

**The Executions at Denshwai on 28 July 1906 in the sight of the British Authorities**

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**Abstract:**

The day of 13 June 1906 was an extraordinary day in the history of the British occupation of Egypt; it was a turning point, at which the British authorities had either the choice to achieve justice or to impose order, but they chose the order. This research looks at the British view and handling of the executions at Denshwai on 28 June 1906. The research draws upon mostly primary sources including British letters, telegraphs, notes, certificates and other relevant sources to get close to the British interpretation and understanding of such brutal executions using the historical and analytical research methods. Most prior research on Denshwai focuses on the whole account of the incident, the Egyptian view and the incident relation with the British imperialism. This research involves discovering how the executions were handled by the British, how the harshness of the punishments brought British policy in Egypt to the attention of British public opinion.

**Keywords:** Denshwai Incident, Executions at Denshwai, British Justification .

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**Introduction**

The day of 13 June 1906 was an extraordinary day in the history of the British occupation of Egypt; it was a turning point, in which the British authorities had either the choice to achieve justice or to impose order, and they chose the order. The study chronicles the British view and handling of the executions at Denshwai, it presents protests and statements of approval of the handling of the executions from the British sources. The research draws upon mostly primary sources including British letters, telegraphs, notes, certificates and other relevant sources to get close to the British interpretation and understanding of such brutal executions using the historical and analytical research methods through interpreting and criticising the relevant sources and presumption of a particular event.

When a detachment of mounted infantry was marching through the Delta from Cairo to Alexandria, five British officers decided to exercise pigeon-shooting sport in the village of Denshwai in the afternoon of 13 June 1906, noting that the villagers regarded their pigeons as their valuable property.<sup>1</sup> The five officers began to shoot, and a fire happened to break out in a threshing yard in the village which added to the excitement of the natives who assumed that the blaze was caused by the shooting. There was a quarrel between the officers and the villagers which resulted in the injury of some villagers and killing of a Egyptian woman. Major Pine-Coffin sent two officers to call for help. One of them was Captain Seymour Bull who died by sunstroke while trying to hurry to the British camp. Major Pine-Coffin had a broken arm and another British officer, Lieutenant S. J. Smith-wick was severely damaged.<sup>2</sup>

**The Special Tribunal Constitution**

The next day, on 14 June 1906, G. M. Bullock, Major-General commanding in Egypt, suggested that the case may be referred to a special tribunal.<sup>3</sup> Cromer, the British Agent asked the Special Court to be convoked; it was specially instituted under a Khedivial Decree of the 25<sup>th</sup> February 1895 to try violations against the Army of Occupation which would have been dealt by court-martial. The British authorities considered that all cases of attack against members of the Army of Occupation "must necessarily have a political effect", even if they had not a political purpose. So, it was necessary from the British view in 1895 to issue a decree stating the institution of the Special Court. The British authorities in Egypt tried to justify the institution of the Special Tribunal; Charles de Mansfeld Findlay, who was acting for Lord Cromer during Cromer's leave, indicated that this court was instituted to ensure that such cases should be tried by "competent Judges" aware of the Egyptian language and customs, and to give adequate protection to the personnel of the Army of Occupation, and to prevent the dangerous excitement and agitation which could result from any delay of executing the sentence of the court ; besides its sentence should be without appeal and should be carried out at once. He presumed that this court was also instituted to prevent any possible miscarriage of justice, by giving greater security to the accused than they would have had if tried by court-martial. According to the decree of the court institution, the accused persons should be defended by a counsel.<sup>4</sup>

The Manchester Guardian reported that the case was taken out from the jurisdiction of the ordinary criminal courts in order to have the matter tried at once; if the case was tried through the ordinary courts, the accused persons have the right to appeal in front of the native appeal court according to the regular forms of law.<sup>5</sup>

The Special Tribunal was held at Shubin El-Kom on 24 June 1906 and presided by Boutros Pasha Ghali, acting Minister of Justice, and the membership of William Goodenough Hayter, acting Judicial Adviser and formerly Judge in the Sudan; Walter Bond, Vice-President of the Native Court of Appeal; Lieutenant-Colonel E. R. Ludlow, Judge-Advocate of the Army of Occupation; and Ahmed Fathy Bey Zaghloul, President of the Cairo Native Tribunal of First Instance; and in the presence of Osman Bey Mortada as a Secretary.<sup>6</sup> The Counsel for the prosecution was Ibrahim Hilbawi; the British claimed that he was not regarded as an Anglophile. Findlay justified the court formation claiming that all its members were acquainted with Arabic, and except the Acting Minister of Justice, all had had judicial experience.<sup>7</sup>

**The Judgement of the Court and the British Reaction**

The Special Tribunal was engaged for three days in trying the case of Denshwai starting on 24 June 1906; the judgement was given on 27 June and the sentences were as follows: four villagers were condemned to death, two were condemned to penal servitude for life, one to fifteen year, six to seven year, three to one year and fifty lashes, and five to fifty lashes. The court decision was unanimous.<sup>8</sup>

- Hassan Ali Mahfouz, Youssef Hussein Selim, Said Issa Salem, and Mohammed Darweesh Zahran were sentenced to death by hanging at Denshwai village.
- Mohammed Abdel Nabi El Moazzin and Ahmed Abdel Aal Mahfouz to penal servitude for life.
- Ahmed Mohammed Assisi to fifteen year penal servitude.

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- Mohammed Ali Abu Samak, Abdou el Bakli, Ali Ali Shaalan, Mohammed Moustafa Mahfouz, Raslan El Said Ali, and El Issawy Mohammed Mahfouz, to seven year penal servitude.
- Hassan Ismail Assisi, Ibrahim Hassanein Assisi, and Mohammed El Ghubashi El Said Ali to one year's imprisonment with hard labour and to receive fifty lashes, the execution of flogging to take place first at Denshwai.
- El Said EL Cufi, Azab Omar Mahfouz, Said Suleiman Kherulla, Abd el Hadi Hassan Shaheen, and Mohammed Ahmed Assisi to receive fifty lashes at Denshwai.
- The rest of the accused persons were to be acquitted and discharged immediately, if not detained for any other reason.

Although the public executions had been stopped two years before the Denshwai incident, the Special Tribunal called for a public execution; the 1895 Decree allowed the special court to deliver any punishments it felt necessary "without being bound by the provisions of the Penal Code."<sup>9</sup>

The sentence of the court stated that the Mudir of Menoufia was charged to execute sentences.<sup>10</sup> The execution and floggings would take place on the following day 28 June 1906 about two o'clock at the same time and the same place where the assaults were committed. The prisoners sentenced to death would be hanged in turn at one gallows in front of officials, a detachment of British soldiers, the press, and the villagers.<sup>11</sup>

The British authorities in Egypt claimed that the sentences were not submitted to them for approval.<sup>12</sup> The British officials in Egypt viewed these sentences as just judgement; Hayter, Acting Judicial Adviser and a member of the Court, informed Findlay that in his opinion and that of Judge Bond, the first six prisoners would have been found guilty of murder by any British jury and "there are no extenuating circumstances". Findlay had not the slightest doubt that the sentences were fully justified by the evidence, "and they have been given purely on the merits of the case, and not for political or other reasons".<sup>13</sup> The British authorities in London represented in Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, advised their Agent in Egypt on the judgement day 27 June 1906 at 11.30 P.M. that in the case of death sentences, an opportunity of considering them before they are executed should be provided, and asked "Is there any means by which this can be secured?", they pointed out that they should have an interval before execution as was always done in Britain, "to give time for full consideration."<sup>14</sup>

The British press reported that sentence of death had been passed on some assailants; Grey asked Findlay to report him with all the material facts before the sentence execution.<sup>15</sup> Findlay depended on the Decree of 1895 which stated the immediate execution of the sentences passed by the Special Tribunal, and presumed that delay in such case would be entailed by dangerous excitement and there is no parallel between the case of Denshwai and death sentences in Britain. Findlay claimed that it was impossible to interfere with the decision of the Special Tribunal, it would moreover be impolitic; "the matter passed out of our hands." The executions should be carried out on 28 June 1906 on the scene of the outrage at Denshwai.<sup>16</sup> The British Foreign Secretary agreed with Findlay's opinion and pointed out that he was quite correct in his action in the matter in not interfering in the case after the judgement. Grey prepared a statement for Parliament giving the substance of Findlay's statement that any intervention on their part might have had dangerous consequences.<sup>17</sup>

The harshness of the punishments, which included executions, imprisonment, and flogging, brought British policy in Egypt to the attention of British public opinion; There were deep discussions in the British House of Commons on the days following the sentences executions; John Dillon, the Member of Parliament, expressed his dismay at the brutality of the executions and not providing the House with the papers of the Denshwai case and said "it is dangerous for the House of Commons to discuss a matter of this kind and shows that we have made little progress. A more brutal and barbarous exhibition I have never heard of."<sup>18</sup> Grey tried to defend, in front of the British House of Commons, the way in which the sentences had been carried out; he talked about the painful impressions produced by an account of the press regarding the execution and the floggings at Denshwai. He denied that in executing the sentences, the men who were going to be hanged were compelled to look on while others were being flogged, they were in separate tents. He also denied that the villagers were compelled to attend and witness the executions; a cordon of police was formed to keep the population at a considerable distance.<sup>19</sup>

### The Accused en route to the Gallows and Triangles.

The British Agent in Egypt informed the British Foreign Minister on 28 June 1906 that the executions should be carried out that afternoon at two o'clock on the scene of the outrage.<sup>20</sup> The British authorities in Britain were keen to have the details of the executions; who was responsible for executing the sentences of the special tribunal? How the sentences were carried out? And who made the necessary arrangements?<sup>21</sup> As the Special Tribunal was convoked by a Khedivial Decree, the Egyptian authorities represented by the Ministry of Interior were responsible for carrying out the sentences. The sentences of the court on the prisoners condemned to be hanged or flogged were carried out at Denshwai on 28 June 1906. The arrangements were made by the Mudir of the Province (Monofiya) with the assistance of the British Inspector of the district. The public hangman performed the executions, the floggings were administered by Egyptian officials. The Egyptian Police with the assistance of a detachment of British troops maintained order in the scene of executions. Lieutenant Colonel Percy Wilfrid Machell, Adviser to the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, was present at the executions to supervise the all arrangements.<sup>22</sup>

On the execution day 28 June 1906, the inmates left Shebin Elkom at 4.45 A.M., escorted by foot and mounted police commanded by the Kaimmakam Mohammed Bey Wahby, Commandant of Menoufieh Police, and accompanied by A. Loyd, Sub-Inspector of the Ministry of the Interior; twenty non-commissioned officers and men of the British Military Mounted Police brought up the rear of the convoy. The party was followed by another column consisting of the carriages conveying the gallows and triangles required for the executions at Denshwai, accompanied by the Government executioner, his assistant, and a party of non-commissioned officers who had arrived from Cairo the previous evening. This column was escorted by more mounted and dismounted Egyptian police, and a detachment of twenty non-commissioned officers and men of the British Mounted Infantry acting as a rear guard to the whole column. The prisoners were put in carts with light chain in their handcuffs "to prevent the possibility of escape *en route*". The convoy reached Shohada Police Post at about 7 A.M. where the prisoners were imprisoned until 12.30 P.M., while the gallows party continued on its way and reached Denshwai at about 8 A.M. The site of the execution and floggings was selected on open piece of ground northwest of, and facing the village, on the spot where the affray had been occurred. Foot and mounted Egyptian police established a cordon with a radius of

about 300 yards, while the detachment of dragoons dismounted and took up a position under some trees. The gallows and triangles were erected 20 yards apart in the centre of a rectangle 50 yards by 30 yards which was robed out. Two tents were pitched out for the prisoners who were awaiting sentence and for those who had received their lashes, a third tent was prepared for *Hanutis* (morticians) with their tables, water, and shrouds to receive the bodies of those who were sentenced to death. The prisoners condemned to be hanged or flogged were waiting in separate closed tents where they were kept pending their turn for punishment, the British authorities in Egypt claimed that the prisoners were accommodated in such tents in order that "they might not be witnesses of the fate of their companions."<sup>23</sup> By about 1.10 P.M., the prisoners entered their tent and the whole of the British troops had taken up their position round the enclosure; the total strength of the British troops was 7 officers and 130 soldiers as the following: 3 officers and 71 men from Inniskilling Dragoons, 1 officer and 24 men from Military Mounted Police, and 3 officers and 35 men from Mounted Infantry. No one was allowed within the enclosure; the representatives of the press were located on the main road.

### **The Executions in British Eyes**

The executions started at 1.30 P.M. when the Commander of the British troops was requested to sound "attention", and the Mudir of Menoufieh Mohammed Shokry Pasha summoned Hassan Ali Mahfouz who was unfettered and brought in front of the Mudir between two Egyptian policemen, the Mudir read the sentence of the Court while the accused was praying loudly, the executioner and his assistant hold him leading to the scaffold. When the prisoner stood on the trap-door, before the cap was drawn over his head, he paused in his prayers and in a loud voice invoked ruin upon the houses of those who had given evidence against him. The Mudir gave the signal, the bolt was drawn, and death was instantaneous. Two prisoners who were sentenced with fifty lashes were successively called up and flogged by non-commissioned officers of the Cairo Police. In the meantime, the body of Hasan Ali Mahfouz was taken down and removed on stretcher to the *Hanutis* tent to be prepared for burial according to the Muslims' tradition. Youssef Hussein Salem was next brought forward, and was similarly executed, two more prisoners were flogged. Said Issa Salim was then hung, and two other prisoners were flogged. The last one to undergo the death penalty was Mohammed Darweesh Zahran, and then one prisoner was lashed while the other prisoner, Said Suleiman Khairallah was excluded because he was unable to undergo the punishment of fifty lashes according to the examination of Harold Nolan, the Medico-Legal Expert to the Native Courts.<sup>24</sup> All the accused prisoners were examined by Nolan, assisted by Dr. Hamilton and the Egyptian District Inspector of Public Health, they also supervised the flogging of the prisoners<sup>25</sup>, and in case of those sentenced to death, they certified life to be extinct.<sup>26</sup>

Some five hundred natives witnessed the executions, they were not only from Denshwai, but also from various parts of the province. Findaly sent a telegraph to the British Foreign Minister at 4:15 pm informing him that no disturbance occurred during the executions and "All passed off quietly."<sup>27</sup> "there was not the slightest disturbance", and everything was done properly and in order.<sup>28</sup> The British first secretary in the diplomatic service denied that the arrangements of the executions were submitted to him to be approved because "it would have been both unusual and unnecessary", these arrangements were under the personal supervision of the Adviser to the Interior. He also confirmed that the executions took place in an enclosure, this place was permitted only to persons on duty. A cordon of police kept spectators at a considerable distance, the press only was allowed on the public road.<sup>29</sup> The British documents and reports of the newspapers described the suffering of the Egyptian convicted; the prisoners who were flogged cried out and groaned especially at the first, Ibrahim Hassanein Assisi, after receiving three or four lashes, cries that he would rather be hung than flogged.<sup>30</sup> The natives who crowded outside the outer cordon and who climbed on the housetops "wailed bitterly while witnessing the punishment." The British authorities tried to mitigate the horrible attitude by saying that the flogged cried out "as an Egyptian always does under the influence of physical pain", and the flogging was carried out without "undue severity". They attempted to emphasize their mercy in the executions; they said that all possible humanity was shown in carrying the executions out, they tried to demonstrate that by doctor's certificate showing that death was instantaneous, and that the flogging was properly carried out<sup>31</sup>; Findlay pointed out that the seven men who were flogged were in good health after five days of the flogging according to the statement of the Governor of Menoufiya Province.<sup>32</sup> The executions were over by 2.30 P.M., the bodies were prepared for burial and escorted under police guard to the cemetery where tombs had previously been prepared by their families. The British reported that there was no excitement during the burial, of course due to the high security preparations in such small village. As soon as the burial was finished, the escort returned, the gallows and the triangles were packed, the tents struck, and the column marched off. The Mudir with a small escort of Egyptian police mounted infantry remained to address the Omdas and Sheikhs of Denshwai and neighbouring villages.<sup>33</sup> Harold Nolan, the Medico-Legal Expert to the Native Courts, attended the execution of the sentence of the Special Court. He certified that Hassan Ali Mahfouz, Youssif Hussein Selim, Said Issa Salim, and Mohammed Darweesh Zahran were hanged, the hanging was properly performed, and death was instantaneous in each case. Nolan certified also that seven prisoners out of eight were flogged and received fifty lashes; they were Hassan Ismail Assisi, Ibrahim Hassanein Assisi, Mohammed Elsaid Ali El Ghubashi, Said Elaofy, Azab Omar Mahfouz, Abdel Hady Hassan Shahin, and Mohammed Ahmed Assisi, while the eighth prisoner, who should be flogged according to the court sentence, was Said Suliman Khairallah, he was epileptic according to Nolan examination and unfit for flogging.<sup>34</sup>

### **The Reaction of the British House of Commons to the Executions**

Some members of the British Parliament and press exerted pressure on the British Government because of the brutality of the executions at Denshwai; the press stated that the floggings were carried out under the eyes of men who were waiting to be hung which means that the execution of sentences was deliberately protracted. It was alleged by many British Members of Parliament that sentences were carried out "in a needlessly brutal manner"<sup>35</sup>; Michael Reddy, the Member of Parliament, asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs about the executions because he knew that whilst one of the Egyptian natives was being hanged, two others were flogged within view of the gallows, a large multitude including women were looking on and that the flogging caused horrible cries.<sup>36</sup> The

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British Foreign Minister asked Findlay to tell him the time actually occupied and to report him a full account of trial and procedures from beginning to end; "this will be the most effective way of removing all misapprehension.", said Grey.<sup>37</sup> Clarence Henry Norman, the British Writer, criticized Grey's attempts to stifle the parliamentary discussion of the Denshwai incident by claiming that the case should not be discussed without the official papers which he had not received yet, although Norman himself had a copy of these papers next morning "because it was delayed a little in transit." Grey did not circulate a copy of the judgement for over three weeks, "when all the time for debate would be occupied by other business."<sup>38</sup>

The British authorities in Egypt argued that two men were flogged between each hanging owing to the necessity of allowing the body of a man hanged suspended for some time in order to accelerate the carrying out of the punishments so that the prisoners awaiting their turn might suffer as little suspense as possible, and also to minimize tension and chance of disturbance.<sup>39</sup>

Another question was asked in the House of Commons on 12 July 1906 by Jeremiah MacVeagh, under what section of the Native Penal Code or the Special Decree of 1895 the sentence of flogging was passed in the Denshwai case. Grey said that by Article 5 of the Decree of 1895 which stated that the Special Tribunal has full power to inflict whatever punishment is considered necessary without reference to the ordinary penal code.<sup>40</sup>

The British tried to justify the exceptional sentence of flogging "in the excessive and persistent brutality of which the officers were victims when one of their number was unconscious and all were defenceless." Findlay assumed that as the prisoners were found guilty by homicide accompanied by robbery with violence, the latter offence is punishable by flogging by the English law.<sup>41</sup>

The British authorities was in a critical position in front of the British Public opinion; they tried to take no accountability by putting the Egyptian authorities in charge. Findlay claimed that according to the Khedivial Decree of 1895, the Egyptian authorities under the Ministry of the Interior were charged with carrying out the sentences, the necessary arrangements were made by the Mudir of the Province, who was assisted by the British Inspector of the district. The public hangman was the executioner, the flogging was administered by Egyptians.<sup>42</sup> John Dillon, the Member of Parliament asked Grey whether his attention was drawn to the fact that the bodies of those executed at Denshwai were not handed over to their relations according to the customs in Egypt, Grey replied that the bodies were escorted to the cemetery where they were buried in tombs previously prepared by their families.

Dillon asked Grey about the right of the men sentenced to death to see their relations, and whether they had this right to see their relatives between their trial and the execution of the sentences, Grey replied that he had no information on this point.<sup>43</sup>

Unfortunately, after these debates in the British House of Commons, no certain decision was taken regarding the brutality of the executions at Denshwai. It seems that most of the Members of Parliament supported the attitude of the British authorities hoping to preserve the prestige of the British Empire in Egypt and the other colonies, while few members were dismayed by the harshness of the executions.

## Conclusion

Studying the executions at Denshwai from the British point of view is important to reveal their justification of the harshness and brutality of the executions, to study the executions at Denshwai from a different approach, and to try understanding the British leaders' thinking in attempting to preserve the prestige of the British Army of Occupation.

It was the British who controlled the case from the beginning; they took the case out from the jurisdiction of the ordinary criminal courts in order to have the matter tried at once; if the case was tried through the ordinary courts, the accused persons should have the right to appeal in front of the native appeal court according to the regular forms of law.

The case was referred to the Special Tribunal under a special law devised by Lord Cromer for a political purpose eleven years before the Denshwai incident. The main object of the 1895 Decree was to put in the hands of the Government the complete command of all cases of a criminal character affecting the British Army in Egypt. The attitude of the British authorities in Egypt regarding Denshwai incident based on their desire to preserve the prestige of the British forces not only in Egypt, but also in the other British colonies, and to guarantee that this attack on the British officers would not occur again, the British reaction based on their fear of rebellion. The British authorities was in a critical position in front of the British Public opinion; they tried to take no accountability by putting the Egyptian authorities in charge. They claimed that according to the Khedivial Decree of 1895, the Egyptian authorities were charged with carrying out the sentences.

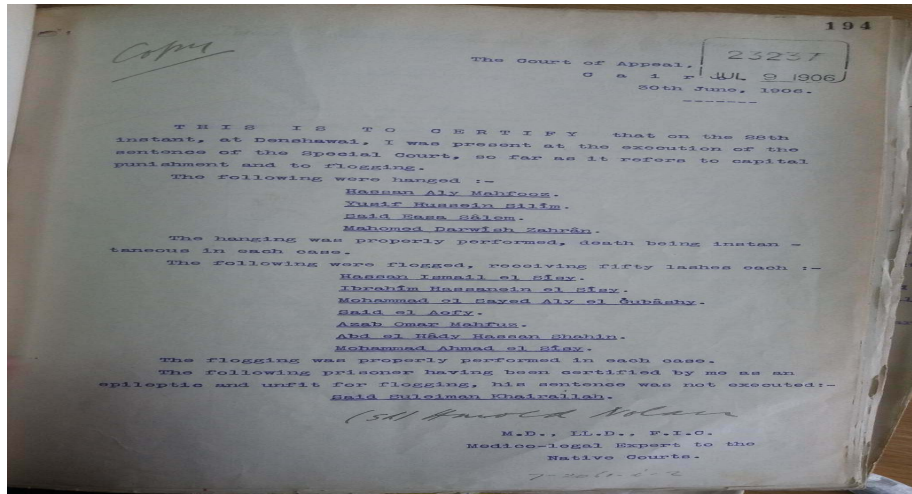
The harshness of the punishments brought British policy in Egypt to the attention of British public opinion causing deep discussions in the British House of Commons on the days following the sentences executions expressing their dismay at the brutality of the executions. The British authorities in Egypt insisted that they had not the slightest doubt that the sentences were fully justified by the evidence and not for political or other reasons.

The paper recommends future studies to be carried out on new approaches of examining Denshwai Incident such as the testimonies of the Egyptian witnesses, whether they were villagers or officials and the impact of their statements on the trial. Most of the testimonies of the Egyptian witnesses were against the accused villagers, did they tell the truth? Or had pressure been put on them? Were they threatened?

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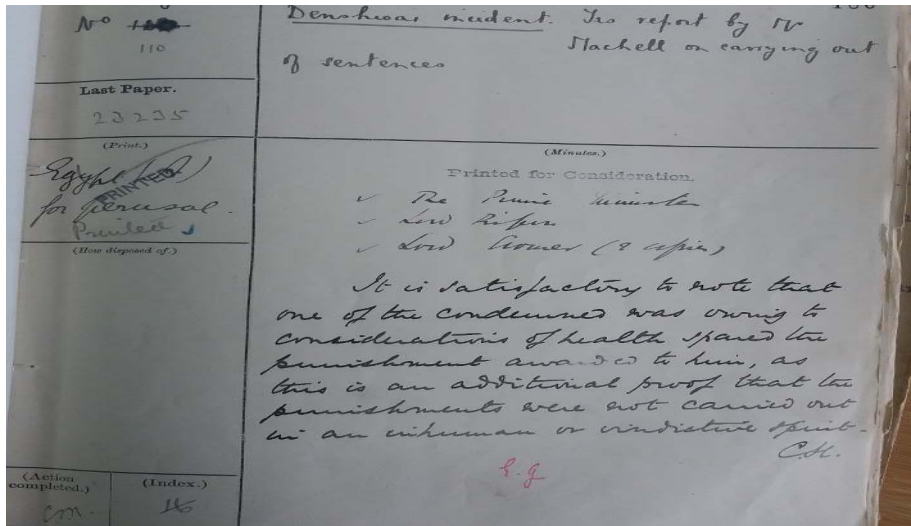
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Certificate of Harold Nolan respecting the execution and the flogging at Denshawai<sup>44</sup>

The British took the exemption of Said Suliman Khairallah from the punishment awarded to him as a proof that the execution of the sentence was carried out without cruelty or revenge; Findlay commented on the report of Mr. Machell, Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior stating "It is satisfactory to note that one of the condemned was owing to considerations of health spared the punishment awarded to him, as this is an additional proof that the punishments were not carried out in an inhuman or vindictive spirit."<sup>45</sup>



Findlay's comment on Mr. Machell's report respecting the executions at Denshawai<sup>46</sup>

### تنفيذ الأحكام في دنشواي يوم 28 يونيو 1906 بعيون السلطات البريطانية

أسعد عرفه زكي

لقد كان يوم 13 يونيو 1906 يوماً استثنائياً في تاريخ الاحتلال البريطاني للأراضي المصرية، حيث امتلكت السلطات البريطانية اتخاذ القرار بشأن أحداث دنشواي إما بتحقيق العدالة أو فرض النظام، وقد اختارت السلطات البريطانية فرض النظام بالقوة. يهتم هذا البحث بالرؤية البريطانية وكيفية التعامل مع قرارات محكمة دنشواي وتنفيذ الأحكام يوم 28 يونيو 1906. يعتمد البحث على المصادر الأصلية التي تتمثل في الخطابات والبرقيات والمذكرات البريطانية المحفوظة بدار الوثائق البريطانية في لندن والتي توضح رد فعل السلطات البريطانية على تنفيذ الأحكام في دنشواي، بالإضافة إلى الجرائد الإنجليزية ووثائق مجلس العموم البريطاني للتعرف على تفاعل الرأي العام الإنجليزي مع الأحداث. أستخدم منهج البحث التاريخي ومنهج البحث التحليلي من خلال تفسير ما تحتويه تلك الوثائق من بيانات ومعلومات مرتبطة بالحدث ونقدها واستنباط الحقائق التاريخية منها. تناولت معظم الدراسات السابقة أحداث دنشواي من خلال سرد عام للأحداث أو تناول الحدث من وجهة النظر المصرية ومعاناة أهالي دنشواي، ولم يتم التركيز بشكل كاف على رد الفعل البريطاني على أحداث دنشواي سواء على المستوى الرسمي أو الشعبي البريطاني، وكيف تسببت قسوة العقوبات في دنشواي في لفت أنظار الرأي العام البريطاني إلى السياسة البريطانية في مصر، وكيف بررت السلطات البريطانية للصحافة وللمجلس العموم البريطاني القسوة في التعامل مع فلاحى دنشواي.

**End Not:**

- <sup>1</sup> J. Alexander, *The Truth about Egypt* (London: Cassell and Company, 1911), 44.
- <sup>2</sup> M. Moberly, the inspector of the interior, letter to Captain Machell, Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior on 13 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>3</sup> G. M. Bullock, Major-General commanding in Egypt, letter to Cromer on 14 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>4</sup> Charles de Mansfeld Findlay, the first secretary in the diplomatic service, Telegraph No. 108 to Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, on 1 July 1906, p. 1, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>5</sup> Wilfried Scawen Blunt, "The executions in Egypt", *Manchester Guardian*, July 2, 1906, p. 6.
- <sup>6</sup> Denshawai Case, Translation of the evidence given at trial, Political: Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>7</sup> Findlay letter to Grey on 1 July 1906, p.1, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>8</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 195 to Grey on 27 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>9</sup> House of Commons, "Egypt. No. 3 (1906). Correspondence Respecting the Attack on British Officers at Denshawai," Sessional Papers, Cd. 3086, p. 4.
- <sup>10</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 108 to Grey on 1 July 1906, p. 5, Inclosure in No.1 Judgement of the Special Court sitting at Chibin el Kom dated June 27, 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>11</sup> "The Affray in Egypt: Four Villagers Sentenced to Death", *Manchester Guardian*, June 28, 1906, p. 7.
- <sup>12</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 203 to Grey on 3 July 1906, p.1, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>13</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 196 to Grey on 27 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>14</sup> Grey Telegraph No. 97 to Findlay on 27 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>15</sup> Grey Telegraph No. 96 to Findlay on 27 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>16</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 197 to Grey on 28 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>17</sup> Grey Telegraph No. 100 to Findlay on 28 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>18</sup> "Why the Garrison Has Been Reinforced", *Daily Mail*, July 6, 1906, p. 7.
- <sup>19</sup> "Why the Garrison Has Been Reinforced", *Daily Mail*, July 6, 1906, p. 7.
- <sup>20</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 197 to Grey on 28 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>21</sup> Grey Telegraph No. 101 to Findlay, on 29 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>22</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 200 to Grey on 30 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>23</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 200 to Grey on 3 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>24</sup> Mr. Machell, Report respecting execution of sentences on prisoners convicted of having attacked British officers at Denshawai, Inclosure 1 in No. 1, a letter from Findlay to Grey on 1 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>25</sup> "The Egyptian Executions: How the Floggings were Carried out." *Daily Mail*, July 4, 1906, p. 7.
- <sup>26</sup> Mr. Machell, Report respecting execution of sentences on prisoners convicted of having attacked British officers at Denshawai, Inclosure 1 in No. 1, a letter from Findlay to Grey on 1 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>27</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 198 to Grey on 28 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.
- <sup>28</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 108 to Grey on 1 July 1906, p. 2, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

## The Executions at Denshawai on 28 July 1906 in the sight of the British Authorities

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<sup>29</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 203 to Grey on 3 July 1906, p. 1, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>30</sup> "Expiation," *Egyptian Gazette*, June 29, 1906, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 203 to Grey on 3 July 1906, p. 1, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>32</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 204 to Grey on 3 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>33</sup> Mr. Machell, Report respecting execution of sentences on prisoners convicted of having attacked British officers at Denshawai, Inclosure 1 in No. 1, a letter from Findlay to Grey on 1 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>34</sup> Harold Nolan, Certificate respecting the execution and the flogging at Denshawai on 30 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>35</sup> "The Egyptian Executions: How the Floggings Were Carried out." *Daily Mail*, July 4, 1906, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Questions asked in the House of Commons, 2 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>37</sup> Grey Telegraph No. 104 to Findlay on 4 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>38</sup> Clarence Henry Norman, "The Denshawai Prisoners." *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*; November 2, 1907, 543.

<sup>39</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 203 to Grey on 3 July 1906, p. 2, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>40</sup> Question asked in the House of Commons on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>41</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 203 to Grey on 3 July 1906, p. 2, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>42</sup> Findlay Telegraph No. 200 to Grey on 30 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>43</sup> John Dillon, A question in the House of Commons on 15 November 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>44</sup> Harold Nolan, Certificate respecting the execution and the flogging at Denshawai on 30 June 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>45</sup> Findlay letter to Grey on 1 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.

<sup>46</sup> Findlay letter to Grey on 1 July 1906, Egypt File 20302, 1906, FO 371/66, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Surrey, UK.