notes and Comments: Note about the term *effendiyya* in the history of the Middle East," *IJMES*, 41 (2009), 535-9.

²¹ Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 5.

²² "Delta Land Company Land Purchases," 1904-1940. MC, AUC, Egypt.

Egypt a protectorate — its most forceful assertion of imperial control over the country up to that time. The period of dominance was short-lived, however. Following the 1919 revolution, Britain revoked the protectorate and by 1922 nominally acknowledged Egyptian independence. The country had a new constitution the following year. While these events appear to create a clear political break, their impact on Ma‘adi offers a lesson in how political ruptures did not always translate into a clearcut binary division between national and imperial interests. Ma‘adi experienced its own wartime disruptions, particularly as its German and Austro-Hungarian residents were forced to depart from their homes in Egypt as “enemy aliens.” While the process of enemy repatriation proved traumatic for many of the people involved, it also opened up space for Ma‘adi to become less strictly identified with foreign domicile. In the years following the war, Ma‘adi increasingly accommodated elite members of the *effendiyya* who associated residence in the town with their independent upward mobility. While Ma‘adi’s demography shifted somewhat as it became home to more Egyptians, these postwar changes did not uproot the town’s association with upper middle-class status. If anything, the movement of the *effendiyya* into Ma‘adi further embedded this multinational society into its Egyptian setting.

That Ma‘adi participated in elements of imperialism and nationalism connected it to similar events going on elsewhere in the other commercial centers of the Ottoman empire. During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, foreign business influence grew throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This not only affected trade relationships, but also the physical development of the sultanate’s urban spaces, adding to their social and cultural complexity. In Izmir, for instance, a growing number of foreigners domiciled in the port-city supported the growth of its infrastructure, including the port, railway, and urban transport

systems.²³ Faruk Tabak attributes the development of Ottoman port-cities to the openings and opportunities created by European competition. He explains that because no single European power unilaterally took control over the sultanate, these port-cities “became nodes of political incertitude and promise and hence a world of possibilities, where striking alliances among and between seemingly unlikely partners — imperial contenders and indigenous aspirants — was always an eventuality.” More than historic instances of cross-cultural understanding or idyllic cosmopolitanism, Tabak argues that these urban areas developed because of the larger context of the Ottoman world-system, which that did not draw a clear boundary between nationals and foreigners.²⁴

In Egypt, where the interests of nationalists and commercial expatriates and imperialists all appeared politically divergent, Ma‘adi joined these “nodes of political incertitude,” particularly as it grew out of the commercial interests of expatriates who benefitted from the capitulations and Mixed Courts. Historians of Egypt’s economy have attempted to reconcile the economic significance of these foreigners with their distance from national political interests. Robert Tignor calls them Egypt’s “foreign-resident bourgeoisie,” explaining that they domiciled themselves abroad, and continued to identify as either British or European nationals even while their economic activities broke with the European powers’ imperialist prerogatives for Egypt, thus blurring the lines between foreign and local interests.²⁵ Marius Deeb similarly looks at the influence of this population and articulates a different moniker for Europeans embedded in

²³ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Making of an Ottoman Port: The quay of Izmir in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Transport History*, 22:1 (March 2001), 23-46.

²⁴ Faruk Tabak, "Imperial rivalry and port-cities: a view from the top," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 24:2 (December 2009), 79-94; 91.

²⁵ Robert Tignor, *State, Private Enterprise, and Economic Change in Egypt, 1918-1952* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 3-5.

Egypt, calling them “local foreign minorities.” He argues that while these minorities did not necessarily assimilate into local society, they “can be regarded as a major agent of change affecting the internal development of Egypt’s social and economic history.”²⁶ Robert Vitalis additionally looks at the closely intertwined interests of the varied group that led Egypt’s economic development and argues that they did not necessarily think in binary terms of foreign versus national, but instead formed diverse coalitions.²⁷ These different articulations of multinational influence usefully identify how deeply foreign interests were integrated into the local Egyptian economy. By showing the location of these resident foreigners within the same domestic place as imperialists and nationalists, Ma’adi’s history offers a concentrated look at the social and cultural fabric that additionally blurred the boundary between political and national differences.

Rather than attempting to identify the people in Ma’adi as either foreign or local, or as either national or imperial, Ma’adi’s history moves these political inflected categories to the background. Instead, its story identifies the gradual transitions and social and cultural continuities that also informed Egypt’s history during the first half of the twentieth century. Asking for whom the town was designed, who participated in its creation, and who performed the labor of its construction helps situate its multinational appeal among its residents’ shared class identity.

²⁶ Marius Deeb, "The Socioeconomic Role of Local Foreign Minorities in Modern Egypt, 1805-1961," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan. 1978), pp. 11-22; 11.

²⁷ Robert Vitalis, *When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt* (Berkeley, Calif., Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995), xvi.

Delta Land originally designed Ma'adi as a “garden city,” an urban design scheme that had been recently promoted in London and quickly gained a global following in continental Europe, the United States, and Japan.²⁸ Sir Ebenezer Howard originally conceived of the garden city as a “town-and-country” space that would meet the needs of the poor by alleviating urban overcrowding and rejuvenating depleted rural geographies. To do this, Howard conceived of a space outside the city that would be carefully organized as a satellite town, with deliberate green spaces, well-organized residential zones, and designated commercial, agricultural, and industrial areas. Ma'adi never fulfilled the more radical elements of the garden city design, like cross-class housing and shared economic profit.²⁹ It did, however, mimic many of the signature qualities of the garden city's built environment.

Delta Land laid out Ma'adi's streets in a pattern of wide, diagonal boulevards, which intersected at centralizing *midans* (Arabic for roundabout). Each *midan* contained public park space, with footpaths, benches, and greenery cultivated by the company. The boulevards were additionally lined with trees. Smaller residential streets worked in a rectangular grid that crisscrossed the diagonal patterns of these wider boulevards. These streets were lined with villas and their large gardens. Residents who purchased homes in Ma'adi had their own obligations to its upkeep. Delta Land stipulated that homes could not be used for any commercial reason, that villas could not exceed 15 meters in height, and that the property had to remain visually open and could not be surrounded by a wall but should have a green hedge around the perimeter.³⁰ These

²⁸ Ken Tadashi Oshima, “Denenchōfu: Building the Garden City in Japan,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55: 2 (June, 1996), 140-51.

²⁹ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902).

³⁰ These restrictions were outlined through a *Cahier des Charges*, which varied varying little from 1909 to 1944. “*Acte de Vente et Cahier des Charges*,” May 7, 1909; June 11, 1935 and 1944, MC, AUC, Egypt.

terms were intended to give Ma'adi a consistent design and ensure that all residents participated in the town on the same terms. It also, less officially, set financial and cultural barriers around who could participate in Ma'adi as a resident, and who performed the necessary labor for its construction and maintenance. Philip Ackerman argues that country homes like the villas in Ma'adi are characterized by specific classed relationships. He presents the villa as an object of bourgeois consumption, where its location near the city offers homeowners a necessary connection to work in the urban center at the same time that the actual labor of its upkeep is performed by lower class servants.³¹ Ackerman does not see the garden city as the potential utopia Howard envisioned, but as evidence of the expansion of middle-class buying power — villas now comprising whole communities deliberately located outside the city center, yet still dependent on urban capital and lower class labor.³²

Ma'adi was not the only community to participate in these upper middle-class patterns of real estate consumerism. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, Egypt's capital was known for being home to “two Cairos.” It included a “European” city that had been modeled after Hausmann's Paris, with wide boulevards and refurbished building facades. This was paired with a medieval, largely Islamic city that remained characterized by close quarters and winding, unpaved roads, which remained generally undeveloped in comparison to Cairo's other half.³³ In the early years of the twentieth century, Delta Land had several competitors similarly looking to profit from the expansion of Cairo's European city. In 1905, the Nile Land and Agricultural

³¹ James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, A.W. Mellon Lectures in Fine Arts (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 10.

³² *Ibid.*, 17.

³³ André Raymond, *Cairo: City of History* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 333-8, and Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 222-3.

Company used a French architect to design their aptly named Garden City near the center of Cairo's existing "European" development.³⁴ The following year, the Belgian Baron Edouard Empain, who had already developed Cairo's tramway system, established Heliopolis in the northeastern desert outside the city through his Heliopolis Oasis Company.³⁵ Each of Cairo's "garden cities" looked to draw in the city's growing population of resident foreigners domiciled in Egypt, as they exerted a significant impact on the country's financial development. The middle-class prestige also exemplified by these neighborhoods additionally made them home to Egypt's *effendiyya* following the First World War — so much so that Garden City's close proximity to the expanding capital made it less and less a distinctive planned community. Heliopolis experienced a postwar population boom, growing from 9,200 in 1921 to 224,000 in 1928, so that it became an urban space in its own right.³⁶ Of Cairo's three garden cities, only Ma'adi continued to display the hallmarks of Howard's "town-and-country" aesthetic and remained separate from the city until later in the twentieth century.

Looking more closely at the social relationships and cultural similarities at work among Ma'adi's residents offers a mode for exploring in greater detail how Egypt's resident foreigners participated in the social complexities of the country more broadly. Work on class and empire usefully informs the discussion of how elite foreigners and nationals might have been simultaneously attracted to Ma'adi. David Cannadine's examination of how the British perceived their empire places shared class identification at the center of imperial relationships. He argues

³⁴ Samir Raafat, "Garden City: A Retrospective, Part I," Egy.com (Aug. 6, 1998), accessed 6 May 2013, <http://www.egy.com/gardencity/98-08-06.php>.

³⁵ Robert Ilbert, "Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success?" In *Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo*, edited by Ahmet Evin. Singapore: Concept Media, the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1985) accessed June 25, 2008. http://archnet.org/library/documents/one-document.jsp?document_id=2663.

³⁶ Ibid., 37.

that British administrators throughout the empire looked to partner with indigenous elites in order to maintain what they perceived as “natural” hierarchies, which often blurred the line between colonizer and colonized.³⁷ As a method for preserving the status of local elites, the maintenance of the capitulations and Mixed Courts allowed British officials to work with wealthy local notables even if the systems subverted the straightforward reorganization of Egyptian finance. This provided some of the social substance behind nationalists’, imperialists’ and commercial expatriates’ mutual participation in Ma‘adi, where shared class identification obfuscated ideological and national differences.

In Egypt the story of elite preservation and growth of the upper middle-class also involved the mitigated decline of the Ottoman empire. The growth of the *effendiyya* was not only about the increased power of indigenous Egyptians, but also about what Beth Baron calls the “dramatic social and political transformation from Ottomanism to Egyptian nationalism” among the country’s existing elites.³⁸ Looking specifically at the position of elite women who supported the Wafd, Baron examines how women from diverse backgrounds in wealthy Circassian, Syrian, Coptic, and Turkish households all increasingly shared a focus on the Egyptian nation as the center of their activism.³⁹ While Baron emphasizes a definite turning point from the Ottoman period to an era of nationalism, these elite women’s incorporation into the independence movement also marked the maintenance of former notable’s social influence during the country’s political transition. As part of this changeover, the Egyptian government also passed a new

³⁷ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

³⁸ Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 165.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

nationality law in 1929 that allowed all formerly foreign subjects who shared in Egypt's majority religion, culture, and language to become Egyptian nationals. The policy helped ensure that former subjects of the Ottoman empire who were Muslim and spoke Arabic could continue participating in the Egyptian nation. While the law provided a way for the former Ottoman elites to remain in the country, it also set terms for the increased exclusion of religious minorities.⁴⁰ For their part, the British additionally preserved Ottoman influence through the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy. When the British declared Egypt a protectorate rather than abolishing the khedivate, they initially replaced it with a sultanate. Husayn Kamil, the son of former Khedive Isma'il, became Egypt's first sultan in 1914, and was succeeded by his brother Fuad in 1917. After 1922, Fuad became Egypt's first king.⁴¹

In the years after the First World War, Ma'adi became increasingly identified with this reoriented Ottoman elite, particularly the royal family. When the town erected its first mosque in 1939, the town's Muslim community named it Masjid Faruq al-Awal (Faruq I Mosque) after Fuad's son, who came to the throne in 1936.⁴² In 1949 Delta Land named one of its larger boulevards Avenue Amira Fawzia (Princess Fawzia) after Fuad's daughter.⁴³ Ma'adi's identification with the Egyptian monarchy allowed the town to include older forms of notability among its signifiers of Egyptian prestige. This maintenance of Ottoman power within the

⁴⁰ Krämer, *The Jews of Modern Egypt*, 31-32; and Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 38.

⁴¹ Amy Witherbee, *Fuad I* (2007), MasterFILE Premier (25181427). On widespread European interest in the position of the khedive see Donald M. McKale, "Influence Without Power: The Last Khedive of Egypt and the Great Powers, 1914-1918," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 33:1 (Jan., 1997), 20-39. On British intervention to preserve Fuad's royal line with the ascension of Faruq, see Michael T. Thornhill, "Informal Empire, Independent Egypt and the Accession of King Farouk," *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, 38:2 (June 2010), 279-302.

⁴² *Al-Ahram*, 18 Feb. 1939, 1. Newspaper clippings, MC, AUC, Cairo.

⁴³ S. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb* (Cairo: The Palm Press, 1994), 27.

Egyptian nation allowed the pre-revolutionary elite to continue participating in Egypt's growing independence. In this context, Ma'adi put the names of Egypt's Ottoman-descended royalty on public display as it continued to also participate in the hallmarks of interwar Egyptian nationalists' middle-class prestige.

Ma'adi's historical significance comes from its participation in social and cultural trends that took place on national, regional, and global levels. Its history situates British imperial influence alongside the signifiers upper middle-class Egyptian nationalism. Likewise, it locates the maintenance of Ottoman notability amid the contest over the shape of an independent nation. Ultimately, it shows how shared social and cultural patterns can hold together seemingly divergent political and economic ideologies. Ma'adi was not a place of contradiction, but one that indicated the gradual and often uneven transitions at work within Egypt throughout the late-nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

Ma'adi's story as a space of complex continuity concludes after the more dramatic changes wrought by the revolutionary events of the 1950s and 1960s. Most Ma'adi residents hopefully anticipated a new era for Egypt following the Free Officers' military coup in 1952 and subsequent abolition of the monarchy. One longterm resident recalled a widespread distaste with Faruq within her well-to-do social circle in Ma'adi. "It was like everybody wanted something to happen," she remembered.⁴⁴ Yet, unlike 1919, the political changes that followed 1952 did not preserve Egypt's multinational upper middle-class. Instead, the elite society and culture that had been so integral to Ma'adi's maintenance came to signify the very hierarchies that Gamal Abdel

⁴⁴ Ingy Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

Nasser's new government looked to undo. Gradually, Nasser embraced a socialist, Pan-Arab vision for Egypt's future. His ideological stance, in turn, made places like Ma'adi the antithesis of his aims for the country's future. After the nationalization of Delta Land in 1962, Ma'adi did not altogether disappear but many of its social and cultural distinctions were erased as it became absorbed into late-twentieth century sprawl of greater Cairo. Several of the residents who stayed in Ma'adi invested their efforts in its preservation. Despite their attempts, however, Ma'adi lost its place of significance among Egypt's ruling class. No longer a space where a varied body of national and foreign elites might mutually display their prestige, it became the location where big trees, somewhat tattered gardens, and dilapidated villas served as monuments of a bygone era. The history of those places, however, points to a multinational and globally interconnected past, the complexities of which should not be eclipsed by the revolutionary events of the mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER ONE: FOUNDATION

On December 22, 1904, the Cairene daily *Al-Muqattam* reported that the Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company (Delta Land Company) had recently expanded its property by purchasing an additional 700 feddans (726 acres) of land. The acquisition became the basis for the company's development of Ma'adi, south of Cairo — its most significant construction project. Before the company broke ground on Ma'adi, *Al-Muqattam* had already lauded Delta Land's purchase, estimating that the land awaited a "great future" in the company's hands. The newspaper went on to praise Delta Land for its increased capital and quick rise in value after being founded only a few months earlier — growth that the company would report to its shareholders at the upcoming general meeting at its London headquarters.¹

Al-Muqattam had a strong reputation of support for the British occupation.² Owned by Syrian publisher Dr. Faris Nimr, a Christian who founded the newspaper in 1889, its views often fell afoul of Egypt's Muslim majority.³ For Delta Land, with its headquarters in London and status as an English-registered company, the praise from *Al-Muqattam* appeared to fall into step with the paper's political leanings.⁴ Several of the company's founding board members, including chairman Sir Auckland Colvin, were former British colonial civil servants who later turned to Delta Land as a private business venture. Their involvement situated the company's land development goals, particularly its connection to the railway expansion conducted by its

¹ *Al-Muqattam*, (22 Dec. 1904), p. 3.

² Tayseer Abu Arja, *Al-Muqattam, jaridat al-ihtilal al-Baritani fi Misr* (Cairo: 1997).

³ Ami Ayalon, "Christian 'Intruders', Muslim 'Bigots': The Egyptian-Syrian press controversy in late nineteenth century Cairo," in *Jews, Muslims, and Mass Media: Mediating the 'Other'*, ed. Tudar Parfit with Yulia Egorova (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 15-27.

⁴ Nimr's connection to Delta Land only increased over time, and in 1921 he purchased a villa in Ma'adi and moved his family to the town. "Social and Personal," *The Egyptian Gazette*, Feb. 8, 1932, 8; and Raafat, *Ma'adi, 1904-1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb* (Cairo: The Palm Press, 1994), 63.

parent company the Egyptian Delta Light Railways, appear in sync with the paternalist modernization and industrialization efforts promoted by British imperial authorities. In turn, *Al-Muqattam*'s support for these various forms of British influence appeared as evidence of what Cromer identified as the positive influences that assuaged the potential conflict over the British imperial influence in Egypt, which he argued "has been mitigated by the respect due to superior talents, and by the benefits which have been accrued to the population from British interference."⁵ Yet the exact context the paper's praise for Delta Land, particularly the details of the company's relationship to the colonial administration was not quite so straightforward as to be a direct product of this British interference. Asking exactly whose hands the company awaited a "great future" within poses a more complicated question than an examination of the machinations of the British empire fully addresses.

In particular, Delta Land's success as a private business venture in Egypt depended on foreign economic and legal privileges that Cromer identified as a central challenge to British authority. He continued, "the Egyptian administration had to be reformed without any organic changes being effected in the conditions under which the government had been conducted prior to the British occupation." These continuities meant the maintenance of Ottoman systems, specifically the viceroyalty or khedivate, and the capitulations and Mixed Courts, which secured the ongoing involvement of other European powers in Egypt's economy and judiciary alongside the British occupation — entities that Cromer explained for "diplomatic and other reasons" they had to maintain.⁶ What that lack of "organic change" actually looked like is not easily incorporated into histories that focus specifically on the impact of empires and imperialisms.

⁵ Evelyn Baring, Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, Vols. 1-2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 5-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

After all, the British occupation brought significant and often violent alterations not only to Egypt's government administration, but also to the country's infrastructure, particularly in the area of agriculture, where they managed to change the flow of the Nile.⁷ More than a contradiction, the question remains: how can the transformations brought by the occupation be held together with the internal continuities that colonial administrators considered an ongoing frustration?

Al-Muqattam's praise for Delta Land offers a snapshot of how British imperialism worked alongside the maintenance of a myriad of other multinational influences simultaneously at work in Egypt. As a pro-British newspaper, *Al-Muqattam's* optimism about Delta Land indicated the company's overlap with the modernization goals of the British empire. Yet, as a foreign-owned, private business, Delta Land was also an entity outside of imperial control. The land company, like *Al-Muqattam*, was foremost a foreign-owned entity in an economy where foreigner-status translated into tax exemption, legal protection, and often significant profit. Understanding what made the establishment of Ma'adi not only possible, but also successful requires addressing the complexities of the economic context that the British could not strategically upend, and a certain class of wealthy foreigners and Egyptians looked to maintain. Identifying who exactly was behind the company charts the nature of Ma'adi's connections to the imperial regime, addresses how its leaders grounded the company and town within Egypt's foreign-dominated economy, and attends to whose leadership Ma'adi depended upon for its initial growth. The former colonial civil servants who helped found Delta Land relied on financial relationships maintained by prominent Egyptian Jews, whose banking ventures helped

⁷ On the impact of Anglo-Indian colonial civil servants like Cromer, see Robert Tignor, "The 'Indianization' of the Egyptian Administration under British Rule," *The American Historical Review*, 68:3 (Apr., 1963), 636-661.

bring European capital into Egypt. What was more, the company and the town increasingly relied on an influx of commercial expatriates from elsewhere in the Levant, who had often been the beneficiaries of the capitulations for generations. Their influence situated Ma'adi's development amid the expansion of other late-Ottoman trade centers like Alexandria and Izmir. Following the stories of Ma'adi's founders, asking how they came to Delta Land, and why they invested their time, money, and energy into this space on the outskirts of Cairo allows the history of the town's establishment to become a focal point for examining how certain continuities transcended the ruptures of the occupation. In turn, Ma'adi's establishment begs the question, what did it mean for Egypt to simultaneously be a space of both the British and Ottoman empires? What did that coexistence look like on the ground? And how did those dueling geopolitical identities function in relationship to the movement of more expatriate businessmen and their families to Egypt?

From India to Egypt

Colvin already had a long and complicated connection to Egypt when he became the Delta Land Company's founding chairman in 1904. Of all the men tied to the company's establishment, he had the strongest, most ideologically infused belief in the benevolent power of empire, making his position as chair Delta Land's most overt link to the British imperial administration. Yet his work in private business in Egypt also meant that he profited from the capitulations — foreign privileges that he, like Cromer, claimed continually undermined straightforward imperial reform in Egypt. Colvin's words and actions appear most out of sync with one another late in his career, when after retiring from the colonial civil service he chaired

several foreign companies in Egypt at the same time that he wrote a tome on the benevolence of British imperial influence, called *The Making of Modern Egypt*, which he published in 1906.⁸ In it, Colvin argued that the capitulations had rendered Europeans in Egypt a disservice to the country, explaining, “In Egypt... as elsewhere in the Levant, the European is *sui generis*. He has been brought up under the worst of all possible regimes, the Capitulations. His chief business is the acquisition of wealth, which is usually the most engrossing of pursuits...”⁹ How Colvin came to link his own financial gains to these policies opens up an analysis of the kinds of complex compromises British imperial power undertook at a time when a variety of foreign influences came into Egypt during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. While Colvin did not describe it explicitly, the limitations of British imperial power in Egypt were embedded in his changing relationship to Egyptian finance.

Colvin first arrived in Egypt from India in January 1878 as the head a cadastral survey, researching the country’s real estate and property ownership boundaries. His goal was to find a more effective means of extracting taxes from the countryside in the wake of Egypt’s bankruptcy two years earlier. The disarray of Egyptian finances opened up the country to the intervention of a variety of foreign powers. Khedive Isma‘il had incurred the majority of Egypt’s debts through both his personal expenditures, as well as the renovation of Cairo, which he attempted to work out along the lines of Haussmann’s Paris.¹⁰ Isma‘il sold his shares of the Suez Canal Company to the British government in order to cover the debt, which resulted in more direct British involvement in the country’s governance — an intrusion Colvin arrived to represent. As an

⁸ Sir Auckland Colvin, KCSI, KCMG, CIE, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, 4th ed. (London: Seeley & Co., Ltd., 1906).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 243.

¹⁰ André Raymond, *Cairo: City of History* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 317.

employee of the khedive's government, Colvin found himself working amid a range of international interests, with Egyptian nationalist, British, French, and Ottoman claims all struggling for supremacy. For the next five years he watched Egypt's situation deteriorate as it faced ongoing financial duress, a growing nationalist movement, a tangle of intervening foreign powers, and, eventually, British military invasion and occupation.

Colvin in many ways appeared as the ideal representative of British colonial interests in Egypt. He came with a kind of imperial pedigree. His grandfather first relocated the family to India in 1778 when he joined the employ of the East India Company. Auckland's father John Russell Colvin later served as the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces until the collapse of company rule in 1857.¹¹ Auckland continued the family line of imperial representation in India, starting his career as an official in the North-West and then becoming under-secretary of the Indian government's home department. After his five-year interval in Egypt, he returned to work for the British Raj in India and retired from colonial civil service in 1892.

Colvin's work in Indian regional financial management paved the way for his movement to Egypt. Soon after his move to Cairo, the Egyptian government underwent an overhaul from the top down. Succumbing to British and French pressure, the Ottoman sultan deposed Isma'il in 1879 and established the khedive's more passive son Tawfiq in his place. The Egyptian budget and other financial concerns were then placed under the Anglo-French Dual Control. While the changes met the demands of foreign governments (the primary holders of Egyptian debt) the combination of a weakened khedivate and budgetary changes that increased taxes and cut

¹¹ Sir Auckland Colvin, KCSI, KCMG, CIE, *John Russell Colvin: The Last Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Company*. Rulers of India series (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895), 15.

military spending fueled nationalist fervor and further destabilizing state authority. Colvin became the British representative in the Dual Control in the summer of 1880, making him one of Britain's chief representatives in Egypt at a time when the country looked increasingly on the brink of revolution.¹²

Initially, Colvin lauded Egypt's liberal nationalist movement as the result of positive European influence on Egyptian society. In December 1881, Colvin described his opinion of the movement in a memo to the Foreign Office:

In its origin the movement is, I think unquestionably an Egyptian movement against Turkish arbitrary rule. The rebound from Ismail Pasha's tyranny, the growing emancipation of the Egyptian mind owing to its close contact with Europeans, and the opportunity given by the anomalous position finds herself in relation severally to Turkey and the Two Powers, have immediately led to the events we are now witnessing.¹³

The statement reveals a great deal about Colvin's basic assumptions about Britain's role in the world, and the narrative that he believed Egypt would follow into the future. He presumed a teleological modernization, where Egypt, through close interaction with Europe, would eventually progress, and be "emancipated" from the inferiority of intellect and ideology instilled by Ottoman rule. The movement along this narrative route had an additional spatial dimension, moving away from the Eastern influence of Turkey, and toward closer ties to the West through

¹² Historians of Egypt argue that the Dual Control was evidence of European imperial coordination, rather than rivalry. Arguing against Robinson and Gallagher's claim that European powers undertook a competitive "scramble for Africa," AbdelAziz EzzelArab argues that the British and French coordinated their policies to undermine the power of Sharif Pasha's cabinet in the late-1870s. EzzelArab, "The Experiment of Sharif Pasha's Cabinet (1879)," *IJMES*, (Nov. 2004), 583-584.

¹³ No. 127, "Memorandum from Sir A. Colvin on state of affairs in Egypt," 26 Dec. 1881, FO 407/19.

interactions with the British and French.¹⁴ It seemed perfectly natural to Colvin that the nationalist movement would want to throw off the shackles of Ottoman rule, yet remain close to European influence. For him, Egypt's continued success would require more, not less, European involvement. His beliefs about Egypt's modernization were soon thrown into crisis, however, when nationalist zeal turned against European power in Egypt.

As nationalists in the Egyptian government appeared less and less interested in European collaboration, Colvin dug in his heels all the deeper, arguing that European administrators should more closely associate themselves with the movement's leadership in order to prevent the nationalists from turning against them. Having already conceded the strategic necessity of collaborating with Britain's imperial rivals the French, Colvin's reports to the Foreign Office articulated his plea to the Egyptians that the good of Europeans and Egyptians was intertwined. He stated that in his belief, the nationalist movement was "essentially the growth of the popular spirit, and is directed to the good of the country, and that it would be most impolitic to thwart it." He continued that its success depended on the maintenance of European influence, rather than the removal of it, reporting, "precisely because I wish it to succeed, it seems to me essential that it should learn from the first within what limits it must confine itself." Those limits included the necessity of the European powers' ongoing financial control over the Egyptian budget.¹⁵ He went on to argue that Europeans administering Egyptian customs guaranteed the increase of European commerce in Egypt. Furthermore, Europeans in the Land Survey Department would ensure that foreigners and Egyptians alike paid the same revenues, one of the government's largest sources

¹⁴ In framing this East/West binary, Colvin took what Edward W. Said would describe as a thoroughly "orientalist" approach, where he portrayed both Egypt and India as thoroughly engrained in an "eastern" mindset, which by nature of its geography was inferior to his own. Said, *Orientalism*, 25th anniversary edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

¹⁵ No. 127, FO 407/19.

of income. Most importantly, Colvin believed that Europeans were inherently more moral than Egyptians, and that their influence would eventually displace endemic corruption. Colvin explained that the Egyptian government required “the guidance of Europeans to introduce and watch over the application of sound principles, and to secure, so far as may be, honesty and morality in the exercise of them.”¹⁶ This European influence would counter an array of potentially corrupting effects — from the spend-thrift Ottoman royalty, to the naive, and inexperienced native-born Egyptian chamber of delegates — weaknesses he identified as essentially Eastern qualities. For Colvin, Egypt’s success in the future required the tutelage of a Western model, even if, in this particular case, that included the French.

When it became increasingly clear that Egyptians nationalists were going to revolt against the khedivate and wholly reject the Anglo-French Dual Control, Colvin quickly turned from his emphasis on benevolent cooperation to advocating that the British military invade Egypt. The revolutionary impulse in the country largely came from village notables and military leaders. Both groups had cause for overthrowing the existing state of affairs — the new budget imposed heavy taxes on rural areas, and, in devoting half of state funds to debt payment, severely cut military funding.¹⁷ The formidable nationalist fervor centered on the leadership of Ahmad ‘Urabi Pasha, a former army general, who led the call for checks on khedivial power, and the creation of a parliamentary government. ‘Urabi’s demands had already met with some success earlier in 1881, when he led a series of military disturbances that September. His call for the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Juan R.I. Cole’s description of these revolutionary impulses emphasizes the role of the junior army officers. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt’s ‘Urabi Movement* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 234.

creation of an Egyptian chamber of delegates was granted. In turn, the chamber spearheaded the opposition to unilateral Anglo-French control of the budget.¹⁸

Shortly after the start of 1882, just a month after Colvin promoted cooperation with 'Urabi and the nationalist movement's other popular leaders, he reversed his position. Giving up his emphasis on collaboration and modernization through tutelage, Colvin wrote to the Foreign Office, "I fear that this state of things admits of no local remedy." He argued that yielding to any of the chamber's demands would only increase the call for the full-scale removal of the Anglo-French Control, risking default on Egypt's debts. Making his beliefs about Egyptians more explicit, he included in his plea to the Foreign Office that "the Egyptians... are not capable of governing the country." He believed only military intervention would solve the crisis, and as to when, "it is merely a question of time and manner."¹⁹ In May, the British and French stationed gunboats off the coast of Alexandria. When Egyptians rioted, targeting European expatriates, the British invaded, while the French fleet returned to Europe. 'Urabi, now leading the Egyptian Army in mutiny against Khedive Tawfiq, withdrew from Alexandria, and the British continued their pursuit. By September, the British defeated 'Urabi's army at Tel-el-Kebir. The invasion crushed the Egyptian military, and with it, what little popular support remained for the khedive. In turn, the British found themselves now propping up a weakened Ottoman regime in what was supposed to be a brief intervention, followed by a swift return to England. Soon after the onset of the occupation, Colvin returned to India, where he served out the remainder of his career as a colonial civil servant. He retired in 1892, having served as lieutenant governor of the North-

¹⁸ Ibid., 235.

¹⁹ No. 127, "Memorandum from Sir A. Colvin," 23 Jan. 1882, FO 407/19.

Western Provinces, where his father had previously served under company rule. Upon retiring, Colvin gradually returned to an interest in Egypt.

While the conflict with ‘Urabi had forced Colvin to abandon his belief in a peaceful accommodation of European influence in Egypt, 24 years after the occupation began he attempted to resuscitate a narrative of Britain’s benevolent modernizing influence with the publication of *The Making of Modern Egypt*. Within the text, Colvin discussion of Egypt’s development under the British delved deeply into the sources of instability that appeared to make the occupation a necessity. His introduction opened with the “summary of causes which led to the revolt of 1882,” which identified the Ottoman sultan’s establishment of Muhammad ‘Ali as khedive in 1805 as the beginning of the country’s problems.²⁰ The majority of the work focused on financial mismanagement and the resulting political problems. In contrast, he described the aims of British leaders in Egypt as good-natured even when they met failure. When discussing the violent events in the Sudan, with the death of General Gordon in 1884, for instance, Colvin argued that London misunderstood the circumstances on the ground, leading to inconsistent orders coming from both London and Cairo and setting the stage for British failure.²¹ He was careful to present the work of dedicated empire-builders on the ground as focused and wise — an ongoing positive and progressive influence on the colonized.

If Colvin believed that political and financial mismanagement under Isma‘il led to the revolution in 1882, then he saw the ongoing existence of Egypt’s Mixed Courts and capitulations as the basis of Egypt’s continued instability during the British occupation. Egypt had been home to the capitulations since the Ottoman sultan put them in place in the sixteenth century. By the

²⁰ Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, 1.

²¹ Ibid., 64-66.

nineteenth century, their benefits had expanded to give foreigners in Ottoman territories near diplomatic immunity. In 1876, the breadth of these advantages in Egypt were somewhat restrained by the establishment of the Mixed Courts of Appeal, which limited the scope of certain tax exemptions and created a unified judicial system for all foreigners.²² The Mixed Courts drew together the various consular courts, forming a more unified institution with designated tribunals located in Cairo and Alexandria. Sitting on each tribunal were representatives of the Great Powers — England, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, the United States, and Russia — who served alongside a minority of Egyptian judges. The system also had a lower court that included two Egyptians and representatives from the secondary powers — Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Holland, and Belgium.²³ The courts were uniformly based on the *Code Napoléon*, and conducted in French, the *lingua franca* of the time, in order to prevent a preponderance of legal practices and languages from overwhelming the system. While the new constraints forced the Great Powers to relinquish some of the former rights guaranteed by the capitulations, the system's inclusion of 15 foreign nations in a single court made it far from simple. What was more, the Mixed Courts continued to exempt foreigners from the local Egyptian judiciary. The tribunal and lower courts tried foreigners under the laws of their respective country of citizenship, regardless of how long they or their families had been domiciled in Egypt, which for some was centuries.

²² Brown, "The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt," *IJMES*, 34.

²³ Sir Richard Vaux was the last English judge to serve in the Mixed Courts before they were abolished. His memoirs give a detailed record of their history and function. Vaux, "Egyptian and Other Episodes: Personal, Political, and Legal," unpublished memoirs, 1941. GB165-0293, Middle East Centre Archives (MECA), St. Antony's College, Oxford University, UK, 78-79.

For Colvin, the capitulations and Mixed Courts continually impeded British efforts to centralize government control. In his description of the European expatriate in Egypt, he explained:

Almost domiciled in a strange land, he yet prizes above all things his nationality, which throws over the aegis of its protection. Living on privileged terms among the people of the country, he does not feel the pressure of their needs, nor the yoke of maladministration. The presence of a numerous and powerful but independent foreign body of this nature in Egypt, enjoying privileges, but claiming exemption from public burdens and duties, adds enormously to the difficulties of administration.²⁴

If these foreign interlopers might be removed, then, Colvin argued, the British could get to the business of reforming the actual Egyptians. Cromer echoed Colvin's sentiments, arguing that the British exhibited exemplary prudence in not simply wiping out the institutions. Yet prudence in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Cromer acknowledged, was also a strategic necessity, if the British were to avoid a shift in the larger balance of power between Great Britain and the other European empires invested in the region.²⁵ Cromer usefully identified the larger geographical context of Egypt's situation, which was not solely a matter of Anglo-Egyptian relations, or even Anglo-French and Egyptian relations, but a situation where all of the Great Powers continued to vie for influence. As Nathan Brown explains, the capitulations and Mixed Courts stood in the way of the two impulses guiding early British policy in Egypt — to reform the country, and to leave. Achieving their administrative reforms would be nearly impossible if the policies remained in place, and departing Egypt while the capitulations remained meant

²⁴ Ibid., 241.

²⁵ Sir Evelyn Baring, The Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, Vol. 2 (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1908), 125.

risking another fiscal crisis.²⁶ The larger international negotiations that surrounded the capitulations and Mixed Courts, with their connection to a delicate balance of power among European powers, meant that the British were unable to abolish the institutions and achieve either of their goals. The maintenance of the capitulations preserved Egypt's geography as an Ottoman territory, circumstances that continued guiding the country's affairs despite the dynamics of the occupation.

For Colvin, identifying internationalism as the root of ongoing instability in Egypt allowed him to create a neat narrative arc that concluded in 1906, when he published the book. Two years earlier, a new Anglo-French agreement secured the end of French participation in the Dual Control. For Colvin, this new agreement was a victory against internationalism in the country, and meant a brighter future for Egypt because the British could conduct their work with less interference by European competitors. He explained that with more centralized British control, the colonial administration would "free Egypt from such of the international bonds that are still wound round it."²⁷ What Colvin did not address, however, was that while formal control of the French state had been removed, its informal influence, along with that of 14 other states remained at work through the capitulations and Mixed Courts. The French and Italians, in particular, would continue using the courts as a means of influencing Egyptian politics and finance.²⁸

Colvin went on to identify specific development projects as evidence of Britain's beneficial modernizing influence. In particular, he singled out the construction of new light

²⁶ Brown, "'The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt,'" 36.

²⁷ Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, 307.

²⁸ Brown, "The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt," 38.

railway systems. He explains that light railway systems had usefully extended their network throughout Egypt's provinces, and specifically identified the work of the Delta Light Railways in making this work possible. He explained that track laid by the company had "revolutionized the means of transport in the Delta...." He related the railway construction to the broader modernization of Cairo, where the signs of industry and transport were connected to the city's increased association with signifiers of bourgeois wealth. He wrote, "Cairo of the Muski, and of mediaevalism, is disappearing; and villadom, begirt with bougainvillae, and bright with the lustre of Oriental bloom, is stretching out along the Nile an ever-advancing arm."²⁹ Colvin did not mention his own personal involvement in these seemingly laudatory examples of modernization, through the railways and urban development. When writing *The Making*, Colvin was the chairman of the board for both the Delta Railways and the Delta Land Company. While he did not identify the land company specifically, it was simultaneously in the process of planning Ma'adi as a community of villas and gardens that would have been the fulfillment of the kind of urban changes he described.

As chairman of both Delta companies, Colvin benefited from the same capitulation benefits that he derided other European expatriates for using. The development projects worked out through his commercial endeavors relied on the international privileges that he officially opposed, and appeared to conflict with his promotion of the kind of British imperial influence he believed would best function apart from Egypt's international institutions. *The Making*, however, is silent on Colvin's personal role in these commercial endeavors. His narrative attributes all of Egypt's growth and development to the benevolence of British influence, in spite of the

²⁹ Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, 273-74.

challenges it was unable to surmount. While Colvin's use of the capitulations certainly served his own self-interest, it also indicated the kinds of compromises the imperial administration undertook — particularly as its promoters re-narrated the message of benevolent modernization according to the work of private business ventures.

Intersecting Capitalists: Palmer and Egypt's Jewish Financiers

While the British imperial administration could not guide Egypt's economy directly, it could aid in the establishment of financial institutions that helped meet its development goals, particularly as former civil servants came to guide these institutions. Colvin's colleague at Delta Land, Sir Elwin Palmer, another former financial adviser to the khedive, embodied the transition from formal to informal influence in the area of Egyptian financial management. While Colvin collapsed foreign-led commerce into imperial benevolence in order to substantiate his modernization narrative, the other relationships that formed among Delta Land's founding board members address the details of that compromise, offering more details on how colonial civil servants came to rely on the capitulations and Mixed Courts.

If Colvin signified Delta Land's connections to imperial power, then Palmer stood at the center of the local connections that established Ma'adi. In 1895, Palmer came to Cairo from India as the Director-General of Accounts, where he undertook the intricate project of reviewing Egyptian government accounts and separating public spending from the khedive's private expenditures — work he had previously undertaken in 1877 before returning to India in the same year. Now back in Egypt, Palmer remained in the post until 1889, when he became financial adviser to the khedive, a position first held by Colvin. Palmer remained financial adviser until

1898, when he helped found the National Bank of Egypt, serving as its first president.³⁰ Palmer's move to the National Bank indicated British administrators' integration into Egypt's various financial institutions, a move undertaken to strengthen the Egyptian economy and help prop up the khedival government. In doing so, the imperial government officially began using private means to influence areas less accessible to the state's reach. The British attempted to reanimate their vision for progress through privatization, a shift that signified their increasing reliance on less formal means for affecting change in Egypt.

Over the course of his career, Palmer exhibited a deep commitment to Egypt. His will described him as a "domiciled Englishman residing in Cairo in Egypt."³¹ The statement is simple yet telling — to be domiciled implying that he was settled in Egypt permanently, and made it his home, as opposed to either England or India. His headstone on the Isle of Wight similarly highlighted his career in Egypt, listing his most important accomplishments as "Financial Adviser to H.H. the Khedive of Egypt, 1889-1898," and "Governor of the National Bank of Egypt, 1898-1906."³² The two titles pointed to Palmer's movement between varying forms of British influence in Egypt, and their interconnection, as he moved from public servant to private citizen, between British imperialist to foreign capitalist. While both positions carried a great deal

³⁰ Because of Palmer's role in the establishment of the National Bank of Egypt, he exhibited some of the qualities of the British empire's "gentlemanly capitalism," as described by P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins. Cain and Hopkins identify Colvin with the spread of gentlemanly capitalism into Egypt because his argument for the British invasion looked to support the financial investments largely centered in London. I would argue that the gentlemanly capitalism Cain and Hopkins describe only functions as one facet of the larger interests and negotiations tied up in empire and global relationships more broadly. Neither Palmer or Colvin consistently represented the imperial priorities Cain and Hopkins describe as at the heart of British imperialism. Their compromises and subsequent involvement in local and regional networks of commerce and trade points to a much more complex geographical relationship than one created by the extended arm of the British empire. P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, 2nd ed. (Harlow, England, London and New York: Longman, Pearson Education, 2002), 314-15.

³¹ No. 14 of 1906, "Sir Elwin Palmer, KCB, KCMG, deceased," FO 841/87.

³² Stephenjh, *Elwin Palmer's Headstone, Freshwater, Isle of Wight, UK*, 21 July 2010. Wikimedia Commons. Accessed from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Elwin_Palmer%27s_Headstone_.jpg on 12 Jan. 2012.

of personal significance for Palmer, he left his most lasting mark on Egypt through the National Bank. The bank's success, however, required the use of local and regional financial networks already at work in Egyptian finance, which were largely managed by the country's prominent Jewish families. Palmer's partnership with these Jewish bankers signified a movement away from British influence worked out in an official capacity, and toward one that utilized and relied upon the regional and global connections to Egypt already established through Ottoman policies.³³ The relationships that first formed through the National Bank of Egypt went on to found the Delta Railways and Delta Land Company. Ma'adi, in turn, became Palmer's final fingerprint on Egypt's multinational business dealings.

Though Egyptian in name, the National Bank was modeled after the Bank of England. The British created similar financial institutions throughout the empire, using England's national bank as a prototype.³⁴ In England, the bank controlled the money supply, and interest rates — functioning as a private institution with significant public responsibilities. The National Bank of Egypt was established to similarly centralize the country's banking system. Though not officially the central bank of Egypt, it issued currency, and set interest rates on cotton, Egypt's most valuable export.³⁵

In creating the new bank, the English hoped to shore up Egypt's still recovering credit. To an extent, their efforts appeared successful. Bent Hansen explains that English involvement in Egyptian finances was viewed as a stabilizing force that invited more foreign investment into the

³³ Tabak describes these connections as the Ottoman "cosmopolitanism" that eluded direct imperial control by a European power. Tabak, "Imperial rivalry and port-cities: a view from the top," 80.

³⁴ Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 34-43.

³⁵ Bent Hansen, "Interest Rates and Foreign Capital in Egypt under British Occupation," *The Journal of Economic History*, 43:4 (Dec., 1983), 867-884; 877.

country. He identifies an especially significant upswing in European investment after 1900, two years after the bank's creation, arguing that the recovery was largely due to steady increases in the value of cotton, which, in turn, raised the value of Egyptian real estate.³⁶ While the British officials might have celebrated increased confidence in the Egyptian economy, its growth also depended upon foreign involvement that further utilized the capitulations and Mixed Courts. This trade off meant that while the British administrative influence shored up confidence in Egypt's economy, it also inadvertently aided in the economy's ongoing dependence on Ottoman policies that encouraged foreign investment and multinational involvement. These effects were not only felt in the banking and financial services, but also in increased real estate values — something on which Colvin and Palmer's capitalized through their investment in Delta Land.

Palmer and Colvin's collaboration on Ma'adi was predicated upon the local partnerships that Palmer initiated through the National Bank of Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. More than the result of sound British administration, Palmer's real breakthrough was successfully incorporating Egypt's existing banking expertise into the new financial institution. In particular, the bank would not have been possible without capital investments made by Egypt's wealthy Jews. A cadre of elite Sephardic Jews had led Egypt's banking sector for generations. By the late-nineteenth century, the Suarès, Cattaoui, Mosseri, Menasce, and Rolo families all had their own banking houses, which served as mediators for foreign capital investment in Egypt.³⁷ After drawing these families into his work on the National Bank of Egypt, Palmer subsequently worked with them on both Delta companies.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Vitalis describes the collaboration between locals and retired colonial civil servants as one of the linkages contributing that contributed to the patterns of capitalist coalition organization that started in late-nineteenth century. Vitalis, 53.

Palmer formed a particularly lasting relationship with the Suarès family. Raphael Suarès, founded the *Mason Banque Suares Freres et Compagnie* with his brother Felix and Simon Rolo, and he helped start the National Bank of Egypt by purchasing 25,000 of the bank's initial 100,000 shares.³⁸ His involvement in the National Bank of Egypt became especially valuable because of his previous contributions to banking in Egypt. Raphael Suarès was particularly influential in drawing French capital into Egypt through the *Credit Foncier*, making it so significant to Egypt's economy that its credit rating rivaled that of the Egyptian government.³⁹ Raphael joined the National Bank because of his existing association with Sir Ernest Cassel, a wealthy English Jew, who at the time issued English loans to Egypt, Japan, Turkey, and Russia, and who purchased half of the National Bank's initial shares. The full significance of Palmer's connection to the Suarès family and Egypt's other prominent Jewish families becomes most apparent amid the details of their overlapping kinship and financial networks, which had been at the heart of the finance-sector of Egypt's economy since the mid-nineteenth century. While the National Bank was ostensibly based on an English model, its success depended on the privileges that these local notables gleaned from acquiring foreign nationality. Delta Land's growth out of the relationships that first formed in the National Bank would make it likewise reliant on imperial compromises and systems of foreign privilege.

³⁸ Gudrun Krämer, *The Jews of Modern Egypt, 1914-1952* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 1989), 39-40.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 42, and Hansen, 876-77.

Egyptian Jewish Multinationals

The history of the Suarès family cannot be parsed from that of the Rolo, Cattaoui, Menasce, and Mosseri families.⁴⁰ Shared business ventures and intermarriage intertwined their interests in such a way that by the late-nineteenth century each family's respective history became inseparably connected to that of the others. Together these families formed the upper echelon of Jewish society in Egypt, with various branches remaining heads of the Jewish communities in both Cairo and Alexandria for generations. By the time that the National Bank of Egypt formed in 1898, their influence was not only felt through significant business dealings with the British, but also through the khedive's court, where prominent women like Valentine Rolo and Alice Cattaoui (née Suarès) served successively as the queen's first lady-in-waiting.⁴¹

As Sephardic Jews, these families' leadership of Cairo's and Alexandria's Jewish communities was representative of Egypt's Sephardic majority, with smaller Ashkenazi and Kairate populations forming their own separate, smaller communities. Yet Sephardic leadership only provided a limited basis for creating a cohesive group identity. The majority of Egypt's local, indigenous Jewish population remained in the Jewish quarter, or *hara*, near downtown, where men wore Arab-style dress — a long shirt known as a *galabayya* — spoke Egyptian Arabic, and earned their living through small trade and traditional crafts. The Sephardic elite, in contrast, adopted the European tastes and customs of their respective nationalities, and generally spoke either Italian or French.⁴² Ultimately divided by class, language, religious tradition, and

⁴⁰ This section relies primarily on secondary source material provided by the *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* and Krämer's *The Jews of Modern Egypt, 1914-1952*.

⁴¹ Krämer, 95.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

culture, the notion of a singular Jewish “community” is a misnomer.⁴³ The connections between these families represented a class identity more than a religious one, which was insulated through intermarriage and tightly interwoven business relationships. This class identification also indicated the shared behaviors and social habits that linked these Jews with other resident-minorities of similar socioeconomic status.

When Raphael Suarès partnered with Palmer, he brought his brothers Felix and Joseph, Moise de Cattaoui Pasha, and Simon Rolo with him. While the bank was something new for Palmer, for his Jewish partners it served as another upward step in their families’ long history of banking, which began generations earlier with money changing and lending in Cairo’s *hara*. Finance and banking were a particularly important opportunity for Jewish families because the Muslim majority did not traditionally go into banking, opening up space for Jews and other minorities within Egypt’s expanding economy.⁴⁴ Their involvement in Egyptian banking also paved the way for these Jewish families to increase their personal wealth, and eventually move beyond the confines of the *hara*. Through the wealth acquired by their respective money lending endeavors, the Cattaoui, Suarès and Menasce families all began purchasing more property within the *hara*. By the mid-nineteenth century, Moise de Cattaoui’s father Yacoub used the capital he had amassed to be the first to leave the Jewish quarter and move to Shubra, then a rural suburb north of Cairo. By that time he was especially influential, serving as Egypt’s leading moneylender under Khedive Isma‘il.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁵ Michael Laskier. “Cattaoui Family.” *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Executive Editor Norman A. Stillman . Brill, 2012. *Brill Online*. Rutgers University. Accessed from http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_SIM-0005120 on 24 January 2012.

This network of influential Jewish capital continued to expand throughout the city, with the Mosseris and then Suarès, Menasces and Rolos similarly moving into wealthier suburbs, and taking up residence in new palatial villas. By the late-nineteenth century, the Rolos had carved out a place of prominence in Alexandria. They left Cairo in the middle of the century, and competed with the Menasces for leadership of Alexandria's Jewish community. While Alexandria provided the family's primary seat of influence, Simon Rolo and his son Robert S. Rolo ensured that the family's impact was felt throughout Egypt. In partnership with the Suarès brothers and Moise de Cattaoui, Robert S. Rolo continued holding his father's controlling interest in the *Credit Foncier Egyptien* and the National Bank of Egypt — both based in Cairo — and the Société du Wadi Kom Ombo, in Upper Egypt.

While these families lived in Egypt across generations and ingratiated themselves to the khedive's circle, they also continued to maintain foreign citizenship. The Cattaouis possibly claimed the longest connection to Egypt. Multiple histories of the family exist, with some saying they came to Egypt from Holland in the early-nineteenth century and others contending that their lineage dates back to the Fatimid period in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴⁶ If these millennial connections to Egypt are true, then their name likely derives from the village of Qatt'a, located near present-day Zamalek, west of downtown Cairo.⁴⁷ The opaque roots of the Cattaoui family speak of the complicated histories of these families — often existing as *mutamassriyyin*, where they appeared “Egyptianized,” even while they simultaneously relied on their status as foreign subjects.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Krämer., 88.

These Jewish families' divergent forms of citizenship grew out of Egypt's location among a range of imperial rivalries, with each of the Great Powers looking to increase its influence in the country by granting citizenship to wealthy Egyptians.⁴⁸ The Mosseri, Suarès, Menasce and Rolo families' foreign passports all indicated Egypt's checkered landscape of competing imperial regimes. Urban areas became especially profitable spaces in this context because of the layered impact of British and Ottoman influence on the country, with the Ottoman capitulations granting foreign subjects tax exemptions and legal privileges, and the British presence lending a perceived stability to the Egyptian economy that attracted more European investment.⁴⁹

Though born in Egypt, these families' foreign nationalities were more than external or legal identities. Each family mingled local, regional, and foreign modes of identification, so that while they intermarried and remained closely tied to one another, they also maintained a connection to their respective nation of citizenship, often creating differences in culture, language and education. Italian and Austro-Hungarian citizenship were particularly common among this Sephardic elite. The Suarès family were Spanish Jews with Italian citizenship. Isaac Suarès, the father of Joseph, Felix, and Raphael, arrived in Cairo in the early-nineteenth century from Livorno, Italy, where the family landed after fleeing Spain in the 15th century.⁵⁰ The Mosseris were also Italian subjects, and maintained a particularly strong allegiance to the country's culture and politics, often separating them from the Suarès, Cattaoui, Menasce and Rolo cohort. According to Gudrun Krämer, their sense of Italian pride was so indefatigable that

⁴⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁹ Hansen, "Interest Rates and Foreign Capital in Egypt under British Occupation," 877.

⁵⁰ FO 141/480 and Uri M. Kupferschmidt. "Suarès della Pegna Family." *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. , 2012. *Reference*. Accessed from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/suares-della-pegna-family-SIM_0020610 on 23 January 2012.

some members of the family supported fascism until the late-1930s when Mussolini began imposing antisemitic policies.⁵¹ It wasn't until the late-nineteenth century that the Mosseri family became more firmly connected to the other Sephardic elites. Their integration was initiated more through marriage than business, when Nissim J. Mosseri Bey married H       Cattaoui, followed by Elie N. Mosseri's marriage to Felix Suar       daughter Laura.⁵² Around the same time, Elie also expanded the family's interests beyond trade and into banking, when he founded the *Banque Mosseri et Compagnie*.⁵³ Elie additionally served as the Delta Land Company's chairman during the interwar years.⁵⁴

The Menasces and Cattaouis were Austro-Hungarian citizens, and both acquired the status of baron, indicated by the "de" that preceded their surnames. Like the Rolos, the Menasces were most influential in Alexandria, where they moved from Cairo in the mid-nineteenth century. They maintained connections to the wider Austro-Hungarian community in Egypt until the end of the First World War, after which they became either stateless, or acquired nationality from another foreign power.⁵⁵ These families also maintained close relationships with the khedive. Before the family relocated to the Mediterranean coast, Jacoub Levi Menasce became Khedive

⁵¹ Kramer., 36. This allegiance was not necessarily felt by all members of the Mosseri family. Travel records from 1910 indicate a multiplicity of nationalities within the Mosseri family. When brothers Victor and Maurice Mosseri were traveling to New York, Jack presented a French passport, while Maurice traveled as an Italian citizen. Both men were born in Egypt. New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957, Year: 1910, Microfilm Serial: T715; Microfilm Roll: T715_1488; Line: 27; Page Number: 14, database online, accessed via Ancestry.com on 25 Feb. 2011.

⁵² Kr      ., 42.

⁵³ Adam Guerin. " Mosseri Family." *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Executive Editor Norman A. Stillman . Brill, 2012. [Brill Online](http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_COM-0015800). Rutgers University. Accessed at http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_COM-0015800 on 23 January 2012.

⁵⁴ BT 31/4373/5.

⁵⁵ Kr         describes them as becoming stateless, 75; FO 141/655/6 gives detailed histories of the varied post-war trajectories of members of the Menasce family, which are discussed at length in Chapter Three. The British attempted to grant Jaques de Menasce and his wife British citizenship. At least one member of the family gained Italian nationality, and another Portuguese.

Isma‘il’s leading banker. With the khedive’s support, the Menasce family later founded the *Banque Turco-Egyptienne*, which strengthened their regional ties to Istanbul.⁵⁶

The Rolos were similarly well connected to the khedival court. As mentioned above, Valentine Rolo had a prominent place in the khedival court. When the family came to Egypt from Europe remains unknown, but they acquired British nationality in Egypt. With British citizenship they also maintained a strong sense of Anglophilia, educating their sons in England, and fostering close relations with the British colonial government.⁵⁷ That the Rolos’ simultaneously participated in Ottoman courtly culture pointed to the kinds of complex negotiations these families undertook. Their prestige was tied to signifiers of Ottoman and British prestige, at the same time that they worked in regional financial networks, and relied on their status as foreign citizens. Rather than a kind of juggling act, however, these multinational connections were an existing part of Egypt’s urban landscape — linkages that these families connected to, and in participating in them, helped strengthen.

Rather than standing in a kind of paradoxical or contradictory position, these families were positioned amid complex geographical networks that defied Egypt’s national boundaries. Taking a “bird’s eye” view of their various geographical contexts locates these families among specific local, regional, and global connections that carved out their space of privilege and profitability in Egypt. Their local development, through Egypt’s banking sector in connection with their reliance on the foreign privileges derived from the capitulations offered these Jewish

⁵⁶ FO 141/655/6.

⁵⁷ Adam Guerin, "Rolo Family," *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Executive Editor Norman A. Stillman . Brill, 2012. [Brill Online](http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_SIM-0018510). Rutgers University. Accessed at http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_SIM-0018510 accessed on 23 January 2012.

families a deeply-embedded local identity, as well as a means for working across geographical borders.⁵⁸

Movement of Money, Movement of Land

The partnership that formed between Egypt's Sephardic elite and Palmer through the National Bank of Egypt pointed to the expanding significance of these layered modes of geographical connection. When Palmer became the first president of the National Bank of Egypt, all those involved benefited from the protections and privileges guaranteed by the Mixed Courts and capitulations. While their work together strengthened multinational interest in banking and financial services, the partnership's connection to land ownership and industry gave those global linkages a far deeper tie to Egypt by working across different economic sectors.

Specifically, the partnership behind the National Bank was predicated upon an earlier land deal that made the Suarès brothers, Moise de Cattaoui and Simon Rolo among the most influential land brokers in Egypt. Four days before the National Bank of Egypt was founded on June 25, 1898, the Egyptian government sold the remaining khedivial estates, which stood as security on Khedive Isma'il's European loans, to a newly created private company, called the Daira Sanieh Company.⁵⁹ The name was derived from the *da'ira saniyah*, which referred to the khedivial estates under the Egyptian government's administration.⁶⁰ The new company had four

⁵⁸ This was not a particularly Jewish behavior. Marius Deeb associates these patterns with people he calls "local foreign minorities," and explains that Greeks, Armenians, and Italians who remained in Egypt for generations exhibited many of the same actions. Deeb, "The Socioeconomic Role of the Local Foreign Minorities in Modern Egypt, 1805-1961," 11.

⁵⁹ BT 31/8066/58147

⁶⁰ The *da'ira saniyah* was created in 1880 as part of the Law of Liquidation — a scheme for Egyptian debt repayment authored by an international commission that included representatives from Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Russia and Turkey. It was administered by three comptrollers, one British, one French, and one Egyptian. BT 31/8066/58147.

owners: Cassel, who bought a 50 percent share, Raphael Suarès with 25 percent, and Moise de Cattaoui and Ernest Cronier splitting the remaining 25 percent. What was more, the company was registered in England, guaranteeing its protection by the Mixed Courts. Palmer served as its first chairman, with Raphael Suarès and Simon Rolo both serving on the board of directors.⁶¹ The establishment of the National Bank of Egypt four days later secured the concentration of Egypt's banking and land-based power into the same hands. Now, the same people who set the interest rate on cotton and issued the country's currency also managed some of Egypt's most valuable real estate. While the National Bank and the Daira Sanieh Company both functioned as private entities, Palmer was appointed as the government representative to each — making them a method for the expansion of British imperial reach, albeit on diminished terms.

When the *da'ira saniyah* property was first liquidated in 1880, the estates included nearly half a million feddans, some 10 percent of Egypt's cultivatable land.⁶² Upon the creation of the Daira Sanieh Company 18 years later, 300,000 feddans remained at the state's disposal.⁶³ The remaining land sold quickly and profitably. The company was responsible for selling the land to pay the remainder of the government's loan of £6,431,500 by October 15, 1905, with a minimum 20 percent profit.⁶⁴ A year before the deadline, the company had already sold the land and paid the loan, reporting in September 1904 that *da'ira saniyah* bondholders had until the following October either to deposit their bonds or to exchange them for shares in the new

⁶¹ The board also included other Arab Egyptians and foreigners — Ali Shawari Bey, Philippe Borelli Bey, F. Duseigner, and William Willcocks. Samir Raafat, "Familiar Ground: The 19th Century Privatization of Daira Sanieh," *Business Monthly Magazine*, July 1997. Accessed on 26 January 2012 from <http://www.egy.com/historica/97-07-00.php>.

⁶² One feddan is equivalent to 1.038 acres.

⁶³ Krämer, 40.

⁶⁴ Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, 284.

company.⁶⁵ The company's owners did not yield these profits behind closed doors. Colvin lauded their success in *The Making of Modern Egypt*, reporting that the company's sales gained an additional £7 million in profit, which was split between the government and the company. Colvin also noted that the company had the good fortune of purchasing the land just as Egyptian real estate surged in value.⁶⁶ He did not discuss, however, that the value of land was tied to cotton prices set by the National Bank — the same people who owned the Daira Sanieh Company and profited from its sales. Colvin portrayed these local business partnerships as part of the savvy of the British colonial administration, whose representatives had integrated themselves into the existing financial networks and increased their effectiveness. He did not present the compromise embedded in the partnership, which came nearly 20 years after the administration had hoped to reorganize land ownership more unilaterally. What Colvin identified as sophisticated and smart also indicated the British administration's growing dependence on wealthy locals who were embedded in regional and global networks that undermined imperial authority.

While Egypt's prominent Jewish families heavily profited from the Daira Sanieh Company's success, the land sales also shored up local forms of wealth less connected to foreign privilege. Most of the land from the *da'ira* estates sold to existing large landowners, many of whom were Egyptians who lacked access to the wealth derived from foreign privilege. This did not mean that foreign subjects and foreign-registered land development companies failed to also participate in the land grab. As Hansen explains, all of these groups were at an advantage when looking to acquire new real estate, largely because they all had access to knowledge about the

⁶⁵ "Daira Sanieh 4 per Cent. Bonds of 1890. Notice by the Controllors," *The Economist*, Vol. 62, Pt. 2 (Sept. 3, 1904), 1468.

⁶⁶ Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, 284.

government's financial dealings.⁶⁷ The owners and directors of the Daira Sanieh Company, having the closest proximity to the company's dealings, had the greatest access and purchased large portions of the khedive's former estate. The Suarès family, in particular, invested in the *da'ira* estates' fertile sugar cane fields in Upper Egypt. In 1902, they formed the Daira Sanieh Sugar Company as part of the *Société des Sucrecies et de Raffinerie d'Egypte*. The new company took over some nine refineries, 730 feddans of land, and 500 kilometers of railroad track.⁶⁸ In 1905, the sugar company was incorporated into the *Société du Wadi Kom Ombo*, also in Upper Egypt, which was among the largest ventures jointly undertaken by the Cattaoui, Suarès, Menasce, and Rolo families. By that time, the families jointly owned some 70,000 feddans of land.⁶⁹ With so much land in their possession, transportation, and particularly railroads became their next major undertaking.

Founding the Delta Companies

Growing out of the Daira Sanieh Company and the National Bank of Egypt, the partnership between Palmer and Egypt's Sephardic elite continued yielding new ventures in the early years of the twentieth century. The 500 kilometers of railroad in Upper Egypt's sugar cane fields were just a fraction of Suarès family's transportation enterprises. Under Felix Suarès' leadership, the family created Egypt's first public transport company, a network of horse-drawn carriages known as the Suares Omnibus Company, which served Cairo's Muski Street until

⁶⁷ Hansen, 882.

⁶⁸ BT 31/10072/75378 and Robert Hennig, "Berlin. (Special Correspondence), Berlin, Oct. 11th, 1902," *The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, Vol. 29 (Nov. 1, 1902), p. 279.

⁶⁹ Krämer, 41.

1940.⁷⁰ The vehicles were so ubiquitous that Naguib Mahfouz described them as part of the everyday sights and sounds of Islamic Cairo in the 1910s. In his first installment of the Cairo Trilogy, *Palace Walk*, he described a draft of air bringing “with it the grinding wheels of the mule-drawn Suarès omnibus, the voices of workmen, the cry of the hot-cereal vender.”⁷¹ The omnibus company was just the beginning. In another partnership with Moïse de Cattaoui, Félix Suarès later pursued the development of light railways throughout Egypt.⁷²

Through the railway, the Sephardic elite and their British partners found a new means for further profiting from Egypt’s development. At this time, Colvin re-entered Egypt’s economic scene. Moving away from his role as a colonial official, he joined with Palmer and the Suarès, Menascés, Mosseris, Cattaouis and Rolos in a venture in private capital. After retiring from the Indian Civil Service in 1892, Colvin set up house in England, and lived out the remainder of his life in Earl Soham, Suffolk.⁷³ While ostensibly settled into a new domestic life, Colvin did not give up work abroad. As described earlier, he served as the chairman of the board for several companies located in his former colonial appointments. In India, he headed the Burma Railways. In Egypt — where he devoted the majority of his commercial energy — he chaired the Khedivial Mail Steamship Company, the Delta Railways, and the Delta Land Company, all of which enjoyed profitability under the protections of the capitulations and Mixed Courts.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Naguib Mahfouz, *Palace Walk* (New York: Random House, 1990), 17.

⁷² Raphaël Suarès died in 1902, and his brother Félix subsequently took leadership of the majority of the family’s commercial endeavors. Krämer, 39.

⁷³ He had lived as a widower for most of his life, but had two daughters, one of whom, Emily Kays, lived with him in England along with her two daughters Charlotte and Sybil. Class: RG13; Piece: 1787; Folio: 11; Page: 13. *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901*. Kew, Surrey, England. Accessed on 4 October 2011 from Ancestry.com.

⁷⁴ “Obituary: Sir Auckland Colvin,” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (27 Mar. 1908), 7.

Colvin pursued his new business opportunities not long after retiring, beginning with the railway. The Delta Railways was rooted in the Sephardic elite's expansion into Egypt's transportation sector. In 1896, the Egyptian government granted several prominent Jewish families, including the Suarès, Cattaouis, Menasces, and Belzadis a concession to build a light railway system in the eastern provinces of Sharqiyya, Daqaliyya, and Qalyubiyya. They developed the railway system as part of the Sharq Economic Railways Company. One year later, they created the Delta Railways after receiving a government concession previously granted to the Egyptian Agricultural Railways, which served the provinces of the Nile Delta, Beherab, and Gharbiyya. Colvin chaired the new company, and the Egyptian government appointed Palmer as its representative on the board.⁷⁵ In 1900, Sharq Economic Railways merged with the Delta Railway Company, creating one company that operated the light railways systems from Cairo through the Delta.⁷⁶ The merger marked Colvin's initiation into the existing business relationship between Palmer, Suarès, Cattaoui, and Menasce, and took shape just two years after they established the National Bank of Egypt. The commercial relationship between these parties continued to flourish when the railway company expanded to form the Delta Land Company four years later.

As chairman, Colvin became the public face of both Delta companies, and his re-entry into Egyptian affairs was noted by foreign subjects and locals alike. His visits to Egypt were regularly reported in the Arabic press, and *Al-Ahram* paid particular attention when Colvin announced the changes to the railways company's concession, allowing it to develop land

⁷⁵ "Abridged Prospectus...The Egyptian Delta Light Railways, Ltd.," *The Economist*, Vol. 55, London (3 April 1897), 522.

⁷⁶ FO 141/480

surrounding the rail line. On Dec. 22, 1903, Colvin gave a speech in London to the company's directors and shareholders where he reported changes to the company's bi-laws, including the ability to now buy, sell, and develop any land adjacent to the railway. He explained that the change was made to prevent any encroachment from competitors. *Al-Ahram* translated Colvin's statement and published it in its entirety on the front page.⁷⁷ Unlike *Al-Muqattam*'s praise for the Delta companies, *Al-Ahram*, merely transcribed the speech without any commentary on its implications.⁷⁸ The repetition of the speech in printed Arabic was telling in itself, announcing to Egypt's Arabic-reading public that this London-based railway had expanded its reach in Egypt. In identifying the company with Colvin's speech in particular, the newspaper also pointed to the re-negotiated means through which British imperial influence might continue to affect the country. The railway company already stretched throughout Egypt and now its influence expanded into land development. The speech had the dual quality of identifying an instance of ongoing modern construction and growth in Egypt, while also associating those circumstances with a modified form of colonial power. While *Al-Ahram*'s readers could have interpreted the speech in a number of ways, on its most basic level, its publication in the Arabic-language daily indicated widespread public knowledge of the transnational relationships shaping Egypt's industrial and technological growth.

Land development proved too large a task for the railway company to handle in its existing form, so it established a new branch. On April 20, 1904, just four months after Colvin's London speech, the "Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company, Limited" was registered in England. As the company's by-laws stated, its foremost purpose was "to purchase, and otherwise

⁷⁷ "Sharakat al-Delta," Jan. 9, 1904, *Al-Ahram*, 1.

⁷⁸ Ayalon, "Christian 'Intruders,' Muslim 'Bigots,'" 15-27.

acquire, develop, hold, sell, let, or otherwise dispose of and deal in land, or other immovable property situate in any district in Egypt in which the Railways belonging to or that may at any time hereafter belong to the Egyptian Delta Light Railways...”⁷⁹ Acquiring the land was not challenging. Much of the land south of Cairo stretching to the then-resort town of Helwan already belonged to the Suarés, Cattaoui, Menasce, and Mosseri families, who, in turn, sold their property to the company in exchange for valuable shares.⁸⁰ The area, called Ma‘adi al-Khabiri, after the nearby Arab village, was adjacent to places long associated with Egypt’s Jews. The ancient Jewish cemetery in Bassatine stood to the northwest, and Old Cairo, an area inhabited by Coptic Christians and Jews, was located between Cairo’s “European city” and the Ma‘adi al-Khabiri village.

Some of the land that Delta Land initially purchased had only been recently acquired by these Jewish families. Felix Suarès, for instance, purchased his family’s lands at Ma‘adi al-Khabiri in 1894, buying 21 feddans from Saleh Adham Bey, son of Adham Pasha, the Turkish minister of education under the first Ottoman Khedive Muhammad ‘Ali.⁸¹ In 1902 Suarès bought an additional 125 feddans from Khalil Hamdi and Mohammad ‘Ali Abdullah.⁸² The land was bought up as its value grew, switching hands between ethnically-Turkish Ottoman notables, wealthy Arab Egyptians, and the country’s Sephardic elite. When it became the property of the Delta Land Company in the first decade of the twentieth century, this space “near Cairo,” quickly

⁷⁹ BT 31/4373/5

⁸⁰ “E.D.L. & I.C.L., Town of Meadi,” Reproduction. Ma‘adi Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, American University in Cairo, Egypt and BT 31/4373/6.

⁸¹ F. Robert Hunter, *Egypt Under the Khedives, 1805-1879: From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 243.

⁸² “Par le présent acte fait en deux originaux au Avril mil neuf cent cent sept, Entre Messieurs Suarés Freres & Cie., banquiers ua Caire, d’une part; et The Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company Limited,” in BT 31/4373/5.

became the company's largest and most profitable possession. They called in Ma'adi (also transliterated Meadi or Maadi), to retain the reference to the nearby village.

Delta Land presented a different kind of business venture from the banking and transportation projects previously undertaken by the company's founders. It further expanded the interests of the Sephardic elite, who had already branched out from banking to agriculture, sugar production, and then railways. This new town also took a different approach to land use, shoring up the railway with a residential community. For Palmer, Colvin, and the other Britons on the board, it moved beyond industry and irrigation to the physical development of greater Cairo.⁸³ Building a carefully planned new space was a new kind of business model and implied creating a space for a particular kind of belonging, one that relied on the same kinds of privileged multinational linkages that allowed Delta Land to come into existence in the first place.

Resident Foreigners: The Centrality of Cairo's Commercial Expatriates

While former colonial civil servants formed the initial partnerships that created a path for Ma'adi's foundation, they did not carry the town into the future. Ma'adi's creation and growth relied on the contributions of an additional contingent of foreign subjects in Egypt. In January 1906, Palmer passed away, leaving an opening in the company's leadership that was not easily filled.⁸⁴ Rather than relying on another former imperialist, Delta Land brought John "Jack" W. Williamson onto its board of directors. Though an English national, Williamson spent his life in the Levant, and had recently moved to Cairo as the city increasingly attracted more foreign

⁸³ The other Britons on the board were former military personnel — Lt. Col. Ernest Lindsay Marryat, Major William Inglis Le Briton, and Capt. Alexander Adams. The sixth and final director was Baron Jacques de Menasce. BT 41/4373/5

⁸⁴ "Dossier Genl No. 14 of 1906, H.B.M. Consular Court - Cairo, In Probate: Estate No. 4 of 1906, Sir Elwin Palmer, KCB, KCMG," FO 841/87, The National Archives, Kew, UK.

commercial expatriates to its growing economy. Williamson represented a different kind of Briton within Delta Land's leadership. Often known as "Levantines," Williamson participated in a sector of Ottoman society who generally took up residence in the empire's port-cities, where they could benefit from trade and gain a higher profit through the benefits of the capitulations. Utilizing the the trade privileges granted within the sultanate, these Levantines lived in port cities like Izmir and Alexandria for centuries. As Cairo became increasingly important to the region's commerce, their influence likewise extended southward. Williamson participated in the expansion of Levantine influence as it moved more deeply into Egypt, as he relocated from Izmir to Cyprus and then to Cairo.⁸⁵ While less locally integrated than the Sephardic elite, he brought with him strong regional connections throughout the eastern Mediterranean. If Colvin and his colleagues brought an Anglo-Indian vision for moving Egypt forward as part of a modernizing project, the privatization of that endeavor made it identifiable to Levantine businessmen who saw Egypt as an extension of regional networks of kinship and commerce rather than an overarching imperial project. Cairo was a good investment, and became a place worth laying down new roots.

Like Colvin, Williamson was born and raised abroad. His father William Williamson first moved to Izmir in 1840 and married Elizabeth Barker there in 1849. Jack was born seven years later, the third eldest in a family with 16 children in all, although four died in infancy of diphtheria.⁸⁶ For many of these expatriate families, their sense of place came through their relationships with other similarly domiciled foreigners involved in trade. They and their neighbors balanced their lives between qualified assimilation, and a defensive sense of national

⁸⁵ "Mr. John Williamson: A Pioneer in Cyprus and Maadi," *The Egyptian Gazette*, Mar. 29, 1932.

⁸⁶ "Descendants of Williamson and Pangelley families of Izmir tree," Levantine heritage: The story of a community. Accessed on November 22, 2011 from: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/wftree.htm>.

identity tied to their respective countries of citizenship. Levantines' dependence on good commercial relationships kept their interests and vision for future growth firmly planted in Ottoman territories. To carry out their affairs, for instance, the Williamsons spoke fluent Greek and Arabic, and could conduct business in a smattering of other languages. Elements of British and European culture, however, remained important signifiers of family distinction and prestige, no less because their foreign citizenship helped secure their profitability. The Williamson children attended school in Britain or Europe, which helped create an insulating, cultural buffer between their work in the Levant and the foreign traditions that shaped home life.⁸⁷

Levantines' shared experiences as foreign subjects domiciled abroad created a closely-bound community. Similar to Egypt's Sephardic elite, the Williamson family intermarried and formed business partnerships with other expatriates in Izmir. These connections later grew into a regional network that spanned the Mediterranean. Jack's own pedigree exhibited generations of Levantine history: his mother Elizabeth was the granddaughter of William Barker, who first went into business in the region in 1760, when he purchased a share in the Levant Company. His grandson Henry Barker, Elizabeth's father, extended the Levant Company into Alexandria in 1848. In marrying into the Barker family, William Williamson joined one of the most influential British families in the Mediterranean. Descendants of Henry Barker remained in Alexandria until the 1960s, and other branches of the family intermarried with Britons and other Europeans in Izmir and Istanbul, so that today much of the Barker line remains in Turkey.⁸⁸ Similar linkages

⁸⁷ Alithea Lockie née Williamson, personal communication with the author, 25 Nov. 2011.

⁸⁸ "The Alexandria Barkers (Short) Tree," and "Introduction" to unpublished family history, Papers of Henry Michael Barker, EUL MS 238, Archives and Rare Books, University of Exeter, UK.

formed with the Rees, Cumberbatch, Pengelley, and Lewis families.⁸⁹ Over the course of the nineteenth century, these families' reach spread throughout Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Malta, Palestine, and North Africa.⁹⁰

If Anglo-Indians like Colvin and Palmer provided the initial British face of Delta Land, regionally integrated Britons involved in Levantine commerce carried the company and Ma'adi into the future. Jack Williamson represented a new generation in the company's leadership — one that embraced the multinational qualities of Cairo's social and economic fabric, rather than interpreting them as regrettable impediments to British imperial hegemony. Like Egypt's Sephardic elites, these Levantine Europeans found a place in Egypt that did not exist in a binary of either local or foreign identification. In taking up residence in Ma'adi, Williamson and others like him made the town a space for longterm, deliberate domicile abroad. Their interpretation of their multifaceted geography increasingly informed Ma'adi's growth and maintenance as more and more commercial expatriates like Williamson made homes in the town, making it a participant in not only Egypt's geopolitical negotiations with the British, but also in the regional trends simultaneously shaping Ottoman port-cities throughout the Mediterranean.

When Williamson came to Cairo in the early years of the twentieth century, he brought deep regional connections with him. Williamson first left Izmir in the late-1870s to set up

⁸⁹ For more on the extent of these Levantine connections see *Levantine Heritage: The story of a community*. Accessed from: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/> on Nov. 22, 2011.

⁹⁰ The close-knit bonds within the Levantine community formed a "third culture" in which they all could belong. Sociologists and anthropologists have described the children of diplomats, missionaries, and businesspeople who grow up abroad as existing between cultures at home and abroad, labeling them "third culture kids." The term "third culture" was first coined by John and Ruth Useem while studying Americans domiciled in India. They went on to study expatriate communities in Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Africa, and the United States. See Ruth H. Useem and Richard D. Downie, "Third Culture Kids," *Today's Education*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (September 1976), 103-105, and Werna D. Gillies, "Children on the Move: Third Culture Kids," *Childhood Education*, Vol. 75, No.1 (Fall 1998), 36-38.

business in Cyprus with fellow Levantine William Rees.⁹¹ Together the two worked on a variety of ventures. They dabbled in archaeology, successfully extracting and trading valuable artifacts, which later made them a valuable resources to the British Museum. They also founded the *Cyprus Herald*, the island's first English-language newspaper.⁹² Williamson additionally joined the Cyprus Company, Ltd., which traded wine and spirits. He even exhibited Cypriot wine at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886.⁹³

Cyprus' location in the eastern Mediterranean not only made it easier to access trade in Greece and Turkey, but also to take advantage of the commercial opportunities opening up in Egypt. Though Williamson already had family connections in Alexandria on his mother's side, he strengthened his ties to the country in his own right. When the British prepared to invade Egypt in 1882, Williamson and Rees gained a lucrative contract for supplying the British fleet from Cyprus. The duo also made a valuable connection with Horatio Kitchener, who stayed with them while stationed on the island as a surveyor before transferring to Egypt. Indicative of how the growth of imperial influence in Egypt and North Africa inadvertently expanded the use of regional financial networks, their relationship with Kitchener proved especially profitable. During Kitchener's campaign in the Sudan, and his later position as sirdar of the Egyptian Army under Cromer, Williamson won a series of military supply contracts. He additionally secured contracts for works in connection with the development of the Suez Canal.⁹⁴ The range of

⁹¹ Rees would go on to marry Ethelreda Barker. "Barker family photo archive selection," *Levantine Heritage*, accessed from: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/barker.htm> on Jan. 4, 2012.

⁹² Thomas Kiely argues that Williamson's involvement in the artifact trade shows the thin line between exploitation and preservation. Kiely, "Poachers turned gatekeepers: The British Museum archaeological argents on Cyprus in the 1890s," forthcoming 2012.

⁹³ Ibid, 8-9.

⁹⁴ Professor G. Elliott Smith, "An Associate of Kitchener — Tribute to Mr. J.W. Williamson," *The Times*, March 29, 1932 (London).

connections to Egypt Williamson generated from Cyprus eventually prompted him to move there. He made a home in Cairo by at least 1902, when his young wife Amy Christine Black died in the Egyptian capital, only four years after their marriage in Lebanon.⁹⁵

Williamson remained in Cairo, and remarried in 1905 to Hannah “Nan” Macredie. The couple had their first child, William Williamson a year later, the same year Jack joined the Delta Land Company’s Board of Directors.⁹⁶ Movement to Cairo did not mean giving up the Levantine connections he had grown up around, but rather extending them beyond the port-cities with which they were generally associated. The Williamsons continued to move between Cairo and Izmir in the early years of their family life. Just a year after William’s birth in Cairo, their second child, Alithea Margaret, was born in Boudjah, near Izmir. The family subsequently laid down firmer roots in Egypt, with Ma’adi becoming their most continuous domicile. Their third child Nancy was born in Cairo in 1908, and sometime between her birth and that of their son John Latimer in 1913, they settled in Ma’adi.⁹⁷ The Williamson family grew alongside the town, being among its first residents. Their youngest, Kathleen, was born in Ma’adi in 1916.⁹⁸

Williamson’s addition to the Delta Land Company’s board marked a generational and geographic shift in the company’s leadership. While Palmer had integrated himself into the complexities of Egyptian finance and gainfully partnered with Egypt’s elite Jews, Williamson brought with him generations of Levantine connections and more than 20 years of experience working in commercial upstarts throughout the Mediterranean. If Colvin and Palmer’s

⁹⁵ “Descendents of Williamson and Pengeley families of Izmir tree,” *Levantine Heritage*.

⁹⁶ BT 31/4373/5

⁹⁷ Alithea Lockie née Williamson (personal communication, November 25, 2011)

⁹⁸ Williamson continued working with Rees. Both served on the board of the Wardan Company, where Williamson was chairman until 1916, when the company was liquidated. “The Wardan Company,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 18 Jan. 1916; “Descendents of Williamson and Pengeley families of Izmir tree,” *Levantine Heritage*.

involvement in Delta Land and Ma'adi represented the limitations of formal imperial control and the compromises the regime undertook, Williamson's leadership indicated a different kind of British-ness on the company's board. What might have been described as formal empire's transition to more informal influence now appeared further removed from the imperial lexicon, remaining largely dependent on the continuity of expatriate domicile located within an Ottoman system, rather than a British one.

The shift to expatriate commercial enterprise was only confirmed in 1907, when all of the board members residing in England, including Colvin, resigned from Delta Land's board. The company office's subsequently moved from London to downtown Cairo, even as Delta Land remained registered as English.⁹⁹ Delta Land also underwent a broader generational shift in the first decade of the twentieth century. Both Felix and Raphael Suarès had passed away by the time Williamson joined Delta Land's board. Raphael died in 1902, before the company ever formed. His elder brother followed him in 1906.¹⁰⁰ Not long afterward, Colvin also passed away in 1908. The broader relations between England and Egypt underwent their own generational turning point at this time. In 1907 Cromer retired from his position as Consul-General and returned to England. He would be remembered as paragon of British imperial dominance in Egypt, with none of his successors managing the same kind of command over Egyptian affairs.

Delta Land's move to Cairo also looked to stabilize the company's connections to local and regional financial networks that substantiated its profitability. Plans to move began the summer after Williamson joined the board, but didn't take formal effect until May 1907. Just a month after the company officially relocated, Williamson and Captain Alexander Adams, another

⁹⁹ BT 31/4373/5

¹⁰⁰ Ibid and Krämer 39.

English board member domiciled in Egypt, completed a large land sale with the *Messers Suares Frères and Compagnie*, acquiring all of the family's possessions, some 146 feddans, at Ma'adi al-Khabiri.¹⁰¹ For the Suarès family the sale afforded the opportunity to unload recently acquired agricultural land that had already peaked in price. The company purchased the land for 100,000 shares of the company, a total sale valued at £375,000. The land, however, was valued at £300,000, so the Suarès' heirs paid the company the £75,000 to ensure the maintenance of the investment. They also were given a seat on the company's board of directors. By the time the sale was complete, Delta Land had officially changed its articles of association in England, replacing all references to affairs in "London," with "Cairo."¹⁰²

The relocation additionally indicated Ma'adi's participation in regional economic trends, where Ottoman urban centers of trade developed as expatriate business increased. As Tabak argues, increased European imperial rivalries within Ottoman territories during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries made the sultanate's cities sites of growing social diversity because older policies, like the capitulations, created openings for expanding trade relationships.¹⁰³ In Egypt, the same trends that saw the expansion of Istanbul, Izmir, Salonica, and Cyprus, also affected Cairo and Alexandria. Williamson's trajectory across the Mediterranean, from Izmir to Cyprus to Cairo, indicated these regional trends, as the expansion of foreign commerce contributed to urban and suburban development. The late-nineteenth century, for instance, saw Izmir expand from not only the Ottoman empire's most important port connection to western European trade, but also into a significant city in its own right. Izmir's

¹⁰¹ "Par le présent acte fait en deux originaux au Avril mil neuf cent cent sept, Entre Messieurs Suares Freres & Cie., banquiers ua Caire, d'une part; et The Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company Limited," BT 31/4373/5.

¹⁰² BT 31/4373/5

¹⁰³ Tabak, "Imperial rivalry and port-cities: a view from the top," 79-81.

transportation infrastructure grew significantly in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries — the same years that saw the growth of a foreign merchant class, who came to lead the city's export trade, banking, shipping, and maritime insurance economies.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, in Cyprus, where Williamson was among the first foreign nationals to take advantage of the island's growing significance to Mediterranean trade, other European expatriates largely funded the expansion of real estate markets surrounding the island's ports, becoming locally engrained notables and helping develop the island's ports into increasingly metropolitan trade centers.¹⁰⁵

A connection to a particular urban space, with the kinship ties that formed across generations through intermarriage and commercial ties stood at the center of expatriate activities throughout the Levant. Ma'adi offers further evidence of not only these people's significance to the regional economy, but also to their contribution to changes in the built environment at the turn of the twentieth century. That Williamson helped lead Delta Land through the transition from a London-based operation in Cairo, to an entity firmly planted in the Egyptian capital further situated Ma'adi within this Mediterranean regional economy and society.

Delta Land's Cairo-based form additionally had the ability to more quickly adjust to economic issues on the ground, helping the company to successfully negotiate the 1907

¹⁰⁴ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Making of an Ottoman Port: The quay of Izmir in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Transport History*, 22:1 (March 2001), 23-46; 24.

¹⁰⁵ Marc Aymes, "The port-city in the fields: investigating an improper urbanity in mid-nineteenth-century Cyprus," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 24:2 (December 2009), 133-149.

economic crisis, which struck just months after the relocation.¹⁰⁶ The concentration of the company's leadership in Cairo allowed it to respond quickly to the financial crisis. The initial economic downturn, however, still crippled Ma'adi's early growth. In 1906, the company's first year selling plots in Ma'adi, nine lots were purchased. By 1907, however, even as Delta Land acquired the Suarès land, the company moved only three plots. Even worse, in 1908 they only sold a meager one plot. Sales managed to rebound, however, and by 1909, Delta Land doubled its sales in Ma'adi.¹⁰⁷ Even with only gradual gains, Delta Land appeared to weather the financial crisis better than its land development competitors. Baron Edouard Empain's Heliopolis Oasis Company had to curtail its construction plans northeast of Cairo, canceling construction on the worker community included in the original design for Heliopolis, and focused efforts on the more elite space centered on the Heliopolis Palace Hotel — something elaborated upon in Chapter Two.¹⁰⁸ Ma'adi's gains were especially impressive considering Egypt's ongoing agricultural challenges in 1908 and 1909, when a poor cotton harvest severely reduced the country's exports.¹⁰⁹ For the Suarès family, the land sale came at an opportune time, allowing

¹⁰⁶ Agricultural economies like Egypt were especially hard hit in 1907, after land values were inflated and then crashed. To complicate matters, the world's gold reserves were depleted, first by the Boer Wars and the Russo-Japanese War, and then by earthquakes in San Francisco on April 18 and Valparaíso, Chile on Aug. 16 — all of these events working together to destabilize markets around the world. See Elwin Robert Anderson Seligman, *The Crisis of 1907 in the Light of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908); and E.R.J. Owen, "The Attitudes of British Officials to the Development of the Egyptian Economy, 1882-1922," from M.A. Cook, ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 485-500. On the impact of the San Francisco earthquake, see Patricia Grossi and Robert Muir-Wood, "The 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire: Perspectives on a Modern Super Cat," Risk Management Solutions and Stanford University (2006), accessed from http://www.rms.com/publications/1906_SF_EQ.pdf on 1 Feb. 2012.

¹⁰⁷ "Title and Deeds Maadi 1914-1940, Source: Notary Public Office — Giza," Ma'adi Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, American University in Cairo, Cairo, Egypt.

¹⁰⁸ Ilbert, "Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success?" 37.

¹⁰⁹ E.R.J. Owen, *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, 487.

them to benefit more from the growth of the Delta Land Company than they would have had the land remained berseem clover fields.¹¹⁰

Once in Cairo, Delta Land's leadership was comprised of a different kind of partnership between Britons and Egypt's Jewish elite. Where the company had its start in the privatization of certain sectors of the Egyptian government, the company's new board maintained fewer direct ties to the colonial regime. The board of directors created in May 1907 had no designated chair. Instead, it was led jointly by its directors, who included Williamson, Baron Jacques de Menasce, Maurice (aka. Moise) Cattaoui Bey, and Robert S. Rolo. Joining this cohort were Percy W. Carver, who had served on the board of the Delta Railway Company since 1897, and Adams, who was reappointed to the board, after being among the Delta Land's founders but resigning in 1905.¹¹¹ One lone resident of England remained — Frederick James Horne, who continued in his position as the company secretary from London.

Delta Land's new cohort of leaders shared Egypt as their primary locale of personal and professional life. Together they set out to turn a profit by developing a corner of land near Cairo into a different kind of modern town.¹¹² If the development of Ma'adi signified Egypt's modernization, that progression did not require Egyptians to modify their practices as much as it

¹¹⁰ When the Suarès brothers sold their feddans to Delta Land, they reserved an extra two months before control of all of the land would be handed over because of the impending berseem harvest. "Par le présent acte fait en deux originaux au Avril mil neuf cent cent sept, Entre Messieurs Suares Freres & Cie., banquiers ua Caire, d'une part; et The Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company Limited," BT 31/4373/5.

¹¹¹ Adams also worked as the general manager of the Delta Railways, a role further discussed in Chapter Two. BT 31/4373/5 and Dale Papers, GB165-0073, MECA, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, UK.

¹¹² Ma'adi was not the only new development undertaken by a private company, just the first. After Delta Land's founding in 1904, the Heliopolis Oasis Company, under the leadership of Baron Édouard Empain, was created in 1905 and established Heliopolis East of Cairo in 1905. That same year, the Nile Land & Agricultural Company began work on creating Garden City, just south of downtown Cairo. On Heliopolis see Agnieszka Dobrowolska and Jaroslaw Dobrowoski, *Heliopolis: Rebirth of the City of the Sun* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2006), and on Garden City see Samir W. Raafat, "Garden City: A Retrospective," Parts 1-6, egy.com/gardencity (accessed July 27, 2009).

relied on Britons to compromise their methods and work within local systems. A common thread brought together all of Ma'adi's founders, with each of them drawing from a complex sense of geography. Whether they were Europeans benefitting from the capitulations in various Ottoman commercial hubs, Jews whose families had lived in Egypt for generations but remained foreigners by nationality, or Anglo-Indians transplanted to Egypt, all of Ma'adi's founders lived their lives in the interstices of clearly defined national boundaries. Out of these multinational circumstances, Ma'adi took on similarly in-between social and cultural qualities. If its founders had geographically complicated backgrounds, Ma'adi became a place for such people, made possible by Egypt's economic and judicial institutions.

As Delta Land constructed Ma'adi in the years that followed, its workers conducted the hard labor of creating streets by pounding down dust and sand into a network of wide boulevards and smaller residential streets. The company additionally relied on gardeners to line each street with trees, and Egyptian builders to construct villas along Ma'adi's roads. The residents who made homes within those spaces then employed their own workforce of gardeners, maids, and cooks to keep up the new domestic space. All of these people moved into and out of Ma'adi along larger boulevards that were each named after different Ma'adi founders. Most avenues bore British names — Colvin, Palmer and Williamson. The *midans*, or roundabouts, often had Jewish names. A map later produced by the Delta Land Company captured how these names criss-crossed with one another. Avenues Palmer and Williamson met at Midan Suarès, while Avenue Mosseri crossed Avenue Colvin as it passed southeast towards the irrigation canal that bisected Ma'adi. The network of names on the map indicated the intricately formed relationships that brought Ma'adi into existence. Their relationships relied on Egypt's location within the

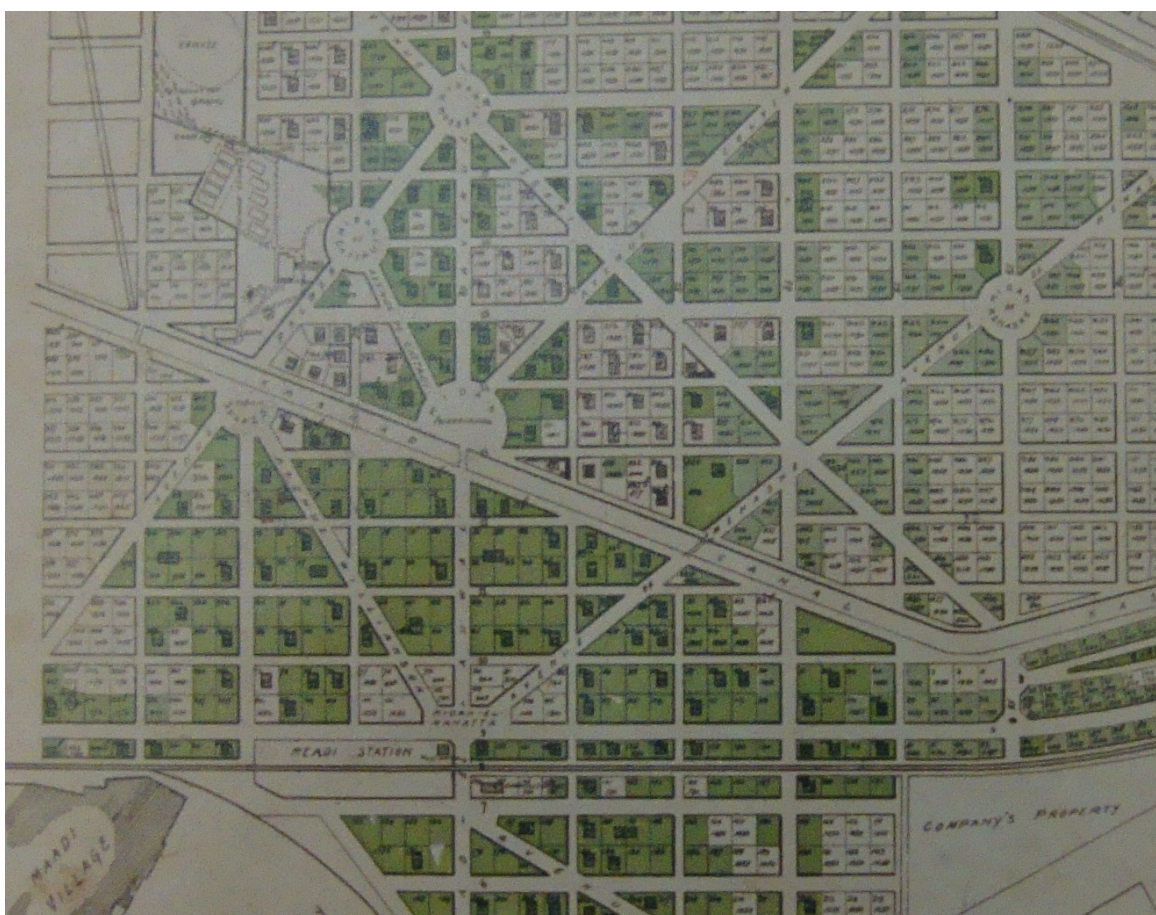


Figure 1.1: An early-twentieth century map of Ma'adi produced by the Delta Land Company. The map reorients the geography of Cairo, with East being at the top of the map. The Nile, which ran along Ma'adi's western boarder is at the bottom of the image, past the railway tracks depicted here. The *midans* are primarily named after Ma'adi's Jewish founder and the wider boulevards bear English names. The smaller streets were numbered, with Road 9, which ran along the railway track, serving as Ma'adi's designated commercial zone. Image courtesy of the Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

Ottoman empire as well as the influence of renegotiated British imperial goals. Amid these imperial layers, people moved between regions, nations, and empires, simultaneously identifying with a global range of places and policies. Through its dependence on these connections, Ma'adi maintained an interstitial yet global position culturally, socially, economically, and politically. That such an existence remained tenable into the increasingly severe political clashes between Egypt and Britain, points to the enduring influence of Egypt's multinational networks throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER TWO: BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION

One of the oldest remaining photographs of Ma'adi captures the newly constructed villa that Jack and Nan Williamson moved into after the birth of their daughter Nancy. They called the house “The Grove” and it stood near Ma'adi's railway station. The photograph shows the elements of Ma'adi's early development, before its trees matured and these large country houses stood distinctively apart from the surrounding agricultural landscape (Figure 2.1). In the picture, the photographer stands across the street from the home, revealing how carefully the new gravel road had been laid, with its border blocked out and young trees planted along the adjacent pathway. Just past the row of fragile-looking trees stands one of the Williamson children, likely William, the eldest, wearing a white shirt, knickers and a wide-brimmed hat. He looks off to his



Figure 2.1: One of the earliest existing photographs of Ma'adi — the east side of the Grove, surrounded by young trees, with one of the Williamson children standing in the yard. The front of the house, which would later be covered in climbers, is on the left side, adjoining the turret.

right as he stands amid the trees that lined the property. In the background, the Grove towers over its environs. No other buildings figure in the picture. The sky around the house looms large, without any additional fixtures, man-made or otherwise, apparent in the distance.

Williamson and the rest of Delta Land's leadership planned Ma'adi as a town of villas like the Grove. They modeled the town after the garden city — a town planning concept developed in London by Sir Ebenezer Howard in the final years of the nineteenth century. In Howard's conception, the garden city was a carefully planned establishment designed to combine urban and rural elements into what was known as a town-and-country satellite development.¹ For Delta Land, the garden city offered a method for creating a well-controlled and aesthetically pleasing space conveniently located a short train ride from the city. As an area developed by the wealthy yet heterogenous group of foreign subjects behind Delta Land, Ma'adi's early construction tells the story of how foreign privileges in Egypt became part of not only the landscape of greater Cairo, but also its social fabric.

James Ackerman describes the villa as a feature of the built environment indicative of a particular socioeconomic status. In his description of the “ideology of the villa,” he posits that the villa provides a continuous mode for interpreting the development of semi-rural places deliberately constructed outside the city, yet financially dependent on wealth derived from urban trade and commerce. He traces the history of the villa back to the Roman Republic, arguing that it can be continuously identified with people who built their fortunes in the city and then used those funds to construct country homes that appeared to exhibit a leisurely life, free from the

Figure 2.1: Image courtesy of Alithea Lockie.

¹ Howard originally published his concept of the garden in 1898 in *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* in 1898, and re-published it as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* in 1902. Sir Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, edited by F.J. Osborn (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1965).

city's congestion, but reliant for their upkeep on the labor of a class either slaves or servants. Rather than a dwelling constructed out of unlimited means, the villa's dependence on urban capital made it an icon of bourgeois status.² The garden city, in Ackerman's view, extended



Figure 2.2: A later image of the Grove, after its gardens filled in and the gardner successfully trained climbers to grow around the house's exterior.

the reach of this bourgeois built environment, contributing to what he called the “democratization of the villas,” as it created whole communities of villas where middle-class residents could make homes on the perimeter of the metropolis.³ Exploring how Ma'adi participated in several of the classed trends that Ackerman identifies addresses the social context that the town grew out of and participated in. The terms of Ma'adi's construction can be additionally analyzed in relationship to the social impact that the growing body of foreign subjects living in and operating the town had on their setting in Cairo, and Egypt more broadly. It asks, how deep a part of Egyptian society did they become? And how did they make their influence felt?

Figure 2.2: Image courtesy of Alitheia Lockie.

² James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, A.W. Mellon Lectures in Fine Arts (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 10.

³ Ibid., 253.

In the case of the Grove, the pathways of its construction relied on the wealth the Williamsons derived from Jack's work in regional commerce, which secured the family's position in Cairo's upper-middle class. The home served as a well-to-do country space on the outskirts of Cairo. Its location near the railway station was all the more advantageous, offering easy access to downtown Cairo. While the Grove remained dependent on these urban commercial activities, physically it appeared to inhabit a space in the countryside. The Grove's garden increasingly softened its stony exterior, presenting it as a place enmeshed in its rustic environs. It served as an early marker of how Delta Land would repurpose the land outside the city as a town-and-country space, which signified bourgeois wealth and foreign commercial influence. Ma'adi's indicators of status would serve as a brand for the town, defining it throughout the political upheavals of the first half of the twentieth century.

Delta Land situated Ma'adi within a number of contexts. At the same time that it was a garden city for Cairo's upper middle-class foreigners, it was also the company's single largest land development project, and, perhaps most important to the company's leaders, it became home to many of its managers, board members, and investors. Understanding how Ma'adi's location amid these layers of circumstances informed its development means examining its connection to the varied contexts of its early construction — from Delta Land's profit-making alterations to Howard's garden city ideal, to the globally interconnected networks of men and women who financially supported the company as shareholders, to the wealthy, multinational families who first made homes in Ma'adi. Identifying who accessed Ma'adi and on what terms remains central to interpreting the meaning and significance of this villa and garden space seven miles south of Cairo. More than a kind of outlier, the story of its initial construction lays the

groundwork for an ongoing exploration of how significant a community based on foreign privilege became to Egyptian society and culture.

The Garden City Scheme

When he first developed the garden city plan, Sir Ebenezer Howard believed that the greatest crisis facing the world at the turn of the twentieth century was the interrelated growth of slums in metropolitan centers and impoverished rural geographies. To address the crisis, he proclaimed, “Town and country *must be married*, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization.”⁴ The new human civilization Howard envisioned would geographically organize itself less and less around major urban centers, and instead function as a multi-centered geography of interconnected garden cities. Howard based his plan on the conviction that people were inherently cooperative and egalitarian and that modern technology could be used to liberate humanity from grueling, unskilled toil.⁵ He depicted the marriage of town and country through a series of detailed diagrams, which laid out a zoning system comprised primarily of residential space situated between a commercial district at the town center and an industrial sector on the perimeter. Howard hoped that the commercial and industrial sectors would create a deliberately cross-class space where people looked to intentionally live and work on socially-egalitarian terms. Beyond the industrial zone, Howard laid out an agricultural buffer or “greenbelt” that created a barrier of rural land between the town

⁴ Emphasis in original. Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, 48.

⁵ Howard’s utopian vision drew from a variety of antecedents, including Thomas More’s *Utopia*, Quaker spiritualism, Fabian socialism, and late-Victorian science fiction. He was particularly inspired by Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward, 2000-1887* (1888), which promoted similar ideals of basic human decency, and progress through modern technology. Peter Batchelor, “The Origins of the Garden City Concept for Urban Reform,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Oct., 1969), 184-200.

and other cities. A rail line attached the garden city to the larger metropolitan center and to neighboring towns. It also provided an ideal outlet, in Howard's consideration, for farmers, manufacturers, and artisans to distribute their goods more widely.

Howard's plan centered on the use of a private company that would execute his cooperative goals. He devoted nearly two-thirds of his 1902 tome on garden city planning *Garden Cities of To-morrow* to the financial workings of the project.⁶ In it a private company functioned as the town's local municipality, providing guidance and keeping it in line with the longterm garden city plan. He explained that the administration of the town would be "modeled upon that of a large and well-appointed business, which is divided into various departments."⁷ The company served as the local governor and in that role was responsible for building roads, parks, schools, and creating sanitation, water, and electric utilities. In order to ensure that the company remained in control of land use, residents rented land rather than buying it outright. Howard stipulated that the company then use those rents to pay for the land and provide for the town's municipal needs.⁸

Howard intended the whole garden city system to be cooperative in nature — with the company depending on residents' rents and the residents relying on the company to appropriately reinvest their funds.⁹ What was more, residents did not own their homes and Howard dictated that the land's unearned increment (the increased value of the land accrued without expenditure

⁶ He originally published the plan in 1898 as *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, and then reissued it as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* in 1902. Dugald MacFadyen, *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1970), 40.

⁷ Howard, 92.

⁸ Ibid., 51.

⁹ Howard appealed to would-be residents' self-interest in articulating his plan. He argued that farmers, for instance, would benefit from the built-in, local market for their goods, which would be sold with little to know cost for transportation. Ibid., 50.

by the owner) would be held in common, rather than being part of the company's profit. He explained that because the landlord was not responsible for the increased value, the term should be renamed the "collectively-earned increment" and likewise be shared by the whole community.¹⁰

The garden city's cooperative elements proved serious barriers to the complete implementation of Howard's plan. The collectively-earned increment made it challenging to find investors, and residents were reluctant to move into rent-only places. What was more, Howard did not anticipate the garden city would appeal to bourgeois country residents who wanted to intentionally distance themselves from industry rather than incorporate small-scale manufacturing into their country life. What became known as garden cities in the twentieth century were often removed from Howard's intentions. Neatly maintained and carefully planned garden suburbs like Hampstead or government-led town-and-country planning initiatives, for instance, adopted elements of the garden city built environment but did not execute the details of Howard's cooperative plan.¹¹ He never intended the garden city to be a suburb. One devout supporter of Howard's ideas went so far as to describe the garden city as the antithesis of a suburb, arguing that the garden city was "not a more rural retreat, but a more integrated foundation for an active urban life."¹² Nevertheless, the aesthetic hallmarks of the garden city

¹⁰ Ibid., 57.

¹¹ Standish Meacham explains that while Howard's principles inspired the creation of many new town and suburbs in the early-twentieth century, only Letchworth actually adhered to the whole of Howard's plan. Logistically, it was easier to build garden suburbs that were organized more like a company town than the cooperative environment Howard envisioned. Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 60.

¹² Mumford, "Introduction," to Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, 35.

— particularly the designated rural greenbelt — became stalwart features of new middle-class suburban spaces that attached themselves to Howard’s movement.

While the details of Howard’s vision proved too lofty to execute in most circumstances, his design principles inspired the establishment of carefully planned communities around the world. In the first decade of the twentieth century, suburban “garden cities” took shape throughout continental Europe, the United States, and even Japan.¹³ These new spaces took “town-and-country” to mean developments in the adjacent countryside that still depended on city capital, rather than carefully scaled down satellite towns with their own internal economies that joined industrial and agricultural production. Abandoning the radical social equality that Howard believed the garden city stood for, the vast majority of these new “garden cities” focused on developing the physical elements of Howard’s plan.

In Egypt, the Delta Land Company managed to adapt elements of Howard’s garden city with little government intervention. The company required no concession from the state, allowing it to serve as the localized municipal authority that appeared in step with Howard’s original vision.¹⁴ In Ma‘adi’s early years, government oversight only extended as far as keeping records of land bought and sold in the Bassatine region of Giza, the governate in which Ma‘adi was located.¹⁵ Cairo itself lacked its own municipality at the time. While Khedive Isma‘il established a planning administration called the *tanzīm* in 1867, its authority remained limited to road planning and construction. Cairo lacked a fully-functioning municipality until 1949. Until that time land companies like Delta Land were free to create their own urban management

¹³ Ken Tadashi Oshima, “Denenchōfu: Building the Garden City in Japan,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55: 2 (June, 1996), 140-51.

¹⁴ Thomas Dale, “Sidelights at Maadi: Beginnings,” 8 May 1970. GB165-0073, MECA.

¹⁵ Sharia Court, “Delta Land Co. Land Purchases, 1905-1940,” MC, AUC, Egypt.

schemes without direct government oversight.¹⁶ Delta Land had the added protection of being registered as an English company, which garnered it the privileges and protections provided by the capitulations and the Mixed Courts. With the lack of government oversight, Delta Land became the central authority in Ma‘adi, building and largely governing the town according to its own longterm plan.

Delta Land created a long-term plan for Ma‘adi and made itself principally responsible for the project’s execution. Under the company’s leadership, Ma‘adi fulfilled many of the design principles Howard stipulated. For Howard “garden” did not refer so much to an aesthetic quality, as to a planned layout.¹⁷ He explained that the garden city “is definitely planned, so that the whole question of municipal administration may be dealt with by one far-reaching scheme.”¹⁸ For Delta Land that garden plan remained a predominantly aesthetic quality. It deliberately undertook the greening of the town through the creation of park space and the cultivation of trees and hedges. Like Howard’s diagrams, Delta Land designed Ma‘adi as a predominantly residential space. The town’s only commercial zone — Road 9 — sat at the center of town, adjacent to the railway station. Residents’ villa homes, which comprised the majority of its residences, ran along Ma‘adi’s smaller streets. These numbered roads intersected with the large boulevards named after the Delta Land Company founders, which met at Ma‘adi’s centralizing midans or roundabouts. Those public squares contained cultivated, green, park space. Over time Delta Land incorporated some industry into its development south of Cairo, eventually creating a

¹⁶ Egypt’s first municipality was founded largely by foreigners in Alexandria in 1890, and other Egyptian cities followed the Alexandrian model before Cairo ever had a municipality. Raymond, *Cairo: City of History*, 327, and Michael J. Reimer, “Urban Government and Administration in Egypt, 1805-1914,” *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, 39:3, State, Law and Society in Nineteenth Century Egypt (Nov. 1999), 289-318.

¹⁷ Osborn, “Introduction,” *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, 26.

¹⁸ Howard, 76.

cement factory southeast of Ma‘adi, where it could easily access the rocky Moqattam Hills for raw materials. The addition of the factory was not accompanied, however, by a significant influx of blue-collar workers into the Ma‘adi community. Instead it remained an upper middle-class community, dependent on its connection to Cairo’s metropolitan center rather than semi-independent from it. To solidify Ma‘adi’s distinction from Cairo’s urban spaces and obfuscate the garden city’s dependence on it, Ma‘adi was bordered by a designated rural and desert landscape — an Egyptian greenbelt — which the company deliberately left undeveloped.¹⁹

Many of the design elements Delta Land implemented in Ma‘adi fulfilled Howard’s plan while simultaneously drawing from town planning motifs already at work in Cairo. The interlocking system of roundabouts and boulevards miniaturized a similar network constructed nearer downtown by Khedive Isma‘il in the late-1860s, when he first created the *tanẓīm*. Isma‘il was heavily influenced by Haussmann’s redesign of Paris earlier in the century and he hoped to modernize Cairo along similar lines. With a plan to unveil a new city to a mass of international visitors when the Suez Canal opened in 1869, Isma‘il appointed ‘Ali Mubarak, a French-educated Egyptian engineer, to direct the *tanẓīm*. While Mubarak initially planned to incorporate the older medieval city into the redesign, the time constraints forced him to focus on developments in largely uninhabited areas to the west and north of the existing city. This uneven development established districts like Isma‘iliyya, which had wide avenues and European styled building facades, and became home to Cairo’s wealthy Egyptians and growing class of foreigners. The new districts abutted the older areas of Old Cairo and Bulaq, which retained their medieval shape and fell into further disrepair. Ultimately, Isma‘il’s scheme proved financially

¹⁹ In a letter to the British Residency one Delta Land director explicitly explained how the company had purchased land north of Ma‘adi to ensure that the town was bordered by undeveloped, rural land. FO 141/811/20.

untenable and directly contributed to Egypt's bankruptcy, which subsequently justified the British invasion and occupation. Instead of a fully integrated modern city, Cairo became home to "two cities" — the increasingly dilapidated medieval city, with its winding, unpaved roads, and the new European-styled city with its wide avenues, and western-inspired design.²⁰ Under the British occupation, the bifurcation only grew more defined.²¹

An Attractive Model

When Delta Land used a Hausmannian design in Ma'adi, the company extended to Cairo's affluent "European" city while also adding to the city's socioeconomic bifurcation. As Cairo's population of upper middle-class foreigners grew in the early twentieth century, Ma'adi was not the only "garden city" built to capitalize on Cairo's growing population of well-to-do foreigners. Since the outset of the British occupation, Egypt's cities saw a profound influx of foreign subjects looking to take advantage of growing commercial opportunities. The 1907 census reported that in the preceding ten years, Cairo and Alexandria's urban populations had expanded at some of the fastest rates in the world, behind only Calcutta and Berlin. What was more, the growth was not attributed to industrialization or the movement of peasants into the city, but predominantly to the immigration of Europeans. The census reported:

²⁰ On Cairo's "two cities" see Raymond, *Cairo: City of History*, 333-8, and Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 222-3.

²¹ For some British observers the development of Cairo's new, European-styled city was a detraction. In 1939, Sir Richard Vaux wrote in his memoir, "The central quarters of Cairo can now boast of being as up to date, and as unpleasant, as those of any city in Europe or America." For Vaux, Cairo's biggest consolation were the newly developed outlying districts of Ma'adi, Heliopolis, Helwan, and Gezira (later known as Zamalek), which were less urban, and incorporated more rural elements. Sir Richard Vaux, "Egyptian and Other Episodes: Personal, Political, and Legal," unpublished memoir, 1941. GB165-0293, MECA.

It is believed that in portions of many urban areas the native residents have actually been replaced by foreigners, and that in the many cases where the new arrivals are sharp-witted, pushing individuals on the look-out for employment, the result has been to actually drive a portion of the indigenous community, not to other quarters of the same town, but altogether out of the urban area.²²

The strength of this incoming foreign population to reshape urban demographics made the development of elite-styled suburban spaces all the more profitable. It also indicated the social fissures that surrounded the growth of these communities. While Howard intended the garden city to alleviate the classed inequalities of the metropolis, Cairo's garden cities largely grew out of and exacerbated the disparities already embedded in the capital's built environment.

Because municipal authority in early-twentieth century Cairo did not extend beyond street planning and development, Howard's garden city model proved attractive to several European-owned land development companies. Delta Land and its competitors could design new communities near the capital and then administer them according to their own standards and interests.²³ After the Delta Land Company formed in 1904, Belgian Baron Edouard Empain founded the Heliopolis Oasis Company in 1905, which established Heliopolis in the desert six miles northeast of Cairo.²⁴ That same year, the Nile Land & Agricultural Company established the aptly named Garden City southwest of Cairo's European quarter, along the eastern bank of

²² Chapter II, "Movement of the Population," *The Census of Egypt*, Ministry of Finance, (Cairo: National Printing Department, 1909), 28.

²³ Alexandria became the first municipality in Egypt in 1890, inspiring similar local administrations throughout Egypt. Cairo did not become a municipality, however, until 1949 — having only the *tanzim* until then. See Reimer, "Urban Government and Administration in Cairo, 1805-1914," *Die Welt des Islams*.

²⁴ Robert Ilbert, *Héliopolis, le Cairo 1905-1922: genèse d'une ville* (Mariseille and Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981).

the Nile.²⁵ All three companies focused on building garden cities of villas, where upper middle-class foreigners and Egyptians might make a home.

Of all of Cairo's garden cities, only Empain in Heliopolis attempted to deliberately foster socioeconomic diversity. The eventual foundering of his plan grew out of the larger social complexities and cross-class conflicts that surrounded the building of these garden city communities. Empain received his land northeast of Cairo through a large government grant. His intention was to demonstrate that his innovative tramway could make life beyond the immediate perimeter of the Nile possible.²⁶ Before creating the Heliopolis Oasis Company, Empain designed the Paris and Cairo tram systems and controlled companies in the Belgian Congo, France, Spain, Turkey, Russia, and throughout Latin America and Western Europe.²⁷ In Heliopolis, he proposed to combine his technological innovations with Howard's garden city scheme to help alleviate the burden of Cairo's rapidly growing population. Yet Empain's approach relied on segregating the town's laboring and well-to-do populations. He began developing Heliopolis according to what he called a "two-oases project." The first oasis was the larger of the two and centered on a large luxury hotel called the Heliopolis Palace Hotel, a cathedral, and a race track, all designed to attract Cairo's wealthy foreigners and elite Egyptians. Surrounding the town center were predominantly residential plots available for purchase or rent. Factories were to be situated along the town perimeter. The Heliopolis Oasis Company deliberately blended architectural styles, mixing Continental European building facades with

²⁵ Samir W. Raafat, "Garden City: A Retrospective," Parts I-III, Egi.com, accessed from <http://www.egy.com/gardencity/98-08-06.php> on 27 July 2009.

²⁶ Ilbert, "Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success?" (1985).

²⁷ William J. Hausman, *Global Electrification: Multinational Enterprise and International Finance in the History of Light and Power, 1878-2007* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 103-4.

Arab-Muslim motifs as an aesthetic reflection of Empain's initial emphasis on creating a multi-ethnic, socially-complex space.²⁸ The second oasis was to stand as its own separate development, connected to the first by a road and the tramway. It offered housing to the Egyptian workers who helped construct the town, worked on the tramway, and were employed in the factories surrounding the first oasis. These two communities then shared quick and easy access to Cairo through the newly developed tramway. After the 1907 financial crisis, however, Empain opted to cut expenditures and limit the scope of his scheme. He abandoned the second, worker oasis, and focused instead on the more elite development. The shift in priorities for Heliopolis indicated the larger context of conflict between Empain's commercial endeavors and the interests of his workers.²⁹

A year after the financial crisis, Cairo saw its first major strike by industrial workers. Early on the morning of Oct. 17, 1908, 1,600 tramwaymen employed by Empain's Cairo Tramway Company laid down on the tracks throughout the city, refusing to move unless the company granted them higher wages, shorter hours, and benefits if injured on the job.³⁰ The strike, which was led by lower skilled and lower paid Egyptian drivers and conductors, lasted three days before the police broke it up. All was not lost, however, and by the end of October the Egyptian workers secured the better wages and hours demanded in the protest.

While lower class Egyptians started the movement, as it grew it also gained a multinational and multiethnic character indicative of the social complexity of early-twentieth century Cairo. The work available at Cairo Tramway was largely dependent on nationality, with

²⁸ On the architecture of Heliopolis, see Agnieszka Dobrowolska and Jaroslaw Dobrowoski, *Heliopolis: Rebirth of the City of the Sun* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2006).

²⁹ Ilbert, "Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success?" (1985).

³⁰ Beinín and Lockman, *Workers on the Nile*, 60.

indigenous Egyptians generally working as conductors and drivers, and foreign subjects, usually Italians and Greeks, holding more lucrative positions as inspectors or skilled workshop employees.³¹ After Egyptian workers led the initial 1908 strike — which also protested their mistreatment by the Italians and Greeks who outranked them — the growth of the labor movement saw the incorporation of Italian, Greek, Armenian, and Austrian workers. Some of Cairo Tramway's most radical workers were Italians and Greeks who often identified with a larger internationalist worker uprising.³² Socioeconomic disparity rather than nationality framed the larger disconnect between Empain and his workers, even as ethnic lines contributed to the complexities of the issue. Class identifications additionally informed Empain's abandonment of the "second oasis" in Heliopolis, which did not fit into the kinds of consumer patterns that most directly contributed to the growth and profitability of his garden city. It was not only that more well-to-do foreign subjects sought out the kind of suburban retreat established in Heliopolis, Garden City, and Ma'adi, but also that these workers did not necessarily identify with the spaces being developed by these large transport companies as they looked to increase their profitability through real estate projects. The companies controlled by Cairo's garden city founders contributed to the disparities avidly opposed by Egyptian labor, making the establishment of these communities further evidence of the ongoing social divide that informed who lived within the garden city — something antithetical to Howard's original intentions.

Of all of Cairo's garden city developers, Delta Land most successfully established a longterm plan for carefully controlling and preserving the physical markers associated with Howard's plan. Garden City abutted downtown Cairo, immediately extending the urban

³¹ Ibid., 58.

³² Ibid., 63; 112.

environment rather than standing in contrast to it. The only element of Howard's plan fulfilled in Garden City was the art nouveau style of its twisting and turning streets, which was outlined by French engineer José Lamba.³³ Otherwise, it remained a "garden city" in name more than function. Additionally, Heliopolis saw a rapid rise in population, growing from 9,200 in 1921 to 224,000 in 1928, which lent it an increasing association with urban sprawl.³⁴ While Garden City and Heliopolis were more quickly drawn into the larger metropolis, Ma'adi remained most firmly distinguished as a space of rural retreat throughout the first half of the twentieth century. That distinguishing character also relied on Delta Land's deliberate embrace of bourgeois consumption. The company made no attempt to include a cross-class society in its early development of Ma'adi. Instead, they crafted a plan for Ma'adi that relied on the ongoing labor of lower class builders, gardeners, and domestic servants for the town's proper upkeep.

Obligations to Ma'adi

Delta Land took its own distinct approach to the garden city scheme, focusing the development of Ma'adi on a sense of mutual obligation that made residents responsible, and legally-bound partners in the construction and maintenance of Ma'adi. Where Garden City had its unique pattern of streets, and Heliopolis had its Euro-Egyptian building facades, Ma'adi had rules. Delta Land articulated specific guidelines for the construction and upkeep of Ma'adi through a legally-binding *Cahier des Charges* that included in every deed of sale. Within the *Cahier des Charges* residents found a list of specifications that outlined the obligations that they

³³ "Midan Simon Bolivar and South (Garden City)," *Keeping Cairo (I'atni Balqahira)*, accessed from <http://www.keepingcairo.org/items/show/186> on 11 June 2012.

³⁴ Ilbert. "Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success?" (1985), 37.

and the company respectively had to the town. These specifications stipulated that the company bore sole responsibility for developing roads, public utilities, and public garden spaces. At the same time, it bound residents to specific rules for the design, upkeep, and sanitation of their homes. The *Cahier des Charges* also set a tacit socioeconomic border around the community as adherence to the stipulations required the means to employ builders, servants, and gardeners and did not allow for the kinds of spaces they could afford. Its regulations helped make Ma'adi into the kind of villa community that would attract Cairo's upper middle-class consumers.

The regulations included in the *Cahier des Charges* established that Delta Land sold all plots of land as residential space, and purchasers could not use the land for any commercial reason. When constructing a villa, it could not exceed 15 meters in height, and could not take up more than half of the plot's total area. Residents had to dedicate the remaining space to a cultivated garden with a lawn, and the whole property had to be bordered by a green hedge. The restrictions also set detailed guidelines for sanitation and waste disposal. If residents did not abide by these rules, Delta Land reserved the right to penalize them and take the resident to court. The guidelines created a complete, far-reaching plan that Delta Land implemented consistently throughout the first half of the twentieth century, giving Ma'adi's built environment consistency.³⁵ Even as individual residents could develop their plots according to their own personal architectural and gardening tastes, they had to do so within the constraints of the villa and its accompanying garden.

When enforcing the *Cahier des Charges*, Delta Land expressed that it acted in the interest of the community as a whole, making itself Ma'adi's legal arbiter of communal harmony. For

³⁵ From the handwritten *Cahier des Charges* in 1909, to the printed copy from 1945 that had the company logo at the top, there were few changes to the specifications the document set out. *Cahier des Charges*, 1909, 1934 and 1945, MC, AUC, Egypt.

their part, the residents embraced their obligations to the town. The *Cahier des Charges* provided a degree of local order and established a system of accountability between themselves and the company. As Geoffrey Dale, a later manager for Delta Land explained, “The rules were not onerous. They were not extensive and did not run to more than four pages, but they were sensible and in the interest of the community.”³⁶ What was more, Delta Land used the *Cahier des Charges* to create a system of local, municipal authority and structure unavailable in other parts of Cairo. Delta Land offered Ma‘adi residents their own local governing authority. In turn, property owners largely relied upon and embraced the *Cahier des Charges* and Delta Land’s management as the guarantors of a unique, carefully cultivated, garden city environment. They willingly contributed to the creation of Ma‘adi as a town-and-country space, agreeing that the company’s rules worked to the benefit of the community as a whole. For Delta Land, structuring the garden city according to specific rules became a profitable business model. In its Cairene context, these specifications became especially advantageous because they offered residents a stable, overt system of municipal governance that engrained exclusivity into the space while also making it into an attractive country residence, conveniently situated adjacent to the city center.

Networks of Investment

Before the *Cahier des Charges* took effect, Delta Land was already an object of consumption among a broad network of shareholders who substantiated the company financially. Delta Land defined itself on much broader terms in relationship to these investors than it did when articulating its specific rules for Ma‘adi residents. When the company was incorporated in

³⁶ Letter from G. Dale to S. Raafat, 8 June 1992, Dale Family Correspondence, MC, AUC, Egypt.

April 1904, its memorandum of association outlined a variety of possible development projects in which the company could engage. These included managing residential, agricultural, commercial, industrial, and even archaeological land. Delta Land defined itself broadly because it had access to large portions of land throughout Cairo and northward into the Nile Delta where the Delta Railways already operated. As the scion of the railway company, Delta Land's founders initially designed the company as an umbrella under which they could develop any land adjacent to the railway company's lines. Delta Land's memorandum of association defined the company's purpose:

To purchase, or otherwise acquire, develop, hold, sell, let, or otherwise dispose of and deal in land, or other immovable property situate in any district in Egypt in which the Railways belonging to or that may at any time hereafter belong to the Egyptian Delta Light Railways, Limited, or hereafter constructed or proposed to be constructed may serve or be intended to serve.³⁷

The connection to the railway company not only offered access to land, but also to investors. When Delta Land was first created, shareholders in the railway company were given the earliest opportunity to invest in the new venture. Of Delta Land's initial 100 thousand shares, more than 85 percent were made available to railway company investors.³⁸ While it is not possible to tell how many of these shareholders invested in Delta Land, it is clear that the new company began with sufficient investor backing. Delta Land consistently raised its capital in its first four years. All of the initial 100 thousand shares made available were purchased at a cost of £1 each in

³⁷ IR 40/2968

³⁸ BT 31/4373/5

1904. Just a year later, Delta Land increased its capital from £100,000 to £250,000, creating another 150 thousand shares. By 1907, that capital doubled to a total of £500,000.³⁹

Delta Railways successfully launched Delta Land by opening it up to an existing network of investors already profiting from their endeavor. The company's register of shareholders identifies the specific people and financial institutions involved in its maintenance on the market. Those investors included entities already affiliated with Delta Land's board members, like the Suares Frères and Co., and the Cattaoui Figlis and Co. Other investors had no apparent existing connection the company. One of the single largest investors, for instance, was the French-born merchant banker Ernest Rüffer, who purchased 2,396 shares of the new venture, but appears nowhere else in the company archive.⁴⁰ The investors came from a range of backgrounds, with most common occupation listed as "gentleman," while also including merchants, bankers, military personnel, widows, spinsters, and "married women." While speculation took place across a broad geography, many of these investments also grew out of existing networks of trade that were closely tied to kinship relations. For such people, global networks of finance and commerce were familiar parts of ongoing family practices.⁴¹

The specific networks of investment behind Ma'adi's foundation additionally grew out of the patterns of capital investment simultaneously shaping commerce in eastern Mediterranean port-cities under Ottoman authority. Delta Land's participation in these connections further established its position within a regional geography, and, by extension, located Ma'adi within a series of relationships dependent upon the maintenance of the Ottoman financial system. Elena

³⁹ IR 40/2968

⁴⁰ BT 31/4373/6, and Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881 Census, British National Archives, Kew, Surrey, UK.

⁴¹ BT 31/4373/6.

Frangakis-Syrett identifies these connections through an examination of the growth of international involvement in Izmir's banks during the early-twentieth century. She argues that through heavy investment in the coastal city's banks, European powers exerted informal influence on the Ottoman economy, competing with one another for unilateral influence over the sultanate. The Ottoman banking institutions that grew out of these foreign investment additionally built Izmir's economy, helping expand transportation and develop local industries. French investment, for instance, helped establish the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which stabilized Ottoman currency and made port-cities more valuable sites for further speculation.⁴² At the same time, German and Greek capitalists collaborated to found the Bank of the Orient, which Frangakis-Syrett describes as part of a German attempt to check French influence in the region.⁴³ British, American, and smaller European powers additionally attached themselves to the Smyrna Bank, Ltd., and the British Oriental Bank.⁴⁴ The multinational character of the banks developing in Izmir during the early-twentieth century relied upon the capitulations, which gave foreign subjects room for significant involvement, while simultaneously preventing any single foreign power from gaining a dominant position within the sultanate. Similar patterns were at work in Egypt, where British involvement in the establishment of the National Bank of Egypt helped shore up the country's economy and increased the flow of European capital and persons into the country. The investors involved in Delta Land participated in the same patterns of speculation at work in Izmir, with some of the institutions involved in the port-city simultaneously managing investments into Cairene land development. Delta Land's investors included, for instance, the

⁴² Frangakis-Syrett, "Banking in Izmir in the early twentieth century," 117.

⁴³ Ibid., 122.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 126.

Alexandria branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which managed the purchase of more than 3,000 of Delta Land's initial shares.⁴⁵

Even more central to building the necessary financial backing for Ma'adi's establishment were the networks of widely dispersed Greek bankers and merchants who remained heavily involved throughout the eastern Mediterranean and increasingly extended their influence into Cairo. Frangakis-Syrett explains that Greek investors looked to play off and profit from European competition in Ottoman territories. In Izmir, this meant benefitting from French rivalry with the Germans. Greek banks were especially influential in this context, and she identifies the Bank of Athens as one of the more influential financial institutions that participated in a "rush" of banks opening in Izmir between 1904 and 1907.⁴⁶ Similar patterns of investment and multinational influence associated with these same financial institutions maintained a multinational economy in Egypt. When Delta Land first formed, for instance, the Bank of Athens managed more than 500 of the initial shares purchased.⁴⁷

Global networks of Greek merchants additionally made the launch of Delta Land a success. These merchant connections grew out of household and kinship relationships that undergirded economic development throughout the region. The family connections embedded in the company's list of investors is best exemplified by the Ralli Bros., Ltd., a merchant house located at 25 Finsbury Circus, London that was responsible for the purchase of several thousand shares of the Delta Land Company's initial shares. At least six different members of the Ralli family invested in Delta Land through a series of transactions, most of which were managed by

⁴⁵ BT 31/4373/6.

⁴⁶ Frangakis-Syrett, "Banking in Izmir in the early twentieth century," 123.

⁴⁷ BT 31/4373/6.

the London merchant house. Additionally, the Ralli Bros., Ltd. managed the investments of three other Greek shareholders — Mary Rodocanachi, Pandely Argenti, and Julia Scaramanga. Their link to Delta Land grew out of a shared connection to the Ralli Bros. that dated back to the families' diaspora from the island of Chios in the 1810s and 1820s, following the Greek revolution against the Ottomans and the massacre that ensued.⁴⁸ While these Greeks suffered violence at the hands of the Ottomans, their displacement did not stop them from benefitting from the ongoing intricacies and openings of the Ottoman financial system.⁴⁹

When Ralli Bros., Ltd. purchased shares of Delta Land in 1904, the company was run by Lucas E. Ralli. The “brothers” in the firm’s title referred to his father and uncle, Eustratios and John Ralli, who founded the London merchant house in 1826.⁵⁰ In connection with their family members in Liverpool, Manchester, Livorno, Marseilles, Istanbul, and Odessa, the Ralli family ran one of the nineteenth century’s most profitable trade networks in the Black Sea and Mediterranean. By the time that Lucas took over leadership of the company in 1879, the merchant house had lost some of its earlier prominence. To expand the business, Lucas led a transition away from the Levant, and increased their focus on South Asian and North American markets. He helped build the company’s New York branch, moving to the United States in 1874,

⁴⁸ Before the massacre in the spring of 1822, between 100,000 and 120,000 Greeks lived on the island of Chios. By the end of it, only 20,000 remained. Those who were not killed fled or were enslaved by the Ottomans. Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 2011), 67-68.

⁴⁹ On the profitable networks that grew out of the Greek diaspora following the Chios massacre, see Gelina Harlaftis, “Mapping the Greek Maritime Diaspora from the Early Eighteenth to the Late Twentieth Centuries,” from *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, ed. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, et. al. (London: Berg Publishers, 2005), 147-172. The collection argues that people in diaspora are at the root of the modern global economy, and includes scholarly essays on the entrepreneurial activities of people displaced by the Jewish, Arab, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Maltese, Greek, and Armenian diasporas.

⁵⁰ Eustratios also helped found Ralli & Petrocochino in 1818 and Ralli Brothers Manchester in 1827. “Eustratios Stephanos (Stephanos) Ralli,” Family Group Sheet, *Christopher Long: Personal and Professional Pages*, http://www.christopherlong.co.uk/gen/rallichaviaragen/fg03/fg03_263.html, accessed on 15 May 2012.

and only returning to England to take over the London merchant house after the death of his older brother John.⁵¹ By the time that the Ralli Bros. invested in Delta Land, their networks of investment and trade criss-crossed the Atlantic and maintained a strong footprint in the Mediterranean and Black Sea.

In their various trade endeavors, the Rallis worked in close connection with other prominent Greek families who similarly hailed from Chios, including the Rodocanachis, Argentis, and Scaramangas.⁵² When the Ralli business shifted away from the Mediterranean, the Scaramangas took over their export/import business in the region, particularly in Marseilles.⁵³ The two families established one merchant house together in the Ukrainian port-city of Taganrog, called Ralli & Scaramanga, which they founded in the 1850s.⁵⁴ Even more prominent than the Scaramangas, were the Rodocanachis. In the Black Sea and Baltic, the Rallis focused on exports from Western Europe, and the Rodocanachis imported those goods. As Richard Chapman explains, by the mid-nineteenth century, the Rallis and Rodocanachis were London's wealthiest merchants, noting that "Only Rothschilds were substantially richer, and they were now financiers rather than merchants..."⁵⁵

⁵¹ "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897," Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36; Microfilm Serial: M237, Microfilm Roll: M237 393, Line: 38; List Number: 985, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵² The Scaramanga name was additionally immortalized by English writer Ian Fleming, when, in his final book in the James Bond series, 007 faced off with the infamous Francisco Scaramanga, aka. "The Man with the Golden Gun." Consistent with Fleming's Cold War theme, however, this Scaramanga was Cuban rather than Greek. In the film adaptation of the book, Christopher Lee played Scaramanga. Fleming, *The Man with the Golden Gun* (New York: Penguin Books, 1974; original 1965), and *The Man with the Golden Gun*, Guy Hamilton, director (1974;

⁵³ Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1996), 91

⁵⁴ Ibid, 52.

⁵⁵ Stanley Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 158-159.

Similar to the interlocking financial and familial relationships formed among Egypt's Jews and Levantine Europeans, these Greek families' trade connections were inextricably linked to personal family relations formed through intermarriage. Lucas's great-grandmother, for instance, was a Scaramanga. His wife, Eugenia "Jenny" was the daughter of Leonidas Argenti and Julia Ralli. Considering that Jenny was an Argenti, it is not surprising that the Ralli Bros., Ltd. managed the investments of Pandely Argenti, Jenny's brother, who purchased three shares of the Delta Land Company.⁵⁶ Jenny likely proved especially beneficial to the business by connecting her husband Lucas with her cousin Pandely Ralli, a former MP for Bridport, England.⁵⁷ When the merchant house invested in Delta Land, Pandely was Lucas's leading partner, and Delta Land listed their names together on most of the investments managed by Ralli Bros., Ltd.⁵⁸ Women like Jenny Ralli helped solidify ties between business partners and potential investors by informally extending the family's network of relationships. As an unofficial participant in Ralli Bros., Ltd. she served the kind of semi-public role that Davidoff and Hall argue was integral to the growth of market capitalism and the middle class, starting in the late-seventeenth century.⁵⁹ By the early-twentieth century, Ralli women and their Chios relations were working beyond this supportive role and purchasing shares out of their own means. Lucas's widowed younger sister Catherine Ralli, for instance, purchased 140 shares of Delta Land. Their merchant house also managed the investments Julia John Scaramanga, who owned 140 shares,

⁵⁶ "Leonidas 'Leoni' (Pandély) Argenti," Family Group Sheet, *Christopher Long: Personal and Professional Pages*, accessed from http://www.christopherlong.co.uk/gen/rallichaviaragen/fg01/fg01_120.html, on 15 May 2012.

⁵⁷ He served in the House of Commons from 1875-1880. "Pandely (Toumazis) Ralli JP MP," Family Group Sheet, *Christopher Long: Personal and Professional Pages*, accessed from http://www.christopherlong.co.uk/gen/rallichaviaragen/fg06/fg06_424.html on 15 May 2012.

⁵⁸ BT 31/4373/6

⁵⁹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 73.

and Mary Rodocanachi, a “married woman,” who purchased 120 shares. Overall, women presented about ten percent of Delta Land shareholders. The company listed them as widows, spinsters, and married women. A few were named alongside their husbands as “Gentleman and Wife.”⁶⁰ The majority of them were women of independent means who remained attached to their family’s networks of capital by making investments of their own. Women like Catherine Ralli, Julia John Scaramanga, and Mary Rodocanachi strengthened the Ralli Bros., Ltd.’s stake in Delta Land. They also extended female involvement in the family business by building on the kinds of contributions already made by Jenny Ralli and other women who had a less overt role in the building of the global financial networks that supported their family, and, in turn, the Delta Land Company.

The connection Jenny Ralli made to Pandely Ralli additionally extended some of the merchant house’s closest ties to Egypt. Pandely, like Jack Williamson, was a close friend of Lord Kitchener. They also met in Cyprus, where Kitchener had stayed with Williamson before leaving for Egypt. When Kitchener would later visit England, he often stayed with Pandely Ralli.⁶¹ Though it is not clear if Williamson and Pandely were personally connected, they certainly traveled in similar social and professional circles. Considering their shared interest in trade in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean and the Ralli family’s prominence in the region, it would not be surprising if they knew one another personally. If such a connection existed, then it meant that an additional personal relationship tied the Ralli Bros., Ltd. to Delta Land.⁶²

⁶⁰ BT 31/4373/6

⁶¹ “Pandely (Toumazis) Ralli JP MP,” *Christopher Long*.

⁶² The London Rallis were also likely connected to Leonidas Rodocanachi, an Alexandria-based merchant, who purchased several thousand shares of Delta Land. BT 31/4373/6.

While the Ralli family represented only a fraction of the total body of Delta Land's shareholders, their patterns of investment indicated the specific connections that the company formed within the regional and global networks that shaped the Cairene economy during the early-twentieth century. The involvement of these Greek merchant families, like that of Levantine Europeans and Egyptian Jews bearing foreign passports, undermined formal empire-building in Egypt, while also shoring up a range of multinational connections that supported Cairo's privileged class of foreign subjects. While Delta Land defined itself broadly to these expansive networks of investors, its success simultaneously relied on its local association with the specific rules for Ma'adi's development as a town-and-country space. These concurrent definitions allowed the company to simultaneously locate itself within the landscape of greater Cairo, and among the multinational financial pathways that supported Cairene commerce. Delta Land's and, in turn, Ma'adi's placement within both of these spaces relied on the maintenance of the Ottoman financial system in Egypt. The privileges disproportionately granted to foreign subjects within that system additionally meant that the company and the town participated in constructing the complex socioeconomic inequalities that simultaneously shaped the whole of Cairene society.

People on the Ground

If any one person brought together the various strands of Ma'adi's early history — the personal and professional networks of investments, the partnership with the railway company, and the garden city design — it was Captain Alexander Adams. Adams, a member of the Royal Engineers, started his career in Burma, where he worked as the assistant manager of Burma

Railways from 1893 to 1899, where Sir Auckland Colvin directed the board. At the turn of the century, Adams left for Egypt to join Delta Railways. In Egypt, he became the new company's managing director, handling the railways' day-to-day administration, which included everything from hiring clerks, engineers and other staff, to working with subcontractors, and managing the company's legal affairs.⁶³ When the railway company expanded to form Delta Land five years later, the bylaws for the new business mandated several connections between the two ventures. Among them, the railway company's manager had to preside over the daily business of the land company, making Adams the bridge between Delta Land and Delta Railways. Considering Adams' managerial role, it is perhaps not surprising that it was popularly believed that he first conceived of the idea to base Ma'adi's development on the garden city model.

Adams was among the town's earliest residents. Like Williamson, he purchased a large plot of land near the railway station soon after the Delta Land Company was founded. It remains a matter of historical debate whether Adams was the actual source of Delta Land's garden city plan. One of his successors, Tom Dale, who became manager in 1916, recalled that after Adams built his villa, it attracted other colleagues and friends who similarly built homes in Ma'adi. In Dale's telling, "Adams built his villa and Maadi Garden City, in miniature, had begun."⁶⁴ Dale's son Geoffrey, who grew up in Ma'adi and succeeded his father as company manager in 1948, similarly reflected that in Adams' capacity as the railways' manager he first envisioned the fully-planned development along the rail line between Cairo and Helwan.⁶⁵ The popular press, however, credited the conception of "Ma'adi Garden City" to Felix Suarés, the prominent Jewish

⁶³ FO 841/96

⁶⁴ Thomas Dale, notes on Ma'adi included in letter to Andrew Holden, "Sidelights of Maadi, Beginnings," 8 May 1970. GB165-0073, MECA.

⁶⁵ Letter from Geoffrey Dale to Samir Raafat, 8 June 1992, Dale Family Correspondence, MC, AUC, Egypt.

banker and transportation magnate who helped found both Delta companies. Egypt's English-language yearbook *Egypt Today* gave a brief history of Ma'adi in 1937, remarking that the town fulfilled Suarès' vision for "creating a garden suburb of Cairo midway to Helwan."⁶⁶ Before Delta Land began developing Ma'adi in earnest, however, Suarès died. So if Suarès first conceived of the garden city plan, he did not witness its execution. Instead, Adams bore initial responsibility for overseeing the details of putting the plan into action.

Adams was an owner of Ma'adi in every sense of the term — a resident, shareholder, and Delta Land employee.⁶⁷ He also established a central role for engineering expertise among Ma'adi's managers, who were responsible for the town's design and upkeep. While Adams initiated a number of hallmark traits associated with Ma'adi life and Delta Land leadership, he did not remain in the managerial position for long. With both Delta companies growing quickly, having one person serve as manager of both endeavors quickly proved cumbersome. By 1905, Delta Land amended its bylaws and no longer required that the same person manage both companies. On August 2 of that year, Adams resigned from the Delta Land Company, but continued managing the railways.⁶⁸ He later rejoined Delta Land in 1907 as a board member, at the same time that the company relocated its offices from London to Cairo.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Whoever thought of the garden city concept first, Adams and Suarès worked together on the railway company, and both helped found the Delta Land Company, and, with it, Ma'adi. Their work together was indicative of the relationships that formed between Britons and prominent Egyptian Jews, which influentially shaped Egypt's economy until the 1950s and 1960s. "Mead," *Egypt Today, Published in the Interests of Egyptian Finance, Industry and Commerce, 1937-38*, 2nd ed. (London: Bemrose & Sons Limited), 171. MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁶⁷ Adams initially purchased 17 shares of Delta Land on 19 May 1904, and subsequently made two additional investments that year for a total of at least 718 shares. BT 31/4373/6.

⁶⁸ FO 841/96/105

⁶⁹ Ibid.

After Adams left Delta Land's management, the company left the managerial position open for two years. They then made Reginald Quixano Henriques, a former Cairo-based merchant with an interest in architecture, the company's new manager.⁷⁰ Whoever first envisioned Ma'adi, Henriques bore much of the responsibility for making the town a reality. Similar to Adams' task as the railway company's manager, Henriques hired Delta Land's staff, which included engineers, architects, clerks, and gardeners. He contracted with builders, lawyers, and accountants, and also represented the legal face of Delta Land. In the nine years that he served as managing director, Delta Land planted its roots in Ma'adi. While the company initially defined itself with the capacity to undertake any number of land use projects on any of the lands attached to the Delta Railways, Ma'adi increasingly became the company's largest property, and its development as a fully planned, town-and-country community became integral to its corporate identity particularly within Cairo, where it was increasingly known as the "Ma'adi Company."

Unlike the founders who came to Egypt from the Levant or South Asia, Henriques brought a background in trans-Atlantic trade to Delta Land.⁷¹ His Portuguese surname indicated his a descent from the Sephardic Jews of the Iberian Peninsula. Henriques' ancestors, like the Suarès family, fled Europe during the Inquisition. Rather than landing in North Africa, however, they set sail across the Atlantic. After being forcibly converted to Christianity, Jews in Portugal were among the first to emigrate to colonies in South America, particularly Brazil, in hopes of pursuing new opportunities in trade, and escaping the Inquisition's gaze. Though they landed in

⁷⁰ GB124.DPA/1068/1, Manchester Archives, UK.

⁷¹ Other company leaders who came to Egypt via India included Ernest Lindsey Marryat and William Inglis Le Briton, member of Public Works Department in Bombay, resigned from EDLICO in 1907. FO 841/96/105 and 106.

Brazil, many of these “New Christian” families quickly moved out of Portuguese controlled areas. Some left Brazil for Northern Europe, while others made permanent homes in Caribbean colonies controlled by Britain, Holland, and Denmark, where they enjoyed greater religious freedom.⁷² The Henriques family relocated to Kingston, Jamaica in the seventeenth century, where they formed the Henriques Bros., a merchant house that expanded to form new branches in London and Manchester during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Reginald’s father established a new merchant house in Manchester in the mid-nineteenth century, and Reginald was born there in 1869 — the third child of what would be eight in all.⁷³ He and his younger brother Frank Quixano Henriques went on to manage the family business with their father.

Reginald was responsible for expanding the Henriques network into Egypt. In 1891 he moved to Cairo to establish the merchant house Henriques and Henriques, which focused on the textile trade.⁷⁴ He met initial success in Egypt and by 1898 added new offices in Tanta and Alexandria.⁷⁵ The Alexandria branch was among Delta Land’s first investors, purchasing 36 shares in 1904. For his part, Henriques personally bought more than 700 shares. While the actual reason that Henriques left the family merchant house remains unknown, it is possible that his investment in Delta Land accompanied a relationship with the company’s leaders and provided

⁷² Mordechai Arbell, *The Portuguese Jews of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies, 2000), 2.

⁷³ For an extensive genealogy of the Henriques family, see the Henriques family page from “Martin Kurrein’s Genealogy,” accessed from <http://www.kurrein.com/Henriques/> on 23 May 2012.

⁷⁴ Henriques and Henriques in Cairo focused on the velveteen trade. Photographs Related to the Henriques Family, GB124.DPA/1068/1, Greater Manchester County Record Office, Manchester Archives, UK. Also see Samir W. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962: Society & History in a Cairo Suburb* (Cairo: The Palm Press, 1994), 25-27.

⁷⁵ *The London Gazette*, 4 Jan 1898, Issue: 26926, p. 38.

some of the impetus for Henriques' job change.⁷⁶ The move might have looked all the more attractive after the 1907 financial crisis. Like the Rallis, the Henriques family saw a boom in trade in the mid-nineteenth century, followed by a significant decline in the early-twentieth century.⁷⁷ The market crash in the first decade of the new century might have provided the final push for Henriques to alter his professional interests.

Henriques came to Delta Land with his experience in managing transatlantic textile trade, along with an interest and skill in architectural design.⁷⁸ The combination of administrative experience and proficiency in design made him well-suited to oversee Delta Land's day-to-day affairs as it undertook the early stages of building Ma'adi. Henriques hired a staff of architects and engineers to initiate the town's physical development, and worked with local lawyers to help handle the administrative organization of the company's affairs. Several of these employees were, like himself, also residents of the town or investors in Delta Land. For instance, George Caruso, who purchased land in Ma'adi in 1907, was a lawyer and real estate broker, and worked with Henriques to manage some of Delta Land's legal affairs with regard to land sales.⁷⁹ The town's lead engineer, James Albert Wells Peacock, who was responsible for building Ma'adi's first roads, was also among Delta Land's first investors, purchasing 535 of the company's initial shares.⁸⁰ This layering of connections made both the company and the town necessarily

⁷⁶ BT 31/4373/6

⁷⁷ Reginald's estate, for instance, only had about half the value of his father Edward Micholls Henriques, whose investments alone were valued at £26,374.2.6 upon his death in 1901. When Reginald died in 1916, his overall estate, including investments and property was valued at £10,180.13.7. British Consular Court, "Probate: Sir Reginald Q. Henriques," FO 841/161.

⁷⁸ GB124.DPA/1068/1, Manchester Archives, UK.

⁷⁹ "Land Deeds and Titles, 1906-1940," MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁸⁰ BT 31/4373/6 and FO 841/135.

collaborative. A variety of people from diverse backgrounds were responsible for the town's success, and their support for Delta Land's endeavor became increasingly personal as they built their homes and invested their finances into Ma'adi.

Like Henriques, the residents he managed were also products of broadly construed global networks in which Cairo participated. The town's early populace was made up primarily of British, Greek and Italian residents, along with a smaller contingent of French, Austrian, and German families. Between 1907 and 1913, Delta Land sold 41 lots in Ma'adi to people with names like Angelo, de Cramer, Crawford, Whitman, MacDonald, Pilavachi, Bondi, Joanovitch, and Veloudakis.⁸¹ The Williamsons, for instance, were not the only Ma'adi residents with connections to the Levant, and were joined by Erwin and Lucy de Cramer, who, as explained in the introduction, had a similar multi-generational connection to Izmir on Erwin's side.⁸²

Some of these residents came to Ma'adi after having lived elsewhere in Cairo as expatriates. When the Crookshanks moved to Ma'adi in 1910, for instance, they had already raised a family in Cairo.⁸³ At the time, Harry was 61 and Emma 41, and their two children — Harry Frederick Comfort, and Helen Elizabeth “Bessie” Crookshank — were already at

⁸¹ “Land Deeds and Titles, 1906-1940,” MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁸² The records for Delta Land deeds of sale show that the de Cramers purchased lots in Ma'adi in 1914, but, newspaper records show that as of 1909, they were already in the same social circle as many other Ma'adi residents. It is likely that they moved to the town earlier, and lived in an existing villa before building their own home. See “Land Deeds and Titles, 1906-1940,” AUC, Egypt, and “Obituary. The Late Mrs. St. John Diamant,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 30 Mar 1909, Newspaper Clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁸³ She was the daughter of U.S. Army General Samuel Comfort. SCP, Princeton University, NJ, USA.

school in England.⁸⁴ The couple's new home became a countryside retreat after spending nearly 30 years in metropolitan Cairo. When they moved to Ma'adi, they brought with them a long history of international travel and residence. Harry first came to Egypt in 1883, when he was a surgeon in the Royal Navy, charged with treating victims of the cholera epidemic. He went on to serve in the Egyptian military campaign in the Sudan, and then joined the Egyptian government as the director general of the prisons department — services for which the khedive made him a Pasha. He married Emma in 1891 in Philadelphia, and the couple returned to Cairo together. Shortly afterward, Harry moved from the prisons department to the Egyptian finance department, where he was a colleague of Delta Land founder Sir Elwin Palmer.

Emma had an even more geographically complex past than her husband. She was born in Pennsylvania in the spring of 1869, the daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth J. Comfort (née Barnsley). Her father was a U.S. Army Major during the American Civil War, and went on to join Standard Oil, where he represented the company both nationally and internationally — work that included a six year post in India. Because of her father's career, Emma had a global coming of age. She met Crookshank Pasha while vacationing in Cairo. Considering her own past, it is not necessarily surprising that she chose to live abroad, yet the move proved a painful detachment for her father. He wrote to her soon after the wedding, "Oh Emma dear, why did you go to Cairo, and fall in love, and have the great Dr. Crookshank Pasha carry you away from us all to Egypt." He continued that her parents did not begrudge her leaving their Philadelphia home,

⁸⁴ Harry F.C. Crookshank went on to a successful career as a politician. He represented Gainsborough, Lincolnshire in the House of Commons from 1924-1956. He also served as Austen Chamberlain's representative to the League of Nations in the 1930s, and Winston Churchill appointed him Minister of Health and leader of the House of Commons in 1951. He became deputy leader of the House of Lords in 1955 and accepted a peerage, being made viscount, in 1956, HFCC, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK. See also Simon Ball, *The Guardsmen: Harold Macmillan, Three Friends, and the World They Made* (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2004).

he only wished that “England had not taken so kindly to our American girl abroad....”⁸⁵ The Comforts relocated to London in 1904, perhaps, in part, to be closer to their only child, who returned to England every summer. Comfort’s letter expressed the often strained family relations, and deep personal significance of family life lived over such a broad geography. He fails to admit, however, that his work for Standard Oil in India had already introduced his daughter to the possibility of a multinational life. In Ma‘adi, Emma and Harry found a community of people with similarly diverse geographical backgrounds.

For many of Ma‘adi’s expatriate residents, the town helped shift the geography of their interests. A large number of them were mobile people, moving from one location abroad to another as they sought new opportunities. In the 15 years of the twentieth century, however, they planted themselves more firmly in Ma‘adi. This not to say that their mobility ceased. Many of them continued to spend seasons, particularly the hot summer months, in England or elsewhere in Europe. The developing garden city south of Cairo, however, became their base of operations. Its garden environment, as mandated by the *Cahier des Charges*, provided the setting for their social interactions, the first home that many of their children knew, and the place where their family lives unfolded.

These residents’ geographically complex backgrounds participated in Cairo’s growing demographic of resident foreigners. According to the 1907 census records, the city was home to 74,221 resident-foreigners who hailed from 28 different countries. The largest single foreign nationality resident in Egypt were the Greeks, with 14,605 people. They were followed by the Sudanese and the Syrians, both having more than 13,000 nationals in the Egyptian capital.

⁸⁵ Letter from Samuel Comfort to Emma, 7 Sept. 1891, Box 4, Folder 8, SPC, Princeton University, NJ, USA.

Additionally, there were more than 9,000 from Turkey, and 6,642 from Italy. More than 5,000 of these Cairenes originally came from the British Isles.⁸⁶ These larger contingents of resident-foreigners were accompanied by smaller populations of French, German, Russian, Austrian, and Armenian nationals, to name a few.⁸⁷

While Ma'adi became home to a portion of Cairo's British, Greek and Italian populations, along with a smattering of other Europeans, there is a noticeable lack of Arabic-language surnames in the list of early landowners. People like Abdel Malik Khatib, Armand Azeraoui, and Soliman Saad appear to have owned land in Ma'adi before the company established the town, but did not hold deeds associated with Delta Land. They were among the only Arabic-language surnames in the company's registers until 1914.⁸⁸ While apparently few native-born Egyptians, Turkish Ottomans or immigrants from elsewhere the Arab world owned land in Ma'adi in the early years of its development, they were not absent from the town. The physical construction of the town depended on the work of Egyptian builders and laborers — people of the same class involved in protesting the tramway based out of Heliopolis. Like the tramway workers, foreign subjects were not likely counted among Ma'adi's labor force, with the lower skilled and lower paid positions going to poorer Egyptians.

Ma'adi required the labor of people outside purview of its residents not only for initial construction, but also for the maintenance of its completed villas. Ma'adi's villas generally

⁸⁶ Table VII., "Birthplace," *The Census of Egypt*, 36-68.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ The company listed lot numbers for these people, but no property deed. In the case of Soliman Saad, it appears that he sold his property in Ma'adi George Caruso in 1907. The increase in Egyptian residents in 1914 might partly be explained by the impact of the First World War, when the British declared Egypt a protectorate, and sequestered German, Hungarian, and Turkish property. During these years many Ma'adi residents became "enemy aliens," and lost their homes — a topic discussed at length in Chapter 3. "Land Deeds and Titles, 1906-1940," AUC, Egypt.

included space in either the basement or on the roof for live-in cooks and other servants. One Ma'adi resident recalled that her family's villa had a large basement with two bedrooms and a washroom for the servants near the kitchen.⁸⁹ The makeup of the household staff added additional facets to the multi-ethnic complexity of Ma'adi society. Gardeners were generally Egyptian, and considered of higher social rank than indigenous North Africans and Nubians, referred to broadly as Berbers, who were often employed as cooks.⁹⁰ Europeans were not exempt from household service. Both men and women worked as domestic servants in elite households, with European women often working as governesses. Through a careful examination of the Egyptian census records, Lanver Mak found a minority of British men and women who moved to Egypt from the British Isles to work as domestic servants.⁹¹ For these members of the household staff, whatever their ethnic or national background, Ma'adi was not the leisurely country retreat Delta Land presented to its landowners. While Howard's original plan for the garden city promised to level social differences and allow all residents to access the town on equal terms, Ma'adi exhibited the "town-and-country" aesthetic without its social ideals. Rather than subverting the existing social hierarchy, Ma'adi relied on it. Ma'adi grew out of differing classed pathways that offered residents, most of whom generated their wealth through business dealings that benefitted from the capitulations, a semi-rural retreat from the city. Their leisure experience,

⁸⁹ Nadia Salem, interview with the author, 30 April 2011.

⁹⁰ Baedeker's 1902 guide to Egypt, for instance, purported to explain that "The Nubians are inferior to the Egyptians in industry and energy..." *Egypt: Handbook for Travelers* (London: K. Baedeker, 1902), xiv. Chapter Three deals in greater detail with the racialized assumptions embedded in the perceived differences between Nubians and Egyptians within the household staff.

⁹¹ Lanver Mak, "More than Officers and Officials: Britons in Occupied Egypt, 1882-1922," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39:1 (March 2011), 21-46.

however, relied on the movement of labor into and within the town, which provided the work necessary for maintaining Ma'adi as a commodity of upper-middle class consumption.⁹²

The *Cahier des Charges* further engrained Ma'adi's contrasting social experiences and meanings into the physical qualities of the place. For landowners, the *Cahier des Charges* offered a series of promises by emphasizing that all homes would be held to the same standards in design, construction, and sanitation. The real obligation in the company's standards fell on the builders and domestic servants who performed the actual labor involved in constructing and maintaining Ma'adi according to Delta Land's stipulations.

Multinational Management

For people in management positions like Henriques, the rules outlined in the *Cahier des Charges* had the added dimension of setting the terms for the company's relationship to each stratified segment of Ma'adi society. As a legally binding element within the deed of sale, the *Cahier des Charges* meant that any violation was a legal issue that would be addressed first in the consular court, and, if necessary, in the Mixed Courts of Appeal, making their ultimate enforcement well beyond Delta Land's sphere of influence. Not long after Delta Land began developing Ma'adi, Henriques landed in court over a dispute about the company's responsibilities to its landowners. In 1913, two would-be residents accused Henriques of deliberately misleading them in regard to the construction of roads bordering their property. As British nationals, the landowners A.J. Wakeman Long, and S.A. Brittain brought their charges against the company before the British Consular Court in Cairo. In 1909, they purchased land in

⁹² Ma'adi's dependence on domestic labor is a basic tenet of what Ackerman describes in the "ideology of the villa." Ackerman, *The Villa*, 10.

Ma'adi with the intention of building homes for themselves and their families. Wakeman Long, a judge in the Mixed Courts, and his wife hired Cairo-based architect P. Rodeck to design their new home. The architect was already familiar with Ma'adi as a distinctive community, commenting in a 1910 letter to Mrs. Wakeman Long that the town was “beginning to look a very nice place indeed now and as a quarter promises to have a distinctive character of its own, which should make it impossible for people that have elected to live there ever to regret having done so.”⁹³ The Wakeman Longs, however, were not as happy with their purchase as Rodeck predicted. When Wakeman Long and Brittain purchased their land, they counted on free passage on the surrounding roads in order to construct their new homes. These roads, however, appear to have been blocked or made inaccessible. The buyers claimed that Henriques misled them when he claimed that the company owned and controlled the roads. Henriques countered their accusations by invoking article 12 of the *Cahier des Charges*, which stated that Delta Land had sole discretion over the development of roads. He additionally claimed that the roads were not obstructed as the prosecution claimed, and that the British Consul had no jurisdiction over real property, and the matter should be tried in the Mixed Courts.⁹⁴

It is unclear what kind of challenge the roads presented to building in Ma'adi. While not fully paved, they were macadamized. The court files also lack a full explanation of any other obstacles Wakeman Long and Brittain confronted in attempting to build their homes in Ma'adi. The arbitration finally resolved in the company's favor. On April 29, 1914, Wakeman Long and Brittain withdrew their charges, and agreed to pay the balance of what they owed to the company

⁹³ FO 841/135.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

for the land. They also agreed that Henriques and Delta Land had fulfilled their obligations as stipulated by the *Cahier des Charges*.⁹⁵

Delta Land's leadership worked out according to Ma'adi's dual-existence as a residential community and a profitable business. As a commercial enterprise, Henriques successfully deployed the *Cahier des Charges* in his defense and exemplified the stability of the venture, proving that Delta Land was legally protected from accusations of negligence. The article that Henriques invoked in his defense stated that the roads outlined in the company's plan for the town were speculative and not definite, and that the development of such roads was solely under the company's discretion.⁹⁶ What was more, in making Delta Land's vision for Ma'adi central to the town's development, this same article of the *Cahier des Charges* promised the rest of the community stability, ensuring that no one person's arbitrary desire could reshape the company's town-and-country scheme. Delta Land and Henriques survived the proceedings without any major losses. While Wakeman Long and Brittain lost the case, Ma'adi apparently did not lose its attractive qualities. The plaintiffs' lawyer Robert L. Devonshire later purchased two of the three plots that they previously owned. Devonshire and his French wife Henriette moved to Ma'adi in the midst of the legal proceedings in 1910, and later purchased the disputed land in 1916.⁹⁷

Henriette would go on to become one of the town's most well-known residents — a topic discussed in Chapter Three.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ *Acte de Vente et d'ouverture de Credit, Entre L'Egyptian Delta Land et Investment Company Limited Et Monseur C. Major Spong, Cahier des Charges* for Lots No. 200, 201, 221, 222, from 7 May 1909. MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁹⁷ Henriette Devonshire went on to become one of Ma'adi's most famous residents, writing scholarly and popular books on Cairo's medieval quarters. Their lives in Ma'adi are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Three, which focuses on Ma'adi's growth in the wake of the First World War and Egyptian Revolution of 1919. "Land Deeds and Titles, 1906-1940," MC, AUC, Egypt.

Behind the legal story, the court files offer an additional snapshot of the social context surrounding Ma'adi's development from 1909 until 1914. A field of berseem, or Egyptian clover, ran through the plots where Wakeman Long and Brittain hoped to build their homes. A man named Emin Hassaan cultivated the fields and apparently lived off of the land. He did not own the field outright, or at least own it on terms recognized by Delta Land. Henriques claimed that Delta Land owned the crops, because the company owned whatever was produced on uninhabited plots. Hassaan's name was relayed to the court through a network of Ma'adi contacts that began with Adams' cook Mohammad, who passed Hassaan's name to M. Louisidis, one of Brittain's contacts in Ma'adi.⁹⁸ Information about Hassan took this circuitous route because of the changing social relations surrounding land use during Ma'adi's construction. The creation of the new town required the interruption and dismantlement of existing norms. The berseem vanished, and with it, the agricultural workers and peasants who previously made homes there. In the process of their movement out of the area, they became familiar with Egyptian servants in newly constructed English households, who, in turn, had closer contact with the town's landowners. The development of Ma'adi necessitated these changes in the physical geography and society of the landscape outside Cairo. Varying forms of displacement continued to inform Ma'adi's development, particularly over the course of First World War, when "enemy aliens" were forced to vacate Egypt soon after Britain declared war with the Ottoman empire.

The Ma'adi Company

⁹⁸ The letter giving Hassaan's name was written by Louisidis and addressed to Brittain. In it he explains that Adams' cook called him and gave him Hassaan's name so he could relay it to Brittain. FO 841/135.

As the berseem fields and their harvesters gave way to new villas and carefully planned gardens, Delta Land's directors and managers embedded their own lives more deeply into their garden city. With the company's business interests and its leadership all converging on Ma'adi, Delta Land increasingly became known as the "Ma'adi Company." By the time that Wakeman Long and Brittain withdrew their charges, Henriques, Adams, and Williamson all had homes in Ma'adi. In those years, both Adams and Henriques also started their own families. Adams married Catherine Mary Fox in London in July 1908, and the couple returned to Ma'adi soon afterward.⁹⁹ Similarly, Henriques married Annie Barnard in 1913, and the couple welcomed their daughter Margaret a year later.¹⁰⁰ As Ma'adi grew, these men went from globe-trotting bachelors, to more established businessmen who had homes and families to support. In turn, they firmly located their new families' interests in Delta Land's town-and-country development.

By settling in Ma'adi, Delta Land's leadership and their expatriate neighbors participated in a commodification process that had been the company's larger aim in establishing the town. Through the garden city plan, Delta Land created a distinctive and identifiable product on the outskirts of Cairo — one that the company could promote to investors abroad and potential residents. The garden city they established fulfilled the aesthetic elements Howard first envisioned in the late-nineteenth century by using the development of Cairo's rural environs into neatly planned villas and gardens as an attractive contrast to the congestion of the city. Ma'adi's tree-lined boulevards and garden *midans* prevailed over the agricultural land and peasant life that previously subsisted on the land. While Howard envisioned a carefully planned environment that would undo socioeconomic inequalities, Ma'adi used the plan as a means for commodifying the

⁹⁹ "Social and Personal," *Egyptian Gazette*, 17 June 1908.

¹⁰⁰ GB124.DPA/1068/1

landscape of greater Cairo. Ma'adi became home to Cairo's upper middle-class consumers, and was maintained by its lower-class workers and servants. Having foregone any attempt at establishing a socially equitable space, Delta Land's board, its land owners, and its shareholders all embraced Ma'adi's associations with affluence.

The establishment of Ma'adi engrained the networks of foreign capital behind Delta Land into the built environment surrounding Cairo. Ma'adi, in turn, became a place heavily associated with the inequalities of foreign influence, especially that of Europeans and Levantines who increasingly found a future in Egypt. Delta Land's garden city establishment became an ideal home for them. They could easily access Cairo's commercial center by rail or road. At the same time, their villa homes and the well-planted gardens exhibited their urban wealth in a country setting that accentuated the resources at these residents' disposal. The beauty and ease of their lives in the villa were, in turn, substantiated by the work of household servants — the cooks, maids, gardeners, drivers, and other workers who also made up a less privileged sector of Ma'adi society. These workers' labor substantiated the commodification of the space. In constructing Ma'adi along these lines, Delta Land successfully launched its business. So long as Cairo attracted both foreign investment and expatriate domicile, Ma'adi developed as both a business and a residential community. When the privileges of foreign nationality were threatened, however, life in Ma'adi experienced a series of challenges. During the First World War, the town underwent the first significant alteration to the nature of its populace and the privileges they relied upon. Delta Land would manage, however, to make its product more appealing not only to the foreigners who remained in Egypt, but also to the country's growing native-born middle-class.

CHAPTER THREE: MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

In 1920, the Delta Land Company's directors proudly reported to their shareholders that in the past year they acquired 79 feddans of land, which included a house with a water well and pumping station. Their report explained that they acquired the land from the Public Custodian, a British agency charged with managing "enemy" property during the First World War.¹ While the company did not disclose it, this particular piece of land was previously home to a German couple, Willibald Luthy and his wife Maria Fredericke Zehnder, who owned the land before Delta Land arrived in Ma'adi. While Luthy died in 1904 and never saw the company develop its garden city, Zehnder remained in the house and adamantly refused to sell to Delta Land. The changes wrought by the war turned Zehnder from an inconvenient neighbor into an enemy of British-occupied Egypt. In 1914, she was evicted from her home, and departed Egypt for her native Germany.² A few years after the war's end, Delta Land possessed the coveted Luthy-Zehnder farm. The acquisition, especially the water pumping station, became integral to Ma'adi's further development in the 1920s and 1930s — some of Ma'adi's most fruitful and profitable years.³

Delta Land's procurement of the Luthy-Zehnder property participated in two interconnected, if contrasting, narratives that shaped Egypt during and after the First World War. First, the war caused a significant political disruption, particularly as the British declared Egypt a protectorate — a move that fueled anti-colonial, nationalist feeling among the majority of

¹ IR 40/2968

² Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 33 and 47.

³ According to Geoffrey Dale, the Delta Land Company's manager from 1948-1956, the company's acquisition of the Luthy property constituted one of the biggest single land deals in its history. Letter from G. Dale to S. Raafat, 8 June 1992, MC, AUC, Egypt.

Egyptians. Second, the postwar years saw the ability of Cairo's multinational society and culture, which developed before the war, to grow and even thrive rather than diminish in the face of a powerful Egyptian nationalism. The question becomes, how might these dual narrative of simultaneous continuity and change work together as part of a single story of how the war affected Egypt? Looking at Ma'adi more specifically, why didn't the changes brought by the war dissolve its place of stability on the outskirts of Cairo? How did it become an increasingly stable and significant part of the Cairene landscape in the years following the war?

In many ways, Ma'adi served as a concentrated locale of both the changes and continuities wrought by the First World War. Britain's declaration of war quickly fractured Ma'adi's society of privileged foreigners, as its Austro-Hungarian and German nationals, like Zehnder, were labeled "enemy aliens" and lost their property. Yet, just as Delta Land was able to acquire the German couple's property in the postwar years, these wartime disruptions opened up space for Ma'adi's future growth. Delta Land was not the only party to benefit from Ma'adi's new vacancies. Perhaps most central to Ma'adi's maintenance after the war was the movement of more and more upper middle-class Egyptians into the town, as they associated its villa and garden spaces with their own native-born prestige.

The swell of British power and control over Egypt's affairs during the war intensified anti-colonial sentiment among an increasingly effective nationalist movement. By 1919, the Wafd Party (Arabic for delegation) led a nationwide revolution and by the early 1920s secured a significantly more independent government. This movement was led by members of the Egyptian *effendiyya*, roughly translating to intelligentsia, which included the country's growing class of professionals and scholars who identified the future of Egypt with the incorporation of

certain elements of European influence, rather than an outright rejection of them.⁴ This incorporation of European influence was largely associated with changing household formations and domestic practices. Lisa Pollard explains that because nationalist leaders were largely excluded from direct participation in Egyptian politics, they used an emphasis on household ideology, especially an embrace of the single-family home and a rejection of the harem to signify their modernity and independence.⁵ This domestic ideal was symbolized by a villa south of Cairo known as “*beīt al-umma*,” or “house of the nation,” where the Wafd leader Saad Zaghlūl and his wife Safiyya lived. Politically potent, this villa also implied a certain consumer culture and social hierarchy already at work in places like Ma‘adi, making its town-and-country spaces increasingly attractive to Egypt’s growing middle class. The *effendiyya*’s participation in the household patterns already at work among resident-foreigners helped set the terms for Ma‘adi’s incorporation into Egypt’s interwar nationalism, rather than its separation from it.

Beth Baron describes the social changes that occurred among Egypt’s *effendiyya* as part of a transformation from Ottomanism to Egyptian nationalism. Like Pollard, she identifies the transition with changes to the household, looking in particular at elite women who focused their interests on Egypt’s national independence.⁶ As a social space affected by these changes, Ma‘adi’s postwar history identifies the residues of Ottoman influence as Egypt underwent a nuanced and gradual transitions, rather than a rapid transformation, during this period. In Egypt, as in other Ottoman territories, the gradual disintegration of the sultanate in the years following

⁴ Michael Eppel, “Notes and Comments: Note about the term *effendiyya* in the history of the Middle East,” *IJMES*, 41 (2009), 535-9.

⁵ Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805-1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 5.

⁶ Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 165

the First World War did not mean an immediate break with its older, prewar influences. The deterioration of Ottoman influence in Egypt was especially complicated by the *effendiyya*'s accommodation of Western influence, which was further secured by the maintenance of the capitulations and Mixed Courts. The Wafd supported these guarantors of foreign privilege to ensure ongoing international intervention as a check on British imperial power in Egypt.⁷ Here I draw from Philip Khoury's argument that older forms of Ottoman influence continued to work elsewhere in the Levant in the interwar period. As Khoury says of Syria, patterns of influence and power established by the Ottomans remained at work in Egypt throughout the first half of the twentieth century, despite the empire's dissolution in 1923.⁸

In the same way that Ma'adi became a site of the social realities created by the capitulations and Mixed Courts before the war, its history in the years during and after the First World War offers an opportunity to explore the social and cultural continuities that allowed the place to become increasingly significant after the war. Understanding how Ma'adi remained a part of Cairo means asking how the town connected to the growth of Egyptian nationalism, and on what terms. An exploration of the impact of the war helps reveal how those events became intricately tied to Ma'adi's postwar story. By the 1920s, Ma'adi became the banner "garden city" of Cairo. Understanding how it achieved that moniker means addressing how Egypt gained more national independence at the same time that its leaders adopted a multinational culture.

⁷ Nathan J. Brown, "The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 25:1 (Feb. 1993), 33-52.

⁸ Philip S. Khoury, "Continuity and Change in Syrian Political Life: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *The American Historical Review*, 96:5 (Dec., 1991), 1374-1395.

“Enemy” Aliens

When the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, Prof. Dr. Heinrich Herman Bruno “Henry” Bitter was employed as the director of the Egyptian government’s Hygienic Institute in Cairo, a division within the Department of Public Health, created in 1896 as an avenue for European scientists to address the cholera outbreak in Egypt. A bacteriologist, Bitter first worked in Egypt as a sanitary inspector in Alexandria before he became the institute’s founding director.⁹ In the nearly 20 years he worked for the institute, Bitter also oversaw projects related to water purification and livestock health — all this at a time when international attention regarding Cairo’s sanitary conditions grew as more Europeans made it a destination for tourism and domicile. As the *British Journal of Medicine* reported in 1910, “Cairo has become so popular a winter resort that on that ground alone every care should be taken by authorities to ensure that its sanitary arrangements are above suspicion.”¹⁰ Over the course of Bitter’s employment, his personal life exhibited the growing establishment of European influence in Cairo. He married a Polish woman, Wanda, who was born in Cairo and grew up in Alexandria, where the couple likely met. She, like so many European families domiciled in Egypt, had always called the country home. The couple had two daughters — Gretel, born in 1904, and Hilda, born in 1906. The girls spent their childhoods in Ma’adi, where Henry purchased two plots of land and built a spacious five-bedroom villa.¹¹ While the family’s prospects might have looked hopeful at the beginning of 1914, when Britain

⁹ “Cholera in Egypt,” *The British Journal of Medicine*, 1:1828 (Jan. 11, 1896), 106-107.

¹⁰ “Sanitary Matters in Cairo,” *The British Journal of Medicine*, 1:2574 (Apr. 30, 1910), 1057-1060.

¹¹ “Estate of Dr. Heinrich Hermann Bruno Bitter (German Subject), who died 23rd January 1918 in Germany,” FO 847/66; and “Ma’adi - Land Titles and Deeds - 1906-1940,” Dale Family Correspondence, MC, AUC, Egypt.

declared war on Germany that August, the Bitters' once promising Cairene life soon disintegrated.

After the declaration, the Bitters remained in Cairo for only a few more months. On December 7, 1914 they left their Ma'adi home and most of its contents and relocated to Koblenz, Germany. Eleven days later, on December 18, the British declared Egypt a protectorate and assumed their most unilateral imperial control over the country up to that time. In a place like Egypt, where various Europeans made homes and found an economic haven, the beginning of the First World War meant the rapid hardening of the national identities that they previously found negotiable and available for purchase.¹² The British were especially quick to take charge of the legal affairs of German and Austro-Hungarian citizens in Egypt. Before they declared Egypt a protectorate, the British consulate created an administrative system for managing disputes with their now-enemy population. On November 24, the consulate established a new court with jurisdiction over German and Austro-Hungarian subjects.¹³ Called the Special Court for Germans and Austrians, it managed the legal affairs of former residents of Egypt well into the postwar years.

These wartime changes to Egypt's judiciary had a rapid effect on certain sectors of Cairo's multinational society. British authorities took care, however, to identify who among the German and especially Austro-Hungarian nationals were families that had lived in Egypt for

¹² According to the 1907 census, there was a particularly large, and growing population of Germans in Egypt in the early-twentieth century, which increased by 44 percent since 1897. The census reported that the increase was largely due to increased immigration, rather than reproduction. The Bitters, however, indicate growth due to reproduction, where Europeans found other European spouses in Egypt, and, in turn, produced European children. In the case of the Bitters, three of these four "Germans" were born in Egypt. "Chapter VI: Nationality," *The Census of Egypt, taken in 1907: Under the Direction of C.C. Lowis, of the India Civil Service*, Ministry of Finance (Cairo: National Printing Department, 1909), 130.

¹³ FO 841/215.

generations, and who remained among the country's wealthiest bankers and financiers and offer them more hospitable terms for remaining in the country. The difference in treatment hinged on these foreigners' perceived contributions to Egypt's overall stability, particularly its economy. Even Bitter's employment by a British-created governmental institution proved insufficient protection against banishment from Egypt. Much of the difference in treatment additionally broke down along ethnic lines. Where ethnic Europeans like the Bitters came to represent a rival foreign power, the British carefully monitored resident foreigners like Egypt's prominent Jews but allowed them to remain in the country.

Soon after the war commenced, speculation also started about the true allegiances of the Menasces and Cattaouis, the two prominent Jewish families with Austro-Hungarian citizenship involved in founding Delta Land. On May 26, 1915, the *Egyptian Gazette* reported on "Enemy Subjects in Egypt," in connection with the Austro-Hungarian nationals on the board of the National Bank of Egypt. Quoting the "official view," the article reported:

Apart from the question as to whether it would be in the interests of the shareholders to force men such as Baron Jacques de Menasce and Maurice Cattai Pasha to resign their Egyptian directorships, holding the positions they do not only in the Jewish communities but also generally in commercial and financial circles in Egypt, and whose sympathies are above all Egyptian, it has to be remembered that such directors have been appointed by the shareholders for a term of years and probably not even the shareholders themselves can turn them out by a general meeting.¹⁴

¹⁴ "Enemy Subjects in Egypt. The Case of the National Bank. Sir John Maxwell the Sole Arbitrator," 26 May 1915, Newspaper Clippings, First World War, MC, AUC, Egypt.

The official view shrewdly invoked the bylaws for the bank's shareholders and its financial interests in order to evade treating these influential men and their families as enemy subjects. Here the bank's policies trumped the larger events of the war. This does not mean that their conclusions, however, were inaccurate. As described in Chapter One, both families had long histories in Egypt, rising to prominence in Egypt's financial world over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. Their forced removal from the country would have been detrimental to not only the bank, but also the whole of the Egyptian economy. If their maintenance in Egypt compromised the official view of who constituted an enemy, it also served British aims in Egypt by helping to ensure economic stability throughout the war. Exempting the Mensascas and Cattaouis, with an emphasis on their Egyptian connections and sympathies, additionally ingratiated these powerful Jewish families to the British authority in Egypt, lending further impetus to allowing them to remain in the country.

Yet these families were not as far removed from Austro-Hungarian interests as the "official view" reported in the *Gazette*. The British Public Custodian paid particular attention to Menasce and his seven children. While the British Residency continually claimed that, "The family is unquestionably identified with Egypt," Menasce's offspring were dispersed throughout Europe during the war.¹⁵ Two of his sons were in Austria — Rene, his second youngest, who previously left Egypt for health reasons and spent the war in a sanitarium, and Henri, the second oldest, who was conscripted into the Austrian army, only to be declared unfit. He served as a member of the Austrian Red Cross. Two of the baron's other sons spent the war in Switzerland, successfully avoiding conscription. Rather than viewing these European connections skeptically,

¹⁵ FO 141/655/6.

officials considered Rene and Henri exceptional, and focused on Jacques Menasce's ongoing ties to the Jewish community in Alexandria as evidence of his true allegiance. British officials additionally looked for ways to more closely link the Menasce family with an allegiance to Britain. When the baron and baroness wanted to travel to France during the war, the Residency offered them laissez-passers, and worked to get them British nationality.¹⁶ Their willingness to negotiate with the Menasces indicated the variety of forms that nationality took in the early years of the war — in some cases creating terms for the exclusion of foreigners, and, in others, maintaining the older, more flexible approach that allowed for the maintenance of certain foreign subjects in Egypt.

The British Residency's careful differentiation between the individual members of the Menasce family became especially apparent when Jacques died in 1920. During the war, the British Public Custodian generally seized enemy property and liquidated it, making it nearly impossible for enemy subjects to receive an inheritance. When Menasce passed away and his seven children began making claims on his estate, however, the Public Custodian set out to decipher who could actually receive a share of the estate. A precedent had already been established where exemption from the liquidation policy could be obtained if the High Commissioner was "absolutely satisfied that the individuals in question have bona fide severed their connection with the enemy from the moment of the outbreak of war and no further relations with them."¹⁷ The Residency concluded that the two Menasce children in Austria could not receive an inheritance. The official correspondence described the family as falling afoul of what had previously been their privilege to be Austrian subjects in Egypt. A message from the Foreign

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Office explained that “the members of this family... became Austrian like many others for their own convenience and in order to enjoy the advantages have hitherto accrued in Egypt to subjects of the 1st Class European Powers; they are now suffering from certain disadvantages as a consequence of their choice of nationality.” What had been a matter of preference became a contested and troublesome legal category for not only the Menasces but also for the British administration, which sought favor with Egypt’s powerful Jewish families in order to maintain the country’s economic profitability. In emphasizing the centrality of the capitulations to the Menasce family’s precarious nationality, the official correspondence dismissed their connections to Austria as superficial, despite Henri’s war service in Austria.¹⁸

For the Menasces, nationality remained a fluid category, which could be altered depending on the context. When Austrian citizenship became a problem, the baron and baroness garnered British laissez passers. In the same way, two of their other sons sought out Italian and Czecho-Slovakian nationality, respectively. For ethnic Europeans like the Bitters and the Luthy’s, however, German nationality became an inescapable element of their identity. The British differentiated between these kinds of enemy subjects based on their own geo-political priorities in Egypt. While the official gaze concentrated on Menasce’s social and economic ties to Egypt and largely ignored his arguably dubious connections to Austria-Hungary, the ethnicity of European “enemy” subjects became a more insurmountable tie, necessitating their removal from Egypt despite their own social, economic, and political ties to the country.

¹⁸ The British Public Custodian’s opinion on the Menasce family stands out in contrast to Krämer’s description of the family, which she characterized as deeply committed to their sense of European identity, and their connection to the Austro-Hungarian empire. Gudrun Krämer, *The Jews of Modern Egypt, 1914-1952* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 1999), 76-77.

Arguably the Bitters, like the Menasces, centered their interests on Egypt rather than on any European country. They had a multinational marriage and Wanda Bitter had never known a home outside of Egypt. The events of the war, however, allowed the British officials in Egypt to define them as European rivals rather than local partners, associating them with a threat to the stability of British imperial power in Egypt. Yet the Bitters appear to have so closely linked their lives to Egypt, particularly Ma'adi, that even upon their departure for Germany in 1914 neither Henry or Wanda understood how severe their break with Egypt would be. Based on correspondence included in the Special Court file related to the Bitter family's affairs, Henry anticipated that he and his family would resume life in Cairo soon after the war. He put Rose Kirby, Wanda's widowed sister who also lived in Cairo, in charge of the upkeep of their Ma'adi home so that it might be spared total liquidation by the government. Initially, he also continued receiving his pension payments from the Hygienic Institute, which he assumed would continue throughout his absence. A year into their exile, however, the family's separation from Egypt appeared threateningly permanent. In January 1916, the Egyptian government stopped sending Henry his pension payments.¹⁹ In the meantime, Kirby struggled to manage the Ma'adi property on her own. When the Bitters left Egypt, Henry agreed to pay her £E5 per month to manage the house. With his pension cut off, however, he had no means to pay her, and she was forced to support herself and maintain the house on the salary she earned doing office work in downtown Cairo. In 1917, Henry wrote to the Public Custodian, asking that Kirby be allowed to stay in the villa as its caretaker, and that the cost of its upkeep be offset by a payment from his would-be

¹⁹ The end of the pension payments coincided with the severe worsening of the war, with the devastating and totalizing effects of the Battles of the Somme, and the Battle of Verdun both unfolding in 1916. As John H. Morrow Jr. explains, 1916 was the watershed year, when it became a war of attrition, with no easy victory for either side. Morrow, *The Great War: An Imperial History* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 175.

pension payments, which he believed he would receive in bulk after the war. The Public Custodian allowed Kirby to reside in the villa, but there is no indication that she was compensated for her efforts.²⁰

The situation grew all the more dire when Henry died in January 1918. Wanda and her daughters did not receive the same kind of careful, individuated attention given to the Menasce family. British officials expended little energy on the specifics of her nationality, her Polish background, or her family's history in Egypt. Instead, Wanda, feeling herself and her daughters stranded in Germany, made her own desperate appeals to the Public Custodian. Their situation grew increasingly desperate because they owed money to the Delta Land Company for the mortgage on the villa and had no means to pay it. To raise the £E3,000 they owed to the company, Wanda looked to sell her assets in Ma'adi. That October, Kirby auctioned off the family's furniture — enough to fill the five bedrooms, salon, hall, dining room, kitchen, and pantry. She raised almost £E800, all of which went to Delta Land.²¹

When the armistice came in November, the Bitter family's problems were far from resolved. Because the furniture sale could not pay the full debt to Delta Land, Wanda looked for a way to sell the house, hoping that any leftover profit would be sent to her in Germany. Selling the villa was a more complicated ordeal than disposing of the furniture. Upon the family's departure from Egypt, their property belonged to the Public Custodian, which was charged with its liquidation. Up to this point, Kirby had been allowed to take care of the house at the agency's disposal. The request that the house be sold and some of the profits go to an exiled German national was unprecedented. As the debt on the mortgage continued to mount at nine percent

²⁰ FO 847/66

²¹ Ibid.

annually, Wanda, still perhaps naively feeling herself separate from the events of the war, wrote to the Special Court in November 1920 and implored them to grant her the pension payments that the Egyptian Government would have otherwise paid Henry's widow. She also asked permission that the house be sold to pay her debts. She explained that she needed some return on their Ma'adi property because she had an opportunity to work abroad and needed the money to leave Germany. "I am a stranger in Germany," she wrote, "being born in Egypt, from Polish parents."²² Kirby wrote a similarly beseeching letter to the Public Custodian, explaining that her sister's "health is so run down through all the hardships and privations she has to go through that she is quite unfit now to be a support to herself and her children. Is it possible that no sympathy shall be found for a widow and orphans in distress?"

Their appeal apparently had some effect, likely because Delta Land simultaneously made a similar request that the house be sold and the profits used to repay the mortgage. By December 1920, the Special Court allowed Kirby to sell the house. It was purchased by Madame Zainab Hanem for £E4,000. She paid £E2,500 up front, and agreed to repay the remainder to Delta Land at an annual interest rate of seven percent — allowing Delta Land to resume charging interest on the house, this time to someone with the means to pay. More than a year later, in January 1922, Wanda Bitter received just over £E400 from her husband's estate in Egypt.²³ Whether the funds arrived in time or were sufficient for her to accept her position abroad is unknown.

The Bitter family's fate was of little consequence to British officials in Egypt during the First World War. Even though, like the Menasce family, Wanda had only secondary connections to an enemy country before the war, she was easily labeled an opponent because her removal

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

from Egypt had little bearing on the country's overall stability. Her nationality was absorbed into that of her husband, erasing from the official mind the more complex international networks that allowed her to be born and raised in Egypt — networks of privilege that the Foreign Office carefully identified as an accident of disadvantageous choice for the Menasces.²⁴ The Bitters, like most ethnic Europeans with German and Austro-Hungarian nationality became targeted enemies of British imperial power. With the declaration of war, the Bitters' life in Ma'adi became untenable. Where the Menasces' and Cattaouis' contributions to Egypt's economy allowed them to remain in the country, debt became the Bitter family's most lasting tie to Egypt. Only well after the war and the subsequent Egyptian revolution — after British imperial power became significantly restrained — did Wanda receive a portion of her family's former estate.

As for the new owner of their erstwhile Ma'adi villa — little exists in the archive about Madam Zeinab Hanem. Her Turkish surname suggests that she belonged to a class of former-Ottoman notables who remained in Egypt after the fall of the sultanate and used their remaining wealth to purchase homes outside the city, participating in a transition from Ottomanism to Egyptian nationalism as they removed themselves from the center of Egypt's unstable political affairs.²⁵ The Bitters replacement in Egypt appeared all the more complete when, at the same time that Zeinab purchased the Ma'adi villa, an Egyptian scientist took over leadership of Cairo's Hygienic Institute. While the details of the transition are unclear, by 1923 bacteriologist

²⁴ Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher, and Alice Denny used the term "official mind" to refer to the shared ideas and intentions of British government officials when shaping imperial objectives. Here I use it in a specific case, where British imperial aims in Egypt participated in the larger war-time strategies and objectives of the British government. See Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1961).

²⁵ On women's participation in the transition from Ottomanism to Egyptian nationalism see Baron, "Chapter Seven: Partisans of the Wafd," *Egypt as a Woman*, 165-188. Similar continuities of Ottoman influence also went on throughout the Levant. For instances of Ottoman continuities in Syria, see Khoury, "Continuity and Change in Syrian Political Life," *The American Historical Review*.

Z. Khaled published new research on bacterial infections in Egypt's bovine population.²⁶ While Khaled left a trail of academic research, little information exists about his personal life. Yet his position at the institute and his Arabic surname imply his participation in the growth of the Egyptian *effendiyya* during the war and in its immediate aftermath. As a body of middle-class Egyptian professionals grew over the course of the war, they strategically adopted certain elements of European influence as part of their demands for national independence. Zeinab and Khaled's shared replacement of the various facets of the Bitter family's existence in Cairo, and Ma'adi specifically, indicates a larger trend in the interconnection between Ma'adi's wartime disruptions and postwar development. In the same way that exiled German nationals opened up space for Delta Land to acquire the Luthy-Zehnder property in 1920, Zeinab simultaneously moved into the once German-owned Ma'adi villa and Khaled took over a prominent position within the Hygeinic Institute. This postwar pattern of European displacement, particularly as more and more members of the Egyptian *effendiyya* moved into vacancies left by the war, provided the foundation for Ma'adi's growth until the Second World War. At the same time, it served as a profound shift away from the town's earlier demographic of upper middle-class European immigrants.

Building for War

As land ownership in Ma'adi changed hands, the British Commonwealth military had its own plans for how to make use of this space conveniently located along the rail line south of Cairo. During the war, when Rose Kirby still managed the Bitter family's Ma'adi villa, the town

²⁶ Z. Khaled, "A Comparative Bacteriological Study of Bovine Abortion and Undulant Fever," *The Journal of Hygiene*, 22:3 (Mar., 1924), 335-342.

as a whole underwent a wartime transformation. The alterations started off small, with the British Residency making use of the sequestered homes of now-enemy aliens. By the end of 1918, however, Ma'adi was a hub of war-related activity. Its location on the outskirts of Cairo, removed from the distractions of downtown, attracted a variety of military installations, including barracks for Australian troops and a prisoner of war camp. The circulation of soldiers and prisoners into and out of the town made Ma'adi an added feature in the war's global map. So much so that by the early 1920s, Ma'adi became the namesake for a new settlement of returned Australian soldiers in northeastern Queensland.²⁷ The experiences of soldiers, refugees and prisoners additionally increased awareness and familiarity with the town, making it a more significant part of greater Cairo.

The war initially brought a demographic shift to Ma'adi as German and Austro-Hungarian residents departed and soldiers and prisoners arrived. In 1914, the town's inhabitants were primarily Europeans, making Ma'adi disproportionately affected by the sudden repatriation or imprisonment of German and Austro-Hungarian nationals. The Bitters' home was one among a series of villas vacated in the second half of 1914 as residents fled to their nations of origin. The Public Custodian turned one Austro-Hungarian's property over to the British Commonwealth military, which used it to billet Indian officers.²⁸ For her part, Kirby managed to make some profit out of Ma'adi's newly arrived military residents. According to the register of accounts she supplied to the Special Court, she earned £E25 in rent paid by billeted military personnel. Aside from selling a few household items, the catering she supplied to the house's

²⁷ Ma'adi is just south of El Arish, Queensland, which was a more substantial post-war soldier settlement. File - soldier settlement, "El Arish," Item ID 1042859, Queensland State Archives, Australia.

²⁸ Raafat, 47.

new residents was one of the only sources of additional income she generated from her work managing the Bitters' villa.²⁹

Ma'adi's first large installment of soldiers arrived in December 1914, when Australia's Light Horse Brigade established a camp northeast of town. The English press portrayed the changes brought by the new arrivals as part of Ma'adi's incorporation into Egypt's larger wartime scene. In an article on "Australians at Meadi," the *Egyptian Gazette* enthusiastically reported on the alterations to the small town. "The change from the usual quiet of the little station at Meadi to the bustle and come and go of 'Our Australians' is not so bewildering as it would have been a few months ago." The article went on with a somewhat idealized description of the soldiers' arrival at the Ma'adi train station:

Stalwart khaki-clad forms with their broad-brimmed hats, sleeves rolled up revealing burnt brown arms stroll about awaiting the arrival of train-loads of baggage, foot, etc, from Cairo, to be stacked on carts and hustled off to the camp... A sharp "Keep off that," brings understanding of intention if not of words. These are the men "on duty;" on the opposite side of the line are seen the crowds of "off duty" men awaiting the train to Cairo and amusements.³⁰

The *Gazette*'s imagery helped situate Ma'adi within the geography of the war. In associating the location of "our" troops in Ma'adi, its narrative also linked the town to the British Commonwealth's war effort.

²⁹ In a letter to the Public Custodian, Kirby explained that she earned £E.25, as money "saved for rent out of the catering of the P of W billeted in the house" (sic), FO 847/66.

³⁰ "Australians at Meadi," *Egyptian Gazette*, 15 Dec. 1914, Newspaper Clippings, First World War, MC, AUC, Egypt.

For its part, Delta Land appeared to embrace its association with the British military installation, extending the troops an enthusiastic welcome and making specific contributions to the Light Horse Brigade's military installment. In addition to allowing the Commonwealth military to establish a base on the land just outside the perimeter of Ma'adi's garden city development, the company also lent the brigade one of the nearby villas as a makeshift hospital. Although the Australian Imperial Forces quaintly referred to it as a "Bungalow Hospital," Delta Land offered them a large villa that included an extensive front porch, two full stories, with additional rooms in the attic, for a total of at least eight bedrooms.³¹

The military established the camp and the hospital during the joint Anglo-French attempt to capture Istanbul via the peninsula of Gallipoli. Egypt's influx of Commonwealth troops supporting the Gallipoli Campaign not only indicated the magnitude of the war effort, but also the disintegration of Egypt's earlier economic and political ties to the rest of the Ottoman-controlled eastern Mediterranean. The offensive, which lasted from April 1915 until January 1916 coincided with the largest influx of troops into Ma'adi. It additionally participated in Ma'adi's geographical reordering. The Ottoman empire's decline during the war increasingly distinguished Egypt as a territory of the British empire, rather than one in ongoing negotiation between the Great Powers. While the Gallipoli Campaign indicated an initial surge in British imperial control over Egypt, their authority did not continue long past the war, reflecting the internal instability also created by the war as it fueled Egyptian nationalist fervor.

³¹ A general description of Ma'adi and the house is included in "Recollections of Maadi," Australian War Memorial, Commonwealth Troops, Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt. A picture of the house was published in "Mead Today," *The Kia Ora Coe-Ee: The Official Magazine of the Australian and New-Zealand Forces in Egypt, Palestine, Salonica & Mesopotamia* (Marcy 1918), p. 10, accessed from <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/etexts/ReiKaOr/ReiKaOr029.gif> on 1 Aug 2012.

Ma'adi became a site of some of the war's mounting tensions. Within the Bungalow Hospital, which the military only used during the Gallipoli Campaign, the hospital staff struggled to communicate with the Egyptian servants employed at the house. When the camp's medical officers were deployed in Gallipoli, the nursing staff complained about the difficulty they experienced when working with the house's Egyptian servants. One inspection report stated that a man was required "to be put in charge of the Native servants."³² It appears that L.E. White, the Sister-in-Charge at the hospital, had trouble working with the Egyptian under her employ. These kinds of disruptions and administrative weaknesses appeared to have gone on throughout the Australian medical installations around Cairo. In Heliopolis, the Australians set up a hospital more centrally located in the requisitioned Heliopolis Palace Hotel. A breakdown in the hospital's administration took place because of a quarrel between the staff's lead doctor and matron. The political reverberations were significant enough to become a topic of discussion not only in the War Office, but also in the British House of Commons and Australian parliaments.³³

While the administration of the Bungalow Hospital faltered, the Australian military's real conflict in Ma'adi took place with the neighboring Egyptian peasants. While the town was supposed to offer a more subdued environment than Cairo's interior, it still provided opportunities for trouble. The soldiers managed to find space for rough housing in Ma'adi's restaurants and continually harassed and abused the poorer Egyptians in the neighboring village, whom the soldiers pejoratively referred to as "Gippos."³⁴ As a result of their behavior, the

³² "Report on the Bungalow Hospital Maadi," 22 Feb. 1916, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. Copies accessed from the MC, AUC, Egypt.

³³ Michael Tyquin, "Doctors and Nurses: Gender Relations, Jealousy, and Maladministration in Wartime," *Health and History*, 13:1 (2011), 26-43.

³⁴ Mario M. Ruiz, "Manly Spectacles and Imperial Soldiers in Wartime Egypt, 1914-19," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45:3 (May, 2009), 351-371.

soldiers found the severity of their disciplinary boundaries increased almost daily. On June 10, 1915, for instance, the military placed the Cafe du Nil, a popular Ma'adi restaurant along the eastern bank of the Nile, out of bounds for the troops.³⁵ The following day, visits to Egyptian villages were likewise banned. The order stated, "Gambling with natives will in the future be considered a criminal offence. Men are warned against familiarity with the natives."³⁶ Yet the soldiers' destructive interactions with the villagers continued. Just two weeks after the ban, the brigade was warned against "molesting natives," stating that "it is to be clearly understood that any soldier interfering with their property will be court marshaled and is liable to a term of imprisonment with hard labour." The statement implied that the troops somehow damaged or possibly stole the villagers' property. These unpleasant interactions fueled the anti-British sentiment that followed the war, especially among poorer Egyptians. Within Cairo's more central, medieval quarters, confrontations between Egyptians and the Australian and New Zealander soldiers were all the more common and often violent. Mario Ruiz describes how in April 1915, a riot broke out because a group of drunken soldiers were enraged about the apparently low quality of alcohol served in Haret al-Wasa'a, the city's brothel district. The soldiers piled beds, pianos, mattresses, and cupboards in the street and set them on fire. When the British police arrived to break up the riot, the troops pelted them with stones and beer bottles. As Ruiz argues, this kind of violent behavior within Cairo during the war undermined the status of the British empire in Egypt and fueled the sometimes violent fervor of the postwar revolution.³⁷

³⁵ "Routine Orders," by Lieutenant HCG Weston, OC, 7th Light Horse Details, 10 June 1915, AWM 25 707/S File 194, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. MC, AUC, Egypt.

³⁶ "Routine Orders," 11 June 1915, AWM 25 707/S File 194, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. MC, AUC, Egypt.

³⁷ Ruiz, "Manly Spectacles and Imperial Soldiers in Wartime Egypt, 1914-19," 353.

Likely to the peasants' relief, the Australian brigade vacated Ma'adi in March 1916, a few months after the Gallipoli Campaign concluded. Without the Light Horse Brigade, the Ma'adi Camp no longer needed the Bungalow Hospital, which they likewise closed in March, returning the villa to the Delta Land Company.³⁸ The military sent the hospital's personnel along with the medical supplies to Alexandria, where they served at the Ras-el-Tin Convalescent Depot.³⁹ The camp subsequently shrank in size and became home to special British military details and their training.

If the establishment of the Light Horse Brigade camp during the Gallipoli Campaign appeared to mark Ma'adi's reorientation away from regional networks shaped by the Ottoman empire and towards a closer association with British imperial power, then its most enduring wartime installation was the prisoner of war camp, which made it a site of the complex and violent rivalries at work between the war's belligerent powers. Located on Ma'adi's southern border, near Tura, the prison served as the receiving station for all POWs in Egypt. For these prisoners, the Ma'adi they experienced had nothing to do with the town-and-country environs established by Delta Land. Instead, Ma'adi was site of British military authority in North Africa — a part of its expansive empire. Yet the events that unfolded within the prison indicated the broader international contests that would escape straightforward imperial control and continue shaping Egypt's place in the world after the war.

³⁸ The house continued its association with the military, though later becoming the residence of Lt. Col. RBD Blakeney, R.E., D.S.O., who had a long career in Egypt, previously serving as a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, and participating in the Egyptian Army's campaign in the Sudan from 1896-8. "Mead Today," *The Kia Ora Co-o-Ee*, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/etexts/ReiKaOr/ReiKaOr029.gif>, and WO 100, War Office: Campaign Medal and Award Rolls 1793-1949 (General Series). The National Archives microfilm publication WO 100, 241 rolls. BNA, Kew, UK.

³⁹ "Bungalow Hospital," Commonwealth Troops, MC, AUC, Egypt.

Upon arriving at Ma'adi-Tura, prisoners entered a large courtyard where they each came before a panel of British officers who confiscated their personal items and valuables, making a note of each prisoner's belongings. They were subsequently stripped of their military uniforms and possessions and given a towel. The prisoners were then taken to a large bath, where they each washed in a cresol soap solution. One German prisoner, a medical sergeant named Lappe, complained that the process was "not very appetizing," considering that some 900 prisoners went through the baths at a time, some of whom had not bathed in weeks.⁴⁰ Following the bath, they received a new towel, thus ensuring the loss of any valuables stashed in the first towel. Finally, the British supplied them with prison clothes and inoculated them against typhoid, smallpox, and cholera.⁴¹ Once processed at Ma'adi-Tura, prisoners were distributed throughout the Commonwealth's network of eight POW detention centers in Egypt.⁴² More than 5,500 male prisoners remained at Ma'adi-Tura, the majority of whom were Ottoman subjects, with a minority of Germans and Austro-Hungarians.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Verbalnote*, Correspondence between the Foreign Office and Swedish Legation, 7 May 1919, FO 383/507.

⁴¹ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Turkish Prisoners in Egypt: A Report by the Delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross* (The Project Gutenberg EBook #10589, released on Jan. 4, 2004), accessed from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10589/10589-h/10589-h.htm>, and "Turkish Prisoners of War. A Visit to the Meadi Camp," *Egyptian Gazette*, 12 Sept. 1916, Newspaper Clippings, First World War, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁴² All of the eight Egyptian POW camps housed male prisoners, except for the establishment in the Citadel, which housed more than 400 women and children captured in the Hijaz — the region of present-day Saudi Arabia bordering the Red Sea. International Committee of the Red Cross, *Turkish Prisoners in Egypt*.

⁴³ These Ottoman subjects included Arabs, Greeks, and Armenians, while the Austro-Hungarians also included Bulgarians, Czecho-Slovacs, and Poles, *Ibid.*, and "Suspects Arrested in Salonica and interned in Egypt," FO 383/129, BNA, Kew, Surrey, UK. One prison warder wrote in his diary that in Feb. 1918 the prison had 1,482 Germans, 1,092 Turks, 900 Arabs, 500 Greeks, and 526 Armenians, Private Papers of WT Stead, Documents.15082, IWM, London, UK.

An old government-run flour mill provided the original structure for the Ma‘adi-Tura prison.⁴⁴ By 1917, the British military added additional barracks, which were large, brick buildings with dirt floors. The buildings were left largely open, without completed windows or doors. Prisoners slept on platforms of beaten earth, that were raised nine inches above the ground and were six and a half feet long. These platform-beds were covered with woven mats, and each prisoner received three blankets, with extra blankets available on especially cold nights. According to the International Red Cross, which inspected the treatment of Ottoman-Turkish prisoners on January 3, 1917, the openness of Ma‘adi-Tura’s barracks provided optimal ventilation in the desert climate. The inspectors gave Ma‘adi-Tura favorable reviews in all areas, including food, water, hygiene, accommodation, medical care, and even religion. The prison guards granted the Muslim inmates the freedom to worship and provided them with a separate cemetery. On the Turkish prisoners’ mentality, the Red Cross reported, “The many which we have asked show that there is no dissatisfaction among the prisoners with regard to the treatment they receive.” The inspectors made a similarly favorable inspection of the other POW camps in Egypt, reporting that, “...our conviction, based upon careful investigations, is that the inspectors, commandants and officers of the camps treat the prisoners with humanity and do all in their power to soften their lot.”⁴⁵

To Sgt. Lappe, however, the conditions at Ma‘adi-Tura were altogether inadequate. After the war, the returned prisoner issued his complaint to the German Foreign Office with the intention of exacting reparations from the British. Lappe gave the same physical description of

⁴⁴ “Turkish Prisoners of War,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 12 Sept. 1916. The Red Cross inspection report described the camp as a former music school-turned-factory — its description as a flour mill by the *Egyptian Gazette*, considering the rural landscape in Ma‘adi and Tura, is likely more accurate. MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁴⁵ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Turkish Prisoners in Egypt*.

the camp as the Red Cross inspectors. Where the former reported competence, however, Lappe emphasized deficiency and inhumanity. The openness of the barracks, for instance, rather than providing ample ventilation, allowed dust, sand, and rain to pour into the barracks. The blankets were too thin, especially when sleeping on what he described as wet and cold ground. In Lappe's opinion, the medical care was also unsatisfactory. When flu struck the prison following the Palestine and Sinai Campaign from 1916 to 1917, Lappe claimed that several prisoners died because "the English only had time for themselves."⁴⁶

To a degree, Lappe's discomfort might have been a matter of perspective. In the same prison, Ottoman prisoners created arts and crafts, which they sold to civilians. The *Egyptian Gazette* reported that the camp authorities allowed the prisoners — mostly Syrians, Armenians and Greeks — to purchase wood, glue, cotton, wire, and beads from the canteen, and use the materials to make handicrafts, which they, in turn, sold.⁴⁷ Each prisoner priced the work, and labeled it with his personal ID number, so that he could claim his profits. They made caps, handbags, rosaries, and stone-carved slabs. The rosaries earned the smallest profit at PT 3 each, while snakeskin bags earned as much as PT 60.⁴⁸ The British military moved the goods from Ma'adi to downtown, where they were available for sale at the "emporium" near the Shepherd's

⁴⁶ FO 383/507, translation my own.

⁴⁷ The *Gazette* depicted the POWs as the unfortunate subjects of the Ottoman empire, reporting that the three groups were labeled "Turkish" because they "all have been compelled to take up arms under the Turkish flag." "Turkish Prisoners' Handiwork. Visit to the Cairo Depot," 2 Sept. 1916, *Egyptian Gazette*, Newspaper Clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁴⁸ PT is the abbreviation for the Egyptian Piastre or *Qirsh*, 100 of which makes one Egyptian Pound (£E) or *el-Genēh el-Maşri*. At the time the Egyptian Pound was tied to the British pound sterling, and its value was based on the gold standard. Egypt remained part of the Sterling Area until 1962.

Hotel.⁴⁹ The prisoners' access to raw materials and the permission they had to use them to turn a profit, stands in contrast to the kind of oppressive setting Lappe depicted.

For their part, the British soldiers and media in Egypt were inclined to portray the Germans as particularly dramatic about their circumstances. One British commandant at Ma'adi-Tura derided to the German prisoners, referring to them the "gentlemen of Ma'adi."⁵⁰ When Ottoman and some German prisoners were captured in the Dardanelles and transported to Ma'adi, the *Egyptian Gazette*'s headline read, "Prisoners Arrive in Egypt: Histrionics of German Officers," yet most of the article discussed the majority of Ottoman troops involved.⁵¹ These competing depictions of the prisoners and their treatment in the Ma'adi-Tura camp reflected the larger political and military battles that were waged during the war. The British, as they attempted to gain a tighter grip on Egypt's affairs, emphasized their generosity to Syrian, Armenian and Greek subjects of the crumbling Ottoman empire. At the same time, German prisoners felt themselves particularly mistreated and victimized by their British enemies and additionally out of place in a prison in Egypt. The British, both civilians and military, appeared content to condescend to the Germans.

Ma'adi-Tura took an additional microcosmic qualities when the prisoners acted out the violence of the war against one another. On February 25, 1918, William T. Smith became a warder at the prison. Smith began his war service in 1915 at the Battle of Gallipoli, where he was injured by an Ottoman shell. He convalesced in Egypt, where he was subsequently stationed, and kept a diary of his wartime experiences. Once assigned to Ma'adi-Tura, Smith documented the

⁴⁹ "Turkish Prisoners' Handiwork. Visit to the Cairo Depot," 2 Sept. 1916, *Egyptian Gazette*.

⁵⁰ Private Papers of WT Stead, IWM.

⁵¹ "Prisoners Arrive in Egypt: Histrionics of German Officers," 12 May 1915, *Egyptian Gazette*, Newspaper Clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

prisoners' combative behavior, both against the prison authorities and their fellow prisoners.⁵²

One particularly violent outburst took place that summer, at the beginning of Ramadan, when some Arab prisoners captured in the Hejaz refused to work while fasting and then attacked the Armenians held with them. The warders had to guard the Armenians with fixed bayonets for the rest of the day. While Smith offers few details on the cause of the violence, he gives a sense of self-evidence that there would be a conflict between the two — one likely based on confessional differences, and perhaps fueled by the Ottoman targeting and extermination of Armenians throughout the war. The day after the attack, ten Arabs were arrested as leaders of the mutiny. In response, the Arab prisoners increased the severity of their uprising. Much to Smith and the other warders' frustration, elements of the Arab-Muslim population continued refusing to work until Ramadan concluded.⁵³

Where religious and ethnic tensions mounted between the Arabs and Armenians, political violence broke out in September 1918 between Greek and ethnically Turkish prisoners. Smith wrote in his diary:

Between the hours of 6pm and 6am... a terrible fight took place between the Turks and Greeks... and when the warder arrived it was like entering a slaughter house blood everywhere and 4 dead Turks were found in the washhouse with their heads smashed to a pulp and 27 had to be taken to hospital and 7 outpatients.⁵⁴

⁵² Private Papers of WT Smith, IWM.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Grammar and punctuation are original to the diary, Ibid.

Smith and the other warders deduced that the Greek prisoners used the canes of disabled inmates as weapons against the Turkish.⁵⁵ As a result, Ma‘adi-Tura became an additional setting in the resurgent battle between combative Turkish and Greek factions within the Ottoman empire — a hostility that had its roots in Greece’s declaration of independence in 1821, and had most recently manifested itself when Greece sided with the Allies against the Ottomans upon their entrance into the First World War in 1917. Where Ma‘adi previously grew out of the ongoing financial relationships Greeks worked out within the Ottoman empire, the war heightened older ethnic tensions, emphasizing their differences in often violent ways. These events contributed to the larger shifts in the modes of national, ethnic, and religious identification that changed because of the war experience, which were also felt within Ma‘adi after the repatriation of its residents.

Within Ma‘adi, however, the violence of the war and the boundaries it indicated — between nations, empires, ethnicities, and religions — still appeared specific to the war, and not an inherent threat to the town’s internal harmony. One article in the *Egyptian Gazette* even made a point of identifying the contrast between the prison and the garden city, reporting that, “It is strange to realise that here, in this peaceful spot so living and poignant a reminder of the realities of war existed, and that great numbers of Turkish prisoners were but a stone’s throw away.”⁵⁶ The war affected Ma‘adi’s garden city population on different, more subtle terms that it impacted members of the military, or citizens of Britain’s enemies. Rather than upending the town’s multinational, upper middle-class sociability, the war experience became a platform for more

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Correspondent, “Turkish Prisoners of War: A Visit to the Meadi Camp,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 12 Sept. 1916, Newspaper Clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

publicly articulating how to negotiate between cultures and remain domiciled in Cairo, despite the geopolitical changes that surrounded the space.

In many ways, Ma'adi's postwar growth came from the multinational continuities that preserved foreign subjects' privileged status in Egypt, as the capitulations and Mixed Courts remained in place in Cairo despite the deterioration of Ottoman power. Yet maintaining a household in Ma'adi relied on more than the foreigner-friendly economic climate fostered by these policies and institutions. In the postwar years Ma'adi residents, especially the European and American women who managed its households, articulated more of the details of their domicile, offering various guidebooks on how to negotiate some of the details of expatriate life. Their guidebooks indicated the social and cultural ways that households attached themselves to Ma'adi and Egypt more broadly. It is no coincidence that this guide-writing trend began during the war, as one woman looked to show soldiers the lesser-known sites of medieval Cairo. Her work was joined by other expatriate women in Ma'adi who wrote a cookbook and gardening guide, respectively. Taken together these women offered modes for how to deal with the multicultural and socially complex processes that informed daily life in Ma'adi. Their works offer a window into how people managed an internal continuity within Ma'adi, amid the significant geopolitical changes caused by the war and subsequent revolution. As nationalism grew during and after the war among middle-class Egyptians, the work of these expatriate women had the added effect of promoting a bourgeois culture in the town, which helped draw more wealthy Egyptians into Ma'adi.

Exploring Cairo

For Henriette Devonshire the arrival of so many British Commonwealth troops in Cairo inspired her to undertake a new literary endeavor. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Devonshire, a French woman, first moved to Cairo with her English husband Robert in 1907, when he took a position as a lawyer in the Mixed Courts.⁵⁷ They were introduced to Ma'adi early on, when Robert represented some of the town's land owners in a dispute over the *Cahier des Charges*.⁵⁸ After nine years of living nearer downtown, the Devonshires moved to Ma'adi in 1916.⁵⁹ While the Devonshires moved to Egypt because of Robert's work, Henriette made Cairo's medieval Islamic history her personal passion.⁶⁰ Over the course of her life in Egypt, she learned Arabic and wrote several monographs in French and English about the city's Islamic history. Her guidebooks were especially popular because they offered her expatriate readers a mode for participating in her ventures through the older parts of Cairo that were removed from the "European" half of the city that they inhabited.

The war experience gave Devonshire the initial impetus to write about her interest in medieval Cairo for a wider audience. In 1916, the same year that she moved to Ma'adi, she

⁵⁷ The Devonshires were married at the British Embassy in Paris on 26 May 1887. By the time they moved to Ma'adi they had three children — Marie, Feray and Antoinette. "Silver Wedding," *Egyptian Gazette*, 24 May 1912. MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁵⁸ Robert Devonshire was likely further introduced to Ma'adi by Aaron "Alec" Alexander, his partner in the law firm he formed after moving to Cairo. Alexander, a Polish Jew, was well connected to Egypt's prominent Jewish families, and his brother-in-law was Elie Nessim Mosseri, who had been involved with Delta Land since its founding, when he sold his land south of Old Cairo the company and joined its board of directors. "Death of Mr. Devonshire," *Egyptian Gazette*, 16 July 1921; "Merton Family Tree," Ancestry.com, accessed from <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/8756454/family?cfpid=737483011> on 7 Sept. 2012; and FO 841/135. On Elie N. Mosseri see Krämer, 43.

⁵⁹ "Land Deeds and Titles, 1906-1940," MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁶⁰ The Devonshires shared a commitment to establishing their lives in Egypt that Robert further iterated in his will. He explained that after 1907 he kept no residence in England and had "no intention of returning to reside there." He authoritatively stated, "Now I declare that I have definitely renounced my domicile of origin and adopted Egypt as my domicile of choice." British Consular Court, Cairo, "Probate: Robert Llewelyn Devonshire," FO 841/198.

published a series of articles in the English-language weekly *The Sphinx* under the title, “A Convalescent in Cairo.” She wrote the articles as though actual wounded soldiers had composed them while venturing through the city during their recovery. In 1917, she coalesced the articles into a guidebook, entitled *Rambles in Cairo*. She wrote the book in an epistolary form, which she described as “unconventional.” Rather than writing for the casual tourist, Devonshire explained that she intended *Rambles* for someone like the convalescing soldiers or the nurses who served them, who were domiciled in Cairo for a longer term. Devonshire wrote a second edition of the book in 1931 and explained in her introduction that *Rambles* was “not a practical guide-book for hurried tourists, still less that of a scientific history book for scholars, but that of light literature, almost entirely devoid of technical details, and merely intended to add interest to the explorations of visitors whose curiosity is attracted by this fascinating and somewhat neglected branch of art.”⁶¹ In writing the book this way, Devonshire offered a kind of cultural history of Cairo’s Islamic history, one where she hoped to make the places more relatable and meaningful through stories that gave some sense of the people who designed, built, and used them.⁶²

Devonshire described her approach as “historical and legendary ‘gossip.’” Rather than dwelling on particular facts and figures, Devonshire took what she described as a deliberately down-to-earth approach, which casually invited readers to look at Cairo’s Islamic monuments as human spaces.⁶³ The review of the book in the *Egyptian Gazette* reiterated Devonshire’s intended

⁶¹ Henriette Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo* (Cairo: E. and R. Schindler, 1931), I.

⁶² In presenting her history on these terms, Devonshire participated in some of the hallmark activities of early women historians. Bonnie Smith argues that women’s amateur work anticipated cultural and social history by focusing on travel, the details of daily life, and emotionally cathartic elements of their subjects. Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁶³ Here Devonshire exhibited women’s contributions to cultural history, which Bonnie Smith argues women undertook as amateurs, often while traveling. Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

tone, describing it as a “chatty book, full of stories and human interests and gossip, with only so much technical detail as is necessary to make intelligible and peculiar features of the different monuments that come under discussion.”⁶⁴ Yet those human stories were located in the past, and life she brought into her descriptions often had little connection to Cairo’s present. By presenting the Islamic sites of medieval Cairo as historical monuments their contemporary life and uses had little bearing on her analysis. That her book offered a pathway for expatriates like herself to experience the city’s Islamic history, meant similarly distancing the city’s medieval half from the present.

Devonshire’s informal tone in *Rambles* created a sense of familiarity for her readers that helped make the history of the places she described appear more identifiable and real. She presented the mosques as a personalized history lesson, explaining that it would “be very easy to acquire a few notions of [Cairo’s history] by visiting, in chronological order and beginning by the earliest examples, the beautiful medieval monuments which still exist in Cairo.”⁶⁵ To that end, she broke up the book into twelve chapters, opening with a description of the mosque of Ibn Tulun, which was built in 899 A.D., and concluding with Abu Dahab’s 1774 mosque. Her concluding chapter looked at the surviving homes and palaces from the late-eighteenth century.

Throughout *Rambles*, Devonshire combined physical descriptions of the mosques with colorful stories. Upon entering Prince Ahmed Ibn Tulun’s mosque, for instance, she explained that the interior space was “a most impressive vista of cloisters innumerable arches resting on massive triangular piers.” The space was so impressive, she continued, that there “was nothing

⁶⁴ Arthur Jeffery, “Rambles in Cairo,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 23 Jan. 1932, 2.

⁶⁵ Devonshire, *Rambles*, 1.

‘squat’ about it.”⁶⁶ She explained that according to popular rumor, the mosque’s pillars were stolen from churches. Or, if not stolen, they were copied from pillars designed by a Christian architect whom Ibn Tulun freed from prison. The diplomatic prince, not wanting to offend Egyptian Christians, agreed to the architect’s proposal that “he would gladly undertake to build him the finest mosque in the world without the use of any columns save two for the *mihrab* (prayer-niche).” After using these details to draw in readers, Devonshire switched to a more direct tone that contradicted the earlier narrative. “But there is no truth in this anecdote,” she stated. As an alternative, she offered a “more scientific” explanation that the mosque was copied from a similar structure near Ibn Tulun’s childhood home in Baghdad.⁶⁷ Through an additional story about the spiraled shape of the mosque’s minaret, Devonshire further described Ibn Tulun’s personality. She continued:

Having, however, been surprised on one occasion when his thoughts were wandering and his fingers idly rolling a piece of paper into a spiral, he hastened to ascribe a reason for this futile occupation by ordering his architect to be sent for. “Here,” he said to him, “is the form that thou shalt give to the minaret. I have prepared for thee this model with mine own hand.”⁶⁸

After relating the story, Devonshire again dismissed it as a mere myth and explained that the minaret, like the columns, was best understood as a copy of a Mesopotamian model. While Devonshire disregarded these personal stories as empirically insignificant, she used them to people the places she described as part of the city’s medieval past. She asked her readers to

⁶⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

recreate these mythic scenes in their imaginations. Ibn Tulun was “one of the greatest rulers Egypt ever had,” she explained.⁶⁹ He founded dispensaries, hospitals and even drinking troughs for cattle. Only the mosque, however, remained of his work. With her lively descriptions, Devonshire helped establish the mosque as a memorial to what she presents as one of Egypt’s seemingly forgotten rulers.⁷⁰

For Devonshire, animating these places with their historic people became integral to foreign domicile in Cairo. The war experience, with its influx of itinerant foreign residents, appeared to make the promotion of these less familiar spaces all the more significant. In contrast to Egypt’s ancient landmarks, which she assumed would attract travelers and tourists, Devonshire associated understanding these medieval Islamic spaces with life and residence in and around Cairo. Her articulation of the mythic details of their history, even while she officially discounted them, offered a historical pathway for accessing and making sense of Cairene life, something that became all the more necessary during the violently disruptive events of the First World War. Bonnie Smith argues that women often wrote their amateur histories in reaction to traumatic events, with the history serving a companionable role and offering a kind of catharsis.⁷¹ Devonshire began writing in the midst of the war, her ongoing commitment to scholarly and popular histories of the city’s medieval sites took shape as she experienced increased personal trauma in the years following the war. For Devonshire, the postwar years not only brought global conflict, but also the significant personal loss of her son and husband. On November 7, 1919, Henriette and Robert’s son Feray died while fighting with the Royal Air

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 159.

⁷¹ Smith, *Gender of History*, 45.

Force in the Third Afghan War, and was subsequently buried in Delhi.⁷² Two years later, Robert died in their Ma'adi home after a prolonged illness.⁷³ Indicative of the relief that devoting herself to historical study brought Henriette, Cairo's medieval quarters increasingly filled her time and interests. The initial edition of *Rambles in Cairo* served as a method for mitigating the war experiences in the Egyptian capital. Following the war, she continued to devote herself to the study of the city's Islamic places. During the 1920s, Devonshire published an additional five monographs on Cairo's historic mosques.⁷⁴ These works were more scholarly in focus and written in her native French, which was also the *lingua franca* of Egyptian academia in the early-twentieth century. She additionally gave lectures in England and Egypt on her studies.⁷⁵ By the time she published the second edition of *Rambles* in 1931, Devonshire was well-known throughout expatriate society for her expertise.⁷⁶ Her work later earned her the recognition of Egypt's King Faruq, who, in 1944, conferred on her the Order of Al-Kamal — she was 80 years old at the time, and still giving weekly walking tours of Cairo's Islamic points of interest.⁷⁷

⁷² "Devonshire, Feray Vulliamy," Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed from <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/1437026/DEVONSHIRE,%20FERAY%20VULLIAMY>, on 31 Aug. 2012.

⁷³ "Death of Mr. Devonshire," *Egyptian Gazette*, 16 July 1921.

⁷⁴ During these years, Devonshire experienced a series of personal losses and significant changes in her home life. On 7 Nov. 1919, her son Feray, a lieutenant in the Royal Air Force, was killed in the Third Afghan War and buried in Delhi. Two years later Robert succumbed to a long illness, and died in their Ma'adi home. Her daughter Antoinette had married Evan Roland Campbell, a merchant, in 1917 and continued living in Ma'adi with her husband. The couple's oldest daughter Marie remained unmarried and continued living with her mother in Egypt. "Devonshire, Feray Vulliamy," Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed from <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/1437026/DEVONSHIRE,%20FERAY%20VULLIAMY>, on 31 Aug. 2012; "Death of Mr. Devonshire," *Egyptian Gazette*, 16 July 1921; "Personal and Social," *The Egyptian Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1917, 5, and "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1897-1957; (National Archives Microfilm Publication T715, 8892 rolls), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁷⁵ "Lecture by Mrs. Devonshire," *Egyptian Gazette*, 12 Jan. 1925.

⁷⁶ Devonshire, *Rambles*, "Works by the Same Author." Devonshire continued writing into the 1930s and 1940s. In 1944, she published *Abu Bekr ibn Muzhir et sa mosquée au Caire* in 1940 through the Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

⁷⁷ "Mrs. Devonshire Honoured by King Farouk," *Egyptian Gazette*, 6 April 1944. MC, AUC, Egypt.

For Devonshire, Cairo's medieval city became the ongoing companion of her adult life. Yet in presenting this half of the city as part of the past, the contemporary life of Islamic Cairo appeared removed from Egypt's present and future. Her location of Cairo's Muslims in the medieval past was most obvious in her description of Al-Azhar University in *Rambles in Cairo*. In describing the school, which was established in the tenth century, Devonshire invited her readers to view the current teachers and students as part of a living-history exhibit. She explained:

The lessons take place in the sanctuary, and with no class-room paraphernalia, desks or chairs; the students squat in a circle around the teacher who himself sits on his heels, with his back against a column, either on the floor or on a high-backed chair. It is truly admirable to see the attention with which they concentrate on their lessons, taking no heed of inquisitive visitors meandering between the circles; sometimes, if a writing lesson is going on, a little interest shown in their calligraphy is received in a very friendly manner.⁷⁸

While Devonshire remarked on the positive impression the students made, particularly as they studied without the accoutrements of a modern classroom, her observations also pointed to a perceived parallel between the Al-Azhar's medieval past and the students' present practices, thus utilizing her contemporary students and faculty as historical illustrations. These Islamic scholars' debates about the role of Islamic education in opposing colonialism and Western influence did not figure in her description.⁷⁹ That the Muslim Brotherhood, the world's first

⁷⁸ Devonshire, 7.

⁷⁹ Mehmet Ozan Aşık and Aykan Erdemir, "Westernization as Cultural Trauma: Egyptian Radical Islamist Discourse on Religious Education," *Journal for the Studies of Religions and Ideologies*, 9:25 (Spring 2010), 111-132.

modern Islamist political party was founded with an emphasis on Islamic education in 1928 — three years before Devonshire reissued *Rambles* — likewise remains unaddressed in the guidebook.⁸⁰ For her, observing the study of Islam at Al-Azhar was most useful for understanding Egypt's past, rather than its present. So, even while her work advocated crossing the boundary from European Cairo and into the medieval city, the life she observed in those places remained populated by the people of the past, so that she could situate contemporary students of Islam alongside the mythic stories of Ibn Tulun. In providing a method for navigating and understanding the city following the complexities of the First World War and the growth of Egyptian nationalism that followed, Devonshire implicitly upholds the bifurcated Cairo, where Egypt's present and future remains associated with the European city.

Even while this presentation largely objectified the medieval city, the distance she subtly presented between her own domicile in Ma'adi and the seemingly antiquated activities of the Islamic city was not merely a European perspective, but one upheld by large portions of Egypt's bourgeoisie. The movement of more Egyptians into Ma'adi would mark a similar disconnect between Cairo's two halves among the native-born population. Devonshire's attitude towards these older Islamic spaces not only indicated a foreigner's attitude but also a classed perspective in which Egyptians also participated. The war experience had an impact across Cairene society. At the same time that Devonshire dug more deeply into her setting, and began writing books that would manage a pathway across the different parts of the city for her expatriate readers, the elite leaders of Egypt's nationalist movement demarcated their participation in the European city as a signifier of native-born modernity among the middle class.

⁸⁰ Abd Al-Fattah M. El-Awaisi, "Jihadia Education and the Society of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers: 1928-49," *Journal of Beliefs & Values: Studies in Religion & Education*, 21:2 (October 2000), 213-225.

The Wafdist leaders of the 1919 nationwide revolution in Egypt used changing household practices to signify their native-born modernity. As their movement took shape, the Wafd's leaders, particularly Saad Zaghlūl and his wife Safiyya were identified as the “father” and “mother” of the nation. Likewise, their villa, located a few kilometers south of downtown Cairo became known as “*beīt al-umma*,” or “house of the nation.” The Zaghlūls and other elite nationalist families used their embrace of the single-family home to distance themselves from the harem and other domestic practices that British imperialists had disparaged of as signs of Egyptian backwardness and dependence on foreign intervention.⁸¹ By associating the Islamic household with Egypt's past, the Egyptian elite transitioned their household behaviors and redirected their wealth by investing in homes in Ma'adi and other parts of Cairo's European city.⁸² Those spaces became emblems of a new, middle-class Egyptian modernity, and emphasized the boundary between the two halves of Cairo. The patterns of domesticity and respectability that expatriates and upper middle-class Egyptians increasingly shared additionally became integral to sustaining bourgeois spaces like Ma'adi, which were originally created by resident foreigners, but increasingly relied on their status as a shared social and cultural place among expatriates and the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Domesticity for the Resident Foreign Subject

Devonshire was not the only woman in Ma'adi who promoted a way of navigating the wartime and postwar complexities of expatriate life in Cairo. While she presented the city's medieval quarters as a companionable contrast to the European parts of the city, other women

⁸¹ Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 5; 202-204.

⁸² See Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 162-188

delved more deeply into the dynamics of their immediate domestic practices, publishing guidebooks that addressed the management of cultural and socioeconomic differences that undergirded their life in the villa. While Cecilia Leong-Salobir's argues that "European colonial society delegated to women the role of enacting rituals that marked the boundaries between the rulers and the ruled,"⁸³ in Egypt, these domestic boundaries were more a matter of social hierarchy than colonial practice. The expatriate women in Ma'adi writing household guides articulated the classed boundaries within the household, which overlapped with many of the practices of upper-middle class Egyptians. While the categories of "ruler" and "ruled" remained contested in Egypt, wealthy foreign women continued to uphold the villa's household order and maintain its social hierarchies. These practices became increasingly publicized and explicit as the Wafd's similar claim to bourgeois modernity gained ascendancy in Egyptian politics. Following the 1919 revolution, Egyptians claimed increased independence from the British, who lost significant hold over the country's affairs with the abolition of the protectorate in 1922.

Two of Devonshire's Ma'adi contemporaries wrote household guidebooks during the postwar years — one on cooking by Alice Mary Dicken, an Englishwoman with Anglo-Indian roots, and another on gardening by Mary Stout, an American married to an English businessman.⁸⁴ Their books shed some light on the responsibilities and activities of the expatriate housewife, while also indicating the behaviors they shared with their upper middle-class Egyptian contemporaries. In many ways, the silences in their books are as telling as the practices

⁸³ Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire*, Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 6.

⁸⁴ Unfortunately, a complete copy of Dicken's *The Anglo-Egyptian Cookery Book* is extremely rare and unavailable. My analysis is based on online access to an excerpted version of the book. Thora Stowell, "1923: Thora Stowell, excerpts of the *The Anglo-Egyptian Cookbook*" *The Congo Cookbook*, accessed online at http://www.congocookbook.com/rare_recipes/thora_stowell.html on 7 Nov. 2012; and Mary Stout, *Gardening in Egypt and Allied Climates* (Cairo: The Egyptian Horticultural Society, 1935).

they explicitly advocated. Without addressing their political situation, they give evidence to how a space previously dominated by foreign influence in Egypt could remain a significant part of Egyptian society and culture amid the growth of Egyptian independence. Their expression of how to carry out the social and cultural compromises and adaptations embedded in villa and garden maintenance addressed some of the broader classed behaviors that informed the bourgeois practices shared among expatriates and Egyptians. Rather than this period resulting in the polarization of national and foreign influences, Ma'adi became a locale for the growth of multinational relations, as the town increasingly appealed to a wealthy and empowered Egyptian *effendiyya*.

Before she wrote her cookbook, Dicken (née Ogden) already had a minor literary name as a poet, writing under the pseudonym Thora Stowell. Two years before marrying Charles Vernon Dicken in 1917, Alice moved to Cairo from India as a single woman. Born in Simla, India in 1885, Alice as the first of William Ogden and Emily Mary Stowell's six children.⁸⁵ Dicken's family had strong, ongoing ties to India in the late-nineteenth century, where her father worked as a railway auditor for the Anglo-Indian colonial civil service, where he met Emily, who was born in Agra, India in 1848. As adults, Dicken and at least one of her siblings maintained connections to geographies connected to British influence, with Alice moving to Egypt and her brother Sir Alwyne Ogden joining the British Legation in China in 1912.⁸⁶ Dicken's early poetry and much of her later fiction focused on religious and cultural differences in colonized spaces. The same year she moved to Cairo she published three poems in the popular English literary

⁸⁵ Dicken's pseudonym was partially taken from her mother's maiden name.

⁸⁶ Biographical history, Papers of Sir Alwyne George Neville Ogden, GB 0102 PP MS 47, Archives in London and the M25 Area, London, UK.

magazine *The Bookman*, each dealing with religious themes in India, China, and Egypt, respectively.⁸⁷ In fact, Dicken's cookbook appears to be her single work of nonfiction in an ongoing career as a poet and fiction writer, throughout which she wrestled with the cultural differences, complex politics, and deep personal relationships that formed in imperial settings.⁸⁸ Its creation came alongside Dicken's entrance into life as a wife and mother.⁸⁹ Shortly after their marriage, she and Charles started their life together in Ma'adi alongside the birth of their daughter Christiena Susan Elisabeth in 1918.⁹⁰ Five years later, the same year that Dicken published her cookbook, she had a son, Michael Perry Stowell. The cookbook allowed Dicken to publicly articulate the complex cultural negotiations of an Anglo-Indian turned Cairene-expatriate. By inviting readers into her kitchen, she promoted a global variety of culinary endeavors, which helped construct Ma'adi as a multinational domestic space.

Within *The Anglo-Indian Cookery Book*, Dicken drew together the varied cultural strands of her life. It had three sections. She devoted the first and largest portion to adapted English recipes, then another to Egyptian recipes, and, finally, a section on Indian recipes.⁹¹ In creating

⁸⁷ Stowell, aka. Alice Mary Ogden, "The Little Blue Lantern," *The Bookman Twenty-one Guineas Prize Poem Competition: Supplement to The BOOKMAN*, 47 (Jan. 1915), 1; Stowell, "The Maker of Idols," *The Bookman*, 48 (July 1915), 105; and Stowell, "The Street of Lanterns," *The Bookman*, 49 (Oct. 1915), 15.

⁸⁸ Dicken published a similarly themed poem in the *The Bookman* four years later, titled "A Flute in Twilight," for which she received a half-guinea prize for best lyric. The poem took the perspective of a Bedouin woman, she described feeling trapped and closed off from the social life on the street, from the city, and ultimately from the desert. "A Flute in the Twilight," *The Bookman* 55 (Jan. 1919), 130. Dicken's most substantial work on the challenging personal relationships that form within multinational places was her 1925 *Strange Wheat*. The book describes the turbulent marriage of an Englishwoman and her Oxford-educated Egyptian husband, which falls victim to divergent political differences. According to literary critic Michael Diamond, Dicken approaches the relationships with sophistication. He explains, "Egyptian nationalism, while not endorsed, is not condemned either." Diamond, *"Lesser Breeds": Racial Attitudes in Popular British Culture, 1890-1940* (New York: Anthem Press, 2000), and Stowell, *Strange Wheat* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1925).

⁸⁹ When Dicken received another one-guinea prize from *The Bookman* in January 1919 for her poem "A Flute in the Twilight," the prize money was sent to her address "in Maadi, near Cairo." *The Bookman* 55 (Jan. 1919), 130.

⁹⁰ "166. Charles Vernon Dicken," Ninth Generation, *Descendants of James Croft* (genealogy), accessed online from <http://www.threlkeld.org.uk/HuddlestonWeb/d1366.htm> on 5 Sept. 2012.

⁹¹ Stowell, "1923: Thora Stowell, excerpts of the *The Anglo-Egyptian Cookbook*" *The Congo Cookbook*.

the book, Dicken imported an Anglo-Indian form of household literature into Egypt. In the late-nineteenth century British women in India increasingly published cookbooks and household guides. These books included recipes for the adaptation and re-creation of English cuisine in India, and also offered directions on the preparation of traditional Indian food. Mary Procida argues that Anglo-Indian women's cookbooks appropriated Indian culture, particularly because their readers did not use them to cook the meals themselves, but as a method for instructing their Indian cooks. By documenting local ingredients and giving directions for curries, naan, other sauces, and Indian methods for rice preparation, Procida argues that the guides allowed Anglo-Indian women to question their cooks, and, with cookbook in hand, "imperialism operated simultaneously to integrate and subordinate indigenous culture."⁹² Approaching these works as acts of knowledge appropriation, however, does not account for the more complex cross-cultural negotiations and acts of knowledge sharing that went into writing the texts. Rather than presuming the cookbook served as a tool for colonial oppression, Dicken's adaptation of the prescriptive form to Egypt indicated the cookbook's ongoing significance to her as an integral piece of homemaking. What is more, Dicken incorporated the layers of her personal experience as an Englishwoman in India and Egypt into the text, which placed her multicultural experiences at the center of what she calls "Anglo-Egyptian."

On a cultural level, Dicken's work further substantiated the transition from formal Anglo-Indian empire building to informal expatriate enterprise in Egypt. Where Anglo-Indians like Colvin and Palmer underwent their own transition for formal empire building to informal commercial practices, Dicken furthered these informal influences by publicly bringing and

⁹² Mary Procida, "Feeding the Imperial Appetite: Imperial Knowledge and Anglo-Indian Domesticity," *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2003), 123-149; 141.

adapting her cultural knowledge of India to Egypt. The participation of all three in the growth and development of Ma'adi affirms the community's diminished connection to formal empire, while it became a more complex multinational community. More significant than the debate over her connection to imperialism, Dicken globalized knowledge of English, Indian, and Egyptian cookery practices by placing them in a single volume. Her cookbook, in iterating Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Indian relationships, made it a source on the cross-cultural adjustments and adaptations at work within the expatriate household during a period of growing Egyptian independence — something more complex than a tool of subordination.

Dicken offered particularly significant instruction on how to navigate the socioeconomic boundaries that informed different diets in Egypt. Her primary goal was to make traditional Egyptian food more accessible. Her introduction to the section on Egyptian recipes stated, “The recipes which follow are some of the commoner dishes to be found on Egyptian tables, slightly modified here and there to suit European taste.” Dicken included Egyptian staples generally eaten across society, such as the vegetable dish *mulūkhīya*, which she describes as “practically the national dish of Egypt.” The book also had a recipe for *kosheri*, a noodle and lentil dish usually topped with layers of noodles, tomato and garlic sauces, and fried onions. Among the other popular Egyptian items Dicken included were *bāmīya* (okra), which was prepared like *mulūkhīya*, a spiced meatloaf or ball called *kofta*, and — the item perhaps most central to the everyday Egyptian diet — the traditional flatbread *khobz baladī*, also known as *‘aīsh*, the Arabic word for life or subsistence.⁹³ Dicken’s recipes used colloquial weights and measurements — units likely helpful for communicating with the Egyptian cook and grocer. Meat, for instance,

⁹³ Stowell, “1923: Thora Stowell, excerpts of the *The Anglo-Egyptian Cookbook*,” *The Congo Cookbook*.

was purchased by the “rottell,” which was the equivalent of 400 to 460 grams, or approximately a pound. Vegetables were measured by the “oke,” a somewhat vague term that usually equalled between 1.25 to 2.75 pounds.⁹⁴ In the Egyptian recipes, Dicken made no mention of other forms of measurement. Instead, the recipes’ ingredients and their qualities were written in transliterated Arabic, often using the colloquial terms. This set the terms of the food’s production, so that the expatriate mistress used the same language of the cook and grocer who were at the center of the meal’s production.

Dicken paid attention to the social complexities involved in the learning how to produce traditional food items. She explained that the *khobz baladī*, or what she calls “native bread,” is “very good indeed,” but is “easier to make if you have once seen a native woman do it.” Dicken continued, “A particular turn of the wrist, and light touch is needed to get the cakes round and the Egyptian girls say ‘no-one should be married till they can make a round loaf.’”⁹⁵ These subtle remarks looked to offer a sense of Egyptian authenticity — a glimpse into the kitchens of Egyptian women. Her directions, in turn, pointed to her own polyvocality, as she identified the various voices and influences involved in food preparation and attempted to draw herself and her readers into that tradition. The beliefs of “Egyptian girls” lends an air of authenticity to her description, implying a process that had to be passed down from one generation to another and was integral to Egyptian family life across society.

Dicken also identified how specific food items set Egyptians apart from Europeans, and how the preparation differed between various classes of Egyptians. When describing the

⁹⁴ An explanation of the Egyptian measurements was included in a note from the editors of *The Congo Cookbook*, accessed online at http://www.congocookbook.com/rare_recipes/thora_stowell.html on 7 Nov. 2012.

⁹⁵ Stowell, “1923: Thora Stowell, excerpts of the *The Anglo-Egyptian Cookbook*,” *The Congo Cookbook*.

mulūkhīya, she warns that while it is a staple in most Egyptian households, “few Europeans really like it.” She goes on to describe the vegetable broth and how it is eaten:

The typical stew is rather watery, highly seasoned with garlic and spice, and richly dosed with tomato, and with plenty of “*semn*” floating on its surface. Into this the native bread is dipped. The poorer classes make the stew only two or three times a week, and re-heat it for other meals.⁹⁶

These descriptive notes gave readers a sense of the significance of these dishes to Egyptian society and culture. While differentiating between the palates of Egyptians and Europeans, Dicken also marked the contrasting habits for food preparation and consumption among wealthy and poor homes. While Dicken’s upper middle-class Egyptian neighbors might eat *mulūkhīya*, they did not have to go to the trouble of preserving and reheating it over the course of the week.

By using terms like “native,” Dicken’s language inferred certain ethnic and socioeconomic complexities similarly at work among the household staff. “Egyptian” was too expansive a term — referring to anyone from her upper-middle class neighbors in Ma‘adi, to the peasants who lived in the village north of the town. “Native” implied something more seemingly authentic, traditional, and distinct from European habits. At the same time, the term identified the recipes with the kinds of foods produced locally and available to poorer Egyptians — items that the maids, cooks, and gardeners in Ma‘adi households would have known well. Dicken was more ethnically specific when describing the cooks, using the term “Berberine” to describe the indigenous North Africans generally employed in upper middle-class kitchens. In her introduction to Indian recipes, she wrote, “The curry turned out by an average Berberine cook is

⁹⁶ “*Semn*,” the editors of *The Congo Cookbook* explain, is clarified butter. Ibid.

a greasy yellow stew tasting of little else beside raw curry powder and onion.” Not to be defeated, however, she encouraged readers that “with a little teaching a very fair imitation of the real thing can be obtained...” She also added a note about the significance of the Indian recipes to her personally, stating that they were “all genuine old Indian recipes, used for many years in our household...”⁹⁷ By identifying the cook as an indigenous North African, Dicken indicates one piece of Egypt’s ethnically and racially complex composition. Europeans in Egypt generally saw Berbers as one segment of poorer society who were grouped together with the Nubians and understood to be racially distinct from Egyptians. The 1902 Baedeker’s travel guide to Egypt described the Berbers as inferior to Egyptians in terms of industry and energy, but superior in “cleanliness, honesty, and subordination, and possess[ing] a more highly developed sense of humor.”⁹⁸ While Dicken makes no comments about these racialized qualities, she likely derived her presumption that Berbers would be employed in expatriate kitchens from the perceived qualities of their race — cleanliness and subordination being among the more attractive attributes for employ as a servant within a wealthy household.

Dicken’s cookbook worked to incorporate the expatriate reader into the various facets of their Egyptian setting. This adaptive act included the recreation of European and Indian meals in Egypt, and the preparation of Egyptian food in European households, which required familiarity with Egyptian ingredients, measurements, and the ability to communicate them. For Dicken and other wealthy expatriate women, such meals would have taken place in a privileged household, where servants, who were positioned more lowly within Egypt’s interconnected ethnic and

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Karl Baedeker, ed., *Egypt: Handbook for Travelers*, 5th ed. (Leipsic and London: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1902), xiv.

socioeconomic hierarchies, did most of the cooking. Dicken's book inserted the expatriate housewife into those social complexities. The act worked to reinforce those inequalities, while adding another foreign influence to the mixture.

Ma'adi at this time was increasingly identified with the households of Egypt's empowered *effendiyya*. Yet, Dicken's work shows that the relationship between Egyptian and European influences had to take place across classes at the same time that the Egyptian intelligentsia adapted elements of European culture into their own homes. By associated her domestic life in Ma'adi with the incorporation of Egyptian culinary practices into their expatriate diets, Dicken established methods for cultural adaptation in the same years characterized by growing Egyptian independence. Her work adapted and incorporated local culinary knowledge while the *effendiyya* more and more publicly adopted the global fashions in dress and architecture often associated with European influence as indicators of their own native-born modernity. They, like Dicken, located that negotiation in Ma'adi, and Cairo's other wealthy, foreign-friendly establishments.

Growing a Garden

Dicken did not remain in Egypt long enough to see the impact of the *Anglo-Egyptian Cookery Book*. In 1924, her husband took a position as the British Financial Administrator in the Tangier Government and the family moved to Morocco.⁹⁹ Yet, Dicken was not the only Ma'adi woman to use her domestic experience to produce a household guide to Egypt. During the 1920s and 1930s, Mary Stout wrote two gardening guidebooks, which, like Dicken's cookbook,

⁹⁹ *Descendants of James Croft* (genealogy). Alice continued writing under the name Thora Stowell. Her other works — written for adults and children — included *The Seller of Perfumes* (1923), *The Black Camel* (1927), *Rosemary Green: A fairy play for girls* (1933), and *Red Candles in Spain* (1938).

instructed expatriate readers in the best practices for maintaining a well-planted garden. While Dicken's guidebook relied on the labor of the Berberine cook, Stout depended on the Egyptian gardener. By dealing with the cultivation of Ma'adi's natural environment, Stout's book gave details on how residents could fulfill the terms of Delta Land's *Cahier des Charges*. She, in turn, modeled the form and practices behind residents's commitment to Delta Land's version of garden city design, and how the relationship with the gardener underpinned the garden's physical success.

Stout published her first gardening guide in 1921, but by that time Ma'adi's war experience had already widely associated the Stout home with a plentiful garden in Egypt. In March 1918, *The Kia-Ora Coe-ee*, the official magazine of the Australian and New Zealand military in the Middle East and North Africa, published a full-page article about Ma'adi. The headline read, "MEADI - The Town of the Garden Home," and the article described the town as an ideal combination of garden cultivation and modern convenience. Rather than a "bush community," Ma'adi's electric light plant and separate water supply made it a "wide-awake, up-to-date place." The Delta Land Company had paired these modern features with lush, garden spaces. "The very streets of Meadi are gardens," the periodical reported. "The Delta Land Co. see to it that proper care is given to the trees and lawns..." So appealing was Ma'adi, that the article concluded, "Every reader of the Kia-Ora Coe-ee who is stationed in Cairo or who comes here on leave should visit Meadi, 'The Town of the Garden Home.'"¹⁰⁰ The story included four pictures to illustrate the greenery of Ma'adi's domestic spaces – its bungalows, the khashab canal that supplied necessary irrigation water, the *midan* at the northeast corner, and a seemingly ideal

¹⁰⁰ "MEADI. - The Town of the Garden Town," *The Kia-Ora Coe-ee: The Official Magazine of the Australian and New-Zealand Forces in Egypt, Palestine, Salonica & Mesopotamia*, No. 1, 15 Mar. 1918 (Cairo, Egypt), p. 11.

“A Garden Home” — the large wood and stuccoed villa of Captain Percy Stout and his wife Mary Kilgour Stout (née Stone). The Stouts’ home had a reputation for an especially well-planted yard in a community known for its gardens. The couple lived in Ma‘adi from 1910 until 1927, and in that time, Mary fashioned herself into a particularly well-respected expert on gardening in sub-tropical climates. Her two gardening guides remain authoritative works among botanists today.

In November 1903, Percy and Mary Stout married in Hamilton, Ohio, just north of Mary’s hometown of Cincinnati. Mary was the daughter of the wealthy and influential Captain George Nelson Stone, the president of the Cincinnati Bell Telephone Company, and Percy, a stock broker at the time, was a former member of the Gloucester Rugby Football Club, where he played with his younger brother Frank from 1895-1900.¹⁰¹ Shortly after their Ohio wedding, the couple moved to Egypt, where Percy established a stock brokerage firm with Ernest Charles Hogg called Hogg and Stout.¹⁰² Frank followed his brother to Cairo in 1905 and took a position at his brother’s firm.¹⁰³

In their first years in Cairo, Percy and Frank were the more well-known Stouts of Cairo. It wasn’t until the early 1920s that Mary made a more substantial name for herself. Her growing visibility was due in part to the changes wrought by the First World War. By the spring of 1915, Percy and Frank both departed Cairo for England to join the war effort and served together in the

¹⁰¹ Mary’s stepmother Martha Evelyn Stone (née Stevens) was among the survivors of the sinking of the Titanic in 1912. Lyn Longridge (granddaughter of Percy and Mary Stout), email message to the author, 15 June 2011, and Malc King, “Percy Stout,” *Gloucester Rugby Heritage*, accessed from http://www.gloucesterrugbyheritage.org.uk/page_id__201_path__0p3p17p.aspx on 14 Sept. 2012.

¹⁰² “The Cairo Exchange, Ltd.,” *Issues: a reprint of the prospectuses of public companies, etc., advertised in the Times*, No. 33, 21-22 May 1907, p. 174, Google eBook, accessed from http://books.google.com/books?id=O59LAAAAYAAJ&dq=stout+and+hogg+stock+brokers+cairo&source=gbs_navlinks_s on 14 Sept. 2012.

¹⁰³ “Obituary: Mr. Frank M. Stout, A Well-Known Anglo-Egyptian,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 1 June 1926, p. 3.

machine gun corps of the Royal Naval Air Service and fighting in France.¹⁰⁴ When Percy left Egypt, he and Mary had already been living in Ma'adi for five years. In his absence, she devoted herself more wholeheartedly to their villa garden. Perhaps, somewhat like Devonshire's devotion to Islamic Cairo in the wake of the war, the Ma'adi garden became a kind of companion for Mary. During the war, her home became known as a particularly peaceful retreat, an ideal of the leisurely country space associated with town-and-country developments like Ma'adi. Sir Robert Greg, chairman of the Egyptian Horticultural Society, recalled Stout's war-time garden in the preface to her 1935 gardening guide, writing that its flowers, creepers and shrubs, made it a "small earthly paradise on the edge of the desert as it then was."¹⁰⁵

Stout first began publishing on gardening amid the political fallout of the nationalist revolution, co-writing a handbook with British landscaper Madeline Agar in 1921. Agar was already well-known for her gardening expertise at the time, having published two guidebooks in England — *A Primer for School Gardening* in 1909 and *Garden Design in Theory and Practice* in 1911. Her most famous project came shortly after her collaboration with Stout, when she helped design the War Memorial Garden at Wimbledon.¹⁰⁶ Agar and Stout's handbook, *A Book of Gardening for the Subtropics: With a Calendar for Cairo* came out amid a surge in the popularity of expatriate gardening culture in Cairo, making it a popular purchase for the city's English-language readers. The *Egyptian Gazette* reported that it was the first book on gardening in Egypt

¹⁰⁴ Percy Wyfold Stout, "British Army WWI Medal Rolls Index Cards, 1914-1920," Army Medal Office, WWI Medal Index Cards, database online, accessed through Ancestry.com on 18 Sept. 2012, and "Obituary: Mr. Frank M. Stout," *Egyptian Gazette*.

¹⁰⁵ Sir Robert Greg, KCMG, "Preface," Mary Stout, *Gardening for Egypt and Allied Climates* (Cairo: The Egyptian Horticultural Society, 1935), 7.

¹⁰⁶ Agar designed the War Memorial with Brenda Colvin, one of her students in garden design at Swanley Horticultural College. Brenda was born in Simla, India and was the niece of Sir Auckland Colvin, one of the founders of the Delta Land Company. "Brenda Colvin," Jennifer S. Uglow and Maggy Hendry, eds., *The Northeastern Dictionary of Women's Biography*, ed. 3 (London: MacMillan, 1998), 135.

since 1895. Its review of the book explained that it was written for beginners and had grown from what was supposed to be a calendar into an expansive guide of more than 200 pages. The calendar was especially important to Stout, who believed that most amateur mistakes came from poor timing. In addition to the calendar, the book included several articles on the cultivation of specific plants.¹⁰⁷ There was a section on a *baladi* or local Egyptian rose garden, and another on roses in general.¹⁰⁸ The article on cultivating bougainvillea was written by Stout's Ma'adi neighbor Erwin de Cramer. The *Gazette* additionally noted that the expense of keeping up a garden meant that Stout and Agar's guide was not for every expatriate. Indicative of the post-war and post-revolutionary political and economic instability, the newspaper warned:

Rents are so high nowadays in Egypt that a house with a decent garden is very costly, especially as gardeners' wages and the cost of unfiltered water have risen greatly in late years. Thus the circle to whom this book should appeal is, we fear, gradually decreasing but to those who can still afford to keep up their gardens and indulge a taste which repays one a thousandfold for all the trouble...¹⁰⁹

The note on financial strain is telling, particularly as the *Gazette*'s English-speaking audience was better-off financially than most Egyptians. It identified the Ma'adi household with the wealthier echelons of Egypt's expatriate community. Concluding on a more optimistic note, however, the *Gazette* wrote, "...since there are few places in the world where plants and shrubs are so easily cultivated as here, we cordially recommend this pleasant little work."¹¹⁰ While the

¹⁰⁷ "Gardening in Egypt: Useful New Publication," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 2 Mar. 1921, Binder 8, Egyptian Horticultural Society, Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

¹⁰⁸ *Baladi* is the Arabic word for native or local.

¹⁰⁹ "Gardening in Egypt: Useful New Publication," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 2 Mar. 1921.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

newspaper addressed a decline among Cairo's community of foreigners — one linked to British imperial decline and post-revolutionary economic challenges — the *Gazette* failed to address the increased appeal of villa and garden spaces among wealthier members of Egypt's *effendiyya*.

During the same years that Stout and Agar published their initial guide, Egyptian nationalism was increasingly associated with the same modes of consumerism that had already attracted European subjects to Ma'adi, which linked the villa and its garden to a bourgeois retreat from urban life. Reflective of the *Gazette*'s concern in 1921, Ma'adi grew slowly in the early 1920s. Delta Land sold no property in 1922. Instead, the company made its own investments into cultivation that year, explaining in its board report that many of its expenses came from cultivating new trees in the property previously owned by the Luthy family. That same year, the Stouts became more closely linked to Ma'adi, with Percy joining Delta Land's board of directors and replacing Lt.-Col. Alexander Adams, who had died in London.¹¹¹ By 1923, Delta Land's property sales remained low, but the board put an optimistic spin on the economic challenges of the post-revolutionary period. Its report stated that they were "pleased to be able to state that although the economic conditions of the country are still unsettled, the payments of annuities for sales of land and mortgages have been regular."¹¹² As the 1920s progressed, Ma'adi's economic situation looked more promising. By 1924, the company had sold 13 plots, and 1927 marked one of the company's single largest sales years — selling 18 plots. What is more, these sales numbers do not reflect the number of people who rented land.

Delta Land's board reports do not describe the connection between Ma'adi's growth and an empowered and economically powerful *effendiyya*. The town added a number of new

¹¹¹ IR 40/2968

¹¹² Ibid.

residents associated with Egypt's various political factions in the 1920s. During those years, the Minister of War Ahmed Mohamed Khashaba Bey moved to Ma'adi, and continued to hold various cabinet posts throughout much of the interwar period.¹¹³ Perhaps Ma'adi's most politically connected new resident was Taher al-Lozy, who moved to the garden city in 1926. Al-Lozy associated closely with the Wafd leadership, and corresponded with the Zaghlūls throughout the uncertainties of the years following the 1919 revolution, when Saad and Safiyya were briefly exiled in 1919 and again in 1921.¹¹⁴ By the 1950s, al-Lozy's political leanings identified less with the liberal democracy of the Wafd, and more with the socialism of the Free Officers Movement. As discussed in Chapter Five, he was later responsible for leading the Delta Land Company during its nationalization in the early-1960s.¹¹⁵ More relevant to the discussion of the interwar period, the rise of the Wafd's political rival — People's Party, led by Isma'īl Sidqi — had the support of Ma'adi's most well-connected financier, Elie Mosseri, who was on Delta Land's board of directors, and heavily involved in its affairs throughout the 1920s and 1930s.¹¹⁶ These kinds of local political connections increasingly associated Ma'adi with the growing power of Egypt's nationalist leaders. The People's Party was also linked to the growing power of the Egyptian monarchy, which the British had helped create. In making Egypt a protectorate during the war, the British did not abolish the khedivate but repurposed it, establishing a sultanate, which, after 1922 became a monarchy. Fuad I, the seventh son of Khedive Isma'īl, became Egypt's first king. While his initial power was nominal, he increasingly carved out a

¹¹³ "Egypt's Leading Politicians. XV. Ahmed Mohamed Khashaba Bey," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 19 June 1926, and Raafat, 77.

¹¹⁴ FO 141/807

¹¹⁵ Dale Family Correspondence, Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

¹¹⁶ Delta Land Company Legal Documents and Board Activities, Binder 3, Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt, and Krämer, 43.

space for monarchical influence through opposition to the Wafd. The rise of the People's Party not only had the support of some of Ma'adi's most influential residents and business leaders, it also signified the increased power of the Egyptian crown and the subtle ways that the residues of Ottoman political power remained at work among Egypt's elite.¹¹⁷

By the time that Stout published an updated version of her gardening guide in 1935, upper middle-class Egyptians were all the more integrated into Ma'adi's gardening culture. Her book pointed to the ongoing residence of foreign subjects alongside these Egyptians. When the new book, *Gardening for Egypt and Allied Climates* came out the 1921 handbook had exhausted its usefulness and Ma'adi was associated with a range of prominent Cairene gardeners. Several new residents participated in the Egyptian Horticultural Society, including prominent Egyptians like al-Lozy and Mohamed Alfatoun Pasha, Europeans like Henriette Devonshire and the de Cramers, Dales, and Syrians like Faris Nimr, the proprietor of *Al-Muqattam*.¹¹⁸ Before Stout published her guide, these other Ma'adi residents were already well-known gardeners. In 1919 the society awarded Devonshire a bronze medal and certificate of merit for her roses, and Alfatoun Pasha received a certificate of merit for presenting four distinct varieties of roses.¹¹⁹ The Egyptian Horticultural Society had become an important, multinational institution for gardeners in Cairo, and Stout, wanting the new book to have more authority, had it published under the auspices of the organization. In doing so, she addressed the book to the men and

¹¹⁷ On the political career of Isma'il Sidqi, see Malak Badrawi, *Isma'il Sidqi 1875-1950: Pragmatism and Vision in Twentieth Century Egypt* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1996). On the culture artifacts surrounding this period, particularly the growth of Egyptology, see Jill Kamil, *Labib Habachi: The Life and Legacy of an Egyptologist* (Cairo and New York: American University of Cairo Press, 2007).

¹¹⁸ "Egyptian Horticultural Society," Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

¹¹⁹ "Flower Show at Cairo: Some Fine Exhibits," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 15 Dec. 1919, Binder 8, Egyptian Horticultural Society, Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

women of the gardening community, with several men contributing supplementary articles on cultivation alongside women. The society became part of the shared habits of elite sociability in which that well-to-do Egyptians and foreigners participated.

Stout's book offers additional evidence of the shared aesthetic that Ma'adi's multinational group of gardeners contributed to together. She included diagrams for planning particular kinds of gardens, emphasizing the English garden as the ideal model, and offering instruction for how to lay out lawns, flower beds, and path in ways that were aesthetically pleasing and practically useful areas for socializing. She opened the book with a series of guidelines for planning the garden, and emphasized the relationship between the house and the garden. "Do not forget that the house and garden belong to each other and that the garden is mostly seen from certain fixed points within the house," she instructed.¹²⁰ Her description for how a garden should be constructed additionally emphasized that the garden would ideally be constructed alongside the house, if possible. Hedges, for instance, should be planted around the land's perimeter soon after its purchase, or, "if this is a year before the house is built, so much the better."¹²¹ When builders completed construction on the house, then work on the rest of the garden could begin.

The actual garden could work in one of two ways — either a display of aesthetically pleasing flora, or a botanical collection of interesting plants. Stout emphasized that one had to choose one or the other, because, "The two are incompatible."¹²² She followed with an explanation of how to plan a garden for aesthetic purposes, planting trees near the perimeter, then shrubs, and finally flowers. Throughout she offers suggestions on how to consider particular

¹²⁰ Stout, *Gardening*, 17.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 19.

color combinations with varying shapes and sizes, explaining that one should plan for either “contrast or harmony.” “Merely to feel vaguely that certain plants ‘will look nice together’ is likely to lead to confusion,” she explained.¹²³ Finally, the lawns were to be laid out, keeping in mind how they would be used — for either outdoor games or as a grassy space complementing the flower beds.¹²⁴

Throughout the book, Stout points to the labor behind the physical construction of Ma‘adi’s domestic spaces, mostly in terms of the traffic they represented across the would-be garden space. The garden could only be laid down after the builders had finished their necessary movement across the garden’s land during a villa’s construction. Then flower beds could be constructed. Finally, she explained, “When the heavy traffic is done with, make the paths.” The paths should be raised, she explained, because the nutrient-rich Nile water that irrigated the land would otherwise flood them and make the garden “useless.”¹²⁵ Only after these sand or brick pathways were constructed, could the actual botanical cultivation commence.

Amid all of this planning, construction, and finally planting, Stout also recommended a daily schedule of gardening tasks, such as “hoeing, watering, staking, spraying, removal of dead flowers, pruning and mowing.”¹²⁶ The book’s reader, however, did not perform this physical labor. The reader’s primary task was planning the garden and managing the Egyptian gardener. When discussing the Egyptian gardener, Stout emphasized that the kind of garden she described required both expert horticultural knowledge and the gardener’s less official, common

¹²³ Ibid., 21.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 23.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 19.

¹²⁶ Stout, *Gardening*, 34.

knowledge.¹²⁷ After nearly 40 pages of detailed instruction on how to create a suburban garden, Stout addressed the importance of the gardener. In doing so, she revealed who undertook the day-to-day labor behind her previous directions.

Stout offered detailed instructions for filling the gardener's day with watering, overhauling a particular part of the garden, and, if "there be any time free between the first of this and the final evening watering it can be given to a part of the garden that is in arrears, or to something particular like hedge trimming."¹²⁸ She advocated a relationship between her readers and their Egyptian gardeners that combined criticism and sympathy. *Gardening* included subsequent sections titled "An Indictment of the Gardener" and "A Plea for the Gardener." Her criticism mostly comprised a rant against what she observed as bad habits. The gardener overwatered, used only manure, and lacked an appreciation for leaf mould. "He is propagation mad," Stout wrote, "and, unless frustrated, on all the paths will appear score of little pots, the watering of which will happily absorb his time." She sums up his faults as "largely those of delayed action, and a wish to save trouble" — an expression of what she perceived as laziness.¹²⁹ She did not want the gardener to be viewed too harshly, however. Despite her frustrations, Stout emphasized that employing a good gardener, who would be a partner, was essential to the garden's success. She instructed, "If you have engaged a man of experience, pay him properly

¹²⁷ Work on the history of science has devoted extensive study to differentiating between explicit and implicit knowledge, arguing that modern scientific experimentation and knowledge production often efface the "gestural" knowledge that cannot be easily articulated and relies upon years of practice. Heinz Otto Sibum, "Reworking the Mechanical Value of Heat: Instruments of Precision and Gestures of Accuracy in Early Victorian England," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 26, No. 1, (1995), 73-106. In a related argument, Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin argue that early modern science was successful because of "invisible technicians" whose work is effaced in the scientific documentation, see Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); for women's contributions to science as "invisible technicians" see chapter three of Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

¹²⁸ Stout, *Gardening*, 34.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 40-1

and trust him until he proves himself unworthy. Make him feel a pride in the garden, which he will if he knows he is responsible for it.” Stout appreciated that gardeners had a community of their own in which they exchanged seeds and plants. Rather than lamenting these unsanctioned transactions, she told her readers it as a benefit. “Let him obtain any plants, seeds and accessories you want. Of course he will make something on the transaction, but direct purchase would only benefit the seller, not you, and your man will take greater interest in what he himself has bought.”¹³⁰ Stout advocated seeing the gardener’s knowledge and connections as an advantage, rather than lamenting a lack of control. The garden’s success, in turn, required that the expatriate housewife respect the gardeners’ knowledge and methods, rather than attempt to uproot and undo them.

Like Dicken’s household knowledge in the cookbook, the relationship Stout recommended her readers form with their gardeners should not be oversimplified as an instance of knowledge appropriation. While the gardener and the expatriate resident did not meet on equal terms, Stout recognized her dependence on her gardener’s knowledge and familiarity with the Cairene landscape. A good garden required collaboration between the mistress and gardener. This cross-class interdependency additionally applied to the whole of Ma‘adi’s physical development, with servant labor undergirding the villa life of European and Egyptian homeowners alike. These classed relationships substantiated Ma‘adi physically and socially. The prescriptive texts written by Stout and Dicken instructed their readers in how to negotiate across cultures and classes within a complex and ethnically charged social hierarchy. The household forms they prescribed required collaboration and adaptation on the housewife’s part, even as she maintained a place of

¹³⁰ Ibid., 41-2.

prominence. In explaining these adjustments and negotiations, Stout, like Dicken, used her guide to carve out a space for expatriate residents to work within their households amid Egypt's growing political complexity. Her work helped situate her readers within Cairene society, making them familiar with their environs and the practices of their household servants.

Global Modernity

The publication of the various guidebooks produced by Ma'adi women, from their initial wartime context to their popular reissue in the 1920s and 1930s, additionally participated in an ongoing articulation of the social and cultural ways that foreigners maintained a place among Cairo's middle class. While Devonshire, Dicken, and Stout publicly iterated ways for expatriates to interpret and consolidate their existence in Cairo, they also offered ways of connecting their place as foreigners to social and cultural complexities of their Egyptian context. Their substantiation of life in the European half of Cairo, with its villas, gardens, and household labor was not an inherently foreign or expatriate activity. It took place at the same time that elite nationalists similarly linked their progress to the society of the villa and the privilege and status that it implied. Egyptian nationalists also identified with the kinds of households exhibited in Ma'adi. Most visibly, the Wafd focused its activities on the Zaghlūls' *beīt al-umma*, thus linking their vision for the nation to the classed activities associated with life in a large villa.¹³¹ By linking this well-to-do domestic space with the progress of the nation, Egyptian nationalists' leading political party also embraced a more worldly household formation that resonated more globally as a common, bourgeois household that crossed national borders.

¹³¹ Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 202.

While Egyptian nationalists deployed the single-family home as a politically potent symbol of modern domesticity, it also carried significant ties to global trends in consumer culture. The nation's modern husband and wife and their bourgeois life in the villa relied on ongoing commercial stability in Egypt. Delta Land was able to use its garden city model — with the villas and gardens that spread across its lands — as a method of appealing to nationalists of means, who identified these spaces with their advancement and independence. While Dicken and Stout's guidebooks identified expatriate housewives' with the household consumerism and management related to the domestic garden and kitchen, Egyptian women belonging the *effendiyya* carved out a similarly potent consumer role for themselves. In the early 1930s, for instance, Nadia Salem's family moved to Ma'adi and built a large villa on what was then Midan Menasce. Like the Bitter home described at the beginning of this chapter, the Salem's villa included the necessary space for bourgeois life outside the city. The family lived on the first two stories of the house — the ground floor being comprised of a large hall, study, dining room, fireplace, and two large salons. The salons were joined by a sliding door, that allowed them to open into a single room or remain separate. The flexibility offered a valuable partition if men and women were being entertained separately. A large balcony extended out from the salons along the back of the house with stairs the descended into the garden. Upstairs the family had five bedrooms, giving room for the immediate family of five, and Salem's maternal grandmother and uncle. The domestic staff on whom the maintenance of the home depended, resided in two bedrooms in the basement, where there was also a large kitchen and washroom.¹³²

¹³² Nadia Salem, interview with the author, 30 April 2011.

One of the most modern figures within this household was Salem's mother, who shaped herself as a particularly individuated and athletic woman. Salem recalled her mother rode a bike and had her own little boat, which she would row along the banks of the Nile. Salem and her two siblings were primarily raised by her grandmother, because her mother's time was usually occupied with various social and charitable activities. She later helped found an orphanage in Ma'adi called *Awiladi* (Arabic for "my children"). The signifiers of this woman's modernity drew from the activities promoted around the world in the years following the First World War, which Egyptians increasingly linked to the nation and nationalism. The Modern Girl Research Group argues that the fashion usually associated with "Western" influence in the 1920s and 1930s actually grew out of a globally interconnected culture.¹³³ They identify the modern girl as a young woman, characterized by a modernist art deco style where she wore makeup that created "Asianized," elongated eyes, her hair in African-inspired curls, with deliberately tanned skin, and a lanky, boyish figure. The popular press, especially women's periodicals around the world helped globalize this image. In Egypt, Mona Russell identifies the popularization of the modern girl alongside the rise of the Wafd, particularly through advertising, as women became increasingly promoted as public consumers following the 1919 revolution. She identifies ads in popular magazines like *al-Lata'if al-Musawwarra* and periodicals specifically for women like *al-Mar'a al-Jadida*, where well-to-do women were depicted in modern girl fashions.¹³⁴

¹³³ Modern Girl Research Group: Tani Barlow, Madeleine You Dong, Uta Poiger, Priti Ramamurthy, Lynn Thomas, and Alys Eve Weinbaum, "The Modern Girl Around the World: A Research Agenda and Preliminary Findings," *Gender and History*, 17:2 (Aug. 2005), 245-294.

Figure 3.1: "Woman and Home," *Egyptian Gazette*, 2 May 1930, p. 2.

¹³⁴ Mona Russell, "Marketing the Modern Egyptian Girl," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 6:3 (Fall 2010), 19-57.



Figure 3.1: The masthead from the “Woman and Home” page that ran in the *Egyptian Gazette* throughout most of the 1920s and 1930s. In addition to the illustrated images of the “modern girl,” it quotes a German Proverb that further emphasizes the centrality of consumerism, stating “Every woman would rather be beautiful than good.” This particular image comes from the May 2, 1930 issue.

More than an importation of a European ideal, no single geography controlled the production of the modern girl or the commodity culture associated with her. The Egyptian press devoted whole periodicals to the globalization of popular culture, relying heavily on illustrations and photographs in order to make their content accessible to the literate and illiterate. With photography and imagery emphasized in their titles, periodicals like *al-Mūsawwar*, *al-Lata‘if al-Mūsawwarra* and *Al-Sūwar al-Mutaharika*, popularized images of political and popular culture icons. Their emphasis on photographs and imagery also indicated a liberalizing, wealthier print culture, that could afford to print pictures, and did not feel encumbered by conservative Islamic beliefs about the production of human images. *Al-Sūwar al-Mutaharika* summarized the story lines of popular American and European films in Arabic, publishing them alongside images of the film stars. Treading a fine line between globalization and westernization, the paper framed the movies and their actors as global figures. An issue on vaudeville actress Ruth Roland

described her as one of the “singing actresses of the world cinema.”¹³⁵ The periodical was particularly fond of Charlie Chaplin, running regular stories and images on his career and personal life. Emphasizing his trans-Atlantic connections, they devoted an issue to Polish actress Pola Negri, when it reported on her engagement to Chaplin in May 1923 amid their on-again, off-again relationship.¹³⁶ The paper promoted itself as the “*dā'irat mu'araf a-sinīmā*” or “encyclopedia of film” — a source on all questions related to films and “mechanized titles.”¹³⁷ In promoting the films as global objects, the imagery included in the periodical likewise promoted the aesthetics of the modern girl, with her curled and bobbed hair. An image of Ruth Roland pictured her in a turban, with curls carefully peaking out from underneath to frame her face.¹³⁸

These cultural forms were simultaneously at work in the English-language press, where the *Egyptian Gazette*, for instance, published a regular “Woman and Home” page that linked expatriate women’s role in Egypt with domestic management and global trends in consumerism. The page ran articles, usually republished from English and American periodicals, on “What to do with a Guest,” or how to conduct oneself in the market.¹³⁹ It then paired those practices with what scholars have identified as a globally commodified “modern girl.” The masthead for the “Woman and Home” page depicts two such girls (Figure 3.1). On the right, one young woman

¹³⁵ *Al-Sūwar al-Mutaharika*, No. 2, 17 May 1923, 2.

¹³⁶ *Al-Sūwar al-Mutaharika*, No. 3, 24 May 1923.

¹³⁷ This banner ran in most issues, “*dā'irat mu'araf a-sinīmā*,” *Al-Sūwar al-Mutaharika*, No. 2, 17 May 1923, 3; and No. 4, 31 May 1923, 15.

¹³⁸ *Al-Sūwar al-Mutaharika*, No. 2, 17 May 1923, 2.

¹³⁹ The author identified the hostess’s necessary shopping, cooking and management of household help — lessons which were apparently deemed applicable in any geography. “What To Do With Guests: Some Entertaining Suggestions,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 2 Jan. 1936, 2.

crouches on a bed playing with a small dog, hair curled and bobbed, and covered in a fashionable hat. Opposite her the other girl sits before the boudoir mirror, a long, thin arm outstretched, draped in a scarf. She faces the reader, with eyes closed, showing elongated, dark lashes, and similarly dark, curly hair, partially covered by a cap. As the modern girl research groups argues, the ideal promoted in the English and Arabic-language press was a “global commodity,” drawn from images in “multiple racial, colonial and national orders.”¹⁴⁰ Rather than a strict move from the west outwards, the modern girl reflected the globalizing economy of the interwar period. Her appearance in markets around the world suggests, they argue, “that modern forms of femininity emerged through rapidly moving and multi-directional circuits of capital, ideology and imagery.”¹⁴¹

This figure of modern womanhood was as important to elite Egyptian women as it was to expatriate European women, if not more so. During the 1919 revolution, Egyptian women publicly participated in their own marches, and afterward the Egyptian nation was increasingly pictured as a woman discarding her *hijab*, or Islamic veil, and publicly showing her face.¹⁴² After 1923, even though women’s right went unaddressed in the constitution, Hudā Sha‘arawī coalesced women’s post-revolutionary activism in Egypt around the country’s first feminist organization — *al-Itihad al-Nisa’i al-Misri* (the Egyptian Feminist Union).¹⁴³ She and Safiyya Zaghlūl went on to become symbols of this publicly visible femininity, leading political

¹⁴⁰ Emphasis original, *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁴¹ Barlow, et al., 248.

¹⁴² Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 219.

Figure 3.2: accessed online from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:HudaShaarawi%26SafiaZaghlul.jpg> on 16 Nov. 2012.

¹⁴³ Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 177.

associations, even though their official role remained confined within the home.¹⁴⁴ Ongoing participation in the consumer culture associated with modern womanhood, however, allowed them to manifest themselves according to a broadly identifiable image of an active, public, and empowered femininity. An image of Sha‘arawī and Zaghlūl together in the late 1920s shows them both wearing fashionable outfits from the period. Sha‘arawī wore a loose-fitting coat, striped with different fabrics, while Zaghlūl wore a dress with a low-slung waist, decorated



Figure 3.2: Sha‘arawī (left) and Zaghlūl (right)

with intricate embroidery (Figure 3.2). Both women kept their hair cropped and curled, and wore turban-styled hats that came down around their ears — creating the same look depicted in the *Egyptian Gazette*’s masthead. Zaghlūl’s modernity and independence was all the more important by this time, because her husband had died in 1927. Her participation the iconography of the modern woman after being widowed allowed her to continue as “the mother of the nation,” now as a more solitary yet still publicly significant figure.

¹⁴⁴ While Egyptian women participated in their own public demonstrations during the 1919 revolution, when the Wafd created a new constitution in 1923, women’s rights were excluded from the new government. Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation*, 177. On women’s similar exclusion from democratic politics in North American see Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York and London: Norton, 1986), and the maternalist politics of the French Revolution see Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); for a comparative discussion of maternalism, see Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

The Profits of War

During the 1920s and 1930s, Delta Land managed to harness the image and lifestyle associated with modern womanhood and integrate it into the kind of active, town-and-country life residents might enjoy — effectively joining the commodity of the bourgeois villa with the simultaneous popularization of emancipated femininity. In the wake of both the war and the revolution this move allowed the company to reposition Ma‘adi within a multinational bourgeois society and culture where European expatriates and the Egyptian *effendiyya* might be neighbors. The company was particularly effective in appealing to this ethnically diverse populace through its emphasis on a Ma‘adi as a site of leisurely athleticism, which it promoted through the establishment of the Ma‘adi Sporting Club.

In the immediate post-revolutionary years, Ma‘adi became widely-publicized as Cairo’s leading garden city. The opening of its new sporting club in December 1920 made it an especially attractive space. While reporting on the opening of the new club, “Peggy,” the society columnist for *The Sphinx*, joked, “Didn’t know we had a garden city in Egypt, did you? Well, we have. And about the dinkiest little one ever.” If the town itself remained a work in progress, the club stood out as particularly fashionable and attractive fixture in the community. “Peggy” declared that the club “looks like being the attraction of that charmin’ suburb.”¹⁴⁵ It offered a secular, multinational space where all of the towns’ populace could associate. Its greatest distinction from Cairo’s other sporting clubs was its racial integration. The leading sporting club at the time, the Gezira Sporting Club, was heavily associated with a domineering British

¹⁴⁵ “The Epistles of Peggy,” *The Sphinx*, Dec. 11, 1920 (Cairo), 140.



Figure 3.3: A photo of a young woman standing alongside the pool at the Ma'adi Sporting Club, likely taken in the 1930s. She exhibits modern femininity and athleticism increasingly associated with the town.

imperialism, with Lord Kitchener having ordered all Egyptian members to resign in 1912.¹⁴⁶ The Ma'adi Club's integration gave it a markedly different position in postwar Cairene society, allowing Delta Land's leadership to distance itself from British imperial policy.

Egyptians' integration into Ma'adi life remained a process. In its early years, the new club remained heavily associated with informal British influence. Raafat explains that the club's original board was predominantly British and required that all those applying for membership supply two, preferably British, recommendations, making it challenging not only for Egyptians, but also some Europeans to gain

access to the club. Over the course of the 1920s, however, limitations on admission became less

Figure 3.3: The image was included in a collection of photos from the Ma'adi Sporting Club, whose dates range from the early 1920s to the late-1940s. While the nationality and ethnicity of the young woman is unknown, Muslim Egyptians in Ma'adi were just as likely to wear this sort of swimsuit and pose for a photo as a European woman. MC, AUC, Egypt.

¹⁴⁶ Located on the island in the Nile west of downtown Cairo (*gazīyra* means island in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic), the Gezira Sporting Club was originally called Khedevial Sporting Club, and had been leased by the British Army in 1882. In 1912, Lord Kitchener forced the club to segregate, requiring that all Egyptian members resign. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 67.

stringent, which allowed the club to develop into a shared, multinational space.¹⁴⁷ By the early-1930s, it was the center of Ma'adi society for Egyptians and European alike, where they all enjoyed the club's swimming pool, tennis courts, and cafe. Its existence further linked Ma'adi with attractive elements of bourgeois life in the suburbs — populated by single-family units, who lived in villas, and roamed about the town largely on bicycles, free from the congestion of the city-center. It became the bedrock of the community's associational life. If the villa provided a means for drawing in the consumer habits of Cairo's expatriate and national bourgeoisie, the Ma'adi Club allowed the company to expand its attractiveness beyond bourgeois domesticity and into a connection with athleticism. This model proved especially valuable for drawing in members of the Egyptian *effendiyya*. Ma'adi's popular athleticism made it all the more attractive as a space where national prowess and physical skill could be put on display — by both men and women.

The violence of the First World War quickly imposed changes on Ma'adi — with the establishment of the Commonwealth base and then the Prisoner of War camp at the same time that now “enemy aliens” were forced to leave. The violence of the war additionally fueled resentment toward that British and support for a nationalist movement that would reshape Egyptian politics in the immediate postwar years. Yet all of these changes did not upend Ma'adi, but actually provided new pathways for its increased integration into Egyptian society and culture. While the war made Ma'adi a more identifiable fixture in the geography of greater Cairo, the revolution incorporated Ma'adi into the globalized culture and consumer tastes of an increasingly powerful Egyptian middle class. Undergirding the maintenance of Ma'adi as a

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 67-8.

garden city was the ongoing existence of the capitulations and Mixed Courts alongside the rise of the *effendiyya*. In this context, Ma'adi's association with commodities of global appeal — like the villa, the fashionable clothing of the “modern woman,” and popular athleticism — allowed the company and the town to remain in place as a fixture in the geography of Cairo's multinational bourgeoisie, despite the geopolitical changes brought by the war and its aftermath.

CHAPTER FOUR: NEGOTIATING PERMANENCE

In 1933, the *Fascinating Egypt and Sudan Guide* published a laudatory article entitled “Maadi: A Garden City.” It opened by describing the town as a place of “water brooks, clean roads, flower gardens and other features which are seldom associated with the charms of Egypt.” Just a few years earlier, the guide reported, Ma‘adi had been only “a strip of sparsely cultivated land and a great waste of desert sand.” It praised the town’s growth into a lush garden suburb, where green hedges bordered beautiful private gardens, the richness of which was matched by the public gardens cultivated by the Delta Land Company. Leaving no space wasted, the company planted crops in unsold plots, checkering Ma‘adi’s villa homes with patches of wheat, barley, and clover. In addition to praising the town’s aesthetics, the guide also commended Delta Land for its successful administrative work, particularly as it implemented modern technology into the town-and-country space. Ma‘adi boasted irrigation and pumping stations, its own electric light and filtered water plants, as well as schools and the recreational and social spaces provided by the Ma‘adi Sporting Club. “Indeed, the Egyptian Delta Land & Investment Co. Ltd. is to be congratulated on its enterprise and the success of its undertaking,” the article concluded.¹

The *Fascinating Egypt and Sudan Guide* offered an attractive snapshot of a Ma‘adi as the matured garden city Delta Land began planning at the turn of the century. By the third decade of its existence, Ma‘adi made a more substantial and permanent footprint into the landscape of greater Cairo. In 1926, Delta Land acquired an additional 214 feddans of land from the Suarés family, to the southeast, across the Digla rail line — an area that would later be developed into an

¹ “Maadi: A Garden City,” *Fascinating Egypt and Sudan Guide* (The African World series, 1932-33), 121-22, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

entirely new district, known as Ma‘adi Digla.² The town also gained the attention of the Egyptian government. Where it had been the location of British Commonwealth troops during the First World War, Egypt’s King Fuad opened the new Isma‘il Barracks for the Egyptian Army on the southwest side of town in December 1929. At the time, *Al-Muṣawwar* reported that the new installation was an especially modern addition to the Egyptian military establishment.³ Ma‘adi had become the appropriate location for such an installation by the Egyptian government.

Ma‘adi’s apparent growth and development during the interwar period poses certain questions about the nature of Egyptian society and culture at the time. In particular, whose involvement supported this growth, and how was it worked out? Politically, Egypt did not reflect the kind of growth and stability that characterized Ma‘adi. In 1930, Egypt’s King Fuad I gained newfound power when Isma‘il Sidqi’s government revoked the 1923 constitution and constrained parliamentary power.⁴ These political contests were further complicated in 1936, when Fuad I died, leaving his 16 year-old son Faruq as heir. Fuad’s death opened up the potential for the Wafd to take power back from the monarchy. Rather than move against the monarchy, however, the British successfully negotiated with the Wafd for the smooth ascension of Faruq I to power.⁵ Yet these contests over political power did not upset the growth of Ma‘adi. If anything, they appeared to open up space for Ma‘adi to become associated not only with the households of influential nationalists and commercial expatriates, but also with the Egyptian

² “Maadi Milestones,” Egy.com - Maadi, accessed online from <http://www.egy.com/maadi/> on 30 Nov. 2012, also published on “Maadi au fil du temps 1881-1965,” *Maadi Gazette: Le journal de la communauté Française et Francophone*, accessed online from <http://www.maadi-gazette.com/maadi-au-fil-du-temps-traduction-en-cours/> on 30 Nov. 2012.

³ “Jalālat al-malak yaftataḥ thakanāt isma‘īl al-jadīd bal-ma‘adi,” *Al-Muṣawwar*, 27 Dec. 1929, No. 272, p. 1.

⁴ Roger Owen, *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Routledge, 2000), 148.

⁵ Michael T. Thornhill, “Informal Empire, Independent Egypt and the Accession of King Farouk,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38:2 (June 2010), 279-302.

monarchy. In 1939, for instance, Ma'adi unveiled its first mosque, which the town's Muslim community named *Masjid Faruq al-Awal* after the new king.⁶ Located near the entrance to Ma'adi, this mosque placed the king's name on what would become one of the town's most recognizable landmarks.

While Egypt's governance lacked cohesion and consistency, its various leaders mutually participated in the signifiers of modernity, prestige, and fashionability exemplified by Ma'adi. An exploration of how these cultural and social bonds came together captures the ways that Ma'adi's leadership worked in relationship to state power in order to preserve its leadership over the town. Particularly, as the 1930s and 1940s provided years of ongoing growth in Ma'adi, understanding how Delta Land managed its development helps explain why it remained successful. The details of how Ma'adi's new buildings were constructed, what architectural styles they relied on, and who used those spaces, all inform an explanation of what created a sense of stability within the community even while its larger political context remained unpredictable.

Daily Management

Among the most significant internal changes Delta Land underwent during the First World War was the death of general manager Reginald Henriques in 1916 and his replacement by Tom Dale. An English national, Dale participated in the pattern of long-term domicile followed by other expatriates involved in Egyptian commerce. His father Jesse Dale first moved to Egypt in 1882 to work as an engineer on the canals of the Nile Delta, and Tom was born in the

⁶*Al-Ahram*, 18 Feb. 1939, 1. Newspaper clippings, MC, AUC, Cairo.

Upper Egyptian city of Mansoura six years later.⁷ Tom subsequently received his education in engineering in England and returned to Egypt in 1911 to take a position with the Cairo branch of the Ganz Electric Company of Budapest. He joined Delta Land five years later.⁸ Dale went on to become the most well-known member of the Delta Land Company's leadership and one of the town's most visible residents. Delta Land charged the company's general manager with the day-to-day enforcement of the principles and design elements outlined in the *Cahier des Charges*. In this role, Dale served as a kind of constable who maintained order and handled mishaps. While he lacked real police authority over Ma'adi, Dale made Delta Land's plans for the town a personal commitment and obligation that he shared with other residents. In turn, when Ma'adi's land owners wanted to initiate a new building project or had trouble with local authorities, they looked to Dale for assistance.

Dale's professional background in engineering continued the link between technical expertise and the management of Ma'adi, which started with Alexander Adams, when he brought his background in the Royal Engineers and the Burma Railways with him to Cairo. As Jo Guldi explains, as infrastructure development grew out of the technical expertise developed within the state, particularly the military, and became part of privatized efforts for road, railway, and canal development, it also privileged particular sectors of society in developing those spaces. While Guldi focuses on the development of highways in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the social segmentation at work within the technical expertise behind infrastructure construction that she identifies was likewise at work in the twentieth century development of

⁷ "Memorandum on EDLICO from G.D. Dale, No. 1," letter from Geoffrey Dale to S. Raafat, 18 May 1992, Dale Family Correspondence, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁸ Letter from Tom Dale to Andrew Holden, 12 March 1970, Andrew Holden Papers, GB165-0148, MECA.

wealthy suburban spaces that in appearing as innovative and modern also became spaces of exclusivity.⁹ Dale's technical expertise went into performing several of the same coordinating tasks identified with the management of the villa's household staff, only on a larger scale. Like the managerial work undertaken by the housewives described in the post-war household guides, Dale organized the labor that undergirded Ma'adi's existence, coordinating with builders, gardeners, and trash collectors to ensure the town's sustained connection to town-and-country form. Dale additionally managed the architects, secretaries, and legal advisers who performed the administrative work behind Ma'adi's upkeep. He, like Ma'adi's expatriate and Egyptian housewives, performed the classed work of demarcating the various meanings of Ma'adi's garden city space — linking poorer people to the labor of its construction and upkeep, so that it might be enjoyed as a space of leisure for upper middle-class residents.

In many ways the gendered difference between Dale's work and that of the Ma'adi housewife was not one of task or skill, but a matter of the public role that Dale performed as opposed to a private one conducted by the housewife. Dale's job was to work with the Cairene and Egyptian government authorities to ensure that Delta Land's prerogatives for Ma'adi remained in play. Here his multi-generational connections to Egypt and lifelong familiarity with the country became a professional asset. The success of his managerial efforts relied on the same ability to work across cultures and languages that expatriate professionals in the Levant and Egypt had depended upon for generations, and housewives utilized when managing their household servants. Dale could not perform his job if the residents did not keep their homes in order. At the same time, residents relied on Dale, seeing his constabulary position as a guarantee

⁹ Jo Guldi, *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

for Ma'adi sense of internal order and harmony so that the community as whole abided by the same building and maintenance standards.

Dale became especially linked to Ma'adi's growth and perceived stability in the years that followed the First World War until his retirement in 1948. Saffeya Moyine al-'Arab, who moved to Ma'adi in 1947, took special care to comment on Dale's legacy in Ma'adi in her 1991 memoir. Upon her move to Ma'adi, she recalled that Road 85 was named Dale Road. The Dale family's villa, on the corner of Roads 83 and 17, had since been destroyed she regretfully explained. She emphasized that Dale "kept Maadi as a perfect residential area and was always ready to listen to suggestions and hear complaints, which were immediately remedied."¹⁰ These kinds of memories among residents, along with Dale's own retrospective narratives of his tenure as manager have made his efforts appear at the center of Ma'adi's successes.

Dale's primary task was to ensure the consistent application of the *Cahier des Charges* across Ma'adi. As the defender of Delta Land's garden-city plan, his efforts made the whole of the town a signifier of upper middle-class status. He became the middle-man between the lower-class labor that constructed and kept up Ma'adi and the wealthy residents who considered it a semi-rural retreat from the grind of the city. Here Dale managed the cross-class relationships embedded in Ma'adi's infrastructure development and overall upkeep. By focusing Ma'adi's success on Dale's efforts, the social divisions and inequalities that informed the town's ongoing construction were not readily apparent. Guldi argues that the politics and potential conflicts over infrastructure development center depended on whose interests are represented in the project.¹¹

¹⁰ Saffeyah Moyine al-'Arab, *Saffeyah & Bin Bin: Growing Old Together* (Cairo: Trade Routes Enterprises International Publications, Ltd., 1991), 55.

¹¹ Guldi, *Roads to Power*, 22.

Dale's job was to support and preserve Delta Land's vision to make Ma'adi an upper middle-class space where elite Cairenes — European and Egyptian alike — might identify its Western-derived garden aesthetic with their own prestige.

Not many sources discuss Dale's work at the time it actually took place. His name is included in Delta Land's records of board members and managers. He held the general manager position from 1916 until 1948, longer than anyone else, including his son Geoffrey, who succeeded him. Tom and Geoffrey both retrospectively penned some of the richest sources on Ma'adi's history, both writing later in their lives about their professional and personal ties to the town before the disruptive events of the late-1940s and 1950s. Tom wrote his recollections of Ma'adi in a series of short, typed narratives that he deliberately put to paper as an act of preservation in 1970. He included some of the notes in a letter to his friend and fellow former Ma'adi-ite Andrew Holden, explaining that he wrote the "bits of Maadi memories" for his own amusement. He additionally pointed to their personal value to him when he requested that they be returned to him, as he had no additional copies.¹² Carefully reading Dale's recollections of Ma'adi helps identify how he had to work within Cairo's complex multicultural and multilingual political setting in order to consistently make Delta Land's authority over the town a reality. Because he and Geoffrey left behind some of the richest sources on Ma'adi's past, their memories command much of the narrative of Ma'adi's interwar and mid-twentieth century history. The challenge becomes identifying and interpreting the parts of the story that the Dales did not describe in detail, particularly how their depictions of the town's success within its

¹² Letter from T. Dale to Andrew Holden, 8 May 1970, Andrew Holden Papers, GB165-0148, MECA.

complex setting also included struggles and failures less in sync with Delta Land's plan for Ma'adi's production as an elite space.

Dale glossed over the intricacies of Ma'adi's context in Egypt when he wrote his narrative snippets of the town's past. Perhaps the most significant detail he did not discuss was the community's dependence on the maintenance of foreign privileges guaranteed by the capitulations and Mixed Courts. Looking back on his work as Delta Land's manager, Dale did not identify his status as a British subject in Egypt as a contributing factor to his professional success. Portraying himself as one contributor to the company's larger work, Dale's narratives hinge on the position of the company's overarching authority in Ma'adi that continued despite significant changes in Egypt's political scene. Rather than mentioning the political revolutions and wars he witnessed during his more than 30 years in Ma'adi, each of Dale's reflections focused on an instance of comedic irony, where an awkward or entertaining encounter took place as he attempted to preserve Delta Land's plan for Ma'adi. In one episode, he was inspecting some of Ma'adi's more remote parts, when he found a herd of goats being led by "a small 'walad'" (Arabic for boy) as they were eating a resident's garden. He explained, "Residents were allowed to plant a portion of the 12 to 18 foot pathway outside their villa."¹³ The grazing animals, however, were a direct violation of the *Cahier des Charges*, which stipulated that no farmyard animals could "disturb or trouble the tranquility or rest" of Ma'adi's inhabitants.¹⁴ While he managed to get the boy and the goats to the police station, the effort left him battered after he fell down a steep set of stairs near the canal while attempting to snag one of the goats. At the station, the boy explained to the police that the goats belonged to Nashed Bey, a prominent

¹³ T. Dale, "Sidelights at Maadi," Tom Dale Papers, GB165-0073, MECA.

¹⁴ "Acte de Vente et Cahier des Charges," 7 May 1909, 11 June 1935 and 1944, MC, AUC, Egypt.

member of the Governor of Cairo's staff, and Thomas Russell Pasha, the British head of the Cairo Police.¹⁵ Dale later confronted Nashed Bey, who replied that the goats were Russell Pasha's and he brought them to Maadi to feed. "Hardly likely, I thought to myself," Dale recalled. While Dale doubted Nashed Bey's defense, the story concluded in a stream of consciousness, where he related some of Nashed Bey's positive qualities. He made no further mention of the goats or the walad, and apparently never confronted Russell Pasha. Instead, the conflict went unresolved because the head of the Cairo Police had violated the *Cahier des Charges* and Dale had little recourse. Even though his story also pointed to British abuses of power within the Egyptian government, Dale did not tell the story cynically.¹⁶ Instead, he recalled the events with a sense of humor — the crux of the story resting on his fall near the canal. That his authority was upended because of the walad's connection to both British and Egyptian members of Cairo's government implied the status of Dale's authority below those with state authority.

As state power increasingly centralized, Ma'adi's independent existence on the outskirts of Cairo became more tenuous, and Dale had to undertake the preservation of its distinctive qualities through often informal connections to people in positions of power. In one recollection entitled "The Maadi-Cairo Road Lighting," Dale used a small typed page to relate the resolution of a 20-year dispute. He opened with his first impression of Ma'ad in 1916, when it "was a small village with the beginnings of a fashionable garden suburb, some seven miles distant from

¹⁵ Russell gained some notoriety for his handling of the Cairo Police in 1935, when, in response to a student revolt, he was accused of instructing the police run down the protestors on horseback and beat them. After eight demonstrators were killed by police, Russell told the police to shoot buckshot into the crowds. The protestors, in turn, called on the support of Safiyya Zaghlul, by then a widow, in their opposition to the British, who, in turn, called for boycott of all things British. "Egypt: Appeal Without Standing," *Time Magazine*, 2 Dec. 1935, Vol. 26, Issue 23, p. 21.

¹⁶ T. Dale, "Sidelights at Maadi," GB165-0073, MECA.

Cairo.” At the time, he explained, the residents “loved the quiet, country life far from the noise and city lights.” When Delta Land proposed the installation of electric lights, which would give the town more modern accoutrements, the residents resisted the change. Dale explained that there was “considerable objection on the grounds that servants coming off duty would congregate under the light and enjoy what could be a noisy chatter far into the night.” He does not identify which residents felt this way, yet the anxiety was another indicator of the classed boundaries that governed Ma‘adi life. While the town’s residents were permitted to commune at the club, or within their homes, the congregation of servants in Ma‘adi’s public spaces was a threat to the garden city’s carefully controlled setting. The town required the servants for the upkeep and maintenance of its villa spaces, but if they socialized in Ma‘adi’s streets, their activity threatened the garden city’s association with a calm rural life. Dale did not go into the details of how the problem was mitigated, and instead simply stated that the “object was eventually overcome...” — emphasizing Delta Land’s authority to achieve its objectives when it came to developing Ma‘adi.¹⁷

While the company lit the streets within Ma‘adi, it could not make changes to the state-owned road connecting Ma‘adi to Cairo. The government likely resisted the lighting project because Ma‘adi was on the opposite side of Old Cairo from downtown. Cairo’s other European districts had electrical lighting in the early-twentieth century, but there remained gross inequalities between the lighting and water works in the European city and what was available in the older, medieval city, which included the historically Coptic and Jewish quarters in Old Cairo.¹⁸ Lighting the road to Ma‘adi required building infrastructure that Cairo’s development

¹⁷ T. Dale, “The Maadi-Cairo Road Lighting,” GB165-0073, MECA.

¹⁸ Raymond, 326.

authority, the *tanẓīm*, had neglected for decades.¹⁹ So, despite Delta Land's wishes, the road remained dark for several more years. The situation changed when a cohort of influential Egyptians moved to Ma'adi in the late-1920s and wanted to see the road lit. While Dale explained that the government refused the project, one particularly influential Egyptian resident, whom Dale did not identify by name, explained that he would host a luncheon at his villa and invite "certain important persons" to discuss the matter.²⁰

At the luncheon, there were eight or nine guests, including Fahmy Kerim, the under-secretary of Public Works, an unnamed "prominent newspaper proprietor" (likely Faris Nimr of *Al-Muqattam*) and Dale.²¹ The real arbiter of change during the meeting, however, was the hostess. Dale explained:

After a sumptuous meal and adequate refreshments, Madame turned the conversation to the Maadi-Cairo road lighting which ended by Madame asking H.E. (His Excellency, aka. the Pasha) to grant her two requests. One that he would receive Mr. Dale in his office without delay and secondly that he would do all in his power to persuade H.E. his Minister to give the Maadi Company the concession to illuminate the Maadi-Cairo road as far as Attar-el-Nebbi where the city street lighting began.²²

¹⁹ Egypt's Khedive Isma'il established the *tanẓīm* (planning organization) in the late-1860s, when he developed Cairo's "European city." It remained the closest entity Cairo had to a municipality until 1949, but its authority was generally limited to the planning and development of roads. Reimer, "Urban Government and Administration in Egypt, 1805-1914," *Die Welt des Islams*.

²⁰ T. Dale, "The Maadi-Cairo Road Lighting," GB165-0073, MECA.

²¹ This newspaper proprietor was likely Faris Nimr Pasha, the Syrian owner of *Al-Muqattam*, who was a long-time Ma'adi resident.

²² *Athar al-Nabi* (Arabic for "traces of the Prophet") is just northwest of the heart of Old Cairo. T. Dale, GB165-0073, MECA.

After some persuasion, the Pasha agreed to arrange the meeting, and Dale met with Osman Moharram, the Minister of Public Works, who granted Delta Land the concession to light the road. Dale concluded with the exclamation, “Magical! indeed and with no more effort than having to face a lengthy Egyptian feast presided over by a charming yet very capable Egyptian hostess!”²³ While it might have felt effortless for Dale, his narrative of Delta Land’s ultimate success required much larger political changes within the Egyptian government.

Both the Arabic and English-language press celebrated the new installation. *Al-Ahram* ran photos of the new light posts running along the tree-lined street from “*Misr al-qadīma*” or Old Cairo to Ma’adi, reporting that the lights were unveiled at a celebration on February 9, 1933 by Lady Loraine, the wife of Sir Percy Loraine, the British High Commissioner to Egypt and the Sudan.²⁴ The *Egyptian Gazette* ran a descriptive article about the lighting, explaining how Lady Loraine received an “attractive” golden key from the Delta Land Company board, which she used to switch on the lights. The *Gazette* continued, “The drive back to Cairo under the new lights showed how extremely efficient they are, for the road was evenly lit, there being no pools of light intercepted by unlit spaces, which so often occurs.”²⁵

While Dale made no mention of the larger political events that served as the backdrop for his narratives, the goat and street lighting episodes were both predicated the 1919 revolution in Egypt and the renegotiation of Anglo-Egyptian relations that followed. For Dale, the Delta Land Company provided the larger continuity that exceeded these political contests. Yet its

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Al-Ahram*, 11 Feb. 1933, accessed online from <http://www.egy.com/maadi/> on 5 Dec. 2012.

²⁵ The *Gazette* additionally reported that Elie Mosseri, Percy Stout, Edgard de Cattaoui, and Tom Dale were all present at the festivities. “Electric Lighting on Maadi Road. Inaugurated by Lady Loraine,” *The Egyptian Gazette*, 10 Feb. 1933.

maintenance remained contingent upon the nationalists', particularly the Wafd's support for the Mixed Courts and capitulations in Egypt as a way of checking British imperial intervention, which additionally preserved Dale's own privileged status in Egypt.²⁶ Yet judicial and economic privileges were not central to the Ma'adi Dale remembered. As Dale's Ma'adi remained closely tied to the authority of Delta Land, he did not question the company's dependence on foreign privilege. Instead, a sense of entertaining nostalgia pervades Dale's Ma'adi memories, which focus on the details of his work rather than their larger context. For him, Ma'adi retrospectively appeared isolated from the larger political contests over Egypt's relationship to Britain and the rest of the world, a kind of oasis, physically and emotionally removed from political change. Yet those events occurred in the context of significant political alterations, and revealed some of the detailed ways that commercial expatriates and the companies they worked for continued to manage their capitulation benefits and sustain a place in Egypt through careful negotiations with Egyptians and Britons in positions of power at a time when nationalists gained greater independence.

Avenue 'Abd-al-Wahab

Perhaps Dale's recollections of Ma'adi removed Egypt's political changes because the town's attachment to nationalist gains were more heavily associated with its elite Egyptian residents. In 1929, the passage of the Egyptian Nationality Decree-Law more clearly delineated terms for participating in the Egyptian nation, granting citizenship to the former Ottoman subjects who were included in Egypt's ethnic majority. It additionally offered citizenship to

²⁶ Brown, "The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt," *IJMES*, 47.

assimilated *mutamassir* who had lived in Egypt for generations, and granted Egyptian nationality to foreign women married to Egyptian men.²⁷ That same year, a Labour government in Britain loosened its stance on Egypt, allowing the country free elections. This set the stage for a brief resurgence of the Wafd under Mustapha al-Nahas Pasha. The early 1930s, however, became the real moment of ascendancy for the Isma‘il Sidqi and his anti-Wafdist People’s Party. Sidqi had the support of King Fuad, who abolished the Egypt’s post-revolutionary 1923 constitution in 1930, thus circumscribing the power of liberal-nationalists in Egypt’s new government. Sidqi also had the support of prominent financial leaders, including Elie Mosseri, the chairman of Delta Land at the time, and Ahmad ‘Abd-al-Wahab, Egypt’s Minister of Finance, one of Ma‘adi’s most prominent Muslim-Egyptian residents. While Sidqi’s government attempted to constrain Egyptian liberalism, it made a significant break with the Wafd by standing for the country’s economic independence and opposing the capitulations and Mixed Courts. Nathan J. Brown explains that Sidqi and ‘Abd-al-Wahab strategically threatened to abolish the capitulations in order to thwart foreign opposition to a protective tariff and new taxes. He sites one instance in particular where ‘Abd-al-Wahab privately threatened an American diplomat with unilateral action against foreign interests relying on the capitulation benefits. They followed these unofficial actions with the very public removal of Egypt’s currency from the gold standard — thus removing one of the distinguishing marks of British imperial influence on Egyptian finance. Sidqi and ‘Abd-al-Wahab did not actually abolish the Mixed Courts and capitulations, which remained in place until 1949, but their actions indicated the growing anti-foreigner feeling among Egypt’s economic reformers.²⁸

²⁷ Parolin, *Citizenship in the Arab World*, 81.

²⁸ Brown, “The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt,” *IJMES*, 46-7.

‘Abd-al-Wahab’s actions regarding the Mixed Courts and capitulations fell in sync with similar patterns of minority and foreign exclusion that additionally informed the new citizenship law. Gianluca Paolo Parolin explains, “The 1929 Egyptian Nationality Decree-Law allowed for the absorption of foreign elements only if there was a common cultural, linguistic or religious background.”²⁹ Likewise, Joel Beinin associates the law with establishing legal terms for the increased removal of ethnic and religious minorities from Egypt.³⁰ Yet these patterns of exclusion, which increasingly isolated certain elements of the multinational social fabric that comprised Ma‘adi, informed social change in Egypt gradually over decades. Throughout the 1930s and most of the 1940s, the new terms of Egyptian nationality remained in place alongside ongoing foreign privilege.

‘Abd-al-Wahab’s actions revealed the inconsistencies and ongoing accommodations of foreign influences and how they worked out during this transitional period. The mid-1930s saw Egypt make its most significant claims to independence at the time. In particular, August 1936 brought a new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. In the treaty, the British recognized Egyptian independence, sponsored Egypt in the League of Nations, decreased the number of British occupational troops to 10,000, and limited their placement to the Suez Canal Zone, where it could remain for the next 20 years. The British also converted their imperial Residency into an embassy, and their once high-commissioner became an ambassador. The military provision allowed the British government to secure its highest priority — an ongoing military presence in the Canal Zone, which meant ongoing security along the passageway to India and a foothold for keeping other European powers from intervening in Egypt. The treaty served as a major victory

²⁹ Parolin, *Citizenship in the Arab World*, 81.

³⁰ Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, 38.

for Egyptian nationalists. Yet in its wake came a push for increased Anglo-Egyptian cultural collaboration. A new organization, the Anglo-Egyptian Union, formed the following year, with a leadership made up of equal numbers of British and Egyptian men.³¹ The group was to form as an entity of bi-national friendship. Its premises included a lecture hall, reading room, and library, where, the *Egyptian Gazette* explained, “it will be possible for the bonds of friendship between the two nations to be drawn tighter under the influence of joint interests and understanding.”³² ‘Abd-al-Wahab was the organization’s founding vice president.³³

For ‘Abd-al-Wahab, 1937 included a number of landmarks. While he was no longer a member of the cabinet, the government having returned to the Wafd’s control, he remained a member of parliament. In addition to joining the Anglo-Egyptian Union, he also saw the international community agree to the abolition of the Mixed Courts and capitulations — a move he had pushed for so earnestly earlier in the decade. That spring, the Montreux Convention in Switzerland decided on the international institutions’ abolition. As part of the agreement, however, Egypt had to concede to an extended, 12-year transition period, and not to pass any anti-foreigner legislation in the meantime. The agreement offered a kind of stop-gap, where a tenuous status quo remained in place, even while a major shift in Egypt’s economic relations became imminent.

By the time that Egypt and the foreign powers signed the Montreux Treaty, Ma‘adi had a street named after ‘Abd al-Wahab, recognizing him as one of the town’s most prominent

³¹ Women were initially excluded from the group to accommodate Islamic conservatism, but its leaders anticipated that with the growth of the women’s movement among younger Egyptians, they would be able to join soon after its founding. Letter from Robert to Elgood, 15 Apr. 1937, FO 141/645.

³² *Egyptian Gazette*, 21 Jan. 1937, included in FO 141/645.

³³ FO 141/645 and *Al-Ahram*, “Ahmad ‘Abd-al-Wahab Pasha,” 17 Apr. 1938.

residents. Even more symbolically powerful, his name replaced that of Auckland Colvin on the map of Ma‘adi, thus removing one of the town’s most recognizable references to British imperial power. ‘Abd al-Wahab died the following year, and *Al-Ahram* celebrated him for his service to the country, particularly to its economic development, lauding him as one of the “great sons of the nation.”³⁴ That his name became especially associated with Ma‘adi indicated some of the social, political, and economic complexities of his particular moment — where Egyptian independence gained significant ground, yet remained closely linked to British influence. His link to the Anglo-Egyptian Union, then, did not undermine his significance to the nation, but participated in the inconsistencies of political change, as he opposed foreign economic privilege in Egypt, but drew from a joint Anglo-Egyptian institution as an indicator of his own prestige. His acts of adaptation and adoption of foreign, particularly European influence remained central to how Egypt’s *effendiyya* leadership would shape themselves as worldly, sophisticated, and modern participants in the nation.

Avenue Colvin was not the only street to undergo a name change at this time. Avenue Cattaoui, for instance, which ran in front of the Ma‘adi Sporting Club, became Avenue Al-Nadi (Arabic for “the club”). Likewise, Avenue and Midan Menasce were renamed after Princess Fawzia, the daughter of King Fuad.³⁵ Ma‘adi’s new nomenclature gave the town a set of different associations — marking the place with Arabic-language descriptors and references to the nation’s inclusion of the Ottoman-descended royal family. These new names identified a changing sense of what appeared to be permanent in Egypt.³⁶ The town’s overt references to British and Jewish

³⁴ *Al-Ahram*, “Ahmad ‘Abd-al-Wahab Pasha,” 17 Apr. 1938.

³⁵ Several of these streets would have their names changed following the 1952 revolution, *ibid.*

³⁶ Tuan, *Space and Place*, 29.

capital gave way to associations with Ma'adi landmarks, like the club, and the more recently ascendant political power. The names had no bearing on the administration of Ma'adi, which remained under Delta Land's control. They did, however, link Ma'adi more thoroughly to the town's growing body of Egyptian residents. They created a different link between Ma'adi and the rest of Egypt and made it a town-and-country space increasingly associated with local notables. While Egyptian names were not necessarily found on Ma'adi's construction plans, their inclusion on the map of the town's street names signified a different notion of Egypt's future — one emphasizing locally derived features and less concerned with Delta Land's founders and the networks of empire and capital they brought with them.

Religious construction

With Egypt's growing national independence and gradually changing economy came the increased visibility of Ma'adi's confessional diversity. During the 1930s Ma'adi gained an Anglican church, synagogue, and mosque, in that order.³⁷ These alterations were a factor in Ma'adi's more sophisticated development, indicating how Egypt's changing geo-political status brought growth to the town as a well-to-do, multinational community. Yet the particular form of that growth also led to more clearly delineated markers of difference within the community, making minorities within Cairo more identifiable.

³⁷ Because of its location near Old Cairo — the historically Christian and Jewish part of the city — Ma'adi had long been home to *Al-'Adhrā' bi-Bābylūn ad-Darag*, or Church of the Holy Virgin, a Coptic (Egyptian Christian) church. The church's history extended far beyond anything else in Ma'adi, having been built in the tenth or eleventh century. It was (and for some remains) the popularly believed location where the Holy Family took refuge in Egypt during their flight from King Herod. Otto F.A. Meinardus, *The Historic Coptic Churches of Cairo* (Cairo: Philopatron, 1994), 53. According to a late-twentieth century brochure from the church, the Holy Family passed through a number of Egyptian towns: "Al Arish, Farama, Zagazig, Tel Basta, Belbeis, Sammnoud, Mahalla, Sakha, Wadi El Natrun, Mataria, then towards the south to Babylon and then to **Maadi**." (bold original) The "Babylon" that the brochure refers to is the area just south of Old Cairo, which, according to Meinardus had been referred to as "Babylon" starting in the first century A.D. Religious Sites, Binder 8, MC, AUC, Egypt. Meinardus, 53.

Ma'adi had been home to an Anglican church since the end of the First World War, when the town's first church committee voted to bring a British "Church Army Hut" made of corrugated steel and wood, from Isma'ilia near the Suez Canal to Ma'adi in 1920. The Delta Land Company allowed the congregation to use a lot of land on Road 14 in the northeast corner of Ma'adi, near the desert, which earned the church the name "St. John's in the Wilderness." One history of the church, published as part of a fundraising initiative in the late-1940s, described St. John's as one of two necessary staples of English-ness in Ma'adi, playfully explaining, "It is generally accepted that where two or three Anglo-Saxon families settle, it matter not in what isolated part of the world, that they at once strive for a Church and a Sporting Club." The year 1920, then, marked the initiation of these two hallmarks for Ma'adi's English community, with the founding of both the Ma'adi Sporting Club as well as the makeshift Anglican Church.³⁸ Ma'adi's Anglicans made ready use of the "Church Army Hut" on its desert border for a decade. In those years, church goers donated funds for a harmonium, altar rails, and items necessary for communion services. Dale began making his own personal contribution in 1924 as St. John's organist. By 1929, however, Ma'adi's church committee decided to begin raising funds for a new, more permanent building.³⁹ The Anglican community also decided to relocate the church to a place more central to Ma'adi. They, somewhat ironically, rented lot number 666 from Delta Land, which was located at the intersection of what was still Avenue Colvin and Road 17 — less than a mile from the Ma'adi rail station.⁴⁰ The congregation additionally simplified the church's

³⁸ "St. John's Church," from Church of St. John the Baptist.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ "Contrat de location avec option de vente," from Church of St. John the Baptist, Ma'adi, Cairo, Egypt.

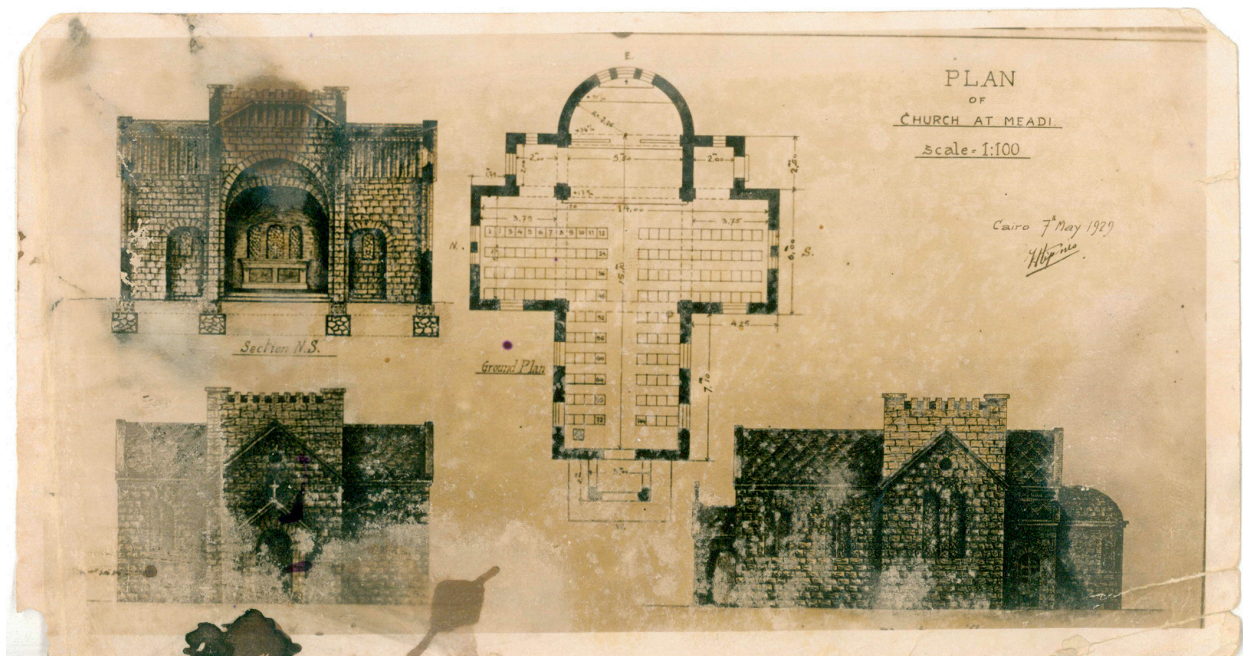


Figure 4.1: Isaac Kipnis' architectural drawings for the Church of St. John the Baptist's new building, dated 7 May 1929. All of the drawings are to scale, and he includes the dimensions for the external walls, as well as the number of parishioners who could fit on the church pews — a total of 144. Kipnis' signature can be seen on the middle of the plan's right side.

name. Signifying its new location, they dropped the “wilderness” and called it the Church of St. John the Baptist.

More than a signifier of English culture and religion in Ma'adi, the physical design of the church additionally marked a final piece in the architectural lexicon of the British imperialism throughout Africa. The initial drawings for St. John's exterior, altar, font steps, pulpit, doors, and electroliers were produced by Sir Herbert Baker, the architect to Cecil Rhodes. The church was Baker's last design in Africa and solidified the extension of his work from the “Cape to Cairo.” For their part, St. John's parishioners understood and promoted the church as the “Omega” of

Baker's designs, with his church in South Africa serving as the "Alpha" — a reference to the beginning and end of the Greek alphabet, and an appellation for Jesus Christ.⁴¹

While the choice of Baker as the building's designer seemed to confirm the church's Anglo-imperial connections, a more complex network of workers from different confessional backgrounds actually constructed the building. Baker's drawings were not actual building plans and had to be converted into a workable architectural scheme by Delta Land's building engineer and architect Isaac Kipnis, one of the company's Jewish employees. Kipnis designed the functional building plans for the church and helped supervise the construction alongside Delta Land's chief engineer John A. Clyma, a Canadian and former member of the Royal Engineers, who came to Ma'adi at the end of the First World War.⁴²

Kipnis and Clyma worked as the architectural and engineering side of a team employed by Delta Land to manage the construction of the company's buildings and cultivate Ma'adi's garden spaces. They worked closely with another prominent Jewish resident, Meyr Y. Biton, who used the company's land to establish nurseries, mango and guava orchards, and cultivate grapes, bananas, and burseem. Biton grew bananas on the former Luthy-Zehnder farm, which Delta Land acquired following its sequestration as "enemy property" during the First World War. His green thumb earned him the nickname "Mango and Banana."⁴³ Kipnis, Clyma, and Biton also worked closely with the company's head of road construction, irrigation and house building Ra'is Tantawi, who moved to Ma'adi from the Delta town of Zagazig specifically to work for

Figure 4.1: Image courtesy of Nona Orbach.

⁴¹ "St. John's Church," cir. 1948, Church of St. John the Baptist, Ma'adi, Cairo, Egypt.

⁴² Ibid; G. Dale, letter to Samir Raafat from 8 June 1992, Ma'adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Cairo.

⁴³ G. Dale, letter to S. Raafat on 8 June 1922.

Delta Land.⁴⁴ In the mid-1930s, following Biton's death, the team added Ra'īs Imam, to whom Dale's son Geoffrey attributed Ma'adi's horticultural growth throughout the late-1930s and 1940s, explaining that he was responsible for moving the trees cultivated in Ma'adi's nurseries out into the town's public spaces.⁴⁵ This multinational and multi-confessional group managed the fulfillment of Delta Land's plans for Ma'adi throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s. They designed the roads, villas, and other buildings, and set the plans for cultivating the greenery along Ma'adi's streets, in its public gardens, and within its agricultural plots. Here again, the work as Ma'adi's planners and designers demarcated the classed differences between who belonged to the place and who worked there. While these men worked together to construct Ma'adi as home to wealthy Cairenes, they employed lower status workers to undertake the actual execution of those plans.

All of Ma'adi's various religious communities relied on Delta's Land's construction and landscape team to organize the development of their respective confessional spaces. Their work helped ensure that each of these new buildings fit into Ma'adi's aesthetic and abided by the *Cahier des Charges*. Each of Ma'adi's religious communities rented or leased land from Delta Land, and, in turn, the company treated them as regular tenants, requiring that they abide by the company's rules if they wanted to remain in the town. In the agreement with St. John's, which rented its land from Delta Land, the company reserved the right to inspect the building and retake the land if the building was destroyed.⁴⁶ These rules had a leveling effect that placed Delta Land's authority in a central position in regard to Ma'adi's growth, emphasizing its position

⁴⁴ Ra'īs is a Arabic for "head" and refers to Tantawi's title, rather than his first name, which is unknown. Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "Contrat de location avec option de vente," from Church of St. John the Baptist.

above that of any one national or religious identifier. The company's role in construction throughout Ma'adi meant that Jews and Muslims were involved in the building and landscape construction of Christian spaces, and vice versa.

While Delta Land's landscape and construction employees perforated potential religious barriers when building houses of worship, the existence of these religious spaces also highlighted differences among the community's residents. The buildings themselves carried a number of possible meanings, which shifted depending on the people involved. The production of the plans for the Church of St. John the Baptist, for instance, worked in a number of layers. Baker's initial drawings, particularly their symbolic importance as his last design in Africa, indicated the lingering vestiges of Anglo-imperial power in Ma'adi, particularly among its English community. Their execution, however, required Kipnis's translation of those designs into actual architectural drawings that builders could use to guide the building's construction. William Whyte argues that each stage of construction — from the plans, to the physical construction, to the human interactions within the space after its completion — should be interpreted as an instance of transposition, imbuing the physical structure with new meaning.⁴⁷ The movement from Baker's drawings to Kipnis's plans, to the construction that he supervised with Clyma transposed the meaning of the church, allowing it to function as both a fixture in the built environment of empire in Africa, as well as an instance of multi-confessional collaboration. To put it another way, these layers of meaning allowed the building simultaneously to embody the subordination of religion to Delta Land's design regulations, while also placing a more permanent footprint of Christianity and English-ness into Ma'adi's landscape.

⁴⁷ Williams Whyte, "How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture," *History and Theory*, 45 (May 2006), 153-177; 173.

After the establishment of St. John's, a similar chain of events unfolded with the construction of Ma'adi's synagogue and mosque. Delta Land's Jewish employees were more directly involved in the establishment of the synagogue, which opened in 1934. Biton donated the funds for the building's construction and Kipnis served as the architect. One of the entryways to the building was inscribed with the letters MYB after the building's benefactor. Geoffrey Dale recalled Biton joking that the initials were placed there "to show it was built by Mango and Banana."⁴⁸ One of the synagogue's founding documents exposed the more diverse support that led to the place's construction and opening, as it bore the signatures of a number of Christian residents and Delta Land employees. The signatures included those of Tom Dale and his wife Effie, John and Sophia Clyma, and prominent Jews affiliated with Ma'adi like Felix Mosseri, and a member of the Suarés family.⁴⁹ In his role as head of construction for the company, Tantawi would have contributed to the building's construction, yet his signature is not included, nor are any other Egyptian or Muslim residents.

The sources on St. John's and the Biton Synagogue are silent about the contributions made by the country's Muslim-Egyptian majority. Yet Tantawi in particular would have been integral to Delta Land's construction projects. What is more, when Biton died soon after the synagogue opened, and Delta Land replaced him with Ra'is Imam, Muslim Egyptians became significantly more integral to the construction and landscaping of Ma'adi's built environment. The silence on Muslim Egyptians' work earlier in the decade is indicative of who exerted public authority in Ma'adi, particularly through the company, which remained identified with the majority of Britons and Egyptian Jews serving on the board. By 1931, Delta Land's board of

⁴⁸ G. Dale, letter to S. Raafat, 8 June 1992.

⁴⁹ Meyr Y. Biton Synagogue, Ma'adi, correspondence between Nona Orbach and the author, 7 June 2012.

directors had two Muslim Egyptians — Khalil Abdalla Boulad and Hassan Mazloun Pasha.⁵⁰

Their inclusion indicated the changes the company was undergoing, yet their influence apparently did not provide a more explicit context for Muslim Egyptian workers' recognition in the company records. Perhaps indicative of this lack of public recognition within the company, it was another several years before Delta Land similarly allotted space for a mosque.

At the same time that Egypt experienced the political shifts brought by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936, the country also saw a new king come to the throne. That year Fuad died and his 16-year old son Faruq became king. Almost immediately afterward, Ma'adi's Muslim community began planning for a mosque, and chose to call it Masjid Faruq al-Awal (Faruq I Mosque), after the new monarch. Tom Dale recalled working with the town's influential Muslim Egyptians, like Ahmad 'Abd-al-Wahab, Taher al-Lozy, and Fuad Kamal Bey to choose an appropriate site for the mosque.⁵¹ The committee settled on a site on the Nile side of Road 9, which Delta Land was in the process of developing as residential space. Upon its completion, in February 1939 the mosque faced a large *midan*, which served as an entry point for traffic flowing into Ma'adi — making it visible to all those entering and exiting the town on their way to and from Cairo. The location was a decisive contrast to the spaces given to Ma'adi's Anglican church and synagogue, both of which were tucked more deep within the town. Unlike the church and synagogue, the mosque identified Ma'adi with the religion of Egypt's majority. Its position at the gateway to the town indicated Ma'adi's participation in a mass movement — a departure from its

⁵⁰ S. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 258.

⁵¹ Dale explained that he was well acquainted with all three men, particularly Fouad Kamal Bey, whom he considered a friend. "El Farouk Mosque. —Maadi," included in letter from Tom Dale to Andrew Holden, Andrew Holden Papers, GB165-0148, MECA.

previous association with Egypt's European and Jewish minorities and separation, both spatially and culturally, from Egypt's majority.

Ma'adi's Muslim residents used the mosque's opening as an opportunity to display the qualities of their town proudly to the king and other notables in attendance. The celebration marked Faruq's first visit to Ma'adi. As Dale recalled, the community received donations for the purchase of a large tent to be erected near the mosque's entrance. Inside, the subscribers placed oriental rugs and gold chairs.⁵² *Al-Ahram* included a picture of the king amid the pomp of the opening ceremony on its front page the following day and described how Ma'adi's residents decorated the path that Faruq and his attendants followed from the town's entrance to the mosque. At the ceremony, the king greeted the building's architect Maḥmūd Riyyaḍ and lead builder Ibrāhīm 'Askar — Muslim Egyptians, whose participation in the mosque construction broke from the earlier cross-confessional team involved in building the Anglican church and synagogue. The king also met members of Itiḥād al-Ma'adi (the Ma'adi Union), a group of mostly Muslim Egyptian men who organized to help support Ma'adi's development and aided in the mosque's establishment.⁵³ Finally, Faruq shook hands with Delta Land's leadership, including Dale, Hassan Mazloun Pasha, Egypt's former postmaster general and a recent addition to Delta Land's board, as well as a member of the Cattaoui family, offering his appreciation for the land that the company contributed for the mosque's construction.⁵⁴ The opening ceremony marked Ma'adi's most publicly visible event to date. In linking the town to an Islamic

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Al-Ahram*, 18 Feb. 1939, 1. Little information remains about Itiḥād al-Ma'adi, but it had formed by at least 1937, when the *Egyptian Gazette* reported that they group's administrative council met to discuss ways to improve Ma'adi. *Egyptian Gazette*, 7 Apr. 1937, Newspaper clippings, MC, AUC, Cairo.

⁵⁴ *Al-Ahram* mentions "Cattaoui Bey," but does not give a first name, Ibid.

community and giving Ma‘adi’s well-to-do Muslims a modern house of worship, the establishment of Masjid Faruq al-Awal also indicated Ma‘adi’s increased association with the Egypt’s Muslim majority. Yet its nomenclature identified the town’s Muslim community with the Ottoman-descended royal family, rather than an outwardly nationalist or significant Islamic figure. The mosque, like so many of Ma‘adi’s physical, social, and cultural features developed during the 1930s, represented the push and pull of gradual change. If its more pronounced link to Islam represented a break from the town’s past, that distinction was conducted in a conservative manner that continued to work within the Egypt’s existing power structure, and helped preserve the town’s association with people of higher social status — even as participation in elite status shifted.

Some Ma‘adi Villas

Ma‘adi’s domestic architecture signified the cultural changes at work amid this period of complex transition during the 1930s where elite status remained associated with European and Ottoman influences even as Egyptian political independence increased. In the middle of the decade, Kipnis designed villas for several prominent Egyptians who took up residence in Ma‘adi. Among them was Hassan Mazloun Pasha, for whom Kipnis designed a large, three-story villa. Mazloun Pasha served as Egypt’s postmaster general in the 1920s and retired from his position in 1929.⁵⁵ Soon afterward, he joined Delta Land’s board of directors — making him the second Muslim Egyptian to participate in the company’s leadership.⁵⁶ While working with Delta Land,

⁵⁵ S. Raafat, “A Snapshot of Egypt’s Postal History,” *The Egyptian Mail*, 3 Dec. 1994, accessed from <http://www.egy.com/historica/94-12-03.php> on 10 Dec. 2012.

⁵⁶ S. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 258.

he contributed to a number of other commercial ventures in Egypt, including the Egyptian and International Insurance Company, the Credit Agricole d’Egypte, and Société Egyptienne de Constructions



Modernes, also known as “AL-CHAMS” (Arabic

Figure 4.2: Photo of Villa Mazloun Pasha from 1935. Kipnis served as the architect and oversaw the building’s construction. The picture usefully shows the process of Ma’adi’s growth, when the trees planted around new homes remained young, allowing residents with second stories to see the Giza Pyramids from their garden city homes.

for the sun).⁵⁷ If Mazloun Pasha did not move to Ma’adi when he joined Delta Land in 1931, he lived there by at least 1935, when Kipnis completed construction on his villa and initial landscaping for the garden (see Figure 4.2). Ma’adi’s Road 16 was subsequently named for Mazloun Pasha — adding his name to Ma’adi’s growing incorporation of signifiers of Muslim-Egyptian notability into its existing space.⁵⁸

Kipnis’s photograph of Mazloun Pasha’s villa captures the development of Ma’adi’s environs in the mid-1930s, where new homes stood over their surrounding gardens — similar to the appearance of the Williamson home 20 years earlier. The sky figures large in the

Figure 4.2: Photo courtesy of Nona Orbach.

⁵⁷ “EDLICO Directors, 1904-1956,” Ma’adi Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Cairo, Egypt.

⁵⁸ S. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 257.

image, giving a sense of how far Ma'adi residents would have been able to see into the distance. It additionally captures the wealth, ease, and open space associated with the town-and-country life of Ma'adi garden city, which would have stood in contrast to the more condensed, bustling urban existence found seven miles north in downtown Cairo.

The pasha's villa sported art-deco trimmings that joined the building's rectangular structure with circular embellishments. Each window was bordered by rounded molding, and the roof, which provided an attractive outdoor meeting space, was surrounded by a complementary, rounded handrail.⁵⁹ Designs derived from Egypt's pharaonic past significantly contributed to the global nature of art deco fashions. The design infused the streamlined, mechanical shapes of the machine age with a bevy of historical and cultural influences from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Europe. The discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922 popularized the geometric shapes, colors, and patterns associated with ancient Egypt, making them common elements in art deco.⁶⁰ The result, like the modern girl described in Chapter Three, defined 1930s architectural fashions along global lines, in this case, with heavy references to Egypt in particular.

Kipnis was not the only architect working in Ma'adi at the time. So long as the buildings abided by the *Cahier des Charges*, Delta Land made no specification about which architects residents could employ. Three years after Kipnis completed work on Villa Mazloum Pasha,

⁵⁹ Art deco architecture from this period often used circular and rounded patterns, which were inspired by similar stylings used in ocean liner, automobile and airplane design at the time. "Art deco's dynamic style," *Herald Sun* (Melbourne, Australia), 4 Nov. 2000.

⁶⁰ Bridget Elliot identifies the various elements of art deco associated with the "Tutmania" following Howard Carter's discovery of the tomb. "Art Deco Worlds in a Tomb: Reanimating Egypt in Modern(ist) Visual Culture," *South Central Review*, 25:1 (Spring 2008), 114-35. Helen Searing's review of the the Victoria and Albert Museum's "Art Deco, 1910-1939" exhibit explains that Tutankhamen's influence on art deco could be seen alongside the contributions of Japanese and Chinese folk art. "Art Deco, 1910-1939," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62:4 (Dec. 2003), 514-6. Kathy Bryant additionally argues that the ancient Egyptian tomb additionally made its impact on art deco jewelry design by popularizing the pale turquoise color and gold embellishments. "Glitz and Glamor," *Art & Antiques*, 24:1 (Jan. 2001), 84-9.

Ma'adi had homes that merged art deco shapes with other features derived from traditionally Muslim Egyptian architecture. These new transitional designs were exhibited in particular by Hassan Fathy and the 1938 villa he designed in Ma'adi for his wife Aziza Hassanein.

Architect James Steele argues that the early part of Fathy's professional career shifted from emulating the European styles he learned as an engineering student at the University of King Fuad I (later Cairo University) to a rejection of those methods, as he adopted the building techniques, particularly the use of mud brick, that he learned from Nubian villagers in the 1930s.⁶¹ Through his training with the villagers, Fathy formulated his concept of "architecture for the poor," which made him famous. The first villa that Fathy designed for his wife, shows his early adjustments to popular art deco styles as he added elements of traditional Muslim-Egyptian architecture even before directly adopting the Nubian designs and materials. By the end of the 1930s and into the 1940s, Fathy abandoned any reference to art deco style in his design as its globalism parted ways with his use of more locally derived influences. His shift in style mirrored Egyptians' growing emphasis on separating what they considered national from references to global culture, particularly if it had European references.

Fathy completed plans for his first Ma'adi villa in 1938. The design comprised a fairly modest, block-like, two-story home, with servants quarters on the roof and a swimming pool in the yard. For the home's interior, he created large, open spaces with high ceilings, allowing air to easily move through the house and keep it cool. The villa matched others in Ma'adi in terms of size and dimension. Like Kipnis' designs for Mazloun Pasha, Fathy included several rounded elements. The front of the house had five arched windows, and the east side included three port-

⁶¹ James Steele, *An Architect for People: The Complete Works of Hassan Fathy* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1997), 6.

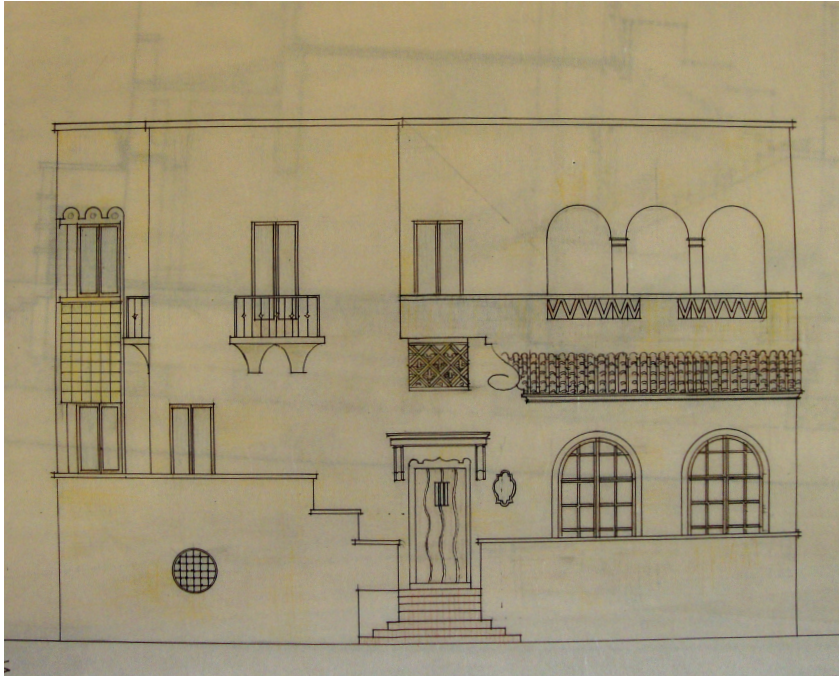


Figure 4.3: The front view of Hassan Fathy's 1938 villa for his wife Aziza Hassanein. The rounded windows were indicative of art deco design, which Fathy paired with wooden lattice work that he drew from Cairo's medieval Muslim architectural design.

hole windows — indicative of the influence that airplane and ocean liner design had on domestic architecture at the time. Yet Fathy also included features that identified the building with design elements derived from Cairo's Islamic quarters. He paired the port-hole windows, for instance, with the dark wood lattice

work of the *mashrabīyya*, which was traditionally used in Cairo's Islamic quarter as a method for ensuring women's seclusion within the home.⁶² The balcony on the second-story, which was accompanied by a patio on the roof of the first story, was guarded by additional wooden latticework. In effect, Fathy's design participated in the global fashions of the time but emphasized Egypt's Islamic culture rather than its pharaonic past.

Like the development of Masjid Faruq al-Awal, the construction of Aziza Hassanein's 1938 villa incorporated more Islamic design elements into Ma'adi's town-and-country aesthetics. These changes subtly reflected the growth of an Egyptian independence that increasingly distanced itself from the signifiers of European influence that the *effendiyya* had previously been

Figure 4.3: Courtesy of the Hassan Fathy Collection, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

⁶² Hassan Fathy Architectural Archives, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

so careful to incorporate into their movement. The growing attention devoted to Muslim Egyptian design elements and institutions became all the more significant during the Second World War. For Ma'adi, the war brought the re-installation of British Commonwealth troops. This time the war did less to differentiate between the Europeans in Ma'adi. Instead, it helped ossify the previously flexible lines between Egyptians and foreigners that had allowed Ma'adi to develop into a multinational space in the first place. While the war did not destroy Ma'adi's nationally and ethnically diverse social fabric, it increased the social and cultural tensions over how the space could be maintained.

War in the Suburbs

Where the First World War swiftly redefined the meaning of “enemy” and “neighbor” among Egypt's population of foreign subjects, the Second World War clarified the difference between the meaning of “Egyptian” as belonging to the country and “foreigner” as an outsider to Egypt's affairs. Because of its location on the perimeter of Cairo, and its associations with British and European influences, Ma'adi took on a somewhat precarious existence during the war. Its significance to the British empire, something previously on the decline, returned to prominence as British Commonwealth troops from New Zealand set up camp in the town. Yet, this wartime installation did not mean that all of Ma'adi's residents supported the war or Egypt's pro-Ally position within it.

Soon after Britain declared war on Germany in September 1939, Ma'adi began seeing the telltale signs of wartime geography. The First World War site of Australia's 2nd Light Horse Brigade had since been developed by the Delta Land Company, so this time the 2nd New

Zealand Expeditionary Force was located further into the desert, near the Wadi Digla, a dry valley cut into the rock and sand by flash flood waters finding their way back to the Nile.⁶³ New Zealand sent an initial contingent of 110 troops to build a camp in the desert that would serve as the country's base of operations throughout the war. They rented the desert space from Delta Land as part of the agreement the company to construct the camp's water and electric utilities. By the time that the First Echelon of the 2nd Expeditionary Force arrived in February 1940, the camp already had 150 huts built as mess rooms, cookhouses, washrooms, and storage facilities. Sleeping quarters, however, remained under construction, so the newly arrived troops spent their first nights at the camp in tents.⁶⁴

Characteristic of military life, the daily camp activities emphasized structure and routine. The leadership carefully scheduled each day, beginning with the morning reveille at 6 a.m., followed by a series of parades and inspections throughout the day, and concluding with the tattoo at 10:30 p.m.⁶⁵ Apart from routine drills, the New Zealanders made time for sport and leave in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt. For some enjoyment within the Ma'adi camp, they also created an active rugby league. The commander of the 2nd New Zealand, British-born New Zealander Bernard Freyberg also ensured that the camp had access to a swimming pool. While the camp remained distinct from Ma'adi — its desert landscape standing in stark contrast to the town's greenery — one particular point of collaboration between the residents and the troops was the construction of a large pool. Freyberg, once a competitive swimmer, wanted to locate the a pool inside the camp, but, consistent with its emphasis on promoting Ma'adi as an active and

⁶³ Alex Hendley with Megan Hutching, *Fernleaf Cairo: New Zealanders at Maadi Camp, the Fascinating Story of New Zealanders in Wartime Egypt* (Auckland, NZ: HarperCollins Publishing, 2009), 16.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 17, 24.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 108-9.



Figure 4.4: Freyberg preparing to jump into the Ma'adi pool upon its unveiling in 1940.

sporting place, Delta Land successfully lobbied to have it built within the town so that Ma'adi residents could use it.⁶⁶ By 1940, Ma'adi had a large, 30 by 12 meter pool that

Kipnis helped design and construct on Delta

Land's behalf. On each side of the pool were large stands, making swimming competitions a spectator sport for community members. To that end, the pool had ample room for races and other fitness exercises, being two meters deep throughout and comprised of six lanes.⁶⁷ Upon the pool's completion, Freyberg was the first to dive in, and, after an inaugural swim, he gave Kipnis a token of appreciation for his services in its construction.⁶⁸ The pool became a fixture not only in military life, but also an important contributor to the athleticism enjoyed and promoted in Ma'adi. One English soldier recalled it as a "marvelous affair," and one of the few easily

Figure 4.4: Photo courtesy of Nona Orbach.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁶⁷ Ibid; "Sun print 2," *Nona Orbach: blog as artwork*, accessed online from <http://nonaorbach.com/blog/?p=1024> on 19 May 2012.

⁶⁸ Orbach, "Sun print 2."

accessible places for a soldier to relax and enjoy himself without going all the way to Cairo.⁶⁹

Kipnis, for his part, proudly photographed Ma‘adi’s young people enjoying the pool he helped build — documenting it as a place where the garden city residents happily spent their time.⁷⁰

Before the war’s end, the Ma‘adi camp saw some 76,000 New Zealanders move through its huts as they prepared for battle in northern Africa and southern Europe. The 2nd New Zealand saw initial action within Cairo in 1942, when they were called upon to surround King Faruq at ‘Abdīn Palace. Through the military mobilization the British looked to coerce Faruq into allowing the establishment of a Wafd-led government. British Ambassador Miles Lampson initiated the move in hopes of eliminating any pro-Axis influences close to Faruq and ingratiating the British to the Wafd. While Faruq capitulated, the incident effectively discredited the Wafd with the majority of Egyptians. Older hopes for Anglo-Egyptian friendship amid the rise of Egyptian independence appeared less and less tenable as disdain for the British grew, most significantly among the now-humiliated Egyptian military.⁷¹

The ‘Abdīn Palace ultimatum proved the Middle East’s bloodiest year of the war. Before the end of February, the 2nd New Zealand was deployed in Lebanon and Syria. By that summer, they saw action in Egypt, when it became the setting of the first of two battles in the western desert at Al-Alamīn. While the July battle ended in a stalemate, the fighting resumed in November and concluded with an Allied victory. By May 1943, the 2nd New Zealand returned to Ma‘adi where they remained for several months. They left that fall to fight in Italy, where they

⁶⁹ Private papers of H W Hainsworth, Documents.12578, IWM, London, UK.

⁷⁰ Correspondence between Nona Orbach and the author, 19 May 2012.

⁷¹ Gabriel Warburg, “Lampson’s Ultimatum to Faruq, 4 February, 1942,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 11:1 (Jan. 1975), 24-32; Charles D. Smith, “4 February 1942: Its Causes and Its Influence on Egyptian Politics and on the Future of Anglo-Egyptian Relations, 1937-1945,” *IJMES*, 10:4 (Nov. 1979), 453-79.

remained until the war's end. As New Zealanders joined their countrymen to fight in Europe, they continued funneling through Ma'adi, and the camp remained active until 1946.⁷²

Multinational convictions

During 1942, when the threat of an invasion by the Axis powers remained real, the war brought a substantial challenge to the political allegiances of Ma'adi residents, many of whom had personal and professional lives that depended on Cairo's continuity as a multinational locale. The war made the maintenance of a broadly-construed international community increasingly untenable as the Europeans went to war with one another, drawing the rest of the world into the violence. In Egypt, an explicitly anti-British vision for the future took shape for many. Within Ma'adi, even with its links to British influence and the New Zealand military installation, the town did not become a site of wartime anglophilia. The nationalism already on display in the alteration to Ma'adi's street names in the 1930s became all the more personal during the war, sometimes creating political divides within families.

Nadia Salem grew up in Ma'adi during the war. For her and those of her generation, Ma'adi's multinational community and town-and-country environs were embedded into their childhood experiences as a fact of a life. Her formative years were marked by a number of British influences at work in Egypt. Salem's father attended school in England, and returned to Egypt with staunch pro-British convictions. In Ma'adi, he built a large villa for his family and some of his wife's relatives.⁷³ Salem and her siblings attended English and American schools. She was an early pupil at the Ma'adi English School, an elementary school for boys and girls

⁷² Hedley, 13.

⁷³ Salem, interview with the author, 12 Nov. 2009.

between the ages of five and nine. The school used a villa on Road 81, across the street from Ma'adi's irrigation canal, and first opened its doors in the fall of 1932 as an extension of the English School-Cairo.⁷⁴ Its pupils largely reflected the diversity of Ma'adi's residents at the time — with a large number of English and Egyptian children, and a handful of students from elsewhere in Europe and the Middle East.⁷⁵ Salem's classmate Maggie Safwat recalled that the student body was comprised of especially high numbers of European and Egyptian Christians, as wells as Egyptian Jews and Muslims.

Salem and Safwat were students at the English School during the war and as such participated in the pro-British activities it organized. One December early in the war, they and the other students went on a school trip to the Ma'adi military base to sing Christmas carols for the troops. They walked three-quarters of a mile eastward from the school's location near the center of Ma'adi out into the desert camp in Digla. Both women recalled the episode with retrospective amusement. For the significant portion of Muslim and Jewish students, the Christian holiday carried little personal significance. Singing Christmas carols as school children had a sense of entertaining incongruity, indicative of how the war emphasized their participation in an English institution over their own religious or political beliefs. For both Safwat and Salem the event appeared out of sync with Ma'adi's cross-confessional life by emphasizing a discrete display of religious and political sympathies.

As children during a time when foreign influence remained in place and the population of Egyptians in Ma'adi grew, the student body was aware of different cultural and religious

⁷⁴ "The English School, Cairo: Maadi Branch," *Egyptian Gazette*, 4 June 1932. Newspaper clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁷⁵ Salem, interview with the author, 12 Nov. 2009; Maggie Safwat, interview with the author, 13 Jan. 2011 and 5 May 2011.

practices, and appear to have taken their coexistence largely for granted. Safwat recalled the sense of community among her and her classmates that was not subject to national or religious divisions, even while her family promoted the growth of Ma'adi's Muslim community. Her father Muhammad Safwat Bey was a member of Itihād al-Ma'adi, the group that supported the construction of Masjid Faruq al-Awal. Maggie presented the king with flowers at the opening ceremonies.⁷⁶ Similarly, Ingy Safwat, who grew up in Helwan and moved to Ma'adi in 1952, attended the Catholic girls school in Helwan. While there, she continued to identify as Muslim, and had no parental restrictions about her religious practice or befriending her Christian classmates. "It made no difference," she said. She recalled that when her Muslim grandmother prayed the *salah*, she prayed with her. Likewise, when the girls at school went to church, the Muslim girls went along. "It's God's house — it's God's house," she said, emphasizing that she has continued to maintain these cross-confessional sympathies throughout her life.⁷⁷

Similar to the way that Dale's recollections of Ma'adi placed Delta Land at the center of the town's affairs, thus removing Egypt's larger political negotiations from his narrative, these childhood memories focus on an internal social harmony that appears similarly distanced from the more contested political issues that simultaneously informed Ma'adi's existence. Their recollections point to an experience of Ma'adi that identified it as removed from the push and pull of wartime Cairo, with its influx of military personnel and the uncertainty of Egypt's independence that accompanied it. It stands in contrast to contests for political power as a space where children of various faiths and ethnicities shared the same childhood experiences, attended

⁷⁶ M. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

⁷⁷ While the two Safwat women are close friends, they are not related. As Ingy explained, "We are sisters, but not really." I. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

the same schools, and felt themselves in close relationship with one another. In this context, certain events of the war stood out in their memories because they emphasized differences that had previously stood in the background.

If Ma'adi's young people did not sense any overt political or religious division in their day-to-day lives, their elders had a weightier sense of the rifts exacerbated by the war. In Salem's home, the wartime caroling might have been at odds with her religious upbringing, but the more serious political tensions took shape among the adults within the house. Salem recalled a particularly distinct disagreement between her father and maternal grandmother. While her father remained pro-British during the war, her grandmother supported the Germans. She would spend her time knitting socks for the Germans in anticipation of their arrival in Cairo, so that she might greet them as liberators and supply them with fresh socks. While Salem recalled her grandmother's activities with amusement, the family's support for the Germans had significant implications. Two of Salem's maternal uncles more overtly supported the Nazis, and following the Allied victory were forced into exile. Salem's family lost track of their whereabouts after the war, and she never saw them again.⁷⁸

The divided convictions within Salem's household were indicative of the kinds of political and social challenges that the war posed for Ma'adi's residents. Where Ma'adi's association with villas and gardens, single-family homes, and athleticism had previously contributed to its growth during and after the First World War, those physical and social features no longer carried the same resonance with Egypt's political leadership, or even Ma'adi's residents. If Ma'adi grew out of the linkages created by global flows of capital and culture that

⁷⁸ Salem, interview with the author, 30 April 2011.

additionally contributed to the nationalist iconography of the *effendiyya*, its maintenance after the war increasingly relied on more subtle cultural means of distinguishing it as an upper-middle class, town-and-country space separate from the city. Its aesthetic qualities, and the socioeconomic distinctions that came with them imbued the space with a sense of affluent prestige that made it an attractive alternative to the congestion of urban Cairo. Holding those classed cultural bonds together as the basis of the community's identity became increasingly difficult in the decade that followed the war, as the political, economic, and social bonds that once substantiated and accompanied Ma'adi's cultural ties broke down.

When the levee breaks

Before the war ended, a confrontation between Ma'adi's built and natural environment brought some of the elements of its shifting political context to the fore. On New Year's Eve 1944, a torrential downpour hit Egypt. The *Egyptian Gazette* reported that it was the "worst storm in 23 years." Outside of Cairo, Faiyum and Suez were among the hardest hit, both taking on more than a foot and half of water. Nearer the capital, the storm took the heaviest toll on Ma'adi.⁷⁹ During the night, an onslaught of rain poured down through the Wadi Digla, overwhelming the dike, and flooding the town as the water made its way to the Nile. Dale received a call at 5 a.m. on New Year's Day with news that the dike had collapsed and the town was quickly flooding. The call came too late for Dale to be of much use. Upon opening his front door, he recalled stepping into more than a foot of water, its muddy consistency soon flooding the first floor of his house. In the yard, he found their chickens neck-deep in the sludge-like

⁷⁹ "Worst Storm in 23 Years," *Egyptian Gazette*, 2 Jan. 1945, 6. Newspaper clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

water. Once the waters receded, Dale and his wife had some 11-inches of soapy yellow clay in the garden that similarly cloaked the rest of Ma‘adi.⁸⁰ The Dales were among the lucky ones.

While the flood uprooted trees, took down telephone poles, and damaged homes, roads, and gardens within Ma‘adi, the waters did the most damage to the Arab village north of the town, known as ‘Azbet el-Basrī. Dale recalled, “The fragile, mud-built dwellings quickly collapsed with the destruction of most of their contents.”⁸¹ The *Egyptian Gazette* reported that more than 2,000 men, women, and children were left homeless after the flood waters washed away their village homes.⁸²

In the days following the tragedy, a joint public and private relief effort worked to meet the villagers’ most pressing needs. As Dale recalled, “Maadi residents of all nationalities immediately got to work.” They erected a large tent, installed drinking water and electricity for lighting. The police set up a mobile canteen, manned by some of the women of Ma‘adi, who provided hot soup and other food to the villagers. The ladies’ committee of the Red Crescent Society also brought in fabric to help make new clothing.⁸³ To aid in the recovery, the Ministry of Public Health donated tents and blankets. King Faruq donated £E500 to the cause and the Muslim Charitable Society gave an additional £E300. The most substantial donation came from the Delta Land Company, which gave £E2,000 to the stranded villagers.⁸⁴ While the community relief effort and charitable gifts helped meet the immediate needs for housing, feeding, and clothing the villagers, finding them permanent housing proved the largest challenge.

⁸⁰ GB165-0073, MECA.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “Worst Storm in 23 Years,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 2 Jan. 1945, 6.

⁸³ GB165-0073, MECA.

⁸⁴ “King’s gift for storm victims,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 3 Jan. 1945. Newspaper clippings, MC, AUC, Egypt.

The Red Crescent Society formed a committee to plan a new village, and Dale was invited to join as a representative of Delta Land.



Figure 4.5: A large tree uprooted by the 1945 flood waters.

According to his recollections, the committee's initial meeting got off to a slow start of mixed Arabic and English dialogue, until Madame 'Abbūd Pasha, the English wife of a prominent Egyptian businessman, asked if plans for any actual buildings were at hand. Two architects were asked to submit proposals — one who proposed using mud-brick and plaster to create a domed design, and another who offered a stone construction. 'Abbūd then offered each architect £E100 to construct a prototype of the house, which would allow the committee to make a more informed choice. Dale then offered a new space for the village's construction — one that would be further removed from the threat of future flooding.⁸⁵ Dale did not explain, however, that Hassan Fathy was the architect who proposed the domed, mud-brick design. The subsequent saga over the village's construction would make Ma'adi a fixture in one of Egypt's most significant architectural developments in the

Figure 4.5: Photo courtesy of MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁸⁵ GB165-0073, MECA.

twentieth century. It would also indicate how Ma'adi's leadership fell out of step with the forces guiding Egypt into the future.

Fathy remembered the events of the flood and the Red Crescent meeting somewhat differently from Dale. For Fathy, the Islamic influences featured in his architecture were also personal convictions, and in this case they tempered his perspective on the villagers. To have experienced such a violent natural disaster, in Fathy's view, meant that they had done something to deserve God's punishment, and the flood had been an act of divine justice. He later wrote, "This flood showed the hand of God quite plainly..." describing the villagers as largely dishonest and deserving the losses they experienced during the flood.⁸⁶ When it came to rebuilding the village, Fathy was invited to make a proposal by Madame Sirrī Pasha, the president of the Red Crescent's ladies' committee, and wife of the former prime minister. After receiving the invitation, Fathy went to the village to survey its remains. He found that while the village had been built of mud brick, the construction was shoddy, and that similar materials — which he believed were the "sole hope of rural reconstruction" — could be used again in a more sustainable fashion. Fathy determined that if he used a thicker wall, and a stone foundation, "mud brick houses would survive even Noah's flood."⁸⁷

Fathy came to rely on mud-brick construction not long after completing construction on his first Ma'adi villa in 1938. Since then, Fathy had experienced a kind of architectural epiphany while observing the mud-brick domed roofs constructed by Nubian villagers near the Upper Egyptian city of Aswan. Upon walking through the nearby village, he observed how the peasants

⁸⁶ Hassan Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 12. The book was originally published by Egypt's Ministry of Culture in 1969 as *Gourna: A Tale of Two Villages*.

⁸⁷ Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor*, 5 and 12.

elegantly avoided troubling with timber for the roofs of their homes — an expensive material that was subject to wartime shortages. Instead, they created mud brick domes, which were not only aesthetically pleasing, but also kept the houses' interiors cooler.⁸⁸ Inspired by the villagers, Fathy hired a Nubian mason as part of his building team and began incorporating the mud brick materials and domed structures into all of his work. He became increasingly convinced that there was no reason not to employ the same materials and design motifs used by these peasants in the homes for wealthier clients.⁸⁹ In turn, this “architecture for the poor” also became a style identified with Egyptian-ness, its local materials, and home-grown expertise. Where his former villa designs layered global trends that were also fashionable in the west with traditional Islamic features, this new motif looked to dismiss even subtle foreign influences and create something developed in Egypt and accessible to all Egyptians.

The re-establishment of ‘Azbet el-Baṣrī outside of Ma‘adi offered Fathy his first opportunity to put his new architectural schemes to work before a large, influential audience. In advance of the Red Crescent meeting, Fathy prepared a detailed plan for the new village. He estimated that by using mud bricks for the construction, the cost for building 20 houses would only be £E3,000. Rather than receiving a positive reception from the committee upon submitting his plans, however, he encountered a series of tedious meetings. He recalled, “Meeting after meeting, resolution after resolution objections, suggestions, evasions, bright ideas and serious doubts, until we could have built ten villages with our own hands in the time we wasted.”⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 5.

Figure 4.6: Image courtesy of the HF, AUC, Egypt.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 13.

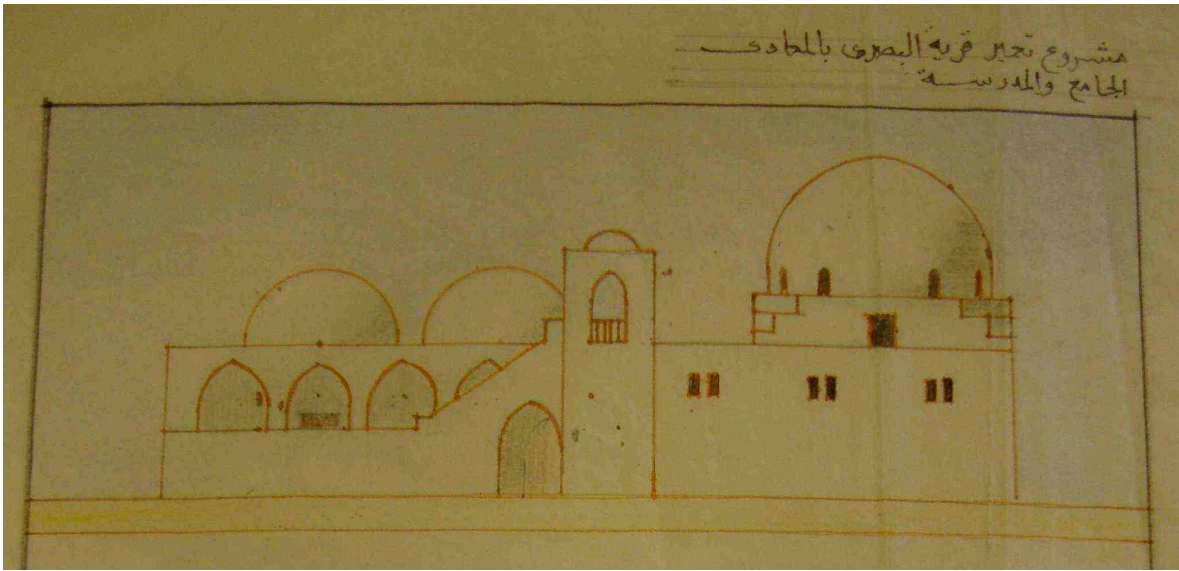


Figure 4.6: Fathy's design for the mosque and *madrassa* (school) within 'Azbet al-Baṣrī — where he used several domed structures in the design.

Fortuitously, Madame 'Abbūd broke the indecisive pattern by asking him how much money he needed to build a prototype of one house. Upon asking for a modest £E150, she wrote him a check. While most of the events Fathy recalled followed Dale's memory of the same slow decision-making process and 'Abbūd's problem-solving gesture, Fathy made no mention of a competition between himself and another architect. Instead, Fathy explained that upon finishing the house, which included vaulted ceilings, two large rooms, sleeping alcoves, built-in cupboards, a large loggia, and courtyard, at a cost of £E 164, he anticipated that the committee would promptly grant him the commission, and he could commence building the other 19 houses. Madame Sirrī Pasha regretfully informed him, however, that the committee had hired a different architect to complete the project — a man who proposed a village design that mimicked European cottages. His house was subsequently destroyed because it did not fit with the proposed design of the new village. Fathy remarked that the committee's architect actually built something more akin to wartime air raid shelters — concrete structures composed of two square

rooms, no kitchen, and no sleeping recesses or cupboards. According to Fathy, the project cost £E22,000.⁹¹

Even though Fathy's mud brick domes could find no place in Ma'adi, the little house helped launch the most influential period of his career. He quickly garnered the attention of a private company in the Suez that commissioned him and his masons to build housing for their workers. Most significantly, the Department of Antiquities took note of Fathy's design, and asked him to help relocate the village of Gourni in Upper Egypt. The Gourni project allowed Fathy to articulate his vision for an accessible and aesthetically pleasing "architecture for the poor." Fathy hoped that the construction of New Gourni would spark a movement in rural redevelopment that would change the Egyptian countryside. By showing the affordability of good housing, he envisioned peasants throughout Egypt constructing new domed residences for themselves. Later, he went on to propose a national program for rural reconstruction as a state-sponsored renewal project. Fathy's vision never came to fruition, however. The Gourni project was never completed — a failure Fathy attributed to "peasant obscurantism and bureaucratic hostility."⁹² While the built environment he hoped would transform Egypt for never fully took shape, his philosophy about the establishment of locally and sustainably constructed housing for Egypt's peasants gained him worldwide renown.⁹³

Similar to Howard's vision for the garden city as a cross-class community in a carefully planned satellite town — Fathy's plan was not carried out to perfection, but the idea held on. Just as Ma'adi never stood for the social ideals of Howard's garden city, it also represented an

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 134.

⁹³ Steele, *Architecture for People: The Complete Works of Hassan Fathy* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1997).

awkward launching pad for Fathy's career, where the town's leaders saw some value in his design but did not identify with the ideology behind it. That Fathy was bested by a plan intended to mimic European cottages, but was in reality constructed out of concrete blocks is perhaps the most potent indicator of the town's precarious position by the end of the war. Fathy may have fallen short of reconstructing rural Egypt, but his vision for an Egyptian design, using Egyptian materials was increasingly identified with the future of the country. Ma'adi's attempt to blend European designs into the Egyptian landscape, in turn, figured more and more out of step with Egypt, especially to people outside the town-and-country establishment. That the actual village was in fact a completely utilitarian design, with few aesthetic qualities, was even more indicative of gradual slippage in Delta Land's control over the town's built environment. According to Dale, most of the villagers at 'Azbet al-Baṣṣī left Ma'adi. He left no description of the new village, but explained that financial mismanagement of the £E15,000 the company raised to assist the peasants had caused most of them to move on. For those who remained, the company ensured that the village had proper drainage, drinking water, and electricity.⁹⁴ Delta Land's efforts in the village had also been primarily acts of charity. The company's priorities remained focused on the wealthier residents who lived within its garden city establishment. Yet the company's emphasis on Ma'adi's more privileged populace ultimately proved incompatible with the vision for Egypt that gained ascendancy in the 1950s.

⁹⁴ GB165-0073, MECA.

Changing Form and Structure

In 1949, Fathy built his third and final house in Ma‘adi, another villa for his wife Aziza Hassāneīn, this time a larger home that stood along the eastern bank of the Nile. The architectural design presented the same Nubian-styled motifs at work in his architecture for the poor.⁹⁵ Some 11 years after building Hassāneīn’s first villa in Ma‘adi, Fathy left no trace of the art deco features or other globally-popularized trends that he previously used. Even the language of the new drawings stood in contrast to the 1938 house, using almost solely Arabic and discarding the French that had previously been the *lingua franca* of Egypt’s business class. The new house included the arched doorways and corridors of Fathy’s village homes. The house’s exterior windows were covered in intricately designed *mashrabīyya* — now a fully integrated part of the design, where in 1938 it worked as a kind of Islamic ornamentation. The new villa’s most distinctive feature was a large, domed roof on the vestibule placed on the house’s northwest corner. Fathy composed the house as a series of interlocking blocks, making the arches and especially the domed structure stand out in complementary contrast.⁹⁶

The dome and *mashrabīyya* employed in Fathy’s 1949 design set the house apart from Ma‘adi’s other villas. Delta Land’s architects had established a certain uniformity among most of the town’s earlier homes, which were generally a combination of wood and stucco construction, rectangular in shape and often shrouded by nearby trees. This new space, however, captured a different sense of place. Fathy wanted to create a home that he deemed appropriately set amongst its Egyptian environs. Where he believe the European cottage design proposed for the new

⁹⁵ “Villa Aziza Hassāneīn,” HF, AUC, Egypt.

⁹⁶ “Fīla ḥaḍarat šāḥibat al-‘ašma ‘azīza hanem ḥasāneīn ‘ala al-n īl bināḥīat al-ma‘adī,” Hassan Fathy Architectural Archives, RB&SCL, AUC, Egypt.

‘Azbet al-Baṣrī would sit awkwardly among the camels and palm trees of greater Cairo, he wanted his designs to blend in with the history and geography of their surroundings.⁹⁷ To look appropriate in its Egyptian setting, Fathy emphasized the use of Nubian dome and the Islamic *mashrabīyya*. These both stood as signifiers of the country’s history and majority religion and as elements that were less common elsewhere in Ma‘adi’s built environment, especially in the first 30 years of the town’s existence.

The architectural features of Fathy’s 1949 villa, like the first Ma‘adi house he built for his wife in the late-1930s, spoke of the political changes going on in Cairo and throughout Egypt. While the Second World War brought a reimposition of British imperial power, the postwar years showed the vulnerability of that power. At the same time, the population of the Egyptian capital swelled as an influx of peasants moved into Cairo. Even the establishment of Fathy’s new villa proved vulnerable to the rapid changes permeating the city. Only three years after its completion, the Egyptian government demolished the house because it stood in the path of the new corniche road they built along the Nile. Where the house might have participated in a different kind of town-and-country aesthetic, one more locally-derived but still imbued with signifiers of wealth and leisure, the structure could not withstand the changing dynamics of the city as the local government looked to expand Cairo’s urban environment. Egypt faced political and social changes on a scale not yet experienced, and even Ma‘adi’s most seemingly national elements could not survive them untouched.

Egypt’s multinational influences were not instantly erased after the Second World War, yet the older paths of cross-cultural, multi-ethnic accommodation and collaboration that Ma‘adi

⁹⁷ Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor*, 14.

depended upon no longer proved political salient in the way that they had after the First World War. The town became a place layered with rival meanings — still an orderly and aesthetically pleasing garden city to some. To others, however, it represented a holdout of socioeconomic inequalities, substantiated by outdated forms of foreign privilege. While political uncertainty was nothing new to Ma'adi, Egypt's leaders looking to reorient their country's place in the world in the late-1940s and early-1950s. The alteration of Egypt's global relationships would, in turn, unravel the foreign political and economic ties that had provided much of the basis for Ma'adi's multinational society and culture. Without these older buttresses, Ma'adi increasingly relied on its association with Egyptian upper-middle class status as a sign of its distinction and stability. Ma'adi's separation from the urban center, with its villas, gardens, quiet streets, and emphasis on athleticism and recreation, would prove far more tenuous than the older juridical and economic structures that had previously substantiated the community.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESTRUCTURING REVOLUTION

In the months that followed the Allied victory in Europe in May 1945, Gabriel Josipovici and his mother Sacha Rabinovitch made their way back to Cairo from war-torn France. Rabinovitch descended from the same prominent Egyptian Jewish families who helped found Ma'adi, and she spent her childhood south of Delta Land's garden city in Helwan, where she was born in 1910.¹ While a desire to get out of Egypt drove many of the events of her adult life, the instability of Europe after the war and the harshness of its antisemitism made returning to Cairo a necessity. The mother and son moved to Ma'adi, where Sacha's sister Vera and her family had recently relocated. Their movement into Ma'adi marked a departure from older modes of accessing the town, indicative of the alternative, less privileged means of arrival that would continue to open up throughout the middle of the twentieth century.

Like so many major political events before it, the Second World War did not appear to significantly alter the internal dynamics of Ma'adi's society or the terms on which it was administered. The Delta Land Company remained in charge of the town, and Dale continued in his constabulary role as general manager. Its streets were lined with trees. The villas and their accompanying gardens — even amid changing architectural styles — leant a similar aesthetic and uniform domestic shape to the town. For people like Rabinovitch and Josipovici, Ma'adi offered a safe haven after the violence they witnessed in Europe.

While Ma'adi's seemingly unscathed emergence from the Second World War might have appeared to indicate the maintenance of Egypt's existing political elite and their shared culture and patterns of sociability, the war had set in motion a larger chain of events that would initiate a

¹ Gabriel Josipovici, *A Life* (London: London Magazine Editions, European Jewish Publication Society, 2001), 17.

new kind of political change in the country. Throughout the colonized world, the Second World War energized new movements for not only political independence, but also for socially and culturally distancing their new regimes from Western influence. An emphasis on finding a “third way,” between the interpolated world of Cold War capitalism and communism helped guide the post-colonial ideologies of newly independent regimes.² Examining how those changes took place in Egypt, and what it meant for Ma‘adi addresses not only the story of ongoing political changes within Egypt and throughout the Middle East, but also tells the more internal story of how the society and culture surrounding the country’s former elites was also upended.

If Ma‘adi appeared to offer stability and safety for families leaving Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War, it would not remain a longterm home for most of them. Egypt’s humiliating defeat three years later in the Arab-Israeli War, which fueled the impetus behind the military coup in 1952, heightened ethnic and religious tensions in the country. How those changes affected Ma‘adi offers a lesson in the unexpected results of revolutionary change and the often gradual ways that political upheaval can alter a culture and society. Ma‘adi residents did not anticipate that the suburban life they enjoyed would come into conflict with the new regime led by Gamal Abdel Nasser. Josipovici recalled feeling enthusiastic about the new leader, believing that Nasser’s socialist ideals might better serve the Egyptian people.³ Only gradually did Josipovici and other Ma‘adi residents — not only Jews, but also foreign nationals

² On the Cold War and “third world” politics, see Philip B. Whyman, *Third Way Economics: Theory and Evaluation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); and Henry Trofimenko, “The Third World and the U.S.-Soviet Competition: A Soviet View,” *Foreign Affairs* (June 1, 1981), 1021-40. An extensive literature exists about the impact of the Second World War on the colonized world. Recent works on the British experience include: Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2006); Suke Wolton, *Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and the Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War: The Loss of White Prestige* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000); and Andrew Stewart, *Empire Lost: Britain, and the Dominions in the Second World War* (London: Continuum, 2008).

³ Josipovici, interview with the author, 29 Mar. 2011.

— feel themselves unwelcome in Egypt and see the older modes of their shared, multinational society in Ma‘adi disintegrate. If the events of the mid-twentieth century brought the erection of firm boundaries between foreigner and national, the creation of those barriers happened gradually. Ma‘adi’s mid-twentieth century history identifies the details of that process. Its story addresses how the subtleties of economic change took place at the same time as large-scale political events, often informing their results. Likewise, as Ma‘adi residents attempted to find methods for preserving their town-and-country life, the town’s history addresses how people attempted to maintain forms of continuity and stability despite the uncertainties of their circumstances. If Ma‘adi’s history during the first half of the twentieth century showed social and cultural continuities despite political change, its story during the 1950s and 1960s explores what it actually takes to transform an existing elite society.

Remembering childhood

“Is it possible to separate one’s earliest memories from the stories one is later told about one’s own childhood?” Josipovici asked in a biographical essay he published in 1988.⁴ In it he related the events of his formative years in Ma‘adi from October 1945 until September 1956. His recollections captured some of the complexities of Ma‘adi’s social, cultural, and political world during these years of intense change. His statement about the layers of memory, which are shaped by the telling and retelling of stories of the past, also identifies some of the challenges of relating a history that is touched by a mixture of often competing remembrances. The memories related here — mostly retold through personal interviews or written down as memoirs — not

⁴ Josipovici, “Gabriel Josipovici, 1940-,” *Contemporary Authors Autobiography Series*, Mark Zadrozny, ed., Volume 8 (Dec. 1988), 145-154.

only address events in the past, but also how those events are often interpreted and understood through the backwards facing lens created by subsequent experiences. Josipovici's life in Ma'adi unfolded alongside contemporaries whose lives subsequently charted different trajectories into the remainder of the twentieth century. These divergent paths meant that the memory of Ma'adi carried different connotations, and that those fragments of memory present remnants of the town's previous existence while their personal meaning becomes contingent out of the events that followed.

When Josipovici arrived in Ma'adi with his mother, the two set up house in a small flat on Road 9, near the end of the commercial zone just before the road turned back into desert. The nearby train comprised some of his most pronounced memories of their existence in the apartment, with the mechanical resonation of its arrival marking the passing of every quarter hour. He recalled that even while he and his mother grew accustomed to its repetitive sound, guests were continually surprised by it.⁵ As the son of a single working mother, Josipovici's experience treaded some of the borders of the privileged and stable existence associated with the majority of Ma'adi households. Josipovici's mother and father were both Egyptian Jews, and, on his mother's side, he descended from the country's more prominent Jewish families — his grandmother being a Cattaoui who was related to the Rossi and Mosseri families.⁶ Yet both "Egyptian" and "Jewish" present incomplete categories for relating Josipovici's heritage and the context out of which his experiences in Egypt and abroad grew.

⁵ Ibid., 150.

⁶ "Descendants of Eliahu Rossi," accessed online at <http://www.geocities.com/rainforest/vines/5855/rossi.htm> on 29 Jan. 2013; Josipovici, *A Life*, 25; and "Obituary: Sacha Rabinovitch," *The Independent*, 9 Apr. 1996, accessed online via <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-sacha-rabinovitch-1303951.html#> on 28 Jan. 2013.

Sacha Rabinovitch was the daughter of a Jewish doctor from Odessa, who came to Egypt as part of a world tour. He later converted to Islam, before dying when his two daughters were young children. After being widowed, Sacha's mother became an Anglican, and had Sacha and her older sister Vera baptized.⁷ Years later, in order to marry Jean Josipovici in a Jewish ceremony, Sacha had to undergo a ritual immersion at a Cairo synagogue, where Gabriel recalled being told that she was dipped into a "filthy pool, while someone chanted outside the window."⁸ While Sacha returned to Judaism, Vera, affectionately known as "Chickie," later married Albert Bajocchi, an Italian Catholic, and converted. Of her two daughters, Monica married a Muslim and converted and Anna remained Catholic but married a Greek Orthodox journalist. The family's multi-confessional trajectories participated in the social complexities characteristic of Cairene life earlier in the twentieth century. Their varied modes of religious identification took shape through personal negotiations amid Egypt's interconnected social world. In the years following the Second World War, their respective religious affiliations gained increased political salience, charting different experiences for the various members of the family through the latter half of the twentieth century. Sacha and Chickie remained close, indicative of their personal maintenance of older paths of accommodation, yet Egypt's political context made it more difficult for both of them to remain in Ma'adi.

For Josipovici's mother, moving to Europe during the 1930s made her Jewishness particularly personal and significant. Jean and Sacha left for France in 1935, a year into their

⁷ The girls were baptized by Sister Margaret Clare a prominent English missionary and devotee to the British community in Cairo in the early-twentieth century. Josipovici, "Gabriel Josipovici, 1940-," 145, and *A Life*, 24. Clare was particularly influential in establishing English schools in the city, and a fund was created in her name to provide scholarships in 1917. "Sister Margaret Clare Fund: A Worthy Object," *Egyptian Gazette*, 16 Feb. 1917. On Clare also see FO 141/1112, FO 141/790 and FO 141/802.

⁸ Josipovici, "Gabriel Josipovici, 1940-," 145.

marriage, and attended school at the University of Aix-Marseilles. Soon afterwards the turbulence that would characterize their life together set in. Sacha spent her time caring for the family's domestic needs, while typing up Jean's stories and thesis draft, and studying for her own master's degree. Jean, on the other hand, took to philandering, often with the couple's friends. They had Gabriel in October 1940, on the same day that they had booked tickets for Egypt, having hoped to wait out the war abroad. His birth meant remaining in France. Sacha and Jean's marriage then crumbled in the same years France fell to the Axis powers. When Sacha was pregnant with the couple's second child, Jean departed for Paris with one of Sacha's closest friends. Left on their own, Sacha and Gabriel lived out much of the war's remaining years in southeastern France under Italian occupation, finding a kind of haven in Nice. They later avoided being rounded by German forces through the protection of the French Resistance, which provided them with forged documents and train tickets to La Bourboule. On the train to La Bourboule, Gabriel's mother gave him one of his most significant introductions to his Judaism. She made her young son ride separately from her, later explaining:

I knew that if we were stopped and I was asked to account for myself I would most probably, despite my papers, say that I was Jewish. I felt that even though it would mean leaving you with strangers it was something I would have to do. There aren't many moments like that in life but I felt that this was one of them.⁹

She never had to face the dilemma, however. In the 18 hours that they rode from Nice to La Bourboule, Germans never boarded the train asking for documents.¹⁰ Once in La Bourboule, Gabriel's sister Elizabeth was born — providing a brief reunion for the family. Jean and Sacha's

⁹ Josipovici, *A Life*, 93.

¹⁰ Ibid.

infant daughter died, however, only ten days later. After the loss, the couple split permanently, and Gabriel and Sacha remained in La Bourboule for the remainder of the war. Afterward, Chickie sent them tickets to Egypt, and they traveled on the English troopship *Arundel Castle* to Port Said.

The pair moved to Ma'adi because Chickie lived there with her daughters Monica and Anna. During the war, the Bajocchis surmounted their own challenges. Because Albert was an Italian citizen, he was put in an internment camp early in the war. The family moved to Ma'adi from Zamalek during his imprisonment, and he followed them there after his release roughly a year into the war. His daughter Anna Joannides (née Bajocchi) recalled that he served a shorter stint than many of the other Italian internees, likely because of his connections to Cairo's British community.¹¹ Once in Ma'adi, Joannides was well aware of the military establishment in the town. Her first memories of Ma'adi situated the beauty of the town's gardens and villas alongside the military encampment. She recalled, "there were quite a lot of military camps still."¹² The contrast she recognized in those early memories, between the military establishment and the rest of Delta Land's garden city, identified Ma'adi's simultaneous signifiers of continuity and change as the structures of war stood alongside the well-to-do villa and garden establishments.

While most Ma'adi residents recollected life in a villa comprised of many rooms and accompanied by a large garden, Gabriel and Sacha's abode in the apartment took on a more spartan existence. Delta Land began building apartment buildings in Ma'adi in the 1910s, soon

¹¹ Anna Joannides (née Bajocchi) recalled that the family's permanent reunion was further suspended when her paternal grandmother had an illness, and her father lived with her for a stint. Joannides, interview with the author, 11 Apr. 2011.

¹² Ibid.

after its founding.¹³ They did not figure prominently in the town's built environment, however, particularly because they, like all of the other buildings in the garden city could not exceed 15 meters in height.¹⁴ Sacha and Gabriel's life in the Road 9 flat did not rely on the labor of household servants, gardeners, cooks, and nannies, ubiquitous in Ma'adi's wealthier households. To support their new impecunious life, Sacha had to find work, and pay for Gabriel's enrollment in one of the foreign schools in Ma'adi. More than an idiosyncratic experience of post-war life, however, their cramped apartment life was more and more typical as Ma'adi increasingly came to be incorporated into the sprawl of greater Cairo.

Rather than establishing a seemingly permanent family home in Ma'adi, as a wealthier nuclear family might, this single mother and her child continued their pattern of displacement and movement even within Ma'adi. The pair moved continually. After the apartment on Road 9, they took up residence in a basement flat nearer the Nile on Road 6. Then they moved to another apartment on Road 18. Finally, Sacha purchased a bungalow near the Ma'adi Sporting Club. The bungalow had a wooden veranda along three sides, and had the added atmosphere of sitting alongside the irrigation canal. Delta Land had built a row of smaller bungalows across the street from the club, and Josipovici recalled it as their little family's most cherished home in the garden city.¹⁵

To support their life in Ma'adi, Sacha took a number of different jobs. Initially, she helped deliver milk early in the morning, rising at 5 a.m. to make her rounds and returning home

¹³ S. Raafat, *Ma'adi, 1904-1962*, 40.

¹⁴ Article Quatrième, *Cahier des Charges*, Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company (1944) MC, AUC, Egypt.

¹⁵ Josipovici, interview with the author on 29 March 2011.

in time to get Gabriel ready for school. Then she would leave again for mid-morning rounds.¹⁶

Because Gabriel arrived in Ma'adi speaking only French, she initially enrolled him at the Lycée Français. She soon withdrew him, however, because the school gave him so much homework.

“She was horrified that they were giving this little boy who had been through the war homework,” he recalled. She enrolled him instead in the Ma'adi English School, which his cousins also attended.¹⁷ Later she worked at the English-styled boys school Victoria College, in order to pay for Gabriel's tuition. While Gabriel still recalled many of the hallmark features of Ma'adi life — time spent at the club, and cycling with friends along its streets — he and Sacha did not experience the kind of leisurely, commodified Ma'adi life that had previously appealed to foreign expatriates and the Egyptian *effendiyya* before the war. Instead, their less privileged pathway into Ma'adi relied on different social conditions. Though the physical structures of the town's garden city environment remained in place, it increasingly confronted the severe realities of the post-war world, as social inequalities surfaced and did not easily fit into a seamless town-and-country life.

Josipovici did not have to sing Christmas Carols to the British Commonwealth troops during the war, nor did he recall the Ma'adi English School presenting a significant academic challenge — sparing him the rigors of homework assigned at the lycée. Instead, he remembered the athleticism associated with Ma'adi, and all of the physical activities that comprised his daily life there. “I got quite involved in a lot of sport, particularly in swimming and tennis and football,” he recalled. He played football (or soccer) at school and took up swimming and tennis

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

at the Ma'adi Sporting Club. For him, like so many other Ma'adi children, the club was at the center of the town's social world.

The club also had its boundaries and prejudices, the residues of earlier times. For instance, divorced women often faced trouble gaining membership. While Josipovici did not recall his mother dealing with any specific challenge, his cousin Anna remembered Chickie having an issue with the club when they first arrived in Ma'adi. With Albert still in the internment camp, Chickie faced some presumptuous discrimination from the club's leadership when they believed she was divorced. While she cleared up the misunderstanding, and the club became an important social space for her daughters, Anna continued to associate its environs with outdated patterns of exclusion.¹⁸ Josipovici had similar memories of the remnants of racial and ethnic prejudices directed toward Egyptians. On one of his first visits to the club with his mother he recalled overhearing a group of women making disparaging remarks as they watched an Egyptian man walk through the entrance. His mother turned to him and said, "These are old people," implying that the women's racism, though still present, was outdated and did not prevail over the place. Overall, Josipovici remembered the club as a place where middle-class Egyptian and European families in Ma'adi all congregated together. "This was where you either played some sport, or you sat around drinking Coca-Cola, whistling at the girls, or you did both," he happily recollected of the boyhood he spent at the club. "I tried to do both."¹⁹

Under this banner of leisure and athletic activity, the borders that informed the club's existence often faded into the background. While Josipovici and Joannides — both of whom later left Egypt — recalled specific instances where the club's exclusivity became apparent, Egyptian

¹⁸ Joannides, interview with the author, 11 Apr. 2011.

¹⁹ Josipovici, interview with the author, 29 Mar. 2011.

residents who remained in Ma‘adi throughout the remainder of the twentieth century did not recall experiencing prejudiced or discriminatory treatment. Neither Maggie Safwat or Nadia Salem — both of whom attended the Ma‘adi English School with Joannides — said they ever felt they were treated as lesser members of the community because they were Egyptian or Muslim. As it was for Josipoovici and Joannides, the club existed as the center of Salem and Safwat’s social world. Salem played squash and swam at the club. Safwat, who was an accomplished swimmer, recalled fondly, “I was born practically in the pool.” They remembered with particular affection the club’s swimming coach “‘Am Ibrahim,” who taught three generations of Ma‘adi’s young people to swim. “He was a character,” recalled Ingy Safwat.²⁰ In addition to swimming and tennis, the club boasted an 18-hole desert golf course, and made water sports available on the Nile as part of its yacht club. Maggie Zaki, who received several tennis trophies during her youth at the club, recalled that the yacht club made Ma‘adi distinct in Cairo, particularly because it created a context for sailing and water skiing. All of these sports carried an air of wealth and prestige at the time, especially because the equipment had to be imported. Zaki explained that tennis was among the expensive, and thus prestigious sports, because families had to import the rackets, balls and clothes.²¹ The club’s centrality to the memories of these residents of who grew up in Ma‘adi during the 1930s and afterward further identifies the fulfillment of Delta Land’s goals for the club as described in Chapter Three, when they set out to link their garden city with a particularly modern athletic culture, with girls and boys, women and men publicly participating in its activities together.

²⁰ ‘Am is Arabic for uncle, and is used as a term of respect and endearment for older men. Salem, M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 13 Jan. 2011.

²¹ ‘Adl Nimatallah and Maggie Zaki, interview with the author, 13 Jan. 2011.

Their memories point to the classed pathways of exclusivity that informed socialization in Ma'adi. Zaki's recollections, in particular, indicated the classed prestige associated with the town's athleticism. The club offered sports less accessible or identifiable to the majority of Egyptians. While children could play football anywhere, tennis, swimming, golf, and water sports were distinctive, requiring special equipment and facilities. It is no wonder, then, that Josipovici learned to play football at school, but associated the rest of his sporting activities with the club. His differentiation between the locations of these athletic activities points to the larger socioeconomic boundary drawn between those inside and outside of Ma'adi. While Ma'adi's longterm Egyptian residents did not remember personally experiencing any ethnic or racist boundaries to their participation in the club, they simultaneously participated in the classed borders that surrounded its existence.

Perhaps most significantly, the activities located within the club indicated Ma'adi's distinction from the rest of Cairo. Josipovici described his formative years in the garden city as part of his ongoing residence in rural or country places. He explained that he felt continually "un-streetwise" in large urban centers, in part because the dense metropolis existed in stark contrast to the tree-lined streets where he was free to roam on his bicycle. His Ma'adi compatriots had similar memories. For both Maggie and Ingy Safwat, a trip to Cairo was something special. They would go to the dress maker, to the cinema, or to Groppi's, a popular downtown cafe.²² In contrast, Ma'adi offered familiarity and a sense of security, which made the place deeply valuable to its longterm residents. Maggie recalled that as a child in Ma'adi, she felt she knew almost everyone — from the gardeners to the displaced Turkish royalty who took up

²² Downtown was less obscure to Salem, who traveled through downtown for school everyday after she finished at the Ma'adi English School. She would take the train from the Ma'adi station to the town center, then board a bus to Ramses College for Girls. Salem, M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 13 Jan. 2011.

residence in the town. Considering that Ma‘adi had roughly 550 homes by 1946, it would not have been especially difficult to at least be familiar with the majority of the town’s population, including members of their respective household staffs. For Maggie and Ingy, this sense of childhood familiarity and social connectivity helped maintain a personal attachment to the town throughout adulthood. As Maggie stated, “When you grow up in a place, you feel that you belong to this place,” Maggie related. “*Ya ‘nī*, it’s your bigger home.”²³ Maggie recalled her former home with a deep sense of nostalgia, as though the older, familiar form of Ma‘adi was a figure of the past, inaccessible in the present. Her recollections of Ma‘adi’s smaller, more familiar size during these years relied upon the Delta Land Company’s ongoing control of the town, which maintained the development of the town along deliberately constrained parameters in order to preserve its distinctions from the rest of Cairo.

The emphasis these memories place on Ma‘adi’s physical and social distinctions, the small size, the affluent sporting culture, and the familiarity between neighbors recollected the town on pleasant, often nostalgic terms. These memories also pointed to the classed borders erected around the place. While only former residents who eventually left Ma‘adi identified the existence of older racial and ethnic tensions, all of those interviewed here identified Ma‘adi’s markers of affluence, often linking them to an idyllic past. Those classed boundaries, more than Ma‘adi’s association with former British colonial civil servants, or even its dependence on foreign economic privilege, made it a target of the reforms put in place by Nasser during the mid-1950s. At the same time, the signifiers of Ma‘adi’s distinctions became objects of protection and preservation among the town’s residents.

²³ “*Ya ‘nī*” is an Egyptian colloquial expression, which literally translated means “I mean” or “to mean,” but is used similarly to English speakers’ “um” or “like” in everyday speech. M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

Arab-Egyptian Delineations

The circumstances that forced Ma'adi's populace to confront their socioeconomic boundaries took several years to take shape. Following the Second World War, Egypt's war with Israel marked the next major political shift that helped redefine who belonged in Egypt. The events of 1948 presented one kind of political threat to the stability of Ma'adi's town-and-country existence. The Israeli Declaration of Independence in May of that year, and the subsequent Arab-Israeli War heightened the significance of nationality, ethnicity and religion within Egypt in a manner previously unseen. The Egyptian Army's defeat as part of the Arab League played a particularly instrumental role in reshaping the country politically in the 1950s. In Ma'adi, 1948 dealt a serious blow to the town's multinational, cross-confessional diversity.

For residents like Salem and Safwat, who remained in Ma'adi throughout most of the 1950s and 1960s and continue to call the town home, the boundaries that lingered after the Second World War paled in comparison to the ruptures that came in 1948 and after. Additionally, for Josipovici, 1948 set in motion events that would allow him to associate his childhood experiences of continual displacement and movement as something particularly Jewish. Josipovici identified his experiences in Ma'adi with those of a foreigner to Egypt, even though both of his parents were born in the country and his mother descended from a long line of the country's prominent Jewish families. In the memoir he wrote of his mother's life, he summarily described the narrative as a "very Jewish story."²⁴ In Egypt, he explained that even while Jewish families were part of the social fabric of the country, "no matter how assimilated or how

²⁴ Josipovici, *A Life*, 4.

Anglicised, there was the further sense that though this was the only country they could call their own they did not exactly belong to it.”²⁵ Yet the sense of perpetual displacement that Josipovici linked with the Jewishness of his mother’s story — the ongoing movement at the hands of varied forms of ethnic, national and confessional forms of discrimination — was not unique to the Jewish experience during the mid-twentieth century. Cairo became a city for a number of exiles during the 1940s. While Josipovici and his mother came to the Egyptian capital to escape a Europe wracked by war and antisemitism, by the end of the decade, a number of Palestinian families were making more permanent homes in the city following the establishment of Israel.

Most Ma‘adi children spent the majority of their time within the town’s confines, yet there were also several children from elsewhere in Cairo who regularly rode to the town for school. Edward Said began making this trip to Ma‘adi in 1945, when he began attending the Cairo School for American Children on Road 7.²⁶ His family moved to Cairo from West Jerusalem in 1937, when Said was two years old. While he resided more continuously in Egypt than in Palestine, Said recalled feeling like a perpetual outsider throughout his formative years — a similar sentiment to what Josipovici associated with his mother. Said described his ability to connect with his surroundings as perpetually encumbered by his parents’ limited social circle and their strictly enforced household order. In his memoir *Out of Place* he described a life comprised of many of the same hallmarks recalled by Ma‘adi children, yet for him they presented a series of encumbrances. He related, “School, church, club, garden, house — a limited, carefully circumscribed segment of the city — was my world until I was well into my teens.”²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁶ The school later changed its name to Cairo American College (CAC) and remains one of the most prestigious international schools in Ma‘adi. “History of CAC,” (1958), MC, AUC, Egypt.

²⁷ Edward Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 22.

When Said's family moved to Cairo, it had already served as the primary hub of his father Wadie's stationary business for five years. In Cairo, Wadie connected to a network of Syrians in the publishing industry, like the Faris Nimr of *Al-Muqattam*, whose prominence in the city dated back to the late-nineteenth century.²⁸ Additionally, the Saids were American citizens because Wadie lived in the United States during the First World War and served in the army.²⁹ As American citizens, the family remained beneficiaries of the capitulations for the remainder of the system's existence until 1949. They, like so many generations of Levantines before them, moved to Egypt at a time when their foreign passports continued offering them certain commercial and legal advantages.

Ma'adi was an ongoing fixture in Said's experiences in Egypt. His family belonged to the Ma'adi Sporting Club, where he learned to swim.³⁰ While he lived nearer downtown in Zamalek, he made the daily ride to Ma'adi for school — first at an American elementary school, and then at the British-run Victoria College, which opened in Ma'adi in 1950. In each situation, his memoir recalls his feeling perpetually on the outside. After initially attending an English primary school in Zamalek, he thought the American school in Ma'adi might give him the sense that he was surrounded by his own people — his fellow nationals — yet, the informality of the American system made him feel “evermore the stranger.”³¹ Things grew increasingly dire at Victoria College, where Said felt the school's British administration perpetuated a subtle, yet ultimately domineering form of cultural colonialism.

²⁸ Ibid., 11.

²⁹ Ibid., 6-7.

³⁰ Ibid., 23.

³¹ Ibid., 87.

While Josopovici similarly felt himself an outsider in Cairo, those sentiments did not translate into the sense of oppression Said recollected. For Said, the events of 1947 and 1948 came to define an awareness of himself as continually displaced. In contrast to Cairo, where he had lived for the previous 10 years, Jerusalem carried a sense of belonging for him. It served as a foil to his privileged, multinational Cairene life, where he perpetually felt ancillary. He recalled, “As we increasingly spent time in Cairo, Palestine acquired a languid, almost dreamlike aspect, for me.... I recall thinking that being in Jerusalem was pleasant but tantalizingly open, temporary, even transitory, as indeed it later was.”³² In his memoir, Said characterized his memories of Jerusalem with a touch of anxiety. In the summers, he regularly returned to Palestine to visit family. As much as it offered a welcome alternative to Cairo, his memories of those visits carried to a foreboding sense that upon arriving he would have to leave again, making it appear as though he could not separate his actual experiences before 1948 from the sense of loss that came after the establishment of Israel.

A sense of the premonitory loss pervades Said’s memoir, making it difficult to disentangle how he might have received and understood a particular event in the 1940s or 1950s from the meaning that his subsequent commitment to the Palestinian cause later attached to those memories. His Ma‘adi contemporaries did not recall the town with the same sense of inevitable breakdown and loss. For people like Salem and Safwat, for instance, the Ma‘adi they remembered gave them the sense that a conflict between Jews and Arabs was unnecessary and unnatural. Holding these contrasting memories together points to the layered, multivalent meanings that people came to associate with Ma‘adi. The town was simultaneously linked to not

³² Ibid., 22.

only ongoing forms of informal English influence in Egypt, but also a cross-confessional, multinational community that shared an identification with Cairo's upper middle class. While these elements existed alongside one another, memories of the town often emphasized one or the other.

The political changes of the mid-twentieth century resonated in different ways for the people involved in Ma'adi. Said recalled observing the events of 1948 from Cairo, and sensing that "All of us seemed to have given up on Palestine as a place, never to be returned to, barely mentioned, missed silently and pathetically."³³ He remembered his father mournfully relating how a Palestinian family who had recently arrived in Cairo had lost everything, and then stating, "We lost everything too." When Said asked his father what he meant — since the family still had a successful business a position of privilege in Cairo — his father bluntly responded "Palestine."³⁴ In Said's memory, the events surrounding Palestine and establishment of Israel in 1948 became the basis for his sense of belonging in the region. Despite having spent far more time in Egypt, he identified Palestine as home, particularly after being cut off from it. The establishment of Israel heightened the significance of the Said's Palestinian identity at the same time that it reoriented the meaning being Egyptian. Said, however, did not connect his personal experiences with their impact on his Egyptian setting. For him, the memory of his family's severed connection with their homeland remained distinct from their surroundings in Egypt.

Yet Egypt's war with Israel and quick military defeat stamped itself on the identities of Egypt's nationals and clarified a line demarcating who belonged in the country. Before 1948, Egypt had a nuanced relationship to Palestine and the question of a Jewish state. As political

³³ Ibid., 115.

³⁴ Ibid.

Zionism grew in Palestine, popular identification with the Arab opposition grew in Egypt. Yet an increased sense of shared Arab nationalism did not translate into a straightforward political ideology, particularly in the years when the British power remained prominent in the country and an ethnically Turkish king sat on the throne. Given this balance of power, even into the late-1930s, the Egyptian government took a more conciliatory stance toward the British and Jews in Palestine than other Arab-majority countries, believing that such a position would aid the Egyptians in their negotiations with the British. Only after popular support grew substantially among the Egyptian people, who increasingly saw opposition to Zionism as integral to a shared, regional Arab identity, did the government change its stance on Palestine.³⁵

For their part, Egypt's Jews also lacked a clear stance on the role of Zionism in the region. In the early-1930s, Yusuf Cattaoui took particular care to explain to the British Residency that he had no connection to Zionists, going so far as to explain that he intentionally avoided visiting Palestine so that he was not mistakenly connected to the movement.³⁶ Another prominent Jew, Baron Felix de Menasce, the brother of Jacques de Menasce, corroborated Cattaoui's claim, confirming that he had no affiliation with Zionism or Palestine.³⁷ Yet, at the same time, members of the Mosseri family had been connected to Zionist organizations within Egypt since the end of

³⁵ James Jankowski, "The Government of Egypt and the Palestine Question, 1936-1939," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 17:4 (Oct. 1981), 427-453.

³⁶ Cattaoui's insistence on his allegiance to Egypt might have also been a product of the difficulty Jews had in acquiring Egyptian nationality after 1929. The new citizenship law passed that year required that Jews trace their lineage in Egypt back to before 1848. While most elite Jewish families had European citizenship at this time, the Cattaouis lost their Austro-Hungarian nationality after the First World War and gained Egyptian citizenship after 1922. Had their loyalties fallen into question, they were at risk of becoming stateless. Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora* (Cairo and New York: AUC Press, 2005), 250.

³⁷ FO 141/655/6 and FO 141/759/20.

the First World War.³⁸ The ambivalence of Egyptian Jews about Zionism continued well after 1948. While many departed Egypt soon after 1948, others remained throughout the 1950s and 1960s, with some staying on even later.³⁹

Many of Ma‘adi’s Muslim Egyptians later recalled the establishment of Israel as a watershed moment in the town’s social history. Samīa Zaytūn reflected that, “Our whole world was overturned with the creation of Israel.” For her, the Jewish state created an unnatural fissure between Egypt’s Muslims and Jews, which was especially hard felt in Ma‘adi. She remembered saying goodbye to her good friend, a Jewish girl named Carol Adas soon after 1948, and realizing the permanence of her friend’s departure. Remarking on how unstable the world seemed, Zaytūn remembered telling Adas, “I’m never going to see you again. What is going to happen to us?”⁴⁰

Remembering Muslim-Jewish harmony became especially important to the Egyptians who remained in Ma‘adi throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Several of Ma‘adi’s longterm residents took special care to mention the large number of Jews who previously lived in the town when they were children. When talking about her time at the Ma‘adi English School, Maggie Safwat described the student body as heavily populated by Jews. Ingy Safwat additionally explained that according to her knowledge the Egyptian government never forced the Jews to leave — an historically accurate point, which she made to emphasize that Muslims had not forced their Jewish neighbors out of the country. For both Ingy and Maggie, Ma‘adi’s

³⁸ FO 141/790

³⁹ As of 2010, Cairo’s Jewish Community estimated that only 100 Jews remained in the city, all of whom were women, making it impossible to perform their religious ceremonies with the assistance of men at the Israeli Embassy. Carmen Weinstein, president of the Cairo Jewish Community, speech to the Cairo Women’s Association, 27 Oct. 2010.

⁴⁰ Samīa Zaytūn, interview with the author, 12 Nov. 2009.

Jewish community was integral to the town's earlier social fabric.⁴¹ Zaytūn emphasized that the Jews and Muslims had more in common than the Muslims and Christians — it seeming more natural for a break to occur between the Christian community rather than with the Jews. “They messed it up,” Zaytūn said, referring vaguely to the various governmental powers that allowed the events of 1948 to unfold.⁴² For these Ma‘adi residents, the establishment of Israel unnecessarily politicized an element of their lives that appeared especially harmonious in retrospect, creating a division that surprised and hurt them.

All of the uncertainty embedded in these experiences — from the waffling position of the Egyptian government, to Egyptian Jewish ambivalence, to the feelings of personal loss in Ma‘adi — addressed the insecurity created by the shifting politics of the region. The establishment of Israel solidified the reconfiguration of regional relationships. Ma‘adi had previously depended on strong regional ties to trade throughout the eastern Mediterranean, particularly the Ottoman port cities that were similar centers of foreign commercial privilege. While the Ottoman empire had dissolved more than a generation earlier, and the British and French had divided up the empire's remnants in Palestine, the events of 1948 hardened boundaries of national, ethnic, and confessional difference in new ways. This shift in the region's geography, particularly because of its significant impact on the Jewish population, was especially felt in places like Ma‘adi, which had since its founding been marked by Jewish influence in Egypt. The loss that Zaytūn and Maggie and Ingy Safwat recalled feeling at the establishment of Israel marked the deeply personal nature of this shift in the region's boundaries. While these events were recalled as a dramatic rupture, within Ma‘adi, the growing gap between Egypt's Jews and Muslims was not as

⁴¹ M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

⁴² Samīa Zaytūn, interview with the author, 12 Nov. 2009.

immediately felt. After 1948, many of Ma'adi's Jews remained in their homes for several more years. Josipovici and his mother, for instance, continued living in the garden city until the mid-1950s. For them and others, Israel had no doubt heightened the significance of their Jewishness, but it had not cut them off from Egypt.

Layers of Change

Ma'adi society did not undergo a significant transition in the late-1940s merely because of the establishment of Israel. At the same time, Ma'adi faced a wave of demographic and economic changes that unraveled many of the networks the town previously relied upon. On a demographic level, Ma'adi experienced a generational shift after the Second World War, with some of the town's oldest and most prominent European residents passing away. At the same time, Cairo's population rapidly expanded and rural peasants increasingly took up residence in the capital. Ma'adi grew alongside this trend, adding new districts on its northern and southeastern borders. These concurrent demographic and spatial changes began a long process of transitioning Ma'adi's built environment away from carefully controlled structures of Delta Land's original garden city plan.

Ma'adi's demographic shift occurred alongside economic changes that facilitated the departure of large numbers of foreign subjects. In 1947, the Egyptian government passed a new Company Law that instituted more protective economic measures and reduced the number of foreigners a business could employ. This not only indirectly limited the number of Europeans citizens resident in Egypt, but also the number of Jews, because so many — particularly those in

business — continued to hold foreign nationality.⁴³ What was more, by 1949 the terms of the Montreux Treaty were fulfilled and the capitulations and Mixed Courts were completely abolished, thus ending more than four centuries of tax and legal privileges granted to foreign subjects in Egypt.⁴⁴ Also in 1949, the government formed a municipality in Cairo, which began to shape its own development initiatives for the city, thus removing the former autonomy that Delta Land enjoyed.⁴⁵ These near-simultaneity of these policy changes profoundly affected who could live and work in Ma'adi, and on what terms. Together they identify the varying alterations that together made the late-1940s a turning point period in the composition of Ma'adi's economy and society.

In 1947 the Egyptian government released a new census, reporting that Cairo had grown at an annual rate of 5.9 percent over the past ten years to a total population of more than two million, compared to the city's 1.3 million in 1937. Additionally, the growth rate by the late-1940s was more than double the 2.3 percent annual increase experienced between 1927 and 1937.⁴⁶ While the city had seen steady and rapid growth since the government began taking a census at the outset of the British occupation in 1882, the population surge documented in 1947 represented the city's fastest and most significant expansion on modern record. The growth also indicated a different kind of expansion. Where at the turn of the twentieth century Cairo and Alexandria were some of the world's fastest growing cities because of an influx of foreigners, the

⁴³ Beinun, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, 258.

⁴⁴ Brown, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 48.

⁴⁵ Reimer, *Die Welt des Islams*, Nov. 1999.

⁴⁶ "Table IX. Total Population During the Last Seven Censuses (1882-1947) and Changes in Figures by Governate (included within the Present Boundaries)," "Ch. 2. Movement of the Population," *Population Census of Egypt, 1947: General Tables*, AARR, British Library.

1947 growth represented a complete reversal of these trends. By the mid-twentieth century Cairo was growing despite a significant decline in its population of foreigners. The British population, for instance, dropped by nearly three thousand — from 31,523 in 1937 to 28,246 in 1947. The French population experienced a more dramatic decline, losing nearly half of their numbers — 18,821 in 1937 to 9,717 in 1947. The most substantial drop in the population of a single nationality came predictably from the Greeks — who had the largest number of nationals in Egypt, and therefore the most to lose. They dropped by more than 10,000, going from 68,559 to 57,427.⁴⁷ These population declines came alongside the new Company Law, indicative of foreigners dependence on their once privileged links to Egyptian commerce, and their vulnerability to changes in the law. This new law placed new emphasis on local nationality for Egyptian business and transformed foreign passports from an asset to a liability.

In order to preserve its commercial viability and accommodate Cairo's changing demography, Delta Land reoriented its design principles for Ma'adi and began expanding into the greenbelt areas it had previously left purposefully uninhabited as part of a deliberate rural boundary. North of the original establishment, along the rail line toward Cairo, the company developed Hada'iq al-Ma'adi or "Ma'adi Gardens." Later, they began repurposing the area southeast of town in Digla, which had been the New Zealand military base during the Second World War.⁴⁸ With these new developments, the original Ma'adi became known as Ma'adi a-Sarāyyat or Ma'adi of the Palaces, because of the large, older villas located there.⁴⁹ Delta Land constructed the new developments, particularly those in Hada'iq al-Ma'adi, to be clearly distinct

⁴⁷ "Table I-E. Population by Nationality," "Ch. 1. Area, Density, Occupied Dwellings," *Population Census of Egypt, 1947: General Tables*, AARR, British Library.

⁴⁸ S. Raafat, *Ma'adi, 1904-1962*, 203.

⁴⁹ M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

from the original Ma‘adi development. The company designed Hada’iq al-Ma‘adi with large high-rise apartment buildings, meant to offer state-of-the-art, modern housing to less affluent buyers and renters who would not have been able to afford a villa in the heart of Ma‘adi.⁵⁰ The mass-produced modernity the town promoted in Hada’iq al-Ma‘adi was a significant departure from the carefully controlled, town-and-country environs that were previously identified with Ma‘adi’s built environment. As a business venture, however, it represented Delta Land’s expansion into a new and growing market of potential residents. This new development did not offer the classed distinctions of Ma‘adi a-Sarāyyat, and instead offered the advantage of newness — a new, state of the art establishment on the border of the city.

In developing Hada’iq al-Ma‘adi after the war, Delta Land also attempted to resuscitate its business as its population of foreign subjects radically declined. The combined impact of the new Company Act and the abolition of the capitulations and the Mixed Courts in October 1949 prompted the departure of large numbers of foreigners.⁵¹ In 1948, John and Jean Crawford left Ma‘adi. Crawford was known to residents as the stern “Duke of Ma‘adi.” He had been chairman of the Delta Land Company from 1940-45, and president of the Ma‘adi Sporting Club from 1937-48.⁵² He and Jean had lived in Ma‘adi since 1909. Now, after nearly 40 years as resident-foreigners, they moved “home” to Britain.⁵³ Also in 1948, Tom Dale and his wife Effy repatriated to England — a particularly hard felt transition, as Tom had been one of the more continuous enforcers of Delta Land’s plan for Ma‘adi since the First World War. Most of the

⁵⁰ Rābaṭat al-Ma‘adi/Ma‘adi Association, *Dalīl al-Ma‘adi/The Ma‘adi Guide* (Cairo: Minerbo Press, 1956), 24.

⁵¹ S. Raafat, *Ma‘adi, 1904-1962*, 198.

⁵² List of EDLICO Directors, from 1904-1956 and list of Ma‘adi Sporting Club presidents, secretaries and committee members, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁵³ Ma‘adi Land Titles and Deeds, and G. Dale letter to S. Raafat from 18 May 1992, MC, AUC, Egypt.

other Britons on Delta Land's board of directors also opted to repatriate. A larger number of foreign subjects working in the courts also left. The new system not only ended tax and legal privileges, it also abolished the use of French and English from the Egyptian courts, and made Arabic the sole language of the country's judicial system. Most of the lawyers, clerks, and other legal professionals associated with the Mixed Courts had little reason to remain in Egypt — especially if they could not communicate fluently in Arabic. Those more proficient in the language looked for opportunities to work as intermediaries between foreign clientele and the Egyptian courts.⁵⁴ The removal from Egypt indicated the ongoing reversal of older pathways into Egypt. Where the privileges granted to foreigners previously paved the way for their entry and domicile in Egypt, the end of those policies duly set the terms of their departure. While some foreign nationals, like Geoffrey Dale, remained in Ma'adi despite the changes, most, perhaps understandably, did not exhibit the kind of commitment to Egypt that withstood changes to economic policy emphasizing their influence was no longer welcome.

These changes in policy took place alongside a generational shift. Egypt's new policies made retirement in Cairo less tenable, paving the way for people like Crawford and Tom Dale, who had worked out their professional careers in Egypt, to repatriate. Because Ma'adi's economic and political context had shifted so dramatically in the late-1940s, Geoffrey Dale could not take over his father's position with a sense of real continuity, though.⁵⁵ Geoffrey faced a more dramatic repositioning of Egypt's place in the world — a situation that Delta Land itself could not survive. With the growth of Cairo's municipality, Geoffrey lacked the independent

⁵⁴ Vaux Papers, 136, GB165-0293, MECA.

⁵⁵ Letter from G. Dale to S. Raafat, 18 May 1992, MC, AUC, Egypt.

constabulary authority his father carried. Instead, Geoffrey struggled to maintain a sense of internal stability within Delta Land as its leadership looked to reorient the company's ambitions.

The joint nature of the generational and political changes that reshaped Ma'adi in the late-1940s were most fully on exhibit at the Church of St. John the Baptist. The church's beloved Reverend P.W. Guinness died in 1948. Having served the church since 1937, he oversaw some of St. John's most robust growth. That his death occurred amid the departure of so many of his fellow nationals made it seemingly symbolic. The church reported that the British community in Ma'adi dramatically declined from 70 families in regular attendance in 1948 to only 10 in 1951.⁵⁶ At that point, St. John's could no longer support its own chaplain and a priest at the Anglican cathedral downtown was placed in charge of the Ma'adi church.

The political strife surrounding the partition of Palestine and establishment of Israel further compounded the rapid social and economic changes already at work after the Second World War. The popular political climate in Egypt turned sharply anti-Jewish after the Egypt's military defeat in Israel, resulting in attacks on Cairo's Jewish neighborhoods. The older Jewish *hara* was especially hard hit, with bombs killing 22 and wounding 41.⁵⁷ Because of Ma'adi's large Jewish population and the prominent Jews on the company's board, the Delta Land offices on Road 7 were also bombed. The bomb injured three people — paling in comparison to the disorder and violence that erupted elsewhere in Cairo.⁵⁸ While Ma'adi remained largely ancillary to the violence targeting Jews in 1948, the bombing was the first instance where political uprising and opposition set its sights on Ma'adi. Previous revolutions and wars certainly affected

⁵⁶ John Freeman, "A Brief Account of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Maadi," 1955, MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁵⁷ In response to the domestic bombings, Israeli planes bombed a predominantly Muslim neighborhood in Cairo, which resulted in a Muslim march on the city's Jewish *hara*. Beinín, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*, 68.

⁵⁸ S. Raafat, *Ma'adi, 1904-1962*, 195.

Ma'adi, particularly with the placement of military outposts in the town. The bombing, however, was the first physically violent manifestation of Egypt's political instability within the bounds of the garden city. It, like so many other events in the late-1940s, spoke of the changes at work in the country which would increasingly break down the discernible boundary between Ma'adi and the rest of Cairo. These same influences would additionally reorient the town's society and culture over the course of the coming decade.

Re-establishing Victoria

By the early 1950s, Ma'adi's British community became largely a thing of the past. They did experience somewhat of a revival in 1950, however, when the campus of Victoria College-Cairo moved to Ma'adi. Like its Alexandria counterpart, the Victoria College-Cairo's founders used the school to make the education and experience of an English public school available to Egypt's upper- and middle-class families. While no Britons enrolled as students, most of the faculty were English, and their movement to Ma'adi provided some resuscitation to town's British community. They were especially integral to the maintenance of St. John's. The church reported that the school's movement to Ma'adi, "virtually saved the British community from extinction."⁵⁹ While the church's report on Victoria College's significance to the Ma'adi British community carried an air of hyperbole, it captured the group's profound sense of decline, and the cultural significance of the school's new establishment.

The movement of Victoria College-Cairo to Ma'adi, with its new state-of-the-art facility, marked the inconsistencies of British decline in Egypt. While for some it perpetuated the older

⁵⁹ Ibid.

forms of cultural imperialism, its establishment came out of a place of significant British imperial and commercial weakness in Egypt. Like the formation of the Anglo-Egyptian Union in 1937, following Britain's acknowledgement of Egyptian independence, the school served as an attempt at cross-national cultural partnership at a time of British political weakness. While the British considered the school a means of preserving their influence, particularly among the Egyptian elite, for the Egyptians involved in the school's formation, it represented the continuity of their elite educational system. Understanding the complex interests behind the school recasts the experiences of imperial oppression at Victoria College, particularly those related by Said, within a larger context of British decline and the Egyptian government's growing weakness. Victoria College meant different things to its varied student body. Said and Josipovici both attended Victoria College. Their memories capture the divergent meanings of this intentionally "English" educational space south of the city. Following Said's detachment from Palestine in 1947, his enrollment at the school in 1949 appeared to crystalize his association of British influence in the Middle East as one of domineering colonialism. Josipovici, however, remembered this reanimation of British influence at the school without a sense oppression or manipulation, and instead as an example of subtle elements of British weakness in the country.

For Victoria College's promoters in Cairo, the re-establishment of the school in Ma'adi represented a method for maintaining cultural influence among the national and regional elite who would likely enroll their sons. The school has a long list of prominent alumni who hailed not only from Egypt but from powerful families throughout the Middle East and Africa. Scions of the Sabbah and Ghanem clans in Kuwait attended the school, as did the brother of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the children of the Merghani, Al-Mahdi and Abu al-Ela families — some of the

most prominent political families in the Sudan. The schools most famous alumnus is likely Hussein Ibn Talal, the king of Jordan.⁶⁰

Victoria College was originally founded in Alexandria in 1901 and remained there until the Second World War. Because of the Italian threat on Alexandria during the war the original campus temporarily closed in 1940, and in its place the British established Victoria College-Cairo in the city's northern district of Shubra. Perhaps as an act of poetic justice, the Anglo-Egyptian Committee, which initially administered the school, established the new campus in a former Italian school included in the property sequestered by the British during the war. They maintained the new campus even after the Alexandria college reopened in 1944, by which time the Cairo campus had grown from 150 students to 450. By 1948, however, the Anglo-Egyptian Committee — like most organizations emphasizing multinational connection — found itself financially constrained and looked to close the Cairo campus in order to cut corners. To complicate matters, the Shubra campus proved too small for the growing student body.⁶¹ Said enrolled at the school in 1949, and described the Shubra campus as makeshift and dilapidated. He recalled, “The classrooms and assembly hall were dingy and cramped. A permanent cloud of dust seemed settled on the place, even though four tennis courts and several football fields gave us outdoor facilities of a lavishness I had not before encountered.”⁶² To further complicate matters, this existing campus could not be renovated because the property had to be returned to the Italians as part of the postwar agreement.⁶³

⁶⁰ Sahar Hamouda and Colin Clement, ed., *Victoria College: A History Revealed* (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2004), 169.

⁶¹ “Prospects and Needs of Victoria College, Cairo,” FO 141/1172.

⁶² Said, *Out of Place*, 182.

⁶³ “Prospects and Needs of Victoria College, Cairo,” FO 141/1172.

While the school had lost some of the polish of its earlier prestige, demand for the maintenance of a campus in Cairo remained strong. The Victoria College Cairo Committee subsequently formed to raise funds for the re-establishment of the campus in a more suitable locale. Some of the most determined demands for the preservation of the school came from the school's Egyptian alumni, known as Old Victorians, who identified the campus with a long line of elite education in Egypt. The British fundraisers carefully framed their demands as part of an ongoing hope to reanimate Anglo-Egyptian relations on more positive terms. While making its case for the school's continuity, the leaders of the committee took particular care to emphasize the zeal of the school's Egyptian alumni, identifying the institution with local benefits and bi-national partnership, as well as the preservation of English influence among the Egyptian elite. One letter from the committee to the British Embassy stated that these Egyptians:

... hope for the establishment of Victoria Colleges, not only in Alexandria and Cairo, but in other large towns in Egypt, and who believe that, if this could be done, Anglo-Egyptian differences would disappear and that England's position in Egypt would be secured by the number of boys of good Egyptian families who would enter politics, industry or commerce, speaking English as a second language, and imbued with English standards of life.⁶⁴

This argument for not only the school's preservation, but also its expansion offered a vision for mitigating British imperial decline in Egypt. Particularly as the British committee member invoked the supposed zeal of the Old Victorians, the message argued that the British still had a paternalist role to play in Egypt, particularly in the ongoing tutelage of Egypt's elite men. All this

⁶⁴ Letter from W.R. Fanner to Sir Roland Ian Cambell, HBM Ambassador to Egypt, 4 June 1947, FO 141/1172.

despite the fiercely anti-colonial political climate at work among people outside the school debate. The committee further argued that closing the Cairo campus would cause “irreparable damage” to the prestige of British education in Egypt, especially because so many of Egypt’s influential families sent their sons to the school. The argument blends the hubristic assumption that the region’s elite depended on British influence at the with the anxiety that British political decline would also mean the diminishment of their cultural and social stature amongst the influential people associated with the school.

While many of Egypt’s political and cultural leaders sent their children to Victoria College, they did not necessarily identify with the ideological aims put forth by the school’s promoters. For families of means, it provided a good education without the considerably higher expense of sending their children abroad. The school’s link to elite prestige seemed less concerned with the connection between that sense of status and ongoing British influence. As one of the school committee members put it in his letter to the embassy, “The political differences between Egypt and England do not appear to have affected the demand of Egyptians for the type of education supplied by Victoria College...” He went on to explain that 80 percent of the student body were Egyptians. Given the political uncertainties of the time, the new campus stood in a precarious position, highlighting the inconsistencies of Egypt’s political situation. The ongoing demand for the college’s existence pointed to the inadequacies of the Egyptian educational system and the elite’s ongoing utilization of foreign intervention and expertise. Yet the curriculum it offered, which was modeled after an English boys school, remained out of step with the students’ political, social, and cultural situation.



Figure 5.1: Some of the buildings designed by J.W. Poltock for Victoria College, Cairo facilities at the Ma'adi campus, which opened in the spring of 1950.

While the incongruities involved in maintaining Victoria College's did not appear at the forefront of the school debate in the late-1940s, they became apparent to Said when he reflected on his educational experience in his memoir. When looking back on his experience at the school, Said described Victoria College as a "great distortion" that only became clear to him in retrospect. He explained:

The students were paying members of some putative colonial elite that was being schooled in the way of a British imperialism that had already expired, though we did not fully know it. We learned about English life and letters, the monarchy and Parliament, India and Africa, habits and idioms that we could never use in Egypt or, for that matter, anywhere else.

The students were not trained in Arabic, and, in turn, their native language became one of rebellion and opposition. Nor did they learn about the history or politics of Egypt or its surrounding countries.⁶⁵ Said's identification of the colonialism that underpinned the system and his acknowledgement that British power and influence remained taken for granted usefully exposes how engrained certain elements of British influence remained in Egypt. Yet the elite compromises he associated with the school were also located in the complex range of historically rooted multinational influences that had been ongoing in the country for generations — ones on which his own family's privileged place in Egypt depended. Considering the decline of British influence in areas of governmental and economic involvement throughout the late-1940s, the establishment of the school's new campus in 1950 appears largely out of sync with its surrounding political environment. As such, it indicates elite Egyptians' ongoing accommodation with British influence as an entity that they had to date largely taken for granted. The continuity of subtle forms of British influence within this elite institution also points to why 1952 and 1956 proved to be revolutionary turning points with implications that surprised so many of the elite Egyptians who supported widespread change, but did not anticipate that those changes would also target the privileges that underpinned their own lives. That Nasser continued using the campus as one of his own elite schools identifies the residues of British imperial influence that remained particularly cogent within institutional apparatuses like the educational system, despite the political, economic, and cultural reordering of the country's leadership.

Figure 5.1: "Victoria College, Maadi," *Mashruw' a Um al-Dunya/The Om El Donia Project*, accessed online at <http://omeldoniaproj.blogspot.com/2012/10/victory-college-maadi.html> on 8 Feb. 2013.

⁶⁵ Said, *Out of Place*, 185-6.

For Delta Land, the maintenance of Victoria College - Cairo, offered another kind of continuity. The company found it increasingly hard to sell land, particularly as Cairo's population of commercial expatriates declined. In turn, the new school provided an opportunity to expand Ma'adi. The company offered Victoria College 20 feddans of land in its new Digla development, five of which they made available for free. While the school's committee had hoped to find a more central place closer to downtown Cairo, Delta Land's offer proved their best option.⁶⁶ The school's committee hired P.W. Poltock to design the new school. He had previously served as part of the Royal Engineers in Egypt, giving him familiarity with the area. He implemented a streamlined, modern design for the new school that emphasized straight lines and block-like structures. The design drew from the modernist architectural styles established by Le Corbusier in the interwar years. Like the other idealist designers affiliated with Ma'adi — Howard and Fathy — Le Corbusier also combined social values into his designs. Le Corbusier looked to combine the intricate order of the machine age with urban life as a method for creating a more unified, less individuated society. Robert Fishman explains that Le Corbusier believed that existing cities offered too much "anarchic individualism," which undermined the establishment a more transparent and efficient world of intricate and harmonious bureaucratic function.⁶⁷ To that end, the Swiss-French architect design block-like, square buildings with windows serving as external walls. These steel-framed buildings were often elevated on stilts or pillars. In contrast to his contemporary Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier's buildings were designed to stand out from

Figure 5.1: Image accessed online at http://25.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_m2nkk96Qpl1rtkatjo1_1280.png on 8 Feb. 2013.

⁶⁶ "Prospects and Needs of Victoria College, Cairo," FO 141/1172.

⁶⁷ Robert Fishman, *Robert Fishman, Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier* (MIT Press: 1982), 163-164.

their natural environs. The effect was supposed to offer an architectural space that stood in stark contrast to its natural environs, thus making them more identifiable.

For the buildings at Victoria College, Poltock used Le Corbusier's block-like shapes, with plentiful windows, all of which he elevated on rounded pillars. The clean, straight lines and overall un-ornamented design likewise drew from Le Corbusier's modernist style.⁶⁸ The aesthetics of the school's design set it part from the older, colonial-style villas in Ma'adi's older quarters. Like the large apartment buildings in Hada'iq al-Ma'adi, this new development in Digla would not attach the town to the town-and-country built environment of the garden city, but to a different vision for modern urban development. Poltock's designs emphasized industry and the unity of a well-oiled machine through the creation of more geometric, imposing structures that stood as counterpoints to their natural surroundings, rather than as participants in them. The impulse behind the new campus's design was not unlike the modernist design elements similarly at work in Mohamed Kamal Ismail's design of the Mugama'a, which was built in the center of Cairo in the early 1950s. While Ismail's architectural inspiration has been attributed to the design of the Mamluk mosques, the Mugama'a form function as a towering administrative center that concentrated all of the bureaucratic offices of the Egyptian government into a single building, comprised of a block-like design also fulfilled some of the basic tenants of Le Corbusier's ideal modern city.⁶⁹

Poltock designed Victoria College's new campus to facilitate 150 boarders and 350 day boys. Both Said and Josipovici were among the school's early day students. Said entered the school upon its opening in the spring of 1950. While the design of new buildings drew from a

⁶⁸ Ackerman, "The Modern Villa: Wright and Le Corbusier," *The Villa*, 253-285.

⁶⁹ Nezar AlSayyid, *Cairo: Histories of a City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 243.

vision for mechanized unity, Said recalled the grounds with distaste. Where Shubra's smaller campus forced students to interact, the expansive campus in Ma'adi diffused student life, so that social groups devolved into divisive cliques. Said identified the new campus with the control and discipline associated with the Foucauldian panopticon.⁷⁰ He recalled, "Masters took to patrolling the corridors, something impossible to do in Shubra with its decentralized disorder, and it gradually came to appear to me that the new campus was designed more for controlled surveillance than for utility or education."⁷¹ Said's sentiments regarding the school participated in the dueling push and pull of his memories of his education and time in Egypt more broadly. While he recalled some moments of playful happiness, he described most of Cairene childhood with a sense of melancholy. Victoria College's new grounds retrospectively confirmed his feelings about the subversive and ultimately overwhelming power of empire.

Said and Josipovici shared generally pleasant memories of the camaraderie that formed among a diverse group of boys. Josipovici remembered Victoria College as a space that reflected the multinational diversity of Cairo. He recalled attending school with a number of other minority students — Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Copts — in addition to the Arab majority.⁷² Said similarly reflected on the mixture of social groups, none of which were firmly bound by race, ethnicity or religion. He later wrote, "What intrigued and still entrances me about the social groupings is that none was exclusive, or water-tight, which produced a dancelike maze of personalities, modes of speech, backgrounds, religions, and nationalities."⁷³ The mixture of

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, "Complete and Austere Institutions," *The Foucault Reader*, Paul Rabinow, ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 214-225.

⁷¹ Said, *Out of Place*, 207.

⁷² Josipovici, interview with the author, 28 Mar. 2011.

⁷³ Said, *Out of Place*, 190.

students he experienced stood in contrast to kinds of ethnic and national boundaries that he later associated with subtle yet enduring powers of colonialism. That the social dynamics of the school did not work according to those boundaries made the formation of its social life appear opaque in retrospect. Yet, the multi-ethnic, cross-confessional social mixture he experienced within Victoria College worked along many of the same classed lines that simultaneously comprised the rest of Ma'adi. The shared status of the boys set them apart from the Egyptian majority, a demarcation made all the more tangible by the school's distinctive grounds, and distance from central Cairo. This classed separation, however, did not work according to the same boundaries of colonized and colonizer that Said otherwise identified with the school.

One particular point of British weakness surfaced for both Said and Josipovici — the lackluster quality of its teachers. Josipovici summarized much of his experience at Victoria College in two short sentences, “I had a very happy time there. I don't think I learned very much.”⁷⁴ He did believe, however, that the students worked diligently despite the uninspired instruction. He explained that all of his classmates at Victoria College passed their English O-levels. In contrast, when he later attended Cheltenham College in England, half the students failed the exam. In his view, the students' success came more from their own determination than the education afforded by the college's teachers.⁷⁵ The discrepancy he identified between student performance and quality of instruction would also indicate why the school remained an important educational institution, regardless of its attachment to British influence. If the Britons within the school were perceived as deficient, the empire itself did not appear especially strong or well-represented within the school, despite its overt reference to Victoria. Maintaining the

⁷⁴ Josipovici, interview with the author, 28 Mar. 2011.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

school, then, had more to do with continuing a legacy among prominent Egyptians and other regional notables who had similarly enrolled there.

While Said came to retrospectively associate Victoria College's curriculum and built environment with an ideological and oppressive culture of imperialism, a good deal of his discomfort might also be attributed to his personal travails with the faculty. Throughout his memoir, Said mentions instances where his teachers reported that he was smart but behaved poorly and remained unfocused in class. He described his performance as "highly unmemorable—wayward, erratic, sometimes excellent, normally passable and little more."⁷⁶ Things got so bad in that first year at the Ma'adi campus that Said was briefly expelled after an altercation with his English teacher. Two weeks later, the headmaster allowed Said to return, citing his intelligence as the primary reason and making him promise not to misbehave again.⁷⁷ Said only remained at Victoria College for the remainder of the calendar year. In the spring of 1951 his father enrolled him at an American boarding school. The move ended Said's longterm residence in the Middle East, and meant his geographical removal from the revolutionary events that were set in motion in the summer of 1952.

Over time, Victoria College took on different meanings for its students. For Said, it signified the subtle forms of cultural subjugation embedded within British colonial culture, even while British influence and presence had significantly waned by this time. His intrigue at the school's diversity and social fluidity eventually paled in comparison to the severity he associated with the school's imperial ideology. The disconnection between these experiences was perhaps produced by his experience of later political events. He commented that he remained friends with

⁷⁶ Said, *Out of Place*, 205.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 209-210.

many of his Victoria College colleagues until the 1960s, at which point, “age, politics, and economic upheavals disbanded the little group forever.”⁷⁸ His later scholarly narration of the ills of empire and their connection to the cultural past not only made the meanings of these structures apparent to him, but also informed the memories of a generation of people similarly located with imperial geographies who found in his work a method for understanding the political implications of their experiences.⁷⁹ Yet those meanings did not eventually take hold for everyone involved. Josipovici did not recall the same kind of colonial severity. The all-English faculty and the lack of Arabic-language instruction did not carry political and cultural overtones for him. Familiar with Said’s memoir, Josipovici explained that the English faculty did not treat the Jewish and Arab students differently, and he did not recall a particular sense that his teachers disparaged of him.⁸⁰ Instead, Josipovici and the other non-native Arabic speakers at the school found themselves at a particular disadvantage when Nasser changed the language of education in the mid-1950s. In that context, his connection to the school at a time when his Jewishness was increasingly problematic in Egypt, helped pave a way out of Egypt for him and his mother.

Revolution Unfolding

Perhaps the most significant political break that had its roots in 1948 came with the widespread disaffection that the vast majority of Egyptians felt with their government after their

⁷⁸ Ibid., 194.

⁷⁹ Said’s impact on postcolonial theory is well known. Among the most vivid example of his impact on personal memory is Leila Ahmed’s memoir. Ahmed was the daughter of a middle-class Egyptian engineer and grew up in Cairo. She was a close childhood friend of Said’s sister Jean. In her memoir she described Said’s scholarship as having a profound impact on the way she understood her childhood in terms of the cultural imperialism wrought by the British. Her work allowed her to better make sense of her experiences retrospectively. Leila Ahmed, *A Border Passage: From Cairo to America—A Woman’s Journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

⁸⁰ Ibid.

military's humiliating defeat by Israel. Afterward, many looked to different branches of Egypt's existing political opposition — the Muslim Brotherhood, Young Egypt, and the communists — to topple the monarchy. To the surprise of many, the source of revolutionary change came from army officers. Following its particular humiliation, the army's commissioned officers mounted the Free Officers Movement (*a-dubbat al-aḥrar*) in hopes of overthrowing what Nasser called a “triple enemy” — imperialism, the monarchy, and feudalism.⁸¹ While the officers initially planned to take over the government in 1954, they saw an opportunity to act sooner, following the riots on January 26, 1952, when protesters burned down the Cairo Opera House and hundreds of shops, cafes, theaters, restaurants, and other centers of bourgeois life near downtown.⁸² Energized by this display of fervent opposition and identifying it as an opportune moment of monarchical weakness, the Free Officers staged their coup the night of July 22-23, 1952. The initial transition of power moved smoothly, with the king abdicating with little opposition, particularly because the U.S. and British refused to intervene on his behalf.⁸³

A new kind of Egypt began to emerge in the summer of 1952, yet what that meant was not altogether clear to either the state's new military leadership or the Egyptian people. The Free Officers lacked a clear political ideology, with members carrying their own associations to nationalist, socialist and Islamist movements. Rather than unifying around a political ideology, they emphasized a set of goals. Their aims included: ending the British military occupation of the Suez Canal Zone, reforming land ownership and ensuring that peasants owned the land they

⁸¹ Nasser, “Foreword” Anwar Sadat, *Revolt on the Nile* (New York: The John Day Company, 1957), 6.

⁸² James Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic* (London and Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 17.

⁸³ Laila Amin Morsy, “American Support for the 1952 Egyptian Coup: Why? (Free Officers coup of 1952),” *Middle East Studies*, 31:2 (1995), 307-17.

farmed, stopping capitalism's substantiation of political power, achieving social equality, and building a strong popular army.⁸⁴ These goals allowed the revolution to take on a number of political connotations without immediately generating alarm from any one sector of Egyptian society, except, of course, the royal family. What the Free Officers' coup meant for the future of Egypt, however, remained unclear. As the revolution unfolded over subsequent years, with Nasser taking control over its direction, it would resonate in varying ways with Egypt's diverse and socially stratified population.

Within Ma'adi, the summer of 1952 was an optimistic time. For most Ma'adi residents, the Free Officers' victory represented a hopeful new future for Egypt. Salem remembered her mother being particularly enthusiastic, viewing Nasser as the "great emancipator."⁸⁵ Josipovici similarly recalled that he and his circle supported the social equality Nasser promised. "I had been very pro-Nasser," he said, "and, you know, we all felt Nasser was doing wonderful things.... [At] last... there were schools, and hospitals were being built, and unfortunately it all got swept away."⁸⁶ For Ingy Safwat much of the early support for Nasser and the Free Officers was rooted in their dissatisfaction with the king, which became especially emphatic after 1948. "The last three or four years of Faruq," she recalled, "the people were fed up with his behaviors, so it was like everybody wanted something to happen."⁸⁷ The varying reasons for their support indicated the undefined nature of the revolution in its early stages. While most Ma'adi residents found cause to support the Free Officers at the revolution's outset, over the course of the ten years that

⁸⁴ Zdenek Müller, "Nasserism: The Shaping of the Ideology of the Egyptian Leadership After 1952," *Archiv Orientální*, 50:1 (1982), 22-42.

⁸⁵ Salem, interview with the author, 12 Nov. 2009.

⁸⁶ Josipovici, interview with the author, 29 Mar. 2011.

⁸⁷ M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

followed, most eventually grieved for elements of their past lives which were lost as revolutionary ambition hardened into the prohibitive policies of a new regime.

Upon taking power, the Free Officers formed the Egyptian Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), which guided the new government's affairs. While Muhammad Naguib became the new prime minister, the real source of leadership continued to come from Nasser, and he was eventually elected president by plebiscite in 1954.⁸⁸ As the nature of the Free Officers' and ultimately Nasser's power shifted over the course of the 1950s, the meaning of the revolution changed for many of Ma'adi's residents, making the social inequalities embedded in the space increasingly clear and problematic. Those issues were initially felt when the country's new leadership targeted land ownership laws and British imperial influence. It wasn't until the end of the decade, however, when Nasser shifted the role of capitalism in Egypt's political economy that Ma'adi ceased to exist in any form initially conceived by its founders.

Before the Free Officers abolished the monarchy or officially declared Egypt a republic, they set in motion radical land use reform policies. Their priority remained empowering the majority of Egyptians, particularly the peasantry. While land reform looked to empower Egypt's politically weakest population, these policies targeted landowning Egyptians, several of whom had residences in Ma'adi in order to be nearer the city center. By September 1952, the government issued a decree that limited land ownership to no more than 200 feddans (207.6 acres), redistributed royal lands to the peasantry, and abolished Islamic family estates, or *waqfs*.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The Free Officers recruited Naguib, an older more accomplished general, to lend their movement more legitimacy. While he became Egypt's first new president and held initial power, Nasser and the other members of the RCC soon isolated him politically, making him a symbolic figurehead. By Feb. 1954 he resigned, and in his place Nasser was elected as president in a national plebiscite. Peter Mansfield, "Nasser and Nasserism," *International Journal*, 28:4 (1973), 670-88.

⁸⁹ Ray Bush, "Politics, War and Poverty: twenty years of agricultural land reform and market liberalisation in Egypt," *Third World Quarterly*, 28:8 (2007), 1599-1615.

Salem's family, who, in addition to their Ma'adi villa, owned a farm in the eastern province of Sharqiyya was among those hit by the reform. The loss of their property dramatically shifted the Salem family's position in Egypt. Soon afterward, Nadia left Egypt for Berkeley, California, where her husband attended graduate school.⁹⁰ While the Salem family were among a minority of high-ranking Egyptians affected by these policies, it marked the early ways that the new regime exerted its power by targeting classed inequalities.

The RCC subsequently took aim at the country's government institutions, dissolving parliament in December 1952. The following June they abolished the monarchy and declared Egypt a republic. The RCC's next major victory in the name of Egyptian independence came in October 1954, when they reached a new treaty agreement with the British, which secured the final departure of British troops from the Suez Canal Zone in the next 20 months.⁹¹ The agreement was to mark the first time Egypt would be completely free from a British military presence in almost 75 years. In the two years since the coup, Nasser and the RCC had carved out a number of victories against Egypt's "triple enemy." By the mid-1950s, feudalism was abolished, the monarchy dissolved, and a date for a final British withdrawal secured. The RCC had quickly taken action against the various forms of institutional and social inequality that had been at work in Egypt for generations. What that meant for the country's future, however, remained unclear.

More than a move to decolonize Egypt, Nasser's policies demarcated who did and did not belong in the country. To do this, Nasser worked culturally to promote an Egyptian nationalism

⁹⁰ Salem, interview with the author, 30 April 2011.

⁹¹ Charles B. Selak, Jr., "The Suez Canal Base Agreement of 1954: Its Background and Implications," *The American Journal of International Law*, 49:4 (1955), 487-505; and G.C. Peden, "Suez and Britain's Decline as a World Power," *The Historical Journal*, 55:4 (2012), 1073-1096.

that coexisted with a larger sense of a regional, Arab identity. The two modes of identification worked together to frame a sense of belonging that distanced Egyptians from a shared Mediterranean geography or the European connections associated with it.⁹² Nasser made Arabic — as a shared language across the region — integral to Egyptian identity, and instrumental to removing ongoing forms of British, French, and Turkish influence. Josipovici recalled the shift in his education when the government began requiring that school be primarily conducted in Arabic, but did not offer remediation courses for students like himself, who spoke primarily French and were accustomed to using English at school. “Those of us who didn’t speak [Arabic] at home were sort of pushed to the back of the class,” he said, regretting that he had not gained a strong command over the language during his childhood in Egypt.⁹³ Here again, language and education surfaced as identifiable elements of political change and potential inequality. Where Said focused on the colonial culture at work in the inadequacies of his English education at Victoria College, Josipovici’s experience exposed the slippages between the old and new regimes. His French-speaking background fit into an earlier multinational system which had carved out a place of belonging in Ma‘adi and other parts of Cairo’s European city. Following 1952, however, that way of life quickly lost its place in the country. The new system understandably focused on the educational needs of Egypt’s Arabic-speaking majority, leaving Cairenes who were not fluent in the language largely behind. Yet, considering how central an ongoing negotiation with European influences had previously been to the society and culture of Egypt’s *effendiyya*, and to Cairo’s built environment, the question remains whether or not Nasser’s reorientation of Egyptian identity toward Arab allegiances left behind elements of what

⁹² Jankowski, *Nasser’s Egypt*, 29.

⁹³ Josipovici, interview with the author, 29 Mar. 2011.

some previously considered integral to being Egyptian. Where following the 1919 revolution, the nationalists in the *effendiyya* looked to negotiate and adopt certain elements of western and European culture — making the villa and a global consumer culture important elements of national modernity — after 1952, Nasser and the RCC used Arab identity as an alternative definition for what it meant to be Egyptian. Arabic language in particular offered a shared means of identification available to the majority of Egyptians. In doing so, Nasser also found a way to subtly undermine informal manifestations of British and European influence on the country, which was not only associated with foreigners in Egypt, but also with the education and culture of the Egyptian elite.

The shift in language was one among a number of elements that prompted Josipovici's mother to look for a way out of Egypt. While Josipovici recalled the growth of anti-foreigner sentiments, he did not remember experiencing any direct form of anti-semitism. He believed his mother, because of her experience in France during the Second World War, had a keener sense of the kinds of challenges they might face in Egypt. She took a job at Victoria College looking after the boarders to help pay for Gabriel's tuition. By the mid-1950s, she asked the school's headmaster Alan Guy Elliott-Smith to help her find a scholarship so that her son could attend Oxford. While the headmaster explained that Gabriel might attend a number of schools in England, Sacha insisted, "No, no, no, only Oxford." Elliott-Smith agreed to assist them and found Josipovici a place at Cheltenham College in Gloucester, where he had previously been a second master. By enrolling there, Josipovici could take his A-levels in England and then proceed on to Oxford. Josipovici recalled Elliott-Smith's gesture as particularly hospitable. The opening at Cheltenham allowed Josipovici and his mother to leave Egypt in early September

1956, before Josipovici might have otherwise faced expulsion as a French citizen due to the fallout after the Suez Canal Crisis later that fall.⁹⁴

Municipal change

During mid-twentieth century Ma‘adi’s leaders had to address a number of administrative changes that affected the town. In particular, the creation of a Cairene municipality in 1949, and the subsequent revolutionary leadership of the RCC meant that the town’s leaders no longer had the protection of Delta Land as a municipal governing agency. In turn, the town’s Egyptians created new terms on which they might protect their distinctive town-and-country space. On November 13, 1953, a group of Egyptians met at the home of Dr. Mustafa Musharafa, owner of the Minerbo Press, to form the Association of Ma‘adi Residents and Landlords (*rabaṭat sakān wa milāk al-ma‘adī*).⁹⁵ They established the new organization explicitly to “defend the interests of the suburb” in the wake the revolutionary changes being ushered in by Nasser and the RCC. Two weeks after that initial meeting, the group’s leadership council, which included Musharafa, Dr. Salah al-Din and Muad al-Darawi, telegraphed Egypt’s Secretary of Town and Country Planning regarding the movement of Ma‘adi’s jurisdiction from the authority of the Delta Land Company to the Cairo municipality. While little is known about the particulars of the association’s correspondence with the city planning administration, soon afterward, the Ma‘adi association garnered the support of an additional 85 members, all of whom looked to find more informal terms on which they might maintain the town’s distinctive environs.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ S. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 228

⁹⁶ *Rabaṭat sakān wa milāk al-ma‘adī*, “khaṭūwat tāsīs al-rabaṭa,” MC, AUC, Egypt.

After 1952, Delta Land lost a firm association with careful planning and local administration in Ma‘adi, not only because of changes within Cairo’s government, but also because of internal shifts in the aims of the company’s leadership. By 1952, Geoffrey Dale was the only Briton left on Delta Land’s board of directors and as general manager he had the least authority. The rest of the company’s board of directors was briefly comprised of a mixture of Muslims and Jews. By 1954, however, the company’s two remaining Jewish leaders Ernest Harari and Henri Mosseri, whose families had been associated with Ma‘adi since its founding, both resigned from the board. That same year, Taher al-Lozy, who had been on the board since 1949, became the company’s new president.⁹⁷ As described in Chapter Three, al-Lozy moved to Ma‘adi in 1926, where he built a large villa on Road 11 for his family. At the time, he had strong ties to the Wafd Party, and his move to Ma‘adi was indicative of the growing presence of the *effendiyya* in the town. During the Second World War, he was temporarily placed under house arrest because he, like many other Egyptians, supported the Germans in hopes that they would liberate Egypt from Britain’s occupational forces. By the 1950s, al-Lozy increasingly identified with the new regime Nasser was building in Egypt. During the years of his leadership of Delta Land, the company grew less concerned with the garden city design and development that previously guided Ma‘adi’s built environment. One board member went so far as to propose selling Ma‘adi’s trees as lumber — a move only prevented by the residents’ protest.⁹⁸

Residents’ defense of Ma‘adi, like the growth of the Ma‘adi Association, indicated the meaningful home the town had become to the Egyptians living there. That residents appealed to Cairo’s Town and Country Planning Administration for ways to preserve the distinctions of

⁹⁷ “EDLICO Directors, 1904-1956,” MC, AUC, Egypt.

⁹⁸ S. Raafat, Ma‘adi, 1904-1962, 226.

Ma'adi's built environment, also spoke to the classed solidarities that had formed in commitment to the place.⁹⁹ As much as its trees, gardens, and villas signified the town-and-country life they had come to embrace as their home, the production of that space also relied on a social hierarchy that the new regime looked to abolish.

The kinds of ruptures that unfolded within Ma'adi in the first half of the 1950s, however, remained more subtle and seemingly separate from major political change. Al-Lozy and Geoffrey Dale, for instance, were regularly at odds with one another over how Delta Land should be run. Dale eventually left the company, moving his family from Egypt to the Sudan on June 16, 1956 — just three days before the British military made their final withdrawal from the Suez Canal Zone.¹⁰⁰ Like Josipovici's move to England a few months later, Dale's departure from Ma'adi had a seemingly prophetic quality. For Dale, the changing face of doing business in Egypt demarcated who did and did not belong in the country before the government issued a formal policy. With the end of the capitulations and Mixed Courts, Egyptian business leaders had far less concern for the multinational networks of investment capital and personnel that had previously substantiated the Egyptian economy. While Dale could still legally remain in the country at the time of his departure, but the space he had once enjoyed for life and work in Cairo had largely disappeared. What was more, the company itself also had a less clearly defined purpose, particularly because the Cairo municipality assumed responsibility for local governance. In many ways, when al-Lozy moved the company away from its earlier garden city plan his leadership was in sync with the policies of the new Egyptian government, and appeared

⁹⁹ That Cairo had its own town and country planning authority spoke to how widely diffused Ebenezer Howard's influence had become, particularly in state-run planning authorities, an effect of his garden city scheme that he had never intended. Peter Batchelor, "The Origins of the Garden City Concept for Urban Reform," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Oct., 1969), pp. 184-200.

¹⁰⁰ G. Dale, letter to S. Raafat, 26 June, 1993, MC, AUC, Egypt.

to participate in the development of an independent state that defined itself as distinct from European influence. For many of the town's residents, however, the end of Delta Land's authority in Ma'adi exacted a defensive response, where they felt compelled to take responsibility for the special qualities of the town's built environment — a cause that would become all the more pressing as the events of July 1956 unfolded.

Setting Sun

During the summer of 1956, Nasser's emphasis on both Egypt's independence as well as its association with the Arab world crystallized around the the events at the Suez Canal. On June 19, British troops made their final withdrawal from the Canal Zone — marking a major victory for Egyptian independence. In his speech that day, Nasser emphasized the important victory that British redeployment marked for Egyptian independence, making no mention of the country's potential regional ties. Little more than a month later, when he nationalized the Suez Canal Company on July 26, Nasser's rhetoric heavily emphasized Egypt's participation in a larger Arabism.¹⁰¹ The shift in language helped redefine not only Egyptian independence, but also reorient Egypt's position in relation to the rest of the world, moving it decidedly away from any renewed relationship with a European power. That he did this through the nationalization of a French company additionally targeted the use of investment capital in order to achieve informal political and economic influence in Egypt. In nationalizing the Suez Canal Company, Nasser masterfully managed to leverage the interests of both rival Cold War super powers against the declining British and French empires. The ramifications of the crisis that resulted from Nasser's

¹⁰¹ Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt*, 32.

decision would later redefine Egypt's role within the region and reorganize the country economically. The reverberations of those changes within Ma'adi continued to break down the town's basis on older social and economic structures.

Following Nasser's July 26 speech, the British and French set out to reclaim the Suez by force. They were joined by Israel, which already had strategic military ties to France. The joint invasion began with the arrival of Israeli paratroopers in the Sinai on October 29. The British subsequently issued a ceasefire, and when the Egyptians refused, the Royal Air Force began bombing Egyptian military targets. By November 5, a joint Anglo-French invasion began in the Suez. In response, both the US and Soviet Union demanded that the three militaries' withdraw. In all, the British and French militaries remained in the Canal Zone for seven weeks. While the Egyptian military posed no significant threat to their invaders, the eventual retreat of Britain, France, and Israel, as well as their humiliation on the world stage proved an enormous victory for Nasser, carrying widespread implications for Egypt's foreign relations and domestic policy.¹⁰²

Observing the events from England, Josipovici remembered his shock at the violent response to the canal's nationalization. While at school that fall, he attended a lecture that defended the British and French intervention. Josipovici stood up and questioned the speaker, arguing in support of the Egyptian government's actions. "I didn't feel detached," he said. "I felt horrified at what England and France and Israel were doing."¹⁰³ While Josipovici could retain a sense of solidarity with the nationalist movement in Egypt, even from afar, he also remained removed from the fallout within Egypt, which targeted Ma'adi and other parts of the European Cairo.

¹⁰² Peden, "Suez and Britain's Decline as a World Power," 1083-86.

¹⁰³ Josipovici, interview with the author, 29 Mar. 2011.

In the wake of the failed invasion, Nasser took a more aggressive anti-European stance. He subsequently ordered all British and French passport holders to repatriate. They were given two or three days to make arrangements and allowed to leave with only two pieces of luggage each. For the Ma'adi community, the departure of many of their remaining foreigners meant the restructuring of its society. Joannides, who as an Italian national was permitted to stay, recalled the period as especially sad because so many friends abruptly left. Like the forced repatriations that the British previously put in place during both world wars, Nasser's policy again hardened national identities, identifying people who had spent their lives in Egypt as suddenly French or British outsiders. Joannides remembered watching people depart who had no particular connection to either country, but had to leave because their passports were French or British.¹⁰⁴

At the same time that British and French families were forced to leave, Jewish families found it increasingly difficult to remain in Egypt.¹⁰⁵ In the winter of 1956-57, as many as 25,000 Jews left Egypt, with two-thirds going to Israel and the remainder landing in Europe or the US.¹⁰⁶ Juliet Tabet, an Egyptian Catholic, recalled watching the quick departure of Ma'adi's Jews that year. She moved to Ma'adi from Heliopolis in 1955, after marrying her husband Albert, a protestant lawyer who had grown up in Ma'adi. For her, Ma'adi was a sought-after, seemingly country space when compared to the more congested urban environment in Heliopolis. "It was

¹⁰⁴ Joannides, interview with the author, 11 April 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Lucette Lagnado, an Egyptian Jew who grew up in Garden City, wrote a memoir of her family's experiences in Egypt and then the US during the mid-twentieth century and later. She recalled that after 1956, many of her relatives fled Egypt with a sense of panic. Her own immediate family left after Nasser unleashed the full scale of his nationalization plan in the early 1960s. The Suez Canal Crisis had been the turning point, after which, "It was no longer a question of whether to leave Egypt, but when." Lucette Lagnado, *The Man in the White Sharkskin Suit: My Family's Exodus from Old Cairo to the New World* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007), 94.

¹⁰⁶ Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 515.

like a giant garden,” she said.¹⁰⁷ Just a year later, she saw the rift between foreigner and national beset Ma‘adi. After the Canal Crisis, she recalled the Jewish families facing especially difficult circumstances. Albert had been the lawyer to several Jewish families, and Julia remembered trading furniture for his legal services because they could no longer afford to pay him outright. For others, likely French and British nationals who were forced to leave more immediately, he managed their property, attempting to sell it so that they could get some return on sales they could not conduct in person.¹⁰⁸ Her daughter Mona still uses the kitchen table that Albert received from one of Ma‘adi’s Jewish families.¹⁰⁹ Mona recalled going on childhood walks through Ma‘adi with her father, where he would stroll through the streets, referring to the villas by the names of their former Jewish owners. Mona related, “He would say that was the house of the Taynas, or house of the Golds, and these were the people he had grown up with.”¹¹⁰ While Albert was sorry to see his friends leave, Juliet also recalled a sense of moving along with the time — that these changes had come, however regrettable to some, but one also had to accept them and move on.¹¹¹

The shift in demography participated in a larger alteration to Ma‘adi’s social fabric, which was additionally reflected in the town’s various institutions. Ma‘adi’s synagogue lost its worshipers and stood empty for the majority of the year as a kind of monument to the town’s

¹⁰⁷ In the 1920s, Heliopolis experienced a significant population boom, growing from 9,200 in 1921 to 224,000 by 1928. The rapid expansion meant that the town could no longer manage according to the garden city perimeters initially planned for the town when it was founded. Ilbert. “Heliopolis: Colonial Enterprise and Town Planning Success?” (1985).

¹⁰⁸ Tabet did not mention the nationality of these people, only that they had to leave the country quickly. Juliet Tabet and Mona Tabet, interview with the author, 14 May 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

Jewish roots. What remained of the British community at the Church of St. John's again dispersed. In their place, the church grounds were repurposed by American evangelicals, many of whom worked for oil companies, who used the grounds for a non-denominational community church.¹¹²

The English nationals on the faculty at Victoria College, who had previously resuscitated St. John's, all left Ma'adi for the school's Alexandria campus following Nasser's orders, and remained there temporarily before repatriating. Rather than closing the school, Nasser symbolically maintained the campus under a new banner of Egyptian nationalism. He renamed the school Victory College or *Kaliyyat al-Nassar* and continued using the grounds as a boys school. The new name was emphatically anti-colonial, and drew from a new nomenclature of power in Egypt. Nasser means "champion" in Arabic and is derived from the root word for "victory." The school's new name, then, not only discarded Victoria but established Nasser in her place — a thoroughly anti-colonial statement that clearly associated the nationalist triumph with the person of Nasser.

The changes that unfolded in the wake of the Suez Canal Crisis began a process that profoundly reshaped Ma'adi. Yet the actual turning point did not necessarily come from the forced repatriations or the anti-British and European sentiment. Ma'adi had weathered waves of forced repatriations and anti-foreign sentiments before. What truly reshaped Egypt and Ma'adi with it was the country's break with capitalism ushered in by the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. After 1956, Nasser continued the government takeover of Egypt's other foreign-

¹¹² "A Brief Account of The Church of St. John the Baptist" (1955), MC, AUC, Egypt.

owned businesses, a policy that would effectively end the remaining vestiges of Ma‘adi’s founding existence.

“Like a city of gardens”

Amid Egypt’s wave of revolutionary change during 1956, Ma‘adi’s Association of Residents and Landlords began more widely publicizing its efforts to maintain the town’s distinctive qualities. That year they published the *Dalīl al-Ma‘adi/The Ma‘adi Guide*, a bilingual directory that not only listed businesses and services in Ma‘adi, but also explained in detail Ma‘adi’s history, geography, and the best practices for living there.¹¹³ Before publishing the guidebook, the association had already made itself responsible for the ongoing observance of the *Cahier des Charges*. In 1954, they published a memo explaining to new residents the perimeters they were to leave around their homes in hopes of maintaining the town’s distinctive domestic design in the absence of the Delta Land Company’s authority.¹¹⁴ This guide promoted the association’s new responsibility for the community, and more explicitly outlined behaviors that were and were not acceptable in Ma‘adi. In doing so, it also emphasized a more permanent commitment for its Arabic readers than for those who only read the English half of the guidebook.

Within the guide, the association defined itself to readers as the new arbiter of garden city preservation in Ma‘adi. It explained that the association worked “for the preservation of the area’s special reputation for being like a city of gardens...” (*kamadīnat ḥada’iq*). The English version, in contrast, did not make an overt statement about Ma‘adi as a garden city, likely

¹¹³ Rābaṭat al-Ma‘adi/Ma‘adi Association, *Dalīl al-Ma‘adi/The Ma‘adi Guide*.

¹¹⁴ Rabaṭat sakān wa milāk al-ma‘adī, “khaṭūwat tāsīs al-rabaṭa,” MC, AUC, Egypt.

because it was targeting more American readers who would have identified less with the English planning movement. In English, it altered its language somewhat, stating that the association intended to “preserve the stamp of Ma‘adi and those special features which gave it its character.”¹¹⁵ The association also made its role as the protector of the *Cahier des Charges* explicit. The guide explained that only designated parts of Ma‘adi could be used for commercial space, that buildings did not exceed 15 meters in height, and that green spaces were preserved between homes and in public areas.¹¹⁶ While the association gave itself this authority, it had no means for enforcement. Salem, for instance, recalled that when she and her siblings sold their family’s villa the buyers had assured them that they would not tear it down. Yet, when the new owners demolished the house and erected a large high-rise apartment building in its place, Salem’s family had no recourse.¹¹⁷ Without the company’s autonomous authority and a general manager on the ground to enforce it, the Ma‘adi association had no legal means to prevent other villas from meeting the same fate. What was more, they could not prevent an influx of new residents who did not identify with the older guidelines that had once been an accepted part of Ma‘adi life. Where the company had previously explained that the tenets of the *Cahier des Charges* were in the best interest the whole region south of Cairo, Ma‘adi’s new residents did not necessarily identify the town’s careful planning with a sense of the greater good, nor did they

¹¹⁵ It appears that the original text was in Arabic, and the English version was secondary, but written by someone who was fluent in the language. Rābat al-Ma‘adi/Ma‘adi Association, *Dalīl al-Ma‘adi/The Ma‘adi Guide*, 22 and 20.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 22-23.

¹¹⁷ Salem, interview with the author, 12 Nov. 2009.

have any legal obligation to make such a commitment.¹¹⁸ For these newer residents, Ma‘adi was less clearly associated with the ease of bourgeois life in a semi-rural environment.

Because the association could not prevent alterations to Ma‘adi’s built environment, they instead emphasized each resident’s personal obligation to the town. Accompanying the association’s responsibilities, the guide included a list of residents’ duties. In Arabic, the association entitled the list, “*man hūwa al-mūwāṭan al-ṣālah fī al-ma‘adī*” (Who is the upright citizen of Ma‘adi?), equating the obligations of Ma‘adi’s Arabic-speaking population to a civic responsibility. In English, the guide simplified the list into a series of “‘Do’s and ‘Don’ts’ for Ma‘adites.” Both versions outlined the same rules for residents, focusing on preserving a quiet, peaceful and clean atmosphere. It stipulated that residents not drive around with a loud radio or honk their horns. They should also be careful to ensure that when guests left their homes, they departed quietly. Other rules included picking up litter and a ban on air guns, which boys used to shoot at birds.¹¹⁹ By emphasizing a sense of citizenship for the guide’s Arabic readers, the association gave Egyptian residents the leading responsibility over Ma‘adi’s maintenance. Without Delta Land’s authority and the legally binding *Cahier des Charges*, however, the association had to appeal to a more elevated sense of shared responsibility. In doing so, they hoped to gain the support of all Ma‘adi residents, including newer arrivals. In contrast to the Arabic rules, the English version implied a more transitory existence. The guide stated each rule as a polite but emphatic request — making statements like, “Please DON’T damage any trees, flowers or any growing things” and “Please DO always observe the rules laid down for

¹¹⁸ “*Acte de Vente et Cahier des Charges*,” 11 June 1935, MC, AUC, Egypt.

¹¹⁹ Rābaṭat al-Ma‘adi/Ma‘adi Association, *Daṭīl al-Ma‘adi/The Ma‘adi Guide*, 29.

traffic.”¹²⁰ These requests were indicative of the changing face of Ma‘adi’s expatriate population. Where British and French residents had previously taken up long-term residence in the town, from the 1950s onward, Ma‘adi’s new American residents generally set up house for only three or four year stints, and then either returned home or took a new international post. These rules gave a system of guidelines for mobile expatriates without implying that they would attach a sense of civic pride and obligation to the place. Ultimately, even these rules, like the design guidelines the association attempted to put in place, could not take hold in any kind of permanent way. In turn, the Ma‘adi Association had to change its tactics, and focus more specifically on preserving the town’s natural and built environment. By the early-1970s, they adopted the language of environmentalism and organized trash collection days, garden tours, and lectures on Ma‘adi’s rich horticulture. Their efforts looked to reorient the organization but maintain an emphasis on civic commitment as necessary to the distinctive qualities of Ma‘adi’s built environment. Before that transition, however, their work to preserve Ma‘adi according the guidelines originally set by Delta Land, emphasized the town’s ongoing connection to the “ideology of the villa,” where the town was supposed to signify bourgeois privilege through physical distinction from the urban center, and the labor of lower-class servants. These indicators of bourgeois life would become less and less tenable as Nasser’s emphasis on social equality and the end of capitalist power took full effect.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Nationalization

Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company proved a symbolic first move in the development of a larger vision for a Pan-Arab state with a state-controlled economy. The withdrawal of British, French and Israeli forces made Egypt a central figure in opposition to the expansion of western power in North Africa and the Middle East, and laid the groundwork for a more thorough integration of Egyptian and Syrian relations, which focused Egypt's interests more firmly on its immediate regional role.¹²¹ After the formal joining of Syria and Egypt with the establishment of the United Arab Republic in January 1958, Nasser centralized power more thoroughly under himself as president. This move had widespread political implications for region and Egypt's relations to the rest of the world, and Nasser paired the move with increased control over the economy. In relocating Egypt's interests away from European economic ties and British imperial influence, Nasser did not ignore the connections Europeans fashioned to Egypt through investment capital and the establishment of foreign-registered companies. While the Company Law in 1947 and the abolition of the Mixed Courts and capitulations in 1949 already severely limited foreigners' capacity for involvement in the Egyptian economy, Nasser's economic policies dealt a final deathblow.

Following the Suez Canal Crisis and subsequent removal of Egypt's French and British nationals, Ma'adi had to reconfigure itself. Many residents began leaving without any overt political reason. Joannides departed for Italy in 1957, but returned a year later. "I loved Egypt," she explained, and missed the friends and family she left behind. When she came back to Ma'adi, however, she observed that it had "started over again," but in a different form. The Egyptian

¹²¹ Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt*, 87.

government was now in charge of the schools, and Jews were subsequently banned from the Ma'adi Sporting Club. "I think it was the first time they were *persona non grata*," she said. A year later, she married Aleco Joannides, a Greek journalist with Reuters, and left Egypt permanently. The rest of her family remained, however, allowing her to regularly visit her former home where most of those who left Ma'adi never came back. Her sister Monica, who married a Muslim Egyptian and converted to Islam, saw the changes of Egypt's political scene firsthand, as her husband served out his career in the Egyptian military.¹²² Monica's husband had joined the military at a young age because, having entered the job market before the 1947 Company Law, he was unable to find a job as an engineer with a private company. The terms on which he and Monica remained in Egypt, and specifically in Ma'adi, were quite different from what had previously substantiated a life in the town. Joannides, in contrast, became a visitor in Egypt, and remained both an Italian citizen and a devout Catholic. She moved to various cities around the world because of her husband's work before they settled in London. While her foreign citizenship and non-Muslim beliefs might have previously carved out a space for her within Cairo's European half, those spaces increasingly closed.¹²³

During this time of new borders and pathways to national identification, Ma'adi also had to be redefined. While, organizations like the Ma'adi Association of Residents and Landlords, attempted to establish a sense of continuity, the Delta Land Company older authority could not be replaced. After 1956 it only diminished further. The nationalization of the Suez Canal Company established a new pattern for the Egyptian government's treatment of foreign companies. In the late-1950s, Nasser began nationalizing the other foreign companies that

¹²² Joannides, interview with the author, 11 April 2011.

¹²³ Ibid.

concentrated their affairs in Egypt, but had their headquarters abroad. In July 1961, one headline in *Al-Ahram*, the country's leading Arabic-language daily, read, "New procedures on the road to socialism," and reported that 399 companies had been added to the public sector.¹²⁴ By 1962 the government added Delta Land to its national roster, and what little remained of Ma'adi's garden city company ceased to exist.¹²⁵ The villas and gardens in Ma'adi remained ongoing visible evidence of the town's earlier population of privileged foreign expatriates and the networks of capital and culture that initially drew them to the town. While Ma'adi's residents attempted to link the town to a special built environment worth preserving. The distinctions of that space, with their dependence on the older forms of power that the Nasser regime explicitly opposed, and believed should be abolished, not preserved.

For those who left, Ma'adi took on a complex meaning. For Josipovici the place had an illusory quality. He was not homesick for it, nor did he feel a sense of nostalgia for the childhood he spent there. He explained that after leaving Ma'adi, "it all felt unreal." As a foreigner in Egypt who did not speak Arabic fluently, he had felt himself continually cut off from the majority of Egypt's population, which made Ma'adi appear artificial and out of place after his departure. He did not feel an attachment to the place, and he could not take its existence for granted in the way that he supposed someone who grew up there might have.¹²⁶ By the time Josipovici left Ma'adi in 1956, it was no longer the place where he and his mother had taken refuge after the Second World War. Egypt did not offer an environment open to foreigners for an hospitable, privileged, and longterm domicile. In erecting new boundaries for what it meant to belong in Egypt,

¹²⁴ "Ajarā'āt jadeeda fī tarīq al-ishtarākīa," *Al-Ahram*, (21 July 1961).

¹²⁵ Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, 229, and 251.

¹²⁶ Josipovici, interview with the author, 29 Mar. 2011.

Ma'adi's previous existence would appear chimerical to some. To others, however, the closure of Ma'adi's earlier world entrenched a commitment to conserve the elements that they remembered.

Josipovici's sentiments stand in direct contrast to the feelings that Maggie Safwat and other longterm residents maintained for Ma'adi. Her statement, that Ma'adi was her "bigger home," emphasized the deeply embedded significance that the place continued to carry for her.¹²⁷ Safwat could maintain these sentimental connections to Ma'adi's older existence in part because while Nasser's rhetoric spoke to uprooting older social hierarchies and creating a new Egypt, other forms of inequality and corruption took hold during these years. The Ma'adi that these residents knew as children came to stand for a more open society, a less secretive state, and a kind of cosmopolitan existence that they hoped might return to the country. The social and economic disparities imbued within the place since its founding, however, did not figure in those memories.

The ongoing work to preserve Ma'adi's built and natural environments carried on without acknowledging the signifiers of wealth embedded in the space. For those involved, the construction of high-rise buildings and destruction of villas, the growth of heavy traffic, and the noise that came with it, betrayed the real Ma'adi, even while those same trends marked a kind of democratization of the space as more and more lower-income people moved into the town. When reflecting on her life in Ma'adi during the 1940s and 1950s, Salem acknowledged that growing up outside of Cairo isolated her from the urgency associated with the political realities of the time.¹²⁸ Their physical removal from downtown, in turn, made the political and economic contests carried out by Nasser and the RCC less identifiable and seemingly out of place. For the

¹²⁷ M. Safwat and I. Safwat, interview with the author, 5 May 2011.

¹²⁸ Salem, interview with the author, 30 April 2011.

Egyptian majority, however, Ma'adi despite its niceties, was the area that appeared out of place in relationship to the national whole.

CONCLUSION

In 1994, longtime Ma'adi resident Samir W. Raafat published a history of his beloved hometown, which included a patchwork of narrative snippets identifying the various people previously connected to the town. In his foreword, he explained that he initially planned to title the work “Maadi Was Beautiful,” because “these were always the first words uttered (or written) in Arabic, French, German, or English” by the dozens of “Maadi veterans” included in his research.¹ While Raafat settled on the less affective title *Maadi 1904-1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb*, at least one of his leading informants regretted the change. Geoffrey Dale wrote to Raafat after receiving a copy of the book that he was a “little sorry that the book moved so far away from the original title ‘Maadi Was Beautiful.’”² The specific changes that Raafat made between the original title and the final version Dale received are unknown, yet the transition from one title to the other reveals the social and cultural complexities tied up in Ma'adi's former aesthetic qualities. The town's previous beauty — its large villas, well-planted gardens, and tree-lined streets — did not tell Ma'adi's story on their own. As Raafat's final title suggests, the historical significance of this once beautiful place came from the society out of which it grew, and its context in Egypt more broadly.

The reasons for Ma'adi residents' ongoing emphasis on the town's earlier beauty is best understood through a closer look at the significant changes that its town-and-country spaces underwent during the second half of the twentieth century. Today, Ma'adi's streets no longer signify the same degree of elite status that previously characterized them. A picture of the villa on the corner of Roads 82 and 13 (Figure 6.1) captures the dilapidation that followed Ma'adi's

¹ Parenthetical in original. S. Raafat, *Maadi, 1904-1962*, vii.

² Letter from G. Dale to S. Raafat, June 7, 1994, Dale Correspondence, MC, AUC, Cairo.



Figure 6.1: A dilapidated Ma'adi villa still standing near the center of the town's older district — Ma'adi a-Sarāyyat. Photo by the author.

nationalization and subsequent absorption into the rapid sprawl of greater Cairo. In the background one can faintly see the rounded dome of the Meyer Y. Biton Synagogue, a site that lies empty most of the year, and is protected by an armed Egyptian police guard. The image indicates the extent of Ma'adi's decline, pointing out the features once erected in adherence to the *Cahier des Charges* and their subsequent disrepair. The house stands two stories, in step with Delta Land's stipulation that it could not exceed 15 meters in height. All of the windows on the second story, however, are broken, leaving the house's interior exposed to the elements. At the front of the property stands a wall of upward sloping steps that ascend to a wrought-iron gate, which serves as the entrance to the villa grounds. In line with the company's stipulations, the

house lacks a wall, and where a makeshift wire and grass fence has been erected there would have been a waist-high hedge around the house. Within the makeshift fence, the yard shows some of the most obvious signs of neglect. The land has little remaining greenery. Instead



Figure 6.2: An picture of the villa's accompanying yard, taken from outside the grounds. The discarded bathtub lays near the center of the image, slightly to the right. Photo by the author.

the villa is surrounded by dirt and dust, and littered with dead foliage and all manner of trash, including large pieces of styrofoam, plastic wrappers, and paper bags from fast food restaurants. Figure 6.2 gives a more extensive view of the yard, exposing not only more rubbish, but also an overturned bathtub sitting haphazardly in the middle of the grounds. Seeming particularly out of place, Prickly Pear Cacti, a desert plant native to sub-Saharan Africa and western North America, grow along the edge of the grounds — elements that generations earlier would have been an exotic addition to the garden of a wealthy resident.³ Behind the layers of litter, depleted grounds, and shattered upper story windows is the banal observation that the house — whatever its former qualities — is uninhabitable. While not all of Ma'adi underwent the kind of disrepair exemplified

Figure 6.1 and 6.2: Both images taken by the author on 22 Jan. 2011.

³ J. Hugo Cota-Sánchez, "Taxonomy, distribution, rarity status and uses of Canadian cacti," *Haseltonia*, 9 (2002), 17-25.

by this villa on Road 82, its vacancy stands as physical evidence of how the social and cultural life that once substantiated the place and made it a meaningful part of the geography of greater Cairo no longer carries its former strength.

Efforts to preserve Ma'adi's built environment have been ongoing throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1973, the Ma'adi Association of Residents and Landlords reoriented its priorities and changed its name to the Tree Lovers Association.⁴ In doing so, the group moved away from an emphasis on preserving the appropriate social behaviors linked to garden city life and instead emphasized the conservation of Ma'adi's trees, gardens, and villas. The movement was spearheaded by Grace Weigall, an Englishwoman, married to Mustafa Moyine al-'Arab, an Egyptian diplomat, whom she met in London. The couple moved to Ma'adi in 1947, just as foreign privilege in Egypt was ending, and Grace, perhaps as evidence of her commitment to life in Egypt, changed her name to Saffeyah Moyine al-'Arab. Like many Ma'adi residents before her, Saffeyah had a global upbringing. She spent the majority of her childhood in Brazil, where her father was the manager of the Bank of London and South America.⁵ As the wife of an Egyptian, she remained in the country throughout the 1956 repatriations. In many ways, Saffeyah represented the residues of an older society, now seemingly out of place, yet still deeply committed to a space she linked with Egypt's national prestige.

In her 1991 memoir, Saffeyah used her early memories of Ma'adi to shore up support for its environmental preservation. Emphasizing the importance of living in harmony with the natural world, Saffeyah referenced the words of Vivi Laurent-Täckholm, a botanist at Cairo

⁴ Samia Zeitoun, "Tree lovers needed," *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, No. 794 (11-17 May 2006), <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2006/794/sc131.htm>, accessed on 27 Apr 2012.

⁵ Saffeyah Moyine al-'Arab, *Saffeyah & Bin Bin: Growing Old Together* (Cairo: Trade Routes Enterprises International Publications, Ltd., 1991).

University and her contemporary, writing, “if you know the name of a tree then it becomes your friend and then you care for and defend it.”⁶ Saffeyah hoped to use her past experiences as instructive tools, making older elements of Ma‘adi’s built and natural environment more meaningful parts of the present. In one passage, she recalled returning to Ma‘adi after a morning walk in the hills of Muqattam, writing, “Descending from the high desert ground into the green oasis, one was overwhelmed by the richness and diversity of trees. It was a dream land where cypress trees united with the sand and graceful eucalyptus trees swept the ground with their elegant branches.”⁷ In other parts of the memoir, she described in detail the orange and lemon blossoms, wisteria, beaumontia, grandiflora, honeysuckle, and jasmine that bloomed in residents’ gardens and perfumed the town’s air. She additionally praised Delta Land’s work in Ma‘adi’s public spaces, having planted jacaranda trees and poinciana along the streets near the Maadi Sporting Club, and filled the park space of each *midan* with grass, palms, and a variety of other trees. Eucalyptus ran along the canal, which irrigated Ma‘adi’s gardens with silt-rich water from the Nile. Her account conjured up the image of a veritable paradise.⁸ She combined these recollections with more active work within the community — arranging trash collection days, home and garden tours, and giving lectures on environmental conservation.

What do the acts of memory and memorialization in Saffeyah’s memoir tell us about Ma‘adi’s former existence? Like Raafat’s debate over what to title his history of the town, Ma‘adi’s past has largely been associated with its former aesthetic qualities. Yet the reason it became a place of diverse flora has more to do with Egypt’s social and cultural past, than the

⁶ Ibid., 96.

⁷ Ibid., 55.

⁸ Ibid., 53.

details of its plant life. Raafat's book, Saffeyah's memoir, and the ongoing activism of the Tree Lovers' Association and Ma'adi's other environmentalist groups all offer remnants of the town's former existence. Their attempts to recall and revive the features of Ma'adi's erstwhile fashionability also point to an earlier society and culture that no longer holds a place of prominence among Egypt's elite — a necessary of element of Ma'adi's previous stability that cannot be replanted.

The real meaning of Ma'adi's past lies in the complex and interconnected human stories that informed the creation of its streets, the construction of its villas, and the planting of its gardens over the course of the first half of the twentieth century. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan argues that a place becomes meaningful through the human experiences that make memories out of its various parts.⁹ Understanding Ma'adi, then, requires sifting through the various layers of its existence to see the contexts of human involvement at each stage of its development. It means identifying the early experiences of its founders, and how the benefits they mutually gleaned from the capitulations and Mixed Courts set the groundwork for retired colonial civil servants and leading Egyptian Jewish bankers to join forces on this land development project south of Cairo. It addresses how the Delta Land Company set up the construction of Ma'adi according to a strict set of rules that all residents were subject to, regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, or confession. It asks who participated in these rules, and why did commercial expatriates and Egyptian nationalists mutually identify Ma'adi with their respective prestige and elite status. Their shared patterns of sociability provided the bedrock for Ma'adi's development not only as a physical town, but also as a community that would last through a revolution and two world wars.

⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis, 1977), 10.

The trees and villas that remain in Ma‘adi have become the most lasting evidence of its former existence. While the town no longer displays its earlier polish, remembering that Ma‘adi was beautiful should beg the question: Who made it beautiful, and on what terms? The remnants of its aesthetic qualities point to a society and culture that lost its place of influence in the country. The villas, however dilapidated, once required a great deal of wealth and labor to support. The gardens had to be tended. The thriving life that filled its spaces came into being at a time in Egypt’s history when the country’s varied movements for political and economic change — from Egyptian nationalists, to British imperialists, to Ottoman notables, and European expatriates — could still be drawn together into a single social and cultural space.

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- FO Foreign Office. British National Archives. Kew, Surrey, UK. Series FO 141, FO 307, FO 370, FO 371, FO 383, FO 407, FO 841, FO 847.
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- HFCC Papers of Captain Harry Frederick Comfort Crookshank, Viscount Crookshank, 1925-61, MSS. Eng. hist. b. 223; c. 596-606; d. 359-61, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, UK.
- IWM Imperial War Museum, London, UK. Private papers.
- IR Board of Inland Revenue. British National Archives. Kew, Surrey, UK. Series IR 40.
- MC Ma'adi Collection. Rare Books & Special Collections Library, The American University in Cairo, Egypt.
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