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for one was opened almost immediately, on the 6th January, 1846; it was a free primary school for girls and was set up in the Miski near the church simply for instruction; there were no boards. The Church Missionary Society report for 1847 refers to the schools set up by the Bon Pasteur movement; Appleyard's words (he used the report for his work on Egypt) are quoted here in order to give the impression made on the English society: "The Church Mission Report, 1847, expresses considerable alarm at the establishment in Grand Cairo of a sisterhood of the order of the 'Good Shepherd' who had taken a mansion, formerly the residence of Bogos Bey, and opened schools for all classes and denominations, Jews not excepted." At Alexandria, there seems to have been more activity in several directions, owing to its being the chief sea-port and trading centre, and to the larger number of Europeans who settled there during the Muhammad 'Ali period. According to Guérin, the guardian of the chapel dedicated to Saint-Catherine received a large site as a gift from Muhammad 'Ali in 1834, a site large enough to hold several buildings which have since been erected and in which gardens have been laid out at various times. The Franciscan monks soon set to work to build a convent and their chapel eventually became the famous church of Saint-Catherine which, however, had to be repaired in 1884. The church is built in the Italian style and is decorated in the interior with modern pictures of very doubtful taste. The importance of this early religious development is that the church became the parish church of all the Latin Catholics of Alexandria, and as such formed a rallying point for the foundations of the religio-cultural training of the Catholic flock and a centre for French influence. From 1836, the Catholic population had already begun to ask for a mission of Lazarists to settle down in Alexandria in order to open a school for boys, and for the Filles de la Charité to work in the European hospital and to attend to the education of the girls.

Such an opportunity for the spread of French culture was not to be missed by official France. In 1849, Père Étienne, the Supérieur-général of the Lazarists was sent on a political mission to Syria in connection with propaganda work on behalf of Muhammad 'Ali among the Maronites. Étienne was accompanied by a number of Lazarist priests and by M. Cochelet; Guizot lent his support to the movement and sent Cochelet to Rome to obtain the help of the Cardinal-Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda while the French ambassador, Comte de Latour-Maubourg, was also commissioned to help smooth the way. Negotiations did not end, however, until 1843, and on the 3rd April of that year it was decided to send some Lazarist priests and several sisters of the Filles de la Charité to undertake the duties that the Alexandrian Latin Catholics wished them to perform. They arrived in Alexandria on the 23rd January, 1844, the party consisting of three priests, two frères and seven sisters; the men were welcomed by the French consul, M. de la Valette, at whose residence they stayed until their own quarters were ready; the sisters lived with a family by the name of Pastre for a short time and then settled down in a street which is still known after them as Sisters' Street.

Through the good offices of the Père Étienne, Muhammad 'Ali was prevailed upon to give to the Lazarist company a ruined fort in close proximity to Saint-Catherine Church with permission to buy up the adjacent lands; the site was cleared and a church and school founded for the needs of the people. A free school was opened in 1847 and whether the Lazarists were more interested in the spiritual welfare of the flock than in their education, as suggested by Dor, is hard to say, but in the same year, they appealed to the Frères de la doctrine chrétienne for help in the educational work. The latter arrived in due course and took over the Lazarist school. According to Amici, the school opened on the 1st July, 1847, and appears to have been called the École gratuite des Frères. The Lazarists, who were supposed to provide the school accommodation, used to pay the Frères for their work; the chief Frère was Adrien de Jesus, and the school had three classes with one hundred and twenty students. Amici also mentions another school called the Pensionnat des

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2 Guérin, op. cit., pp. 45-6.
6 Guérin, op. cit., p. 47.

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Frères opened in the same year, although Guérin states that it was opened a year later at the request of the better classes in Alexandria; this school was not so popular at the beginning owing to the fact that fees were charged.

The Lazarists and Frères worked together, perhaps not too harmoniously, for about five or six years; the Frères were more active than the Lazarists and the hosts soon found that their Frère guests were encroaching on their rights and that the Lazarists were speedily losing the place they thought they deserved as pioneers. In 1852, the Lazarists decided to make some attempt to regain the position they had begun to lose through the activities of the Frères and they opened a college of their own. The Frères were obliged to give up their connection and to seek others, and they were soon directing other schools which have done excellent educational work in Egypt and which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The Filles de la Charité had to spend a great deal of their time caring for the sick, but, in spite of that, they ran a kind of day school for girls, also a pensionnat and an orphanage. The outbreak of cholera in 1848 hindered the progress of these institutions and obliged the sisters to devote all their time to medical work.

To what extent these Catholic schools accepted Egyptian children at this early period is hard to say as there is no evidence to prove that they did; the Egyptians certainly made use of the dispensaries under the care of the sisters, but it is doubtful whether they made use of the schools until somewhat later.

Other Early Mission Schools

The Church Missionary Society of England sent out Mr. Jowett as early as 1815 but the mission was not established until 1826. Five Germans were sent in 1825 from the Basle Seminar whose names were Samuel Gobat, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. T. Lieder, Mr. and Mrs. T. Mueller, Mr. and Mrs. W. Kruse and Mr. Kugler; Messrs. Gobat and Kugler were later sent on to

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Abysinia. These missionaries had studied Arabic and appear to have settled down to educational work soon after their arrival, but chiefly among the Copts. Paton, who was in Egypt between 1839 and 1846, states that much praise must be bestowed on the German missionaries, who, chiefly with English funds, have been most active in educating Copts and giving them a smattering of Frankish science.

The Rev. Harry Tattam also took an interest in the Coptic Church from about 1836 and actually visited the country in 1838; he edited the four Gospels in Arabic and Coptic and the S.P.C.K. also printed Arabic translations of old Egyptian commentaries. Mr. Lieder, who, according to Butcher, had arrived in Egypt in 1830, was of great service to Tattam during his visit.

In 1839-40, the Rev. T. Grimshawe visited Egypt and asked Lieder to draw up a scheme for a training college wherein young Egyptians (Copts) could follow a course of study that would enable them to be ordained as priests for the Coptic Church; the school was actually opened but had to be closed in 1848. Mr. Lieder was discouraged by its failure as none of his students was ever ordained. The Church Missionary Society appears to have abandoned the Egyptian field from about 1848 and did not establish itself again until between 1862-4; the American Presbyterian Mission took its place from about 1854 and has progressed ever since.

The Church Missionary Society, however, not only confined its activities to the training college for priests but opened several other schools for children in Cairo and used to visit the Coptic schools in Upper Egypt and distribute religious literature.

Olin, who apparently visited their schools in 1839-40, reports that Lieder and his colleagues ran three schools in Cairo; the Seminar was under Kruse who had twenty-five Christians to whom he taught science and language. The young men were not encouraged to continue their career as teachers or to set up

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2 Guérin, op. cit., p. 62.
3 Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 268.
4 Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 268-9, and Guérin, op. cit., p. 47.
5 Guérin, op. cit., p. 54. Amici gives the date of 1846 for the opening of a school by the Société de la Providence; v. pp. 250-1.
6 Guérin, passim.
7 Watson, op. cit., p. 119; Fowler, op. cit., p. 250; and supra, p. 86 n.2.
9 Watson, ibid., pp. 120-21.
10 Butcher, op. cit., II/395.
11 Fowler, ibid., p. 120.
12 Butcher, ibid., II/386-7, and Fowler, ibid., pp. 130 and 240.
13 Fowler, ibid., p. 114. Fowler, ibid., p. 250, gives the date as 1862 and Lieder remained at his post until 1865, but the missionary efforts do not appear to have been very effective during this period.
14 Fowler, ibid., p. 250.
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private schools of their own; they appear to have been employed
by Muhammad 'Ali for the most part.1

Lieder ran the boys' school and there was also a girls' school
both containing seventy students each;2 the Coptic clergy were
antagonistic to the movement and accused the missionaries of
proselytising; when the children grew up, they were withdrawn
from the schools by their parents.3

Olin reports that the English Wesleyans supported a mission
in Alexandria4 this was probably run by R. Maxwell MacBrair
who wrote a useful account of his experiences.5 MacBrair states
that the Church Missionary Society had a printing press in Malta
where Arabic and Greek works were published for Mediterranean
missionary stations6 and it was probably from Malta that the
Missionaries procured some of their literature.

MacBrair seems to have had little success with his school in
Alexandria which was intended for Egyptians; his own words
describing his experiences would not be out of place here: "I
had made every effort to procure a good master for an Arab school,
but could not succeed. At last, I was obliged to employ a Syrian
who acted as my interpreter; and, though aware of his being a
liar and a rogue, I hoped by close surveillance to keep him to his
duty. But all my efforts were fruitless. He brought children
of his own acquaintance to the school, and was, no doubt, privately
paid for their instruction, as I soon found that they belonged
to Syrians of respectability. But he never attended to them
unless when I was present; and, even then, he made constant
excuses for going away, on pretence of looking after the boys,
whilst, in reality, he was engaged in a mercantile business. The
moment that my back was turned, he slipped out, and would
stay away for half-a-day at a time. As he required high wages,
would teach the children nothing of true religion, and, finally,

1 Olin, op. cit., I/175. Warburton, op. cit., p. 66, states that over 200 of the
students of the Church Missionary Society Schools were in the employment of
Muhammad 'Ali.

2 Olin, loc. cit. Mrs. Lieder apparently helped her husband in the schools;
she visited Hekekyán in June, 1843, his account of her is hardly flattering:
"Mrs. Lieder came to see me; she is rather vulgar, talks politics, and, I fear,
tells fibs. It is a pity she does not attend more to her schools. She dares to
look down on Turkish women and in general Eastern women of whom there are
indeed very few in her class and standing who are not superior to her in good

3 Warburton, op. cit., pp. 66-7, states that both Muhammad 'Ali and the
Coptic clergy encouraged the mission schools.

4 Olin, op. cit., I/118.

5 Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, West Africa, etc., London,
1839.


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got into embarrassed pecuniary circumstances, I was obliged,
with great reluctance, to relinquish a plan that had cost me much
care and trouble." He then tried to run a school for Greeks and
was able to find a teacher familiar with the Lancasterian system;
he was a Greek and "seemed one of the most honest Greeks in
the place, which is saying a great deal for him, as they are a sad
set of rogues." MacBrair was supported by an English mer-
chant who had married a Greek woman and, through the latter,
many Greeks came forward. The school certainly seemed to have
been more successful than the Arab school, for the boys' school
was enlarged and a girls' school added; they used books pub-
lished by the English and American missionaries but, unfortu-
nately, the plague broke out and MacBrair's schools had to be
closed.3

Hamont describes one of the missionary schools in Cairo,
probably belonging to the Church Missionary Society, by way of
comparison with those opened by Muhammad 'Ali; the children
of poor Christians were taught Arabic, English, French, Italian,
geometry, drawing and arithmetic. Two priests taught in the
school, and adopted a method of teaching which was suitable
to the type of pupil; Hamont maintains that they learnt more in
three or four years than the students of Muhammad 'Ali's schools
did in ten.4 Allowing for some exaggeration, the syllabus does
suggest a more practical plan of studies than that of the pro-
vincial maktabah of Muhammad 'Ali where the memorising of the
Ko'ran was the mainstay; it might also be suggested that the
Europeans were better qualified as teachers than the Egyptian
shaihks, especially if the former had a knowledge of Arabic.

St. John records that a Mr. Bartholomew, an English Mission-
ary in Egypt, wanted to open a Lancastrian school in Alexandria
with the intention of educating Copts, Levantines, Jews and
Moslems. Muhammad 'Ali agreed to the opening of the school
but not to the mixture of races and creeds suggested by Bartho-
lomew. Muhammad 'Ali also refused to allow the school expenses
to be defrayed by charity and stipulated that the students should
be Egyptians; it was also laid down that the religion of the
students should not be interfered with.5 At about this time
(c. 1834), the regulations of a European Lancastrian school
were sent to Egypt to serve as a model for Muhammad 'Ali's

2 Loc. cit.
3 Hamont, op. cit., II/39.
4 St. John, op. cit., II/405-6.
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and the difference of temperament between the northern and southern races; the efforts of the English, Germans and Americans were directed mainly towards the small Coptic population and they can be looked upon as newcomers into the Near East whereas the Catholics, whether French or Italians, already had a long tradition of contact with the Near East and had much in common with the Catholic population there.

In spite of the relative disadvantages that the English missionaries had to work under and the restricted sphere of their work, yet they were undoubtedly spurred forward by their zealous motives and the spirit of competition which is reflected in the Church Missionary report of 1847 quoted by Appleyard.1

The schools set up for the Jewish community, being due to the efforts of Crémieux, are not so interesting from our point of view. Egyptian Jews have always been backward in setting up their own schools for several reasons. The increase of European influence in Egypt went hand-in-hand with a very important extension of external and internal trade in which the Jews had a fair share. The growth of trade brought a relative increase in individual prosperity with the result that the local Jews gradually emerged from the Jewish quarters in order to assimilate themselves with the other European communities, particularly the Italian. The Jews and the Christians were the first to imitate European habits and customs and to wear European clothes long before Moslems began to do so.2 Through the capillary system, many of them were able to acquire foreign protection with the many privileges that this system afforded.3

Jewish children were sent to foreign schools, particularly French, where they were able to acquire that education which was suitable for commerce and for employment in business houses and in the banks which were later opened. Jewish schools were eventually set up but were not of any standing until recent times. A letter written by Maitre Sedaka Levy in the Asore, dated the 13th February, 1925,4 points out the disadvantages of the lack of Jewish schools and the damage done to Jewish religious and national feelings; the writer takes up an extreme point of view and complains of the influence pernicieuse des

1 Ubicini, op. cit., II/393.
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1. supra, p. 276.
4. L’Asore, Journal d’informations juives, 13th year, No. 53, 13th February, 1925, Cairo publication, page 1; see also Nos. 54, 84 and 106.
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Écoles congréganistes qui ont pour mission de détourner ces enfants
de leur foi.¹ Levy fails to appreciate the fact that it was due
to the lack of public spirit in his community that there were no
such schools and to the lack of interest of wealthy Jews who were
far keener on breaking off contact with their own community
and on assimilating themselves to the European elements than
settling in the country. He also underrates the valuable edu-
cational work done by the religious schools in Egypt from which
the Jewish community derived much benefit.
The Greek community represents the healthiest demand for
intellectual progress for two main reasons; it was spontaneous
and autonomous; the community, or rather the communities,
as each town eventually organised itself on the Alexandrian
model, not only felt the need for some cultural improvement,
but also depended upon itself for the carrying out of its own plans.
Greeks did attend other schools but their own schools absorbed
many of their own children.
The period 1840 to 1850 is the turning point in the cultural,
economic and social life of Egypt. From 1800 to 1840, Muḥam-
mad ‘Alī had been busily engaged in developing the country
and using up its resources in war; during that period he had made
some attempt to set up a system of military education; the
schools provided for the army and navy, and to some extent for
the civil administration but not for any kind of education that
would enable the Egyptians to set up for themselves in any kind
of private enterprise. No Egyptian doctor set himself up in
private practice and none had either the initiative or the abilities
to compete with their European rivals in the field of commerce
and industry.
In 1841, Muḥammad ‘Alī’s system broke down, and the
Egyptians who had been employed in the army by thousands
had nothing to do but to resume their normal life as far as possible.
No provision was made for the peaceful development of the
country for the advantage of the people either culturally, socially
or economically; even the old mosque system of education
had been almost completely disorganised in the feverish rush to
build an army. If this state of affairs had been allowed to con-
tinue after 1841, Egypt would probably have recovered itself
and reverted to much the same state that it had been in during
the eighteenth century, but from 1850 onwards, we see in Egypt
the peaceful penetration of the West, not only through one

¹Loc. cit.

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community, but through many, and not only in one town, but
all over the country. The Egyptians were unprepared for this.
They were familiar only with two kinds of education, that of the
mosque and that of the army, the former had been theirs for
centuries, the latter for a few decades; the latter had almost
ruined the former and had also ceased to exist itself.
The Europeans in Egypt were now settling down to a life of
industry and commerce and were beginning to open schools in
which the younger generation could acquire the equipment
necessary to carry on the tradition under cover of the Capitulatory
system to the great disadvantage of the Egyptians. On the other
hand, Egypt, during the next twenty years, was under the rule
of two Pashas, neither of them particularly interested in the in-
tellectual welfare of the Egyptians; under ‘Abbās, the country
had six years’ rest in which to recover from the exhaustion of the
Muḥammad ‘Alī period, and under Sa‘dī, who was a Francofile,
European penetration increased still more. The following
chapters will show the significance of the fact that the European
cultural movement which began during the reign of Muḥammad
‘Alī grew steadily during the next three or four decades while the
cultural life of the Egyptians had not yet found its feet.

The Reign of Ibrāhīm Pasha

Muḥammad ‘Alī died on the 2nd August, 1849, at the age
of 81, but, owing to his failure in health, Ibrāhīm Pasha had
already taken over the reins of government from 1847 and was
formally invested as governor in July, 1848. Ibrāhīm Pasha
did not live long, however, for he died prematurely on the
10th November, 1848, and was succeeded by ‘Abbās I, the son
of Ṭūsīn, Muḥammad ‘Alī’s second son. ‘Abbās I was in Makkah
at the time of his uncle’s death, and on receiving the news,
hastened his return to Cairo where he arrived on the 26th
November. He was officially invested as governor on the 7th
December, went to Constantinople almost immediately to pay
homage to the Sulṭān, and was back in Cairo on the 13th February,
1849.

There is little to be recorded about Ibrāhīm’s work for educa-
tion in Egypt; we have already seen the rôle he played in the
post-war period in the closing down of the schools. He had
a major interest in the last mission to Paris and the creation of
the Egyptian Military School there and seems to have been
favourable to the inclusion of several Egyptians on this mission,
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the latter were chosen probably by Sulaimân Pasha (Sève), 1 and later on, filled important posts in the Egyptian administrations.

In this connection it is interesting to note the attitude of Ibrâhîm towards the Egyptians and, consequently, towards the use of the Arabic language which he is supposed to have favoured. Boislecomte, writing in August, 1833, states that Ibrâhîm claimed to an Egyptian soldier that he was not a Turk, but that he had come to Egypt very young and that the sun had changed his blood to that of an Arab. 2

The struggle against the Porte was personal and, if Ibrâhîm ever spoke of creating an Arab empire, then such suggestions were meant for European and particularly French consumption. Ibrâhîm and Muhammad 'All realised that the French, who had most likely encouraged them in adopting an attitude of independence, would support them against the Sultan. It was far too early to expect the Egyptians to react to nationalism or even to understand the meaning of it.

It is put forward that Ibrâhîm allowed Egyptians to enter certain military schools 3 and promoted them to the rank of chef de bataillon, but the reason for this was not to create a purely Egyptian national army, but economic necessity. He had no choice, since there were not sufficient Turks and Circassians available. As a good military leader, which he doubtless was, it was to be expected that he should ingratiate himself with his Egyptian soldiery, hence the anecdote reported by Boislecomte.

Professor Rustum in a recent work 4 is at pains to claim for Ibrâhîm Pasha that he was “personally convinced of the soundness of the nationalistic philosophy of the day” and that he was “the first Moslem of rank in the Arab world who conceived of an Arab Nationalist Movement.” 5 Professor Rustum fortunately uses the word “personally” for it is certain that very few Turks and Egyptians at this period had any idea of the “nationalistic philosophy of the day.” He quotes three letters written by Ibrâhîm to Muhammad 'Ali in 1248 (1832), presumably in Turkish not in Arabic, in the translations of which the words “national and racial struggle” and “his

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patriotic hopes for the independence of his family and for the freedom of Egypt” occur. If these words are accurate translations of Ibrâhîm’s Turkish, then the sentiments they express were confined to Ibrâhîm. One must come down to a much later period before the full meaning of such words can be satisfactorily expressed in Arabic. Religion may have played an important rôle as a rallying point for Moslems with Muhammad ‘Ali as the champion of Islam, 6 but, even to this day, the words waṣan and waṣânîyah are still confused with religion by certain sections of the people. 7

It can be argued that Muhammad ‘Ali actually began a system of elementary or primary education in 1837, with Arabic as the linguistic medium of instruction, to replace, in part, the old kutubî of the pious endowments; this, again, was a step which had to be taken in order to ensure sufficient recruits for the army. Ibrâhîm Pasha naturally had a voice in the organisation of anything connected with the army and he appears to have approved of this scheme 8; but what did he do with the new organisation when he was forced to withdraw from Syria barely five years later? He took the leading part in forcing Muhammad ‘Ali to close down the schools. If he had had any nationalistic feelings, he would surely have made some attempt to rehabilitate the Arabic language, as Boislecomte claims was his intention, 9 but Turkish remained the official language until the reign of Sa‘îd Pasha and the language of the court until quite recently.

The reaction against the reform movement had well set in, at least eight years before ‘Abbâs became ruler; with the removal of the two strongest and most ambitious men, namely, Muhammad ‘Ali and Ibrâhîm, the natural tendency of the people was to return, as far as possible, to the normal manner of living before Muhammad ‘Ali began his intensive exploitation of Egypt.

1 supra, p. 172.
2 Boislecomte to the Minister (of Foreign Affairs), 1st August, 1833, op. cit., p. 240.
3 supra, p. 221, e.g., in the Cavalry School.
4 The Royal Archives of Egypt and the origins of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria, 1831-1841, Beyrouth, 1935.
6 supra, p. 172.
7 supra, p. 172.
8 supra, pp. 193-4.
9 supra, p. 256.
CHAPTER III

‘ABBĀS I. (1849–1854)

"Six ans de repos pour l'Égypte surmenée, ce n'était pas de la stérilité, c'était le recueillissement de la terre pendant l'hiver, c'était l'état de jachère appliquée à un grand état, c'était un sommeil réparateur, non la mort."—(A. Vingtinier, "Soliman-Pasha (Joseph Sève),"
Paris, 1886, p. 576.)

On account of his strange character, ‘Abbās seems to have had very few friends; he had been on bad terms with Ibrāhīm Pasha and he treated his relations with severity. The officials who had worked under Ibrāhīm were dismissed or exiled, the French advisers who had helped Mūhammad ‘Alī and Ibrāhīm were either dismissed or forced to resign. His policy appears to have been anti-French and pro-English, and Mr. Murray, the English Consul-general, became one of his most trusted friends; through the latter, the railway and telegraph were introduced into Egypt and gave employment to many Egyptians. Ḥeketyān maintains that Turkish intrigues forced ‘Abbās to rely on the English; such intrigues were not a new factor in the field of oriental politics any more than was the Anglo-French rivalry over Egypt. It is not surprising that many writers see very little good in ‘Abbās. Many of the conversations held by Senior in 1855 were with men who had been officials in the service of Muhammad ‘Alī and Ibrāhīm and were then unemployed; and it is only human that such officials should give anything but a good impression of him. Independent observers, however, do not always agree with these officials. Senior himself could not help remarking to Ḥeketyān that he found much difference of opinion in Egypt on many subjects, but on none more than on the characters of ‘Abbās and Sa’id.¹

¹ v. supra, p. 263 sq. and 269 sq.
² Senior, op. cit., I/208.
³ See Brüner, Dor, Arlin, Guillou, Audouard, Sammarco, Cameron, Senior, White, Malet, art.; in Encyclopedia of Islam, as-Šiṣṣat-ul-‘Ibād‘yāk, 7th April, 1918, RAB, Sarhank, Merraouu, Bayle St. John, Luttke, Tūsān, Zaidān, and others.
⁴ Senior, passim.
⁵ Ibid., I/233 and I/240, et passim.
⁶ Ibid., I/202.

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Self-interest and personal feelings have been allowed to inspire many of the pens that have described ‘Abbās, but his reign, investigated from an impartial point of view and in its true light, can only lead one to the conclusion that many of Muhammad ‘Alī’s innovations owed their origin to an artificial situation,¹ and that, if ‘Abbās put an end to some of them, he did so out of the sheer common sense which is credited to him by more than one writer.²

‘Abbās must be credited with having a character of his own and a better knowledge of his country’s needs than many of the office-seekers around him.³ If he preferred Turks to Europeans,⁴ why should he not have done so? He was a Turk, and as loyal to Egypt and to Turkey as it was his duty to be, for Egypt was still under the suzerainty of Turkey. His loyalty to Turkey did not lead him to surrender any of his rights as ruler in Egypt. As a boy, he appears to have refused to submit to a European education,⁴ but he did not neglect Islamic culture; he had an excellent command of Turkish,⁵ which is more than can be said of Sa’id.⁶

‘Abbās reigned for six years, during which time the country was given the peace and quiet it needed so badly after the exhausting years of the reigns of Muhammad ‘Alī and Ibrāhīm.⁸ He removed the commercial monopolies and, if he hated Europeans and secluded himself from their society, he did so in order to stem the tide of western penetration which has been encouraged during the last decade before his accession.⁹

² Salakini, op. cit., p. 23, gives a good account of him in 1835; Boudecomte, op. cit., p. 146, "‘Abbās pacha... est resté très croyant et très adé dans sa foi"; Cattani, op. cit., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 63; Clot Bey, Apérit, 1911, Prise d’Avenues, Petit mémoire secrets sur la cour d’Egypte, Paris, 1930, p. 28, ‘Abbās avait plus d’intelligence que de savoir, mais il raisonna et discutait les affaires, tandis que Saïd répond: "Nous verrons, vous m’emblée, débrumez-vous, renversez-vous, vous ménagez la chèvre et le chou." Paton, op. cit., II/241, "T... found him to be perfectly good-natured and entirely free from any sort of ostentation. On higher subjects, his ignorance of science and literature was remarkable, considering the training he had had; but he was by no means deficient in common sense, and knew how to distinguish between such projects as were really beneficial to Egypt, as railways, and those of doubtful utility." Malortie, Egypt, London, 1882, p. 68, "Though sometimes very odd, he was not devoid of common sense"; Cameron, op. cit., p. 257, "It is worth noting, too, that Nubar Pasha considered ‘Abbās a true Turkish gentleman of the old school."
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Vingtrinier, Sulaimân Pasha's biographer, summarises the reign of 'Abbâs and his character in the following terms: "Sa profession de foi fut simple, claire, énergique et brave. Il déclara qu'il était Turc et voulait régner en Turc," and, "La règne d'Abbâs fut une époque de recueillement et de repos. La vie européenne ayant cessé, l'immobilité musulmane envahit et couvrit tout le pays"; his most conclusive statement is contained in the words written at the head of this chapter.

Bayle St. John, writing in 1851, speaks fairly of 'Abbâs as follows: "It must be confessed that 'Abbâs Pasha had the good sense to take up a position of his own. Whether he was as crafty and politic as some pretend before his elevation to power, it is difficult to decide; but the plan at that time generally ascribed to him, of forming what was called a Turkish or bigoted party, a party of discontented great folk and fanaticule ulamas, a party which should appeal to the religious prejudices of the good Cairenes, and oppose itself to the inroad of European adventurers and improvements, this plan, if distinctly formed, was certainly a very sagacious one. Let us be frank; Europeans have done more harm than good in Egypt; that is to say, whenever they have appeared except as mere commercial men!"

The most recent exposition of the life and reign of 'Abbâs Pasha, written by Professor Sammarco, contains much that is probably true of him, but offers a general misrepresentation of facts. Professor Sammarco emphasizes the fact that 'Abbâs apparently came to the throne with the intention of destroying all the good and useful things that Muhammad 'Ali had created, and relies on two very late authorities who blame 'Abbâs for closing most of the schools opened by Muhammad 'Ali. He ignores the fact that many of Muhammad 'Ali's creations were already either destroyed before 'Abbâs came to the throne or else were in a very bad state; even the army was in a state of disorganisation when Ibrahim returned from Europe and neither Ibrahim nor Sulaimân was able to reorganise it. He rejects the idea that 'Abbâs was inspired by patriotic feelings in his attitude towards Europeans; but while patriotism cer-

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certainly did not play any part and his attitude may have been determined by political reaction and xenophobia, do not the few decades after the death of 'Abbâs justify his attitude? 'Abbâs's biggest fault, in the opinion of Sammarco, was his apparent rapprochement with the English.

Few writers have dared to take up an independent point of view regarding 'Abbâs, with the exception of ar-Râfî, whose work takes into full account the fact that 'Abbâs wisely discouraged European adventurers and that his railways were far more useful to Egypt and less dangerous to her political and economic independence than the French scheme for the digging of the Suez Canal.

The charge with which we are concerned in this work is that 'Abbâs was responsible for the closing of the schools and for a reactionary policy with regard to education. This point of view has been handed down from one writer to another without making any kind of investigation of this aspect of 'Abbâs's reign. It is true that ar-Râfî and Ayyûbî do admit that some of the schools were closed during the later years of the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, but most native writers press the point much further than Europeans and measure the progress and intellectual standards of their country by the mere number of schools and students and the amount of money spent on them; quality and efficiency are ignored, or perhaps not understood.

The outstanding factor to be borne in mind is that if Muhammad 'Ali and Ibrahim both saw fit to curtail their educational schemes, and they were men who had made some practical use of western schools (even if only for military purposes and ostentation), what was 'Abbâs to do with them, he who had no natural inclination for European learning (if the Egyptian adaptation of it entitles it to the name of learning), and still less inclination to make use of them for ostentation and propaganda abroad?

If the educational system had failed under Muhammad 'Ali, and it certainly had failed, then why should 'Abbâs be made a scapegoat for this failure? Why should he be blamed for giving the coup de grâce to the few derelict institutions that were left?

When 'Abbâs came to the throne, the following schools were still officially open:—

1 Vingtrinier, op. cit., p. 531.
5 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
6 Ibid., pp. 5.
7 Vingtrinier, op. cit., p. 525.
8 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

1 Ibid., p. 7.
2 Kâtib, 'Ar' Ismâ'îl, in two volumes, Caire, 1932.
6 El. Supra, pp. 242-3; Sarhank, op. cit., II/262 gives 14 schools, he includes a primary school at Baal Suel and omits the infantry and medical schools.
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1. Primary,  
at Asyūt,  
2. "  
Būsh,  
3. "  
Zakāžık,  
4. "  
as-Sayyidah Zainab,  
5. "  
Abū Za'bal,  
6. Infantry,  
Abū Za'bal,  
7. Cavalry,  
al-Gizāh,  
8. Artillery,  
Tūrā,  
9. Veterinary,  
Shubrā,  
10. Naval,  
Alexandria,  
11. Languages,  
Cairo,  
12. Medical,  
Cairo,  
13. High School,  
al-Ḫānākhān,  
14. Engineering,  
Būlāk,  
15. Arts and Crafts,  
Būlāk.

Adham (Pasha) appears to have remained at his post as Nāẓir of the Diwan al-Mudāris until the 24th March, 1849, and to have returned again on the 18th October of the same year; he was replaced by 'Abdī Pasha Shukrī, who kept the post until the 16th December, 1854, i.e., until five months after the assassination of 'Abbās I. 'Abdī Shukrī had been a member of the 1826 mission to Europe, where he had studied civil administration, but there does not appear to have been anything remarkable about him. He is rarely ever mentioned, and most probably it was the fact that he was the son of Ḥabīb Efendi that assured him of promotion in the administrations of Muḥammad 'Ali².

'Abbās began his work of reorganisation almost as soon as he came to power. The primary schools were the first to be affected; Asyūt was closed in March, 1849, Būsh and Zakāžık in April of the same year.³ The military schools came next. The Artillery School under Princetou, ⁴ who appears to have remained in Egypt until 1853, was in a very bad state. 'Ali Mubārak had been appointed as teacher there on his return from France in 1849, ⁵ and reports that there were few students left in it because the best had been chosen for a new school which 'Abbās had opened; it must have been closed soon after the opening of this new establishment. In January, 1849, the Infantry School at Abū Za'bal,⁶ the Cavalry School at al-Gizāh⁷ and the Naval School in Alexandria⁸ were all closed.

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The two remaining primary schools were closed, that of Abū Za'bal in November, 1849,¹ and the other at as-Sayyidah Zainab in August, 1850.²

The closing down of these schools looks as though military training was about to be abandoned and 'Abbās was going to neglect the military requirements of the country, but this is far from the truth. 'Abbās was essentially a military man and had held high command in Muḥammad 'Ali's armies. Sarhank gives the following figures for his own army, but without giving any date:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brigade</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infantry</td>
<td>98,414 men</td>
<td>3,464 officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>7,600 men</td>
<td>400 officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>9,149 men</td>
<td>154 officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>65 officers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>135 medical officers</td>
<td>88 pharmacists and orderlies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bāshi-Bāshīs

Clerks 4,377 men

206 ².

The policy of making use of the services of foreigners in the army was still continued to a certain extent, for through Sabatier, the French Consul General, Motte, de Bernhardt and Jacques were employed ³; Gallice, who had been commissioned by Ibrāhīm Pasha in order to undertake the reorganisation of the fortifications at Alexandria, was also employed by 'Abbās for the same purpose.⁴ It was 'Abbās who attempted to bring a fairer system of conscription than that employed by his predecessor; he made every young man liable for military service, but the system was not pushed to the extent attempted by Sa'id Pasha. 'Abbās reorganised the army, the system of fortifications and military strategic roads contemplated by Ibrāhīm Pasha; he still maintained the services of Sulaimān Pasha, who appears to have had considerable influence with him. In 1853, a contingent of 20,000 men was sent to help the Turks against Russia in the Crimea. Under 'Abbās, the old system of maintaining a

¹ Ibid., p. 45; under Ibrāhīm Ef. Wahibī.
² Ibid., p. 44; under 'Abdī-Kâdir Ef.
³ Op. cit., II/261; these figures are much higher than those allowed Egypt by the Sultan's edicts of 1841.
⁴ Loc. cit.
⁵ Malortie, however, confirms that 'Abbās had an army of 80,000 men and 20,000 Bāshi-Bāshīs, and that nothing was wanting in the way of artillery, cavalry and equipment, which was all in the best order; op. cit., p. 68.
⁶ Rāfī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, I/17.
⁷ Ibid., I/18 and Sarhank, op. cit., II/263 sq.
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bodyguard of Albanians was revived; these Albanians were never very popular, but their numbers were not out of proportion to the number of Egyptian troops. 'Abbâs must also be credited with being able to maintain public security.

The question of military training for these large forces was dealt with almost as soon as 'Abbâs came to the throne. Having closed the essentially military schools, he chose the best students and teachers and placed them in one establishment which he opened in September, 1849, with the name of Madrasat al-Mafrûzah, a name which means "chosen" and suggests that it contained the pick of the old schools. It was first of all situated in the suburb of Cairo, now called al-'Abbâsiyah, under the Nâzîr-ship of Amrâliâ Ismâ'il Bey al-Karîdât, the students, teachers and books were all chosen by 'Ali Mubârak, and, according to Sarhant, the school was very successful during the first part of the reign. Ismâ'il al-Karîdât remained in charge of the school until it was transferred to the town of Alexandria in December, 1850; Amrâliâ Ismâ'il Bey Salîm was given the post from September, 1851, to October, 1853, and then Amrâliâ Ahmad Bey Kamîl from November, 1853, until February, 1856.

This new establishment was run on different principles than those of Muhammad 'Ali for it contained a Primary, a Preparatory, and a Military School all in one, and there was also another technical side where men were prepared for the civil and military engineering services. In the statistics for 1849, the dual name of al-Mafrûzah wa'l-A'mîyâth is used, i.e., "(the school of) the chosen and for building." In 1849, it had 1,690 students, i.e., considerably more than the Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery

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Schools had contained during the latter part of the reign of Muhammad 'Ali.

The idea of having one large establishment, including all the schools the student had to pass through, was probably inspired by motives of economy; it also had the advantage of centralisation, enabling one director to co-ordinate the studies, and thus avoiding the gaps which had existed between the various grades of schools under Muhammad 'Ali. The original provincial makhtabs had always been below the standard set for the preparatory schools, while the latter had never been successful in preparing students up to the standard of the special schools, where further preparatory classes had to be created before the student was ready for his special training.

The statistics available for 1849 give the following figures for that year and naturally include some schools which had been recently closed, but certain schools which were still officially open are omitted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Monthly Cost (Nadim)</th>
<th>Yearly Cost (Sâm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary at--Suyyidah Zainab</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>£E 70-70 PT</td>
<td>£E 848-14 PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>317-50</td>
<td>3810-00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>295-23</td>
<td>3700-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>130-97</td>
<td>1577-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages and Accountancy</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>475-49</td>
<td>5705-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>132*</td>
<td>257-13</td>
<td>3058-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mafrûzah wa'l- A'mîyâth</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1098-59</td>
<td>13183-08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost of 322 teachers and staff: 1494-97, 17579-64

£E 405-55 PT £E 4878-70 PT

The figures for the Abû Za'bal school are omitted, although it was not closed until November, 1849, while the Artillery and Cavalry schools are included, although the latter was closed in January, 1849; presumably the students of this school were then sent to the Mafrûzah; the Artillery students were certainly

1 'Ali Mubârak put forward the same idea for the Civil Schools, i.e., the Muhândisîyâth and its dependences; v. Khotâf, 9/14.
2 v. supra, p. 239, n. 5, a.
3 Sâmî, op. cit., p. 15.
4 Sâmî, op. cit., p. 15.
6 Sâmî gives 135.
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sent,¹ and so its numbers must have been somewhat higher later on.

The Naval and Infantry schools are also omitted; the latter is stated by Pellissier to have been in a state of complete disorganisation,² and it is for this reason probably that it was not included. No wonder 'Abbās closed it! The Naval School seems to have been definitely closed and the Navy to have deteriorated during his reign, owing to the intrigues between Sa'id and 'Abbās³; a certain part of the Navy must have been used, however, during the Crimean War.

The above list excludes the Veterinary School and the High School at al-Khānqāh (École des Princes); the former was not closed until 1851 and was still in use, for Ahmad Ef. Şabrī was in charge of it from January, 1849, and Rustum Ef. from May, 1849, until September, 1851. The High School was officially closed in September, 1851; up to January, 1849, Mahmūd Bey was in charge, then Muṣṭafā Bey until September, 1849; after that date no director was appointed and it was probably expected that members of the ruling family would make use of the Madrasat al-Mufri'ah.⁴

The so-called School of Languages and Accountancy was closed in May, 1851; as the major part of the school must have been devoted to preparation, then perhaps the action of 'Abbās is explicable for he already had a preparatory school attached to the Mufri'ah. This school came under the heading of a Civil School, i.e., Madrasah Mulkīyah, and 'Ali Mubārak launched a scheme to include all the Civil Schools.⁵ The Translation Bureau was not closed down until the reign of Sa'id Pasha, in the interval, it appears to have been taken over by 'Ali Mubārak, who, as director of the School of Engineering, took upon himself the task of providing the text-books for the schools.⁶

There appears to have been some misunderstanding or dislike between 'Abbās and Rifa'ah, for he was sent to al-Khārjīyām as Nāzir of a new school which 'Abbās had opened there⁷; this amounted to exile. The trouble was probably made worse by ambitious Mubārak, who was most likely jealous of the name Rifa'ah had made for himself as a teacher and in the field of

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letters. 'Abbās favoured Mubārak and exiled Rifa'ah; Sa'id, when he came to the throne, favoured Rifa'ah and exiled Mubārak. It must be noticed that, in this part of his work under 'Abbās, he must have been a rival to Rifa'ah, for he appears to have taken over the same work that Rifa'ah used to undertake in the School of Languages and in the Translation Bureau; it is significant that Baiyūnī Ef., who had done good work at the school of Engineering, was exiled with Rifa'ah and actually died in al-Khārjīyām⁸; others were exiled at the same time, including Ahmad Tā'īl.⁹

Nevertheless, 'Abbās's treatment of Rifa'ah is surprising; but Rifa'ah may have been opposed by certain bigoted shaikhs of al-Azhar, who probably considered that he was trespassing on their domain in the teaching of religious law and theology. Delatré, who visited the school administered by Rifa'ah under Sa'id, states that his colleagues, the 'ulamā', detested him⁸; he was probably considered in much the same way as Muḥammad 'Abduh was regarded at a much later date, in view of his interest in learning that was outside the scope of al-Azhar's teachings, although Rifa'ah's religious beliefs have never been questioned.

The position then in 1852 with regard to the schools was as follows:

(1) Madrasat al-Mufri'ah; Sa'd-Abiyyah.
(2) 'Amaliyyah.
(3) Mubandishbānāh.
(4) Tībāh (Medicine).

Very little is reported about the 'Amaliyyah, although it is significant that the anglophile Hekekyān was dismissed and that the directorship of this school passed to an Englishman; the school, being a civil school, was probably attached to the School of Engineering for administration.

The School of Engineering passed through a rather interesting phase. 'Ali Mubārak had returned from France in 1849, and after being employed in the School of Artillery for a short time, was attached to the staff of Sulaimān Pasha. Through the

¹  Eftihār, 34/13.
²  Sāfīnī, op. cit., II 263.
⁴  I.e., the new school cost less to run than the old ones.
⁵  I.e., in 1851.
⁷  Rāfī', op. cit., III 486.
⁸  Ibid., p. 418.
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latter, he came into close contact with Gallice Bey, 1 who introduced him to Abbâs Pasha with two other Egyptians who had been in Paris with Mubârak, namely, Ḥammâd ‘Abdallâh-Atî and Ali Ibrâhîm. Towards the end of 1850, Abbâs called them all into his presence and ordered them to examine the engineers posted in the provinces and also the teachers of the School of Engineering. They toured the whole country, performed the task demanded of them, replacing the old engineers with new men who were graduates of the School of Engineering. During their visits to various parts of the country, they were commissioned to report on and to undertake other engineering works.

About the end of 1851, Lambert presented the budget of the Observatory and the Engineering School 2 to Abbâs, asking for 20,000 purses (i.e., £E 100,000). 3 Abbâs, surprised at this huge figure, called in his three Egyptians and asked them to discuss the financial aspect of this school and the Observatory, and to draw up a scheme which would be more economical. The three efendi withdrew and, in spite of their efforts to come to some kind of agreement, they could not fix upon any one scheme, so Abbâs Mubârak took it upon him to draw up a plan without the aid of his colleagues. Time went by and as Abbâs’s Egyptian advisers had not presented the scheme, he sent them, and to his astonishment, was presented with Mubârak’s individual report showing that the school could be run on a budget of £E 5,000 provided the Observatory was abolished, which he recommended in view of the absence of any qualified Egyptian astronomers. He further recommended that men should be sent to Europe to specialise in this branch.

Abbâs was delighted with Mubârak’s plan, but, before accepting it, he put it before the heads of the Divân and Lambert for discussion and approval. This took eight days and the outcome of the meetings led to an interview of Mubârak with

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‘Abbâs. The ruler asked the would-be reorganiser if he thought the plan could be a success, to which Mubârak replied that it depended upon the director; ‘Abbâs thereupon promoted him to the rank of amir al-muamalât and made him director of the school and its dependencies, which post he kept until Sa'id sent him to the Crimea.

Although ‘Abdî Shukrí was ‘Abâsî of the Divân al-Madâris, probably his functions were connected mainly with the public works and buildings, since ‘Abbâs charged Mubârak with the selection of the teachers, the students, the books and other arrangements of the Madrassat al-Mafrûsah. Mubârak seems to have been the virtual head of the educational programmes of the Divân al-Madâris; his influence with Abbâs Pasha was such that it can be claimed that he was in great part responsible for the organisation adopted during his reign.

Abbâs Mubârak, according to his autobiography, took a great interest in the teaching methods of the members of his staff and was constantly visiting their classes, making suggestions regarding their behaviour and how to discipline the students. He took a vital interest, too, in the preparation of suitable texts for the students of all the schools and the army, writing them and translating them with the help of his colleagues. He made use of the printing and lithograph presses and records that he printed over 60,000 books for the use of the technical and military schools. The School of Engineering lithograph press, in particular, turned out atlases and illustrated works under his direction. 4

There must have been a considerable number of students at the School of Engineering during the period that ‘Abbâs Mubârak was director, for the budget of 1830 5 showed 211 students with an annual expenditure of £E 2,575-20 PT; the 1849 budget showed 323 students with an annual cost of £E 30,850-50 PT which, of course, included the expenditure on the Observatory. ‘Abbâs was more economical than Muḥammad ‘Ali, as has been seen with the comparative cost of the Madrassat al-Mafrûsah and the old military schools; consequently, with the Observatory now no longer drawing on the school funds, and the budget fixed at £E 5,000, there must have been over four hundred students at work. Probably the students who had been under Rif‘ah in the School of Languages and Accountancy were transferred to the School of Engineering.

1 Kyot, 9/43-5; Râfi‘, ‘Aṣr Ismâ‘îl, 1/234-5. 2 v. supra, p. 219.

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The School of Medicine presented some difficulties. It has been
seen from the above statement that 'Abbâs Pasha employed
223 medical men, pharmacists and orderlies in the army; it is
hardly likely, therefore, that he should wish to neglect the School
of Medicine. In 1849, the statistics show that there were 126
students in the school; by this time, the Egyptian efemâs who
had been to Paris were at work in the school as professors and
doctors.

Clot Bey resigned in April 1849 and wrote unfavourably about
'Abbâs in his memoirs. Contemporary writers endeavour to
prove that the school could not be run by the native doctors;
Duvigneau and Perron both tried to manage the school and
hospital for a short time, but both were unsuccessful and returned
to France. Perron was busy at this time with his Arabic studies
and collecting books. Muhammad Shâfi'I was given a chance as
director but was a failure, and, 'Abbâs, not willing to give up the
struggle, and at the suggestion of some of his officials, turned
in 1850 to Germany, where he was able to avail himself of the services
of Wilhelm Griesinger, professor of pathology at Kiel. He
became director of the School and Hospital, president of the
Sanitary Council and private physician to 'Abbâs. 'Abbâs also acquired the services of Theodor Bilharz shortly after
Griesinger's arrival; he was appointed assistant professor of
surgery and became professor of medicine in 1856 and professor of
descriptive anatomy later on. Both Griesinger and Bilharz
devoted themselves to important medical research work in Egypt
although their Egyptian colleagues and the students proved very
hard to manage and the school was used as an arena for
ternational rivalries. Bilharz discovered the parasite called
Schistosoma haematobium, generally called Bilharzia after the
name of the discoverer, and Griesinger wrote many useful works
on diseases peculiar to the Egyptians. Gayer, who had come
with Griesinger and was appointed as a surgeon, replaced
griesinger in 1852 as the latter had only accepted the post on a
contract of two years.

These Germans were essentially scholars and were too

1 Quoted by Mahfouz, p. 39.

2 supra, pp. 242-3.


4 See Perron's letters to M. Mohl, edited by Arito Pasha, Cairo, 1911.

5 Clot, Relation des phases parcourues par l'institution medicale en Egypte
tous les gouvernements d'Abbas et de Said Pasha, s.d. p. 2, states simply that
two boys advised 'Abbâs to get the Germans.

6 Bourges, Histoire de Clot Bey, s.d. Chapter X, pp. 65-9, where a short
account of the hospital and school during this period is given.

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engrossed in their research work to become acclimatized to the
Egyptian atmosphere at the hospital. Whatever may be said
against the military system on which all the institutions of
Muhammad 'Ali had been run, yet there is much in its favour,
for, without the iron hand of discipline, very little could be
achieved. An outsider, coming fresh to the system from a
European university, would find it hard to adapt himself to it and
to pick up the reins from a predecessor; but if the reins were
once dropped slackness set in amongst both staff and students,
leading to an almost certain collapse of the structure. This
applies particularly to the School of Medicine and Hospital.
The system and Clot Bey had grown up together; with Clot's
removal, the school lost its direction, and the constant change of
directors before the arrival of the Germans could only have made
matters worse. 'Abbâs could see that things were going from bad
to worse and decided to accept the advice of an Italian merchant,
M. Petracchi, who offered to acquire the services of some eminent
Italians. These were the Doctors Raggi and Ranzi of Florence.
Raggi was made professor of medicine, and Ranzi, professor of
surgery.

The Egyptian doctors and translators who had been so
hard put to it during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, translating
works into Arabic, now took a rest, for hardly a single translation
appeared under 'Abbâs. It needed the strong hand of a task
master to make them work, and 'Abbâs had not the capacity
to do this, yet it will be seen that 'Abbâs sent a large number of
medical men to Europe, in fact, more than Muhammad 'Ali.
Their names will be given below.

Education Missions to Europe during the reign of 'Abbâs I

When 'Abbâs came to the throne, the Egyptian Military
School in Paris was still in existence and there were a number of
students accommodated in it. Most of the students who
had been sent in 1844 had finished their courses and were due to
return home; the military mission students were, in fact, recalled
and the remaining students were able to go to other private
houses or schools in order to continue their studies. Zaidân
maintains that the French revolution of 1848 had affected the
school and made it necessary to close it down but there seems
nothing unusual in closing down an establishment, the usefulness

1 Clot, Relations des phases, etc., p. 7.
2 Zaidân, Ta'rîkh al-Adâb al-ahbash al-'Arabiyyah, IV/33.
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of which had ceased to exist; it had served its purpose and the
new ruler had no longer any use for it. If Egyptians or Turks
were to be sent to Europe, it would be far more beneficial if they
were encouraged to frequent French homes, French schools and
establishments and French society, if possible, rather than to
have them all housed in one place where they would be sure to
form a small colony and, thrown together, would find little or no
inducement to speak French, and certainly no external influences
to stimulate their minds.

Although the school had been set up mainly for the training
of military officers yet it had been used for other purposes as we
have seen from the list of students sent in 1844. There are
probably two other reasons for the cessation of this school in
Paris apart from the expense of keeping it up. ‘Abbās did not
think it necessary to send his students to France alone, he pre-
ferred to use his own discretion and to send them to those countries
which were famous for certain specialities, such as the schools
of medicine in Germany and Austria and engineering studies in
England. Another perhaps more surprising aspect of his own
missions to Europe was the fact that he paid far less attention
to military missions then did Muhammad ‘Ali and Ibrāhīm.
He was probably of the opinion that military specialisation had
been overdone out of all proportion with other kinds of training
which would be more beneficial to the service of the country. 1

‘Abbās, although he recalled those who had been sent to take
up military studies, yet still maintained the others who had
been sent to England and France and who had not yet completed
their work. The above lists show the date of return of most of
them.

Artin, whose work on education in Egypt has been one of the
main sources of previous writers on this subject, gives the total
number of students sent by ‘Abbās as 19 with a total expenditure
of £E.49,675; ‘Abdallah Nadim 2 gives the total of 48 with a
total expenditure of £E.82,923. The following lists will show
that Nadim’s figure is nearer the truth and will also show that
‘Abbās cannot be accused of having neglected the mission side
of Egyptian educational policy. The outstanding feature of his
missions was the attention which he paid to the value of educa-
tional work done in other countries besides France, especially
in medicine. Only three students were sent to France during
his reign.


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First Mission to Bavaria sent 12th June, 1849
1. Sālim Sālim.
2. Ḥādī Ibrāhīm.
3. Ḥasan Muhammad al-Affī.
5. Muhammad ‘Umar.
7. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā Buṣnāk.
8. Murād Yūsūf.

Second batch attached to the first Mission sent 31st October, 1850
10. Muhammad ʿAsh-Sāmī.
11. Mūsā Muḥammad.
12. Muḥammad Hilmi.
13. Ḥādi Ibrāhīm an-Nābūwī.
14. Ḥasan ʿAmīr.
15. Muḥammad Nāfī.

Second Mission sent to England 20th January, 1850

Another batch sent 31st October, 1850 and attached to this Mission
17. Muhammad Badr.

Third Mission to France sent 8th October, 1850
22. Naḥmūd Aḥmad.
23. İsmāʿil Muṣṭafā.
24. Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm.

Fourth Mission to Italy (Pisa) sent end October, 1850
25. Muhammad Rūyān.
26. Ibrāhīm Shāhīn.
27. ‘Ali Shūshah.
28. Muḥammad Hāmid.
29. Gurgit Dīmītī.

Fifth Mission sent to Vienna in 1851
30. İsmāʿil Kāmiǐ.
31. ‘Abdar-Rāziq Hilmi.
32. ‘Uṯmān Gālib.
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Sixth Mission sent to Berlin either at the end of 1853 or at the beginning of 1854

33. Hāthī `Ifrīt.
34. Muhammad Rāshīd.
35. Muhammad Nāshī.
36. Khūridh Nāshī.
37. Muṣṭafā Nāšī.
38. Haṣāid Amin.
41. Yusuf Shuhīd.

If Nadīm’s figure is correct, then there are seven others whose names have not been recorded.

Biographical Notices:

1. Father an Azhari employed by Muhammad ‘Ali as a preacher to one of the regiments, later as a corrector of the translations done in the School of Medicine; Sālim learnt the Korān at first in the kuttābās and then joined Muhammad ‘Ali’s schools; he studied for two years at the School of Languages under Kifā’ah, at the end of 1844, he joined the School of Medicine where he stayed until about 1846; chosen by Asham and Clot for the medical mission to Munich with eight others; he returned to Egypt in 1855 and filled many important posts; he translated three works into Arabic; died 1893.

2. Sent to Munich to study medicine; returned November, 1852, and was employed in the Civil Service and then in the Naval Medical Service.

3. Sent to Munich to study medicine, later to Vienna; returned November, 1855, employed in the Army Medical Service and under Ismā’īl, in the Public Health Dept.

4. Studied medicine in Munich and Vienna; returned November, 1855; employed in the Army Medical Service, then with Sa‘d Pasha and later in the Public Health Dept.; at the time of the ‘Arābī rebellion, he was Chief Physician in the War Dept.; he took part in the rebellion and was exiled with Muhammad ‘Abūd, and Ḥāfīz al-Lākānī to Syria; he later went to Constantinople where he became private physician to Prince Muhammad ‘Abdallāh; he returned to Cairo in 1888 and set up in private practice; died 1912.

5. Sent to Munich to study Medicine but returned in November, 1852, before he completed his studies; he appears to have been appointed as a teacher in the Muḥānādshāhnāmah.

6. Sent to Munich to study medicine, returned in November, 1855, and was employed in the Army Medical Service under Sa‘d Pasha; under Ismā’īl Pasha, he was employed in the Dept. of the Interior.

7. Sent to Munich to study medicine in 1849 and returned in November, 1855; employed in the Army Medical Service and later in the Dept. of the Interior.

8. Sent to Munich to study medicine and on his return in November, 1855, was employed in the Army Medical Service.

9. As 7 and 8 (returned January, 1855).

10. As 7 and 8 (returned January, 1855).

11. As 7 and 8 (returned January, 1855).

12. As 9, 10 and 11.

13. Son of Ibrāhīm an-Nabārūf, one of the first medical students sent to France; he stayed in Munich until 1862 and then was sent to France; he returned to Egypt in 1863 and was employed in the Public Health Dept.

14. As 12.

15. As 12; under Ismā’īl Pasha, he was made Chief Medical Officer in the Schools Dept.

16. Sent to England to study mechanics; returned to Egypt in January, 1853; was employed on the railways for a time and then in the foundries.

17. Studied at several of the schools in Egypt, including the School of Medicine; sent to England to study medicine and on his return, was first of all employed in the Army Medical Service and then in the School of Medicine; he was given many other posts in various parts of Egypt and went to Europe several times after his return; he wrote three works on medicine; died 1876.

18. Sent to study medicine at Edinburgh; returned in April, 1856; employed in the Army Medical Service for a time but after a short while, gave up the appointment and returned to England where he took up commerce on his own account; it is said that he probably died in England.

19. His father was the chief clerk in the School of Medicine; sent to Edinburgh to study medicine and returned in April, 1856; under Sa‘d, he was employed in the Army Medical Service and under Ismā’īl, he was employed in the Civil Service. He had a good reputation as a doctor; died 1880.

20. Studied medicine at Edinburgh; returned to Egypt in April, 1856; employed in the Army Medical Service and later in the Public Health Dept.

21. Studied medicine at Edinburgh and returned to Egypt in April, 1856; employed in the Army Medical Service and then as a teacher of English because he knew English so well; Ismā’īl Pasha chose him as a private tutor to his sons in order to teach them English; he afterwards was employed in the schools and was appointed to high administrative posts; he was suspected of political intrigues after the ‘Arābī rebellion in 1883; died 1905.

22. First of all, he studied in the Naval School under Muhammad ‘Ali, then in the School of Engineering; he worked as a teacher before he was sent to France to study mathematics and astronomy; returned to Egypt in August, 1859; he became director of the School of Engineering and the Observatory in 1871; he represented Egypt on two scientific congresses, one in Paris in 1875 and the other in Vienna in 1881; he became a famous scholar who left behind many works on mathematics and astronomy.

23. Was a student of 22 and achieved fame in the same branches.
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he represented Egypt on a scientific congress in Moscow in 1873; he
wrote several important works.
24. Sent to study the same branches as 22 and 23; returned in
1855 (March); was private tutor to Isma'il's sons and later an
engineer in the Public Works Dept.
25. Sent to Pisa to study medicine and then went on to France;
he returned to Egypt in January, 1859, and was apparently employed
in the School of Medicine after his return.
26. Sent to Pisa to study medicine and returned in 1857; em-
ployed in the School of Medicine on his return.
27. Sent to Pisa to study medicine and returned in 1857; em-
ployed in the Hospital on his return and then in the Public Health
Dept.; in 1863, he went on pension and opened a private clinic
and a pharmacy which was well known and patronised. Died in
1903.
28. Studied medicine at Pisa and returned in 1857; he was
not employed by the government on account of some misunderstanding.
29. Apparently of Greek extraction; studied at the School of
Medicine and was sent to Italy with 25, 26, 27, and 28; on his
return, he was employed in the Hospital and later sent to the Sūdān
with the military forces; other members of his family appear to have
studied medicine and one turned Moslem and married into an
Egyptian family.
30. Isma'il Kāmil was a Circassian and was brought to Egypt by
his father who went to the Hijāz and died there; Isma'il was
educated in the government schools and then sent to Vienna to
study medicine; during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, he was transferred
to Paris for the purpose of taking up military studies; he was sent
with the expedition to Crete in 1866, to Abyssinia in 1875 and was
later employed with the Turkish forces; he achieved high rank and
was made a pasha and had a reputation of being a good soldier;
his officers sent to relieve Gordon. He died in 1902.
31. Brother of 30. Sent to Berlin to study medicine; under
Sa'id Pasha, he changed over to military studies; he did not stay
very long in Berlin for Sa'id ordered him to return and sent him to
one of his schools in Cairo; he was employed in the army and later
in the police; died 1895.
32. (Circassian.) Sent to Berlin to study medicine and then
changed over to military studies; he rose to high rank and was
sent on several campaigns; he was commissioned by the
Khedive to negotiate with the Dervishes in the Sūdān; he filled
high administrative posts and in 1893, he was Nāṣir of the War
and Naval Departments; he died in 1899.
Out of 41 students, 31 were sent to study medicine, although
Sa'id Pasha made some of them change over to military science
afterwards, while three took up mathematics and astronomy.
Most of these students did not return until after the death of
'Abbās Pasha, but they helped in the development of modern
Egypt and several of them did first class work.
The sixth mission appears to have been organised a little
differently to the others; the students were very young (three
were fourteen, four were fifteen, one was sixteen and one was
seventeen), and were probably in need of extra supervision; the
teachers who were put in charge of their studies were MM.
Helwing, Mahon, Saeger, Lehmann, Plotsch, Meyer, Musfeldt,
Ballot, and Lutze; Professor Mitscherlich was the supervisor
and Dr. Goeckede, the medical officer.
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NON-GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION WORK

Catholic Missionary Schools

The Catholics continued their progress under 'Abbâs; he does not appear to have interfered with their religious and cultural life any more than did Muḥammad 'Ali or Ibrâhîm. The activities in Cairo were not in any way restricted; the Franciscans rebuilt their church in the Mūski in 1832 and built another in the same year in the Bâlāk quarter, the latter being particularly frequented by the Maltese section of the population. When the Frères left the Lazarists in Alexandria in 1832, they decided to run their own college. They appear to have taken over the Frères' Pensionnat where fees had to be paid for the instruction given; as it was only just begun under the direction of Abbé Bel, it probably had but few students by the end of the reign of 'Abbâs in 1854. Guérin visited this college in 1858. The Frères then sought refuge with the Franciscan fathers where they were able to keep up their École gratuite; on the 15th April, 1853, they laid the foundation stone of the college which was given the name of Saint-Catherine on account of its proximity to the church. This took the place of the Pensionnat which had been taken over by the Lazarists. The École gratuite remained at the convent of the Franciscan father until 1857. In 1854 the Frères extended their educational work to Cairo, five brethren being sent to Cairo at the request of Mgr. Perpetuo Guasco, the Vicar and Apostolic Delegate of Egypt. Father Leonardo, guardian of the convent in Cairo, gave them a house opposite his convent and busied himself in procuring sufficient funds to enable the Frères to carry on their teaching work in an École gratuite. Leonardo himself gave a thousand francs towards the work, and the school was opened on the 15th February, 1854. After the opening of this school, the same policy which had been pursued in Alexandria was now adopted in Cairo; the school was divided into two parts, one where the students had to pay fees, and the other where they were taught gratuitously. The Office of the Propaganda in Rome undertook to make an allowance of 2,400 francs annually from the 1st October, 1854, in order to cover the cost of three of the Frères.

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The five Frères were soon found to be insufficient on account of the growing number of students and three others were sent in November of the same year. The Frères gave the name of Saint-Joseph to their Pensionnat. Amici gives 1853 as the date of the foundation of the Pensionnat of the Bon Pasteur in Port Said, as well as of another day school where fees were paid. The Franciscan fathers appear to have recommenced their work in Upper Egypt where they had settled during the 18th century; they opened a school for boys in Nagādah in 1850 and another in Girgâ in 1853.

The Copts.

The various attempts made to introduce western educational methods into Egypt do not appear to have affected the Coptic population. One never meets with a Coptic name, although they continued to serve Muḥammad 'Ali in much the same way as they had always served the rulers. They had their own kalâbs or elementary religious schools, but no establishment for higher learning. The Catholics had come into contact with some Copts in Upper Egypt and a few Copts had been sent to Rome for their education. During the latter part of Muḥammad 'Ali's reign, the English Missionaries had been able to open one or two schools, some of the students of which had been employed by Muḥammad 'Ali.

No attempt had been made to reform the Coptic Church until the reign of 'Abbâs; but during his period, a reform party appeared at the head of which was a Coptic monk who became the Patriarch and was known as Cyril IV.

Cyril, whose original name was Dâ'ûd, is an outstanding figure in 19th century Egypt. He was born in the province of Girgâ of very poor parents. He learned to read and write Arabic and Coptic in the local Coptic schools, and used to mix with the Arabs, from whom he learnt to ride very well. When he

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5 E. supra, p. 85 sq.
6 E. supra, p. 87.
7 E. supra, p. 89.
8 E. supra, p. 277 sq.
9 Rufaihah, Ta'rikh al-Ummat al-Khitayyab, Cairo, 1898, p. 303, sq.
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was 23, he entered the monastery of St. Anthony, and soon made himself conspicuous on account of his intelligence, good judgment and studious habits. After he had been at the monastery for about two years, the head of it died and his companions voted for him as the new head. He took a great interest in the cultural welfare of his companions and the local people and is reputed to have started a kind of centre where they could meet to discuss religious and literary problems; he is also credited with having opened a school at Basha where young Copts could learn Coptic and Arabic.

Trouble had broken out in Abyssinia between the Archbishop and his clergy, and Cyril was sent by the Patriarch to investigate the affair and to effect a reconciliation between the two parties. He had not been away more than a year when the Patriarch died (in 1852). The usual elections for the nomination of his successor followed; one party nominated Dā’ūd, and another the Bishop of Ikhmim. The latter's supporters turned down Dā’ūd on the ground that he was unknown, but, during the discussions, news arrived that Dā’ūd had reached the frontiers of Egypt, a fact which encouraged Dā’ūd's party.

A good deal of strife followed for about ten months, during which time the relative merits of each candidate were being discussed, but Dā’ūd had a strong following on account of his known leanings towards reform. The quarrel ended with a compromise through the influence of a certain Wortabet and Dā’ūd was selected as Archbishop on probation in 1853 with the permission of ‘Abbās; in the very next year, having proved his worth, he was made Patriarch and took the name of Cyril IV.

Immediately he was made Archbishop, however, he set to work to introduce some more up-to-date schools.¹ His first school was the Coptic Patriarchal College which he began to build in 1853.² In the same year, he started three other schools, a girls' school in the Azbakiahy quarter, another girls' school in Harat as-Sakka’n, and a boy's school in the same quarter.³

This was the first attempt on the part of the Copts to set up their own schools with a view to introducing Western methods, and it is significant that Cyril paid as much attention to the education of the girls as he did for the boys. As the development of these Coptic schools belongs to a later period, it is not

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proposed to go beyond the limits of the reign of ‘Abbās; suffice it to note that ‘Abbās had helped Cyril to the office of Patriarch and did not stand in the way of his reforms. The nomination of Cyril marks a turning point in the cultural history of the Copts.¹

The Greeks

On turning to the Greeks who had been busy with their educational schemes during the reign of Muhammad ‘Ali, we find them pushing ahead. The results of their efforts do great credit to their public spirit. In 1854, the Alexandria Greek Community built a large building for the accommodation of the elementary school, a school for boys, another for girls and a library; it had been built at the expense of Tossizza who had also given the community the site on which to build; and was called after the name of its founder.²

The Caïrene Community was not yet organised during the reign of ‘Abbās I, but the famous Greek school known as the Abed School after its founders must be mentioned here. The school did not belong to the Community but was set up by the three brothers Abed (Raphael, Ananias and Georges); the school building was begun in 1854 but was not finished until 1856, i.e., during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, and so will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Other Communities

There was no fresh development on the part of the English missionary Societies, although Mr. Lieder was still in the country.³ The American Presbyterian Mission began work in Egypt in 1854, but the activities of this mission fall into a later period.

‘Abbās left four schools, two of which were very large and supplied the government services with the required number of officials, which was all that he intended to do. There was no boast that the education of the people was being encouraged and was receiving the support of the ruler. There was no demand for public education; the schools of ‘Abbās, which

¹ Rufailah, op. cit., p. 311.

Khišaf, 6/72, Iskarius, Nasūba al-Abbās, Cairo, 1910, 117/78-9 and 135.

¹ Fowler, op. cit., p. 243 sq.
² a. supr. p. 278, Politis, op. cit., I, 279-81, Amici gives the name of the École gratuite Hellené-Egyptienne set up in Alexandria in 1844; it is not clear whether this is the same school or some other private establishment; this name is not given elsewhere; v. op. cit., pp. 270-1.
³ Politis, op. cit., I, 443.
⁴ Fowler, op. cit., p. 243.
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were not created in order to supply men for Armies which were in constant action, were in wise proportion to the size of the fighting and administrative services, and did not throw any undue strain on the financial resources of the country.

CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMAD SA'ID (1854–1863)

Sa'id to Koenig, "Why open the eyes of the people, they will only be more difficult to rule."—(Malortie, Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference, London, 1882, p. 69.)

'Abbas was assassinated on the 13th July, 1854 in his palace at Banha and was succeeded by Muhammad Sa'id, fourth son of Muhammad 'Ali and 'Abbas's uncle. He had been educated by European teachers, among whom was Koenig, who had come to Egypt during the beginning of the first military reforms, and who now became Sa'id's secretary. Sa'id is reputed to have spoken French and English fluently, but he could not read Turkish, his mother tongue. He had been trained for the navy and had attained the rank of Admiral of the Fleet under his father, but when 'Abbas came to the throne, he resigned his post, withdrew from public affairs and retired to Alexandria.

The new ruler represents the very antithesis of the sensible 'Abbas. Sa'id was francophile to an absurd degree; his weakness of character and vanity led him to surround himself with worthless courtiers and adventurers, whom 'Abbas had wisely avoided. He lacked the good judgment of his predecessor, was careless, impetuous, extravagant and unstable. A typical Oriental, his wish to go down in history as a liberal and generous monarch only led him to dispose of the revenues of the country, to leave it in debt at this death, to make his subjects regret the reign of 'Abbas, and to involve his successor in all sorts of problems which he had neither the character nor the abilities to solve.

'Abbas had been described, among other things, as suspicious; but his suspicions never allowed him to go to the lengths of Sa'id, who, when about to visit the Sudân, disbanded the whole
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of his army for fear of its rebelling against him during his absence, and on his return, mobilised it again.¹

Sa'id found a well-equipped army on his accession; his complete lack of discipline and order ruined it. He had an "amiable weakness" in the belief of his own genius for war² and his favourite hobby was the almost constant manoeuvring of his troops until it became a joke. He thought he was being just in reforming the regulations for conscription so that all classes should be available for military service and that the fallâhîn should not be sacrificed to the advantage of the other classes,³ but his system only made him intensely unpopular with the very people from whom he sought popularity.⁴

He sought to promote Egyptian officers to high rank in the army—and spoil them—so that Turks and Circassians should not monopolise the posts of command,⁵ a practice which alienated the class from which he had sprung⁶ and which was dropped under Ismâ'îl Pasha.⁷ This was one of the chief complaints of the 'Arâbî rebels; 'Arâbî quotes Sa'id's speech to the effect that Egyptians should have equality with the Turks and Circassians⁸ and was hurt that Ismâ'îl and Taufik had not acted in the same way.

The Egyptian Government, i.e., Sa'id, having pledged itself to the Suez Canal enterprise, had to supply four fifths of the labour for digging, and Sa'id disbanded a large part of his army in order to fulfil his engagements. In 1860, when he re-mobilised his army, he had 64,000 men,⁹ but we have it on the authority of de Lesseps himself that Sa'id reduced the forces to eight to ten thousand men in order to send them to work on the Canal.¹⁰ The degeneration of the Egyptian Army dates back to Sa'id's reign; with him it was a toy. The sacrifice of man power and of the financial resources of the country resulting

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from the Suez Canal enterprise was as disastrous as had been Muhammad 'Ali's campaigns and monopolies. The plan which had been the ambition of the Saint-Simonites,¹¹ and with which Muhammad 'Ali had toyed in order to keep certain Europeans interested in him,¹² but with which no one dared approach 'Abbâs,¹³ became the trap into which Sa'id fell, and which finally helped lead the country to bankruptcy and the British occupation. De Lesseps, in his memoir to Sa'id Pasha on the 15th November, 1854, pointed out to him the financial, commercial and political advantages that the waterway would offer to Egypt in particular, and that it would be a guarantee for Egyptian independence instead of compromising it;¹⁴ the most casual acquaintance with the history of modern Egypt proves exactly the contrary.

Owing to the opposition of the Porte and the invention of steam-power for sea-going vessels, the Egyptian Navy had to be neglected. Sa'id tried to find employment for the ships, officers and men on two mercantile enterprises, run by Europeans for the most part, but they do not appear to have been very successful.¹⁵ Sa'id, it is true, introduced reforms which should have improved the economic welfare of the fallâhîn, his extravagance and the responsibilities he took upon himself outweighed the material advantages of these measures.

In the same erratic manner as Sa'id dealt with his army, so did he treat educational matters.

Merrau, who wrote in 1857, appreciates the difficulties that Muhammad 'Ali had to face in establishing a system of education; he states that "Tous ces efforts n'ont rien produit. C'était une semence exotique, jetée sur un terrain mal préparé. Elle n'a pas fructifié. Les familles ont considéré l'obligation d'envoyer les enfants aux écoles, à peine près du même œil qu'elles envisageaient la nécessité de les envoyer à l'armée." He points out that the transformation that Muhammad 'Ali wished to undertake must necessarily be the work of generations and not of a few years; he endeavours to defend Sa'id by stating that Muhammad 'Ali's institutions were neglected by 'Abbâs and were in such a decadent and disorderly state on the accession of Sa'id, that he considered

¹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/270; Râîf, ibid., I/32.
² Cameron, op. cit., pp. 27-8 and p. 75.
³ 'Abbâs began the conscription reform but it was Sa'id who extended it to include the Copts, without exception, and the shaikh classes; v. supra, pp. 253-4 and Sarhank, op. cit., p. 260. "Abbâs sometimes took Copts, v. Senior, op. cit., II/72-4.
⁴ Senior, op. cit., II/45, where it is reported that the regular army hated Sa'id, see also Merrau, op. cit., pp. 20-44.
⁶ Râîf, op. cit., I/31.
⁷ Sacré and Oubron, L'Egypte et Ismail Pacha, Paris, 1865, pp. 166-7; Blunt, ibid., p. 131.
⁸ Blunt, loc. cit., Râîf, loc. cit.
⁹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/275.
¹⁰ Râîf, ibid., I/32-3.
¹¹ V. supra, pp. 144-5.
¹² Cameron, op. cit., pp. 236.
¹³ Sarhank, ibid., II/273; Râîf, ibid., I/34-6.
¹⁴ Merrau, L'Egypte contemporaine, Paris, 1858, p. 81.
¹⁵ Ibid., p. 70.
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it better to suppress them altogether rather than endeavour to reorganise them.\footnote{The doubtful logic of this way of reasoning has been criticised by Räfīṭ.\footnote{Alderberg explains Sa'id's action in the following terms, "Sa'id-Pacha, de son côté, détruit aujourd'hui (c.1860) tout ce qu'il a fait son prédécesseur à lui et à l'Égypte, quand il en trouve l'occasion, de donner tort à son neveu, en faisant au contraire revivre la gloire de son père" and adds further that money was wasted on his whims and hatreds. Murrue, however, also admits that Muhammad 'Ali himself neglected most of the schools after the signing of the peace treaty.\footnote{The education policy adopted by Muhammad 'Ali up to 1840 had failed because it was only applicable to certain conditions, viz., perpetual warfare and that after 1841 was one of neglect and indifference; 'Abbās's policy was stable and suitable to the state of Egypt during his reign. Egyptian writers, particularly, fail to appreciate the fact that there was no Egyptian public opinion at this time, and that there was no demand for education. In fact, education as understood in the west was not the education that had been presented to the Egyptians, and they had serious misapprehensions about it.}}

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If it is true that some at least of the schools that Sa'id found on his accession were in a state of decadence, the School of Medicine appears to have been the worst. He is reported to have closed it for the reason that it had become a trade to deliver fraudulent certificates of ill-health to exempt men from military service.\footnote{This is no reflection on 'Abbās but on the moral courage of the Egyptians who resorted to such a practice and on the character of the Egyptian doctors who were in responsible positions in the school and hospital and who had not yet learnt to uphold the dignity of their profession as medical men.}

The account given above of the School of Engineering under 'Ali Mubārak disproves the fact that this school was decedent, yet Sa'id closed it in August, 1854, i.e., one month after his accession, obviously for no other reason than that 'Abbās had made a success of it; 'Ali Mubārak was sent to the Crimea, and complains in his memoir that calumniators had brought this upon him and upon the school of which he was so proud.\footnote{Murrue, ibid., p. 82. \footnote{Avery Isma'il, 1/44. \footnote{Ibid., 1/92. \footnote{Ibid., pp. 85-8. \footnote{Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 49. Sa'id put the students into the army. \footnote{Kibbi, 9/44.}}}}

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The 'Amaliyah was closed in December, 1854 and the director was probably dismissed.\footnote{The first school that Sa'id opened was the Madrasat al-Murar, or "War School," in the Citadel, constituted in July, 1856 under Rifa'ah, who had been recalled from the Sudan. Rifa'ah was given several other departments to supervise at the same time, namely, the Translation Bureau, the School of Accountancy, the School of Civil Engineering and the Inspectorate of the Building Department. The School of Accountancy was probably a smaller version of the old School of Languages and Accountancy which Rifa'ah had managed before being sent to the Sudan. The School of Civil Engineering and Building Department was apparently the Madrasat al-'Imārah, the}

On the other hand, Sa'id did not close down the Madrasat al-Murarah until September 1864; Ahmad Bey Kamāl was director until February, 1856. Ahmad Ef. al-Jazzā'irī until December, 1858, Ibrahīm Adham until June, 1860, Ḥasan Sulaimān until August, 1860 and Sulaimān Najjātī until August, 1861. This continual change of directors displays his fickleness, and could not have a very salutary effect upon the establishment.

Five months after Sa'id had come to the throne, he had the Dīwān al-Madaris closed and, thereafter, appears to have managed the schools, either through the Dīwān al-Jihābīyah, or by himself; he then, "rétablit, supprima, puis rétablit et supprima de nouveau, les écoles de l'État, selon ses fantaisies et ses besoins du moment, selon les influences diverses qui agissent son esprit, et enfin, selon les embarras financiers auxquels il voulait mettre un terme, ou bien l'état florissant, en apparence, des ressources financières du moment."\footnote{The first school that Sa'id opened was the Madrasat al-Murar, or "War School," in the Citadel, constituted in July, 1856 under Rifa'ah, who had been recalled from the Sudan. Rifa'ah was given several other departments to supervise at the same time, namely, the Translation Bureau, the School of Accountancy, the School of Civil Engineering and the Inspectorate of the Building Department. The School of Accountancy was probably a smaller version of the old School of Languages and Accountancy which Rifa'ah had managed before being sent to the Sudan. The School of Civil Engineering and Building Department was apparently the Madrasat al-'Imārah, the}

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THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
Ecole d'Architecture, opened in January, 1858 under Aḥmad Ḥilmi.

How it was possible for Rifā'ah to direct all these schools, the principal one of which was the Military School, also called Madrasat Arkān al-Ḥarb, or Military Staff School, but in reality only a preparatory school, is hard to say, as he had had no real military training, and had only worked as a translator in the Artillery School for a couple of years. Amin Sāmī describes the school as being divided into eight sections, which included the School of Accountancy, and it had 300 students altogether. Rifā'ah gives four other departments besides the military one, viz., the Translation Bureau, the School of Accountancy, the School of Civil Engineering and the School of Architecture. It seems to have been a combination of the Majrūsah and the Muhandis- Khānah and was probably given to Rifā'ah to direct in order to spite Mubārāk. In any case, the establishment was more ephemeral than many of Muhammad 'Alī's for it was closed in August, 1861, only three years after it had been opened; this coincides with the date of the closing of the Majrūsah in Alexandria.

The constitution of this school, or rather, the Military Preparatory School, is described in an appendix to Mernau's work on Egypt. The regulations fixed the number of students at 200, who had to be between the ages of 12 and 18 years on admission; the students, after having passed through this preparatory side, were allowed to choose their own career, and, presumably, were supposed to join one of the other departments under Rifā'ah. The subjects taught were Arabic, Turkish, Persian, English, German, French, calligraphy, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, trigonometry, linear drawing, military plans, geography and history; those who were bent on a military career had to be given practical military training.

The course was to extend over a maximum period of five years; the students received PT.100 a month and all equipment, rations, clothes and stationery, were at the charge of the government. Regulations regarding punishments, control, syllabus, were arranged in the same way as with Muhammad 'Alī's schools after the reorganisation of 1836-7.

As the school only lasted three years, it would appear that no student was able to complete the whole of the course. Delatre visited this school soon after it was opened. He states that there were 240 students and gives a short description of the syllabus; Ramseyān Ef., who had been employed in the old Muhandis Khānah as a teacher of mathematics and translator, was now teacher of French, and all the teachers were either Egyptians or Turks.

The School was served by the Translation Bureau, in which there were only eight translators; when Delatre called there, they were translating the following works:

- Vies des hommes illustres, Plutarque
- Histoire de Napoléon, L. Gallois
- Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du globe, G. Cuvier
- Mémoires de Jules César, Artaud
- Cours élémentaire d'art et d'histoire militaire, Rocquancourt
- Aide-mémoire pour l'école de bataillon des chasseurs à pied, ?

The closing of this school was apparently done with the intention of concentrating elsewhere, for in September, 1862, Sa'īd opened another military school at the Barrage where the students were accommodated in a Citadel which he had built there and which was named after him, and where he liked to spend some of his time with his troops. This new school was placed under a European, de Bernhardi, who had come to Egypt earlier for employment as a military instructor and organiser. This military school was still open when Sa'īd died in January, 1863.

The Naval School received the attentions of Sa'īd Pasha in spite of the fact that the Navy was practically non-existent. It had been closed in January, 1849, but Sa'īd reopened it in

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1 Artin, op. cit., p. 198.
2 v. supra, p. 266.
5 Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, pp. 48 and 49, also Artin, op. cit., p. 198.
8 As there were only 300 students in the whole of the school and 200 of them were in the preparatory side, then there could have been but 100 in all the other departments put together. Nadim, op. cit., pp. 741-2, gives a short account of this school and gives the total number as 256 students altogether and the monthly cost as 16,738-35 PT.
9 318
2 Ibid., p. 134.
3 Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 54 and Artin, op. cit., p. 198.
4 Cameron, op. cit., p. 230.
5 v. supra, p. 293.
6 v. supra, p. 292.
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January, 1860, under Captain Federico, an Italian; who kept his post until August, 1863.

The School of Engineering had been really reopened in the Citadel under the name of the Madrasat al-Handasat al-Muhitiyah, although there seems to be some confusion as to the name of the nâṣir. Artīn gives the name of Ahmad Ilîlim; but Sâmi simply gives the name of Ahmad. ²

The old name of Muhandîsihánah was given to another Engineering School which was opened in December, 1858, with the extra epithet of as-Sa’diyah to distinguish it as Sa’id’s creation; this, too, was set up at the Barrage and shows that it was probably intended as a military engineering school. The name of the director is also given as Ahmad Ilîlim; as Ilîlim could not have been nâṣir of a school in the Cairo Citadel and nâṣir of the Citadel at the Barrage at one and the same time, it would seem likely that the authorities, bewildered by the inconsistent behaviour of Sa’id and his schools, have chosen the easier way of crediting him with having set up two schools, whereas, he probably opened one only, and that at the Barrage. This school, again, did not retain its name for long for in August, 1861 it was closed and reopened as a military school in 1862; it may have formed part of the Military School under de Bernardi. ³

There are no contemporary accounts of the Muhandîsihánah; Sâmi reports that there were 116 students at work in it. ⁴ The closing of it coincides with the sale of the material, equipment, instruments and books (some of the books had been printed by ‘Ali Mubârak), belonging to this school just before Sa’id went to Europe. All was in good order and the prices were so low, that Mubârak, who was in disgrace at the time, bought up a great deal of the material and resold it in order to make a livelihood. ⁵

So confusing are the records of the schools opened and closed during the reign of Sa’id Pasha, that it is almost impossible to ensure accuracy. His departure for Europe was probably the cause of his behaviour between 1860 and 1862, for the schools, like his army, were his hobby.

⁴ Sâmi, op. cit., app. III, p. 53; Artīn, op. cit., p. 197.
⁶ Ibid., p. 49.
⁷ Sarbâh, op. cit., II/279.
⁹ v. supra, p. 310.
¹⁰ Sâmi, op. cit., p. 16.
¹¹ 1862, 10th Muharram, Râdi, ibid., 1/240.

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There remains one other establishment which must be dealt with, namely the School of Medicine, which Sa’id closed in the year after his accession, only to reopen it on the 10th September, 1856, with much pomp and ceremony. Clot Bey had returned from France in order to manage the school and hospital, but his health broke down and he had to retire in 1858. It is not quite clear who directed the School at the beginning of its re-establishment; Tüsîn, Sâmi, and Artīn give the name of ‘Abd al-Rasûl Ef. Abîf as director from November, 1859 to October, 1861. Presumably Clot was in charge until he went away. The regulations that were drawn up by Clot provided for an Egyptian assistant-director to attend to the daily routine and this was probably the function of ‘Abd al-Rasûl Ef. Before his appointment, Muṣṭaṣâf Ef. al-Wâṭî had been waqîl, but he was suspended for negligence. Arnoûx was director from January, 1862 to August, 1863, and, as Clot Bey left Egypt in 1858, it is possible that ‘Abd al-Rasûl Ef. did fill the function of director from the departure of Clot until the appointment of Arnoûx. On the other hand, Vambery is stated to have been director in 1858, Burguières in 1862, and then Arnoûx in 1862. Although Sâmi and Artīn do not mention the name of Vambery, yet both give the name of Burguières as having succeeded Arnoûx. He kept the post until November, 1864 and was succeeded by Muhammad ‘Ali al-Bâkhî.

The European professors who were appointed in 1856 were Burguières, Figari, Colucci and Espinassé; Muhammad ‘Ali al-Bâkhî and Muhammad Shâﬁ’i were also given professorial chairs. In spite of the fresh efforts to resuscitate the school under Sa’id, it is still described as being in a miserable condition on the accession of Ismâ’il Pasha in 1863. Clot Bey drew up an elaborate plan for the reopening and reorganisation; the school was divided into two sections, in the one, medical officers were to be trained, and in the other,

² Mahfouz, ibid., p. 43.
⁶ Tüsîn, op. cit., p. 357.
⁷ Sharaf, op. cit., p. 21 and Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 43.
⁸ Loc. cit.
⁹ Loc. cit.
¹⁰ Clot, Relations des phases, p. 23.
¹¹ Loc. cit.
¹² Mahfouz, loc. cit.
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pharmacists; the course in each case was spread over five years as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Medical Section</th>
<th>Pharmaceutical Section</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>Natural Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>Physics</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inorganic chemistry</td>
<td>Geology</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>Mineralogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>Botany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inorganic and Organic Chemistry</td>
<td>Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>Elementary Chemistry</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zoology</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anatomy</td>
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<td>3rd</td>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Pharmaceutical Chemistry</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surgery</td>
<td>Practical work in the Hospital Pharmacy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internal Pathology</td>
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<td></td>
<td>External Pathology</td>
<td>Materia Medica</td>
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<td>Materia Medica</td>
<td>Therapeutics</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Internal Pathology</td>
<td>Analytic Chemistry</td>
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<td>External Pathology</td>
<td>Materia Medica</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>Practical work</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pathological Anatomy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>Analytic Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surgical Anatomy</td>
<td>Materia Medica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>Accountancy</td>
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<td>Ophthalmology</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hygiene</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The declared object of the school was to produce medical men who could be of practical use to the country and capable of dealing with the common diseases of the country.

The method of teaching seems to have been the same as that adopted in the School of Medicine when it was first opened; every lecturer had to write out his lectures; if the original was in a European language, it had to be translated into Arabic and then transcribed by the students. It was probably thought that this method was more thorough than giving the students the textbooks that had already been translated during the earlier period.

Before attending to the above courses, the student had to spend two years studying French, arithmetic and geometry;

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at the end of the two years, he proceeded to the medical studies proper, but still had to continue the study of French; thus a student would normally have to spend seven years at the school before graduating. The students were to be drawn from the "preparatory schools," but there was only one preparatory school in use at the time and that was closed in 1861. An entrance examination had to be passed and the ages of the candidates had to be between 15 and 20 years. The rest of the regulations deal with the method of administration of the school, the annual examinations, the discipline, the board, lodging and payment of the students, for which the government held itself responsible as in the time of Muḥammad Ṭaḥ.¹

The School of Maternity was reopened under Tamrahān Ef., a woman who had studied in the first School of Maternity.²

The total number of students in all three schools is recorded by Sāmī as 69 only.³

Delatre, who visited the School of Medicine while he was in Egypt, had a bad opinion of the students⁴; Dr. Stacquez also visited the country in 1862-63 and was invited to inspect the School and Hospital. Arnoux was in charge at the time. Stacquez seems to have been pleased with the hospital but reports very adversely on the students, who do not appear to have been fit to enter a school of medicine; his own words are as follows: "Malheureusement, la plupart des élèves y arrivent dépourvus des principes même les plus élémentaires. Il s'en trouve qui doivent commencer par apprendre à lire et à écrire. On ne s'étonnera donc pas si leurs progrès sont peu rapides, et si beaucoup ne parviennent que difficilement à acquérir des connaissances étendues."⁵

Thus after thirty-five years of medical studies in Egypt, the foundation of a medical school had not yet been achieved. It is significant that the professorial chairs were filled mostly by Europeans, only two Egyptians being nominated; a proper teaching method had not yet been devised, and the standard was still where it was in 1827.

Education Missions to Europe during the reign of Saʿid Pasha.

Nadīm states that Saʿid did not send any students to Europe

¹The regulations are given by Mecruan, op. cit., pp. 212-229.
²Rāʾil, Ḥikma, 1/45; Zaidān, Taʾrikh al-Ādāb al-ʿIzhkhat al-ʿArabiyah, IV/42; Delatre, op. cit., p. 143.
⁵Stacquez, L'Égypte, la Basas Nubie et la Sinai, Liège, 1865, p. 103. His account of the School and Hospital are contained in pp. 98-103.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND during his reign; Sâmi, Zaidân, Râfi‘, and Artûn give the number sent as fourteen, which suggests that all these authorities derived their information from one source. Although Sa‘îd Pasha’s educational policy at home is open to criticism, yet he cannot be accused of having neglected the mission system. In addition to the students he himself sent, he maintained a few who had been sent during the reign of Muḥammad ‘Alî and many that were sent by ‘Abbâs.

‘Abbâs had not sent more than three students to France; Sa‘îd, on the other hand, returned to the former practice of Muḥammad ‘Alî and Ibrâhîm and had an Education Council formed in Paris in order to supervise the studies of his mission men. It was comprised of Jomard as president, Barthélemy St. Hilaire as vice-president, Yvon-Villarceaux of the Observatory, Barbet and Lemercier as members; the last-named had been employed at the Egyptian Military School. The Egyptian nûṣir was Salîm Ef., who had been on the 1826 mission and appears to have taken over the directorship from Eştefânî; he received the nickname of Salîm al-Fransâwî on account of his long stay in France.

Sa‘îd also appointed M. Lawantier in Vienna to supervise the Egyptians who had been sent there to study medicine* and M. Helwing in Berlin to supervise those who had been sent to Germany.

The first mission was sent to France in 1855 and in the following years; it consisted of 22 students whose names are as follows:

1. Sûṭîrîyûs Yâkûfî.
2. Eugene Mori.
3. Margossof Senior.
5. Tûfî Fûgî.
7. Andrê Dîsand.
8. Hermanovitch.
22. ‘Ulmân Bey Ra‘fât.

The second mission was sent to Munich at the beginning of 1862, but in August, 1863 it was transferred to France, where it stayed until between 1868 and 1870. There were eleven students whose names are given below:

23. Mustâfî Ef. Fû‘îdî (Fàyîdî).
24. Ibrâhîm Ef. Şâbîî.
27. Latîf Ef. Aghîyî.
32. Muḥammad Ef. Sûlîm.
33. Muḥammad Ef. as-Sayyîd.

One other student was attached to this mission; he had already been sent to France at an earlier date:

34. ‘Alî Ef. Muḥammad al-Ba‘îlî.

The third mission was sent to France in October, 1862; it consisted of 14 students who were to take up medicine. It is this mission which appears to have been the only one that Sâmî, Zaidân, Râfî‘ and Artûn have taken into consideration. The names of the students were:

35. Muḥammad Ef. ‘Auf.
41. Muḥammad Ef. Amin.
42. ‘Alî Ef. Riyad.
43. Sâlih Ef. ‘Alî.
Biographical Notices:

1. Sent to France in July, 1855, and Sa'id Pasha continued to pay for his education until July, 1861; he was sent to study medicine but there is no other information available.

2. Sent to study military subjects; returned in October, 1861; appointed on the staff of the army and in 1873, had the rank of Kā'im-mahbûm; in 1877, he was on the personal staff of Prince Husain Kâmil (later Sultan Hüsan) with the rank of Amīralādī; he was married to the daughter of Dor Bay, the Inspector of Schools under Ismâ'il Pasha.

3. Nephew of Nûbâr Pasha; sent to study medicine; returned to Egypt in 1861.

4. Nephew of Nûbâr Pasha; sent to study engineering; returned in 1861 and was employed by the government.

5. Son of Dr. Figari, a colleague of Clot Bey; sent to France to study civil administration and law; he remained in Paris until 1861 at the expense of Sa'id Pasha, after that date he remained a short while at the expense of his father; on his return, he opened a practice as a lawyer and under Ismâ'il Pasha, was well known as a lawyer before the Mixed Courts; he stayed in Egypt until 1882 and was instrumental in the foundation of the Italian College in Cairo; he died in Italy in 1900.

6. Sent to study medicine and returned in November, 1861; he became wâkil of the dâ'irah of Princess Injâ Hânum, Sa'id Pasha's wife.

7. Returned in 1861; nothing is known about him.

8. Sent to France apparently in 1860 and attached to this mission; nothing is known about him.

9. His father was president of the Medical Dept. in Alexandria; nothing is known about the son.

10, 11 and 12. Sent to study mechanical engineering.

13. Born in Caucasus in 1834, came to Cairo in 1849; entered the Mafârîşah in 1853 and sent to France to study military subjects at the École de Metz; returned in 1856; in 1862 was an Amīralādī; sent to the Sûdân and to Crete; in 1867, was promoted to the rank of Livâ; in the same year was made a Fârîk and in 1876, aîde-de-camp to Ismâ'il Pasha. Sent to the Balkans in 1876. Appointed on several commissions during the troubles with 'Arâbî. Died in 1905.

14. Son of İbrâhîm an-Navârâwî (v. supra, pp. 177-8) by his French wife; sent to take up military science and returned to Egypt in August, 1861; he was employed in the army for a short while, but he gave up his appointment and returned to France to settle down there; he married a French woman and their daughter married Khâlîq Bey an-Navârâwî; while he was in France, Fâkhîr Pasha commissioned him to select judges for the Mixed Courts; he was
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officer and returned to Egypt in 1870; he did not remain in
the service long on account of some difference between him and
his colleagues; died 1923.

24. Studied medicine and, on his return, was employed as a
teacher in the School of Medicine and then he was transferred to the
Army Medical Service; in due course, he returned to his teaching
post; died 1915.

25. Studied medicine and was employed as a teacher in the School
of medicine on his return.

26. Studied medicine and on his return in 1868, was employed
in the School of Medicine as a teacher of anatomy; he later
was employed in the Public Health Dept.: he left many published works
on medical subjects; died in 1906.

27. Armenian; studied medicine and returned to Egypt in
August, 1870, to be appointed in the School of Medicine as a teacher;
he later joined the Public Health Dept.; in 1879, he was Chief Medical
Officer in the Giza province.

28. Studied medicine and returned to Egypt in October, 1870;
he was employed as a teacher in the School of Medicine and later
in the Public Health Dept.; compiled a medical dictionary in
Arabic and French; died 1889.

29. Studied medicine; died in Paris, August, 1868.

30. Studied medicine and returned to Egypt in October, 1870;
appointed as teacher in the School of Medicine in November, 1896; appointed in the
hospitals. His specialty was ophthalmology; died 1887.

31. Studied medicine; returned to Egypt at the end of 1869
and then sent to Germany in 1869 to study legal medicine; returned
in 1871 and was appointed in the School of Medicine as a teacher;
he was later attached to the person of Ismail Pasha as his physician;
he represented Egypt on the medical congress in London, in 1891;
died 1917.

32. Studied medicine and returned to Egypt in September, 1869;
employed in the hospitals and later in the Army Medical Service
in the Sudán and Abyssinia; he became Chief Medical Officer in the
Army and after the 'Arabí rebellion, joined the Public Health Dept.;
died 1894.

33. Son of Shaik Sayid Idris; brother of Abdallah Sayyd
(v. supra, p. 252); studied medicine and returned to Egypt in
September, 1869; employed in the Public Health Dept.; died in
1874 from tuberculosis.

34. Son of Muhammad 'Ali al-Bakl; had studied at the Fréres'
school and then in the School of Medicine; studied first of all in a
private school and then was attached to this mission and studied
natural science and chemistry; returned to Cairo in October, 1870,
and was employed in the School of Medicine in the pharmaceutical
department; died in 1883 from cholera.

35. Son of Husain 'Anf who had been sent to Austria under
Muhammad 'Ali (v. supra, p. 252); studied medicine and returned
to Egypt in October, 1870, and was appointed in the School of Medicine
as an assistant to his father; he took his father's place in November,
1879; he had a good reputation and practised privately; he
died 1908.

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36. Studied in the provincial mukhtaf of al-Fashn and then in
the Preparatory School and later in the School of Medicine; sent
to France in 1862 and was ordered to return in the following year and
was appointed to a teaching post in the School of Medicine; sent
to Crete in 1866; sent to the Hijaz where he stayed for three
years and on his return, was appointed physician to the Khedivial
family; went on pension in 1890 and set up in private practice;
died 1906.

37. Studied medicine and stayed one year in France for Ismail Pasha recalled him in 1863 and appointed him to the Army Medical Service.

38. Sent to France to study medicine, but was recalled in the
following year; little known about him; was probably posted
to the Army Medical Service.

39. Sent to France to study medicine and was recalled in 1863
to be posted as a teacher in the School of Medicine; died 1891.

40. Sent to France to study medicine but had to return in
February in 1863, on account of bad health; was appointed as a
doctor in the hospitals and later, in the Schools Administration.

41. Sent to France to study medicine and returned in October,
1870; was appointed to a teaching post in the School of Medicine; publishe
several works on medicine.

42. Sent to France to study physics, chemistry and pharmacodeutics; returned to Egypt in November, 1867; appointed in the hospitals and later, a teacher in the School of Engineering and afterwards,
in the School of Medicine; published a number of works; died 1899.

43. Sent to France to study pharmacodeutics and returned in
April, 1863; held a teaching post in the School of Medicine for a long
while; held several other posts in the administrations; died 1913.

44. Sent to France to study medicine, but was recalled in July,
1863; he was director of the School of Medicine from 1883 to 1894; died 1906.

45. Passed through several schools before he took up medicine;
sent to France to complete his medical studies and returned in 1870;
appointed to a post in Alexandria on his return and in 1872, transferred
to Cairo where he taught at the School of Medicine; wrote a number
of medical works; died 1900.

46. Sent to France to study medicine and returned in July, 1863;
appointed as a medical officer to the schools; died 1906.

47. Sent to study medicine, but was recalled in July, 1863; on
his return, he was appointed to the Army Medical Service; wrote a
series of articles on fevers in the Military Gazette.

48. Sent to France to study medicine and was ordered back in
July, 1863; appears to have been appointed in the Army Medical Service.

Out of a total of 48 students, 30 were sent to study medicine;
compared to the number of students in the School of Medicine,
this is quite a large proportion and points to the fact that this
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was the best way of producing sufficient medical officers for the public services; 9 of this number only stayed about a year; 8 others took up military science, 8 technical subjects and 6 civil administration and law; the studies undertaken by 3 of the students are not known.

Many of the men were Egyptians, though there were a few Cirencassians, Turks and Armenians, but ten of the first twelve names are interesting, as they appear to belong to Europeans whom Sa'id sent to Europe at the expense of the government. There was one Copt. Two of the students had begun their education at the newly opened Frères’ School; they must have been among the first Egyptians to have been to this school.

A point worth noting is that 9 of these students (nos. 3, 4, 14, 20, 21, 23, 33, 34 and 35), were relatives of previous mission students; of the Baqil family, originally poor peasants, five were sent to Europe on missions and were promoted to high rank in the administrations; in this way was created the new class of officials and employees required by the state.

Non-Governmental Education Work

The reign of Sa'id Pasha can be considered as the turning point in the history of European schools in Egypt. During these nine years we find a marked advance by all groups, including French, Scottish, English, American, Greek, Italian and Coptic; consequently this period can be regarded as one of cultural consolidation of all the non-Moslem sections.

Some of these groups were purely missionary, such as the Scottish, English and American; others, such as the Italian, Greek and Coptic, were the outcome of the growth of the different communities and of a popular demand for education. The French schools and their rapid development during the reign of Sa'id were helped by the francophile tendencies of this ruler, coupled with the growth and educational demands of the Christian community and the political opportunism of the French, who made the most of these religious institutes to spread their culture.

Another fresh feature was the inception of private schools opened by individuals, probably as a commercial enterprise.

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

Cairo: The Frères

The Frères were well established in the capital towards the end of the reign of 'Abbās and their school had eight teachers on its staff. On the 25th March, 1855, two others were sent out and the school was reinforced by additional teachers as it needed them.

On the 15th October, 1857, Sa'id Pasha gave the Frères a part of a large factory off the Shubra road for use as a school, but in February, 1859, they acquired another factory building in Khurumish, in the centre of Cairo, which Sa'id had agreed to exchange for that of Shubra, through the mediation of M. Sabatier, the French Consul General in Cairo. The Shubra building appears to have been too far from the centre of activity; in addition to the gift of the property, Sa'id gave the Frères a subvention of 30,000 francs for the purchase of other adjacent properties required for expansion and for the establishment of the school.

The existing building was demolished owing to its unsuitability as a school and a new one erected. The Frères transferred their Shubra school to the new building on the 14th July, 1860, and on the 13th December of the same year the chapel attached to the premises was blessed by the guardian of the Holy Land in the presence of the French Consul General and other local dignitaries.

Thus was established a school which has perhaps played the greatest rôle in the field of education in Egypt, thanks to the encouragement and generosity of Sa'id Pasha. To what extent this school was frequented by Egyptians, more especially by the Moslem community, is impossible to say in the absence of statistics; we have however the names of two Moslem students, Ḥāfiz Ef. Ḥasanain and 'Alī Ef. Muḥammad al-Baqil, both of the Baqil family, whose fathers had studied in France and thus probably appreciated the advantages of sending their sons to a French school.

Maison des Sœurs franciscaines

This school was opened in 1859 by Sister Marie-Catherine with the help of six other Sisters in the street now called after Clot Bey; the object of the institution was to purchase the free-

1 Guérin, op. cit., p. 158.
2 Loc. cit. The Shubra factory had been built by Muḥammad `Alī for the printing of calico; it was called the Muḥayyadah; v. Râfi', Taʾrîkh al-Ḥarākah al-Raṣūliyyah, III/355.
3 Sachet, op. cit., p. 30.
4 This building has been Muḥammad `Alī's first factory erected in 1816 for making cloth; Râfi', op. cit., III/353.
5 Guérin, op. cit., p. 158.
6 Sachet, ibid., p. 30.
7 Guérin, ibid., pp. 158-9.
8 Guérin, ibid., p. 159.
dom of negresses who were then trained for domestic work. The school generally accommodated about fifty of these women and continued this particular kind of work until 1882.1
Franciscan Sisters also opened another small hospice in old Cairo in 1860.2

The Sœurs du Bon Pasteur
Râfî states that Sa’îd Pasha paid annual subventions to the sisters of the Bon Pasteur as a help towards the upkeep of their schools, and adds that they had one in Cairo and one in Alexandria 3; but there is no other mention of such a school in Alexandria. Professor Sammarco states that Sa’îd gave them 40,000 francs with which they bought a house adjacent to theirs and in which they installed an orphanage.4 Dor Bey, who wrote in 1872 and who discusses the work of these sisters,5 makes no mention of this gift, nor does Amadou.6 Guérin, who is the best informed writer on the Catholic schools, does not record this gift 7; but they certainly received gifts from Ismâ’il Pasha which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Alexandria: The Lazarists and the Filles de la Charité
The Lazarist fathers, who had set up a school of their own after the Frères had left them in 1852, progressed slowly during this period; the superior, Abbé Bel, who was aided by five other Lazarists, all French, had seventy students of the best families under his care. Unfortunately, the massacres in Lebanon in 1860 caused him to close this school temporarily and to turn it into an orphanage for boys.8

The same massacres caused the Filles de la Charité to extend their orphanage which had been started in 1859 9; they must have done very good work and seem to have been in great demand, for their hospital was entirely rebuilt in 1857 to make room for extra patients; fifty sisters were now engaged in the hospital alone.10

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Other Franciscan Activities
The Franciscan missionary fathers extended their religious and educational work to al-Manṣūrah in 1855,1 to Damietta in 1856,2 to Kafr az-Zayyât in the same year,3 to Rosetta in 1858,4 to Suez in 1859,5 and to Port Said in 1863.6 Their stations in Upper Egypt took on a new lease of life during this reign, for they are credited with having opened a school for girls at Nagâdah in 1857,7 and another at Ḍuḥayl in 1853.8 A school was opened at each of the towns of Tahtâ and Ḥāmin 9 about this time.

The American Missionary Schools
The American Presbyterian Missionaries undertook educational work in Egypt during the reign of Sa’îd on a very large scale and opened several schools. A beginning was made in Cairo in 1855 at Cairo, where a training school was opened for girls and another for boys in 1856; two other schools for girls were opened in 1856, both primary, one of them being situated in the Ḥarât as-Sâkka’īn.10 Sa’îd Pasha is reported to have given the Americans a building in Cairo for the use of a school.11

Two other American missionary schools were opened in Alexandria in 1857,12 and two others in al-Faiyum, a boys’ school and another for girls, but the exact date of their establishment is not known; they were closed in 1875.13

The English and Scottish Missionaries
The Scottish Missionaries opened two schools in Alexandria, one for boys in 1859 and another for girls in the following year.14 Miss Whately, the Bishop of Dublin’s daughter, started her mission schools in 186115; she spent her efforts on Moslems as well as on Copts, and was helped by Syrian Christians in

1 Guérin, op. cit., p. 190.
1 Guérin, op. cit., p. 195.
1 Ibid., p. 95.
1 Ibid., p. 96.
1 Guérin, op. cit., p. 208; Amici, ibid., pp. 250-51.
1 Amici, ibid., pp. 254-3.
1 Loc. cit.
1 Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.
1 Râfî, ‘Aṣr Ismâ’il, 1/45.
1 Amici, ibid., pp. 248-9.
1 Amici, ibid., pp. 252-3.
1 Ibid., pp. 249-50.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
her work. She had visited Egypt for the first time in 1856
and her work extended over a long period of thirty years. It
was an uphill task which she set herself for she could only recruit
her students from the very poorest classes, and even then,
had to go out into the streets to collect them. She taught
needle-work, for books were looked upon with suspicion by
the parents; the fact that she taught sewing roused the
jealousy of the Moslem needlework teachers, who often took
the girls away from her by force.

THE GREEKS

Cairo

The Greek Orthodox Community was formed in Cairo on
the 29th February, 1856, with the object of maintaining the
schools and the hospital which, until then, had been run with
difficulty. The school was divided into two distinct parts,
a boys’ school and another for girls. It was kept up by means
of subscriptions given by the Cairene Greeks and the Patriarch; but
the school had insufficient means, for in August, 1857 a
request had to be sent to the Greek government asking for the
necessary school books.

The girls’ school was situated in the Համնավղ quarter;
in 1860, the name of the headmistress was Mme. Hélène Vassiliadis,
who had sixty girls under her care. The elementary
school was run by her husband and another teacher and appears
to have been a part of the girls’ school. After the boys had
passed out of the elementary classes, they went on to the boys’
school proper which is referred to as the “Greek primary
school”; this was situated near the Patriarchate in the same
quarter.

When the Abet school was opened in 1860, the Committee

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of the Community is reported to have decided to close down
d their boys’ school for the sake of economy, but, in spite of this
decision, the schools seem to have been in use until 1864; in
1862, two teachers were engaged, one for the elementary classes
and another for the primary.

The Abet school, of which Politis gives a very interesting
account, had its own constitution and regulations which stipu-
lated that the three languages, Greek, Arabic and French,
must always be taught, and other subjects according to the
demand of the students and the means of the school. In 1861,
the founders asked for the protection of the Russian government,
and in 1863, they were granted it, but the constitution was not
changed in any way.

The school contained four classes, two for primary education,
and two for secondary. There were six teachers and 120
students, all Greeks, with the exception of seven or eight Copts
and Armenians. Until the death of Raphael Abet in 1866,
the school was organized on essentially religious lines in con-
formity with the Greek Orthodox Church; one of the teachers
was a Greek priest who taught religious subjects, and it is for
this reason that Amici has listed it as the Greek Orthodox School.

OTHER GREEK COMMUNITIES

Alexandria

The Community at Alexandria seems to have received a
set-back during the period 1854 to 1871; the reasons were
partly political for there was a crisis between Turkey and Greece
and many of the Alexandrian Greeks thought fit to return
to Greece; there were also dissensions among the Greeks them-
se lves on account of the nomination of a Patriarch. In spite of
these difficulties, however, a girls’ school was opened in
September, 1855, and a library in the community school in
1856.

In 1855, the expenditure of the Community School was
£5,532; in 1859, the elementary school had 140 students, the
Greek school had 32 boys and there were 120 pupils in the girls’
school.

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