

American University in Cairo

AUC Knowledge Fountain

Archived Theses and Dissertations

6-1-1975

The emerging of the new Egyptian woman as seen in L'Egyptienne: the redefinition of Egyptian womanhood

Annie Zarouhie Madanian

The American University in Cairo AUC

Follow this and additional works at: https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#), and the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

APA Citation

Madanian, A. (1975). *The emerging of the new Egyptian woman as seen in L'Egyptienne: the redefinition of Egyptian womanhood* [Thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds/293

MLA Citation

Madanian, Annie Zarouhie. *The emerging of the new Egyptian woman as seen in L'Egyptienne: the redefinition of Egyptian womanhood*. 1975. American University in Cairo, Thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds/293

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by AUC Knowledge Fountain. It has been accepted for inclusion in Archived Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of AUC Knowledge Fountain. For more information, please contact fountadmin@aucegypt.edu.



This Thesis for the Master of Arts Degree

by

ANNIE ZAROUHIE MADANIAN

has been approved

May 1975

MA

[Redacted Name]

Chairman, Thesis Committee

[Redacted Name]

Reader, Thesis Committee

[Redacted Name]

Reader, Thesis Committee

MAY 1975

DATE

[Redacted Name]

Chairman,
Department of Sociology-
Anthropology-
Psychology

Soc. Anth.
292
0-1 + P1

THE EMERGING OF THE NEW EGYPTIAN WOMAN
AS SEEN IN
L'EGYPTIENNE :
THE REDEFINITION OF EGYPTIAN WOMANHOOD

I extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Mark Kennedy, Associate Professor of Sociology and to Mrs. Gosa Naharavi, who was chief-editor of the review of L'EGYPTIENNE and who is member of Beta Chapter Association, without whom this paper would have never been written. I thank Dr. Kennedy for his interest in the problem and his constant advice and guidance throughout my research work. To Mrs. Naharavi, I am most obliged to her for giving me a chance of her time and allowing me to use the Department of Sociology-Anthropology-Psychology of the American University in Cairo in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Thesis
292/75

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY-PSYCHOLOGY
OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

By
ANNIE ZAROUHIE MADANIAN

MAY 1975

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study attempts to explore into *L'Égyptienne*, the monthly review. I extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Mark Kennedy, Associate Professor of Sociology and to Mrs. Ceza Nabarawi, who was chief-editor of the review of L'ÉGYPTIENNE and who is member of Huda Cha'rawi Association, without whom this paper would have never been written. I thank Dr. Kennedy for his interest in the problem and his constant advice and guidance throughout my research work. To Mrs. Nabarawi, I am most obliged to her for giving me so much of her time and allowing me to use her personal documents. I also thank the readers of my thesis, Dr. Cynthia Nelson, Chairman of the Sociology-Anthropology-Psychology Department, and Dr. Susan Staffa for revising my thesis.

A B S T R A C T

This study attempts to explore into L'Egyptienne, the monthly review which Huda Cha'rawi, the leader of the Egyptian feminist movement, founded. Through a study of content analysis of L'Egyptienne, interesting insights are revealed of the new meanings, values and strategy of the Egyptian woman, who carved out a place for herself in the nation's intellectual and cultural renaissance.

There is a great deal not known on the awakening consciousness of feminism in Egypt. Therefore, the first part deals with the figures whose personal troubles appeared to account for the enhancement of the idea; and the Egyptian revolution of 1919 as the impetus for a successful struggle to women's emancipation. The second part contains a brief sketch of the Egyptian feminist press prior to L'Egyptienne; and L'Egyptienne's structure, contributors and changes over time. Following this, L'Egyptienne is systematically studied as to its content, thus throwing light upon the new redefined emerging perspectives, conceptions and self-consciousness of the Egyptian woman. Through analyzing the different nature of the content, such as the interviews with the educated elite, speeches and discourses at meetings and congresses on the international level, and other essays. An understanding of institutional transformations which ultimately mean changes in the social structure and in the roles women have vis-à-vis men. Concurrently the redefinition of their traditional roles against the challenge of modern conditions in Egypt at the turn of the century.

Finally, in the last part I intend to give the reader a picture of the foreign sources of recognition of L'Egyptienne as an important instrument of intercommunication of the feminist movement with the outer world and the important personalities of Huda Cha'rawi and Ceza Nabarawi, her collaborator and chief editor of the review, in the struggle for Egyptian woman's betterment in society.

I.	Methodology	1
II.	The Forces that Account for the Enhancement of Feminine Struggle in Egypt	10
	A. Historical Figures and their Personal Estates	
	B. Social Revolution 1919	
III.	Egyptian Feminine Press	21
	A. Prior to <u>L'Egyptienne</u>	
	B. <u>L'Egyptienne</u>	
	1. Structure	
	2. Contributors	
IV.	Content Analysis of <u>L'Egyptienne</u>	34
	A. Categories and its Value Contents 1923-1929	
	1. Interpretative Summary	
	B. Categories and its Value Contents 1930-1934	58
	1. Interpretative Summary	
	C. Categories and its Value Contents 1935-1940	72
	1. Interpretative Summary	
	D. Summary	90

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

CHAPTER	Page
I. Introduction	1
Statement on Importance of the Problem	
Brief Review of Historical Account	
Methodology	
II. The Forces that Account for the Enhancement of Feminine Struggle in Egypt.	10
A. Historical Figures and their Personal Troubles	
B. Social Revolution 1919	
III. Egyptian Feminine Press	21
A. Prior to <u>l'Egyptienne</u>	
B. <u>l'Egyptienne</u>	
1. Structure	
2. Contributors	
IV. Content Analysis of <u>l'Egyptienne</u>	32
A. Categories and its Value Contents 1925-1929	
1. Interpretative Summary.	
B. Categories and its Value Contents 1930-1934	58
1. Interpretative Summary.	
C. Categories and its Value Contents 1935-1940	72
1. Interpretative Summary.	
D. Summation.	90

L'EGYPTIENNE

CHAPTER

Page

V. The Sources of Recognition and the Demise of

L'EGYPTIENNE 92

VI. Conclusion and Comments 100

BIBLIOGRAPHY 107



FONDATEURICE
M^{me} HODA CHARAOU

REDACTRICE EN CHEF
M^{me} GEZA NABARAOU

1^{er} FÉVRIER 1933 1^{er} Année N^o 1

8, RUE KASSR-EL-NIL, 9



L'EGYPTIENNE

REVUE MENSUELLE

FEMINISME
SOCIOLOGIE - ART



FONDATEURICE
M^{ME} HODA CHARAOUI

REDACTRICE EN CHEF
M^{lle} CEZA NABARAOUI

1^{er} FEVRIER 1925

1^{re} Année N^o 1

9, RUE KASR-EL-NIL, 9



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Statement and the Importance of the Problem

I call forth all truth seekers to probe into the case of the Egyptian woman... (and) the necessity of reforming her status:... to free her from the clutches of ignorance and the (removal) of the veil... (Though) man believes that if his wife is given freedom she would abuse it, does not allow him from depriving her of it. It is not permitted for any human being to invade another's rights by usurping his freedom and the control of his will with the excuse of wanting to prevent him from committing sin. And if by depriving the other from his freedom would repel an evil to happen; it is then necessary to place ninety percent of the men under the law of the veil to prevent them from corruption.

Qasim Amin (1898-1900)¹

Two decades after this statement, Egyptian women took a firm step towards emancipation. [Huda Cha'rawi Pacha, a distinguished woman, realized the time had come for women to play an effective role in society, and "that Egypt is on the threshold of a renaissance".² She succeeded in arousing the cultivated women in Cairo to struggle for freedom, and from this

¹Qasim Amin (1865-1908) was a Judge in the Court of Appeal of the Native Tribunals. The date of his books are controversial. Some sources give the date of his first book Tahrir al-Mar'ah as early as 1898, or 1899 or even 1900. The other book, Al-Mar'ah al-Jadida follows the first by a year or probably two. However, I have an early publication of his second book, in which he dedicates it to Sa'ad Zaghloul Pacha and beneath the dedication the following date is mentioned 15 August 1900. Thus I believe that Tahrir al Mar'ah must have been published in 1897/1898.

²Beatrice Hill Ogilvie, "The Work of Madame Charaoui for Egypt's Women", in Science Monitor, Boston, Tuesday, August 13, 1929.

intelligent nucleus organized L'Union Feministe Egyptienne. After returning from the Congress for the International Alliance of Suffragettes, held in Rome in 1923, Huda Cha'rawi realized the need of a means of communication. From her own private resources she established L'Egyptienne, the review of the movement in Cairo devoted to the interests of women in Egypt, and directed its policies so skilfully that it has won a secure position in the journalistic world.]

Prior to this, the ideas expounded by Qassem Bey Amin of freedom, literacy and unveiling were fundamental for progress, modernism and "reaching a high degree of civilization".³ However, his ideas were much before his age, and time was not ripe enough to consider an alternative to values and attitudes of the traditional society, Qassem Amin stands as the champion of the Egyptian feminist cause, and Huda Cha'rawi as the distinguished leader for Egypt's emancipated women.

What then is the aim of this study? It is twofold: one is an attempt to understand, to grasp the meaning of this movement expressed in L'Egyptienne and reviewed in its historical context; the second, is to determine actual intentions of any writer through these utterances and in order to give an account of the feminist movement that gave it its birth.

However, the importance of the problem lies in the questions it raises: (1) How can an experience in a life of a man or a woman transform into or lead to a high cultural goal?

³Al-Mar'ah al-Jadida, p. 221.

(2) Why has L'Egyptienne been unparalleled in any of the various feminine magazines and papers of its epoch? Can we assume that the literary contributors have any direct bearing on it?

(3) With the feminist movement, change and transformation of new meanings and values have emerged, such emotive expressions are seen in words, utterances, discourses and essays as depicted in L'Egyptienne. What are these meaningful implications that challenge traditional definitions of conceptions and awareness between the sexes?

(4) How far has L'Egyptienne been recognized in the journalistic milieu? Why has L'Egyptienne dissolved? What can be the reasons?

Brief Review of Historical Account

The impetus for changing the status of the Egyptian woman started when Qassem Bey Amin courageously offered his first book, Tahrir al-Mar'ah (The Emancipation of Woman) in 1898; and the other al-Mar'ah al-Jadida (the New Woman) in the following year or two which was a defence and a reply to the critics of his first book. Both books were destined to have far-reaching consequences despite a campaign against them--arising particularly among the ulema who regarded Qassem Amin's ideas as being against Islamic teachings. Even friends of Qassem Amin, who effectively shared similar feelings, were hesitant to give him public approval. The severe attacks and virulent criticisms from his contemporaries did not abate his boldness and courage in the struggle

against the possible failure of his idea.⁴

He advocated the emancipation of the Muslim women and their release from the traditional and customary habits that separated them from the world in which the men lived. He claimed that in the Shari'a, the law provided for the equality of women with men (except in regard to polygamy where there were pressing reasons for inequality in this respect). He also pointed out that the core of the social problem in Egypt, and in other Muslim countries as well, is the position of the woman and this can be improved by education.⁵

He was soon followed by Ibrahim Ramzi Bey, head of the translation department at the Ministry of Justice, who wrote a few articles on similar ideas and principles. The stirring of feminism continued rather slowly; in 1906, a student from the Khedivial School named Abdel Hamid Hamdy wrote a number of articles, about twenty or so, entitled "Few Words on Women"⁶ and published them in al-Minbar.⁷

The way was being paved to get a support from a rather unexpected quarter--this was from a young woman named Malak Hifni Nassef.

⁴In an interview, Magd el-Din mentioned that those men who were totally against the idea of women emancipation and unveiling had gone to Qassem Amin's home rebuking him of blaspheming the society's values and tradition, and demanding of him, if he could, to bring forward his wife to sit with them and to apply what he had already preached. Also Charles Adams mentions that a certain source says that "no less than thirty books and pamphlets written to refute his books or to attack him personally". Islam and Modernism in Egypt, p. 231.

⁵Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1789-1939, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 164.

⁶A. H. H. "Le Mouvement Feministe en Egypte", L'Egyptienne, October-November 1926, p. 34.

⁷Al-Minbar is a political daily newspaper, published by Muhammad Bey Mas'oud and Ahmed Bey Hafez Awad.

Her collected articles and addresses indicate the influence she had had from Qassem Amin, for "she was his daughter in thought and daring, and his pupil in advocating reform in women's affairs".⁸

Malak Hifni Nassef was the first woman to single out woman claims at the Egyptian Congress in April 1911. The congress was gathered to discuss reformative issues and make directions to what the government and the people should do, and to study in detail their needs. The 'Ten Point' claims that Malak voiced at the conference are the following:

- 1- Teaching religion to girls i.e. Qur'an and the Sunna.
- 2- Primary and secondary education to girls, especially the primary teaching to be compulsory for all classes.
- 3- Teaching of domestic science theoretically and practically and health laws and child rearing, first aids, etc...
- 4- To specialise a number of girls in medical studies and in the art of education so as to meet the needs of the women in Egypt.
- 5- Full freedom to study anything a female likes.
- 6- Training girls from very young in truthfulness, energy in work, patience, etc...
- 7- Following the religious manner of engagement, i.e. a couple cannot marry before their getting together in the presence of a proper official.
- 8- To seek for the good of the country and to do without alien people and things as far as possible.

⁸Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 237.

9- To follow the Turkish women's tradition in going out and in unveiling.

10- For our brethren (the men) to execute this project.⁹

Undoubtedly, these claims were rejected by the congress; and Malak, like Amin, suffered some unpopularity. Nevertheless, she held conferences and lectured in the Egyptian University. Thus, to Qassem Amin and Malak Nassef go the honour for being the champions of the Egyptian feminist movement.¹⁰

Not long before Malak's death, Abdel Hamid Hamdy founded a weekly journal, al-Sufur (the Unveiling), in 1915. This marked an interesting step towards an active formation of women partisans. Four young men amongst the educated elite gave effective aid to the magazine, these were Sheikh Mustapha 'Abdel Razik, Taha Husayn, Mansur Fahmi and Muhammad Husayn Haykal. Through the media of al-Sufur, these men extended the idea of redefining the position of woman in the nation's institutional changes, and demand for her rights.

The political situation in Egypt was critical, and a national uprising was due to erupt, when political agitation suddenly presented the women of Egypt with an unexpected opportunity to emerge en masse from the background. With the revolution of 1919, came the first appearance of the collective effort of the Egyptian women in the

⁹ Magd el-Din Hifni Nassef, Athar Bahithat al-Badia: Malak Hifni Nassef, 1886-1819, (Cairo: General Egyptian Organization for Editing, Translation, Printing and Publishing), pp. 52-54.

¹⁰ Daisy G. Philips, "The Growth of the Feminist Movement in Egypt", in The Moslem World, vol. XVI, July 1962, No. 3, pp. 277-278.

streets of Cairo, and with them, their leader, Madame Huda Cha'rawi Pacha. Soon after, a political committee of women was formed--the Wafd Central League for Women--as an auxiliary of the Wafd Party.]

Again In 1923, the International Alliance for Women Suffragates invited Egyptian delegates to attend its tenth congress; this invitation gave Egyptian women great prestige. Since the demonstrations in 1919, and the formation of the political committee of the Egyptian women, Huda Cha'rawi gave herself fully to the cause of feminism. On March 16, 1923, the delegates of the Egyptian women who attended the congress in Rome were Huda Cha'rawi, Ceza Nabarawi and Nabawiya Musa. On their return the delegates raised their veil as a sign for a new era to begin in the consciousness of their rights.]

Methodology

Data Collection

This thesis deals with the content analysis of L'Egyptienne in its fifteen years of publication, undoubtedly the material contained in this monthly review is my main concern and primary document. The temporal limits of my universe of inquiry is defined by the dates of its appearance and termination, i.e. February 1925 to April 1940.

The myriad of articles, essays, speeches and discourses all do speak for themselves. They are the true and immediate expressions of the writers, and the reality they viewed at the time. What is given in the content of L'Egyptienne determines the kind of understanding that arises "where people are dependent on communicating with each

other".¹¹

A social movement ordinarily has an outlet, a voice, a literature which comes about in the early stages of the movement and remains for a time. This was so of the feminist movement in Cairo. After returning from the conference of the International Alliance for Women Suffragates, held in Rome in 1923, Huda Cha'rawi realized the need of a means of communication. She not only wished to further the movement in Egypt but also to create a reciprocal sentiment and interests between East and West. It was this realization of the intentions of all those who share with the objectives of its foundation.

Moreover, I am employing the aid of the chief editor of L'Egyptienne, Ceza Nabarawi; she stands as my key informant in solving problems on the conceptual levels. The purpose for using such a technique is twofold: one, my study of L'Egyptienne as the outcome of the Egyptian feminist movement is a limited topic so that an understanding of the information can be best provided by informants who lived during the period. And second, the technique is self-developing, since I am doing an exploratory study, therefore, I think the gathering of the data through unstructured interview process and repeated contacts will increase the amount of knowledge of the problem.

I am carrying a series of interviews of an open-ended kind with Ceza Nabarawi, the respondent, in order to establish and preserve

¹¹Wilhelm Dilthey, Pattern and Meaning in History, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 119.

her reflections on the history of this movement from its beginnings to its decline in 1940.

Tools of Analysis

In a study of content analysis of L'Egyptienne, I designed to approach the fifteen years of its circulation into two main steps: one is to break this period into three equal intervals, i.e. 1925-29, 1930-34 and 1935-40; and then, to see what kinds of questions, topics and issues are most frequently up for discussion.

The second step is to do content analysis in depth with reference to those items which most frequently arise in each five year period. Therefore, themes and motives characterize a certain trend in the review giving us some systematic knowledge of any possible reflect changes in the social context of the journal itself. It is here that Dilthey's understanding would come in, "by the relation of relating the sign to a wider context, the whole work of an author, the trend of a conversation, what we know about a person"¹² becomes, in fact, a way of penetrating the mental processes which lie behind outer manifestations".

However, the interviews with Ceza Nabarawi are of utmost importance when I am checking and/or reconstructing the description of the content which will be dealt with in my analysis.

¹²Ibid., p. 66.

CHAPTER II

THE FORCES THAT ACCOUNT FOR THE ENHANCEMENT OF FEMININE STRUGGLE IN EGYPT

A. HISTORICAL FIGURES AND THEIR PERSONAL TROUBLES

"Men everywhere seek to know where they stand, where they may be going, and what---if anything---they can do about the present as history and the future as responsibility".¹ That is, one reason why some men, and not all, when they experience personal uneasiness in their milieu gear their aspirations, to some extent, toward the society with willful activity. It may be out of altruism that some men and women sense the troubles of others, and voice them out either through writing or through exerting an effort to resolve many of the personal problems which had become a public issue, where private troubles and uneasiness are collectivized and shared--this implies structural changes of institutions and a new direction in history.

For my present study, the historical figures whose personal troubles account for the enhancement of the emancipation of the Egyptian women are Qasim Bey Amin, Malak Hifni Nasif, Madame Huda Cha'rawi Pacha and Ceza Nabarawi. The troubles and dissatisfactions in the life of each of them has been experienced by many in the society. Their resolu-

¹C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), p. 165.

tion of their problems lies in the direction of high cultural goals---
uplifting the status of women.

One of the essential problems among many Egyptian reformers and thinkers at the end of the nineteenth century involved the sufferance of Egyptian society with reference to Egypt's incalculable loss owing to a general ignorance of the value and potential functions of women. It was this which Qasim Bey Amin confronted not only as a personal problem but as a public issue. It became his cause to alter the traditional conception and position of women in Egypt, and, at the time when Egypt was undergoing profound institutional changes. For he was convinced that the progress of the country and the structural changes of society lay in the uplifting of its women. And a special kind of education, he felt, was the essential means through which the status of women could be improved, and by which the value and latent worth of women in society and in family life could be manifest.²

The few years Qasim Amin spent in Paris had a considerable influence on him. In addition to his earlier training in law, he read voluminously in literature, philosophy, ethics, sociology and psychology. Presumably, his living in a society where fewer constraints were set regarding the relations of men and women, and where women's role in the social and intellectual life was generally accepted,³ Qasim Bey more clearly conceived the traditional wrongs made by

²Tahrir al-Mar'ah, pp. 62-63.

³Al-Sufur.

men in society with regard to the subordination of the other half of the population.

"In sum, the woman from birth to death is a slave because she does not live by herself and for herself but by men and for men; and she needs him in all affairs: she would not go out but under his guardianship, she would not travel but by his protection, she would not think but by his brains, she would not see but with his eyes, she would not hear but with his ears, she would not want but with his will, she would not work but through him, she would not make a move unless it is directed by him; and hence she is not considered an independent being but rather as a supplement to him".⁴

Qasim Bey undoubtedly developed further and confirmed his thoughts on the emancipation of women in his frequent visits to the Salon of Princess Nazli where the climate of opinion generated a good deal of discussion concerning in not only the status of Egyptian women but also how to elevate it by educational and other means of changing tradition.⁵ It is said that Qasim Bey had succumbed

"la délicate influence d'une très noble dame, la princesse Nazli Fazil, qui recevait, dans son palais, les hommes les plus distingués du Caire.⁶ Et ces idées lui avaient été inspirées par [elle] dont il avait pu apprécier la vive intelligence et la culture raffinée."⁷

Therefore, his high image of her personality and independence convinced him of what a woman can become if she is given education and her rights respected instead of being usurped by the tyranny of men.

⁴Al-Mar'ah al-Jadida, p. 35.

⁵L'Egyptienne, October-November 1926, p. 32.

⁶Marcelle Jinayre, "Egyptiennes D'aujourd'hui, La Reforme, 30 July 1929, n.p. "The delicate influence of a great noble lady, Princess Nazli Fazil, was received in her palace, the most distinguished men in Cairo."

⁷"L'evolution du feminisme en Egypte", L'Oeuvre, 17 Octobre 1934. n.p. And his ideas had been inspired by [her] hence he was able to appreciate the lively intelligence and the refined culture.

During the time when Qasim Bey had already formed a platform for the birth of his new thoughts, a young woman Malak Hifni Nasif, advanced in education for her time, felt the injustice being done to her sex in different strata of society. Although she experienced no sexual inequality in her father's household--owing to her father's liberal background and the educational opportunities he gave her-- she did experience such inequality in her married life. She lived through experiences which, she realized, thousands of other women were also suffering as a consequence of belief in the traditional role of women.

She married Abdel Salam al-Basil, the wealthy chief of the Ramah Bedouin tribe in Fayoum. She was told that he was an educated and a modern man, but he proved to be the contrary. He was considerably like all the other men in the society who regarded a woman as an inferior creature--important only to complement male existence.⁸ Her views as a married woman are clear in the following:

Woman's rights are usurped and she heavily suffers
injustice all through her life span [in society].⁹

She then explained that she passed through childhood without feeling that stage, but that she married with or without her consent, oppressed by her husband to suffer the threat of divorce from him any-time. But the most painful endurance, is that sometimes, too, she shares a conjugal life with another woman. For Malak, polygamy was

⁸Nasif, pp. 16 and 17.

⁹Ibid., p. 19.

atrocious, and a terrible situation for any woman to experience.

Al-Basil was previously married when she knew later about it.

It is better for a girl and a boy to be celibate than to marry a third person, who is misery and sufferance.¹⁰

From such a life experience, no doubt, Malak's sensitivity to the condition of the Egyptian woman urged her zealously to defend the rights of woman and her emancipation in society vis-a-vis men. She called out for "education as the key to the renaissance"¹¹ for women in the Egyptian society. In 1911, at the National Congress, Malak made the first demands of the Egyptian woman.¹² She went far beyond most women of her time to voice the essential equality of the sexes which has been neglected for a very long time.

Unlike Malak Nasif, Huda Cha'rawi was married at the age of thirteen;¹³ and in Huda's experience early marriages present a situation of suffering and unhappiness, since the girl was ignorant and both physically and psychologically not of age to distinguish the right thing from the bad. Huda's unhappiness, stemming from being both young and a woman, was not unique. That Huda and other women were aware of this becomes evident later (in 1923) with the demands of women to fix in law a minimum age for women to marry--

¹⁰Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹Ibid., p. 34. *بأن التعليم والتربية والتدريب هي فتح النهضة*

¹²See pp. 5-6 for the 'Ten Points' that Malak declared before the Congress.

¹³Huda married her cousin and tutor, Ali Pacha Cha'rawi, who was over thirty years her senior. Her father leaving to him the tutelage of his children.

viz., age sixteen.

Huda always called her husband 'Pacha', and never by his name for it was a respectful habit at her time to call husbands with courteous words or a title. "The Pacha", she says,

"was a man of 'profonde bonté et d'un esprit très cultivé'. But, at thirteen, I was too young to understand this, my ignorance made me ashamed also. I knew nothing, nothing, not even the Quran.... Yes, really I suffered much from my inferiority. So, I asked from my husband to bestow a separation or rather a retirement. He consented. I went to Upper Egypt, where our estates are. There I observed the (female) peasant and I saw that she was more miserable than the (female) city-dweller. Then I found the foreign library of my father, I devoured it all until I had nothing left so I ordered more books from France, England and America. Until I was twenty I studied, reflected, compared. Then, one day, I wrote to the Pacha that I felt worthy of him".¹⁴

Another primary demand in 1923 was the equality of education--equal opportunities for secondary education and for high studies.) Ceza Nabarawi's experience was one of unjust deprivation. Continuing her studies meant so much to her, but her father in January 1915 would not allow her to finish the French secondary school (Baccalaureat) at Notre Dame de Scion of Alexandria. Instead, he obliged her to stay home and to put on the veil thus conforming with the customary practice of the time. Later on, in 1916/1917, Ceza was again put down by her father whom she asked to join Ecole Francaise de Droit (what is now, the French Cultural Center). Her father had said then that of all things he would not like his daughter to become

¹⁴Myriam Harry, "Les Derniers Harems : Mme Charaoui Pacha", in Le Journal, 13 Octobre 1932, n.p.

a lawyer.¹⁵

Both of the demands in 1923 were basically the results taken from personal troubles and, at the same time, were public issues of the day.¹⁶ But, over and above all, the singularity of the personal events in 1922 in the lives of these two women was exceptional. The death of Huda's husband and Ceza's father was purely a chance connection that gave a special character to their early efforts and to them as well. Their lives were constrained, to a large extent, by these male figures who often hindered their ability because of societal norms and habits. Now was the time for them to solve their problems and those for others without hesitation. And, in the following year of mourning, they audaciously manifested substantial changes in those antiquated family ways and other customary practices that had so long placed women far below men in matters of social status. First, the removal of the veil (May 1923) after they returned from the International Congress of Suffragettes in Rome 1923. Again, in the same year June 1923, they made the demands as mentioned earlier.¹⁷ Whilst Ceza and I were chatting together one day, she posed a question as though to herself--whether it was possible that Hoda and herself were to determine such immediate and considerable change, first, in removing the old practice of veiling, in putting an end to ignorance, lethargy

¹⁵Personal observation, by Ceza Nabarawi, in an interview on 1st March 1974 and 16th May 1974.

¹⁶Ceza Nabarawi, "Awel Mu'tamar Dawli Tahdaruha al-Mar'ah al-Misriyya (First International Congress attended by the Egyptian Woman), Hawa', 21 December, 1957, No. 65.

¹⁷Personal observation by Ceza Nabarawi on several occasions.

and seclusion, and second, of presenting the two requests in 1923, if only their male relatives were living?

From the above mentioned few pages, we have come to understand that many personal troubles cannot be solved merely as troubles, but must be understood in terms of public issues--and in terms of history-making. For there exists a relation of biography to history and the connection of the two in a variety of social structures. The problems of individual life in the socio-historical matrix, where a person's self is formed, provides us with interesting insights of the role of idea in history. Ideas are shaped by the kind of social structure in which a person lives as well as in the unique historical circumstances of the period to which he belongs; therefore, the relation between biography and history is, in a sense, reciprocal.¹⁸

B. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF 1919

During the feverish days of the revolution in 1919, the most striking feature in the political turmoil has been the conspicuous part played by the women in Egypt. March 16, 1919 records a memorable date in the history of struggle in modern Egypt when over 300 women descended into the streets for demonstration against foreign occupation--the demonstration was called for and organized by Madame Hoda Cha'rawi Pacha. Abdel Rahman Rafi', an Egyptian historian of the time described the unique sense in 1919 Revolution:

¹⁸Mills, Chapter One, and pp. 225-226.

"the women marched into two regular rows, all carrying small flags, went round the main streets in a big procession, shouting for 'liberty', 'independence' and 'Down with the Protectorate' thus attracting the attention of the masses and bringing to them a spirit of enthusiasm and admiration. And they met everywhere by people's applause and cheering and women from their windows and balconies met them with cheers and 'zagharid'.¹⁹ And most of the inhabitants of Cairo went out to see this cheerful procession along with them".²⁰

Geza Nabarawi narrated in an interview:

"Pour la première fois on vit les femmes paraître en publique, manifestant, haranguant la foule, dans les rues, les églises, les mosquées s'exposant ainsi à la mort. Le courage, la capacité qu'elles montrèrent dans ces jours sombres et critiques leur valurent l'admiration et la reconnaissance des hommes--qui apprirent à compter sur la collaboration féminine".²¹

However, Sir Chirol mentioned that participation of the Egyptian women in

"turbulent street demonstrations may not have been the healthiest form of emancipation, but so sudden a violent change is bound to leave a permanent mark upon the women of Egypt".²²

¹⁹Zagharid, an Egyptian sound of joy made by the mouth and tongue. It is the rapid movement of the tongue from left to right disturbing the sound coming out from the throat to vibrate at the sum frequency of the movement of the tongue.

²⁰Wadi' Amin, "al-Jusur al-Tarikhiya li Nidal al-Mar'ah fi Misr (The Historical Roots of the Struggle of the Women in Egypt), al-Tali', No. 11, November 1969, p. 68.

²¹"L'Evolution du féminisme en Egypte", L'Oeuvre, 17 Octobre 1934, n.p. For the first time, we see women appearing in public, demonstrating, orating to crowds in the streets, in churches, in mosques, even exposing themselves to death. The courage and capacity which they manifested in those dull and critical days owed them the admiration and the recognition of men--which reckoned them for the feminine collaboration.

²²Sir Valentine Chirol, The Egyptian Problem, (London: Macmillian and Co., Ltd., 1920), p. 169.

This comment was true since the eventful revolution of 1919, the Egyptian women determined to continue an interest in their collective endeavour and participation into the national movement as an effective organ in the structure of the changing nation. But, in reality it had affected the social life more deeply than the political life as seen in the immediate years.

When news was carried abroad concerning the active part taken by the women of Egypt alongside men in the destiny of their nation, the International Alliance of Suffragettes extended an invitation to Hoda Cha'rawi and other Egyptian women to attend the annual conference in Switzerland in 1920. Due to the preoccupation with the nation's struggle, they were unable to accept the invitation.²³ Again in 1923, the Alliance re-invited the Egyptian women, who attended for the first time women congress. And since "the women of Egypt are ablaze", a distinguished European who edited a journal in Cairo had said, "and customs, inhibitions and suppressions contribute fuel to the flames".²⁴

In this chapter, I sought to portray the forces that ascribed to the aggravation of the coming of feminist movement in Egypt. First, by tracing the distinguished figures who did not separate themselves from the troubles of their time but rather they saw that in the Egyptian social life, progress lay ahead and a

²³Wadi' Amin, p. 70.

²⁴Beatrice Hill Ogilvie, "New Women of Egypt Struggles to End Age-Old Wrongs, in The New Times Magazine, June 17, 1928, p. 8.

considerable efforts was needed to improve matters pertaining to the women. Second, the revolution of 1919 had shocked and puzzled all those in society whether Egyptians or foreigners. But the hour had come where the Egyptian women crushed all forces based on the ground of outmoded ideals, traditional habits by simply marching in the streets of Cairo and backing men out of love of their country and independence.

In the early years, I always intended to write the book which I have now written, before the appearance of REVOLUTION, chiefly to give a picture of the range of questions and interests taken into consideration in the problem of women. Considering that Egyptian women, at the turn of century, were still unable to work a clear movement in the direction of changing their position, it is surprising, though, to see the kind of material written in them.

Until the end of the nineteenth century journalism in Egypt was limited to the Arabic male writers. We have nothing about a journal or a magazine in which the Egyptian women took part. If we wish to understand why women were not actively creative in that time, we must consider that education and ignorance are conditions of human development; and, that education was not at their disposal. However, the ability to read and write is not education, though it may be a means thereto. Such education that would result in the growth and creativeness without education is not productive.

The press in Egypt would parallel with the development and changes that were undergoing in the social, political, and economic

CHAPTER III

EGYPTIAN FEMININE PRESS

A. PRIOR TO L'EGYPTIENNE

In the coming pages, I attempt to examine over some Egyptian feminine journals and magazines, before the appearance of L'Egyptienne, chiefly to give a picture of the range of questions and interests taken into consideration on the problem of women. Considering that Egyptian women, at the turn of century, were still unable to mark a clear movement in the direction of changing their position, it is surprising, though, to see the kind of material written in them.

Until the end of the nineteenth century journalism in Egypt was limited to the Arabic male writers. We know nothing about a journal or a magazine in which the Egyptian women then took part. If we wish to understand why women were not actively creative at that time, we must consider that seclusion and ignorance are conducive to human development; and, that education was not at their disposal. However, the ability to read and write is not education, though it may be a means thereto. Such education that women received was nominal, and creativeness without education is not productive.]

The press in Egypt moved parallel with the developments and changes that were undergoing in the social, political, educational,

intellectual, religious aspects. Thus, the press became more and more the means through which to propagate to the people fiery thoughts and ideas; it gave the public opinion a strong force to support certain aims to be attained. Moreover, the importance of journals and magazines, in Egypt, are such as to express both conservative and modern tendencies on the social life; it went as to permit the knowledge of growth and development of any new movements such as feminine movement, labour organization movements. "The press had always a confidential public".¹

The appearance of some women writers and founders of feminist magazines and journals had started as far back as 1892. We can trace thirty-three different magazines and journals until the appearance of L'Egyptienne in 1925.² This assumes an indication of "consciousness-raising" among the literate readers especially the women, and, very possibly it articulated a growing sentiment for women's rights too. The limits of my subject-matter will not permit me to discuss all the women magazines and journals in detail. However, I intend to succinctly glean over few of them (which I chose randomly); even though, the sketch may be brief, yet, it is worth mentioning the number of topics it contained and the various areas of interest of subject-matter it projected.

On the twentieth of November 1892, the first woman magazine appeared in Egypt called al-Fatat (the Girl). It was founded by Hind

¹ Le Groupe D'Etudes de l'Islam, L'Egypte Independante, (Centre D'Etudes de Politiques Etrangeres, 1938), Tome I, pp. 369-370.

² Costaki Elias Attar, Tarikh Takwim al-Sofh Al-Misriyya, (History of Compilation of Egyptian Press), (Alexandria: al-Takkadum Printing Press, 1928).

Nofal, a young Syrian woman. The magazine contained essays of special interest on the state of women and their status in the different periods along with their achievements in knowledge and art, it also pointed out their required duties. Subjects on good management, house-keeping and the right way of upbringing children were given attention. Arts like sewing, embroidery, lacing and the like were included too. Apparently al-Fatat was approved by literary women and women of the royal circle.³

Not very much different from al-Fatat in its topic selection was Anis ul-Galis (1898),⁴ another of the early woman review. Here too, numerous essays showed the capacity of women in attaining an active role in society and in the educational field; perhaps allowing implicit reflection for changing the "stagnant condition" of the majority of the Egyptian women to an improved status in the society. Just as Alexandra di Avierino, both founder-editor of the review Anis ul-Galis poignantly wrote: "When I took notice that leisure women in this region need a special kind of review for them in order to advise them and acquaint them with works of art and literature, though the work is tedious ... but I hope to satisfy readers and women writers however the obstacles may be".⁵ This straight forward objective of the founder seem, indeed, to want to create an awareness of futility among

³Vicomte Philip di Tarrazi, Tarikh al-Sahafa al-Arabiya, (History of Arab Journalism), (Beirut: al-Matba' al-Adabiyya, 1914), vol. 3, pp. 95-96.

⁴Anis ul-Galis, meaning to keep company while seated.

⁵Anis ul-Galis, I, no. 1.

the idle women in the country.

It is quite interesting that some reviews like Migallat al-Sayyidat wa'l Banat (1903)⁶ and Fatat al-Charg (1906)⁷ essays of admiration of prominent women "from east and west that have become good examples in moral virtue, benevolence, belles-lettres, and carrying out duties".⁸ Thus, impressing female readers with a certain amount of encouragement and, at the same time, adding the quality of seeing too readily the other side of the question--the distressing position of her lethargy in society.

Various articles on mother-child healthy relationship, understanding, and her duties toward her home were approached didactically. Furthermore, the mother's role was seen to be of utmost importance in society because

the mother is a school if you prepare her, she would prepare a people of good foundation - the mother is a garden and with good care, rain and irrigation, we will see it a greening - the mother is the first of teachers whose good influence lasts through all ages.

Al-Sufur (1915)¹⁰ is another admirable journal that reflected the age and the contemporaries that criticized the foibles of the society and who sought to signalize the fundamental principles of reform

⁶Megallat al-Sayyidat wa'l Banat, meaning "Magazine of Ladies and Girls". Founded by Rosa Antoun, headmistress of the American School of Ibrahimieh, Alexandria.

⁷Fatat al-Charg, meaning "The Girl of the East". Founded by Labiba Hachem.

⁸Migallat al-Sayyidat wa'l Banat, I, no. 1.

⁹Fatat al-Chark, January 1916, year X, no. 4, p. 128.

الدم مدرسة اذا اعدت
الدم روضي ان تعبه الميا
الدم استاذة الرساتذة الاولى
المحدثت شعبا طيب الدراره
بالري ادروف انجا ابراه
سفلت ما شرفهم بعنى ارتفاقه

¹⁰Al-Sufur, meaning the uncovering of the veil or the unveiling.

and progress in the creation of a modern and secular Egyptian society. The founder, Abdel Hamid Hamdi and others¹¹ who participated in this journal were staunch advocates of the feminist cause. Myriad of essays were written on girls and education, woman and reform, the removal of the veil, the duties of women in the view of men, the rights of women over men and the like.

Very different from the seriousness of al-Sufur was the magazine called al-Aroussa (1925)¹² which I have come across. It was an illustrated magazine that narrated news, gossips and rumors of women who had popularity in the cinema, theatre, beauty contest, unusual and eccentric events, of royal queens of East and West and their daily family and social life. Though al-Aroussa reported merely news on women activities without attempting any moral observations, yet it contained some essays of counselling on love and marital life, on divorce and of man-woman relationship in form of short stories, for instance, e.g. a title of one of these stories was "he loved her as a blindman and left her as a man who sees".

These magazines and journals were only a few of the many interesting women journals that appeared before l'Egyptienne. I have not looked into them as to make comparisons and relations to the latter; but rather, I looked at the synthesizing themes that gave these journals a historic significance for the men and women writers that

¹¹See above p. 4 and p. 6.

¹²Al-Aroussa, meaning 'the doll', or 'the bride'. The founder was Skandar Makarios, who owned also other magazines.

acted out the injustices against their sisters, and their beginning to carve out a place for themselves in society. Moreover, these feminine journals and magazines are signs of seeking change through the portrayal of the active role of women in society, the problems that women encounter in life, generally, due to their ignorance and seclusion, and enlightening their rights as equal members of the society.

B. L'EGYPTIENNE: STRUCTURE and CONTRIBUTORS

L'Egyptienne differed from all other Egyptian women journals and magazines in many ways. The first and most important was the language used--it is the only Egyptian women's journal that was written in the French language rather than Arabic. It was due to its twofold purpose that L'Egyptienne held:

faire connaître à l'étranger la Femme Egyptienne, telle qu'elle est de nos jours--quitte à lui enlever tout le mystère et le charme que sa reclusion passée lui prêtait aux yeux des Occidentaux--et éclairer l'opinion publique européenne sur le véritable état politique et social de l'Egypte".¹³

To realise these two objectives, the French language was essential, for Hoda Cha'rawi mentioned in the first opening lines of L'Egyptienne, that

En fondant cette revue dans une langue qui n'est pas la nôtre, mais qui en Egypte comme ailleurs est parlée par toute l'Elite,¹⁴

¹³L'Egyptienne, 1925, no. 1, p. 5. "To make known abroad of the Egyptian woman as she is in our days--released from all the mystery and charm which her past seclusion had lent to the eyes of the Westerners--and to enlighten the European public opinion on the true political and social situation in Egypt".

¹⁴Ibid. "In founding this review in a language other than ours (Arabic) and in Egypt, as well as elsewhere, it is used by all the Elite".

Doubtless this fact, of being written in French brought a certain international fame to the review. Moreover, the versatile personality of Hoda Charawi, with her chief collaborator, Ceza Nabarawi added the success of the review's circulation abroad and at home.¹⁵

The size of its circulation can be roughly estimated from 500 to 800 issues per month.¹⁶ However, it is difficult to give approximate figures of the number that were sent abroad, but all that one knows is that L'Egyptienne was distributed to several women organizations and clubs, national libraries like Washington, Berlin, Paris, London, and to high officials and personalities like Juliette Adam, Richard Crane, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Gamil Bey Beyhum, President Masaryek of Czechoslovakia, Victor Marguerite and Marcelle Capy (french writers), and many, many others.

It is worthwhile to mention that the establishment of L'Egyptienne was financed by and the property of Hoda Charaoui, a wealthy woman and a benefactress. Therefore, the expenses that could not be covered by the sales and the advertisements that was included, it was gratuitously financed by the liberality of the founder.

¹⁵I refer by 'at home' to those male readers who were of French education and who took interest in the reform of the Egyptian society, and their wives who knew French like Mmes. Dr. M. H. Haykal, Dr. Taha Hussein; and many of the women of the royal family. Also, the foreigners residing in Cairo and who were considered to be 'friends of Egypt' i.e. being interested in the Egyptian question politically and socially.

¹⁶Observation from Ceza Nabarawi, on 27th June 1974.

The office of L'Egyptienne was within her large imposing residence at Kasr el-Nil (it has been pulled down in 1963-4, and, at present it is a parking place). All work of the review was made there, only for the printing and the binding. The printer was at a frenchman. L'imprimerie Paul Barbey at Abdin; and as for the binder, Ceza cannot remember the name. However, she recollected the fellow who was in charge of the record keeping of L'Egyptienne, he was called Fuad, son of one of the women maids in the household of Hoda.

The chief contributors in the labour of L'Egyptienne was given primarily to Ceza Nabaraoui and a French woman called Jeanne Marques.¹⁷ L'Egyptienne had given opportunity and a great career for these two women who were gifted for writing, as a result Ceza was made an official gazetteer in 1928, when she presided for the first time a press banquet.

No other contributors to the review were regular but for these two women. Hoda Charawi wrote too though not so regularly due to her other occupations. All others were occasional contributors. The policy was that whoever had something convenient and purposeful to offer it was accepted. Moreover, the fact was that all contributors were not paid for their efforts. All work was done gratuitously. In undertaking a high project like that of L'Egyptienne where all work was done with zeal, good will and gratuitously indicated the great interest that many important figures (from Egypt and abroad) volunteered energetically the

¹⁷Jeanne Marques, born in France and died in Egypt in 1966. Jeanne came to Egypt around the year 1914, and stayed here until her death. She was a regular contributor in the review and an energetic collaborator with the movement. See in Journal D'EGYPTE December 13, 1966, where Edgard Gallad wrote on her.

growth of the review.) A real admiration goes to all those who participated ardently for the success of the review's objectives.

(Last, but not least, is an interesting story of L'Egyptienne's cover. The drawing on the review is an unveiled woman marking the significant event of removing the veil, whereas in the background a small female figure is veiled.) It was drawn by a French woman called Valentine de Saint-Point who was passing by Cairo during the period which L'Egyptienne was under discussion. She was a relative of the French romantic poet, Lamartine.

There will follow a fairly detailed exposition of the value content analysis of L'Egyptienne in its fifteen years of publication. For the sake of systematic knowledge, I broke the period of fifteen years into three equal intervals. With the discussion of those items which most frequently arise in each five year period, both the researcher and the reader, may find it profitable to trace through the review the various phases of change in structure, issues, motives and interests.

The reason for the exclusion of short stories is that the objective categories contained direct value judgments which did not require any questionable decisions as to their meaning as were contained in the ambiguous valuational material of the short stories themselves. However, from reading the short stories it was fairly clear that the predominant values were little differently stated in the other categories.

Here are some illustrations to the categories made in some parts in L'Egyptienne. For instance, articles and essays like "Les conditions de la littérature française en Egypte" (1907), "L'Egypte et le monde arabe" (1907), "L'Egypte et le monde arabe" (1907), "La condition civile de la femme arabe" (1905). Some like "Le Dr. El-Ebna" and "Des Conspireurs" (1908), "L'Egypte, le monde arabe" (1908), "L'Egypte, le monde arabe" (1908), "L'Egypte, le monde arabe" (1908).

CHAPTER IV

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF L'EGYPTIENNE

This chapter has a fixed objective: a carefully articulated interpretation and representation of themes, values, ideas, wishes and issues of the group of contributors, as expressed in the content of L'Egyptienne. To this end all items of the review--essays outlining concrete activity to new directions, education, abolition of prostitution, revision of the personal statutes, proper rearing of children, selections of the attended meetings and congresses abroad, interviews with the educated elite, and many other significant essays--were considered in terms of understanding of changing roles of women vis-a-vis men and the redefinition of their traditional roles against the challenge of modern conditions in Egypt at the turn of the century. However, omissions of certain essays, poems, articles, reviews on novels, and short stories¹ have been made because they do not bear directly upon the issue of feminism in Egypt during this period.²

¹The reason for the exclusion of short stories is that the objective categories contained direct value judgement which did not require any questionable decisions as to their meaning as were contained in the ambiguous valuational material of the short stories themselves. However, from reading the short stories it was fairly clear that the predominant values were little differently stated in the other categories.

²Here are some illustrations to the omissions made on some parts in L'Egyptienne, for instance, articles and essays like "Les tendances de la Litterature Francaise aujourd'hui," (1927), "Mosquées et Sanctuaires du Caire," (1931), "L'électrification du Reservoir d'Assouan," (1937) "La condition civile de la femme turque moderne," (1935). Poems like "Sur le Lotus," and "Des Cousinettes," (1928), "Cherife, la Druze" (1937). Reviews of novels like "Les Nègres" par Delafosse (1930), "Le Cadavre Maquillé" par Victor Marguerite (1936).

PROCEDURE

1. Finding in the journal the least number of objective categories having analytical value which would exhaust all of the materials related to feminism. See the major headings of the present chapter for these categories (see table 1 for these objective categories.)

2. Separation of classes of information in these categories by year in which they appeared, in order later to note any constants or changes. That is, some objective categories drop out, reappear, and others are added. This has bearing on the concerns of the movement.

3. Discovering and stating those subjective categories appearing under the objective categories of information to be subjected to content analysis. That is, subjective value content, themes, attitudes may group naturally to form subjective categories, which would exhaust all information related to feminism. These subjective categories are A) expressed wishes, values and attitudes (i.e. value judgements as to what is right or wrong, good or bad, proper or improper); B) themes or motifs, recurrent or transient, C) theories, social philosophies.

4. Reduction of written materials found in these subjective categories of information. That is, finding and setting down systematically the dominant values, themes, ideas, motifs and philosophies according to appropriate year periods for each objective category,

Table 1. Display of Categories Found in l'Egyptienne in Each of Three Five Year Intervals--Categories in Which Subjective Content Are Found, (See Behind).

Five Year Intervals		
1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1940
Women of Ancient Egypt and Arab women of the past.	category dispensed with	category dispensed with
<u>Essays</u> on politics, feminism, peace and philosophy, Ceza	Essays	Essays
Egyptian feminist Movement	On Women	On Egyptian Women and local news
Speeches at meetings, Conferences, and Congresses	Speeches	Speeches
Inquiry	Inquiry	Inquiry
Children and Conjugal partners	Children, women and the drug traffic	Children and Youth
Les Amis de l'Egypte	category dispensed with	category dispensed with
Anniversary	category dispensed with	category dispensed with
---	Women in Education	category dispensed with
---	---	Politics--looking back
---	---	Letters

Explanatory note: This table presents the mode of observation and analysis of the content of l'Egyptienne. The subjective content relevant to the feminist movement was organized under the above 'objective' categories and was observed and analyzed as such. The subjective content under each of the above categories was gleaned and reduced to common value statements, themes and motifs, wishes and needs--together with the overt activities dealing with the feminist movement and its interests as were reported in the journal. This allowed a summation of such value and activity statements for each of the five year periods, under each column of Table 1. Summary statements under each column allowed a comparison of each five year period for stable versus changing contents of values and activities. Horizontal summaries (taking each row of the above table) allowed for analysis of changes within a given category over each of the five year periods. This allowed a pinpointing of where any changes took place in any category. In this connection note on Table 1 the categories of values and activities which dropped out of the picture over time as the movement progressed. Note also the new categories appearing in the second and third five year periods. Such categorical changes roughly signify turning points either in the directions and themes of the movement or in the mode of presenting the values, or both as we shall see.

year period. The difference is to see that the subjective value appeared in the first part and not in the second, and at the same time to see what changes in view are brought in.

1. PROGRESSIVE & TRADITIONAL VALUES AND ACTIVITIES
1915-1919

1- ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WOMAN & HER STATUS IN THE EAST (1915-1919)

The results of the ancient Egyptian woman depicted the important status that occupied in society, particularly among the royal and upper classes. She was credited as enjoying a considerable amount of liberty in her different social circles. As she was depicted as free in having an affair with her own husband's friends, her husband's control over them. She also held an absolute hold on her husband, and she was seen with him in public ceremonies--indicating a woman of status and role as a central value of the movement. Among the women

as above.

5. Summaries of subjective contents under each objective category and for the whole--noting any constants and/or changes over time. The subjective phenomena are found by the cumulative recurrence of the same subject-matter in every five-year period, e.g., all articles and essays of the presentation of the idea of the woman of yore--Ancient Egyptian woman and Arab woman. All the collected material formed the subjective phenomena under which the objective category was created. The same is done with every group of subjective content. However if, in case, the objective category of the first year period was found to be dropped out in the second five year period. The inference is to see first WHY the subjective value appeared in the first part and NOT in the second, and at the same time to see what other changes in view was brought in.

A. CATEGORIES & THEIR VALUE CONTENTS FOR THE PERIOD
1925 - 1929

I. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WOMAN & ARAB WOMAN OF THE PAST (1925-1929)

The essays on the Ancient Egyptian woman depicted the important status that occupied in society, particularly among the royal and upper classes. She was presented as enjoying a considerable amount of liberty in her different social roles. As she was depicted as free in buying and selling of her properties without her husband's control over them. She also held an audience beside her husband, and she was seen with him in public ceremonies--indicating equality of status and role as a central value of the movement. Among the royal

class, the Egyptian woman married whoever she pleased, proclaimed herself as being divine, and a daughter to the son-god, i.o.w. the wife of the pharaoh was not only a companion but a counsellor from whom he took advice

Other essays depicting the Arab woman of yore showed not only the important role she occupied in society but also emphasized liberty, equality, and independence as central values. Her position of being a poetess, a warrior, a counsellor was accepted. Dr. Taha Hussein mentioned that the most highly valued qasidas³ are those of love-poetry. For the woman was worthy to be loved and this was expressed without shame. Just as Hoda Charaoui said in a panegyric of Kassem Amin that "he had proven to have the most rare moral courage in publishing his works the Emancipation of the Woman, and The New Woman in an epoch where the simple mention of the word 'woman' was considered as an indecency and a blasphemy."⁴ The contrast between values as seen in the dim past and the verbalized necessity for male and female courage in retrieving such values in the time of Qasim Amin is highly significant for understanding how liberal men and women defined their reality and responded to it.

It is only Ancient Egypt (not Rome, not Athens), Princess Kadria Hussein said straight forwardly, that exalted women to a high status of

³Qasida, is a form of ancient Arabian poetry.

⁴Marcelle Tinayre, "Egyptiennes Aujourd'hui", La Reforme, 30 July 1930. Also, in l'Egyptienne, June 1928, p. 9.

of priestesses, queens, goddesses, and they have played important roles and they were able to be on the level of their tasks... How interesting were these women! if only we could have a similar initiative."⁵ It is important to note here a central value and theme of the movement—that is, the emphasis was ever on taking the initiative, having the courage to do so, and to take it positively without resorting to the criticism of males or tradition. The strategy of the movement was to do, not to complain or to blame.

II. ESSAYS ON POLITICS, FEMINISM, PEACE & PHILOSOPHY,
CEZA (1925-1929)

A. On Politics:

Here in these political essays the value of independence for women is set within a political philosophy. All the essays centered around the British occupation in Egypt as being one of the greatest obstacles in the nation's progress. In an essay of July 1925, Hoda drew the attention of 'les amis d'Egypte' to find support in order to halt the imperialistic 'provocateur' who were solely responsible.

Hoda firmly stated the hope that Egyptian men of state recall the service rendered by the Egyptian woman during the critical and painful moments as a duty to make up for the injustice they had committed and grant women RIGHTS which are not refused to men. As will be seen in more detail later, we see here an equation between national independence and independence of women, a most significant phenomenon in this movement.

⁵L'Egyptienne, April 1925, p. 69.

B. On Feminism

Another dimension of the equality value may be seen in the writings on feminism--that of equality of privileges and rights between the sexes, especially in education. The first article on feminism was written by Princess Fazileh Izzet.⁶ She stated that feminism has been one of the consequences of World War I; and, since then the recognition of woman's rights and the realization of her aspiration of equality with the privileges of men like in the necessity of social existence.

Une des conséquences de la guerre mondiale, et non la moindre, a été cet essor, sans précédent, du féminisme: reconnaissance des droits de la femme; réalisation de ses aspirations d'égalité avec l'autre sexe dans les avantages comme dans les nécessités de l'existence sociale.⁷

Only through equality of rights and privileges can there be any social existence for women in the changing times.

This idea is further born out by a few men in the period.

Foulad Yeghin, for example, stated in another essay that man and woman are two forces who actively complement each other. Similarly Masaryk⁸ thinks that if there existed any difference in 'la raison, les sens, les sentiments et l'éthique'⁹ it is only a pretended difference. The only difference is from the physical point of view. And if a woman, says doctress Pelleter, was not able to make herself known from the point of view of intellectual superiority, it was because she was

⁶L'Egyptienne, February 1925.

⁷L'Egyptienne, February 1925, p. 15.

⁸A Czechoslovak statesman & philosopher. He was the first president of the republic of Czechoslovakia (1918-1935).

⁹L'Egyptienne, October 1925, p. 264.

always considered as a social slave, and society gave her a difficult time to make herself known. The idea that the sexes are equal in nature but social slaves in society gives another dimension to activism-- the need to push aside any reference to 'natural' differences of superiority between the sexes.

Moreover, for Foulad Yeghen, the question was how to liberate women? In his opinion, it was first to educate the young generation to the new ideas and the needs of the era--the value and harmony between generations for a growing nation. Therefore, the co-education was a major step to this goal. Another very important factor for attaining a new status for the emerging woman in the Egyptian society was to change the law of divorce (which is still on issue). In the same article, moreover, Masaryk found no reason why one should talk about the liberation of women, and not the liberation of the human being (men & women) from corruption. He took for granted that women are considered equal to men, and society cannot divide between them because together they constitute society as a whole. Can society be made up of one and not the other? What was needed was a social mechanism to allow women the social equality and to end the dichotomy between natural equality and social inequality. This mechanism was as education, equal education, for men and women.

C. Peace & Philosophy

The essays within this section can be divided into two parts two related values or themes; one, the importance of education in

giving meaning to the individual's life as a social being, the other, on love and peace which dignify the meaning of life and both are related to the ideal of human dignity. The concern of the essays, of the first part, pivoted on the idea of education. Education is the keystone that would sustain the edifice of all woman's claims. Neither man nor society has any right or interest in dignifying one sex more than the other, and, in fact, it was implied that partial dignity was no dignity for either sex. Interestingly enough, certain essays show the type of education that must be introduced into the schools--not the education of being simply literate but one of a higher order. Education¹⁰ in this sense referred to the action or process of developing the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of all persons becoming cultivated or cultured beings. In other words, education in schools should be directed toward humanitarian and moral qualities in the new and growing generation instead of teaching ethnocentrism and hatred of enemies in history classes.¹¹ Therefore, the fruits of all subjects of study, at school, whether poetry, history or geography must have an objective towards shaping a solid ground for the future activities of future world citizens.

¹⁰In the French language, there are the words--'instruction' and 'education'--for which the English holds one word education in both cases. In l'Egyptienne, education meant both the meaning of the knowledge and development resulting from an educational process as well as the cultured conduct and manners.

¹¹These high goals are still unattained in the present educational system.

No doubt such a cosmopolitan education is a prelude to fraternal peace and love for all future generations. For "what one learns must be usefully employed in society, so that great ideas are not pure abstractions or empty words but rather the enrichment of the heart and mind."¹² However, love and peace that dignify human existence and give meaning to life ought to be the responsibility of men and women alike. One of women's main objectives everywhere was to create a sentiment of fraternal love, peace and reconstruct the moral order of society.

"L'amour est le roi de la vie. Servez sa loi et l'Humanite ressuscitera entre les morts."¹³ The contrary of love has had no positive result to men from ages until today. War and hatred is chaos. And fraternity has never betrayed anyone and it exists despite war and strife.

Feminine struggles are everywhere, and Jack Geo-Schultz calls out to "Mothers, sisters, and wives to make themselves heard and felt in the hearts of law-makers. May your demonstrations be made important to Independence, to the city of light, of liberty and equality where instead of hatred between sexes reigns forever, 'la collaboration fraternele de tous les etres humains pour le commun Bonheur."¹⁴ And here we see the further elaboration of the core values of the feminist movement, as logically and emotionally, it is realized that liberty,

¹²L'Egyptienne, June 1925, p. 147.

¹³L'Egyptienne, December 1925, p. 334. 'Love is the king of life. Serve her Law and Humanity will be resurrected from death.

¹⁴L'Egyptienne, April 1925, p. 81.

equality and independence can endure only when "le commun bonheur" (the common good) comes to be international in scope.

D. Ceza Nabarawi

Special attention must be given to Ceza Nabaraoui's essays in l'Egyptienne. Though some of her essays may easily fall under one category or another, I would like to give them a special section under the category of 'ESSAY'. In all of Ceza's articles, the reader is impressed by the ready flow of her language. She admitted that her fluency with words helped her to argue any disagreeable issues taken against their cause.

The proposition of reforming the Egyptian family on the basis of giving equal rights to the woman and man was proposed by the attorney Morcos Fahmy. But surprisingly, the Minister of Justice, Abd el Aziz Fahmy (of the Liberal party), maintained that the problem of the emancipation of the Egyptian woman was merely a matter of time and that no minister, or even a future one, could, do anything about it. And may be in twenty years to come the realization of a woman reaching equality (or even superiority) with men could be achieved. This statement greatly provoked Ceza because of the mere thought that the cause and/or efforts was to be left to time! "Time is not a remedy, Ceza said, but rather Time is a terrible destructor when not struggled by the efforts of the living."¹⁵ And so long as men shall dominate thought in this way, then we shall have 'deux poids

¹⁵ l'Egyptienne, May 1925, p. 105.

et deux mesures,¹⁶ as a French saying says. There appears here an active opposition to the fatalism with which Abdel Aziz Fahmy's statement was tinged as well as the clear awareness on Ceza's part that fatalism, old or new, could lead nowhere but backwards.

Another interesting essay of protest was the reply of Ceza to Dr. M. H. Haykal's essay on "Claims or Emancipation"? Dr. Haykal held the belief that Egyptian women must first emancipate themselves, then make their claims. Women, he said in effect, have been carried away by ignorance, and they have never showed any discontentment. Therefore now is the time for them to struggle against their own proper presumptions and old-fashioned ideas and notions, and free themselves from these barriers of isolation and imprisonment. Moreover, women must demand their liberty against their proper preconceived notions rather than against men. Dr. Haykal's estimate of the movement as being 'against men' was in error. The movement was for a host of inter-related values. But Ceza answered him on other grounds.

Ceza responded vigorously to Haykal concerning his idea of emancipation before claims. Actually, she felt it should be the other way around--this being a more thoughtful step. For Ceza, 'claims' refer to a demand that pertain to one, and which is in the hand of another. Therefore, the Egyptian woman cannot achieve emancipation without claiming some basic rights. For without the demands gained, emancipation has no meaning. Hence, struggling "against our cause, against all events, one must remove the deep-seated difference--

¹⁶The saying means, to have one law for the rich and another for the poor; one law for one's friends and another for one's foes.

education. Education must have an objective--the formation of character by the development of energetic qualities in the individual, of perseverance and initiative--these alone make for a superiority of the race."¹⁷ Thus education is the fundamental trait of which women can make use in the family, in society, for the country, and for humanity as a whole.]

Ceza directed a crucial observation to Egyptian statesmen concerning modifications of conjugal situations in order to conform to economic and contemporary social conditions. Moreover she felt that those men responsible for a normal course of progress and change in Egypt must foresee the collective welfare and modifications according to the exigencies of time, for "with each period its legislation".¹⁸ The indifferent behaviour of statesmen to the nation's growth may result in increasing the suffering of the people instead of remedying it. In this observation we get a hint about a new direction of initiative into the whole area of marriage and family legislation. But more about this latter.

III. THE EGYPTIAN FEMINIST MOVEMENT (1925-1929)

Concerning the nature of the Egyptian feminist movement only three essays were written. The most complete and well written one is the essay in the special issue of October-November of 1926. This essay has divided the movement into three phases: the first is the phase of

¹⁷ L'Egyptienne, June 1925, p. 143.

¹⁸ L'Egyptienne, July 1928, p. 2.

the feminine precursors in the movement who determine the awakening and "l'interet des esprits sur l'emancipation de la femme."¹⁹ The names of four women must not be overlooked--Aicha Teymour (poetess), Galila (doctress), Zobeida Maghrabia (satirical poetess) and Princess Nazli Fazil who held an important strategic salon.

The second phase of the movement is vital. This is the exteriorization and the propagation of opinions and principles in the wider society. It began with the appearance of Kassem Amin's books until the revolution of 1919. The last phase is the domain of action which the women collaborated with the men for the defence of their nation's rights. And the path of action was paved by Hoda Cha'rawi and her friends. And subsequently, the cooperation of these women in the social life was created such as the founding of the Egyptian Feminist Club, and the participation in the international women's organization.*

Three very interesting colloquia on the question of the Egyptian woman had taken place abroad. One was in Vienna in 1924 organized by Nadja Rached, she talked on the birth of Egyptian feminism. She had found it to be entreded in patriotism and the desire to collaborate with men equally in the struggle for the claim of independence and for the

¹⁹L'Egyptienne, October-November 1926, p. 30.* It is tempting at this point to anticipate a problem to be dealt within the final chapter on the demise of the feminist movement. Could it be that with the exteriorization of the principles of the movement together with the changes it made institutionally that the inner life of the movement dissipated?

prosperity of the country. The Egyptian woman sought emancipation not to have liberty for enjoying herself but rather to achieve liberty in order to heighten the intellectual standard equally with men, and to enjoy rights and privileges which law has granted. Women, she said, hope also to serve her country and humanity better by becoming better mothers, better wives and esteemed comrades to men. Here we see a practical recognition of the constraints within which the movement had to proceed. That is, the immediate appeal was made in terms becoming better mothers, wives and comrades--an appeal to traditional values of equality of status but complementarity of role as wives and mothers. But the long run value appears as equality of both status and role. The strategy then is to use existing values as a means of achieving better ones.

Ehsan Ahmed el Koussi²⁰ held a colloquium at the American University of Beirut on the topic of the importance of education in the development of Egypt; and of the woman's role within this development. She cited the successful roles held by Muslim women in literature and philosophy. She further maintained that a helpful hand must be given to women to achieve this right which had failed to be given to them.

In Paris, Magd ed dine Nasif²¹ held a talk on the role that woman can play in contemporary society, and that Muslim religion has

²⁰ She had studied at the American University of Beirut. She took an active part in the feminist movement during its latter years.

²¹ He is the brother of Malak Hifni Nasif.

been falsely interpreted concerning the status of woman. Here, again we catch a glimpse of the long run value of equality of role, for he took a historical perspective of Muslim woman showing their status at the time of the Prophet in times of war, in accompanying men to the mosque, in attending official ceremonies, and even in voting. Nasif saw that the Egyptian women are entitled to be emancipated so long as they represent half of the nation's population, that women must collaborate with men in the shaping of the nation, in the right of voting, in economic reforms to protect the wealth of the country, in its development and in the nation's independence; in short, they want to sacrifice themselves for their homeland just as man do.

IV. SPEECHES OF CONGRESSES, CONFERENCES & MEETINGS (1925-1929)

During the period of 1925-1929, two international congresses of women were held in which Hoda Charaoui, Ceza Nabaraoui and other Egyptian women attended.²² The first was the Congress of Paris in 1926; the other was at Berlin in 1929. Here again we see the emphasis of national unity to be achieved not by attacks on tradition or on males in society but by initiative and by showing the progress being made in Egypt.

One the eve of the Congress of Paris, Hoda stated a crucial point (which she often did in her essays) intending to show the West

²²Names of women in Paris Congress (1926): Regina Khayatt, Esther Fahmy Wissa, Waguida Koulousy, Sania Gargouza, Fikria Hosni. L'Egyptienne, May 1926, p. 98. At the Berlin Congress (1929, Marie Kahil, Lili Cresple. Observations from Ceza, 1974.

that Egyptian women have maintained a success in the possibility of collaborating with men, and that they are no more an element of pleasure in the hands of men as was believed. But as situations and circumstances change in Egypt so should women change accordingly.

In the speech of Paris conference, Hoda pointed out the great leap of the Egyptian woman from her unknown existence to the foreground due to the war and the internal political instability. However, it was in the Berlin Congress that Hoda represented the African continent, and she affirmed that all the people of Africa are pacifists who intend and desire friendship, understanding and cooperation with the peoples of Europe rather than receiving imposition and pressure from them.

In the same vein but earmarking what initiative had to achieve, Ceza Nabaraoui made two speeches in Paris. In one she expounded the result attained by the Egyptian feminist activities since the congress of Rome in 1923, such as the age-limitation of the marriageable girl and equality of education, as well as in work and salary, as well as the steady increase in the number of schools for girls. However, there still existed the challenge of solving the problems of prostitution, drugs, polygamy and divorce. Here a new turn hinted at by Hoda earlier, begins to take a definite form and at the same time a definite appeal to world opinion in achieving the new objectives.

In Paris, Ceza demanded help from the International Alliance on the problem of two important questions, one concerned venereal disease due to prostitution, and the other is the commerce of drugs. But

because of the institution of state supported capitulations²³ in Egypt, Ceza said it was very difficult for the Egyptians to exercise control over these problems. Hence, she said, she needed help from the Alliance. Note also here the further exteriorization of the movement as well as the strategy of bringing political pressure to bear upon existing political and economic conditions in society which create problems for women. The sociology of the movement now takes a definite and valid form.

In her other discourse, Ceza portrayed to the assembly of the conference the status of the Egyptian Muslim woman from the viewpoint of her civil rights as being entirely free in her own transactions and properties. The question of nationalities of the married woman i.e. the married woman's nationality is not lost if she marries a foreigner, not if a foreign woman is married to an Egyptian man. She can still hold her own nationality.

At two different banquets in Cairo, Ceza and May Ziade drew the attention to the important role of the Press. In Egypt, Ceza stated that the Press showed fervent enthusiasm in defending the right of the woman, and it recognized her victory during the 1919 revolution. Since then, the Press established a firm ground of public opinion toward this view. May Ziade also maintained that the press was a powerful media through which ideas, aspirations, awakening of hopes and arousing dissatisfactions are expressed, viz., the sentiment of patriotism, awakened

²³Capitulations, a set of terms or articles which granted special privileges and rights of extraterritoriality to foreigners independencies of Turkey and other states, Egypt was one of these states.

consciousness, national dignity, propagation of education.

Peace was a major topic for the women of the Alliance. At the Amsterdam Peace Conference in 1927, Hoda Charaoui pointed out the nature of Egypt's world policy as one that possessed a character of pacifism and sought the help and protection from the League of Nations. In all cases, Hoda was ready to work hard for international peace with all the other delegates of the world. It is probably valid to assume here a distinction between actively working for Peace and fatalism. It is notable also the further identification with world peace as a means of making permanent the core values of the feminist movement. Thus the movement partially moved away from the spirit of 1919.

Some of Hoda's other speeches centered around the theme of 'feminism' as the movement in the East and West. In brief, she said that the personality and the activity of the woman was made prominent in the West, and even in the East after the war. These are, she said, some pages in history where the role of a woman leads to some important consequences whether in political, social or humanitarian aspects. These feminine figures, however, have emerged only under specific historical conditions. In Egypt, we owe much to Kassem Amin for the unceasing struggle for women's emancipation. His noble desire was premature to the Egyptian public. We also owe our prime respect to the Prophet for having confined to the woman the power to legislate: "Learn the half of your religion from this woman, Homayar, referring to his wife Aicha."²⁴ And this meant that the word of Aicha was preponderant

²⁴L'Egyptienne, November 1929, p. 13.

in whatever the commentary of texts of the Muslim Law and the verification of these texts deals with.

V. CHILDREN & CONJUGAL PARTNERS (1925-1929)

In this category there are two parts that are closely tied together children and the conjugal partners in terms of marriage and divorce. Here the direction of activism takes a turn hinted at earlier by both Huda and Ceza. It is perfectly consistent with the unfolding of the core values as reviewed above.

Gisele de Ravenel stated that, at present, sanitary protection of children is a conscious problem throughout the world. In France, after World War I, a great number of homes "maisons claires"²⁵ for unfortunate, abandoned and motherless children were established where children could grow healthy. Similarly in Egypt there was a need to have such "maisons claires" for the well-being and protection of children. Such an undertaking appeared to be difficult to start. However, the outcome was one of giving joy to those who could not ask for it, and it left a permanent mark in the growing personality.

Ceza proposed dispensary centers for advising and counselling ignorant mothers on hygiene. Dr. Abd. el Halim Bey Mahfouz²⁶ stated that the Egyptian government had answered the need of ameliorating and

²⁵'Maison claires' means healthy, clear homes.

²⁶He was the Director of the Section of Protection of Children during that period.

elevating social and intellectual standards of women and assured the protection and the well-being of the child. For instance, maternity schools and education of dayas (mid-wives) have been started from 1929 only in the main towns of moudirieh (provinces). Thus the concern for equality in human dignity is actively pursued first at the national and then at the international level in behalf of children and peace. This activism based on the central and emerging values of the movement is also projected into the whole area of marital and family conditions.

The concern of reforming muslim marriage contract was one of the main demands of the Egyptian feminist movement. Ceza observed that jurists must improve the exploited state of women against men's egoism, hence repairing the error of the past. The situation of leaving a woman without cause is a responsible act of the husband and a respect for the right of woman should be noticed as in the precept of the religious law. Demands of the feminist Union in 1926 concerning Muslim Personal Statute are the following issues:

- 1 - abolition of polygamy only under certain cases of sterility or incurable disease
- 2 - restriction of man's right of repudiation. Divorce is only valid before the Cadi (the judge)
- 3 - suppression of the submissive home where the man can keep the rebelled wife as a prisoner
- 4 - extension of the time-period of children under their mother's tutelage. The girl instead of 9 to be extended to the age of 11, the boy instead of 7 to 9.

Though the government has prepared a new project, more or less reconciling different parties' opinions, yet Ceza found, in the renewal of the project, germs of incomplete injustice in the issue. Surprisingly, Ceza said that among some Azharites violent protestations were made for the reform of polygamy. Apparently "the interest of the country, and even the truthfulness of religion was viewed as secondary, when their personal egoism and interests were reproached. Since when was the interest of the few surpass the general interest?"²⁷, said Ceza. The accurate dispensing of recognition is seen here to be a strategic part of the exteriorization of the movements' values in creating institutional reforms.

She continued her argument as vehemently as before on the punishment inflicted on adulterers. Punishment must be equally the same for men and women as in the religious law, and not as in the article 201 of the Penal Code which states: the individual who surprises his wife's adultery may kill her at the instance and the accomplice may be imprisoned. Instead of examining the real cause, said Ceza, of the irresponsibility of the conjugal partners, the law utterly crushes truth. For how many men have extra-marital affairs? It is the men who should give a good example to their wives, love to their home and children instead of avenging their honour barbarically. In Islam, it is neither the parents, nor the husband who must punish the adulterer but the religious representative. Ceza preferred the application of corporal punishment as in olden times rather than the modern proposition of the law as stated above by Mohamed Bey Youssef.

²⁷ L'Egyptienne, April 1927, p. 10.

Moreover, Ceza wished to realize the ardent desire of Madame Eugenie Rouchdy Pacha²⁸--that of living in the spirit of justice and righteousness as in Islam.

VI. INQUIRIES & INVESTIGATION (1925-1929)

An interview with Hoda Charaoui was held by Al-Ahram newspaper on the question of polygamy: whether the government had realized the reform project of the feminist Union. Hoda replied negatively... for instead of abolishing polygamy under certain cases as sterility or of an incurable disease, it gave the opportunity for remarry with the authorization of the Cadi (Judge), as if he knew anything of the character of the man who is to remarry. Furthermore, the man who repudiated his wife without any serious cause, must pay a ransom to the woman, such a clause may hold back divorce.

An interesting questionnaire had been prepared to be given to eminent Egyptian personalities concerning the feminine issues. Surprisingly, the investigation had only covered two figures: Cheikh al-Maraghi (Rector of the Azhar University) and Mourad Bey Sid Ahmed (Royal counsellor at the Ministry of Public Works). Here is the questionnaire:

1 - What do you think of our Egyptian Feminist Movement? Do you consider it a social progress or a necessary evolution in our national life?

²⁸She was the wife of Rouchdy Pacha. She was French by origin and had converted to Islam. A woman of remarkable qualities of spirit and heart. She wrote two books on women of Islam in French. Huda Cha'rawi considered her, as her spiritual sister.

- 2 - What is your opinion on the Reform project concerning the Muslim Personal Statute? Are you a partisan with its application?
- 3 - What is your opinion on the modification made of the project:
 - a - polygamy
 - b - of the man's right of divorce
 - c - of the house of submission
 - d - of the time duration of children's stay with the mother.²⁹
- 4 - Do you not believe that it is the duty of man's interest to help the realization of this project for a happy result which the Egyptian family can obtain?
- 5 - What are the best means you view for preparing the woman as a useful collaborator in the social and political life of your country?

Cheikh al-Maraghi's responses to the questionnaire showed his interest in the inevitable evolution of raising the standard of the Egyptian woman in all aspects as an objective for social progress in society. Moreover, a sufficient part of the general cultural tradition must be given to the Egyptian girl in order to enable her to understand the realities of life. Therefore, those in charge of her evolution must prepare her path: to be a good mother and a good wife for a healthy, happy home where the well-being of the children and the husband can be established. Concerning questions numbers two, three and four, he supported the new project of the Muslim Personal Statute, and he was proud of being one of those who were elaborating the Code.

Mourad Bey Sid Ahmed viewed the feminist movement as a natural consequence after the general movement of national consciousness. For

²⁹See below of page 49.

the awakening of a people cannot exclude the conscious duties and rights of one sex against another. Man and woman are two beings who complement the perfect equality of one another. Concerning divorce, it belongs, he said, to the parties concerned, and to the arbitration of the judge rather than the interference of any relative of either side.

VII. LES AMIS DE L'EGYPTE 'Friends of Egypt': (1925-1929)

Several expressions from 'les amis de l'Egypte' show the profound interest some people had for the Egyptian problem and the consciousness of what was going on in Egypt. Many voices from Europe³⁰ were heard as a response to the appeal made by Hoda Charaoui on the behalf of the Egyptian women. All statements express indignation over the shameful British aggression against the Egyptian people. Juliette Adam's protestation had been acclaimed by certain Englishmen. These men were Colonel G. Gordon, Edward St. J. Fairman and W. S. Blunt—all three in their letters expressed the miserable situation of Egypt and her inability to protect and defend herself from the oppressors, and that the international interest is to safeguard her entity.

Other friends of Egypt are the attorney Barquiseau, the American diplomat Charles Crane, French senator Louis Martin and Lucie Delarue-Mardrus. Martin stated that no one can forget that the cradle of civilization and the high quality of intellectual discoveries were grown in Egypt; therefore the fate of Egypt and her people must be considered by the League of Nations.

³⁰ Juliette Adam (French writer); Maria Verone (president of the French League for the Rights of Women); Jehan D'Ivray (writer); The Dutch Branch of the International League for Women for Peace; The League of Rights for Man; The Irish Press voicing its government.

VIII. ANNIVERSARY (1925-1929)

To every anniversary of l'Egyptienne, Hoda Cha'raoui wrote a word of gratitude and thanks to all collaborators. Every time she mentioned a list of names to whom she rendered homage for their voluntary activity toward the continuity and success of the review. Hence signifying how well l'Egyptienne was well received by a great many eminent personalities who were in different domains of activities like in political, social and literary works. The list of names also show the variety of nationalities (from East and West) who shared into the vitality of the review. Moreover, an interesting information was revealed in this category. On the occasion of the third anniversary, a tea was given by Hoda where Ceza made a short talk, in which we come to understand that two figures seem to have greatly encouraged the appearance of l'Egyptienne, one was Prince Haidar Fazil, and the other Princess Kadria Hussein.³¹

INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY (1925-1929)

Such pages as the preceding items of 1925-1929 need to be interpreted in the light of the value contents in order to transmit their meanings, values and motives which they represent. In carefully studying and observing the subjective contents, a sound view of Egyptian women's new identity is brought forward which was contrary to her traditional role expectations. And a better sense of understanding the transformation of new emerging values, interests and aspirations are depicted.

³¹Daughter of Sultan Hussein. She was a sculptur.

Against the innumerable abuses that the Egyptian women received from foreign reports, they felt that they ought to do 'something' to change the stereotype mentality and replace a new valid view of themselves. Therefore l' Egyptienne became an admirable vehicle for shifting the unpleasant misconceptions made on the Egyptian women particularly among Muslims. So far Muslim creed concerning women was seen to be fallaciously interpreted, and for centuries what was seen to be a bad moral reputation fell on all generations up to the present day. Simultaneously, Egyptian men also neglected the true conception of their women, this neglect reinforced the contemptuous and the detached attitude between sexes. Therefore, the Egyptian women's sensitivity to foreign criticism as well as the aloofness of Egyptian men, directed them to draw the attention of all readers on the two types of their historical past (Ancient Egyptian and Arab women). This was quite an artful and an ingenious presentation of their cultural heritage. Hence, we can deduce the cherished ideal perfection of the relations of both sexes from the subjective categories. Women of Ancient Egyptian and in Arabia by contrast are seen as enjoying considerable liberty whether in participating in society along with men, or in their own personal freedom in civil rights. A review of the content shows that by looking backward, feminists aspired to equality of sexes in political and all other social dimensions. The names of the women presented like Hatshepsut, Teti-Sheri, Chadjarat-el-Dorr, Aicha (daughter of the Prophet)—all of these women had identified themselves in the national spirit and performed important social activities.

In 1919, the revolution and the active participation of both men and women in it gave rise to an acute awareness in women of the equality

of sexes in a common struggle for liberation and national independence. Momentarily, at least, any prior feelings of women of indignations, of shame associated with ignorance or low status vanished as new self conceptions based upon the ideals of independence emerged to ignite an acute political awareness.³² Early female identification and self-determination sprang from the collaboration with men in the national destiny whence from concrete activity toward new directions were developed like the establishment of the Egyptian feminist Union, the joining of the Egyptian women in the International alliance for Suffragates and the demonstration of Egyptian women rights in 1924.

The general reaction against women's social condition and the change of the motto 'her place being in the house' was to be overcome by education. Education had been rightly viewed, by men and men as the most important instrument for accomplishing the necessary social readjustment. It was the prime force through which all women's problematic issues would be solved. And the role of education was to create a better life and relationships with the children, with the husband, and in view of her status in society. Therefore women thought that instead of reproaching her lethargic condition, she should be given a chance to prove herself equally capable as men. Hence the emerging aspiration of new forms of values and a meaningful relationship between men and women started to probe into issues of being 'good' mothers to raise the future citizens, 'good' wives in creating happy

³²With the revolution over, however, and with men in positions of political authority, this new feeling and fact of equality was to have no automatic institutional outlet. Any new status of independence for women had to be won as a post-revolutionary movement.

homes, 'good' companions to collaborate with men in nationalistic ambitions, and 'good' citizens in serving their country and society. All of these aspects affect the welfare of the future betterment of the progressive Egyptian society, their own status in society, and their relation vis-a-vis men.

A very shrewd feature of the Egyptian women in the social movement was the fact that they never showed any critical hostility or hatred toward men. They had no foe to crush but tactfully moved along with men in their country's fate and the social progress that was undergoing in Egypt. Indeed, they combined the functions of national, social and feminine issues as the problem of the nation. For no healthy society was made up of one part alone, all members (men and women, big and small) must work together with love, peace and understanding. These three latter features are fundamentally important and useful on the international level for world peace and world fraternal understanding and collaboration.

B. CATEGORIES AND THEIR VALUE CONTENTS FOR THE PERIOD

1930 - 1934

I. INQUIRY (1930 - 1934)

Two important inquiries have been taken place during the period of 1930-1934. One was by Ceza Nabaraoui and the other (more interesting) was by Fatma-Nimet Rached.

In Ceza's investigation, certain proposals were made to Mourad Bey Sid Ahmed - minister of Education - in whose response we understand her requests. The minister was a staunch partisan of women's emancipation, maintaining that great care and encouragement must be given to the education of girls in all fields of study. Schools of Fine Arts, of Commerce, of Medicine, of Law, of Science of Nursing, and conservatory and professional schools--all these must be granted to females as an open opportunity. Moreover, the Minister affirmed to Ceza that female teachers would do better for the education of young children of both sexes and they must have a degree of primary education.

Fatma Nimet Rachad's inquiry presents an interesting kaleidoscope of information about ten educated Egyptians on the matter of Egyptian feminism. The informants were the following: Dr. Taha Hussein, Dr. Hussein Haykal, Emile Zaidan, Morik Brin, Maÿ Ziade, Ahmed Bey Hassanein, Cheikh Mustapha Abdel Rasik, Cheikh el Taftazani, Gemayel Bey, and Fikri Abaza.

The questions posed to these eminent personalities are the following:

- 1 - What do you think of the evolution of the Egyptian woman?
- 2 - What influence and what role can the woman have in the social and family life in Egypt?
- 3 - Are you an advocate / partisan of superior education of young girls and of work of the woman?
- 4 - What could be, according to you, her most urgent demands.

All informants saw that there has been an important step taken toward change among the Egyptian women especially, as Cheikh Mustafa Abdel Razik said, the veil was the first feminine victory over traditional custom. But many of them believed that in the majority of the female population who fall in the low class, evolution or change had not affected them. It appeared that change had only touched the high and middle classes.

However, to assume the standard of a modern society, all respondents felt that education is important. With education, the Egyptian woman would be able to fulfill her duties better as a wife, a mother and a member of society. Though her most important role is in the house, yet she can exploit her capacity in other domains by her education. Moreover, she must be educated in order to defend herself in any economic circumstances and honourably gain a living in hardships.

Some of the respondents maintained that only those girls who have a disposition to continue higher studies can seize the opportunity, otherwise a general education is sufficient. Finally, education

must not make her a rival to men but a complementary being. Here again one witnesses the accepted value of the day--equality of status but complementarity of role. And here complementarity is defined in terms of non-rivalry.

Necessary demands must be asked by women themselves, for they would know better than needs, says most of the informants. Yet what was viewed as "necessary" demands invariably assumed a sexual division of labour with the homes and schools as the complementary place for most women to work in.

II. ON WOMEN, CHILDREN & DRUG TRAFFIC 1930 - 1934

However, there is good evidence that women of the movement wanted additionally to reach beyond these places and to be involved actively in the pressing issues and problems of the era. This became evident especially in the second five years. There appeared during the period of 1930-1934, three world-wide social problems--drug traffic, the trading of women and children--in which women everywhere had made a solemn protestation against them. Drugs had become a dangerous threat and therefore a measure of responsibility had to be exercised by all nations to control the drug-traffic. Russel Pacha, the representative of Egypt in Geneva, maintained that drugs should be limited in its trade and strictly used to the needs of being consumed in medicine.

Moreover, Marcelle Capy saw that drugs were a danger that had been created and expanded by the powerful white elements in the colonized nations. It was poisoning the general capacity and ability of the people

and making them blind to the impositions and exploitations taking place by many countries.

"L'Opium détruit l'appétit. Et aussi l'appétit du mieux.... L'opium endort la faim. L'opium voile d'illusions la douleur de l'exploitation. L'opium détruit l'énergie et le sentiment de protestation. Il console l'infinie misère des esclaves modernes.

C'est pourquoi il est la deuxième arme de l'imperialisme; la première étant les canons, fusils, mitrailleuses."¹

Capy a friend of the movement, was not alone in becoming involved in such problems.

Ceza asserted that ardent appeals by writers and high political personalities are leading towards abolishing prostitution in all countries because of hygienic factors and diseases that result. For "prostitution is the gangrene to the nation's social order,"² and she condemned the idea of the woman not being a creature who holds principles equal to men. Ceza added that the Egyptian government found difficulty in facing the problem of suppressing the trade of women and children due to the interference of foreign powers in the political situation. However, Georges Hostelet affirmed that the legal protection of children implicated a new orientation of better understanding of the intellectual and moral concomitants accompanying the disinterestedness of children protection. Drugs and prostitution were by no means the only problems which the movement vigorously called attention to in the same period. We see the movement's involvement in other problems of the period in "Essays".

¹ L'Egyptienne, February 1930, p. 9.

² Ibid., July 1932, p. 3.

III. ESSAYS 1930 - 1934

Several solemn essays were written on social disorganization in the world, the problems and outcomes resulting from the wars and the misery of social conditions everywhere. Jeanne Marques appealed to everybody, particularly the women to become 'fighters for life', in order to make humanity free and more alive. And instead of crying out "Down with arms", as it happened before the War (WWI) and no one listened, it should be added: "guerre à la faillite morale, à la misère, à la faim."³ Therefore, Jeanne Marques continued 'soyons des combattants' in regard to the misery of the present, to the sacrifices of the past, and to the hope of tomorrow but not with ARMS rather by force of PEACE through love. She added that war was terribly costly and the sum spent in destruction can be used more effectively in construction and in obviating the difficulties of human existence.

In war many innocents perish. In March 1933, a text from the Swedish writer Selma Lagerlof (with an etching of a child crucified and a superscription was written over him just as in the case of Jesus Christ) was reproduced. The inscription read, "Que je ne sois pas mort en vain".⁴ To this, Selma Lagerlof wrote in the child's words:

"May we not die in vain—think of us, innocents....
Forget not that thousands have lost parents and homes,
perished of hunger and cold, had to escape before the
enemy and into strange lands, do not forget those
perished by epidemics, lead astray, became hardened
criminals, denied the existence of God, were maltreated,
violated and martyred.... We the crucified children

³ L'Egyptienne, March 1933, p. 21. The phrase means, war against moral degeneration, against misery, against hunger.

⁴ The artist of the etching is Stadler, and the superscription means "May I not die in vain."

who knew suffering, we implore to pull away the
pride of war's armature from your children..."⁵

Another serious essay is that of Ahmad Rachad who by portraying the critical situation of Europe at different historical period, one is able to relate the similar situation in the (then) present era. Political, social and economic events are moving quickly without realizing it. Rachad asserted that everywhere people had had enough of endless meetings without results, of the chaotic crises, and troubled situations, of the disorder of the helplessness and misery. People wanted a remedy at once, and they were all ready for action. In feverish state, people looked for a person who would say: 'let us change all, follow me'.⁶ For as a thimber had said that the great fear of man, at present is being left alone. Therefore, collective regimes and national spirits as fascism, hitlerism and francism are born. These wider social problems did not blind the members of the movement to pressing problems of marriage laws.

Essays written by Ceza portrayed her disapprobation of local disorganizing events. Her first reproach was that a law has no value if it is not applied. Concerning the law of age-limit for marriage for young girls, there must be an official paper given to the ma'zun (Muslim equivalent of Justice of Peace) before he can continue with his duty, and the government should see to this.

⁵ L'Egyptienne, March 1933, p. 29.

⁶ Ibid., March 1934, p. 25

Moreover, Ceza sarcastically pointed out two different opinions of two ministers of education. Mourad Sid Ahmad Pacha, a fervent partisan of women emancipation and education, and Hilmy Issa Pacha, who disapproved co-education as well as higher education for girls for the sake of "protecting morality". Issa Pacha insisted that he knew better than all the suggestions proposed to him. He added that if girls desire to continue their education they may be sent abroad on the responsibility of their parents. For they (parents) alone are responsible on the conduct of their children. Moreover, the minister had also passed an order of strict discipline regarding the separation of sexes in the Faculty of Medecine especially after classes.

Undoubtedly, Ceza saw this as a 'pudeur ministerielle'⁷ who is putting off the hope of many young girls who desire to get education and serve their country mentally, physically and morally. Ceza opposed the declaration of Hilmy Issa Pacha with the words of Cheikh Muhamed Abdu. The former declared that when science and morale conflict, we admit only the sacrifice of morale; whereas the latter said, in case of conflict between reason and tradition, it is to reason that we should give the right to decide. The great religious reformer, Abdu, recognized that all things must be related to time, milieu and circumstances to women as well as to men.

The last essay of Ceza's disapprobation was the problem of graduate students who could not find suitable jobs according to their

⁷Pudeur means modesty especially of sexual modesty.

talents and capacities, especially girls who had honorary degrees had not been assigned to jobs. Besides, women lawyers had not been allowed to practice their professions just as medical women graduates did. All the above problems and issues defined and confronted, both world-wide and local in scope, in "Essays" as well as in "Speeches" all reflect the exteriorization of the movement in multiple directions.

IV. S P E E C H E S 1930 - 1934

At the International Conference of Marseille in 1933, Mrs. Corbett Ashby⁸ gave a speech that sums up one of women's desired missions. She said that the duty of women was to save the world from any destruction caused by war. Therefore, women must gather together to fight victoriously against the reactions and uncertainties which menace the peace and security of the world. For the true mission of feminists' congresses, said Ceza, was towards bringing love, peace and fraternity against the major factors of world insecurity, dissatisfactions, economic crisis and misery. Thus the movement widened its focus, its scope of activity to world affairs as they affect humanity in general and impoverish and enslave persons in particular. This did not mean, however, that local problems were neglected. Women as human beings were becoming a positive force in the world.

So long as women had no right of promulgating law, they had no right to interfere in political affairs mentioned Hoda Charaoui in

⁸The president of the International Alliance of Suffragates of Women.

her allocution in 1933 at the Opera of Toulon. But she believed that during war, the women had proved her patriotism, her courage and capacity in exhibiting often to death situation and even taking an effective part in fighting besides, in manufacturing war elements. Women knew all the horrors of war and thus has the right to work for the consolidation of peace and an entente amongst the peoples. "So give her the right to vote which will permit her to accomplish her noble mission efficiently."⁹

Another of Ceza's important speeches was on 'L'unité de la Morale',¹⁰ which was a core problem of the Alliance. The institution of prostitution must disappear just as slavery had been abolished. It is surprising and sad that this vice is still allowed in all civilized countries, hence allowing contagious maladies to spread.

At the conference of 'Le Cercle des Femmes Universitaires', Ceza made an interesting speech in which she examined four viewpoints in rendering the unequal position of the Egyptian woman, and a better juridical situation must be made without 'being an infidel to the spirit of Quran'.¹¹ The first of these points is polygamy. The Prophet, Muhamed, had made clear that marrying four and treating them all equally is an imperative. However, it is rather impossible to do so, so long as men cannot render justice equally without preference. Moreover to

⁹ L'Egyptienne, May 1933.

¹⁰ The unity of the Morale

¹¹ L'Egyptienne, February 1931, p. 4.

the lamentable situation of repudiation, the Prophet had said, "God hates repudiation most of all". Also, in Islam the girl must receive half of the inheritance as males do. Theoretically it is just, but practically it is not. Because men pay a certain sum at marriage, another when divorced, he may have to help near relatives in case they need. Therefore, men need more money than women. However, at present, the mode of life was changing and so new rights must be attributed to the rights of inheritance between the sexes. The last point, Geza dealt with was the question of witness. Woman is considered half of a man, two women one equal to one man, because a woman may forget easier due to the less involvement in social activities and the nervous period of pregnancy.

We understand from one of Hoda's discourses the cardinal causes for the foundation of the Egyptian Feminist Union: one was international and the other was national. The former cause meant the participation with all women in their demands for equality in their struggle for peace, elevating the standard of morale, protection of children, abolition of prostitution and the trade of drugs, and many related issues. The latter meant to see about the amelioration of the status of the Egyptian women in order to place her evenly with other civilized women. Moreover, the country must benefit from her knowledge and experience, and like other nations, gain from the collaboration of both sexes the social and family life.

V. W O M E N 1930 - 1934

A number of essays on women reflect the same motif as found earlier in the stories or tales about the women of Ancient Egypt as described previously. This is especially evident in essays on women of the Orient. Several essays portrayed that the women in the Orient have been socially and politically participating with men in the destiny of their country, in other words feminism in the Orient is essentially patriotic. For instance, Ceza asserted that since 1919 revolution Egyptian women have taken a serious role in politics and as the national movement. In India, Gandhi viewed woman as a major force for the liberation of his country, and he passionately desired the absolute liberation of the women.

Professor Georges¹² described that until presently all established laws made sexual distinctions to the disadvantage of the woman. These laws reflected the mores customs, that were present in educational practice, in nationality groups, in professional practice and many other dimensions of social life. Now, however, women from East and West started to work unitedly, showed themselves to have valid opinions and struggle against all conditions that created sexual distinctions in the laws and elsewhere.

An interesting essay drew out the role of woman in the time of world political crisis. The author, Chevalier Egizio Veronesi¹³ declared that the abolition of war and the restoration can be enhanced

¹² A friend to L'Egyptienne, who contributed some essays.

¹³ An Italian sociologist.

by the efforts of all women. The woman must be the initiator of the new social order. If a nation wants war, she should set out to stop it, and she should know the means to do so, for she gives life to man; therefore, she should not take it away but rather unite with all other women to become a paramount figure in halting war. Women must all cooperate together and form a feminine union to have the capacity to dominate the nation and the beings who guide it.

VI. WOMAN & EDUCATION 1930 - 1934

One can say that Khedive Ismail was the forerunner of ameliorating the social status of the Egyptian woman. It was under his suggestion that his wife Khediva Tchmet-Afet founded the first school for girls in Egypt; and his other wife Khediva Chokrate Hanem founded a school of house-keeping and child-care.

But it was at the beginning of this century that an ardent concern for getting education among girls have started. And from reports, the Feminist Union gathered that the zeal and intelligence in work by female students was found more prevalent than among male students. Moreover, due to the changing mode of life, man's work becomes insufficient for the standard of living. Therefore a great number of girls began to go to professional, commercial and home-economic schools in order to enable them for a better struggle of existence especially an honest living against all hardships of life.

In all the above categories the widening and deepening of the movement in its exteriorization is clear, and equally clear is an essential first focus on equality of education as a means for achieving

all ends.

INTERPRETATIVE SUMMARY

One is likely to be struck by the tremendous importance of humanitarianism found in the subjective material of the ideal role of women in world affairs and of the shift to a world orientation. In the period between 1930-1934, one realizes women from East and West under the general spell of the bitter social and economic frictions of the world, and the terrible human conflict of global proportions, the main issue being the vital question of the rights of all peoples all over the world.

Women felt that they had a necessary mission to fulfill towards bringing love, peace and entente amongst all peoples. They also felt that they possessed a capacity for putting pressure against all those who held important decision-making in the world such as insistence on moralism, looking for a high moral and spiritual purpose in living, and, in general to 'be good'.

The impression one gets is that war was no more a male thing but that the time had come and that they, in their roles as pacifists and social teachers, had been called upon to set it right. They were extremely self-conscious of their potentialities for bringing about a new morality and peaceful relations between nations--so that it seems to reflect the fact that this is more of a woman's world than it ever used to be.

The fundamental topic of education still continues in this period, and it is expressed repeatedly by the different opinions of the few important educated elite on the impact it may have on women's character and personality. Again the women's image was pictured as an important agent in the socialization of the children and the building of a healthy home with good relationship between husband and wife. Such a perspective also indicates the changing man's view of the woman. The respondents also realized that the Egyptian social life was to be corrected by the particular target of education. Now, whether education given to girls had to be extended until university degree or not, was a matter of the girl's disposition, not her sex. The idea that some respondents do not desire the women to be rivals to men, strikes me as wanting to be careful and control women's progress rather than letting them free and untrammelled--it is quite ironic to what 'emancipation' may mean! This idea of non-rivalry with men also figured importantly into the meaning of complementarity of role--a long standing value in Islamic society, but one which yet may change.

Again, the issue of the feminist movement stemming from patriotism is repeated. However, the concept of identifying with the past (Ancient Egypt & Arab women) is dropped out though the motif was projected to Oriental women. But we happen to understand that feminism in the Orient, or in country's where colonialism exists does not regard itself as separatist but as a movement allied with a larger movement--nationalism and woman emancipation. Therefore, women of the feminist movement in Egypt became acutely sensitive to their new role as equals

of men when they joined and collaborated with them in national struggle for independence, whence came their guiding principle. From the outset they seem to suggest to society, as one would say, "if people tell us we are not ready, we are going to say, ready or not, here we are".

C. CATEGORIES AND THEIR VALUE CONTENTS

FOR THE PERIOD 1935 - 1940

The themes and motifs, the directions in exteriorization of the movement as portrayed in the second five year period, 1930-1934, are intensified in the last period of l'Egyptienne and in the last period of the movement as a formalistic organization. In addition, we see a new emphasis, a new direction—that the world, its future belongs to youth and that youth (meaning both sexes humanistically regarded) must be trained to keep the peace.

I. I N Q U I R Y (1935 - 1940)

In the research which Fatma Nimet Rached conducted, she met with several eminent men¹ from whom we come to know their opinions on four questions² which she had previously asked other personalities.

¹The names of the men with whom Fatma N. Rached interviewed are: Drs. Azmi, Tewfik Diab, Khalil bey Sabet, Abd el Kader Hamza bey, Khalil Moutran, Dr. Ali Ibrahim Pacha, Mohamed Ali Allouba Pacha, Dr. Fuad Sultan bey, Mithat Pacha Yeghen, Hafiz Pacha Afifi, Loutfi Pacha el-Sayed.

²See above on page 59.

Concerning the evolution of feminism, all informants believed that it was a normal phenomenon and a necessary evolution to occur in the present mode of living. Some saw that feminism progress was seen only in the city whereas there was a great lag in the village. However, they hoped that feminine evolution would spread to the country and reach all social classes.

The woman was viewed by all of the respondents as the pillar of the family where her role in the home was important. Therefore, education was necessary in order to prepare her to fulfill her role in society and towards her family. With proper education all women would dispense her services in society as well as in the house.

However, though all respondents felt that education was fundamental to women, yet it was most desired that superior education must be given only to those who have a high mental caliber. Otherwise, a secondary education with proper curriculum was enough to facilitate understanding and harmony between men and women. Moreover, most of them did not accept women as workers especially in industry except when she needed to work. The medical field was most desired. There seems here still to be a carry-over from the past that all men can be educated but that only women of an exceptional kind can be educated. The non-rivalry motif is further seen in the residual division of labour between the sexes: women and home, men in industry--exceptional women in professions, and men in political roles of decision-making.

Lastly, the demands which the informants made for the Egyptian woman were for social and sanitary reforms, divorce modifications; in

brief, the demands were to be made over issues that would prepare her in vital questions of her country, children and in social work.

While the movement developed its own sociology on practical grounds and independence values, it nonetheless selected for reproduction the writings of an Italian sociologist as seen below. What is presented is to be seen as a formula for peace in respecting all life.

II. ESSAYS 1935 - 1940

This category was mainly devoted to the writings of the Italian sociologist, Egizio Veronesi. The exposition of almost two dozen of Veronesi's essays concern with internal social organization such as remedying the existence of mendicity by creating "des maisons de repos", the necessity of regularising prisons in a way to be a corrective place and to become 'des maisons de reforme sociale' (a mixture of both a hospital and school) and eliminating crime that exist among youth by creating reform institutions and hospitals to eradicate the idea of destruction and other causes of crimes.

Veronesi also discussed in his essays the need for concerted action by the government and the leaders not to make an irreparable mistake in abandoning those who give force and constitute the future nation—children & youth. They must preoccupy themselves with their needs and security instead of making countless decisions that may not be necessary to carry out. However, Veronesi made a suggestion to leaders who are responsible to the 'malavita'³ of social life and to

³Underworld.

minimize the dangers that befall society—it is the creation of a 'social bureau' in every quartier of the city. This organization would be disposed to take charge of the general welfare of the designed community from the point of view of hygiene, schools, hospitals, alienate their material and moral standard of living. It must help to surmount all difficulties of life and maintain the general good.

Moreover, a central theme of Veronesi writings was the idea of duty. He probed into the question of man's duty. Man's duty was 'de vivre et de donner la vie'.⁴ Man had no right to take away his own life or that of others, even those of animals. The writer felt that due to the continual struggle of man to reform humanity, he was still incapable of reaching any positive result. Therefore, the duty of man was to respect life everywhere and whenever it was to be found. Turning from Veronesi and his principles of peace we see an attempt to define the nature of war, its source in egoism.

War was the execution of innocents, said Jeanne Marques, and the worst crime of all was the immortalized drawing of the crucified child by the Austrian artist.⁵ She saw youth as the masters who can struggle against insidious serpent of man's egoism which causes indifference and abandonment. Moreover, Jeanne found the unique and the only liberty of man has only one name, mercy and youth have pity.

In Veronesi's reverence for life and in Jeanne Marques condemnation of egoism as an antithesis of reverence for life, we witness a

⁴L'Egyptienne, February 1937, p. 22. 'To live and to give life'.

⁵See footnote 4 on page 62.

a meaningful juxtaposition which altogether calls for humanism and, importantly, for non-rivalry in human existence. There is yet another factor bearing on the problem of war and peace as is evident in the problem of world religions in conflict.

In an interesting essay by Dr. M. H. Haykal who discussed the causes of incomprehension between Europe and the Muslim world, it was said that often fanaticism has been attributed to the muslim religion. However, the remedy he asserted for mutual comprehension depended on the good will of men of science, letters, and philosophy. It is their mission, said Haykal, to diffuse fraternal liberty and collaboration amongst all people, in other words, with comprehension there would be universal comprehension "pour atteindre les hautes vérités spirituelles, morales, et pour vivre en paix, en basant la vie morale sur les bases de l'intuition spirituelle, et la vie économique sur les bases de la morale".⁶

III. S P E E C H E S 1935 - 1940

From Jeanne Marques we understand that all women were looking forward to the Congress of Istanbul (1935). The purpose was, first, to establish the basis of social work for the women of the future, and the situation of women in diverse political regimes and the cooperation between East and West. Finally, the most vital issue was peace. This

⁶L'Egyptienne, April 1935, p. 29. To attain high spiritual and moral truth, and to live in peace; and in founding moral life on the bases of spiritual intuition, and economic life on the bases of moral.

⁷The EGYPTIAN delegates were: Huda Cha'rawi, Ceza Nabarawi, Esther Fahmy Wissa.

latter question was uniquely a feminine question. Women must protect man against himself and against his belligerent nature, for she is "la donneuse de vie, elle a le devoir sacré de sauver la vie a venir".⁸

In her speech, Esther Fahmy Wissa called for women's unity to become messengers to uphold principles of humanity--liberty, equality, fraternity and cooperation amongst all nations, races and beliefs.

Once more the Egyptian delegates⁹ attended the International Congress at Copenhagen (1939) with the hope that in such troubled and unrest hours a miracle of cooperation may be realized. The Egyptian women were the only representatives from the East who had come to show their sincere interest with their sisters of Europe in the desire of peace towards humanity. Hoda Cha'raoui mentioned in her discourse that she believed in the collaboration with all women of all continents in sharing the same ideals--despite the diversity of interests--to build a better world based on justice, equality and fraternal entente between all peoples. She ended her discourse by making an important political issue of the Near East--being a representative of Arab women Huda protested against aggression and violent acts inflicted by the authorities of certain countries to others. While the cause of peace was dominant in this congress, there was yet the hint of a value, a motif to come. The emphasis on youth, their future and humanitarian role in a future undiscriminated by sex differences.

⁸ L'Egyptienne, April 1935, p. 4. "She is the giver of life, she has the sacred duty to save the life to come."

⁹ The women who attended the Copenhagen congress were Hoda Cha'raoui, Ceza Nabaraoui, Mounira Sabet.

This is evident in speeches at the Congress of Copenhagen, which were on youth. Ceza tackled the problem of Egyptian youth who played a crucial role in the national movement and whose efforts and actions were in the line of political domain. Mrs. Mounira Sabet gave, too, a discourse on the aspirations of Egyptian feminine youth who since their evolution tended to construct new legislation which will be the 'batiment'¹⁰ * of the future youth generation to suppress wrongs and erase faults of the actual regime elaborated by men.

Yet a new turning point is to be witnessed as Egyptian women begin to associate revolutions elsewhere with feminism in other lands, and at the same time to associate feminist liberation with liberation from aggression. A great historical event during this period, was the Congress of Arab Women for the Defense of Palestine in 1938. Huda said that so long as western women were disinterested in their Oriental sisters, the latter felt it was their duty to unite and defend against the dangerous imperialism which menaced liberty and dignity and the lives of their husbands, brothers, and sons.

At the Feminist Union, an assembly of the Cairo Pacific League had united. Hoda and Ceza alternatively gave a word to the assembly. Huda found that the conviction to spread peace existed everywhere still with force, even there exist among some men and women, whose countries' are the colonizers, the feeling that they should act for the respectful rights of the colonized, suppressed nation. As for Ceza, she mentioned

¹⁰ 'Batiment', *means construction or edifice.

that war was a disapproved act of the strong inflicted on the weak; it also menaced people's life and all orders of society. Furthermore, science may be both destructive and constructive, therefore, it is for the human beings to see for their comfort.

At another similar assembly, Ceza asserted that the Egyptian Feminist Union was convinced the impotence of the League of Nations in its incapacity to fulfill the mission of conciliator, and to recognize in all people the rights of life and independence. It must not legalize or perpetuate the injustices or safeguard the interest of the conquest countries.

Again, the League of Nation was being criticized by Fatma Nimet Rached in another assembly for peace at Bruxelles in 1936. She also said that the prestige of the League of Nations seem to falter in its humanitarian objective which had come into existence for. However, women of Egypt would constantly struggle for her country's liberty and Egypt would legitimately indicate her rights, her preponderance, her dignity.

An interesting event in 1935 was 'la semaine de la Femme'.¹¹ Several brief talks took place at Semiramis Hotel. Huda hoped that the invitation was not accepted (addressing to the great number of eminent Egyptian male personalities) for the sake of courtesy, but of the conviction of the feminist movement. Dr. Chahine Pacha

¹¹Huda had invited some women from the International Alliance for a week in Cairo. And the Egyptian newspapers called the week, 'the week of Women'.

answered succinctly to her that they have not come out of courtesy but they are convinced of her (Huda Cha'raoui) justifiable cause. Was it not a man who first thought of feminism in Egypt?" he asked ironically. Moreover, Dr. Hafez Afifi Pacha also rendered just tribute for acknowledging to Huda Cha'raoui the cause of feminism for her courage, intelligence, devotion and all prestige that confides in her wealth and social rank.

IV. O N P E A C E 1935 - 1940

The political crisis and the coming of war had greatly influenced the minds of all pacifists and preventors of destruction. The International Alliance for Suffragates and the Civic & Political action of women proclaimed to the Committee of Peace and the League of Nations that women from both hemispheres were summoned to unite and reinforce the cause of peace and appeal to all those who do not see clearly the disastrous dangers envisaging the world by war, hatred and destruction. For war is man's decision and not a natural phenomenon, thus it must be suppressed by human beings. However, there are many severe social problems that have not yet been solved like hunger, poverty, crime, drug traffic and instead more social calamities would be added.

An Egyptian section of the International Alliance of Mothers and Educators for Peace was formed in 1935. Its main objective was to reach by peace the abolition of the enmity and hostility among all people, and a gradual abolition of war for a world entente.

At Bruxelles in 1936, a universal assemblage for peace was attended, the purpose was to convince world governments that people want peace. Egyptian women participated in this meeting because they felt that it was their duty to associate with their western sisters in diffusing the idea of peace and cooperation among all nations.

Mrs. A. Eidenschenk-Patin the well-known president-founder of the International League of Mothers and Educators for Peace, summoned for peace to be total and definitive in order to cease mothers from trembling, to revive 'la joie de vivre' amongst youth, and to give rebirth to pacific work, and to close down factories of war. Moreover, she called for the ideal of peace and fraternity and, of not loosing courage and time for solidifying cooperative action. She also felt that people must insist to their governments to put an end to the scandal of destruction and misery of the abandoned. She upheld that the means for struggling peace must be different than the strength of arms and money. "To hate, we oppose it by love; to fanaticism and fear we oppose it with education i.e., patient persuasion, the slow penetration of souls; to blind passion, we oppose it by 'l'idée qui éclaire'."¹²

V. ON WOMEN 1935 - 1940

In the following as compared with the above, one sees the vacillation between world problems of war or peace and more local problems related to marriage under polygamy. Locally and internationally, then is the same basic issue of human dignity, of human

¹²L'Egyptienne, December 1936, p. 3. "The idea which enlightens.

liberation, of human equality and justice.

The problem of prohibiting polygamy had not been solved, and Ceza was still astonished to find opposition to it. In other Muslim countries, Ceza says, that it had been abolished such as in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, but Egypt who glorified herself for being the top of all movements of progress still held this problem unsolved. Moreover, she asserted that instead of condemning women of ignorance, uncleanliness and miserable state, Ceza wondered why no action is taken to ameliorate their condition and to elevate their morale. As Leo Wanner mentioned, in his essay, that the Egyptian must evolve more and more in order not to retard evolution and progress of her country. For whenever women are left behind, there is social retrogression. There are, continued Leo Wanner, two ways to her evolution: one was to liberate her from traditional customs, habits and freedom of action; the other liberation is by means of reason, knowledge and education. Education makes one's life better, foresee better and judge better.

The other essay of Ceza was one in which she had won first prize in.¹³ Ceza portrayed the important role and influence that the Egyptian women can exercise on the destiny of the country. In the family, the educated woman influences profoundly the character of the children, and becomes a helpful companion to her husband, even to the extent to help him financially by working. At school, the role of

¹³Out of 90 candidates of men and women, the first four were women, and Ceza was the first of the four. She had first prize for the essay, "L'évolution féministe et les profits que peut en retirer le bien public."

woman as 'educatrice' gives the child the sense of spiritual values which provide a purposeful life and consolidation. However, too, the woman must see about the total revision of academic programs. Moreover, the Egyptian woman can become an important factor in production and consumption of the country. By participating in the national movement, the woman can share in the elaboration of laws so long as she is an active member of society. Finally, the Egyptian woman can take her part in the responsibility of world problems. In brief, the woman can play a fundamental role in all aspects of the society.

Ironically, it is often the male sympathizers of the feminist movement and not the women who in elevating women condemn the males who ruled. While justifiable, it was not consistent with their principles of peace to attack anyone but to emphasize only the positive in humanity. No one can ignore the role played by the Egyptian woman in her struggle for national independence, said Foulad Yeghen. And we have to thank them for their unwearying efforts that the question of Egypt was made known abroad through them. Yeghen continued to say, that all the countries of Europe judge Egypt according to the great opinion they have of Hoda Cha'raoui. "Grâce à sa vaillante revue",¹⁴ which reached and informed many countries of what we are. But the question is, asked Yeghen, does the government realize what it owes to the Egyptian women? Could it be attributed to the attitude of ingratitude or the ignorance of the vital

¹⁴ L'Egyptienne, November 1937, p. 7. Owing to her courageous review, meaning L'Egyptienne.

forces of the country represented largely by the feminine element? No, the real cause, said Yeghen, resided in the fact that our leaders are people of mental retrogration, still slaves to prejudices that make "la femme riche de la chair à plaisir, de la bourgeoisie une ménagère et de la besogneuse une servante."¹⁵

The question of feminine careers was an important social pre-occupation, said Dr. Abdel Aziz Nazmi Bey. In his opinion, he stated several professional careers most apt to the Egyptian women, these are nursing (a profession though badly looked upon), teaching, especially young ages, in commercial work as accountant and typist, pharmacist, in medicine as obstetrician, gynaecologist and pediatrician.

VI. ON CHILDREN & YOUTH 1935 - 1940

One of the future serious social problems was the moral danger of children. So that an important factor in the raising of healthy children depends on the mother. The mother who is ignorant endangers the child's behaviour and conduct. As for the mother who works and leaves the education of children to other agents such as the school, to strangers, to the street loses the true conception of the family mission. Therefore the mother is "la responsable de demain . Elle, le receptable du bien et du mal a venir."¹⁶

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 6. The woman is made rich from flesh a pleasure, from a bourgeoisie a housewife, and from the needy woman, a servant.

¹⁶ L'Egyptienne, January 1935, p.29. The mother is responsible of the morrow. She, the receptable of the good and of the bad to come.

An important issue to increase the knowledge and interest of students toward their country, said Dr. A. Dryssen, was to organize excursions for them, alongside the academic studies. And also to possess collections in every school. Apparently great number of Egyptian students were found to suffer from under nourishment and lack of care from their poor and ignorant parents. To ameliorate Egyptian youth in view of their sanitary condition, collaboration between the authorities of educators and of public health was recommended.

VII. LETTERS 1935 - 1940

A number of open letters existed in this period. The first of these was Huda Charaoui's reply to H.H. Prince Omar Toussoun on some unfavourable declarations which he made concerning Egyptian females in the magazine Kawkab al Charx. He forbade Egyptian girls to have access of higher education, and to the woman the domain of work. This was surprising news to Hoda, especially that he was well known for his high qualities of justice and his opinion of the value of woman and her rights in the twentieth century. The refutation Hoda gave in the letter was the following: that religious law made no difference for education to sexes; also to depriving women from education is as though depriving half of the population from the light of knowledge, "de la lumière de la science, et priver les enfants de mères capables de leur inculquer une saine education."¹⁷ Moreover, feminine competition in work had not been the cause of unemployment, nor do women wish to rival men in work,

¹⁷ L'Egyptienne, March 1935, p. 6. "From the light of science, and depriving children from capable mothers who inculcate a healthy education."

on the contrary, women wish to collaborate with men in the service science for attaining a similar degree of advancement with her western sisters and in the service of humanity and the family.

Others letters of Hoda Charaoui were addressed to the League of Nations and to the Italian people. In both letters, Hoda conveyed that Egyptian women are anxious of the grave situation of the italo-ethiopian conflict, and that Italy disrespected the principle of humanity though she had previously tasted the horrors of war. Egypt does not desire to cease her friendly relations with Italy but she fears that her geographical position would allow to take serious steps.

Hoda wrote to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of the British Cabinet, in which she strongly protested against the severe injustice made on the Arab palestinians. She renounced the unjust political situation in the area which was incompatible to the most elementary principles of humanity. However, she foretold to Mr. Chamberlain that if he thought that the Palestine problem was an insignificant issue, it would one day become complex and difficult to be solved.

Ceza published a letter¹⁸ which she felt that it yielded insight to all those who do not see the reason why people, and social activities fall into misery and degenerance. The message of the precursor was that the remedy to all misery was liberty, and "là, où l'on n'a pas le droit il arrive toujours qu'on finit par manquer de pain."¹⁹

¹⁸ A letter written by Prince Mustapha Fazil to H.M. Abdel Aziz Sultan of Turkey. Written in 1866. Given by Mme Khadija Fuad Izzet to Ceza to publish it in L'Egyptienne. Ceza says it is a highly valuable historical document.

¹⁹ L'Egyptienne, February 1940, p. 4. "There, were one has no rights, it often happens that it finishes by missing bread".

VIII. LOOKING BACK 1935 - 1940

It is interesting to note that during this period there was an emphasis of the courageous and powerful past. For instance, Ceza maintained that Egypt must immortalize her youth who have always offered their lives in sacrifice to the country. Youth also knew that by becoming martyrs, they made a lesson to others. It is England's suppression and unwillingness to cooperate with Egypt that innocent youth fall prey to vengeance, henceforth more bloodshed.

After reviewing the historical episode of 13 November, 1918,²⁰ Hoda Charaoui hoped that the past would become a lesson, and the leaders would remember what their hero colleagues and partisans of that year were victims to and fought for. She also hoped that they may uphold similar sentiments which the souls of their predecessors were martyred for.

A different mood of historical flashback was introduced by representing the activities, efforts and works of Mustapha Kamel, Rifa'a Rafei el Tahtawi, Kassem Amin. Each of these men had awakened a special spirit in the Egyptian public opinion. Patriotism, national education, reforming the role and status of women were alternatively the endeavours whom these eminent Egyptian men devoted their lives to.

²⁰When three Egyptian men, Saad Zaghloul, Ali Charawi, Abdel Aziz Fahmy, went to the British High Commissionaire, Sir Reginald Wingate asking for the fulfillment of the promise which England made to Sultan Hussein. The promise was to deliver Egypt from Turkish dependency and give her independence and liberty after WWI.

INTERPRETATIVE SUMMARY

The value content that reflects the fact that woman is a dominant social power is intensified during this 5 year period. One is struck by the tremendous amount of the importance attached to woman both as a mother-role bearer of peace, and a citizen of the world. The changing perspective of Egyptian men concerning the status and role of woman exhibits a surprising alteration in their outlook. The woman, when educated, is ostensibly given the seat of authority but in making decisions about the domestic and social life of the family; especially, her greatest mission is the influence she can bestow on the children. Now, it appears that woman are more appreciated as an active member of the society and better understood for exercising different social activities. Again, the woman is seen to be capable of making a positive attempt in repudiating all aggression and conflict that exist between nations and peoples. It is clearly discernible that women of East and West desire to regain a world entente with the aid of unity and understanding.

Hoda Charaoui is seen to possess an extraordinary capacity for creating a clear movement of arousing world public opinion in the direction of the social and political situations of the Near East.

The question of peace is a continued theme as unfolded in the preceding subjective categories. The years of the late 30's showed that the world is still very much in darkness, and war is a destructive force. Therefore, women's mind is compelled to face the absolute necessity for

peaceful humane living everywhere and that political tendencies are bound up inextricably with sociological and economic considerations.

However, Veronesi makes an imperative plea to constitute and program people's life in society in view of their needs and requirements. Of all the problems that exist in society, the question of raising healthy children and youth seem to be magnified as a paramount issue. It is again a continued question, throughout l'Egyptienne, to raise and aid the future growing generation, especially that the gravity of the state of the world needs the betterment of these growing citizens, in regards to love understanding and cooperation between different races, nationalities and beliefs.

The contemplation of the then present greivous political situation in Egypt, lead the unceasing efforts of the remarkable past personalities come forward as a symbol of strength and courage. This motive is new. So is the objective category of 'Letters'. Letters represent Hoda's personal mood towards the political interests of the time.

D. S u m m a t i o n:

Thus far, I have depicted the different foci of interests, themes, redefined emerging perspectives and motives that the value contents under the objective categories showed. The material has highlighted the aspirations and hopes, the attacks and defences, wishes and demands of the Egyptian women; whence from a new outlook in thought and feeling was produced in the world of Egyptian feminism.

In penetrating the content material under Inquiry, Children and on Women, a distinctive conception of the woman becomes evident. The fate of a nation, of its youth and children depends solely on the educated woman and mother. Molding a child's behaviour and conduct healthily, is developed by the woman who knows and understands what is good and bad, what is right or wrong, and what are the duties towards those around him. Hence the mother can maintain a certain measure of authority alongside with the father. In short, she is an important source of solidarity in the family relationship.

The subjective nature of the essays, speeches and other articles reveal a humanitarian spirit. The cry of equality, for the rights of man, for human brotherhood arose in the language of these writings. The writings also described the macabre of war on innocents, the helpless, and the women who are the giver of life--this cultivated a mood of melancholy in the coming of another world war. Therefore, again, the women's role was to restrain man who pursue personal ambitions and depression without realizing that World War I is

still felt, and many of the problems it raised have not yet been solved.

Furthermore, in revealing the essays that focus upon the spirit of the glorious past, one understands, if one pauses to consider briefly, the reason for which they were introduced. They served as a means of the longing wishes, desires and admiration to return to the glories of the past. In the period between 1925-1929, women looked back to any possible crystallization of an 'ideal' role of women. They found that whether in Ancient Egypt and among Arabs, women had been well received, well adjusted in different roles in their respective societies without any derogative. Again, in the third five-year period (1935-1940), the history of the efforts of patriotic men appear. During the political upheaval in Egypt and a chain of disagreeable social events, the essays echo the depiction of men who strenghten the course of liberty and a sense of self-indulgence in the national cause.

We are apt to think of the work of the past as a record of the barren, a creature of pastime and amusements, required for the relief of idleness and petty gossip. But, if we cherish such ideas, we shall experience something very like a shock when we take up with a review of 'Egyptians'.

The publication of 'Egyptians' is a striking witness of what woman's energy can do when intelligence and will is acted for the better.

The Press, London.
Egyptian de Service, Vol. 11, 1936

CHAPTER V

SOURCES OF RECOGNITION & THE DEMISE OF L'EGYPTIENNE

In this chapter, I attempt to exhibit a number of foreign and local newspaper cuttings representing the success and admirable reputation of L'Egyptienne, with its leading personalities of Hoda Cha'rawi and Ceza Nabarawi. It is a great opportunity that both the researcher and the reader have the occasion to glimpse into these cuttings which Ceza has in possession. Moreover, I intend also to give an account of the reasons for the demise of the review.

A. SOURCES OF RECOGNITION:

Against the continuous derisions made by foreigners on Egyptian women's ignorance and indolence, we find that after L'Egyptienne has come into existence, and both Hoda and Ceza were seen abroad, several remarks were made.

We are apt to think of the woman of the East as a denizen of the harem, a creature of perfumes and sweetmeats, required for the retail of tittle-tattle and petty gossip. But, if we cherish any such ideas, we shall experience something very like a shock when we take up such a review as L'Egyptienne.¹

The publication of L'Egyptienne is a striking witness of what woman's energy can do when intelligence and will is acted for the better.²

¹The Vote, London.

²Tribune de Geneve, Mai 11, 1936

After the International feminine congress at Paris in 1926, La Francaise (a french review) has informed that

une déléguée égyptienne fit la plus impression non seulement par sa culture intellectuelle toute française, mais par sa beauté "Mme Hoda Charaoui a été pour nous une révélation. Cette femme si belle, si intelligente et cultivée avait su s'entourer d'une élite de femmes délicieuses à regarder et à entendre."³

The review had been regarded as an interesting and a popular paper. Moreover many of its issues have been given special attention. Numerous skillful comments on the different variety of content and her contributors indicate the éclat of l'Egyptienne.

From her [Hoda] own private resources she established l'Egyptienne, the first magazine devoted to the interest of women in Egypt, and directed its policies so skilfully that it has won a secure position in the journalistic world.⁴

Les abonnés de la revue l'Egyptienne ont été gâtés. Ils viennent de recevoir un numéro spécial de luxe, en tous points remarquable. Par l'élégance de sa présentation, sa richesse iconographique et la valeur de son texte, il constitue une vraie pièce de bibliothèque et un précieux instrument de travail ... Tous les chapitres méritent d'être cités ...⁵

³"Les Coulisses Politiques. Femme d'Egypte," La Dépêche de Toulouse, October 23, 1926. n.p. Translation. An Egyptian delegate made a great impression not only for her intellectual culture, all French, but by her beauty. Mme Hoda Charawi was for us a revelation. This woman, so beautiful, so intelligent and cultivated was able to know how to gather around her an elite of lovely women to look at and to listen to.

⁴Beatrice Hill Ogilvie, "The Work of Madame Charawi for Egypt's Women," Science Monitor, Boston, Tuesday, August 13, 1929. n.p.

⁵Le flambeau, January, 31, 1930. Translation. The subscribers of l'Egyptienne were spoiled. They have come to receive a special 'de luxe' issue (the issue of Oct-Nov. 1926), which in all ways was remarkable. By the elegance of its presentation, its rich iconography and the value of its text. It constituted a true piece of library collection and a precious instrument of work.... All the chapters merit to be cited.

The October number of the Cairo Feminist periodical, L'Egyptienne is a particularly interesting one and nothing can be more hopeful for the future of Egypt than the proof such a paper affords of the awakened intelligence and good sense of the modern daughters of the Pharaohs. ... This number includes items a powerful and well-written article on a local sketch by Mlle Jeanne Marques, whose attractive prose-poems The principal contribution to this number is an account by Mlle Ceza Nabaraoui, chief-editor, an article in which interesting information, picturesque description, and sensible appreciation are woven into a whole that would do credit to any male journalist of much longer experience than the young editor of L'Egyptienne can possibly have had. This paper, with its strong and very natural nationalistic bias, is to be congratulated on the fact that it keeps away from the personal and party spirit that usually retards any well-meant initiative in this country.⁶

L'Egyptienne de décembre est fait avec beaucoup de soin et d'art. Elle contient un charmant article de Hélène Vacaresco, un poème, délicat de Chawky Dans ce même numéro, on trouve les noms de Marcelle Capy, André Lichtenberger, Mme Devonshire, Dr. Taha Hussein, Toutes nos félicitations à Mlle Ceza Nabaraoui, l'active et perspicace rédactrice en chef de cette superbe revue.⁷

Several years ago, Al-Akhbar newspaper mentioned the Professor Simon Garger of Geneva University stated in his research that L'Egyptienne was one of the best feminine magazines in terms of its seriousness of subject-matter.⁸ It is also notified in Figaro that it is one of the most

⁶The Sphinx, November 22, 1930.

⁷Le Flambeau, January 31, 1930. Translation. "L'Egyptienne of December has been made with great care and art. It contains a charming article of H. V., a delicate poem of C. In this same issue one finds the names of Marcelle Capy, André L., Mme Devonshire, Dr. T. H. All our compliments to Miss Ceza N., the active and perspicacious chief editor of this superb review.

⁸Al-Akhbar, April 20, 1969.

beautiful feminine publications in which seriousness exist.⁹

Not only was L'Egyptienne, a renowned review but it was widespread in many countries. Mrs. Corbett Ashby, president of the International Alliance of Women Suffragettes had mentioned that she has seen the review in all the countries she has visited.

أنتى سمعت به المذكوريتى أشى رثة النكار
النسائى الدولى أنها زارتى « بدأ وانى رأت مجلة "الاصبيانية"
النسائية التى تصورها هدى هانم وتحررها لانه الناضلة سيزا
تيرافى بالفرنسية تقرأ فى الرنديه النسائية فى 10
تلك البداره كلها

In the light of the movement, Hoda was portrayed with great admiration for her firm conviction of justice of women's claims and the boldness of her personality. Moreover, against her beauty and her charm, the magnetism of her personality was magnified.

Attachante et noble figure que celle de Mme Hoda Cha'rawi, Pacha qui, brisant avec des préjugés seculaires, osa, la première, se montrer au Caire le visage dévoilé et produire à tous les regards son éblouissante beauté Elle merite mieux qu'une simple mention, cette grande dame de rare merite et de valeur singulière¹¹

⁹ Marc Helys, "Les Orientales et la liberte, "Figaro, September 22, 1932.

¹⁰ Mokattam, January 22, 1935. Translation. I heard from Mrs. C.A., the president of the International Alliance of Women Suffragates that she has visited 22 countries and where she found the feminine review "L'Egyptienne, in all the clubs of the countries she visited. The French-written review is published by Huda Hanem and edited by Ceza Nabarawi.

¹¹ Alice La Mazière, "La Volonte Feminine", La Volonte Janvier 27, 1928. Translation. An engaging and noble figure that of Mrs. H. C. Pacha who, broke away with secular preconceptions & prejudices, dared, the first, to show her unveiled face in Cairo and introduced to everybody her dazzling beauty. She deserves more than a simple mention, this great lady of rare and uncommon merit.

Charme, charme, simplicité, noblesse native, douceur d'Orientale, grâce alanguie des gestes, beauté calme du visage, matité du teint, féminité, toute la féminité en une seule femme, telle m'apparut le célèbre féministe, la championne sociale et politique des "émancipées", la première femme dévoilée d'Egypte.¹²

Mme Charaoui Pacha, la fondatrice-directrice de l'Egyptienne tient aussi bien en Orient qu'en Europe et Amérique, une si large place dans le mouvement des idées féministes dans la lutte pour l'émancipation de la Femme¹³

It is undeniable that the brilliant achievement of l'Egyptienne goes to Ceza, who devoted her best efforts and high capacity to it. Moreover, her being young, courageous and militant to feminism was a good example to others in her society.

In a country like Egypt a good deal of courage and indifference to the gossip of malicious tongues is needed for a Moslem young woman to make herself conspicuous in public life. Miss Nabaraoui has stuck to her task so consistently and well that she and the movement in which she is one of the leaders who have won the recognition even of circles that favourably disposed to feminist activities in this country.¹⁴

¹² Myriam Harry, "Les Derniers Harems: Mme Charaoui pacha", Le Journal, Octobre 13, 1932, Translation. Charm, simplicity, noble by nature, Oriental sweetness, languid gestures, calm beauty, dull facial-tan, femininity--all in one woman, the social and political champion of the 'emancipators', the first unveiled woman of Egypt.

¹³ La Semaine Egyptienne, December 31, 1926. Translation. Mrs. Ch. Pacha, founder-director of l'Egyptienne holds a great place in the domain of the movement of feminist ideas and in the struggle of woman emancipation.

¹⁴ Egyptian Gazette, August 18, 1930.

Gracieuse Ceza une vivante et séduisante
incarnation de la jeunesse égyptienne affranchi 15,

Mlle Ceza Nabaraoui a de véritables dons d'orateur,
même quand elle s'exprime dans notre langue. Elle
respire l'enthousiasme, la confiance dans l'avenir ... 16

In setting forth the above journal cuttings, I have ventured to show how l'Égyptienne served to highlight the dimness of Egyptian women to the outside world. By the popularity of the review in terms of its 'seriousness' in subject matter and high art of themes, the participation of fine writers, the talent of Ceza as gazeeter - and the charming and cultivated personality of Hoda---all these gave a special colouring to the production of the review.

B. THE DEMISE OF L'EGYPTIENNE

April 1940, the last issue of l'Égyptienne appeared. The years between 1925-1940 marks a period of great activity---of public speaking, active discussion, regular publication, and social innovations for Egypt and for Egyptian feminism through the dedicated efforts of Hoda Charawi and Ceza Nabarawi. Virtually all their major social works and the delivery of ideas, orally or in published form took place within these fifteen years. But with the appearance of World War II, the picture changed markedly. Since then, the turning-point in the movement paralleled with the shifts and changes in the conditions of society.

15 La Volonte, Janvier 24, 1928. Gracious Ceza ... a lively and a seductive incarnation of the liberated Egyptian Youth.

16 La Femme de France, Avril 30, 1933. Miss Ceza Nabarawi has a true orator's gift, even when she expresses herself in our language (French). She breathes the enthusiasm, the trust in the future.

Was there a demise in the collective concern? What were the reasons behind the sudden dissolution of the review alongside the movement? According to Ceza,¹⁷ the fact seemed to lie in World War II. First, the main objective of l'Egyptienne was to be the messenger of Egypt abroad and to have reciprocal communication between Egypt and the outside world. Moreover, three-quarter of the review was sent abroad. Now with war, Egypt, being an occupied British territory, a martial law was passed, and specifically there was repression of freedom of speech. Thus, l'Egyptienne could not exist to continue. Her liberty in speech and action could not be possibly maintained if the occupying power in Egypt enforced such law; besides, there was a complete stoppage of mail so that the review was not sent abroad. Hence, the demise of l'Egyptienne.

According to some informants, the collective concern of the movement was due to the magnetism of Hoda's personality and strength of her leadership. However, it is interesting to know why Ceza could not take over especially that their togetherness complemented one another. And there was internal jealousies, Ceza mentioned to me, existing in the Feminist Union because of Hoda's close relation with her. "Remember Hoda continued this relation with me in all congresses, meetings, and in major decisions Hoda would consult me and take me with her." Also Ceza could not maintain the status and liberality Hoda had established if she had to continue alone in her place. It might have continued had

¹⁷Taken from notes during an informal conversation with Ceza on February 5, 1975.

¹⁸Martial law, temporary law applied in occupied territories by military authority in time of war.

Ceza taken on a protege as Hoda had done, but this is wholly speculative.

Furthermore, it is contemplative too whether the exteriorization of the principles of the movement and the interests of the Egyptian women, as seen in the subject-matter of l'Egyptienne, towards internationalism dissipated the inner life of the movement, and the enthusiasm linked to what was going on internally within Egypt at this time. For a number of phenomena helped to mold the process of social change and the growing liberation of women—psychologically, intellectually, socially, economically and legally—which was bound to alter the whole style and substance of the formalistically traditional relationship. (In any case, the movement dissolved, and it would be an interesting subject for further research to determine whether in the attitudes of its followers there was a failure of interest).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND COMMENTS

In the previous chapters an attempt to study the aims and aspirations of the Egyptian women was investigated. From l'Egyptienne one can draw their hopes and interests, their methods of realizing their purposes, and their new redefined image and self-consciousness. It is about time to attempt an evaluation of what has been realized in the light of their writings.

The essential objective of the appearance of l'Egyptienne, by its founder Mme. Hoda Cha'rawi Pacha, was an attempt to serve as a bridge between Egypt and the outside world, mainly Europe. To this end, it created not only a spirit of what a woman can do and like to be, but it also generated an international consciousness towards them. There has been many other feminine journals and magazines prior to l'Egyptienne; many of these were unstable enterprises and only a few were publications of importance. But l'Egyptienne which had a special intent of bringing close the fidelity of inter-communication between East and West at that historical period. As a consequence, it was written in the French language, instead of Arabic, in order to be read by a different group of readers of the highes classes of society at home and abroad.

The main reason for such an objective was mainly the stigma attacked to Egyptian women and enlightening European public opinion on the issue. Women were described as ignorant, illiterate and an element of dispensable pleasure in the hands of men--as Lord Cromer described the process: that by repeating three times in the presence of witnesses "I divorce you", a Moslem "could throw off a wife like an old glove". Many nasty questions raised by European delegates at the congress of Rome in 1923 astounded Egyptian delegates, for these questions not only revealed a general ignorance in Europe of what Egyptian women were like, but they also portrayed a distorted conception of Egyptian women. For these reasons, l'Egyptienne meant to serve as an enlightening emissary to all those abroad who were interested in or concerned about Egypt's women, their status, activities and social conditions.

Of particular interest is the fact that the feminist movement was a class-bound movement. The characteristic feature of the Egyptian upper classes concerning the norms that governed and regulated the relationships between men and women in general, and between husband and wife in particular, had come to prevail among the common people. The degree to which this norm was adopted varied from one class to another. Broadly speaking, there was a marked tendency for the members of the upper classes to embrace the sex norms more thoroughly and more readily than the members of the lower strata. So widespread and pervasive had differential sex-role norms become throughout the Egyptian society in

¹Ogilvie, The New York Times Magazine, June 17, 1928.

the family, the position of the father became predominant or superior, with all the rights and privileges associated with the office, while the wife and all the other members of the family occupied subordinate positions. Outside the family, women's activities were either rigidly limited or virtually non-existent. Indeed, beyond the circle of family life there was no place for women, that is to say, no recognized position in the Egyptian social order. However, people of the lower classes or those living in the countryside, observed the norm distinction between male and female with less restrictions. Particularly in their daily work life people drew no sharp line of separation between men and women in the matter of their activities or their status. It is obvious, therefore, that the women who suffered most of the traditional position were among the upper class. So it is not surprising that the women's suffrage movement arose among those of the upper classes who realized and first objectified their low status within the general cultural awakening of the period.

Hence, we see that society first forced the woman into that pattern of domination-submission between the sexes, then criticized her for it. Therefore Egyptian women, at first a minority, had to have strength and power to overcome these nullifying conditions in the pattern of living. But, at first there seemed to be no power in terms of society, controlled of men, no strength to achieve liberation. So with the historical coincidence of the national uprising of March 1919, which served as a prelude to the movement of women, the Egyptian women were seen for the first time as an active revolutionary force working along with men. This participation of women for the cause of the nation's

independence and political destiny won the sympathy and admiration of many men. Thus, the patriotism of Egyptian women was a principal agent of their liberty providing an opportunity for future changes. Thus the possibility of feminist power came about later to be realized in the progress of the feminist movement

Moreover, what Qasim Amin had pointed out in his writings-- that no country can raise itself when the half of that which constitutes it, is paralyzed, that no nation can be free when its women can be enslaved--was becoming a truth per se. This firm conviction impelled some Egyptian leaders, and statesmen to encourage and actively support the feminist movement.

But there was one important thing that marked the barrier between women and men, and society--the VEIL.

"Le voile, c'est la Bastille des Musulmanes.
Il fallait, pour l'abattre une grande
secousse sociale et politique."²

And this was done in 1923, after the return of the Egyptian delegates from the women congress of Rome--Huda Charawi, Ceza Nabarawi and Nabawiya Musa had pulled down the Bastille and the women who were until then.

'the harem, the anonymous plurality,
the collectivity with no name and
no face'³

²Marcelle Tinayre, "Egyptiennes D'Aujourd'hui, Le Temps, Juillet 21, 1929. The veil is the Bastille of Moslem Women. To demolish it, a great social & political percussion (shock) was necessary to occur."

³Myriam Harry, "Les Derniers Harems - La Maison de la Femme," Le Journal, Octobre 12, 1932.

rose to the foreground of the social scene and there they remain.

Since then, Hoda Charawi, leader of the feminist movement, succeeded in arousing the cultivated women of Cairo to struggle for freedom, and fearlessly challenged the age-old custom of seclusion by opening her drawing room to men, and reiterated at different occasions that the "woman is the companion of man".⁴

Looking into l'Egyptienne, we witness (from the different essays, interviews, conferences) on alteration of the conception of women, their status and role vis-a-vis social change, attempt to adapt to the needs of a progressive, modern Egyptian society.

The most basic feature in changing women's lot was through educational reform. By education was meant the cultivated awareness of one's environment and responsibilities toward children, the home, society and country. Even the men felt the lack of intellectual fellowship in their own homes and which the women must have a larger share in the advantages of education. It was also for the sake of the growing generation and the future citizen that the role of the mother was important. It is clear that the feminist movement utilized existing traditional values (the appeal to become better wives and mothers, better companions in the home through education) as a means ultimately of changing them.

Moreover, it is equally interesting to note that the Egyptian Moslem woman was theoretically free in legal rights regarded as equal in status to men. Religion was not to be conceived

⁴Ogilvie, Science Monitor, August 13, 1929.

as the barrier that crushed women's rights but, unfortunately, tradition had set the law at naught. Therefore, the fault was not only in themselves but in the different systems of traditional Arab subjugation to foreign dominion, and later to the opportunity ceased by woman's excessive domination of ignoring her civil and legal rights. But now, time has been changing and both men and women must try to remedy and reform the situation of the women. The early idea of equal status but complementarity of role, though appealed to by the movement in its exteriorization stages, becomes a means to a different end---equality in both status and role.

Moreover, we see that the aspirations and writings of the Egyptian woman became more and more international in scope. They joined the framework of world peace and world entente for the promotion of world understanding and fraternal love. Unquestionably, Egypt owes much to Hoda Charawi's versatile, cosmopolitan personality in bringing alive the power of women in world affairs especially when, for the time, in Middle East history, the women gathered together for the question of Palestine in 1938. The Arab Women Congress presided over by Hoda, and it was wholly her idea of uniting Arab women. It appeared that it was no longer necessary for the Egyptian women, and some of Arab women, to get approval from men for the decisions they have taken. It is evident that with the passing of time the stigma of woman in the eyes of men and society tended to slip away.

To undertake a brief consideration on the extent the feminist movement has attained a complete form of liberty in social activities is

to be argued. A brief examination of the women in Russia and China tells us that their status changed, an end of their centuries' subjection to men ceased and they were brought into the economic production more fully than ever before; but they were left out of the administrative roles in society,⁵ or as Mills would put it -- the command posts of society. However, the same conclusion goes to the Egyptian women who had gained status in men's acceptance of her relative liberty in education, in the home, in work and in decision making pertaining to her own life such as mate selection. But the apparent failure was to get themselves into managerial power and political-decision making positions. In other words, the Egyptian women, as the Russian women, are a major labour resource though however, the role in the political domain and command posts are underplayed. Therefore, for Egyptian women to achieve complete liberation, without constraints that restrict liberty, they have still to struggle for representation in the major decision-making roles of society.

⁵ Janet W. Salaff and Judith Merkle, "Women and Revolution: The lessons of the Soviet Union and China," A Warner Modular Publication, Reprint 356.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Charles C. Islam and Modernism in Egypt. London: Oxford University Press. 1933.
- Amin, Qasim. Al-Mar'a al-Jadida. 1900 - Tahrir al-Mar'a
- Amin, Wadi'. Al-jusur al-Tarikhiya li Nidal al-Mar'a fi Misr.
Al-Tali'. November 1969.
- Attar, Costaki Elias. Tarikh Takkun al-Sofh al-Misriya. Alexandria:
Al-Takkadum Printing Press. 1928.
- Chirol, Sir Valentine. The EGYPTIAN PROBLEM. London: Macmillan
and Co., Limited. 1920.
- Dilthey, Wilhelm. Pattern and Meaning in History. New York: Harper
& Brothers. 1951.
- L'Egyptienne 1925 - 1940.
- Le Groupe d'Etudes de l'Islam. L'EGYPTE Independante. Centre D'Etudes
de Politiques Etrangeres. I. 1938.
- Harry, Myriam. Les Derniers Harems: Mme Charaoui Pacha. Le Journal.
Octobre 13, 1932.
- Hourani, Albert. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1789 - 1939.
London: Oxford University Press. 1962.

- Mills, Wright C. The Sociological Imagination. New York: Grove Press Inc. 1959.
- Nabarawi, Ceza. Awel Mu'tamar Dawli Tahdaruhu al-Mar'a al-Misriyya. Hawa'. December 21, 1957.
- Nassef, Magd el Din Hifni. Athar Bahithat al-Badia: Malak Hifni Nasif, 1886-1819. Cairo: General Egyptian Organization for Editing, Translation, Printing and Publishing. 1962.
- Ogilvie, Beatrice H. New Women of Egypt Struggles to End Age-Old Wrongs. The New Times Magazine. June 17, 1928.
- The Work of Madame Charaoui for Egypt's Women. Science Monitor, Boston. August 13, 1929.
- Philips, Daisy G. The Growth of the Feminist Movement in Egypt. The Moslem World. XVI. July 1962.
- Salaff, J. W. & Merkle, J. Women and Revolution: The lessons of the Soviet Union and China. A Warner Modular Publication. Reprint 356. 1973
- di Tarrazi, Vicomte Philip. Tarikh al-Sahafa al-Arabiya. Beirut: al-Matba' al-Adabiya. III. 1914.
- Tinayre, Marcelle. Egyptiennes d'Aujourd'hui. La Reforme. July 30, 1929.

AMERICAN UNIV. IN CAIRO LIBRARY
3 8534 00989 3748