

EPILOGUE JULY, 1952

While I have been writing up these episodes, political tension here in Egypt month by month, slowly but surely, had been becoming more evident. This unrest increased to a sinister extent. Many Egyptians, of various status, called upon me to express their uneasiness and fears for the future. Meanwhile, much of the Arabic Press, under the direction of the unscrupulous Wafd-ist Minister of the Interior, Fuad Serag el Din, was carrying on a virulent anti-British campaign, most of it mendacious and without relation to fact. The British Army was stated to be murdering Egyptian men, women, and children in the Canal Zone; young Egyptian students of the Freedom Battalion; were stated, when captured to be subjected to torture by the order of British officers. No lie or distortion was, by the extremists considered excessive. Generally speaking, for a long time, the Egyptian peasants and poorer classes gave little attention or belief to these stories, but excitable students and Moslem fanatics were more and more aroused, and the infection spread. Demonstrations began to surge unchecked through our streets. Europeans were subject to insult; and I myself had an unpleasant experience when the United Nations auto-mobile, in which I was proceeding to my office at United Nations headquarters, where I was then working on behalf of Arab Refugees in Palestine, was attacked, stoned, and spat upon. This incident became known at Reuters News Centre and was in fact broadcast around the World, so that to my surprise I later had anxious enquiries from friends in many places. In common with many others of course I found the atmosphere distasteful and the following letter to Husny Pasha, His Majesty's Private Secretary, expresses to him my feelings at that time:-

"Dear Husny Pasha,

I write to you in much distress of mind. As you know, during many years, all my endeavours, however modest their scope may have been, were always aimed at the achieving of better understanding between my Egyptian and English friends. For some time these hopes seemed progressing always towards sounder realisation. Now suddenly there is this grave setback with all its grievous possibilities for the future. This situation seems to have come about, it is true, by the misunderstandings of a few people only on each side; nevertheless the setback is here and its results are heartbreaking.

The proclamation of the Moslem Brotherhood advocating indiscriminate massacre of English people and looting of their property, which was actually allowed publication in Arabic newspapers, was a shocking thing; to be followed next day in the Gamhur el Misry by a public announcement that a well known Moslem Religious Leader had decreed that the murder of British people is to be considered meritorious. Such announcements disgrace Egypt and if acted upon, even briefly, by irresponsible people will do irreparable harm to Egypt's just cause. -----The shock of this state of affairs is, of course, considerable, but, one places

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it in proper perspective and conditions in deed are already improving in Cairo. One has naturally great sympathy for the tension of feeling through which patriotic Egyptian people are passing at this time----- I have just had a long talk with Edgard Gallad Pasha and he spoke with considerable understanding.

From the personal angle, of course, one's friendship does not change. Those who have been my friends for so long, even if some of them seem to be making grievous mistakes, are still individually at least my friends. I have also already had encouraging experiences. Egyptian friends have telephoned me frequently offering me assistance and the security of their homes if necessary. A number of Egyptians of quite humble status, also old friends are taking touching interest in my welfare.

Above all one's thoughts are with His Majesty. So much depends upon his leadership and one hopes that he will find high reward in a sound outcome to present difficulties.

Yours in friendship,
H. H. J."

now follows Hosny Pasha's reply:-

20th October, 1951.

"My dear Mr James,

I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your friendly sentiments but I can assure you that they are heartily reciprocated.

It is comforting to know that you had such personal "encouraging experiences" to prove that "true friendship cannot in itself be changed by the change of circumstances" as you have so truthfully stated in your letter. I need not tell you how grieved I was to know that you had other personal experiences of a different nature, although you have fortunately placed them in their proper perspective. All the same, I wish they didn't happen at all. It is so sad. But we have to keep our heads and make allowance to certain extravagances - however much regrettable - in such moments of great tension.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if I can be of any help in any way.

Yours very cordially,
H. Hosny."

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Towards the end of October, I received a personal letter from the Rt. Hon. Richard Casey, Australia's Minister for External Affairs. The following are extracts from it:-

"Australian Minister for External Affairs,
Parliament House,
Canberra, A.C.T.

10th October, 1951.

My dear H.J.,

For your personal information I expect to be passing through Cairo about 31st October on the way to the United Nations Assembly at Paris. I will probably stay about 48-hours in Cairo. If His Majesty King Farouk were to wish to see me, I would of course be available. In the prevailing circumstances he might care to know the Australian view. In any case I would be privileged to pay my respects to him. I am not making any reference to the possibility of seeing His Majesty to our Australian Minister in Cairo, as I think if this were done through official sources it might be an embarrassment to His Majesty.

In case you wish to let me know anything about the above, I could be reached en route C/o Office of the High Commissioner for Australia in India at New Delhi on 26th and 27th October, or C/o of the Office of the High Commissioner for Australia at Karachi on 28th and 29th October. I am due to leave Australia on the evening of Sunday October 21st.

With best wishes to you.

I am,

Yours sincerely,
R.G. Casey."

I took action immediately, and was able to get a preliminary statement, through personal channels, to Casey when he reached Karachi. I was not, however optimistic of arranging this meeting, because of obstacles which I knew to exist in certain quarters which had achieved authority in Abdin Palace. My doubts proved, unfortunately well founded for a verbal reply came from the Palace to me saying that His Majesty feared that bitter resentment might be aroused in Wafdist circles should it become known that he had agreed to a private meeting with Mr. Casey. This outcome was distressing, even though not unexpected, because I knew from His Majesty himself that he has great respect and liking for Richard Casey, and this talk between them, had it been possible, might have been helpful mutually, but especially helpful to the King in the midst of his great perplexities.

I sent the following note, on this matter, in accordance with the permission which I have long had, ~~from~~ His Majesty.-

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25th October, 1952.

"Your Majesty,

I have ventured to forward for consideration a message of which your Majesty has been informed.

I believe you will readily understand my motives, and that I am actuated, now as always, by the desire to further goodwill between the two countries most dear to me; and in the hope also of rendering some service to your Majesty towards whom my affectionate respect continues as ever, and whom I still venture to think of as allowing me the high privilege of friendship.

In all sincerity,
H. H. J."

I see from my diary that on Tuesday November 27th I visited the British Embassy, this was on account of a warning which came to me that extremists were planning attempts upon British personalities. I there saw my old friend Audsley who passed me on to John Ardle-Smith, the Head of Chancery. The latter was interested and requested me to keep him informed as far as possible I had also had already an invitation to meet Aly Maher Pasha the same evening at 6.p.m. at his dahabieh residence on the Nile to discuss present problems and I duly had a long chat with this astute statesman whom I had known for so long under such very varied circumstances. A written commentary of this talk (in accordance with the wish of both sides) I passed on to our Embassy and also to Claude Massey, Australian Minister, at their Legation.

On December 9th, 1951 there was a critical session of the Egyptian Parliament to discuss a proposal for severing diplomatic relations with England. At 9.30.p.m. Hosny Pasha, His Majesty King Farouk's private secretary and an old friend of mine, came to call upon me at my flat. We talked till about 1.30.a.m. reviewing critical possibilities; and this, of course, I ~~discussed~~ discussed later with our Head of Chancery. Soon after it was agreed also that I should accept an invitation, which had been made to me by that strange and controversial person - General Aziz el Masry Pasha, to visit him at his residence. I went in company with a young man of the Moslem Brotherhood who also professed a desire for constructive action vis-a-vis England. I had not seen Aziz Pasha since many years but found him almost unchanged. Dressed informally in flannels and open shirt his white hair and distinguished features giving him still a somewhat romantic air. He was calm and practical most of the time but with occasional outbursts of his well known excitability.

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This meeting of mine was followed by a further meeting between Aziz Pasha and an Embassy representative. From then onwards I was kept busy with a sort of informal liaison work between various personalities, Abdin Palace, and our Embassy. I found it interesting but also fatiguing, and incidentally a little hard on the private purse through inevitable hospitality expenses and so on, however all in a good cause. I again note in my diary that on Monday January 14th I visited Abdin Palace then the Australian Legation, then the Mohamed Aly Club, and finally our Embassy. While I was at the latter place news reached us of massive demonstrations in the town, which made it impossible for me to get back to my quarters; so Audsley kindly asked me to lunch at his flat in Zamalek; ~~but~~ even to reach that area we had to go by a long detour. I had a pleasant luncheon and ^a most interesting talk with my host.

Note:

The following is a telegram sent in reply to mine
in congratulations upon the birth of the heir to the throne:-

"Abdin Palace, Cairo.

Hindle James, Adly Pasha, Cairo.

I am commanded to convey to you with His Majesty's best
wishes and expression of warm thanks for your kind tele-
gram on the happy occasion of the birth of His Royal High-
ness, Prince Ahmed Fouad.

Private Secretary."

On January 26th came the climax to which this atmosphere of unrest had been leading. The following is a statement concerning this which I wrote at the time at the request of our authorities:-

"Early on the morning of January 26th, 1952 servants arriving at my flat, which is at 18 Adly Pasha Street, and close to the Turf Club, brought stories of some kind of disturbance in the Muski area. They asserted that there had even been firing, though they were not clear as to who was firing upon whom. In view of this and my own expectations of probable disorders I decided as soon as possible to proceed to the Embassy. I also rang up H.E. Husny Pasha, Private Secretary to His Majesty King Farouk to ask him whether he had confirmation of disorders. He replied "We have no confirmation and in any case after what happened yesterday at Ismailia, we are, at the moment, helpless."

At about 10.a.m. I proceeded by taxi to the Embassy. My servants and other Egyptians who know me had attempted to dissuade me from going out as they stated that there would be danger. I duly reached the Embassy and asked to see Mr. Jardle-Smith with whom I have recently been in contact. He was, however, engaged, and I therefore saw Mr. Stewart to whom I briefly outlined the statements and rumours which had reached me. I then left the British Embassy and proceeded to the Australian Legation where I saw Mr. Massey, the Minister, to whom I gave a similar report. Mr. Massey was discussing the advisability or otherwise of proceeding with arrangements for his Australia Day reception and I informed him that I had been rung up the previous day by a prominent Egyptian whom we mutually know and that he had asked me to advise the Minister against holding the reception.

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I then returned by taxi (with my servant who had accompanied me) to the Turf Club. I there had my usual morning cup of soup and chatted round the fire with Judge Hume-Barne, Mr. Kennedy and other members who are normally there in the mornings. A little later Mr. Craig, aged 83, arrived and approached one of the members, Mr. Crawford who was about to proceed to England, having lost his appointment with the Egyptian Educational Authorities, and said that he had a useful introduction for him to a possible employer in England and would write this out for him immediately. The member remarked "Isn't he a dear old chap" and they both proceeded to a desk for the purpose of writing the statement. (Both were killed by the mob about 20 minutes later). I then noticed from a window that the employees in the garage behind the Turf Club had left their job and were looking at something at the end of Malika Farida Street. I commented on this and various people had a look but there seemed to be no particular importance in the incident. About a quarter of an hour later, approximately 12.30 p.m. I proceeded to the entrance of the Club to leave. As I reached it, Mr. Boyer (Canadian Trade Commissioner) and Mr. Jones (Administrative Officer, British Council) arrived. They remarked to me that they had seen something that looked like a fire in the distance in Opera Square. We glanced up the road and noticed what appeared to be a small crowd at the far end of Adly Pasha Street, near Opera Square, but nothing outstanding. I then said good-bye and proceeded on foot to my flat at 18 Adly Pasha Street. This I reached some four minutes later.

As I reached the entrance of the building an Egyptian who knew me said "get in quickly" (Housh Awam). I was surprised, but carried out his instruction and ran upstairs to my flat on the 3rd floor. I could then hear the sound of shouting and looking from my window I saw a large crowd emerge from in front of the Miami Cinema. The Cinema was immediately attacked, I could see wood and chairs being thrown in the air; a moment afterwards two separate parties rushed one towards the Turf Club and one towards the Ford Motor Car Agency and Swedish Consulate (approximately 1 p.m.). Within a matter of moments dense smoke and flames were arising from both sides of the street and the flames rapidly increased in power. I immediately telephoned our Embassy and the Australian Legation stating that the Turf Club was being attacked and that buildings were on fire and murder taking place. About a quarter of an hour later my servant (Mohiaddin) arrived. He was streaming with perspiration and seemed in a state of collapse. He said "The Turf Club is destroyed and they are all dead".

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The boy was in this state of collapse for some time, apparently with horror at what he had seen. He then explained that he had believed myself to be still in the Club. He had attempted to get in, of course without success, he had seen the crowd arrive led by two or three effendis, the chief leader being a man with a big scar on his face whom he thinks he would recognise again. This man organised a small party carrying a lamp-post which was used as a battering ram against the main door. While this was going on a second effendi appeared and ran up the steps shouting out "you are making a mistake this is not an English Club". He was however attacked and disappeared. Almost immediately the door gave way and the effendis disappeared inside, followed by only a few of the mob. Immediately fire appeared from all the lower windows. My servant saw figures appearing at the windows, some of whom succeeded in getting out. They fell injured and were then attacked and the injured or dead were misused. Some bodies were thrown back into the flames. He then noticed that a lady had been seized by the mob. She was dragged off violently and he lost sight of her when she reached the turning to Sherif Pasha Street. He said she appeared to be injured but was not speaking or offering resistance. He states that the four policemen at the Turf Club made no effort whatsoever to restrain the mob. It is possibly relevant to record that whereas on many previous occasions when demonstrations seemed likely, as many as fifty police were placed there, on this specially threatening date, only four were "guarding" the Club. My servant then left the scene and ran to my flat where he joined us.

I then rang up the Embassy again and briefly described what had happened. I also mentioned that from the sounds outside the mob had now reached our building. I said that there was an English woman in the building as well as other women and children and that if assistance could be got through they should be removed immediately. I also rang up Husny Pasha again. He said he would send assistance if possible, but that at the moment this was not possible. We then watched from the windows while a number of mobs, each apparently under the leadership of two or three effendi-type young men, proceeded to various shops and premises which were systematically broken open, furniture thrown out and bon-fires lighted in the streets. In each case the mob then entered the premises evidently to acquire loot. At about this time I also noticed that the British Institute Buildings had been approached by quite a small party who proceeded in a leisurely manner into the building from which almost immediately flames and smoke began to emerge. Within half an hour I observed flames on the roof of the building, so it was presumably destroyed throughout.

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I then remembered that I had not told the Embassy of the capture of the English woman from the Turf Club. Our own telephone by then was not working but in an abandoned office on the floor below I discovered that the telephone was still in order and passed through the necessary information.

Soon after I had returned to my flat and while Kodaks next door was being violently attacked and burning, there was a loud knocking on my front door and when eventually we looked out I found that a young fellow who had been in an orphanage in which I had been interested, but who is now working as a carpenter, had arrived to give us assistance. He had been quite badly injured in getting into the building. We gave him first aid and he recovered rapidly. Very soon afterwards, hearing an unusual sound I looked through the doorway of my sitting room which faces Emad el Din Street and there saw a solid sheet of flame leaping up over my veranda and reaching the storey above us. The servants, myself and the carpenter lad seized the furniture on the veranda which was already burning, threw some of it over the side, dragged some into the rooms and then the servants cried out that the mob had seen us and that the Europeans must all go to the roof at once as if they reached the flat, we should certainly all be murdered. There were by now in the premises, myself, an English woman and her husband who works at the Australian Legation, two Greek women, a German youth, a German woman and another Greeko-German young man. We all proceeded to the roof, the servants (by now four in number) saying that they would do whatever possible to protect the flat. We all went by the back staircase which was now enveloped in smoke and almost stifling, up to the roof above the 6th floor. Actually the mob did not break in, I think mainly because the entrance hall was by now on fire and the main staircase partially destroyed. Shortly afterwards my own servant brought up the German youth enveloped in a blanket. He had apparently been found by my servant partially suffocated. The roof is divided by partitions with small openings. With the smoke and semi-darkness (for by now the electric light had of course failed) our surroundings were rather like a nightmare maze but we discovered another back staircase down which we presumed it would be possible to escape, though we knew that it would lead only to the main street where the mobs were still seething. Both the Greek ladies were in a state of acute hysteria, one threatened to jump from the parapet and the other to run into the street, saying she would rather be shot than burnt. Of course she did not realise that if she had been seized by the mob, her death would not have been by shooting. It soon became evident that some of the party were regarding the English-speaking section of their companions as highly undesirable associates and suddenly we found that the two Greek women, the two German women and the Greeko-German youth had disappeared, leaving myself, the Englishman and his wife, an American and also the German young man, who throughout was extremely helpful.

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In watching the mobs in the streets it became quite clear that the main destruction was part of an organised plan. The mobs were not one disorderly mass but appeared to be in separate groups each under the leadership of one or two effendi types. The effendis directed the attacks, set going the fires (I could not see how but they appeared to be carrying various materials) and then the mobs were left to carry out the looting. In the early stages I saw two cars stopped and I saw screaming people, apparently Europeans, being dragged out. One could not see what happened to them but they disappeared. I do not know either what happened to the cars, but they eventually also disappeared, presumably driven off by members of the mob. I also saw a European dragged from a bicycle. When I last saw him most of his clothing had been torn off. I don't know what happened to him but one or two men did appear to be intervening on his behalf.

Next morning four bodies, apparently Europeans, were lying naked in Malika Farida Street. They had been partially burnt and their stomachs had been slit up. While on the roof at one moment I had counted 8 major fires, i.e. whole blocks in flames; and an uncountable number of bon-fires in the streets; and shops or vehicles burning. The heat was considerable, the sky seemed full of sparks and every now and then there was the rumble of falling walls. Apart from the organising effendis, the mob became increasingly frantic and were dancing and shrieking throwing materials about and at one moment, waving aloft costly necklaces and jewellery, which they had just looted from a Jewellers immediately below us.

By now the fire had gradually increased in volume and the central courtyard-well of our block of flats was a seething mass of flame and the two first floors burning steadily. Flames were reaching us on the 6th floor. It was a curious thing that all round this "well" at the windows of the various flats there were figures, many of them screaming, but making no constructive efforts about anything. It is noteworthy that the Berberine servants in all the flats appeared to be quite calm and busying themselves in carrying out the only possible measure, which was to pour bucket after bucket of water into the flames down below. We did whatever possible to direct the proceedings. Fortunately our water supply did not fail us, but my servant informed me that the Fire Brigade though it did arrive, refused to give any assistance. Although the efforts with buckets of water seemed fantastically inadequate, they did in fact keep the fire in partial control and eventually at about 7-p.m. when the Egyptian Army arrived and forced the Fire Brigade to take action, it was still possible to control the fire before it went beyond the second floor, i.e. the floor immediately below my premises.

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At one point we heard heavy explosions and what appeared to be the sound of sten-gun fire. Everybody on the roof joyfully imagined it was the arrival of the British Army, but when my servant came upstairs he informed us that actually it was a gun-smiths shop which had been set on fire and that its contents were exploding and that also the mob had seized revolvers and other arms which they were firing in all directions. At about 6.30.p.m. I decided to try to get back to the flat to see what was happening and with the assistance of a damp cloth over my head I got down and found our servants still working and although the floor was unbearably hot and the parquet floor in my bedroom burning in places, there was still no great damage, and the remaining flames we soon put out. The small party up on the roof soon followed me and within half an hour we heard rumbling in the streets and the sound of firing, and discovered that the Army had in fact this time arrived, but that it was the Egyptian Army and not the Army we were expecting. I then watched carefully from my veranda and it was impressive to notice the orderly manner in which these forces dealt with the situation. They were not firing indiscriminately and a great deal of the firing was into the air, but within an hour the howling mobs had almost entirely disappeared from the streets, and comparative order reigned around us.

We then paused, sitting on the upturned furniture, and at about this moment all the missing foreign party mysteriously arrived back. It appears that far from committing suicide or rushing into the street, they had known of a secure flat in an adjoining building in which they had quietly hidden themselves without informing the rest of the party! As all was by then quiet except of course for the bursts of firing which went on all night, those of us who remained, attempted to get a little sleep without undressing. At about 8.a.m. Colonel Hussein Kafafi came to our flat. He is a personal A.D.C. of His Majesty and had come to post a guard. He explained that it had been impossible to get assistance to us until the declaration of martial law, a mob had in fact even attacked the Palace guard. It is a pleasant point that while we were on the roof, one or two Berberine servants were most friendly. On the other hand one or two Egyptians who appeared mysteriously from amidst the smoke were heard to be enquiring if there were any English people amongst our party and that if so they must be sent into the street. None of the Berberines showed any inclination to give us away, and we endeavoured to talk French and use our best French accent which was particularly difficult for our American friend!

A friend of mine, son of the late Dr. Chahbandar the famous Syrian leader has told me the following story. His own office adjoins Barclay's Bank. When this was set on fire, he remembered that one of the Bank's staff occupied with his family a flat on the roof.

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He therefore rushed to a Police Sergeant and urged him to allow some effort to be made to get the family out. The Sergeant replied " if you do not shut up I will hand you over to the mob". At least 17 bodies have already been found in the ruins of this bank.

I mention especially in concluding these notes, that the English woman who was with us showed throughout these trying circumstances a most calm and courageous spirit, and at many moments prevented panic increasing amongst the other women; and also was skilful and prompt in any incident when "first aid" was necessary. I suggest that the conduct of the friendly Berberines and of the young Egyptian carpenter-lad who, at no little personal risk, came to assist us, should be recorded and possibly with other similar cases, be officially commended at a suitable time.

I have, myself, no little cause for thankfulness. My flat is not much damaged. I have lost by burning one table, two carpets, a parquet floor is a little scorched and two oil paintings are blurred due to the heat and smoke. I myself after a period of intermittent headaches and nausea and a curious fogging of my eyesight, am now almost recovered.

In thinking over certain aspects of the mob as I watched during those hours of waiting, I seem to remember that there is a classic description of a similar Egyptian mob (I think in Horodotus) and again at the time of the Alexandria bombardment. (Said the Fisherman - by Pickthorne). I think that the Cairo mob today is much the same - except that its potential numbers are now increased by many millions and the social contrast with the few privileged classes is even more glaring. This mob is still liable to exploitation by the unscrupulous. The only new element is the very sinister element of infiltration of highly trained agitators and leaders from Stalinist Russia.

Cairo today is a devastated city; the sinister smell of smoke and burning still pervades it; there is still a sense of menace everywhere and groups of haggard and hopeless people here and there stand silently surveying their ruined homes or business premises. Accounts of destruction and barbarous murder are still coming in.

Note:

Our famous Shepherds Hotel was amongst the buildings totally destroyed, also the old established Victoria Hotel (where Lady Lillian Grenfell with Daphne and Iris stayed in 1937) and many other hotels amidst brutal incidents. All four Groppi restaurants were burnt out, garden Groppi quite destroyed; The Turf Club and Maltese Club were burnt out; the latter wholely ruined. The Lebanese and Swedish Consulates and French Chamber of Commerce were burned; the hugh emporiums - Chemla and Cicurel - totally destroyed, as well as the well known St. James's Restaurant and the solid Barclay's Bank building. Numeral small shops, blocks of flats, clinics, garages, libraries, agencies and schools, all the larger cinemas and many smaller ones, and many offices etc., were devastated. For some time the city had the appearance of having undergone a heavy air-raid. If there had been a strong wind on that occasion instead of a windless calm the whole city might well have been burnt down.

On the morning of Monday 28th January, 1952 at about 10.30a.m. I decided that I should pay a visit of courtesy to Abdin Palace to express my thanks for the Guard (now two constables at night and two in the day) which had been placed upon my place of residence.

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In the interval I had also had a telephone call from Husny Pasha saying that His Majesty was deeply distressed at what had happened at the Turf Club and that he would like all possible details, especially about those who were injured but had survived, so that he could express his sympathy. He had also made a personal enquiry asking me to discover if possible whether Professor Bernard Holman had survived and upon my finding out for him Holman's private address, he had sent an A.D.C. to enquire personally for him. Holman in fact had not been caught in the Turf Club incident. H.M.'s A.D.C. also assisted two ladies about whose welfare I was concerned. I found Abdin Palace cordoned off by Egyptian Army but in view of the Guard who accompanied me, I was permitted to enter. I signed my name in the book and was cordially welcomed by the Chamberlains on duty. Dr. Youssef Rashad Bey, Naval A.D.C. (Medical) to His Majesty and a personal friend of his then came to me, welcomed me warmly but spoke with very grave concern of the news that had been reaching them. He then took me to the A.D.C.'s Room where the senior Staff Service were all assembled and evidently much occupied. We had a long discussion in the course of which Rashad Bey spoke of the very dangerous weeks through which His Majesty and his entourage had been passing. He said that they fully realised the intrigues which were being carried on, not only against public order in general, but also against the Royal House and His Majesty in particular. They had been aware that Fouad Serag el Din was at the head of these subversive activities but because of the fact that he had succeeded in insinuating his agents into almost every key position, counter measures on the part of the Palace needed to be carried out with utmost foresight and precaution. A fact of which they were particularly aware was the subversion of the Police Force through certain officers who were put in executive positions where they could control all Police movement. These Police officers had received bribes from Fouad Serag el Din and were in touch with Ahmed Hussein and with various disruptive elements, including, it was strongly suspected agents of the Soviet Embassy. During the climax of the latter few days it was realised that Fouad Serag el Din (using of course Nahas Pasha's name) was manoeuvring to force events in such a way that it should be His Majesty who would have to declare martial law and not the Wafdist Government. In such a case the Wafdist elements would probably have formed a revolutionary opposition and would have posed to the public as patriots who had been betrayed by His Majesty. It was for this reason that the actual declaration of martial law had to be postponed longer than His Majesty wished. Until it was declared it was of course impossible for the Palace to issue any constructive orders with any certainty that they would not be distorted or disobeyed.

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I refer to my previous reports to Mr. Wardle-Smith at the Embassy concerning His Majesty's wish for British goodwill and to the point of view which had been expressed to me in a long talk I recently had with Aly Maher Pasha. I would again emphasize the opinion expressed to me by Captain (R.E.N.) Izzedin Atif (former Naval A.D.C. to His Majesty) when I met him and his wife recently in Cairo. This Officer has always been considered both by reasonable Egyptian and British Authorities to be sound and a common-sense man. He also had his early training in the British Service. He has always however been a loyal Egyptian and in no sense exaggeratedly pro-British. He said to me on this occasion in the privacy of his car, but in the presence of his wife, "I am a loyal officer in the active service of His Majesty's Navy and I fully realise the seriousness of what I am saying to you, but it is my considered opinion and that of many other senior officers who have studied the situation, that the situation in Egypt has become already radically out of hand. His Majesty continues to be a possible rallying point but I can think of no person either in the present Egyptian Government or in any Egyptian Government which might follow, who has the strength of will or resources of reconstruction to bring back order unless they have at least the tacit and possibly the active support of the British Government itself, even to the extent of some armed assistance should there be an uprising. This armed force should not of course be called a force of occupation because that word has acquired a particularly distasteful significance but it should be described as "a Force to assist His Majesty's own Forces in upholding law and order." An exactly similar point of view was expressed to me by an Egyptian senior Judge and by an Egyptian Doctor whom I know well through my contacts with him in his capacity as Commissioner for Arab Refugees at Gaza.

I have been told by my servant yesterday that the sack of the Turf Club and the murder under atrocious circumstances of the members including ladies found there, is being spoken of by Egyptians in Cairo and in Syrian newspapers as "The greatest defeat England has ever had in Egypt". Although this opinion may be distorted one, nevertheless it seems to need attention. I suggest now that the disaster is over that although some definite improvement is a fact, yet with regard to Zamalek, Heliopolis, etc., and the already expressed threats of further attacks, conditions do still exist which need the closest watchfulness. The possibility of the appearance of British forces is being much discussed in Cairo. The various aspects of such a possibility are obviously complicated and very serious in implication.

After my call at Abdin Palace I also called on the Prime Minister (Aly Maher Pasha) and then with my Guard escort did a tour of Cairo and was appalled at the extent of the damage. Crowds were milling about still and I am afraid it would be quite incorrect to say that the majority of them were regarding the destruction with distress.

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I got a very definite impression that a good many of the grinning faces who were regarding the devastation were those of the young men who had themselves taken part in it. With the prestige of my personal guard I took a delight (perhaps a little ridiculous) in approaching certain seated police sentries and ordering them to stand to attention while I questioned them! I think the police and the onlookers were much surprised but made no protest.

At Abdin Palace I had been warned that though the position had greatly improved, we are by no means yet out of danger. In accordance with a request passed to me through His Majesty's Secretary, I also visited our Cathedral, and certain families in Zamalek to assure security. At the end of the morning I visited the British Embassy and made a brief report.

Reference Page 2 para 2. of my report on a visit to Abdin Palace on Monday 28th January, I have to add the following statement. Definite information has now reached me that when finally the bodies of the victims of the tragedy at the Turf Club had been found at the Cairo Morgue, it was seen that though Egyptian corpses in that place were placed on tables or slabs, all the bodies of the British people had been thrown indiscriminately together in a corner on the ground. It was clearly evident that all these bodies had been brutalized. In one case the legs had been severed above the knee; one had a hand cut off; others had fingers severed; most had their stomachs ripped open. These bodies included that of an English woman.

I vividly remember these same people as I had seen them and talked with them just before I left the Club, only just before their brutal murder. All were in a peaceful and unsuspecting mood, reading, writing or chatting. None of them were in any way connected with politics. Several had spent many years in faithful service of the Egyptians, in scholastic, scientific and similar occupations.

Mr. & Mrs. Crawford and Mr. Kennedy were about to leave for England, due to the recent discharge (itself arbitrary and illegal) of British officials in Egyptian Government service. Mr. & Mrs. Crawford have a young son (some 14 years of age) at school in England. In addition to the grave mental shock to this lad, he is also now left without the financial provision which his parents devoted to him.

Note:

In addition to the twelve British people, with most of whom I was well acquainted, whose murder it was my grievous fate to witness, also others well known to me have died within recent weeks in fact as an almost direct result of the events of Saturday 26th January.

My old friend J.L.Capes, whose arrival in Egypt, I think, was in 1909 died of a stroke, largely due to shock; Major Fanner, head of the Legal firm who have long been my advisors, died of a heart attack; his offices had been burned out and all his carefully stored documents (including some valuable papers of my own) destroyed. The Hon. Sir. Cecil Campbell that debonair but somewhat egoistic figure here, undisputed leader of our Commercial World, committed suicide for reasons which though perhaps partly connected with his private life without doubt been effected also by the change in his circumstances due to the Political upheaval here, a tragic end to a career of no little brilliance and fine sense of adventure. Finally, Group Captain Pat Donville retired, whom I have known for so many years, was also a victim of savage and almost fatal attack on Saturday 26th January and was therefore apparently hastened secretly out of Egypt by the Egyptian authorities. I only learned of this by chance from Sherif Saif of the Arab League (whose Father was the famous Sherif Nasr mentioned in Lawrence's "Seven Pillars"). I am now making enquiries at the Consulate General to try to discover Pat's fate and whether he has actually survived. Poor Pat so staunch a supporter of the Arab cause as to become perhaps more than a little erratic in his bias; what a reward for the Arab World to give him but how typical it is of the fate of those who give spontaneous zeal too ingenuously and unselfishly to the still unstable Arab World. In his day Pat was indeed a most distinguished figure.

(Cont:)

Though this grave tragedy must of course be dealt with without hysteria, it must not be minimized. Adequate reparation - as far as such is possible, ^{and} most solemn and outspoken public protest rendered officially seem to be the least measures to be demanded.

As a person who escaped a similar fate at a margin of moments only, and who was with these friends, fellow-members of our British Community here, just before their death, I feel that this tribute of advocacy, however modest its influence, is my duty.

On Saturday February 2nd 1952, I was invited by Captain (R.E.N.) Youssef Rashad, A.D.C. to H.M. King Farouk, to visit him at Abdin Palace. We met in the A.D.C.'s Room. Rashad discussed the following points in particular:-

- (1) Increasing evidence of police connivance in the Saturday rioting.
- (2) Expectation of arrests of police officers and even of "important personalities".
- (3) The need for exemplary punishments of guilty persons.
- (4) The efforts which have been made and are still being made by some police officers to subvert young Army officers; and to taunt army personnel with disloyalty to Egypt and the people of Egypt.
- (5) Urgent need for reorganisation in the top ranks of the Army - especially the C. in C. Suggested that Sadek Bey should replace Haidar Pasha, if the King can be finally persuaded to take this step, as seems likely.
- (6) It was implied that H.M. King Farouk is likely to wish to see me in the near future.
- (7) Rashad suggested my discussing this possibility with Husny Pasha (H.M.'s private secretary). This I did immediately in the latter's office upstairs. Husny Pasha seemed ~~also~~ to think that such an interview is likely and "desirable."

(Cont:)

- (8) I was then taken by Rashad Bey in his car to the Ministry of Interior to see Murtada el Maraghy Bey, the new Minister of Interior. Maraghy Bey gave me a cordial welcome, and discussed the situation in detail. He emphasised the need for immediate and drastic action to purge the police and to prevent the spread of subversive activities in the junior ranks of the Army.
- (9) He spoke of terrorists probably working against myself, and advised caution.

I was now invited to spend a few days of recuperation at Bob Maxwell's flat in Zamalek and this was indeed a welcome interlude of rest and pleasant companionship. My servant at the same time I sent to the C.M.S. Hospital where he too was given rest and at the same time treatment for the uncomfortable effects which smoke and fumes had had upon his lungs. He soon returned to me recovered physically but evidently a good deal shaken mentally by his experiences.

By way of variety the influx of German experts into the Egyptian Government services now began to assume rather serious proportions and I became involuntarily involved in this. Egyptian friends of mine, who did not approve of this development, came to me to ask that I should give warning in the proper British quarter; which of course I could do no less than agree to and in fact I considered this a notable evidence of goodwill for which I was grateful.

My visits to Abdin Palace continued. Usually my contact there was Husny Pasha but I also met others, in particular Amer Pasha (Egyptian Ambassador to London but then in Egypt for consultations). I also had a meeting with Commander Youssef Rashad Bey at his request, which is memorable in view of later developments. We met at the Automobile Club where we talked in a private room often used by the King. The "gist" of our conversation was to try and devise some means to lessen the adverse influence of certain undesirable advisors in Abdin Palace whose influence was becoming increasingly dangerous to His Majesty. Youssef Bey after saying that he found himself in an impasse in this matter implored me to make a further attempt to see His Majesty in private audience. In due course, I approached Husny Pasha who viewed this proposal favourably. However, this attempt also for arranging a meeting with His Majesty did not materialise. The "clique" apparently learned of our endeavours and at the last moment my audience was postponed. I did however receive a friendly message direct from the King to say that at any time he would still be ready to accept a personal letter from me via Husny Pasha and that I had His Majesty's permission to write as frankly as I might wish.

(Cont:)

I gave this matter anxious consideration as it had been my intention to tell His Majesty verbally and as forcefully as possible of the dangers threatening him, his throne, and Egypt. I had hoped to urge him again also to take liberal action in the distribution of land and funds; and, most difficult point of all, to disassociate himself from the influence of certain people which was becoming so destructive both to his own prestige and Egypt's welfare. These opinions of mine were already to a certain extent well known to His Majesty but I had hoped to make a last effort to impress him to the extent of taking action. These were matters which it would have been worth while to take some personal risk in speaking of frankly at a private audience with the King. To place them on record however in written form, with no certainty that ill-intentioned persons would not see and misuse them was quite another matter, and might have done more harm than good. Reluctantly I had to relinquish my efforts again for the time being. The following are extracts from a letter of mine to Husny Pasha on this subject:-

"My dear Husny Pasha,

I have been thinking very seriously over the conversation we had at our last meeting. The matter which I ventured to discuss, I place before you, as I know you realise, only from the most sincere wish to be of some real service to His Majesty. I do still feel that perhaps I could in fact do such a service at the present time..... My special wish to see His Majesty either quite informally, as on various previous occasions, or, should it be considered more appropriate, by means of another formal audience, I have made clear to you; and that special wish still remains. I do feel that this personal meeting could be of usefulness. I know I have your sympathetic consideration in submitting this request for His Majesty's decision.

me, With my kindest regards to yourself, believe

most sincerely yours,

H.H.J."

(Cont:)

A kindly interest and anxiety for our welfare was also expressed to me in letters from various quarters and the following are extracts from letters from Queen Mary's Private Secretary:-

Marlborough House,
S.W.1.
20th December, 1951.

"Dear S/Ldr. James,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 6th December which reached me via the Foreign Office. I am sending this reply by the same route, as it may never reach you through the ordinary post. I gave your message to Queen Mary, and Her Majesty was very grateful to you for your kind thoughts for her, but was sorry, though not surprised, to hear what a difficult time you are going through.

I was grieved to gather from your letter that you had not been at all well but I can only hope that 1952 will prove a better year for you than 1951.

It was good to read in your letter that at any rate some of the Egyptians are showing you every courtesy and consideration, although I am afraid you must have had some very unpleasant experiences lately.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
J.L.Wickham"

Marlborough House,
S.W.1.
26th February, 1952.

"Dear S/Ldr. James,

Thank you so much for your letter which reached me today. I have been thinking of you during those terrible days in Cairo and I am thankful to know that you have come through safe and sound. I only hope that things are better again now. I will, of course, send your confidential report on to the Foreign Office as you asked me to do. Meanwhile you must forgive this short letter, but there is still a vast amount of correspondence here to be overtaken.

Yours sincerely,

J.L.Wickham"

(Cont:)

The note which comes now is from Claude Massey, Australian Minister:-

Australian Legation,
Cairo.
12th March, 1952.

"Dear H.J.,

I want to let you know that I have had a letter from my Minister, R.G. Casey expressing his thanks and appreciation at the interesting statement which you let me have, a copy of which I forwarded to Mr. Casey.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

C. Massey"

Out of the numerous contacts ^{of} those days have come anyhow one or two friendships to be cordially remembered, including that with Ralph Izzard of the "Daily Mail", Arthur Cook of the "Daily Telegraph" Patrick Smith of the B.B.C. and his charming little Swiss wife, Col. and Mrs Lord, the latter refreshingly though at times perhaps a little startlingly outspoken ~~upon affairs in general~~; and in particular Arthur K. of our Embassy. Arthur when we first met was living in Zamalek but soon moved to the Dahabieh on the Nile recently vacated by the Holdens, those well know "pillars" who had been uncountable years in Egypt, she the sister of Field Marshal Montgomery, and both eminently upholding many of the excellences of British prestige.

Arthur "gives a party" every Sunday evening in his houseboat, and there are to be met diplomats, journalists, and ordinary folk of all categories. This is the only gathering of its kind so far achieved in Cairo, and its successful popularity is due entirely to the personality of its host. Still young, intelligent, an Oxford Boxing half Blue and with a good War record, including a very serious wound, which however he never dramatises. Arthur is now a diplomat with an exceptionally human and constructive outlook towards his work and fellow beings. A congenial understanding of points of view has gradually increased between us, and we often sup together quietly after his parties or indulge in a mild night-cap in one of Cairo's quieter cafes. His conversation is always worth listening to and is a pleasant antidote to the irritations of the day to day discordances in this troubled country. It is with particular appreciation that I shall always remember this congenial association.

Note:

The letter below is self-explanatory:-

Mohamed Ali Club,
Cairo.
14th March, 1952.

John Wardle-Smith Esq.,
Counsellor,
His Britannic Majesty's Embassy,
Cairo.

Sir,

I understand from friends of mine, that during my absence in Gaza a meeting was held at our Embassy to which members of the British Community were invited to discuss security measures in the event of further disorders in Cairo

I should be greatly appreciative if I may be informed of any decisions that were taken.

In the recent disturbances the experience of individuals are useful to record. From my personal experience the following are among measures which, I think, might usefully be considered for any similar occasion in the future.

Any known calls for assistance, even if no aid can be given at once, should be followed up by the British Authorities as soon as possible, in case there may be medical needs for injured persons or for isolated individuals, whose telephone communications may have been interrupted. Action should be taken at the earliest possible opportunity.

I think it quite possible from actual personal experience that British people isolated or injured might be entirely neglected by their neighbours and could be subjected to great additional suffering and danger unless promptly helped from British sources.

British medical and other volunteers might tour the districts in cars under a pre-arranged plan to attend to calls and look for distress signals.

In the event of British persons being murdered every effort should be made to recover the bodies as soon as possible to prevent repetition of outrage and indignity to the corpses.

The property of murdered British subjects should be supervised by the British Authorities as soon as possible to ensure at least some extent, its protection. It is understood that, in at least one case recently, the property of a murdered British professor was left unsupervised for over a week.

It is also suggested that when trouble is anticipated, this information, with such advice as is possible should be made available in some places accessible to British subjects.

I further record my impression that had British people at the Turf Club or elsewhere been armed, the mob attacks would almost certainly have been checked. It is fully realised of course that permission to carry arms is a difficult and controversial point, but I nevertheless put forward my impression.

The following gentlemen wish to associate themselves with this matter:-

Professor A. Creswell.
Professor Bernard Holman.
Mr. Alfred Dale.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. Hindle James,
O.B.E., M.A.,
S/Ldr. R.A.F. retd.

This letter led to a further conference at our Consulate-General; but without practical results. In due course I wrote a summary of my impressions which I succeeded in getting through to two very senior authorities in London.

(Cont:)

A further incident has now to be recorded in the curious sequence of events of these times. My servant Mohi., whom I mentioned in my statement on the events of Saturday January 26th, recognised and requested me to cause the arrest of a man he remembered certainly to be an instigator of the criminal attack on the Turf Club. The following statements indicate the course of this matter:-

April 19th, 1952

(Statement addressed to the appropriate Dept. at the British Embassy.)

As a result of the various developments since 27th March last, when my servant stated that he had identified a suspect in the Turf Club case, and including our discussion yesterday with Maitre Faisal Shahbander at my flat, I mention the following facts which have impressed me:-

(1) Mohi, my servant (the main witness in this case) was probably correct in his original identification of the suspected man, and had the genuine intention of giving evidence to gain the man's conviction. I know he appeared deeply shocked on Saturday January 26th by what he had seen, and his later actions were consistent with his expressed hope that he might be able to bring one of the criminal leaders (the man with the scar) to justice.

(2) At my first long discourse with the Chief of Parquet (Abdel Hamid Bey Loutfil) from 5-p.m. till midnight on Saturday March 29th, I emphasized Mohi's probable sincerity, but stressed also the probability of this important witness being subjected to terrorism if and when his evidence became generally known. Precautions were promised for his protection, though I do not think action towards this was taken. I reported the situation at our Embassy, and suggested official British legal representation to watch the Egyptian Parquet procedure.

(3) Although I was only a secondary witness in the suspected man's identity, I was called upon by the Parquet to identify him immediately after his arrest, yet the main witness (Mohi) was not called upon to do this for several days. During that interval his remarks to me suggested that he was already being interfered with, so I made this known to the Egyptian authorities, and reported the development to our Embassy. On Tuesday April 8th Mohi. was summoned to the Parquet alone. There was no British representative present on this occasion. Mohi. returned late in the evening and appeared tired and agitated.

(Cont:)

(4) The following day I was summoned before the Parquet. After I had arrived there, Mohi. was also unexpectedly sent for. As soon as Mohi. arrived he was confronted with the accused man, and was asked if this was the man he had seen on Saturday January 26th and again at the flower shop (on Thursday March 27th), when he pointed the man out to me. Mohi. again seemed uneasy and agitated, but at once asserted that this was not the man he had seen on Saturday January 26th, nor the man he had pointed out to me at the flower shop. The latter assertions was a particularly obvious mis-statement, as the accused man himself admitted, both previously and now, that he had seen Mohi. and myself at the flower shop on the occasion in question. The man, both in general build, the scar on his face, and also his dress answered to the description Mohi. had given me on January 26th, and to that of the man Mohi. pointed out to me in the flower shop. Mohi. nevertheless persisted in his denial. Mohi. did not return to my flat that day, and has disappeared from my service without explanation, though he had been my servant some many years, and had seemed trustworthy and loyally disposed.

It will be seen from the following extract from another note of mine to our Embassy that I was so undiplomatic as to show impatience:

16th June, 1952

Turf Club (New premises, Cairo)

"In view of the apparent interference with my witnesses, unnecessary delay in the identification of the suspected person, lack of practical investigation into essential points, and the absence of British legal representation during most of the investigation, I would like to know your opinion on the conduct of this case and its future prospects. I shall greatly appreciate further information from you as soon as possible."

Note 2.

The following copy of a letter to the "Egyptian Gazette", Cairo, dated May 19th 1952, is the only enquiry upon this subject which the Editor, as I am informed, has been able to get past the censorship. It has as yet had no reply from any official quarter.

"A notable omission."

The Editor, "Egyptian Gazette"

Sir,

One has noted with some interest the various energetic and effective measures taken against persons - rioters, looters and their leaders - who were responsible for the events of Saturday, January 26th, 1952, that grim day of disorder and arson.

Many episodes of various degrees of importance have been commented upon officially in the Egyptian Press, but one particular episode, perhaps the most terrible which occurred on that day, has so far had our attention drawn to it only by its omission from all public comment.

That a dozen people, men and women, whatever their nationality, gathered peacefully and quite unarmed in their club, should have been murdered there under atrocious conditions, and others deliberately and terribly injured, is an incident grave enough to arouse wide-spread indignation and protest in any place, especially in a great city such as modern Cairo.

Official information as to the enquiry, arrests made and other relevant information is anxiously awaited by all sober-minded people in Cairo who have public good order and security at heart.

Yours, etc.

"Enquirer." "

Cairo, May 19.

Witnesses wanted

Sir, — It was interesting to note a paragraph in yesterday's "Egyptian Gazette" stating that, although a person arrested as suspected of criminal participation in the attack on the Turf Club on January 26, 1952, has been released owing to insufficient evidence, yet the Egyptian authorities have issued orders to the Police to continue efforts to make further arrests of suspects.

It is worthy of record in this matter that from the time that the mob started its attack on the Club (approximately 1.15 p.m.) until the final terrible episode, several hours passed. During that time large crowds of people, rioters, spectators, police and civilians were observing the proceedings. It therefore seems probable that from amongst these crowds further witnesses could even yet be made available. By their evidence the eventual vindication of Justice may also be achieved in this very grave incident, as it has been achieved in many other incidents, as an example of civic energy for good order, of great importance for the build up of future security here.

The Turf Club tragedy is, however, so outstanding that it demands proportionate urgency of official action in order to assert the supremacy of the Law as opposed to the rule of the mob.

Yours, etc.,

Enquirer.

Cairo, June 21.

In due course I wrote a summary of my impressions which I succeeded in getting through to two very senior authorities in London. These notes were sent under the following heading:-

Personal & Confidential

(copy)

Some personal impressions on the present Egyptian situation

9.6.52

These notes are entirely personal and a continuation of previous written statements which I have been requested to put forward. These notes are without official background, nevertheless they are the result of personal experience and observation, and hasty and informal as they are, have been written from a particular point of view. I am impelled to write them for reasons which I think will be evident. Nowadays I am an invalided R.A.F. Officer without official status, but one may, I think, also consider the fact that for many years, since December 1915, I have been in touch with the Middle East and have found it congenial and full of interest. For many years I was officially a Special Service Officer, and later, during several years was Liaison Officer Middle East, in close touch with leading personalities throughout that area, through which I still have cordial friendships in many quarters.

I must admit that to have been an impotent witness of the attack upon the Turf Club on January 26th, and the murder of my friends there, fellow members of our British community, has had a profound and lasting effect upon me. No British person in Cairo had been authorised to carry arms in self defence nor had any warning been issued to the British Community in view of the grave incidents in the Canal Zone on January 25th, which were then unknown to us. I myself having heard rumours reaching me from personal sources, did in fact visit certain British authorities on the morning of January 26th to report them, but I am unaware whether any action was taken thereon.

My friend C.J., the grim details of whose death I have already described in a formal statement (appendix Note 1) had asked me to have an aperitif with him, when he entered the Club at the moment when I was leaving. By a mere chance I did not accept as I had a letter to write in my flat which is close by the Club. As I reached my flat some three minutes later, the attack on the Club started, and I was a witness from my windows of the burning and sacking of it, until my own premises were attacked by the same mob and set ablaze. I escaped finally, again by mere chance. It was therefore by this slight margin only that I missed sharing the dreadful death which came to C.J. If I had been killed, and he had escaped, I feel I should have been grateful if he had in some practical way made evident his indignation at the outrage. I have therefore attempted to do the same for him, and for all the others, men and women of our friends, who were done to death in similar conditions of atrocity.

It happens that I have been able to cause the only arrest so far achieved of a man strongly suspected of being a leader in the criminal attack. It is a grievous matter to be involved in this, for I am not "vindictive" by nature, but I do strongly feel that there is such a thing as "righteous" indignation.

I have, of course, received Embassy support in this case; yet my chief witnesses have been exposed to threats and bribes and my personal servant, who had given me faithful service during many years, has now been terrorised into leaving me without explanation.

In spite of evident reluctance, yet it is true that the Egyptian Legal Authorities have extended to me adequate courtesy and facility; and I have by His Majesty King Farouk's direct order been given armed police Orderlies to supervise my personal safety; and early in the morning following January 26th, that day of burning, pillage and murder, it was an A.D.C. of His Majesty who first climbed up the shattered debris of my stairway, to discover if I needed help, and that same A.D.C. who then went to seek out various isolated foreign people to bring them protection, even though Abdin Palace itself was still in danger. Yet on the British side energetic initiative, and "righteous indignation" did throughout seem, to say the least, less spontaneous than one would have expected.

Let me here interpolate a happier episode. I have had a second case also before the Egyptian Military Courts, this time to try to rescue a young Egyptian mistakenly arrested as a rioter, and liable to several years' imprisonment. I "briefed" an Egyptian Barrister, an old friend, and myself appeared in Court as witness for the defence. The happy outcome was that not only was the young man released, but the Judge publicly congratulated him for acts of personal courage on "Black Saturday", in opposing a mob, and helping subdue a fire. I am glad to say that this case was sympathetically commented upon by the Arabic Press.

I do not think it is realised in England what a heavy blow to British prestige in Egypt, and in fact throughout the Middle East, has been this tragic destruction of the Turf Club. It was not just a "racing club" for a few "sporty" types. The name had really become a misnomer. The Turf Club was, especially in the eyes of all non-British people, the centre of British dignity, and the centre of the respectable solidity of British Community life. From this aspect it had a special significance as definite as that of the British Embassy. Its fate has seemed a symbolic event, especially from the point of view of fanatics and extremists, hence the understandable Egyptian official reluctance to make arrests or prosecute, which only British insistence can accomplish.

I have for quite a long time felt a sort of uneasiness at unaccustomed British tendencies here to laxity of code and hesitant policy and the lessening of sterling qualities of personal example and official initiative.

Quite possibly with the world situation so critical, British political authorities may feel reluctant to increase any regional irritations such as these in Egypt, and so may even regard somewhat cynically, loss of British lives and property here as of secondary importance. That is, of course, one possible point of view. But I submit that it is a fundamentally mistaken point of view anyhow in the Middle East. Weakness towards flagrant outrage against good order in general and against the prestige of Britain and her sympathizers in particular, in no way lessens tension, and in many ways is actually an encouragement to evil elements here towards renewed disruption. The fact remains that on Saturday January 26th, within

a few hours, over 700 buildings are estimated to have been set ablaze; several million pounds worth of British property to have been destroyed, as well as enormous destruction of other foreign and Egyptian property; and "approximately" thirty Europeans to have lost their lives in brutal circumstances.

It must be realised, of course, that no initiative can be taken by us without United Nations approval and American support; but somehow these must be obtained. Most deplorably however, in recent world developments there even appears the disconcerting fact that often United Nations, while a fine platform for disruptive propaganda, constructively is increasingly helpless in implementing ideals for human welfare and world progress. Inexperienced states, egoistic, and opportunist, and often with the malice of an inferiority complex, while flouting U.N. decisions whenever convenient, yet can use their numerically superior voting power against the more scrupulous and correct greater nations. In particular such action is evident against England and America, who even with their various faults, are the only remaining hope for world progress. U.N. ideals are based, it is becoming increasingly clear, on the fallacy that all nations and peoples have a basic attitude of decency and constructiveness towards one another. This is so far from reality as to lead to dangers of a particularly sinister kind. The present situation in the Middle East appears to be a case in point.

In 1936 some people viewed with misgiving the, as it seemed to them premature "Independence" bestowed voluntarily by the British Government upon Egypt. Nevertheless it was a decision quite in keeping with traditions, and that element of sympathy toward a subject race craving its freedom, which has been the saving grace of our Imperialistic history, giving it that touch of humanity and justice which has saved it from tyrannical obtuseness, and has made possible the British Condominium of Nations.

Yet in Egypt there seems of late years to have developed a lack of inspiration from the British side, in spite of their generous gift to Egypt. Petty irritants - such as the long extended stay of our troops in Cairo after the war - have alternated with a strange lack of impressiveness on serious occasions - such as the attack soon after the war on our Cathedral and looting of the Bishop's residence, and the killing of service personnel at the same period. These, as far as the public was aware passed almost unrebuked. To an onlooker there seem also to have been several avoidable mistakes; the early alienating of King Farouk; the excessive support accorded to the personally honest but politically bigoted Wafdist, Nahas Pasha; the rash reliance upon the fanatical and unpractical Azzam Pasha, of the Arab League; the short-sighted mishandling of the emotional Ahmed Hussein, who from being at heart of democratic tendencies, and a champion of the oppressed classes, has been ostracised into becoming a dangerous Communistic leader. All the above named people I have known personally since many years. We have given the Egyptians their independence but we do not now set any evident example of independent self respect of our own, while giving them a false idea of their power, and progress, and practical capacity in world affairs. That is unfair to them, and unsafe for us all. There has even been some tendency to substitute normal British methods, for a competition in the Oriental type of intrigue. That has, of course, been to our disadvantage for in it we - thank goodness! - have no real skill or practice. We do little or nothing to

publicise the beneficent side of past British tradition in Egypt, yet allow without vigorous counter measures the loud mis-statements of unscrupulous "statesmen", ignorant journalists, and fanatical young students. We do little to support and encourage Egyptians who make evident their good will to us, and we seem positively to pander to those who excel in gratuitous insults.

Of course, the newly independent Egyptian is "touchy". Give to him genuine friendship, and sincere courtesy, and effective support and he will be much less so, for the modern Egyptian is highly intelligent, very warm hearted, very generous; but to pander to the ignorant, to permit without repudiation the lies of the unscrupulous, to tolerate blindly the outrages of the extremist, in no way helps Independent Egypt to help herself, nor does it assist clear thinking on the part of those Egyptians whose instincts are constructive and friendly.

Of course independent but inexperienced Egypt finds the presence of foreign troops on her soil irksome, so the principle of evacuation must be kept very clear, and its practical difficulties clarified to the Egyptian public. Of course Egypt views askance an Independent Sudan, so the true history of the Anglo-Egyptian-Sudanese relationship, fantastically misunderstood in Egypt, must methodically be made clear to Egyptian public opinion. Meanwhile the Egyptian King's title in the Sudan might well be accepted, without prejudice to final decision.

Of course, a "modern" country whose population in approximately a life-time has about doubled to reach a total of some twenty two millions, cannot progress under a feudal system where most of these millions are in dire need, and a few thousands live in lavish wealth. Reform must be urgent, and vigorously led, or else complete disaster is inevitable.

A state of obscurity and drift has led to a dramatic and terrible climax in January 26th, 1952. The excesses of that day are a clear indication of the tendencies of these times, and a warning for all to see of even greater chaos which the near future could bring, possibly of world-wide repercussions.

It is not enough to give a young Nation its independence. It must be given inspiration and leadership as well, and if necessary the salutary warning of stern restraint. In the East, Justice and Strength are both admired, but Justice without Strength will gain neither respect nor obedience. There is an atmosphere of disintegration in Egypt which must be drastically arrested, and it is only by strong and evident British initiative that this can be done. For the very survival of our essential interests in the Middle East, we may be forced to take action. Let this action have the virtue of our own initiative rather than the slur of having it forced upon us by others. Amongst the Egyptians there are a few who honestly seek cooperation with us, but dare not say so. Others, including ex-Ministers of the late Wafdist Government, openly intend to sabotage all cooperation, and cause total disruption, hoping to "fish in troubled waters." In this they are incidentally also carrying out the plans of disruptive Communist elements. Another set of Egyptians seems to wish to provoke disorder for more subtle reasons. They wish at all costs to bring back British control in Egypt, but they also dare not say so. They now argue, however, that as the disorders of Saturday, January 26th, are

reported to have caused the British forces to stand ready to move into Cairo where, at that date, they would have been almost unanimously welcome, the next time the disorders must be stirred to such an extent that a British Occupation of Cairo will become assured! Country-wide uprisings are definitely again a menace and an Egyptian Minister of the present Government has stated that he is aware that reliable Egyptian forces are inadequate to face such an upheaval. The situation seems not wholly dissimilar from that described by Lord Cromer in his "Modern Egypt", around the events which led to the unfortunate necessity for the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet.

If Egypt is to be left to "stew in her own juice" at least the British authorities should give clear warning of this to the foreign community. If intervention is planned, it is to be hoped that the plans are already complete, for the uprising could be violent and very sudden. Let us remember too, but without prejudice, that ancient saying of Herodotus "the Egyptians are a people incapable of gratitude, but singularly amenable to Fear!" This, of course, no longer applies to Egypt as a whole, but it does still definitely apply to the type of Egyptian whom we are up against in these days of crisis. Let us face realities, and let us also keep our own British principles above reproach.

The present conditions in Egypt are also not without their effect amongst the Arab refugees in Palestine. There too there are agitators, some to my personal knowledge professing to have communist contacts abroad, who are ready to profit by the unrest in Cairo and the example of the excesses there. I found this atmosphere of unrest more than ever evident during the most recent of my visits to the Gaza area some two months ago.

Furthermore in the Egyptian army, there are now various German advisers and technicians which adds to the possibility of renewed complication between Arab-Israeli forces in Palestine, already made tense by the indecisive attitude, often unfair to both sides, which U.N. has tolerated there.

The recent outrages in Cairo are a direct challenge to the forces of order and progress, of wide implication, and in particular a challenge to the good name of the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Many Egyptians, not least their King and his immediate supporters, realise and are deeply disturbed at what is happening. They cannot however act alone. "A friend in need is a friend indeed", and in the necessary decisions to be made not only must the sense of Egyptian "amour propre" as an independent people be realised, but the example of strong leadership must also be given, and our Justice must indeed be combined with Strength, to meet this challenge.

The King remains the only practical rallying point, and in spite of certain personal follies in which he may at times have involved himself, he is still of astute mind, retains his sense of humour and is realistically inclined in his objectives, and not personally hostile to Anglo-Egyptian cooperation. He has the efficient support of one or two of his entourage. Of real leadership amongst Egypt's Statesmen, there seems to be deplorably little at the present time, and with one exception (the present Minister of Interior, Maraghy Pasha) no personality is apparent of the calibre to assume the Premiership, should the present Ministry (not very secure)

lose its position. There will probably be serious tests of authority when the elections take place, or when Martial Law is lifted. Meanwhile the atmosphere is ^{superficially} quiescent; and the Egypto-Sudanese meetings are probably clarifying usefully certain realities of the situation.

At the time of pomp and ceremony, courage and complacency, nobility and bombast of the days of the Celebration of H.M. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Kipling, the poet of Empire, could strike a note of triumph, but also of humility in his great "Recessional"

The tumult and the shouting dies
The Captains and the Kings depart
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice
A humble and contrite heart.
Lord of Hosts be with us yet
Lest we forget, lest we forget.

Let British people in Egypt not forget that great past of ours, its nobility and sacrifice as well as pomp and power. Let us still have sympathy in the inspiration to Freedom of all Peoples who have come within our Imperial orbit; but let us not betray them by any un-natural example of weakness, for we must make clear to these people, that with all our sympathy, all our leniency, a "righteous indignation" and strong justice must be blended when face to face with outrage to our good British tradition, and that this blending we will not hesitate to use for the welfare not only of ourselves but of mankind.

Cairo.

H.H.J.

(Cont:)

Appendix Note I

(a) C.J. was seen to jump from an upper window to escape the fire. He was apparently only slightly injured. He was then set upon by the mob, his limbs were broken by blows from iron bars, and he was then burned alive under some debris collected for that purpose just outside the club.

This and the other murders and looting were watched during a long period by hundreds of people, rioters and spectators. It is strange indeed that while in so many lesser cases very numerous arrests have been made, in this case the authorities have themselves achieved no arrests whatsoever.

(b) The following facts further indicate the virulent attitude of mind which Egyptian extremist propaganda has stirred up. Two British members of the Turf Club, gravely injured, lay for some hours in a passage way near the Club. Eventually they were picked up by a Red Crescent ambulance. On arrival at the Red Crescent Hospital despite their condition the hospital staff subjected them to gross insult, and very callous treatment. They were removed next morning by a British doctor to the Anglo-American Hospital. On December 10th last, at the Semiramis Hotel, a reception was given by Dr. Mustapha Hefnaoui, Secretary General of the "National Committee for the Defense of the Arab Cause." The reception was supposed to celebrate the anniversary of the "Declaration of Human Rights." Several speeches were made openly advocating violence, and one stated clearly "in our opinion the Egyptians have a right to kill at sight any British person they see, whether in their homes, their offices, or in the streets." At about the same period the "Gamhur el Misri" printed in large letters a statement that a certain Shaikh of the al Azhar had decreed that the killing of Europeans is not only permissible for Moslems but definitely commendable. This statement too passed unchallenged by the Wafdist Government which was then in power.

If in the near future the elections here are held in fact without "interference", why should it be supposed that the Wafd cannot return to power, to implement again this extremist malice. A similar crisis could be provoked by the reckless assassination of any leading member of the present Government. Though without "hysteria" it is well to be fully aware still of these aspects of the present situation."

It is relevant I think to quote also the final paragraph of a letter of mine to the "Egyptian Gazette" dated 21st June, 1952:-

(Cont:)

"The Turf Club tragedy is, however, so outstanding that it demands proportionate urgency of official action in order to assert the supremacy of the Law as opposed to the rule of the mob."

Following is a note I received about this from our Minister, Mr. Creswell, and a second from our Acting Consul General:-

British Embassy,
Alexandria.
30th June, 1952.

"Dear Hindle-James,

Thank you for your letter of 25th June and for the enclosure, which I return as you asked me to do.

I have much sympathy with your point of view and agree with your letter of 21st June to the "Egyptian Gazette", particularly with what you say in the last paragraph.

Yours sincerely,
M.J. Creswell."

Consular Section,
British Embassy,
24th June, 1952.

"Dear Hindle James,

I have read the enclosed with much interest. You do not say to whom you have sent your notes, which contain many serious points for consideration against the M.E. background.

For your own information I can tell you that H.E., before his departure on leave, had an interview in a high quarter, and made very plain the attitude of H.M. Government in regard to the Turf Club atrocities. I do not think you need have any fear that there is any weakening on this issue, or that it will be lost sight of.

Yours sincerely,
M.E. Taylor."

It will no doubt be realised that I amongst others was feeling no little uneasiness as to the official British attitude towards developments in Egypt. However it must be realised that every person was a good deal on edge and no doubt personal points of view might be liable to some over stress and partiality of feeling. Anyhow blame does not lie only with our official leaders but must be shared to some extent at least by our civilian community also. There did indeed seem a curious inertia and less than laudable inclination amongst leaders of the British civil community, though indulging in bitter criticism, to prefer to avoid personal initiative in a normal British reaction to indignation. A very senior business man put it to me when I suggested that action and personal approach to our authorities would be more effective and worthy than mere anonymous complaint. "Why should I be the one to stick out my head." This uninspiring remark drew from me, I am afraid, a reply distinctly less than courteous which has ended our personal relationships;

(Cont:)

but unfortunately this was not an isolated example of the curiously un-British attitude which rightly or wrongly one seemed to sense in Cairo at this very critical moment for our prestige and security.

The following is a note from the Cairo office dated 11/11/41

Note:

The following is a letter to the "Egyptian Gazette" inspired by an incident while we were in our burning building

"Example of Faith"

Saturday January 26th, 1952, is a tragic date of grim memory to most of us in Cairo. I feel, however, that I would like to record one particular small episode which comes back vividly to my memory.

While we were on the roof of our burning building, suddenly out from the smoke appeared a pretty little Nubian girl, aged about six, child of one of the servants. She regarded us with a quaint smile, and seemed puzzled at some European ladies who were sobbing.

One of these ladies, perhaps a little annoyed, said; "Little girl, why are you smiling? Are you not afraid of the fire?" The child, for a moment gazed around her with big solemn eyes at the flicker of flames, then, with another funny little smile she said; "La ana mush akhaf,.. Allah mojud!" ("No I am not afraid - God is present!") and with that she trotted off again through the smoke to wherever she had come from; leaving us startled, but for a time at least with a sort of calm upon our jangled emotions.

That little Nubian girl has in her spirit a message perhaps for all of us in Cairo, and possibly for the whole troubled World! "

Another aspect of this situation which I think it is worth while to record. A Greek friend who was with us and could have been of great help and whom I had known for several years and who had always professed strong pro-British sentiments including the desire to become an Australian citizen showed a curious reversal of outlook during this period of our imminent danger. In fact he was called upon by an Egyptian Police Officer (as it turned out a person himself subversive) and taken by him to a place of security leaving the remainder of his friends without any consideration for their welfare. This gentleman's reply to a protest by an English Lady with us was "surely you don't suggest that I should get my throat cut for you." This is a distressing side light of local attitudes but one which should be realised.

The following is a note again from Marlborough House dated 20th June 1952:-

"Dear S/Ldr James,

Thank you for your letter received today, with a copy of your notes on the present situation in Egypt. I think that you wish me to send these notes on to the Foreign Office as in the case of papers received from you on previous occasions I have therefore done so. I do hope you are better again now.

Yours sincerely,
J.L.W."

and now a letter from Claude Massey:-

Australian Legation,
Cairo.
16th June, 1952.

"My dear H.J.,

Thank you for your letter dated 11th June, together with a copy of your personal impressions on the present Egyptian situation. I have read your observations with very much interest.

I have forwarded your letter to Michael Wilford as requested.

With my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
C.Massey."

I think it is ~~also~~ reasonable to suppose that formal pressure by the British civil community or assistance in the form of planning might even have helped and expediated our authorities to more definite and energetic action.

After January 26th Nahas Pasha's Cabinet, as corrupt and even more disruptive than his previous Cabinets, was dismissed by the King's order. Aly Maher Pasha whom I had for some time been regarding as an appropriate political figure upon whom to build hopes for future Government reform and concerning whom I had been in contact both with our Embassy and Abdin Palace, now assumed Premiership. I called at his residence and my call was courteously returned the following day. In the war days this Statesman, brilliant and experienced, but with a sometimes rather sinister turn of subtly had been suspected of favouring the Axis, and was therefore interned by us; but no longer was there this aspect to consider, for Aly Maher is a realist and knows the effects of Egypt's danger from the Stalinist menace from Russia.

(Cont:)

Sad to say however the Aly Maher Cabinet lasted scarcely a month; and he was followed by the honest but somewhat ministerially inexperienced Hilaly Pasha. This was the beginning of a new period of deplorable intrigue in Palace circles and uneasiness everywhere. Cabinets lasted weeks, or only days, one survived only a few hours. Curfew hours were imposed; and always police, soldiers and cavalry patrolled the city.

Then early on the 23rd July, 1952 a roar of aeroplanes over Cairo and the rumble of tanks in the streets made us aware that something grave was again afoot. In fact it was the long expected revolution, a "Coup d'Etat" affected by a small group of some ten energetic young officers who had drawn General Mohamed Neguib into the leadership of the plan. A little band of reformers, fanatically in earnest. What would happen now nobody knew.

..... My thoughts go back to 1936. I had not long returned to Egypt when King Fouad was taken ill and died. I had never met His Majesty King Fouad though I had often, in the old days, been a guest of his hospitable brother, Prince Mahmoud. That Prince then lived at Zaafaran Palace at Abyssia which was still a private mansion and not as now a Government "guest house" for distinguished visitors - such for instance as King Ibn Saoud when he came to Egypt, who received me in personal audience there -. Though I did not know King Fouad I could not help like others, being moved in thought on the return to Egypt of the young Prince Farouk, not yet 16 years of age to assume the complicated duties and powers of an Egyptian King. This lad had been studying in England, and had been destined for military training at Woolwich. How much kinder of fate if he had been allowed to have had that training in discipline, human relationships, and military understanding; and some real freedom from the illjudged seclusion of his early family life with its occasional initiation into precocious knowledge arranged by complacent retainers, before he took on his heavy responsibilities. His position as Egypt's monarch included much personal power with all the perils which that connotes.

I remember my first link with Farouk, when his interest in social welfare, caused him to invite me to discuss with him my former work in England for unemployed men. I next remember Farouk vividly in the early days of his difficulties with Lord Killearn (Sir Miles Lampson as he then still was). Farouk had at that time a pleasant youthful frankness, and already observant sense of humour, and with his boyish courage was blended a very human nervousness in his attitude towards Lampson, like some misunderstood prefect at a school, towards an unsympathetic headmaster.

(Cont:)

I remember then his almost pathetic anxiety just before his first war meeting with our great leader Churchill; his desire to give a sincere welcome to this great man of whom he obviously stood in awe, yet before whom he hoped to uphold his own appropriate dignity as King of Egypt, and at the same time the most beloved figure in his country. His Majesty kept saying to me "I must make him understand; I must make this meeting a success". Apparently this meeting was in fact satisfactory. Again I remember Farouk informally happy with his family in Montaza Palace gardens; then in dignified formality at a Palace Banquet; at the opening of Parliament; as host to King Ibn Saoud at Army Manoeuvres; in each setting he showed appropriate and notable traits of personality! (but the clash of temperaments in Egypt itself remained; - the handsome inexperienced impetuous young King and the dour dominant senior diplomat, bleakly unsympathetic to the sensibilities and foibles of youth whether royal or not.

(Cont:)

It was sad to see this one sided contest and the inarticulate longing of a young man for companionship and the encouragement of a little praise, constantly frustrated by the cold formalities of politicians and the chill disapproval of sanctimonious people. Nor was this all, for others more subtle and far seeing were not slow to make use of this situation, and sycophants soon gathered around the perplexed youth to steer the dislike of a boy for his schoolmaster into the resentment of the King of Egypt for the British Government. Not less the Italians and Germans soon found means of drawing the King's attention to a more congenial atmosphere of praise and gaiety. Then our Embassy suddenly observed the dangers ahead and tried with the slightly self-conscious help of a few of the more "dashing" of the British Embassy Ladies also to draw the royal interest. His Majesty not without a sense of humour, by that time slightly cynical, for a while responded to these manoeuvres. However our Embassy Ladies could not really compete in their quite evident "so far and no further" attitude with the unlimited allurements to which His Majesty was given such ready access in other quarters. It is curious that our Embassy, presumably with many of its members possessing instinctively British feelings, did not realise that a far more effective gesture at this critical moment of a young man's development would have been to provide a self assured yet good natured host at our Embassy and a dignified yet motherly hostess, who would have had much more likelihood of gaining this young King's confidence amidst all his perplexities.

The opportunity however was lost. The King became deeply hurt. He was hurt because no decoration or honorary appointment was conferred upon him by the British; and because he was not invited to visit or entertain our wounded men, and because it came to his knowledge that British people were being "warned" against him. He was hurt not to be invited officially to London "because I am considered too disreputable", although the Shah of Iran, certainly by no means of saintly life, by diplomatic recommendation became a personal guest at Buckingham Palace. All this His Majesty told me, and I endeavoured to make this understood in Embassy quarters. Years later, at last His Majesty was appointed an Honorary British General. I was then living in Cairo remote and retired; but His Majesty did not forget; the same day he sent a senior member of his Palace staff accompanied in full state by an A.D.C. to tell me that the King would like me to realise that he appreciated and had not forgotten my sympathy and intervention in the old days and would like me to share his sense of appreciation at the British honour now conferred upon him. For such things as this I am grateful to Farouk and for his invariable consideration towards my Mother, during the years she was in Egypt.

Note:

It is a pity that past experience did not bring instruction to those concerned, for so many of the same mistakes have been made in relationship to young Farouk, as were already being made before the early death of young King Ghazi of Iraq. Both these young men had discussed their own point of view in this with me with unusual frankness. Neither of them seemed to feel that he was ever treated by us as an ordinary sensitive human being, but just as part of a political plan. Human nature does not respond to such treatment as seems to have been regrettably proved in both these cases.

(Cont:)

Much more recently, although on account of political obstacles it had been a considerable period since I had seen His Majesty in person, yet when in November 1951 my sister and her husband, on their way back to Australia by air, were to alight in transit at Farouk Airport this somehow came to the King's knowledge. A 'phone message reached me from Abdin Palace to say that the King had deputed an Egyptian officer to accompany me to welcome my relatives, and to assure their comfort and welfare. I was touched to realise that although it was so long since I had seen the King yet he still could find inclination thus to extend to me his consideration. A letter from Claude Massey referring to this incident I now include:-

Australian Legation,
Cairo.
21st November, 1951.

"My dear H.J.,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 21st November, which contained exceedingly interesting and valuable information, and I appreciate your kindness in passing this on, which I will in turn be passing to Australia.

Soon after you telephoned me the other day, I saw Mr. Barnett and he told me that you were just about to leave for Farouk Airport to see your sister and Donald. As a matter of fact I intended to go out with you to the Airport because I was disappointed to find that we would not have the honour of entertaining them during their stay in Cairo.

It was awfully nice of H.M. to make that gesture. No doubt it was in your honour, but I hope at the same time it was in Australia's honour.

I am hoping to see you soon. Again, many thanks.

Yours very sincerely,
Claude Massey.

Again on the grim occasion of Saturday 26th January it was Farouk's A.D.C. Col. Hussein Kafafi who was deputed to search for me to assure my safety and to appoint armed police orderlies to protect my premises; who have in fact been in this appointment ever since and seem now to be quite personal retainers of mine.

Note:

Some little time before I left Egypt for Australia Farouk gave me as a parting gift a gold wristlet watch and band. On the back was his monogram in Arabic with Abdine Palace 1946 in English.

On his 21st birthday the young King had given me a gold tie pin surmounted by an enamelled "F" and a gold crown. This was presented to me on a very pleasant occasion when I was visiting the King informally at Koubbeh Palace. When I left Egypt to go to Australia my parting gift to H.M. was a silver gilt desk lighter suitably inscribed, which he accepted very amiably, though such gifts "from nobodies" are actually not in accordance with strict Court protocol.

(C ont:)

----- Clouds are now gathering over this great era of the past. The dark curtains of time are about to fall upon this scene amidst life's varied drama; still my thoughts are with its lonely central figure; no longer a bright eyed lithe youth as I had first known him but a young man aged beyond his years, heavy with the ponderous indolence which has overcome this young potentate too cynical to care, too bewildered to resist, too disillusioned to trust either his family, his friends or his early aims; a tragic relic of a sensitive unprotected spirit, launched without guidance suddenly into a grandiosity of oriental Kingship, with its subtle flattery its insincere glamour and its outcome of complete loneliness.

There comes to me a vivid memory of my last personal talk with Farouk. I had recently returned from Australia and had received a formal command to attend an audience at Kouba Palace. As soon as I was alone with King Farouk he greeted me with a kind of respectful affection which was very touching. Usually at former meetings I had either been in completely informal dress or in Service uniform. This time however it happened that I was wearing the correct outfit which etiquette requires. Farouk came forward and grasped me warmly by both hands; "how nice to see you again" he said, and then laughingly he added "you know James every time I see you you seem to look smarter and younger!". First of all H.M. told me of his sympathy concerning my Mother's recent death; and then we discussed Australia. He was especially pleased that I had messages for him from Richard Casey. Casey and I had often discussed the possibility of closer official relationship between Egypt and Australia, and in this Farouk was greatly interested. In fact I believe this talk was amongst the early incidents which led to the opening of the diplomatic representation between the two countries which was established not long after. In watching the King as he chatted in that animated manner of his, with the friendly smile and sense of humour at times now whimsically sarcastic, I could still glimpse that same boyish spirit of early years. May that spirit of his still stand him in good stead in the grim days now come upon him, and may a simpler more normal and therefore perhaps happier life lie before him.

It is true that even with all charity small sympathy is due to Farouk during his last few years as King; still if our Embassy could but have put aside its rigidity, and have made a more humane approach to this young man during the unique opportunity with which his formative years provided us what great rewards might have been ours. If they had been more tolerant of this inexperienced yet promising young King and less tolerant of the extremely over experienced financially unscrupulous, and in several cases personally odious leaders of the Wafdist party and had gained a reputation for the building up of a sound monarchy rather than the stigma of over familiarity with a corrupt and selfish political party, the result might indeed have been happier for all of us;

(Cont:)

and without the eventual grave hazards of this revolution whose outcome for evil or good no one can possibly estimate in present already more than sufficiently unstable World conditions.

An Egyptian sovereign, wise, and attractive, friendly to Britain and considerate of his peoples welfare, might have prevented an infinity of disastrous discord. The answer given to me by certain diplomatic people that "we are diplomats, not wet nurses" is a not very constructive glimpse of the obvious. This attitude of aloofness which tends to extend even towards British non diplomats, does not place diplomacy on any pedestal of merit, except possibly in the eyes of diplomats, and does far wider harm than seems yet to be realised. Simple relationships should be their aim; ordinary right and wrong should be their guide more often than those diplomatic passwords "Policy" and "Expediency".

On the 26th July, 1952 "His Majesty Farouk 1st, King of Egypt and the Sudan" was faced by a military demand for his abdication and immediate departure from his country. Meeting this demand with an attitude not lacking in courage and making clear his emphatic protest, the King was eventually persuaded to accept this demand rather than initiate a hopeless attempt at military action and the useless loss of Egyptian lives. King Farouk abdicated in favour of his son, Prince Ahmed Fouad as yet scarcely seven months old. The ex-King with his family boarded the royal yacht "Mahroussa" (originally a gift of England's Queen Victoria to the Egyptian Royal house) which disappeared in the fading light of an Alexandrian evening heading for an unnamed destination.

It was not possible for me even to bid farewell to this young man with whom my ways have for so many years, and often so strangely, been linked. I know definitely that in the latter period of this crisis, as well as earlier King Farouk personally sought the advice and intervention of the British Embassy. This was refused. He then requested the intervention of Mr. Caffery, the American Ambassador, to advocate the help of British forces to assist law and order in Cairo. This request was also unsuccessful. When the Royal family embarked to go into exile no personal friend, not even the faithful Husny Pasha Farouk's Private Secretary was allowed to see them off, nor were the Royal family at Ras-el-Tin Palace allowed to visit the nearby Montaza Palace to pack personal necessities which they had left there. General Neguib and his advisors did however acquiesce in the American Ambassador's wish to be present, and by the latter's special mediation the Egyptian Commander accorded correct honours to the departing Royal family. The King and his family, as the American Ambassador states, showed dignity and restraint in these tragic moments, but at the last as King Farouk glanced around he said to Caffery "thank you for being here; yours is the only friendly face". No British representative was present.

(Cont:)

Here in Egypt now the old friends of monarchy it seems are no more. By that amazing opportunism to which humanity is so prone the flattered God of yesterday is a broken and befouled idol of today; but to those throwing their dirt at that shattered figure, dirt already also clings. Those who brought about this drastic change are not amongst the dirt throwers. What they have done is done as a solemn duty; they look with sorrow to those aspects of the past which are sorrowful and to the future which they hope to build, more human and more real, they look with courage and sincerity and hope. May their courage and honesty stand them in good stead, for indeed they need all courage and rightness of purpose if any true soundness of objective is to be achieved. May providence bless them, and all of us throughout this frightened World of ours where the final clash of right and might seems imminent.

At a moment of great danger here in Egypt two Egyptians in particular came without hesitation to my help. One was Ahmed Talaat, and he was a carpenter lad, one of those young people I had tried to befriend at an orphanage in past years; and the other was Farouk Fouad to whom it had also come my way to offer friendship in past years; and he was King of Egypt. Both these young Egyptians had known the meaning of loneliness, and both proved the grace of friendship in their generous reaction, at a time of grave testing, and so this memory is another whose companionship I shall take with sure happiness into the future.

Turning for a moment to one's personal way of life in Cairo, I quote from a passage out of another writing of mine; "I returned to Egypt by reason of friendships and interests, and because of necessities for a warm climate, which my health now exacts, and for the love of sunshine in which my heart delights. I had hoped to establish a final kindly pied a terre upon which to base my future plans; from which I could still wander forth at times, when funds permitted, to visit my dear England in her more clement seasons, for English winters are no longer helpful to my somewhat battered constitution much as I used to appreciate an old-fashioned wintertime. Lately however, the trouble makers of the World are sowing so much discord in this fair land of Egypt, that it seems that perhaps before long I may have to wander on again". A wanderer's spirit is however always stirred by the thought of travel, and regrets must be left behind. That is now my personal state of mind. So much here has gone, so much both materially and spiritually has been destroyed by the violence of senseless misunderstanding, and deliberate malice. Friends and familiar ways and places are no more. One has remained on so far mainly in the hope of doing whatever little is individually possible towards reconstruction, and that possible little has now perhaps been achieved, and so one should move on, taking with one at least some grace out of recent ugliness.

Note:

It is perhaps an interesting point that so far I have been treated with every courtesy by the new Regime. General Mohamed Neguib has retained for me the privilege of armed Police Orderlies to guard my premises, and the Moslem Brotherhood has also sent an envoy to call upon me with an invitation to meet their Supreme Guide - Maitre Hudhaibi in the near future. My talk with this envoy was interesting and constructive.

(Cont:)

As a person whose contemplated relinquishment, after so many years, of residence in Egypt has become reluctantly a necessary fact I certainly have cause for deep feelings on the subject. This decision personal but typical of wider direct effects is directly due to the failure of our diplomacy to create or maintain reasonable relationships between England and Egypt. One does not expect the impossible to be achieved; and yet some evident facts cause an uneasy sense that the failure has been unnecessary. For instance, how is it that the Wafd, now notorious everywhere for its criminality and led by a man fanatical and bigotted, even if reputedly of personal honesty if one can consider as honesty a quality which includes complete blindness to the blatant dishonesty of his colleagues, has for so many years been supported openly or tacitly by the British Embassy, in its destructive progress. My own unpardonable offense in the eyes of our then Ambassador was my, perhaps somewhat ingenuous frankness, about the Wafd and my suggestion for an alternative point of view including encouragement of King Farouk the Wafd's chief antagonist.

Our policy for educating and preparing of "protectorate" peoples to eventual self-rule shows nobility of principle. In carrying it out, in realising the moment when the "protected" races begin to expect equality in social relationships; in maintaining a certain inspiring leadership in the early stages of bestowing independence; in checking firmly the early precociousness of young nations; in showing sympathy for their "growing pains"; in these things we have however certainly been lacking both in logic and humanity.

As for World diplomacy one has but to consider the World position today to realise that international understanding is not its outstanding achievement.

From a mere personal angle again my chance incursion into diplomatic settings has left me with the sad realisation that except for a number of friendships of an entirely personal sort another idol has proved to have feet of clay. Even in its outward trimmings there has seemed a lack of that innate courtesy which is, in service circles anyhow, taken as a matter of course between "gentlefolk". The treatment of my Mother and myself, she a Lady of 80-years and I an invalided service aviator by the diplomat in charge at a time when it was imagined (incorrectly) that we could not defend ourselves was a particularly deplorable exhibition on his part; and the unsuccessful attempt by the only remaining diplomat of that former regime to prevent courtesies to me from a subsequent Ambassador was also a less than reputable attempt.

(Cont:)

The following is an extract from a note of mine to show my retort:-

"Turf Club,
Cairo,
15th April, 1949.

Dear Ravensdale,

I am grateful for your reply dated 12th April, 1949 to my letters and for the trouble you have taken in trying to clarify this matter. I am naturally gratified to receive your assurance that my name was brought up only incidentally and that according to J. nothing derogatory was implied. I must however take the strongest exception to this episode if in fact my name has been subjected to offensive comment concerning an introduction I had by arrangement made to Mr. Chapman Andrews our Minister at the British Embassy.

I have no wish to stress this matter if it is an embarrassment to the Embassy but at the same time in view of the disparity of accounts, I feel that I must not, without reservation, except any statement which is incomplete and inexact. I request therefore that this aspect of the matter may be recorded.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

H.H.J."

In contemplating today in Egypt the plans for an official purge by General Mohamed Neguib in Government quarters one wonders whether in fact World diplomacy including our own must not undergo a similar purge if civilised World relationship is truly our objective.

Last thought of all before I close this epilogue is one which I record entirely for my own comfort of mind in years to come. It is this, although political hatreds have lately made impossible for me the continuation of any formal welfare work in Cairo yet young people have maintained very companionable links with me. I have allowed my flat to be the meeting place where they could find a welcome, a meal and such advice as they might require; in return they have given me the privilege of their confidence. For this I am grateful and to think upon it will be a further sturdy barrier to any lurking future loneliness.

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

And so end some random musings on past days their value from any wider aspects is quite indefinite, but at least they include the encouraging memory of inspiration from kind friends in their undertaking.

I owe much gratitude to Georgette Green for advice and the stimulating frankness of criticism and to Alexandra Smith at a later stage for kindly appreciation; and to Herant Na sibirian, Cairo's well known owner of photographic factories and cinema studios, for help and advice in the selection and reproduction of my pictures, and particularly for his generous help in giving employment and hope to lads of mine from the Medina Orphanage, mentioned in these notes, and to Mr. King, our Consul-General for his courtesy and help in accepting the custody of these papers and documents at the Consulate-General at a time when serious disorders seemed imminent, and in the matter of its safeguarding in the future, I am most grateful to Joan Lord and her husband for their co-operation, with mutual friends in the R.A.F., Canal Zone, Last but far from least to "Billie" Reynolds who combined with the constructive help of impartial advice upon the form of this writing has by the generous gift of her talents in shorthand and typing added the invaluable assistance of real practical work.

To all these I offer my thanks for the grateful and refreshing memory of their kind co-operation.