The Press: Engine of a Mini-renaissance in Zanzibar (1860–1920)

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The islands of Zanzibar, to which the Omani ruler Seyyid Sa’id moved his court in 1840, changed in a few decades from a quiet backwater to an important trading centre, creating a small Arab-ruled East African state. The island’s Arab and Swahili population as well as conducting trade with the African hinterland and the Arabian Peninsula increased their commercial links with American, British and French merchants. As a consequence of these activities British Indians in increasing numbers settled and traded there. Zanzibar was largely a country of immigrants, of Omani, Hadhrami and Shihiri Arabs, Indians or Banianis, Comorians, Swahilis and African slaves; in 1895 the British First Minister Sir Lloyd Mathews estimated the population as being composed of 140,000 slaves, 27,000 freed slaves, and 30,000 freeborn Swahili, including the indigenous Hadimu. In 1905 there were reckoned to be 15,000 Arabs, and 10–12,000 British Indian inhabitants; in 1911 Europeans numbered 234, Indians and Cingaleses 8,305, and Portuguese Indians 440. In 1910 the total population of the island of Zanzibar was 114,069 and the sister island of Pemba 83,130; the capital Zanzibar Town had 35,262 inhabitants. Added to these figures there was always a large floating population, a constant stream to and fro with the monsoon winds of passengers of dhows of Somalis, Shihiri and Baluchi Arabs, and natives of the Kutch.¹

The British Anglican missionaries of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa soon after their arrival on the island from about 1865 in the reign of Sa’id’s son, Sultan Majid (1856–70), introduced on the island of Zanzibar the first press in East Africa, the Universities’ Mission Press; on August 31 1864 the Right Reverend Bishop Tozer and Reverend Dr. Steere had arrived in Zanzibar. The press mainly

¹ Public Record Office, FO 4716, 1909–10, 13 and FO 5176, 1911–2, 7. My thanks go to the staff of the Zanzibar Archives for their generous help to me in carrying out this research. This research has been funded by a British Academy small research grant, a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and a Hayter Parry award at the University of Manchester.
printed religious texts in English and the Southern Swahili dialect, Swahili translations of the Gospels and the Old Testament, Swahili language books, handbooks for other African languages, Swahili short stories, etc., to service the missionary activities on the African mainland and for the small African Christian community in Zanzibar. Under a great obligation to the French Roman Catholic Mission Steere printed their Catechism in French and Swahili at the UMCA press. The missionaries were helped by local scholars in the preparation of the translations: Sheikh Abd al-Aziz bin Abd al-Ghani al-Amawi (1832–96), one of the leading ulama of the coast and a qadi in Zanzibar, was co-translator with Richard Lewin Pennel of the Gospel of St Luke into the Kiswahili (Zanzibari) dialect of Swahili, Anjili ya Luka iliyofaisika kwa maneno ya Kiswahili (1872) and helped Bishop Steere with his translation of the Bible into Swahili and an Arabic Psalter.2

Swahili was the language of the indigenous population of the coast. Though the islands had an Arab-ruling political class, who were the wealthiest merchants, the owners of the largest clove plantations, and the employers of the largest numbers of slaves, Swahili remained the lingua franca. Though thousands of Zanzibar natives claimed to be ‘Arabs’, what they really meant was that they at least possessed a modicum of Arab blood in their veins. As early as the 1860s the British Consul C.P. Rigby noted that the majority of the island’s landed families no longer used Arabic in conversation or daily life; even the Sultan Barghash spoke ‘very softly and smoothly in splendid Swahili.’ By the 1910s very few people in Zanzibar continued to use Arabic; the Sultan himself used Kiswahili within his home, but knowledge of Arabic remained an important marker of social status, education and religious training.3 By 1932 the medium of instruction throughout the schools was Swahili.

Sultan Sayyid Barghash b. Sa‘id (1870–83), before coming to power, had spent time in exile in Bombay, so was familiar with all the trappings of the modern world. His reign was a period of reform and modernisation in Zanzibar. Like his contemporary Khedive Isma‘il of Egypt, Barghash was a lavish spender of money and a great builder of palaces. He took a more active interest than his predecessors in Zanzibar town itself and initiated a number of public improvements, building roads, an aqueduct giving the town a much-needed supply of fresh water and several important new buildings. He signed an agreement in 1873 to end the trade in slaves in Zanzibar, and subsequently closed down all public slave markets.

In 1875 he had travelled to Europe on a state visit to England, stopping in Egypt en route. It may be during this trip that he decided his country needed an Arabic printing press, Egypt perhaps being the inspiration for his decision. Under Khedive Isma‘il the Egyptian Arabic press had come into its own; as well as publishing a number of Arabic newspapers, public and private presses in Egypt were multiplying, printing new and classical Arabic texts and responding to an expanding public thirst for new genres of Arabic writing and access to the vast treasury of Arab intellectual history. Barghash may well have been encouraged by his links with a number of Arab intellectuals and other foreign friends to acquire his own printing press. Barghash brought back printing machines using Arabic and Roman scripts, and recruited printers from abroad to run them. The presses were used to print books and other publications, most of which were Ibadī religious texts.4 The publishing of Ibadī texts began for the first time in the 1880s at presses thousands of miles apart in Algiers, Tunis, Cairo and Zanzibar.

Al-Maḥża‘a al-Suljāniyya (the Sultanate Press) in Zanzibar, the first Arab press in East Africa, began its book-publishing activities in 1879–80. Though the number of Ibadī texts published over the next forty years by the press was not large, the works chosen for publication were significant for the Ibadī community at large, which up to then had no access in printed form to the religious literature of the sect. Details are not available, but it seems probable that the largest number of copies of the print runs of the Ibadī texts, though not large, were exported to Ibadī communities in Oman and beyond. Though Oman had the largest Ibadī community, there were no printing presses there in this period and Omani writers had to arrange publication of their works further afield. In the spirit of this period of the Arab renaissance, in which many young Arab intellectuals, particularly in Syria (bīlād al-Shām) and Egypt, were challenging accepted values, promoting new political and social concepts and experimenting with new literary genres, such as the theatre, the novel and short

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stories, the Sultan’s press seems to have considered one of its principal tasks to stimulate contemporary Ibadi scholarship by authors thousands of miles away in Oman and Algeria. The very first publication of the press, appearing over the years 1879/80–1886/87, was a complete system of Islamic theology and law according to the Ibadi school, by a contemporary Omani al-‘Iṣāṣ al-Jumayyil b. Khankis al-Sāḏī (1791/2–?), the Qāmūs al-Sharī‘a, written between 1844–63. In 1884 Barghash bought another Arabic press from the famous Jesuit Fathers’ Press (Maḥṣa‘at al-Aba‘) al-Yaqūzyin in Beirut and recruited Lebanese workers to run it.

A few works were published perhaps because of the costs and labour involved. The Sultanate Press typeset its Arabic works; with a small stuff and the challenge of multi-volume works it would have been a mammoth task to have attempted to produce more. As well as contemporary works of scholarship, the press printed a number of canonical works, considered as primary texts on the Ibadi religious sciences. In 1886 it published a classical compendium of Ibadi law, al-Mukhtar, by the Omani Ṣafih, Shaykh Ṣā’īd ibn Ḥasan, ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Bayā‘i (fl. 11th cent.), selected from his al-Jami‘. Between 1886/87 and 1890/91 the press published a gloss in three volumes, called Kitāb Ḥaṣiyyat al-Tarīb, by a Jerban, Muhammad b. ‘Umar, Abū Sittah al-Jarbi al-Sawtikāshī (d. 1677), based on al-Jami‘ al-Ṣahīh, an arrangement by Yūsuf b. Ṣa‘īd al-Wajīrīlānī (d. 1175), of an authoritative Ibadi collection of Ṣahīh, al-Musnad, by the Azdī al-Imām al-Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb al-Farāḥīdī (d. 786). The first work of the great Algerian scholar and muqtaṣih, Shaykh Muhammad b. Yūsuf Atţafayyish (1820–1914), published at al-Maṣa‘a‘al-Suḥjānī, was his lengthy commentary on the Qur‘ān, Taṣfīr al-Qur‘ān al-Musammā ( Hunyān al-Zād al-lā Dār al-Ma‘ād); this incomplete work was published in thirteen parts between 1887 and 1897.


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5 Though in its entirety it consists of 90 volumes, only seventeen volumes were printed. The first ten volumes were edited by a Zanzibar, Yahyā b. Khaliṣ b. Abī Naḥām al-Kharṭāh.

6 A great Ibādi Imam and poet from the Hadramawt, who led raids on India and made himself master of the Hadramawt.
who later employed Sābiti as his secretary, 'there was a mystery about the financing of this little journal, and the motives prompting its issue, which I never quite fathomed. His [Sābiti's] own account of it was that his chief patron was the Sultan of Zanzibar, a very enlightened and liberal-minded ruler. But I was never quite satisfied with this explanation, and I have since had reason to believe that the funds to support it, and the suggestion of its politics came, in part at least, from the ex-khedive Ismail.' The Bee was violent against the Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid and denounced him as the usurper of the title of Emir al-Mumennin and Caliph; Isma'il was very angry with the Ottoman sultan for his betrayal of him to Europe by agreeing to issue a decree deposing him as ruler of Egypt in favour of his son.\textsuperscript{9}

Another of Barghash's contacts, the British Arabist, the Rev. Badger, member of the Muscat-Zanzibar Commission of 1860, encouraged him to exploit the Arabic press in Istanbul, through al-Jawā'ib, the newspaper of the Lebanese intellectual, Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, to argue Zanzibar's case in the international arena. Other Arab papers reached Zanzibar; on its foundation in 1876 the Egyptian al-Abrām newspaper hoped to sell copies in Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Europe, Algeria, Tunisia, and Zanzibar and as far afield as Bombay and Calcutta. Van den Berg mentions that by the 1880s reformist Arabic papers like the pan-Islamic al-Jawā'ib, al-Wafā' from Cairo, al-Abrām from Alexandria, and Muhammad 'Abduh's al-Urwā al-Wuthqā from Paris were reaching Shafi'i readership as far away as Indonesia; from this it can be implied that East African Shafiis as well, because of their close ties, may have been reading the same journals and newspapers.\textsuperscript{10}

The Zanzibar and Omani sultans funded the publication of a number of books in Cairo, not all by Ibadī writers. Copies of books printed at their expense and with dedications to the sultans on specially printed pages, often in expensive bound versions, were sent to the palace in Zanzibar. The Zanzibar sultans also later subsidized a number of Arabic newspapers by taking out regular subscriptions and making other donations: Jaridat al-Iqtabl and Thamarat al-Fanūn, Beirut; Jaridat al-Misād, Marseilles; al-Fāriq al-Yawm, al-Baṣr and al-Fadhiha, Alexandria; al-Ma'ānī, Istanbul; Jarābīs al-Shām, Tripoli; al-Maṭrīsī, al-Hilal, al-Ma’āyyad, al-


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The first print in East Africa, a small Swahili quarterly booklet, \textit{Msimuhlzi (The Reporter)}, was the magazine of Kiungani College in Zanzibar, edited and printed in October 1888 by 'the boys themselves', African theological students of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. More of a literary and religious magazine than a newspaper with a limited audience and a narrow range of interests it carried local news on the mission's activities at its houses at Mkumazini and Mbweni near Zanzibar Town. An article by a teacher at Mbweni, Mildred Maua, was the first contribution by a local person. From 1895 it was not printed for nearly a decade, reappearing in March 1904 and lasting to the First World War.\textsuperscript{12}

The first issue of the weekly \textit{The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa}, appeared on 1 February 1892 published by a British trading company in Zanzibar, Forward Brothers and Co. The Universities' Mission press in Kiungani printed the first issue. In a letter introducing the paper the editors said:

\begin{quote}
We have today the honour of publishing the first newspaper ever issued in East Africa and in doing so we venture to assert that we are taking a most important step in the mercantile progress of Zanzibar and one which claims the support of all who are interested in the prosperity of the place.
\end{quote}

The first public notice by the British Diplomatic Agent and Consul General, G.H. Portal, CB., informed British protected persons that \textit{The Gazette} "will henceforth be regarded as the official channel of communication to the public;' Zanzibar had become a British protectorate in 1890. Before an assembly of 4,000 merchants in 'the large new shed' at the Customs House on the day of the paper's publication Portal had declared Zanzibar a free port. Immense enthusiasm prevailed of Zanzibar taking her place 'amongst other leading ports of the world which have recognised the fact that a duty on imports is a serious obstacle in the way of a large extension of trade.' Copies

\textsuperscript{11} Thomas Philp, \textit{Guerrī Zaidīn: His Life and Thought} (Beirut 1979), 40.

of the first edition of *The Gazette* were distributed at the meeting 'and judging from its reception the future success of *The Gazette* appears to be a certainty.' At the conclusion of his address Mr. Portal said:

Let us henceforth all work together for the development of the commerce of Zanzibar: let us make Zanzibar a great depot and a great mart. The result of the efforts we are exerting materially in the great work of the civilization of the continent of Africa, and may God grant success to our labours.

From the first the official medium for official notices from H.M.'s Agency and Consulate General and H.M.'s Consular Court, *The Gazette* carried a good deal of general news. It was primarily a local newsheet, with local social news, trade, shipping and weather reports, a means of inter-communication for the European community and traders. Later it added a column of overseas news received by telegraph from the Reuters news agency. Except for brief periods there was little or no interest in the affairs of the Arabs or the native Swahilis. It was chiefly in English, with some parts in Gujarati.

On 24 October 1894 it became the property of the Zanzibar Government, and had numerous British officials as editors; none of whom of course were trained journalists. One left his post as editor to become the jailer at Mombasa. The editors remarked: 'The establishment of a newspaper under the direct proprietorship of the Sultan's Government is a proof that His Highness [Sultan Hamad bin Thuwaynat] has still higher aims in view. We understand that H.H., having the interests of his own race at heart, proposes to have the chief items of news from week to week translated into Arabic and published as a supplement to *The Gazette*.' It was a year or two before this wish was put into regular practice; from June 1897 to 1899 a few news items (akhbar) and advertisements in Arabic started to appear occasionally, ranging in length from three or four items of international news in Arabic from Reuters/Riyāḍ to a column or more of Reuters telegrams (a'in taraf riyāṭa). The first notice in Swahili

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14 *The Gazette*, 143, 24 October 1894, 2. It is available in the British Library 149; the Bodleian 1892-8, and in the Zanzibar Archives (A) 1892-9, and can be purchased on microfilm. It cost two annas.
16 *The Gazette*, 253, December 2, 1896 and 283, June 20, 1897.

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in *Gazette Amri ya gouverneuri* was a Government notice about Harbour duties. Amongst the Arabic news covered was an item on the death of Commandatore Antonio Cecchi, Italian Consul-General, who had been killed up country in a Somali ambush. To commemorate the 60th year anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria a rare announcement (sulh) in Arabic appeared. Sometimes the paper carried no Arabic news for ages and all that appeared were various notices in Arabic.

A new Swahili monthly newspaper, *Habari za Mwezi* (Monthly News), appeared in October 1895, edited, printed and published at the Universities' Mission to Central Africa at Magila in northeast Tanganyika; it lasted till 1910. It was especially intended for circulation in the Bonde and Zigua districts. *The Gazette* commented:

We hold out the hand of greeting this week to a new venture in journalism in East Africa, which may be the beginning of a great change in the life and views of the educated native races around us. It is nothing less than a newspaper published entirely in Swahili, to be issued at present monthly, but which is hoped before long will become a weekly publication. Here is the opportunity for the spreading of good and helpful advice to be pondered over and not forgotten as soon as heard. And here are the means for the extension of commerce by making the wants of one tribe known to another, and for uniting all interests in the huge civilized Africa, which is slowly but surely being built up. The evolution of society is working out before our eyes, there can be no retrogression, we have moved on from the past and there can be no return thereto, and the Press is one of the greatest factors at work even in Africa.

In 1899 the weekly *East Africa and Uganda Mail* started at Mombasa on the Kenya coast, and the German language *Deutsche Ostafrikanische Zeitung* was published in Dar es Salaam in mainland German East Africa (Deutsch Ostafrika). The policy of the German administration was to promote the spread of literacy; they wanted an efficient and profitable colony staffed at the lower and intermediate levels by literate Africans. Swahili, widely known on the coast and along trade routes was selected as the language of the administration. A number of Swahili periodicals that proved very popular were published in German East Africa; there were no equivalent publications in Zanzibar. In 1905–16 with German government encouragement, a group of teachers and government clerks from the German Regierungs-Schule
produced Kiongozi (The Leader) at Tanga. The Catholic Benedictine Fathers at Peramiho in southern Tanganyika began a religious monthly, Rafiki Yangu (My Friend) in 1908–14, and the Lutherans started Pwani na Bara (The Coast and the Hinterland) at Dar es Salaam in 1910–14.22

In April 1897 the Arabic news in The Gazette was ‘to announce a most important project just set on foot in the interests of the shambas of Zanzibar and Pemba. It is intended to publish monthly at the Government Gazette Press a journal devoted to agricultural interests ... and sold at a cost calculated to just cover its production. The journal ... will be essentially practical in nature, dealing with products and labour. Mr. Theodore Burt of the Friends’ Industrial Mission at Pemba has undertaken to deal with subjects especially affecting that Island.’23 The Collector of Customs (al-kukūna al-zanjahabriya Kustun Haws [al-Farha]) and Messrs. Arnold Checny & Co. would chronicle the monthly wholesale market quotations, Mr. L. Besson the prices of cloves and chillies, and Messrs. Haning and Co. the price of India rubber and Orchella weed. The Jālī al-Shāba/’The Shamba appeared in June 1897/12 Muharram 1315, subtitled in English the ‘Journal of Agriculture for Zanzibar’, and in Arabic al-Jariša al-‘Ismā’iyya al-Zirā’iyya Ikhtibār ‘an al-falāja wa-an al-akhirār al-muffila (A Government Newspaper Seeking Information on agriculture and on useful news), appearing in English and Arabic. It was edited by R.N. Lyne, the Director of Agriculture of the Zanzibar Government; the paper largely owed its existence to the enterprise of the Editor of The Gazette. In its first editorial it announced:

A newspaper is an indispensable condition of progress. It stimulates activity, collects and distributes knowledge: voices the opinions of those among whom it circulates, and acts as a bond of union between them. But a newspaper is something more than a condition of progress. It is an indication that a certain amount has already been made, and it is also an earnest of future exertions. A community does not as a rule indulge in the luxury of a paper unless it has accomplished something worth writing about, and is voyaging towards prosperity. We, to a certain extent, may be said to have taken time by the forelock, through the latent forces of these islands, together with the great possibilities that lie before them, justify us in taking a step which might otherwise be considered premature. We have yet another justification to plead. Many of the Arab Planters in Zanzibar and Pemba do not understand the European languages in which most current agricultural literature is written. One of the principal objects of the Shamba will be to act as a medium through which subjects of agricultural interest may reach them. Matters of local importance will naturally occupy considerable attention, though on the other hand we cannot afford to turn a deaf ear to what is being done in other countries.

‘We ... trust that a real response will be given to a very earnest effort which is being made to give a helping hand to those who have for long past dwelt in and managed the plantations in these islands, who have now to accommodate themselves to a changed order of things calculated at the outset to somewhat embarrass them.’24

The London based The Chemist and Druggist noted: ‘Zanzibar has become enfranchised by a commercial journal, The Shamba (Plantation); it promises from the first number to be ‘very lively little paper.’ Appealing to Arab and European planters, it proposes to educate the planters and keep a lookout on London and American brokers. ‘The broker’, it says, ‘is a creature to be watched, and in watching him we shall fight him with his own weapons, because he watches us, and very closely too ... We have to watch the prices, not of cloves only, but of every product that we raise.’ It is ‘devoted entirely to the planting interests of the Island, which dealt in a practical manner with these things, and being printed in Arabic would give the Arabs all the information they needed and gave them further an opportunity of asking questions and of contributing remarks and recording experience.’25

The Shamba was for sale at The Gazette Office in Mwazi Moja; it later could be obtained, particularly by its Arab readers, at Mwera, Dunga, and at Kundawa in Zanzibar and Weti in Pemba. In the first issue there were six pages in English and seven in a parallel Arabic version, in the main a translation from the English. There was a regular section on catch crops and cloves (al-qurtuf). A section in Arabic was not related to agriculture, but brought Arab readers the latest international news, ‘telegraphic news from Reuters’ (al-khtāb al-sīn min taraż Ruyaḥ), or Reuters’ telegraphs (tīlağhār Ruyaḥ/Ruyaḥ), for example items on Lord Salisbury, Gladstone, news from Bombay, and of Turkish ministers (wusarā’ al-Rūm). One issue carried a valuable tabular list of experiments carried out in Pemba by Theodore Burt on clove

22 Scotton, Growth, 32–3. The German government had declared a protectorate over the area in 1885.
24 The Gazette, 281, June 16, 1897.
25 The Gazette, 297, October 6, 1897, 5 and 301, November 3, 1897, 6.
drying and the betterment of samples; experiments had brought the working of the Pemba shamba into line with European planters’ estates. 26

Lyne at the first meeting of its kind with Arabs (planters) at Mwera told them that any contribution to the paper would be gladly received; ‘at the close of the meeting copies of The Shamba were distributed to those present and the pages were eagerly scanned by the Arabs.’ 27 Lyne, in post for nine months, established government nurseries for tropical products, which he supplied to the Arabs, and introduced for the first time agricultural implements. He experimented with the drying of cloves, chillies and other staple products. He placed Zanzibar products side by side with those of their competitors in Singapore, Java, Sumatra and West Indies, so that the Arabs could have a complete object lesson of the quality of Zanzibar export. 28 An article on ‘The agricultural movement in Pemba’ detailed a meeting (shunji) of Arabs at Weti on 24 October, summoned by the Li Wali Hamis bin Salim to meet Lyne and Lister, the Government agent for Pemba. Lyne interested Arab plantation owners considerably in the present state and the future outlook of plantation culture there. The Arabs were encouraged to improve their neglected shambas; Mohammed bin Junah of Kish Kash responded positively: ‘The Arabs were too fond of sleeping and eating and never bestowed themselves to any work (tadhackar an ahl al-‘arab yuhhibbin al-istirah wa l-salat laqat wa-abudun la yawa’idin antusumun ilah shughb), but the time had now come to make an end of all this.’ Lister said ‘they should all buy a copy of The Shamba Gazette which was written especially for Arabs. They could buy it every month from the Hindi Hashim in Weti for one anna [4 bish]. The Arabs should write letters to the Shamba if they did not understand anything, and their letters would be printed and answered.’ 29 The Gazette remarked: ‘We are glad to hear that that enterprising little paper has already attracted considerable attention even amongst the Rip van Winkels of Pemba. To many it is a first revelation of Caxton’s boon to mankind.’ 30

The Shamba carried its first photographs of horse and cattle pulling ploughs in March 1898. There were ‘Notes on the Weather’ in the issue of November-December.

Regular ‘meteorological reports for East Africa’, statistics on mean temperatures and rainfall (tibyan fi akhbar al-muta’az ‘explanation of the news of rain’) with comments appeared. Some adverts were published, even one for G. Bercovich’s The Splendid Bar, opposite the German Consulate, also in Arabic. 31 Articles were carried, not in the English version, on ‘The Djinn in Dunga’ (al-Jun fi Dunga), on the indisputable rulers the Mwinyi Mkua (Munyi Makhi), on the sacred horn of the Swahili, the Siva; 32 even the odd line of Arabic poetry was printed. Occasional problems occurred in producing the Arabic version; the March 1898 issue no. 10 of the paper appeared in April: ‘It was found impossible to publish a March number owing principally to the Ramazan, during which the fasting operators and translators could only work half time. Every thing of course was put out of joint and thrown into arrears, so we judged it wise to let the month go and allow our straggling remnant to close up for a fresh start in April.’ 33 In May 1898 the Arabic section bore a new heading al-Jizzat al-mu’ta’az bi l-bashir wa sa’ir fi umur al-shawarib wa-ma ya’tarib a la’izra al-ma’tasib Zanzibar. al-Jarida al-natiqa bi l-izkana al-mu’iyya li l-uqala wa l-adkhar li l-zira’a wa ma ya’tiq bi-l-habda l-shin (The Gazette announcing good news and secrets concerning shambas and what happens to the protected island of Zanzibar. The newspaper speaking with wisdom enlightening minds and memories on agriculture and what is connected to this matter).

In January/February 1900 the paper announced: ‘In consequence of the absence of the Editor the Shamba will not again be issued till the latter end of the year.’ 34 After a gap of more than a year it re-emerged in no. 23, April 1901 completely in English; there was no longer any material in Arabic, only the Sultan’s seal at the top was in Arabic. After that three pages appeared in November 1901 and then there was another unexplained gap till the last issue no. 24 in June 1903, when it ended abruptly with no explanation.

Dr Spurrier announced in December 1898 His Highness the Sultan Sayyid Hamid’s gratification of the work done by the Arabic press, especially with the

26 The Gazette, 294, September 15, 1897, 4 and 6.
27 The Gazette, 303, November 17, 1897, 5.
29 The Shamba, 6, November 1897 quoted in The Gazette, November 17, 1897, 6.
30 The Gazette, 301, November 3, 1897, 6.

account of his son, Seyyid Ali’s tour to the Cape Colony, with which H.H. expressed himself much pleased, saying ‘it was some of the best Arabic work he had seen.’ H.H. hoped soon an account of his own tour to the East African coast in 1898 would be put in hand; this eyewitness account, the only work published at the government press by a contemporary Zanzibari, was written by the judge and outstanding poet, Abū Muslim, Nāṣir b. Sālim b. ‘Udāyyim al-Ruwhālī (1856/7–1920), al-Sira al-San‘ūya, al-Musannāt bi-l-Lawāni‘ al-Baqīyya fi Rīḥāt Mawālānā al-Sulṭān al-Mu‘āṣir al-Mamlūk bi-Muḥammad b. Su‘d b. Sulṭān fī-l-‘Aṣgār al-‘Irāqīyya al-Shaquṭīyya Sanat 1316 Hijrīyya, published in 1899.36

The thriving Indian commercial community established its own papers in Zanzibar. A Gujarati paper, the Zanzibar Vepar Samachar (‘Zanzibar Business News’), was published on 9 July 1899; Gujarati was the language of the majority of the Indians in East Africa, who came from the Kutch. It was to be published every Sunday; The Gazette commented: ‘judging from the first number, we think it is likely to be a success.’37 The weekly Zanzibar Akhbar (‘The Zanzibar News’) was established in 1900 in a house in Shangani by an employee of Smith Mackenzie & Co., later revealed to be Byramji Hormasji Mory. It later became a daily, and then a weekly again in Gujarati and English, published by the Mori Press. It was still appearing in 1917.38 A contemporary historian on Zanzibar the Syrian Hikmat Sharif in 1901 gives details of a paper he asserts was appearing: ‘There are in Zanzibar today about 100 merchants from the Ottomans of huge wealth, some of them have two commercial ships that traverse the sea between Zanzibar and Bombay India. They have set up a mosque, a school, a public library, as they have set up a newspaper, called ‘Irāqī, published once a month.’39

36 The Gazette, 361, December 28, 1898, 5. No copy has been found of the travel account of the visit to South Africa.
37 The Gazette, 389, Wednesday July 12, 1899, p. 7. The Vepar Samachar still existed in October 1899 (The Gazette, 404, October 25, 1899, 6).
38 The Gazette, 414, 3 January, 1900, 5. It had no connection with the Samachar. It is also referred to as the Zanzibar Akhbar or the Akhbar. Sources are all mistaken about this: Sturmer, 198 is incorrect, calling the paper Zanzibar Akhbar probably established in 1902, Mwoogezi (Anon, ‘Review of the History of Newspapers,’ Mwoogezi, Friday 20 February 1948, vol. 7, 2, 4) says it was founded in 1907; Scotton, Growth, 470 describes it as a Gujarati and Arabic newspaper existing between 1905 and 1910. Sturmer and Scotton believe it later became the Samachar. An Criminal Appeal 2 in 1914 in H.B.M. Court for Zanzibar (Zanzibar Archives (A) HC 6/95), it is described as ‘the Arab newspaper;’ it may have carried material in Arabic.
39 Hikmat Sharif, Ta‘līk al-Mamlaka al-Zanjahāliyya (Tripoli, 1318/1901), 15. This reference is mysterious. It seems likely that he is referring to Indian residents of Zanzibar, perhaps the Ismaili

Khoja community. The reference to ‘Ottomans’ makes no sense, there being no Ottomans on the island, 1902. No date is given for this publication.
40 The Gazette, 803, June 19, 1907, 4.
41 ‘The Chequered Career of the “Samachar” and a Short Account of the Equally Chequered Career of its Founder the late Mr. Fazl Jamniahmed Master’, The Samachar, Silver Jubilee Number (1929), 10.
42 ‘The Chequered’, 10. The Union Press working for the Indian community in 1914 was at no. 345 Sokolouw, a property owned by Mohsin b. Sefi Khanji. The Meher Printing Press in 1914 was at no. 821 Kiponda, a property owned by Usmanji Jivaji & Co.
43 Scotton, Growth, 65.
notice in English/Arabic announced the commencement of a steam launch service (Jīla Iṣṭiwā Lunsb) to the south of Zanzibar departing every Monday and Thursday. In January 1911 a two and half page list of the names of the shaykhs of Zanzibar (Qāʿīmat al-Mashāikh Zanjābūr) was published in Arabic.  

Many members of the cultured elite from Oman, the coast, the Comoros, and elsewhere emigrated to Zanzibar, looking for a better climate to express their aspirations at the reign of apathy and the precarious economic and political situation in their homelands. ‘The first Arabic newspaper to be published in Zanzibar’, al-Nājah (‘Success’) in September 1911 was not a paper of the diaspora (mahjar), but a nationalist paper; circumstances did not permit the appearance of a paper in Oman. The Gazette called it El-Hezzah al-Islah; it was the organ of the Arab Association/al-Janīya al-'Arabiyya or the Ḥiẓb al-Iṣlaḥ (The Party of Reform), its promoters; ‘we give a cordial welcome to the publication as a means of bringing the Arab more closely in touch with official matters and with events taking place in other parts of the world.’ The editor said ‘I have urged the Arab people to found an association to encourage agriculture, an independent agricultural bank, a trading association, and Arab religious schools.’ Sultan Sayyid ‘Ali stood behind the establishment of the first society to take care of the affairs of the Arab community. It was directed specifically to Arabs in Zanzibar, but was read widely on the coast. On page one after the title the following description of its contents was printed: Jātīda, waṭanīya, ilmīya, ikhābīrīya, ta'rīkhīya, and tijārīya (nationalist, scientific, news, historical and

45 Ponwev, Hertz, 206–7 from Faruy, Banda, 7–8 and interview with Faruy in 1975. The barua is the stone bench outside Zanzibari houses, where people meet to relax and chat.

46 The Gazette, 803, June 19, 1907, 4.

47 The Gazette, 778, December 26, 1906, 2.

48 The Gazette, 785, February 13, 1907, 2.

49 The Gazette, 885 [sic], Wednesday February 3, 1909, 3.

50 The Gazette, 999, Tuesday January 10, 1911.

51 The Gazette, 999, Tuesday January 17, 1911.


53 The Gazette for Zanzibar, vol. xx, 1030, Monday October 23, 1911, 9, Mwongozi, 4 and R. Axsell, ‘Geistige Kämpfe in der Eingeborenenbevölkerung an der Küste Ostafrikas’, Koloniale Rundschau, 11 (1913), 654. The title of the Arab community society seems to be here confused with the title of the journal. Sturman, Sprachpolitik, 195 says it appeared as a weekly from 1912–14. There are references to issues of al-Nājah appearing on 3 April 1912, October 1912, 2 January 1913, no. 56, 20.2.1913, no. 64, 17.4.1913, and no. 67, 8.5.1913.

54 John Biffie, Tanganyika under German Rule 1905–1912 (Cambridge 1969), 208 from al-Nājah, December 1912 quoted in Axsell, 659–60. August H. Nimtz, Jr., 'Islam in Tanzania: an annotated bibliography', Tanzania Notes and Records, 72 (1973), 57 commented at that time that it was not known where there might be old copies. Quotations from it may be found in the German file G048.
commercial newspaper). Its slogan came partly from the Quranic verse Hûd, 88 and partly from a proverb: 'in urâd iltâ' al-iṣâbah mã īsâtâ't -kull man thâbîr 'alâ l-āmal adrâka al-nâjâbih' ('I only desire [your] betterment to the best of my power—everyone who persists in a task, attains success'). It appeared thrice monthly at three annas per copy. In the first number an article by Shaykh Naser, in which he endeavoured to rouse the Arabs to a sense of their responsibilities, impressed upon them that indifference and lack of initiative were responsible for the decline in their prosperity. It became a voice urging that effective improvement was impossible under European control and to break European control required unity. Shaykh Naser called for a united Islamic nation (umma islâmîyya muwâhhîidy): 'What is important for the East? People tell us: knowledge and work. But more important is effective unity.' The same writer contributed an article on Zanzibar and Pemba, dealing chiefly with the role of labour to the success of the clove crop. The Moroccan question was dealt with at some length and much general information about the country was included in a discussion of the political situation. The Gazette remarked: 'We hope the management will see their way to extend the circulation of the paper by the publication of articles in simpler Arabic than that of the first number. In its present form the circle of its readers must be very limited,' adding a call for the paper to extend its readership. 'At the same time we feel confident that its usefulness would be increased and its circulation further extended if the more numerous section of the subjects of the H.H. the Sultan were catered for and one page printed in Swahili.'

The editor was Abû Muslim, Nâşir al-Ruwâhi ('Sheikh Naser') and the manager Jabir bin Saleh; some of Abû Muslim's poetry was published in it.76 Sheikh Nâşir b. Sulaymân al-Lamkî became the editor in October 1912; Naser was the son of an old loyalist, Sulaiman bin Naser, the Governor (Liwaḥ) of Dar es Salam, who had risen to prestige and power serving the Germans.77 Nâşir al-Lamkî edited a volume of poetry in praise of the Imam of Oman, Abû Muslim Salîm b. Rashid b. Sulaymân al-

56 The Gazette for Zanzibar, vol. xx, no. 1036a, Saturday December 9, 1911, published a proclamation from His Majesty's Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General that His Highness Seyyid Ali bin Hamed, the Sultan of Zanzibar, had informed His Majesty the King 'that the state of his health is unhappily such as to prevent him any longer fulfilling the duties incumbent on him as ruler of the Sultanate.' The Sultan asked to be relieved of the burden. The British Monarch offered Seyyid Khaled bin Mahomed bin Said, His Majesty's uncle the high position, but he asked to be excused on grounds of ill-health. His Majesty then offered Seyyid Khalifa bin Harub bin Thweini bin Said the throne. The Gazette continued to publish a few items in Arabic. An Arabic report [not available in English] contained a note (badkhir) read by the Wâki al-Malik and the Consul-General at an assembly of the Arabs (Majnûn al-'Arab), held by Sultan al-Sayyid Khalîfa b. Harîb on 10 October 1912 to discuss mosques in Zanzibar. There
were forty mosques: twenty-six under religious endowment (awqāf), fourteen (B) under the Government, which paid the salaries of the Imams and 16 private; the mosques in group B were funded from the private pocket of the sultan (s‘aladāniāh). An Arabic description of the Sultan’s visit (rizāh) to Pemba (al-Jazīra al-Khaḍam) in 1912, covered nearly two full pages; His Highness visited a branch of al-Jami‘ya al-‘Arabīyya in Weti. A full page announcement was printed in Arabic in 1914 on the admission of students to al-Azhar in Cairo (nashiyākhat al-‘āmī‘ al-Azhār al-sharī‘ī i‘lān ‘an shurṭī gubl iniṣāb tālābat al-‘īlān al-ghuṣrā‘a bi‘l-‘āmī‘ al-Azhār (the Professoriate of al-Azhar mosque on the conditions for foreign students to be accepted al-Azhar mosque), intended to encourage Zanzibaris to study there. The paper divided into two with a separate parallel edition to The Official Gazette of the Zanzibar Government with local non-official news called Supplement to the Official Gazette appearing in 1914.

In the First World War in 1914 Master ‘started publishing a daily Gujarati translation of Reuter’s cables’ in Mombasa, perhaps a small afternoon mimeographed newsletter called Raat (‘Information’) that appeared for the duration of the war. It attracted Indian readers eager to know of the developments in the war. It cost ten cents a copy. Then when Martial Law was introduced, Master saw that the wisest thing was to stop the paper altogether ‘as the whole atmosphere was too risky for a paper being kept going’. He survived earning a living as a tailor.

Another self-interest group, the Indian National Association was founded in 1914, representing all sections of the Indian community, except the Parsees; there was a considerable amount of internal dissension in the body. A small monthly magazine, The Journal of the Indian National Association lasted between January 1916 and 1922, circulating in 325 copies. It had four pages in English and seventeen pages in Gujarati. The Gujarati part included sections on the activities of the Association, commercial subjects, market rates, commercial intelligence, and an enquiry column. It also carried important Government notifications. The Journal declared: ‘The publication of the monthly journal of the Indian National Association Zanzibar is the new enterprise undertaken by the Association and the publishers crave for the indulgence of the generous readers for any imperfections that may have crept into it. The outgrowing demand from the members of the Association and the Indians here to remain in close touch with the activity of the Association was deemed to be quite just and fair as well as beneficial to all concerned. Unfortunately there is no regular paper in Zanzibar clearly representing the Indian Voice and treating so important subjects of Education, Trade, Commerce, Literature, Agriculture, etc; and it is to meet this long felt necessity to a certain extent that this publication is undertaken.’

Various efforts were made by the British authorities to keep the Arab and Swahili speaking population informed of the progress of the war and to keep them on the British side. A three-page government leaflet in Arabic on the war, Bi-Antu al-Hukūma (On Government Order), entitled Nūbedhat al-Natā‘i‘īj al-‘Arabiyya ba‘d Hārīb Ithnā‘ Ashar Shahrīn, tubā‘a wa Nushira min Ma‘ba‘a al-Ithā‘īma, Zanjābār, B athnā Shahr August 1915 (Fragment on the Military Consequences after 12 Months of War, Printed and Published from the Government Press, during August 1915) trumpeted ‘1. England is still the Queen of the Seas’ and has no rival; all enemy ships have been sunk that we have come across. Germany and Austria are besieged; most German people eat ‘potato bread.’ German trade from all parts of the world has been destroyed; British trade has not been affected. English notes and financial notes (awqāf) are negotiable anywhere; German notes and silver have less than half the value. The English Government has captured all the German colonies, except that in East Africa (al-Isfāqiyya al-Sharī‘a). It has the German colony in South West Africa, which now flies the British flag. It has conquered ‘Kiya Gaw’ (Kiautschou in China?), New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, the Bismarck Islands, Samoa, Cameroon, Toboland, Maffa Island (Gawlah), it rules over Egypt, Iraq and the Euphrates Delta, Cyprus, and Samoa. German submarines have sunk a large number of ships, but up to 2,000 ships leave and enter English ports every week. Though some old warships (bawārīj) have been sunk by submarines, the English fleet is still the greatest power. The German fleet has taken refuge in the German ports, since the beginning of the

60 The Gazette, 1082, Monday October 21, 1912.
62 A daily Commercial Report appeared during the war in Gujarati and English. The editor was J.P. Patel. It circulated amongst the Indian community; 100 copies were sold daily at ten cents each. It ceased in the late 1960s. See Hamdani, Zanzibar, 11. There is no other evidence for its appearance.
63 'Chequered ...', 10 and Shrumor, 198. Hamdani, Zanzibar, 11 believes it appeared in Zanzibar and that it also was in English.
64 Zanzibar Protectorate, Blue Book for the Year 1916 (Zanzibar 1917), Q5.
Printing and Publishing in the Middle East

war it is afraid to confront the English fleets. It continued: one must not consider the temporary withdrawal of the Russians as an indication of their defeat, as Russia has a vast and large population. The Germans for a year have been unable to pierce the English and French lines; they have suffered great losses up to four million (i.e. 40 lac). The Italian army has entered Austria. Turkish attacks on Egypt and Aden have been dispersed.

Major Pearce informed those present at the British Resident’s monthly baraza held at the Residency on Wednesday [1915], including all leading Arabs, of his intention to have a newspaper in Arabic and Swahili published weekly, ‘so that the subjects of His Highness the Sultan may be given greater facilities to learn the trend of the more important events of the war.’

The need for a more satisfactory channel of communication with the Arabs and natives of Zanzibar than is provided by the Official Gazette has long been felt, for since the publication of Ngar (sic) was discontinued there has been no Arabic newspaper of any description published in the Protectorate.

From time to time pamphlets in Arabic and Swahili in Arabic characters have been published by the Government Press, giving the outline of the more important events which have happened during the war. The eagerness with which these publications have been received by the Arabs and Swahilis and the frequent enquiries for further, more frequent and more detailed information, have led the Government to consider the possibility of publishing a weekly Arabic-Swahili newspaper.

The first number of Min Usboll ila Usbou [From Week to Week] will be published on Wednesday next and while its immediate raison d’être is to meet an ever increasing demand for news of the war, there is every reason to hope that the new journal will prove of great value in furnishing information on all subjects of economic importance. It will also provide a medium for the conveyance of all official information to the farthest village of the Protectorate.

It is hoped that Europeans by becoming subscribers, will contribute to the increase of the circulation of the paper amongst their native employees.

At the same time Pearce expressed the hope that the support given to the paper would be such to encourage the Government to increase the size of the paper and extend the sphere of its influence. ‘The Arabs in expressing their pleasure at the

fulfilment of a long felt want’ assured the Resident that they would do all in their power to increase the circulation of the paper. After refreshments had been served a copy of the first issue was presented to everyone present. The paper, called El-Ushubayah/al-Ushb’iya (The Weekly), appeared on 27 Dhii’-Qa’dah, 1333/1915 October, every Thursday at 3 cents/two pice per copy;* Printed at the Government Press (Matbaa at-‘Iltiimā) in two columns, one in Arabic and one in Swahili in vellum Arabic script, it had an edition of 600 copies. Subscribers were told to contact the administration of The Gazette or Shaykh Sulih b ’Ali, the latter may well have been the editor of the paper. The first editorial (al-dībāj) commented:

We have found that the opportunities for the subjects of H.H. the Sultan of Arabs and Swahili from the inhabitants of Zanzibar and Pemba to get to know the passage of important events, especially since the events of the present European war are confined to a limited circle. We thought to help them find a means to quench the severe thirst that befalls them, by which we mean the thirst of coming upon the spring of the correct news, which is clear and plain between the Arabs and Swahili.

As for the Indian communities, their Indian papers published for them are sufficient for their needs.

Many Arabs and all those speaking Swahili depend upon getting the news on what friends are so kind to translate a small amount from some of the European and Indian papers.

To block this deficiency that has happened, we have taken the initiative to offer the first number of al-Ushb’iya. We are confident that most Arab and Swahili readers will welcome it and turn to it with approval and support, back and help it, encouraging the government to continue to publish this fixed weekly. The purpose which led to issuing this weekly is to find a means to bring news of the Great War to all readers.

We hope if we find acceptance from the readers by guaranteeing to issue it weekly, they will find it a means to bring useful information on health and agriculture, etc. and material containing benefit.

The first issue in five pages carried news of a great French and English victory in Flanders, news from the Russian front, news from the African mainland (al-barr),


* 69 Zanzibar Protectorate, Blue Book for the Year 1915 (Zanzibar 1916), Q5, Blue Book, 1916, Q5; Blue Book for the Year 1917 (Zanzibar 1918), Q5 and Blue Book ... 1918 (Zanzibar 1919), A15.
describing German cruelty, harshness (fa‘aksa‘), and looting. By 1918 the circulation had fallen to 200 copies. In December 1919 it was announced that ‘owing to the apparent lack of demand for the Arabic weekly newspaper El Usbocych, issued by the Government Press, its publication will be discontinued.’

Master returned to Zanzibar in 1916 and restarted the newspaper, The Samachar; as a Gujarati weekly on Sunday 1 May 1917, costing Rs. 10 a year and sold about 300 copies. It gave special attention to Islamic matters and the affairs of his community, the Iranshahri. In July 1920 he left first for his native place of Cutch, intending then to go on pilgrimage to Karbala. He died on route to Cutch of a heart attack on 28 August 1920. He left the paper in charge of his son Hasanali F.J. Master (1920–38), under whom it became second to none amongst all newspapers in East Africa barring East African Standard and Tanganikya Standard.

Opportunities for publishing works in Arabic in Zanzibar remained limited, so that a number of Zanzibaris arranged to have their works published in Cairo. The chief Ibadi judge of Zanzibar, Shaykh ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. ‘Ali al-Mundhirî (–1925) published Nūr al-Tawḥîd, a short text on the articles of faith (‘aqâ’îd), in Cairo in 1901–2 and a work on jurisprudence (fiqh) for the young, Kitiḥ Ib̲k̲h̲ṣ̲i̲rj̲ al-Ad̲y̲ān̲ li Tā’îlim al-S̲i̲b̲y̲ān̲, in Cairo in 1913–14. The leading Zanzibari Ibâdi scholar of his time, Sayy f. Nāṣir b. Sulaymān al-Khārizī (fl. late nineteenth century) published his Jāmî’ Arākîn al-‘Ilmî fi Mādhhab al-Ibāḍîyya, on the pillars of Islam according to the sect in Cairo in 1912–13.


70 al-Usbocych, vol. 1, 1, 2–3 in the Public Records Office, CO 618/12.
71 Blue Book, 1918, Q4 and Supplement to the Official Gazette, 1455, December 15, 1919, 396.
72 ‘Cheekered …’, 12 and Blue Book … 1918, Q4. Scotton, Growth, 36 says the Samachar first appeared in 1901; Hamdani, Zanzibar, 8 and Stanner, 183 give 1902, confusing it with the Islam Samachar. The Zanzibar Archives have a copy of the issue vol. 15, no. 260, Saturday 30 March 1918 of El Usbocych. It ceased to appear in 1968. Few copies are available from these early years.

73 Supplement to the Official Gazette, 1467, March 8, 1920. Mtawongoli, 4 states incorrectly that al-Qism al-‘Arabiyya appeared during the Great War, mistakenly perceiving it as a separate publication, rather than part of The Official Gazette.
everyone, who wants to pursue the past history of Zanzibar and what events pervade it, not to miss the opportunity of the existence of this book and rush to obtain a copy of it. Because it is one of the books, which each family of Arab origin should get a copy of.' At the end of the month of fasting the translation would begin; 'thus all our readers can study this valuable book.' The translation began of a selection each week from the first chapter, filling regularly from one column to two full pages. In it could be found details of the official visit of al-Sayyid Mājid b. Sa‘īd to Bombay in 1863, of the Arabs uniting in Islam, their invasion of Africa, and the conquest of Syria, Persia, Iraq and Europe. At the end His Excellency thanks all those, who gave him information: al-Sayyid [the Sultan], Dr. Aydarus, Sulīḥ b. ‘Ali Sulīḥ, and the photographer Gomes.

By 1920 the printing press and newspapers had become an established part of the cultural and religious life of Zanzibar. The Arab, Swahili, British, and Indian communities had grown accustomed to books and newspapers in their languages, and in 1929 with al-Falaj/The Dawn, 'a literary, political, moral and agricultural newspaper', established by the Arab Association an Arabic newspaper was to become a permanent feature of the media. The government press had played a major role in encouraging religious scholarship amongst Zanzibaris/Omanis and making Ibadi religious texts available to a wider audience in Zanzibar and Oman and other centres where the Ibadi community lived. Arabic printing presses in Zanzibar and Cairo had allowed Zanzibari writers from the Ibāḍī community and the islands' larger Shāfi'ī community to publish Islamic and other textbooks for their young and to make a contribution to the island's literary renaissance with works in Arabic of poetry and travel description.

75 Supplement to the Official Gazette, 1472, April 12, 1920, 129 and 1479, May 31, 1920, 114.
76 Supplement to the Official Gazette, 1485, July 12, 1920.
From Journalism to Promotion of Goods: Why and How Did Press Publishers Establish Advertising Agencies in Egypt, 1890–1939?

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Introduction

Although there has been growing interest in the history of the press in recent years, most such research falls short of bringing together the content of newspapers and magazines and the operations of the publishing business.1 Historiography, so far, has generally focussed on the press as a cultural institution or as a source for political, social, and cultural commentary on contemporary transitions.2 The business history of the press has not been entirely ignored, but it is only secondary to the main topic. In other words, we still lack research discussing the influence of organisation and finance on the substance of the press. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the study of the development of the popular press, especially illustrated magazines, whose rise epitomised the entry of publishers into advertising and the search for new venues to carry advertisements successfully.

This article aims at closing this gap by bringing content (of advertisements) and context (the economics of publishing) together and discussing the interplay between the two. The article studies two periods in which press advertising developed significantly. The first, during the 1890s, a period characterised by a surge in Egyptian journalism, which coincided with an impressive local economic boom at the peak of Egyptian integration into the world economy. The second and more

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2 For a cultural institution approach, see Ami Ayalon, The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History (Oxford 1995); Beth Baron, The Women’s Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press (New Haven 1994). The literature that uses the press as a source of commentary on contemporary life is by nature more eclectic. For journalism as an interface between politics and culture see James Jankowski and Israel Gershauni, Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East (New York 1997). The press (especially popular magazines) has recently become a growing source of interest in studies on mass culture; see Walter Arndt, Mass Culture and Modernity in Egypt (Cambridge 1996).