THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Al-Mansūrah

Antoine Ralli settled in this town in 1859 in order to establish a cotton-ginning factory; it was largely due to his efforts that the Greeks had their first church and elementary school \(^1\) which were kept up by private subscriptions. These served the Greeks until 1893 when the Community was officially formed.

Tantā

The Greeks began to organise themselves from 1860, although there were several settled there by 1842, \(^2\) most of whom were engaged in the cotton trade; a chapel and a school were set up about this time. The community was not formed until 1880.

The Italian Schools

The Italian College was set up in Alexandria in 1862, for which purpose Sa'id Pasha gave a splendid site of 2,883 square metres, and 60,000 francs \(^3\); the Italian Government gave an annual subvention as well. \(^4\) The rebuilding of the part of the town in which the school property was situated made it necessary for the Egyptian Government to buy back some of the land that had been given to the Italians, as it was needed to widen existing roads and to build fresh ones; this brought the school another 40,000 francs. \(^5\) The development of this school belongs to the next reign and will be discussed in the appropriate place.

Another Italian school was opened in Cairo; Professor Sammarco gives the date as 1861, \(^6\) Dor as 1869, \(^7\) while Balboni gives it as 1865. \(^8\) The School was started by Tito Figari who was still in Europe in 1861. \(^9\)

Private Schools

There was one private school opened in Cairo in 1856, called the Maison d'éducation de Madame Andráde. \(^10\) A French school was opened in Suez in about 1862, \(^11\) and another run by

---

\(^1\) Ibid., I/326.
\(^2\) Ibid., I/343.
\(^3\) Dor, op. cit., p. 295; Ralli, 'Asr Ionāli, I/45; Sammarco, op. cit., p. 299.
\(^4\) Sammarco, ibid., p. 299.
\(^5\) Sammarco, op. cit., p. 299.
\(^6\) Dor, ibid., p. 295-6.
\(^7\) Dor, op. cit., p. 299.
\(^8\) Balboni, op. cit., III/183-4.
\(^9\) V. supra, p. 326, biographical notice, No. 5.
\(^11\) Ibid., pp. 250-1.

---

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

a certain Magnani in Ramlah in 1860 \(^1\); there is no information available concerning these schools, although they appear to have lasted a few years.

The Jews

Amin Sāmī gives the date 1861 for the opening of a Jewish Talmudic School in Cairo for boys. \(^2\) This, apparently, was the school set up in Darb al-Yahūd; Samuel Rabino had given £1,000 in 1860 and a reasonably commodious building was erected near the synagogue. The syllabus included Hebrew, French, Italian, chanting, geography, history and arithmetic; the study of the Talmud was optional. \(^3\) Some of the parents who sent their children to this school appear to have paid voluntary subscriptions. \(^4\)

The Jewish Community had a free school in Alexandria for both boys and girls; it appears to have been a good school for Hekeyyān noted it and remarked to Senior that it was better than any of Muhammad 'Ali's schools. \(^5\) The date of its establishment is not known exactly; \(^6\) it may have been one of the schools started at the suggestion of Crémiou, \(^7\) and must have been opened early as Senior was in Egypt in 1855.

The Copts

The principal Patriarchal School that Cyril IV began to build in 1853 \(^8\) was opened in 1855. \(^9\) The policy adopted by Cyril in regard to this school was typical of him; he laid it down as a rule that children of any creed and race could join its classes, \(^10\) though few seem to have taken advantage of this tolerant attitude. Stationery and books were distributed to the students free of charge and the school was under Cyril's constant supervision; he did his best to get Europeans to visit the school and to pass judgment on its merits and demerits. \(^11\) Arabic, Coptic, Turkish, English, French, and Italian were taught, in addition to the usual school subjects. \(^12\)

---

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 250-1.
\(^2\) Dor, ibid., p. 203.
\(^3\) Senior, op. cit., II/217.
\(^4\) Amici, ibid., pp. 250-1; Dor, ibid., pp. 202-3; Sachot, op. cit., p. 44.
\(^5\) V. supra, p. 277.
\(^6\) V. supra, p. 310.
\(^7\) Kufij, 6/72; Sāmī, op. cit., p. 16.
\(^8\) Kufitāl, op. cit., p. 311.
\(^9\) Ibid., p. 312.
**The Study of Education and**

The school never had more than 150 students, however, for the parents still preferred the old type of school. The students who did attend appear to have belonged to the better Coptic families, and under Isma'il Pasha many of them were employed in the administrations.

Cyril was responsible for the first private Arabic printing press in Egypt; he had it brought from Europe and it was set at the port of arrival and at the station with great ceremony. He had previously asked Sa'id's permission for four Copts to study the art of printing at the Bālāk Printing Press.

Sa'id sent Cyril to Abyssinia in 1856, and he was absent for about two years. On his return, he concentrated his attentions on building up and reforming the Coptic Church. Unfortunately, he died in 1861; according to Butcher, he was poisoned; Fowler states that he was poisoned at the instigation of, if not at the order of, the government.

Cyril tried to elevate the position of the Copts in the government; he suggested to Sa'id that the Copts should be allowed to take part in the local government councils, and that, since the Copts had to perform military service, they should be eligible for promotion to posts of command. He also asked that Copts should be permitted to enter the military, engineering and medical schools; Sa'id however would not agree to these suggestions and procrastinated until the death of Cyril, when they were dropped. He was a great loss to the Coptic community and to the cause of reform; but under the more sympathetic Isma'il, the party was able to resume his work.

Sa'id appears to have been excessively harsh to the Copts, using the laws for conscription as a means of persecuting them; after the death of Cyril, many Copts were dismissed from government service.

**Other Coptic Schools**

One other type of school, in which Copts were taught and in which their priests participated in the teaching, has to be mentioned, namely the Catholic schools. These Coptic Catholic Schools were particularly numerous in Upper Egypt, but little is known about them apart from casual references in the reports and standard works. They appear to have had some connection with the Franciscans and to have grown more important during this period. Some of them had mixed classes of boys and girls. There was one in Old Cairo, another in Cairo, one in Asyūt, Taḥṭa, Iǧmūn, Girgā, Kenā, Nagādah and Farshūt.

**The Position of Education in 1863**

The following table shows the number and classification of all non-governmental schools in 1863; boys' and girls' and elementary schools have been counted separately in the case of the Greek community; Amici's figures have been given for each town by way of comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>Arabics</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
<th>Coptic</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asyūt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danieyta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Payyūm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farshūt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girgā</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iǧmūn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keīr az-Zayyāt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenā</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mansūrah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagādah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Said</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramla</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosetta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suez</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taḥṭa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanṭa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schools that had been in use but were closed in 1863, have naturally been excluded from this list; these included the Church Missionary Schools and the private School of Languages opened during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali.

This table shows only too plainly the rapid development of...
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
modern schools in Egypt; the movement had barely started in 1840, and already by 1863, there were 59 schools actually in use all over the country, with 22 in Cairo alone.

The position of Egyptian Government schools in the same year presents a very different picture; the retrograde movement under Sa'îd left the Egyptians with only three special schools: the School of Medicine in Cairo, the Naval School in Alexandria, and the Military School at the Barrage. These special schools can hardly be included in the same category as the schools set out above and described in the preceding pages.

We have seen the adverse reports on the School of Medicine; the Naval School, of which we know nothing, was useless from a practical point of view, as there was no navy, and the Military School at the Barrage, which had only been formed in 1862, could not have been first rate in the very nature of things; in any case, Ismâ'îl Pasha closed it in 1864.

There were no modern primary or preparatory schools; modern education was non-existent. The only redeeming feature of Sa'îd's educational policy would appear to have been the missions he sent to Europe, but even these included a number of non-nationals whose places might have been taken by Egyptians. The Moslem kuttâbs and al-Azhar were still carrying on their traditional teaching, but they were not contributing in any way towards the new cultural movements in the country.

On the whole, Egyptian cultural interests were not served by Sa'îd Pasha. His negligent policy towards them is blame-worthy for he could see the growth of European schools all around him and actually gave several of them great help; apart from the government buildings which he gave away, the amount of money which he gave to the Frères in Cairo and to the Italians in Alexandria was probably more than he spent on his educational budget during the whole of his reign.

Merruau in 1857, states that there were some secondary schools frequented by a limited number of young men belonging to the aristocracy, but that Sa'îd "n'a pas jugé utile encore de donner de grands développements à ces institutions et de les multiplier"; in other words, Sa'îd thought it more suitable not to encourage the education of his subjects. We have seen, in fact, that the "secondary schools" mentioned by Merruau were closed altogether.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Nâdim, al-Ayyûbi, and Râfî criticise Sa'îd for making no attempt to open useful schools, all the more so because he is reputed to have had a good European education himself and should have known the value of it. The mistake of these writers is that they compare 'Abbâs and Sa'îd with Muhammad 'Ali and blame both 'Abbâs and Sa'îd for not doing what their predecessor did. But the value of Muhammad 'Ali's schools has already been discussed, and of the three rulers, 'Abbâs had the most sensible policy, viz., one of moderation.

The real trouble, of course, was not so much with the ruler as with the people. Reform movements have nearly always had to be forced upon the Egyptians; they did not start with the people. The latter were not yet ready for enlightenment, and the ruler was still less prepared to help them along the right path.

It may be thought that it would have been possible to have begun a progressive system of elementary education, or an improvement in the kuttâbs, especially in view of the fact that the Europeans, and even the Copts, were setting such excellent examples. It is significant that there is not a single contemporary document written by a native in which the European and Egyptian systems are compared. No one seems to have been aware of the growth of these various elements in the country and of the harmful effects they would have on the social, economic and cultural welfare of the Egyptians in the long run. European encroachment, however, was to continue for many decades to come, and more than ever during the reign of Ismâ'îl Pasha.

3 *Kfr Ismâ'îl, 1, 44-5.
Chapter V

THE REIGN OF ISMĀ’IL PASHA (1863-1879)

"Quelles qu’aient été ses fautes, il est impossible de nier que son pays ait subi à cette époque une profonde transformation; malheureusement le gaspillage financier et son goût trop prononcé pour les réformes d’apparat vinrent compromettre les bons résultats de l’évolution économique."—(Brehier, L’Égypte de 1798-1900, Paris, 1900, p. 177.)

Ismā’īl Pasha, born the 12th January, 1830, the second son of Ibrāhīm Pasha, succeeded Sa‘īd Pasha on the 18th January, 1863; Ibrāhīm’s first son, Ahmad Rif‘at, who was heir to the throne in succession to Sa‘īd, had been drowned at Kafir az-Zayyāt in 1858.

The new ruler had been educated in Egypt and in France; on his return to Egypt, the enmity between him and ’Abbās became very intense and Ismā’īl was looked upon as the leader of the “Princes’ Party” against the ruler.

With the accession of Sa‘īd Pasha, he began to take an active part in the affairs of the state; he was sent to Paris and to Rome on government missions and took over the regency while Sa‘īd was on his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1861 and on his visit to Europe in 1862. He showed talent as a young man, both in the management of his vast estates and in the administrations; he had inherited some of the intelligence of both his father and grandfather; his European education, contacts and experience might have destined him to become a wise ruler; but the outcome of his sixteen years’ reign, the catastrophe he brought upon Egypt, the years it took to recover from his misrule make it difficult to agree with Professor Sammarco when he claims that he was le Souverain civilisateur et magnifique de l’Égypte.

A number of reasons helped to bring about Ismā’īl’s ruin of Egypt and his own downfall. His success as a private landowner cannot be denied; this was in keeping with the family tradition; but when he became ruler, “his head was turned by his high position and the opportunity it gave him of figuring in the world as one of its most splendid princes.” This was the fundamental cause of Ismā’īl’s downfall; his contacts with European courts unbalanced his mind and turned him into a megalomaniac, whose one ambition was to emulate his royal friends in Europe. But though he paid no heed to the simplest rules of political economy and abused the power that was his, yet there were other circumstances which contributed towards the disaster.

The country was practically devoid of any social institutions capable of supporting the reforms; the old ones had broken down and no new ones had yet come into existence as a result of the introduction of western ideas. So far, there was only imitation of the form rather than the adoption of the spirit of western civilisation. There were no public men, there was no public spirit; the bureaucracy was servile and corrupt; the people, the agricultural classes, were subjected to every kind of injustice and oppression and were not only without the means of redress but were completely ignorant of political rights; even the more enlightened elements in the population were politically ignorant.

By far the most important factor which will have to be considered was the unusual influx of the European element into the country. The number of Europeans in Egypt in 1836 is put at 3,000 and at 68,653 in 1878, of which 14,310 were French, 29,963 were Greeks and 14,524 were Italians. The statistics of 1866 state that one forty-fifth of the Egyptian population was either European or under European protection which would give the figure of 121,213; Amici’s figures appear to be more reliable.

1 Blunt, op. cit., p. 16.
3 Shafik Pasha, Mudhakkirat fi Nif‘ Karn, Cairo, 1934, I, p. 8-9; when Ismā’īl Pasha set up the Majlis al-Naṣawāt (Chamber of Deputies) in 1866, he had to order the members to form themselves into three parties, the Right, to support the government, the Left to oppose it, and a Middle party to represent the Moderates; every member, without exception, went over to the right with the exclamation, “How can we oppose the Government?”
4 Sabry, La Genèse de l’Esprit National Égyptien, s.l., 1924, p. 26, but it is impossible to give exact figures for this early date.
5 Amici, op. cit., Chap. II, p. 5; a few Americans and others are included.
7 Amici’s figures are much more acceptable than the wild guesses of some writers; by 1882, there were 99,386 foreign residents in Egypt and by 1889, 112,326; this period shows an increase of 24 per cent.—see Sylvan White, op. cit., pp. 138-141, who made use of the official statistics made by the Egyptian Government under British supervision.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

These figures are perhaps small when compared with the total number of Egyptians but four factors have to be borne in mind: firstly, the Europeans were, for the most part, concentrated in the towns; Amici gives 15,758 for Cairo, and 42,884 for Alexandria in 1878; secondly, they were occupied in exclusively European undertakings, nearly all the major commercial, industrial and banking enterprises being in their hands; thirdly, the Europeans were better equipped intellectually and were culturally self-supporting, each community providing for the education of its own children in good schools, and these children subsequently taking their places in the rapidly increasing number of business houses, banks and industrial enterprises; and, fourthly, each group was politically independent of the Egyptian Government under the Capitulatory system which ensured them their "rights," and enabled them to exploit without being exploited, and with the open connivance of their Consuls. Just as the absence of political feeling and public spirit on the part of the Egyptian people permitted Ismā'īl to exploit them so mercilessly, so did it encourage the European to settle in the country.

The emigration to Egypt was a part of western expansion of the 19th century: it was encouraged by the proximity of Egypt to Europe, by better and faster communications, by the opening of the Suez Canal and the introduction of railways, by the prodigality of Ismā'īl Pasha which, unfortunately, attracted the wrong kind of European, and by the fact that a European was assured of the protection of his own consular authority. The ruler of the country and the European met on common ground, they both wanted money and to both, the unfortunate falsāḥ was a means to an end.

Nevertheless, Egyptian feelings began to be aroused during the reign of Ismā'īl through the influence of non-Egyptians such as Jamāl-ud-din al-Alfāḥfī who was in Egypt in 1869, Salīm an-Naqqās, a Syrian, who gave the Egyptians their catchword, "Egypt for the Egyptians" and latterly by James Sanna, a Jew, who published the satirical journal entitled Abī-NAẓārah, firstly in Egypt and afterwards in Paris. This paper is of special interest as it was written in colloquial Arabic, the

4 Colloquially pronounced Abū Naḍārah.

444

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

language of the people, and was bitterly hostile to Ismā'īl. It was banned after the issue of the fifteenth number and the editor exiled; he went to Paris where he used to lithograph it and have it smuggled into Egypt and other Arabic speaking countries. The paper reflects the popular feeling against the ruler and their bitterness about their misery.

In 1869, Ibrāhīm al-Muwailihī and Uḥmān Jalāl published a weekly political newspaper entitled نزاع الافكار; it was suppressed after the second number because of the agitation que pourrait provoquer dans les esprits cette publication inopportune. 1

A French paper, the Progrès Égyptien appeared weekly from 1868 and was the most serious journal of the period as it was not in the pay of the Khedive. 2 It clearly reflects the discontent of the falsāḥ but emphasizes his submissiveness to the oppressions of the ruler 3 and to the Turkish minority that surrounded Ismā'īl. 4 The Progrès Égyptien undoubtedly had much to do with the sudden appearance of privately run Arabic papers and with the beginning of the expression of discontent.

It is significant, however, that most of these criticisms and expressions of discontent came from the pens of men who were not Egyptians. The first Egyptian paper edited by an Egyptian Moslem, apart from the official newspaper, was the Wādi an-Nīl, begun in 1866 and edited by 'Abdallah Abū-Su'ūd 5; it was, however, in the pay of the Khedive and Abū-Su'ūd defended his policy and interests until 1878 when he died. 6

The opposition press did not begin until 1877 7; the outbreak of feeling, expressed mostly by the Syrians Abī Shākār, Salīm an-Naqqās, Abū Bakr Taqālī and Bishārī Taqālī, was encouraged in the beginning by Ismā'īl who thought he could work up popular feeling against European interference, but the opposition, embittered by the growing strength of the intervention, soon turned against Ismā'īl himself. 8 The Coptic

1 Sabry, op. cit., p. 113: 7arrāf, Tarīkh al-Sahihāt al-'Arabiyah, Beyrut, 1913, II, 277.
2 Sabry, op. cit., p. 112; the columns of this paper supply a most useful commentary on contemporary affairs.
3 Progrès Égyptien, 26th June, 1869, quoted by Sabry, op. cit., p. 110, also for 14th July, 1869.
4 Progrès Égyptien, 6th September, 1869; Sabry, op. cit., p. 113.
5 Sabry, ibid., also 118, Tarīkh, op. cit., p. 277; 'Abdallah Abū-Su'ūd had been a student of Rāshīd and became a teacher under him (p. 264, p. 279); he was in charge of the Translation Bureau under Ismā'īl Pasha and also taught history in the Dār al-Ulūm. He is the author of several works in Arabic, and his knowledge of French enabled him to answer the Progrès Égyptien.
7 Sabry, ibid., pp. 99 and 126 sq.
8 Ibid., pp. 126-9.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

paper al-Watan, edited by Mikhā'il 'Abdas-Sayyid, established on
the 17th November, 1877, devoted its columns to the Russo-
Turkish war until the end of August, 1878, as its editor had not yet
the courage to discuss the Egyptian question. With the
setting up of the Commission of Enquiry, it at first took Ismā'il's
side but as his position weakened, the paper gradually entered
the ranks of the opposition.

The reasons which led to this opposition are to be found
in the reaction against all the misery which Ismā'il brought
to the country and also against the official interference of the
European powers in the country's affairs in order to protect
the bondholders. But this growing popular feeling, barely
translated into educational and cultural problems; there was
still no great demand by the Egyptians for education as under-
stood in the west. Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh, the Azhari
reformer and disciple of Jamāl-addin al-Afghānī, was the first
to criticize the educational methods so far adopted and the
first to turn public attention towards the necessity of reforming
al-Azhar. His first articles on the subject appeared in 1876
in the Ahrūm, the paper edited by the Taqī brothers, and
they will be discussed in their appropriate place.

Education under Ismā'il Pasha

As far as the educational policy of the Egyptian Govern-
ment is concerned, the reign of Ismā'il Pasha can be divided
conveniently into two periods; the period 1863 to 1871, during
which the old type of school opened by Muhammad 'Ali was
re-established, and the period 1871 to 1879, during which a
type of school came into existence with more defined educa-
tional aims, in so far as it provided for public education to a
very limited extent. Even though this latter type of school
did not belong to the purely military system as in the previous
years, yet, in the long run, the best students were destined
for the military and special schools and so for government
service.

The schools that were opened, maintained or reorganised
during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha can be classified under the
following headings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naval,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Military, Naval, Industrial, Special |

346

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Wakf Schools:
Primary, Preparatory.
Primary, under Government supervision.
Elementary (budābī),
Primary, opened by private individuals and maintained by pious endow-
ments.

European and Communal Schools.

The Diwān al-Madāris

On the accession of Ismā'il Pasha, there was no special
administration for the schools. Hitherto they had either
been managed by Sā'il Pasha in person, or else attached to the
Diwān al-Jihādīyah. One of Ismā'il's first acts was to re-
establish the Diwān al-Madāris on the 26th January, 1863,
under Adham Pasha 1; Adham Pasha appears to have been
Nāṣir of the Wakfs Administration at the same time, but he did
not retain the Nāṣirship of the Diwān al-Madāris for long as
Sharif Pasha succeeded him on 26th July of the same year 2
with 'Ali Mubārak (then Bey) as Wakīl. 3 Sharif Pasha was
Nāṣir until 15th April, 1868, when he was succeeded by his
Wakīl who held the post until 21st September, 1870. 4

Thereafter, the Nāṣir was changed several times; Artūn 5
gives the following list of Nāṣirs and Councillors for the reign
of Ismā'il Pasha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nāṣir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahgāt Pasha (also Public Works)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali Pasha Mubārak (also Wakfs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Husain Pasha Kamīl (also Wakfs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Public Works)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riyād Pasha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thābit Pasha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Yusuf Pasha (also Wakfs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thābit Pasha, Councillor,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Pasha Rūsim, Councillor,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansūr Pasha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12th May, 1871,
25th August, 1872,
26th August, 1873,
15th August, 1873 to
26th February, 1874.
25th May, 1874,
7th September, 1874
to 31st August, 1875.
17th September, 1874
to 21st November, 1874.
22nd November, 1874
to 2nd September, 1875.
1st September, 1875
to 21st June, 1876.

1 Artūn, op. cit., p. 169 and Šāmil, op. cit., p. 16.
2 Artūn, loc. cit. and Šāmil, ibid., p. 17.
3 Khīfat, 349.
4 Artūn, loc. cit., and Khīfat, loc. cit.
5 Artūn, op. cit., pp. 169-170 and Šāmil, passim.
347
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Thirdbit Pasha, Councillor,
Riyād Pasha,
Isma‘īl Pasha Ayyūb
‘Ali Pasha Muḥārak,

Thirdbit Pasha,

Primary and Preparatory Schools

In February, 1863, Isma‘īl’s first school was opened in Alexandria in the quarter of Rās aṭ-Ṭin near the palace. It included a Primary (muḥādātiyyān) and Preparatory (tajāsītiyyāh) school under Ahmad Bey Faṭṭāḥ until February, 1876.1

Another Primary school was opened in July, 1863, in al-‘Abbāsīyah under Amīr al-Dīn Isma‘īl Bey Zuhdī until September, 1870; it was transferred to an-Nāṣirīyah in 1868. At the same time, a Preparatory school was opened in the same place under ‘Ali Bey Ibrāhīm until October, 1874; it was transferred to Darb al-Gamāmīz in January, 1868.2

The Reorganisation of the Army and Navy and their appropriate Schools

Isma‘īl Pasha turned his attention to the military and naval schools almost as soon as he came to power; the Naval School was continued under Federico until August, 1863; during 1864, there appears to have been no Nāṣīr; al-Yūzibāshī Muḥammad ad-Darāsī held the post in 1865 and Mr. Mackillop from May, 1869, to November, 1871; ‘Abdar-Rāziq Bey Darwīsh was Wāḥī from December, 1871 until April, 1875 and then Nāṣīr from May, 1875 until April, 1879.3

The Khedive appears to have followed the practice of Muḥammad ‘Ali for there was another Naval School opened near the Arsenal which was probably used for shipbuilding while the other was used purely for naval training. Both European and Egyptian teachers were employed; the students were chosen from the primary school and the course lasted three years. The subjects taught were physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, gunnery, navigation and management of ships, swimming, military law, Turkish and English; the names of the teachers were as follows:

1. Šāmī, op. cit., p. 17 gives July, 1863; in the same work, app. III, 57 and 69 and Aftīn, op. cit., p. 186, February is given.
4. Ibid., app. III, p. 53.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Mr. Gibson, Mr. Abraham (?), Sulaimān Ef. Zuhdī,

Navigation and Handling of Ships.
English, History and Physics.
Astronomy and Geography.
Navigation Charts.
Use of Weapons and Military Law.
Mathematics.
Gunnery and Sword-drill.
Torpedo exercises.
Turkish and Calligraphy.

Sa‘īd’s Military School at the Barrage was transferred to Kāsīr an-Nīl and then to al-‘Abbāsīyah in 1863; it was turned into the Artillery School in July, 1864, and then closed in January, 1865; from that date, it was amalgamated with the rest of the military schools under an entirely different arrangement whereby they were all accommodated together in the palace built by ‘Abbās Pasha and which gave its name to the district of al-‘Abbāsīyah.

Isma‘īl Pasha had determined to reorganise the army and to introduce various reforms, and for this purpose, he sent a military mission to France. This included Šāhīn Pasha, Ibrāhīm Pasha as-Sawārī, ‘Ali Bey Rūdā aṭ-Ṭubī, ‘Ali Bey Wāḥī, Yūsuf Bey Şādīk, Muḥammad Bey Rūdā, Muḥmūd Bey Sāmī, Isma‘īl Bey Ayyūb, ‘Abdal-Kādir Bey Hilmi, Muṣṭafā Bey Fahmī, ‘Uḥmān Bey Ghālib, Ahmad Bey Hamīd, Hasan Ef. Mazhar, Muḥammad Ef., and Ahmad Bey ‘Ubaid as interpreter.4 The officers represented every arm and were expected to acquire first knowledge and experience that would enable them to introduce the desired reforms into the Egyptian Army. In spite of this mission, however, another military mission of French officers was invited from France in 1864 under General Mircher; the other three officers were Rebatel, Larmée and Polard, and de Bernhardi, already employed in Egypt, was attached to it.4

The military training schools were placed under an administration called Tā‘ārīt al-Madāris al-Harbiyyah, first of all under Salīm Pasha al-Jażā’irī, then under Mircher aided by General Karwel (sic), Sulaimān Bey Najjātī, ‘Yāwīr Bey, ‘Ali Bey Ibrāhīm and ‘Abdar-Raḥmān Ef. Dhinī (Zuhmī).5 Each school had its own Nāṣīr and the students were chosen from the Preparatory

2. Sarbak, ibid., II/297.
5. Šāmī, op. cit., III, p. 54.
and other schools. The following schools were opened under this administration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Opening Date</th>
<th>Director</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infantry</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Muhammad Amin later de Bernhardi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Polard, later Yawir Bey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery and Military Engineering</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Larnec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Mircher, later Shahibah Isaa then Rebated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.C.O.</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munitions</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Military School was also opened in the Citadel in the year 1874, to train boys as non-commissioned officers; it was called Madrasat al-Affal al-Askariyah or Madrasat al-Askariyah. It had a short existence for it was closed in February, 1879, owing to the financial crisis. Khalil Ef. Iffat was Najar. Four other schools were attached to the Military Training establishments at al-Abasiyeh; the Veterinary School under Lyonnor, opened in 1868 with ten students; it was eventually placed under the control of the Najar of the Cavalry School. The School of Agriculture, opened in 1867, was attached to the Veterinary School, but was closed in 1875. The School of Coptic Accountancy, opened in 1867 and closed in 1872, was attached to the School of Cavalry, though the connection between the two is not quite clear. Every kind of military subject was taught in the military schools, each according to its speciality. As the schools were together, one teacher could give several courses at different schools; the majority of the teachers were Egyptians and Turks and the following list indicates the scope of the work undertaken by the teaching staff:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Subjects Taught</th>
<th>Schools Taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdalah Ef.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdar-Khalim Ef.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdar-Khalim Bey 'Ali</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Ef. Hamid.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Ef. Kadi.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Ef. Naji.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Ef. Zak.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Ef. Zuhri.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Ef. Ransu.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Ef. Rushdi.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amir Bey.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Bourke.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastinel Bey.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Ef. Naji.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Ef. Ra'fat.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Illich.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail Ef.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khafield Bey.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalil Ef. Kamil.</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalil Ef. Zak.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latif Ef. Salim.</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Louis.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmon Ef. Fahmi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmoud Ef. Husni.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Mahmoud al-Ali.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmoud Ef. Shaukat.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmoud Ef. Zak.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikhail Ef.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Ef. Hassan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad al-Maniahy.</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Ef. Nasib.</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Ef. Sabd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Ef. Sulayman.</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Ef. Tausif.</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muharram Ef. Shaukat.</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustafa Ef. Nasr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramadan Ef.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Ef. Almad.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahir Ef.</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>S.A.I.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasin Ef. 'Ayyad.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stone Pasha was made Chief of Staff in 1870, and on the return of the Egyptian Military Mission from France, its mem-
bers were placed under him. The staff had a special printing press where its maps and drawings were printed; it had an excellent library of military works and a military museum. Two military gazettes were edited, one called the Jarīdat Arkān Ḥarb al-Jašīh al-Miṣrī and the other the Jarīdat al-Askariyat al-Miṣriyyah for the use of the officers and military students.

After the defeat of the French by the Germans in 1871, Ismā‘īl decided to introduce the German military system into Egypt; the German regulations were translated and adopted but the financial crisis affected his plans considerably and prevented the change from being carried through.

The Medical services of the schools at al-Abbāsiyyah were arranged on a large scale; a hospital was opened for the civil and military schools in April, 1864, under Nāfī‘ Ef. Șawālī; Muḥammad Ef. Sulāmān was made Nāṣir in May, 1865, and Ḥusain Ef. al-Burdī the pharmacist. A European, Dr. Lawanter Bey, was appointed Chief Medical Officer in February, 1865; Doctors Zuhrān Ef. Muḥammad and Muḥammad Ef. ʿIbrāhīm were medical officers of the Primary and Preparatory School respectively.3

The Civil Schools

The educational policy up to 1868 was as has been noted on the same military lines as that of the Khedive's predecessors. By this date, the military schools were well established, and, through the influence of ʿAli Mubārak, an attempt was made to separate the civil schools from the military. At about this date, the military schools were placed under the control of the Divān al-Jihatīyah; the Primary and Preparatory schools were withdrawn from al-Abbāsiyyah, the former being established in an-Nāṣirīyah under Zuhdī Bey and later under Burā Ef.4 and the Preparatory school was set up in the palace of Muṣṭafā Fādīl in Darb al-Gamāmīz under ʿAli Bey ʿIbrāhīm.5

The guiding hand in the educational policy of Egypt was that of ʿAli Pasha Mubārak; during his wakīlsīr in the Divān al-Madāris, he was sent to Paris on a mission connected with finance and while he was there, he took the trouble to visit

1 Sāmī, op. cit., p. 18.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Sāmī, op. cit., p. 10; ʿAriṭūn states that they were under the Divān al-Madāris until 27th February, 1879.
4 Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 36.
5 V. infra, p. 348.

352

The schools in Paris and to investigate for himself the methods employed, their curricula and the kind of text books in use.1 It was he also who suggested to Ismā‘īl Pasha that he should be allowed to transfer the schools to Cairo on account of the inconvenience caused to teachers, students and parents by the remoteness of al-Abbāsiyyah.2 When ʿAll Pasha was made Nāṣir of the Divān al-Madāris, he held also the nāẓirship of the Waḥṣīs administration, the Public Works and the Railways, and he moved the offices of the schools, the Waḥṣīs and the Public Works into the palace of Prince Muṣṭafā Fādīl in order to facilitate his task of control.3 This enabled him to make a daily inspection of the Preparatory school and of the other schools that were eventually transferred or set up there.

A new principle was adopted in connection with the paying of school fees. In both the Primary and the Preparatory schools, sections were opened for students whose parents had to pay a little towards their education. No fixed rules were laid down as to the payments to be made, the amount depending on the discretion of the Nāṣir of the Divān and the means of the parents;4 from the statistics available, the principle does not appear to have been accepted until 1875, for this is the first year in which a percentage (21 per cent.) of the students is shown as paying fees.5 A hospital was opened in the Darb al-Gamāmīz palace for sick students, and placed under Muḥammad Ef. ʿIbrāhīm.6

The palace in Darb al-Gamāmīz soon became the hub of the new educational movement through the enthusiasm and energetic policy of Mubārak. In 1868, he opened the Madrasat al-Idārah waṣal-ʿAlṣum (School of Administration and Languages) which later became the School of Law which is still in existence.7 The director was M. Vidal, a French lawyer, who remained in charge of this school for twenty-four years.8 A School of Drawing was opened in the same year and also placed under Vidal.9 The Muḥandīsīṣḥānāwāh was transferred to this building in January, 1868, under Ismā‘īl Bey al-Fakhrī10 and a School of Surveying and Accountancy was opened in 1868 and placed under the director of the Muḥandīsīṣḥānāwāh.11 Still another

1 Khāṭir, 9/49.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Sāmī, op. cit., p. 386.
5 Sāmī, ibid., p. 91.
6 Ibid., p. 91.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

school was opened under Brugsch for the study of Egyptology.¹
There was also a large general library and an amphitheatre for
ceremonial occasions and public lectures.

Dor Bey, who had been appointed Inspector-General of
the schools gives a report on several of them which he visited
in 1871-2. The Primary School in Darb an-Nāṣiriyah was
under Bur'a Efeend at the time.² He was assisted by twenty-
one teachers and two tutors (rététeurs),³ and there were four
classes; in the first and second years, reading, writing and
the memorising of the Kor'an formed the main part of the
syllabus, in the third year, Arabic grammar was begun and
in the fourth, French and arithmetic. There were other classes
for English and German; the Kor'an was dropped for the
fourth class and Turkish, Arabic syntax and elementary geo-
graphy were given instead. An important place was given to
drawing. The best subject was arithmetic but the language
teachers gave too much time to parsing. The students dined
at midday and there appears to have been 510 in the common
refectory alone, including the external students who did not
live in the school. The sons of Beys and Pashas dined in a
separate dining-room. The school had an infirmary of which
Dor had no good opinion.

He describes the Darb al-Gamāmiz schools in some detail.⁴
The Preparatory school ⁵ had 390 students, all in uniform,
the wearing of which Dor criticises to some extent, although
he appreciates the reasons for its necessity in view of the general
poverty of the boys and the call for military discipline. There
were twenty-two Egyptian teachers and two Europeans who
taught drawing; French and English were taught by Egyptians
through the medium of Arabic. The other subjects were
arithmetic, geometry, Arabic, Turkish and calligraphy. Some
of the best students were employed as tutors (rététeurs), a
practice which Dor also criticises, but owing to the lack of
teachers, as will be seen below, the Egyptian Government
had no other choice.

The Muhānekhānah, usually called the Polytechnic,⁶
had seventy-two students who were all internal and who were
allowed to choose between the study of English and French;
a deeper study was made of the European language with a

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

view to using it as a medium for learning other subjects. Dor
states that the students learnt foreign languages with great
facility. There were fifteen teachers, three of whom were
Europeans, one teaching architecture and the other two French
and German. The other subjects of instruction were mechanics,
hydraulics, algebra, differential calculus, descriptive geometry,
physics, chemistry, Arabic and Turkish.

The School of Administration under Vidal is also given
the name of the École de Droit by Dor Bey ¹; there were forty-
four students and six teachers including Vidal who taught
Roman and French law, a sheik taught Moslem law and
another Arabic; an efendi taught Persian and Turkish and
the other two were tutors. The course was arranged over a
period of four years.⁷ Dor Bey complains of the lack of co-
operation between the Egyptian and European teachers; the
sheikhs were particularly antagonistic to their European
colleagues.⁸

The School of Surveying and Accountancy had three
Egyptian teachers who taught accountancy, arithmetic, geometry,
surveying and French.⁹

The School of Egyptology ⁵ had three European teachers
who taught Ancient Egyptian, Coptic, Ethiopic and German;
there were only a few students who were not prepared for this
kind of study as they had neither philological and historical back-
ground nor scientific adaptability; the most that was expected
of them was an ability to fill minor vacancies as keepers in the
museum and foremen in the field.¹⁰

The Alexandria school under Ahmād Bey Fathi consisted of
both a Primary and a Preparatory school ⁷; there were 246
students and sixteen teachers, two of whom were European
teaching French and drawing. The other subjects taught were
the Kor'an, Arabic, Turkish, calligraphy, English and
mathematics.

The School of Medicine

The School of Medicine ⁸ contained about a hundred students
at this time, three-quarters of whom were studying medicine

¹ Ibid., p. 243.
² Dor, op. cit., pp. 244.
³ Ibid., pp. 244-5.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 234-94.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 242-3.
⁶ Dor, op. cit., pp. 244.
⁷ Ibid., p. 254.
⁸ See Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, pp. 49-9: Sharaf, op. cit., pp. 27-2: Mahfouz,
³⁵⁵
and the rest in the pharmaceutical section. At the suggestion of Dr. Burguières, the school was handed over to the Egyptians to manage; Muhammad 'Ali al-Baklī was Wākil in 1864 and 1865, Hāfiz Ef. was Nāṣir in 1865 and 1866, and then Muhammad 'Ali al-Baklī became Nāṣir from December, 1866, until August, 1870; with an interval of a few months, August, 1870 to July, 1871, Muhammad 'Ali al-Baklī was either the Wākil or the Nāṣir until December, 1875, when Gaillardot Bey was made Nāṣir and held the post until March, 1883. The teaching staff in the medical section consisted of fourteen Egyptian teachers, and there were no Europeans; the school of pharmacy had one European, Gastinel Bey, who also taught in the military schools, and five other Egyptians. The Khedive allowed ten Syrians to attend the school gratuitously in order to qualify as doctors. The usual practice of free tuition, board, lodging and pay was maintained during this period. The disadvantage of this system is brought out by Dor Bey. The students were not allowed to choose the section to which they wished to belong; lots were cast for the vacancies in the medical and pharmaceutical sections; the result was that the students who had to follow the pharmaceutical course did so very heartily and because they had to. The reason for this was that they were not so well paid as their medical colleagues after graduation. They lost interest in their work and it could not be expected of such graduates to show any initiative in after-life.

As the students had been fully maintained by the government, they had to spend the rest of their career in government service, and, on graduating, they were posted either to the army or to the civil service; here again, chance played a great part in the nominations; a man might be fortunate enough to be posted to a service where promotion was rapid; on the other hand, he might be employed in some branch of the government where he had no chance of promotion at all. The government appears to have been aware of this serious defect in the system and tried to rectify it by allowing students to attend the School of Medicine simply for the instruction, without any kind of obligation to the government after graduation.

1 Sharaf, ibid., p. 21.
2 Sāmt, ibid., pp. 48–49. Mahfouz, op. cit., pp. 96–7, gives a list of the directors which differs from that of Sāmt.
3 Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 222.
4 Ibid., p. 223.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

The experiment was not successful; Dor Bey states that out of 85 students, only eight took advantage of this offer. Nor did this type of student who had entered the school of his own free will endeavour to set out for himself in life and to depend upon his own qualifications, but still sought government employment.

According to Dor Bey, the course lasted five years after the two years of preparation. The courses were not optional; everything was done according to regulations and orders, and the students studied under strict supervision and military discipline.

The School of Pharmacy had twenty-one students under Gastinel Bey and appears to have been removed to Old Cairo. The School of Maternity, which was also removed to Old Cairo, was under the direction of Mme. Vial. There were forty-four internal students and ten external, with six teachers, three men and three women. The subjects taught were midwifery, surgery, bandaging, gynaecology, anatomy, materia medica, Arabic and arithmetic,1 and the course lasted five years. Forty-seven midwives graduated from this school.

Industrial Schools

The old School of Arts and Crafts at Bālāq had been closed by Sa'id Pasha. Under Isma'il Pasha, it was reopened through the efforts of Nūbār Pasha who was helped by M. Monnier in its organisation.2 The outbreak of cholera in 1867 nearly put an end to this enterprise but the government managed to re-open it in January, 1868.3 It was given the name of Maṭrasat al-'Amalīyat under the direction of M. Eloi Guigon and had thirty students.4 Dor Bey gives a good report of this school and remarks that it was situated in the midst of the workshops where the students were trained in a suitable atmosphere where they could acquire ample experience. The school was well managed by the French director who, not knowing Arabic, used to write his lectures out in French, and have them translated by his Egyptian assistants who gave them to the classes. The course lasted three years, too short in the opinion of Dor Bey; later, the number of students was increased.

The great difficulty here, as with most technical schools, was the formation of the technical vocabulary; M. Guigon

1 Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 226–7 and 385.
3 Ibid., p. 227.
4 Ibid., p. 22.
endeavoured to compile a French-English-Arabic technical dictionary with the aid of the Egyptian masters.

There were twelve teachers altogether, of whom four were European; the subjects taught were English, French, Arabic, mechanics, drawing, metal-work and fitting, and in the language classes special attention was paid to the translation of technical passages.

A special section was opened in 1868 as a military workshop with 28 students, another for painting, opened in 1869 was closed in 1871, a third in connection with the railways was opened in 1870 and closed in 1872; a telegraph school was opened in 1868 and closed in 1869, and a general industrial section opened in 1868 and closed in 1872; they appear to have been all combined later under the direction of Guigon.¹

Still another industrial school was opened in July, 1875, under Ahmad Ef. Idris but it was closed in December of the following year.² The short existence of some of these schools indicates that the schemes were too ambitious and incapable of fulfilment; it would have been wiser to have kept to one establishment and to have developed it under one capable director.

Elementary and Primary Education

It is evident from Dor Bey’s and other reports that, although the object of the schools was to train military and naval officers and administrative officials, and for some sixteen vocational schools there were only two Primary and two Preparatory schools, the Special schools were more up-to-date and were better staffed than they had been in the days of Muhammad ‘Ali. For one thing Ismā’īl was now able to make use of the services of some of the Egyptians and Turks who had been sent to Europe during the earlier years, and, what was perhaps more important there was a stability which had not existed during the reign of Muhammad ‘Ali, since the country was not at war, and the minor campaigns to the south did not drain the country of its man power as the Syrian wars had done.

It has been pointed out that the capable and energetic ‘Ali Mubarak was in charge both of the Schools Administration and of the pious foundations (Wa‘fs) and that the offices of both services were housed in the same building with the schools. Through the Wa‘fs administration, the funds and property

2. Loc. cit.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

which had been settled on pious institutions naturally came under the jurisdiction of Mubarak, and amongst these were the maktabs or kuttāb previously described.¹ These had suffered considerably as we have seen, during the reign of Muhammad ‘Ali owing to the confiscation of the Wa‘fs endowments, to the discouraging effects of the war, the poverty and misery which resulted from the war and the monopolies, and the general disorganisation of social and economic life through the withdrawal of the men from their general occupations. But after 1841, the kuttāb system seems gradually to have resumed its place in the social structure of Egypt, and by 1848, the kuttāb are recorded as having 11,370 pupils.² Even so, the number of schools that were in use could not have been anything like the number that existed before the French occupation, for in Cairo alone Jamard estimated that there were 30 of them.³ No statistics are available for the period 1848 to 1869, in the Progrès Égyptien for the 26th September, 1868, however, the kuttāb are mentioned in the following terms, ces écoles sont fort nombreuses en Egypte et il n’est pas de village un peu peuplé qui n’ait son kuttāb. The writer goes on to say that these schools had been richly endowed, but the difficult times that the country had experienced together with the mismanagement of the Wa‘fs funds had reduced the system to great poverty and degeneration.⁴

The earliest statistics are for the year 1869; they were apparently prepared by a certain Regali⁵ and were used by Regny in 1870.⁶ The figures include the larger towns but not the villages and are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>6,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>1,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damanhûr</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanṭa</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zākaiq</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mangārah</td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Gīzah</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bani Suen</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Fayûm</td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīnīyah</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 11,762²

². Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 213; in 1838, Bowing reckoned there were 20,000 altogether with 5,000 in Cairo alone.  
⁴. Mubarak also confirms this in his Khita’īb, loc. cit.  
⁵. Regny, Statistique de l’Égypte, Alexandriana, 1870, p. 94.  
⁶. Ibid., p. 91 and Regali, Notice sur les établissements, p. 9.  
⁷. Loc. cit.  

359
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Regaldi and Regny estimated there were about 60,000 students attached to kuttâbîs in the whole of Egypt for the year 1870; Dor Bey gives the number as 44,199 pupils in 1,223 kuttâbîs in the year 1872, including 18 kuttâbîs belonging to the Jews, Copts, Syrians and Armenians with a total of 543 pupils. The estimate given by Regaldi and Regny would appear to be too high. The towns mentioned by these two writers had 17,735 kuttâbî students in 1872, which figure represents approximately 40 per cent. of the total; calculated on the same basis, there would have been 29,400 in 1870. In 1873, the figure of 2,067 kuttâbîs with 77,292 pupils is given in the official statistics; for 1875, Dor in the official statistics gives a total of 4,725 kuttâbîs with 119,903 students. Another set of statistics for the year 1291–1294 gives 3,745 kuttâbîs with 113,255 pupils; Amici gives the following figures for 1872, 2,696 kuttâbîs with 82,256 pupils, for 1875, 4,685 kuttâbîs with 111,803 pupils and for 1878, 5,370 kuttâbîs with 137,545 pupils.

For the sake of convenience, these figures are arranged in a table so that the comparative development can be seen at a glance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kuttâbîs</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Authority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>11,370</td>
<td>Dor Bey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>29,400</td>
<td>Regny 60,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1,223</td>
<td>2,696</td>
<td>44,199</td>
<td>Dor Bey (official).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>2,067</td>
<td>2,381</td>
<td>77,292</td>
<td>Amici.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>4,725</td>
<td>4,881</td>
<td>119,903</td>
<td>Dor (official).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>5,370</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>137,545</td>
<td>Amici.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to these figures, the kuttâbîs had increased about four and a half times in number in six years and the students over twelve times in thirty years. That there was a rapid increase was probably true but the absence of reliable figures for the period previous to 1872 makes it impossible to enter into comparisons; even then, the “statistics” for the period 1872 and 1878 show an increase of three times the original number according to Dor Bey and of one and a half times according to Amici.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

The rapid increase in numbers from year to year can only be explained as having been due to a more exact system of calculation. There is no other evidence to show that there was a sudden development in the kuttâbî system and it was not in the nature of things to expect an immediate increase in any one year. Every additional kuttâbî meant at least one additional teacher and it would have been almost impossible to find a thousand extra teachers in any one year as suggested by the statistics or, to be exact, 2,500 extra teachers for the period 1873 to 1875. A number of private individuals must have endowed new kuttâbîs during this period in accordance with the old custom, but the number would not have been so abnormal, unless extra pressure was brought upon the people to do so.

A better account of what actually happened can be found in the autobiography of ‘Ali Pasha Muhârak who was actually in charge of the schools and responsible for the improvement of the kuttâbî system. ‘Ali Pasha had had sufficient experience to perceive that the educational policy of the country had been defective and inadequate; he had seen how ephemeral had been the schools set up by Muhammad ‘Ali, ‘Abbâs and Sa‘îd and that they served only one special object, namely, that of supplying the government with officials. His visit to France must have given him an idea of what was needed in Egypt; his control of both the schools and the Waḥīfs administration gave him the opportunity he was seeking. The combination of the military schools in one locality and the civil schools in another appears to have been an application of the principles adopted through him during the reign of ‘Abbâs Pasha.

‘Ali Pasha reports that the kuttâbîs were functioning according to the old system; the only kind of instruction given was the memorising of the Korân, reading and writing. He conceived the idea of reforming these schools, and, for this purpose, formed a committee of officials and notables in order to investigate its possibilities; their names were:


1 2, supra, p. 360.  
361
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Mahmūd Bey al-Falaki, Engineer,
Ismā'īl Bey al-Falaki, Naẓir of the Muhāndīsīkhānāb,
'Alī Bey ʿIzzat, Wakil of the Diwān al-Madāris.

This committee, although called together under a government official, was certainly the first of its kind for it included private individuals, which suggests that they were moved by motives which had so far been absent among the Egyptians and which were probably inspired by the rapid progress of educational establishments among the European communities with which their own schools compared so unfavourably. The inclusion of highly placed ulamā on this committee was a wise move, and indeed necessary as the reforms contemplated were intended to affect the numerous institutions that belonged to the mosques and the pious foundations.

The Law of the 10th Rajab 1284—7th November, 1867

The outcome of the work of this committee was the famous law of the 10th Rajab 1284—7th November, 1867, which represents an important move in the right direction as it aimed at the official recognition and reform of the only permanent educational system in the country.1 This law decreed that those kuttābs that had sufficient income from their endowments should come under the control of the government; in the case of the extinction of the families of the original founders, the endowments were to pass to the government for use on the schools. This meant that a number of kuttābs would be administered by the Diwān al-Madāris but that their expenditure would be met from Wahf funds.

Many of the schools were in bad need of repair or of being rebuilt in order to suit modern requirements; architects and engineers were posted to the various provinces to draw up plans and estimates 2; the cost of the repairs or reconstruction would have to be borne by the village or province concerned.3 Parents had to help towards the material used in the schools, and were also to supplement the salaries of the teachers (called muḥaddībā) and the monitors (ʿarfīs). These two rules thus established the principle of paying fees for instruction, although no rates were fixed by the law. This applied particularly to village schools; the provincial town schools were to be helped by the government in regard to the board and lodging of students but the parents would still have to pay for materials used by their sons. Another clause stipulated that the Diwān al-Madāris would adjust the fees according to the status of the parents; sons of rich parents would have to pay for their own clothing, the government would pay for that of the poor. A register was to be kept in each of the provincial administrations in which gifts made by parents were to be recorded; their gifts were to be paid into the Diwān al-Madāris and to be used for the school expenditure. The Khedive himself set an example by devoting 22,000 faddāns of land as an endowment towards their upkeep.

One clause states that the appointment of inspectors was to be avoided and that inspection was to be carried out by the provincial governors while another clause stipulates that inspectors would carry out frequent inspections.

The provision of board and lodging would apply to the provincial town schools, whereas in the village schools the pupils would have to return home to their parents at the end of the day. Another clause allowed for students who lived near the provincial town schools; these could pass the night at home, in order to relieve the Diwān al-Madāris of a certain amount of expenditure.

All the schools were to follow the regulations closely; annual examinations were to be set "pour le bien des élèves d'abord and conséquemment pour celui du gouvernement." The muḥaddībā were to follow "une marche progressive dans leur enseignement."

A school was to be established in the centre of each province and in each of the provincial towns; the number of students would be fixed in proportion to the population of the province. The schools were to be erected on government property as near a railway station as possible. When these schools accommodated both Moslems and Copts, the first year class was to be divided for the purposes of religious instruction.

The new law provided for three types of schools, the Primary schools in Cairo and Alexandria, the village elementary schools (kuttābs) and the Primary schools in the centre of the provinces and in the capitals.

The law contained forty clauses as follows:

1—A newly opened kuttāb in an unhealthy building and without a Wahf endowment should be condemned and the students dis-
distributed among other schools. The condemned building should either be sold or let and the proceeds used for the foundation of other "ulûbs."

ii.—Schools over sabîls 1 beyond repair were to be let as shops or stores and the proceeds credited to the common school funds; the students were to be sent to other schools.

iii.—Schools endowed with Wâfîf funds but in a bad state of repair were to be temporarily closed and the revenues from the endowment saved until a sufficient amount was available for repairs; in the meantime the students were to attend other schools. If, however, the Wâfîf endowment had sufficient funds available for immediate repairs, they were to be undertaken; the decision as to what action was to be taken depended upon the Nâsîr of the Wâfîf administration.

iv.—If a medical officer were to condemn a Wâfîf-endowed school building then it should be treated as in iii.

v.—An existing school with limited accommodation, but many students, should be enlarged either at the expense of the state, or at the expense of a private individual, if the Wâfîf endowment be insufficient.

vi.—If the founder of a school had stipulated that the school had to be used for a special branch of study which was no longer required and the endowment itself had expired, then such a school could be used for any other purpose provided funds were forthcoming from some private individual.

vii.—If a school which had been founded for the purpose of the study of religion should be without students but has funds available, and, if a private individual wishes to make a fresh endowment for the school with a view to adding a new branch of study, such action would be legal and allowed. If such a school be in need of repairs, they would be effected from its own funds; if such funds were insufficient, the school would be closed and its funds appropriated for the foundation of another school.

viii.—If a person had endowed a school for his children but revertible to the poor in case of the extinction of the family, then such schools would be considered as charitable institutions and could be used accordingly.

ix.—The same rule as in viii would apply to similar Wâfîfs where the founder had appointed an executor.

x.—All Wâfîfs affected by viii and ix were to be examined; if the executor be suitable, he could be continued in his functions, if unsuitable, he would have to be replaced; if there be no executor, the funds would be applied to such schools as the Khedive saw fit.

The following clauses referred to the syllabus of the schools:

xi.—If a school has seventy students or more, its teachers would be appointed and paid from the endowment; the following subjects would be taught: writing, arithmetic, commercial knowledge.

xii.—If a Wâfîf school not under government control had sufficient funds, it had to follow xi; if the funds were insufficient, they would be supplemented from other Wâfîf endowments. In the cases of schools coming under clauses vii, ix and x, the parents would have to subscribe towards the education of their children, for which purpose, they would be presented with a monthly account.

xiii.—Elementary schools, whether under government supervision or not, would have to provide for the study of reading, writing and the "numerical value of the letters" (arithmetic).

xiv.—Schools not under government supervision had to conform to xiii; if a founder wished to add extra teachers as in the larger schools, according to xi, then the Wâfîf administration would give a subvention towards their salary.

xv.—All moneys which had been paid in the past by parents would still continue to be paid by them; this applied to school upkeep as well as teachers stipends.

The following clauses affected teachers:

xvi.—The Dîwân al-Madâris appointed teachers and presented them with testimonials after examinations in the presence of the local authorities.

xvii.—Teachers had to live according to the high moral standard of respectability. They must know the Kûrân and their religion thoroughly, have a "beautiful calligraphy" and know the "numbers of arithmetic."

Rewards and Prizes:

xviii.—Students were to attend school of their own free will; promotion to the higher classes and eventually to the government schools was to be decided by the annual examinations.

xix.—Examinations were to be held in the month of Sha'âbân; a ceremony was to be held for those students who passed with distinction; in the higher schools, a military band was to be in attendance.

xx.—Successful students were to be presented with prizes of Inkstands, books, etc.

xxi.—Students who had been recommended for good conduct were to receive uniforms from the state.

School furniture and material:

xxii.—The books to be used in the schools were to be prescribed and printed by the government and paid for by the students; the prices were to be collected by the teachers and paid into the Dîwân al-Madâris; the prescribed books were to include the Kûrân, and others on the subjects of the syllabus as in xi.

xxiii.—The School furniture was to consist of a chair for the master and benches for the students in the large schools (secondaires) and mats for the elementary schools. The furniture was to be paid for out of the Wâfîf funds or by the founder.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

New Schools:

xxiv.—New schools were to be built according to plan and any plan to build one had to be submitted to the Dīwān al-Madāris for approval: the muʻaddibīs for such schools were to be appointed by the Dīwān al-Madāris.

Clauses affecting public health:

xxv.—Students suffering from serious or contagious illness were not to be allowed admission to the schools; bodily deformity, however, was not counted as a disqualification.

xxvi.—The local public health officer had to visit the schools and to satisfy himself regarding the standard of cleanliness and the health of the students.

The Village Schools (called primaires):

xxvii.—The instruction in the villages was to be given in a suitable building which would be attractive to the children; if the school was below standard, it was to be repaired at the expense of the local inhabitants.

xxviii.—The inhabitants of the provincial capitals were to pay for the upkeep of the buildings, the purchase of the furniture, the students’ materials and the muʻaddibīs’ salaries. In the case of a Wāfā’ endowment being available, the parents were to pay for the students’ materials only (a copy of the Korān and a slate); orphans’ materials were to be paid for by other inhabitants.

Instruction:

xxix.—The syllabus of instruction was to be uniform everywhere; the books were to be prescribed by the Dīwān al-Madāris and printed in the government presses; in the villages, it would be sufficient to teach the Korān and the “numbers of arithmetic.” The hours of attendance were not to be fixed in the village schools but pupils whose names were inscribed had to learn their lessons in the prescribed time; parents could decide when to withdraw their sons from these schools; this rule did not apply to government schools where a student, once his name had been inscribed, had to complete the course; the village schools were to be open always and the muʻaddibīs were to be permanent.

The Teachers (referred to as fībis):

xxx.—It would be sufficient that the teachers of the small towns, villages and hamlets knew how to read and write, knew the Korān by heart and the “numbers of arithmetic”; fībis already holding posts could keep them provided that they knew the Korān thoroughly and that they were in possession of a certificate that they are suitable to the inhabitants and capable of teaching. The certificate had to be granted by the local notables and by a delegate of the Dīwān al-Madāris. As many of the

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

fībis were blind, it would be necessary to provide a capable ‘arīf if they wished to keep their post; the ‘arīf must possess a certificate to the effect that he can read and write. As many of the fībis possessed all the necessary qualifications but did not know arithmetic, these could be given a year’s leave during which time they could learn arithmetic. This privilege could only be granted to those teachers already in employment. Newly appointed teachers had to possess all the qualifications.

Books and students’ materials:

xxxi.—Books had to be approved by a special committee in the Dīwān al-Madāris before they could be printed. After they had been printed, they were to be distributed among the students and the prices of all books and students’ materials had to be paid for by the parents; the blackboard and drinking vessels were to be considered as a part of the school furniture (see xxiii).

Treatment of students:

xxxii.—Yearly examinations were to be held in the month of Sha’bān in the presence of the Shāhīdus al-Balad; students and teachers had to be encouraged. A register was to be kept of the students’ names showing their attendance. Good students were to be allowed to proceed to the higher schools without examination; diligent students were to be exempt from the school corvées.

Provincial Capital Schools:

xxxiii.—The following towns would be provided with central schools: Tantū, Zākārja, al-Manṣūrah, Bāzī Sūd, Miṣrūy, Ezīrū, Kīnā; these schools were to provide instruction to the students of the surrounding districts who had passed out of the kutūb; the expenses of the student to be borne by the province in which the student was born.

xxxiv.—The inhabitants of the province were to pay for the building and upkeep of the school, each according to his means; if the government are in possession of a suitable building, it would be given to the Dīwān al-Madāris; if the government gave the site, then the local inhabitants should pay for the building of the school; if no site were available, then the inhabitants should have to pay for this also; the site, in any case, would be exempt from taxes; it would be permitted for a person, inspired by charity, to pay for the total or partial upkeep of the school.

xxxv.—The expenditure of these schools (called secondaires) was to be divided under two headings:

(a) school furniture to be at the charge of the inhabitants;
(b) dormitory furniture, food, clothing and students’ materials to be paid for out of the revenues of the 22,000 faddāns endowed by the Khedive or out of the Wāfā’ funds; if this were insufficient, then the inhabitants had to pay.

The maximum salary of a teacher to be fixed at PT. 750 a month and the minimum at PT.200; the teachers’ salaries were to be
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

paid from the Waqf funds: the nāṣir's rank was not to exceed that of Sāghablād Aghāsī (at £5.12 a month).

Two inspectors-general were to be appointed, one for Lower and the other for Upper Egypt; their salaries were not to be less than £6.12 a month; each inspector-general was to have an assistant who was to receive a salary of £5.5 a month.

High officials were to be qualified and appointed by the Divān al-Madāris; all teachers were to be confirmed in their posts by the Divān al-Madāris which paid the salaries (irrespective of the future from which they were drawn).

The annual examiners were to be appointed by the Divān al-Madāris and their expenses were to be charged to the respective provinces.

Medical officers were to be appointed by the Khedive; schools were to be visited by them daily and medicine was to be provided by the Khedive.

Number of students and syllabus:

xxxvi.—The number of the students at each school was to be fixed at between 200 and 300; those who belonged to the province were to be called dakhiliyyah (local); these were to have their expenses paid locally and could leave the school on Fridays and holidays; their number was to be fixed in proportion to the number of inhabitants; students from other provinces were to be called khārijiyyah and could be received to the extent of 20 per cent. of the total number; if a parent wished to place his son in a school in another province, he would have to pay for his food and clothing.

The candidates for these schools were to be chosen from among the best kutāb students with the recommendation of the notables, and nāṣir and the teachers.

Students could be accepted in the schools irrespective of their religious beliefs; they must be healthy, have good eyesight, but physical deformity would not be a disqualification provided it did not inconvenience the student in his work.

The period of study was to be for four years and the age of admission from ten to fifteen years.

A student once he was registered in the school, could not leave until he had finished the whole of the course; if a parent were to make an application for the withdrawal of his son, such application would have to be supported with very good reasons for such withdrawal and would be considered on its own merits for the students who enter these schools were "to be useful, not only to themselves, but to the country."

Orphans and poor children could be admitted gratuitously.

The syllabus would be arranged as follows:

(a) Arabic, grammar, reading, tanbih, elementary ābā and politeness;
(b) a modern European language, Turkish or another language; the student must learn to read, write and translate;
(c) elementary geography and ancient history;
(d) elementary arithmetic, commercial knowledge, linear drawing and geometry;
(e) zoology, botany, principles of agriculture;
(f) drawing and calligraphy (khitāb, divānī and naskh);

Books, materials, food and clothing:

xxxvii.—Books, see xxxi; food was to be given according to the standard of the provincial people; uniform was to be worn on all occasions and to consist of special designs and issued by the government; a student was to be issued with three shirts, three pairs of drawers, three belts, three trousers, two waistcoats, three skull-caps, four pairs of white stockings and a winter coat every two years.

Methods of developing instruction:

xxxviii.—In order to keep up to a certain standard, the teachers were to hold monthly examinations, the nāṣir, inspector and judges were to conduct a quarterly examination and a yearly examination was to be held by the governor of the province, the officials and other dignitaries: a ceremony was to be held for prize-giving and a military band was to be in attendance: the students who desired to enter the government schools were to make written application after the yearly examination; the nāṣir was to send the applications to the Divān al-Madāris which decided upon the selection; the students chosen from the provincial town schools were to be replaced by others from the khitāb; the vacancies were to be reported annually by the nāṣirs.

Any student who failed to sit for an examination in his class had to remain in the school without promotion to a higher class and was to be considered as an external student, i.e., his food and clothing were to be paid for by his parents.

xxxix.—All moneys destined for the schools must be sent to the Divān al-Madāris which alone had the right to decide upon expenditure.

All school accounts were to be made up annually in the province in the presence of the local notables and nāṣirs; at the same time, the expenditure of the following year was to be decided upon.

xl.—Teachers and nāṣirs appointed by the Divān al-Madāris were to belong to the respective government cadres and were to be entitled to pensions; all service as teachers would count towards a pension.

The law concludes with advice to teachers as to their general behaviour and how they were to perform their duty, and was passed and put into operation from the 27th May, 1868.1

The Application of the Law

In 1867, the committee reported that there were 222 khitāb in Cairo, Old Cairo and Bālāq which were classified as follows:

1 Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 353–371.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

(a) Wa'fs schools under government supervision;
(b) Wa'fs schools not under government supervision;
(c) Schools without pious foundations and not under government supervision.

Eight of these schools had over one hundred students, smaller ones had between forty and fifty and several had only five or six. Some of the schools were in ruins but still held classes, others were new but had no students at all; some were richly endowed, others were without funds.

The law aimed at a levelling out process, not only in Cairo, but all over the country; and 'Ali Mubarak in fact, succeeded in partially resuscitating the ruttāb system which had been broken down under Muhammad 'Ali. His success was due to the centralisation of the Wa'fs and Schools Administration under one control, otherwise it would not have been possible to achieve this reform. It was further assisted by compelling the people to participate financially in the plan; to what extent pressure was brought to bear upon them is hard to say. The return to the Wa'fs of some of the property which had been confiscated by Muhammad 'Ali and, which was, fundamentally, the cause of the bad state of repair of many of the ruttāb, helped materially.

The temporary prosperity of the country at the beginning of the reign due to the sharp rise in the price of cotton may have enabled the public to lend their support to the reforms.

While the material welfare of the schools was improved in that they were now officially recognised, and brought under some kind of control and were, on paper, run on uniform lines, yet it cannot be said that a better education was within reach of a very large percentage of the people, or that the ruttāb improved the standard of education given to their pupils. Dor Bey states quite frankly that there was no real progress through lack of men and money.

The ruttāb are now generally referred to as "primary" and the provincial town schools as "secondary" schools. These terms are misleading, the former were still no more than elementary or Koran schools and the latter were only true primary schools; only the preparatory schools, of which there were two, one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria, can be called secondary. The only modification in the syllabus of

the ruttāb was the addition of elementary arithmetic which the majority of the fikās were unable to teach, and a very long time must have been needed before they could adapt themselves to this new branch. Dor Bey states that the introduction of the study of arithmetic was never effected.

The reformers may have wished to develop a school system in Egypt in order to spread education more widely among the people but, in spite of this work, they could not break away from the idea that the schools had to be subservient to state control and that the students, although many of them never entered anything more advanced than a ruttāb, were finally destined for the provincial town schools, then the government primary and preparatory schools, going on from these to the special schools, either civil or military, and so to government service.

Three kinds of primary schools came into use as the result of the new organisation, the Maktab Ahli (pl. Maktabb Ahliyyah—National Schools), the Wa'f Ihidā'ī (pl. Wa'fihitidā'īyyah—Wa'fs Primary) and the Wa'f Ihidā'ī established by private individuals. Although the law stipulated for seven provincial central schools, only five were founded and were called Maktabb Ahliyyah; there were in addition seven others in Cairo and its suburbs. They were opened in the following chronological order:

Taftā (in the palace of Abbās Pasha at Banāh and sometimes called Banāh school) ... ... Opened Jan., 1868
Asyūt ... ... ... ... ... Jan., 1868
al-Karakābiyyah, Cairo ... ... ... ... ... June, 1872
Banī Suf ... ... ... ... ... Aug., 1872
al-Gahāliyyah, Cairo ... ... ... ... ... Jan., 1873
al-Mināyā ... ... ... ... ... Feb., 1873

secondary education; in a government report entitled "Rapport de la Commission pour les Réformes dans l’Organisation de l’Instruction Publique" Cairo, 1881, p. 24, Dor Bey is quoted from his report to the Commission as having said: "L’enseignement secondaire n’est représenté aujourd’hui que par l’école préparatoire au Caire. Les quelques classes préparatoires qui se trouvent dans quelques écoles de province offrent toutes une absence absolue sur l’une ou l’autre branche d’enseignement et ne pourront entrer en ligne de compte que vers l’autome de l’année prochaine. Inégalement comme qualité, ce degré isolé est encore plus insuffisamment représenté comme quantité."

1 Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 323.
2 Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 217.
3 Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 219.
4op. cit., p. 321.
5op. cit., p. 323.
6Mil, op. cit., p. 64-5.
7op. cit., p. 321.
8op. cit., p. 323.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Bāb ash-Sha'riyyah, Cairo ... Opened Dec., 1874
Old Cairo ... Jan., 1879
'Abdun, Cairo ... Jan., 1879
al-Fashn ... Feb., 1879
al-Hussainiyah, Cairo ... Mar., 1879

These maktabās were given a special department in the Divān al-Madāris which appears to have been placed under the control of 'Abdallah Bey Fikrī on the 27th March, 1871. They were apparently controlled by the Divān but their maintenance was at the charge of the joint funds of the Divān al-Madāris and the Wākfs Administration together with the support of the people.

There were eleven new primary Wākfs schools and these were controlled by the Divān al-Madāris but the Wākfs Administration was responsible for their upkeep; they were as follows:

al-Habbāniyyah, Cairo ... Opened July, 1872
al-'Aqṣādīn, Cairo ... 1872
Ṣultān Mustafā, Cairo ... 1872
Ṣultān Kābīr, Cairo ... 1872
Abūl-‘Āla', Bīlāl, Cairo ... 1872
an-Nabḥān, Cairo ... Dec., 1872
al-Kalāūn, Cairo ... Dec., 1872
Shāhānīn, Cairo ... 1874
Furū the Blind, Cairo ... Jan., 1875
Rosetta ... Mar., 1876
al-Imām ash-Shāfī‘ī, Cairo ... April, 1879

and nine others were opened by private individuals and endowed with Wākfs. These individuals probably set up these schools at the suggestion of the Khedive in order to set an example to the public; or they may have felt the necessity of doing so in view of the large number of European schools that were being opened and the absence of similar schools where a better education than that of the kuttabās were available for the Egyptians. These nine schools were placed under the control of the Divān but they were entirely supported by their founders; they were as follows:

1 Ibid., app. III, pp. 68-9.
2 Ibid., app. III, pp. 70-1.
3 Ibid., app. III, pp. 69-70.
4 Ibid., app. III, p. 87.
5 Ibid., app. III, pp. 82-3.
6 Ibid., app. III, pp. 81-2.
7 Loc. cit.
8 Ibid., app. III, p. 86.
9 Ibid., app. III, p. 87.
10 Ibid., app. III, p. 72.
12 Ibid., p. 23.
13 Ibid., app. III, pp. 84-5.
14 Loc. cit.
15 Ibid., app. III, p. 86.
16 Ibid., app. III, p. 84.
17 Ibid., app. III, p. 88.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

al-Būṣīr, Alexandria ... Opened 1869
Khalīf Aḥṣā', Cairo ... 1871
Shākh Sālih, Cairo ... 1871
Umm ‘Abbās, Cairo ... 1871
Rāṭib Pasha, Alexandria ... 1872
as-Sayyidah Zainah, Cairo ... 1872
Hāfiz Pasha, Cairo ... 1873
Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad Bey, Cairo ... 1873
al-Kubbah, Cairo ... 1873

Under the same system two girls' schools were established, one called as-Suyūfīyyah, opened in January, 1873, and the other called al-‘Arabīyyah, opened in 1874, but closed in 1875.

Thus thirty-three schools were organised under the new arrangements and an attempt to describe the actual working of some of them could not be out of place here.

Dor Bey described the Ṭanṭā school and that of Asyūṭ: the former had 300 students and eleven teachers at the time of his writing, while the latter had 200 with ten teachers. At the Ṭanṭā school, the director taught French, there were four shāikhs teaching Arabic and the Korān, three əfendis teaching arithmetic, one of whom helped with French, another əfendi for calligraphy and one for drawing. Asyūṭ had four shāikhs teaching Arabic and the Korān, two of whom also taught calligraphy; two əfendis taught mathematics, one of whom helped with French, an əfendi taught Turkish (not taught at Ṭanṭā) and another drawing.

The two schools of al-‘Arabīyyah and al-Kalāūn were among the first to be started on the new principle whereby the parents contributed towards the education of their children. They paid between PT.5 and PT.15 a month (one to three shillings) which made up a total of 70 per cent. of the total expenditure of the school. In 1872, Dor Bey gives the figure of 143 students at the former school and 122 at the latter. Al-‘Arabīyyah had ten teachers and al-Kalāūn had eight. At the former, the director taught mathematics, a shāikh taught Arabic, two others taught the Korān aided by an ərif, two əfendis taught...
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
calligraphy, and there was one for each of the subjects French, geography and Turkish. At the latter, the director also taught mathematics, a shaikh taught Arabic and another taught the Kor'an with the help of two 'arifs; three other efendis were employed, one for calligraphy, one for Turkish and one for French and geography.

The Būṣīrī and Rātiq Pasha Schools at Alexandria were also visited by Dor Bey; the former had 100 students and the latter had 60; al-Būṣīrī had four teachers, a shaikh for the Kor'an and another for Arabic, an efendi for calligraphy and another for Turkish and arithmetic; the Rātiq Pasha school had two shaikhs for the Kor'an and one for grammar; the efendi who taught Turkish and arithmetic at al-Būṣīrī also taught the same subjects at this school.

These six schools, when compared with the government primary school in Darb an-Nāṣirīyah, had not the same wide syllabus. The predominance of the shaikh and the place of the Kor'an in the syllabus is noticeable; fourteen teachers out of a total of forty-seven were teaching the Kor'an. In spite of this tendency to retain the distinctive religious background of these schools, probably unavoidable in view of the large number of shaikhs on the committee that drew up the regulations and of the fact that they were essentially religious institutions, it must be admitted that this was the most useful kind of reform so far undertaken, and showed a wise tendency to combine the old type of education with the new; the original Islamic culture was respected and maintained and not sacrificed to the new. The unfortunate reformers had yet to solve the problem of teaching method which will be discussed below.

The Girls' Schools

An ambitious plan for the opening of a girls' school was drawn up about 1867 by a special committee under Mircher with Shahāṭah 'Isā as reporter. A girls' school was not opened until January, 1873, and this under the patronage and at the expense of Cheshmat Hānum, Ismā'īl Pasha's third wife. This was the first Moslem girls' school, although the other communities, including the Copts, had opened girls' schools much earlier. There was, of course, the School of Maternity, but it
can hardly be included in this category. Few Moslem families appear to have taken advantage of the foreign girls' schools for the education of their daughters; the aristocratic families had already begun to employ European teachers privately, but this practice had not yet been generally adopted by the people.

When the school was opened in 1873, the girls were recruited from among the white slaves belonging to the different families related to the ruler and from among the families of the officials; in 1875, their number reached 298, 203 boarders and 95 day scholars. The school was under a Syrian headmistress, Mlle. Rose Najjār, an efendi was in charge of the service, three shaikhs taught the Kor'an, an efendi taught Turkish and another drawing; there were eight women teachers, four taught needlework, one taught the piano and another laundry, the other two were supervisors.

The Wakfs administration then followed with a girls' school at al-Ḳarabiyah on the same lines as that of as-Suyūṭīyah, Mlle. Cécile Najjār was the headmistress; an efendi also was in charge of the service and there were three shaikhs for the teaching of the Kor'an. Five women teachers completed the staff, three for needlework, one for laundry and one for supervision. In 1875, there were 147 girls, 76 boarders and 71 day scholars.

Owing to the deposition of Ismā'īl Pasha, Cheshmat Hānum had to withdraw both her patronage and financial support; al-Ḳarabiyah was then closed, combined with as-Suyūṭīyah and taken over by the Wakfs Administration; it was later given the name of Madrasat as-Saniyah.

In 1878, Ismā'īl Pasha started to build another girls' school with the proposed name of Madrasat al-Banāt-al-Askrāf, but owing to the financial difficulties and the dethronement of the Khedive, the plan had to be dropped.

The Training of Teachers

The establishment of this type of primary school created a demand for teachers, and one of the biggest drawbacks in

---

1 Artin, op. cit., p. 133.
2 Ibid., p. 134; under Muhammad 'Alī two Englishwomen came to Egypt to offer their services as teachers but without any success; see Puckler-Muskau, op. cit., p. 64.
4 Loc. cit.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

the system of education employed in Egypt from the reign of Muhammad `Ali was the lack of teachers. In 1875, the teaching staff of the schools was made up as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military and Naval Schools</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special and Industrial Schools</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory and Government Primary</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and Wāṣfī Schools</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this number, 73 were given double employment, which leaves a total of 366 teachers. There were 31 Europeans altogether, 4 in the military schools and 6 in the girls' schools, which left 22 for the other schools; 127 of the teachers were shāikhs: 9 in the Military, Naval and Special Schools, 23 in the Preparatory and Government Primary and 95 in the National and Wāṣfī Schools. This leaves a total of 208 efendis engaged in teaching the various subjects included in the curricula.

In the Military, Naval and Special Schools, the posts were partly filled with men who had completed their training in Europe, partly by graduates of the schools themselves. The number of Europeans employed is strikingly small, especially when compared with the number employed earlier under Muhammad `Ali. The number of shāikhs employed is comparatively large while a large proportion of the 208 efendis would be engaged at teaching subjects for which a special training was required, such as mathematics, history, geography, European languages and drawing; these efendis had been trained in the westernised schools while the shāikhs were Azhāris. The practice of employing the best graduates as tutors, (répétiteurs) had been accepted and followed from the earliest days, although the results appear to have been unsatisfactory. With the creation of all these primary schools, it was soon found that the serious lack of teachers threatened the system with failure.

`Ali Pasha Mubārak was aware of this defect and tried to meet it by opening a training college in which men could be trained as teachers of geometry, physics, geography, history and calligraphy, in addition to the branches taught in al-Azhar such as Arabic, Koranic Exegesis, hadith, and fikh. The students were chosen from al-Azhar and were fed, clothed and taught at the expense of the Wāṣfī Administration, in addition to receiving a monthly salary of one pound a month.

The innovation was an excellent idea; the Azhāris had been gradually attracted towards Darb al-Gamāmiz, the cultural centre, by a series of public lectures given in the lecture-hall from the month of July, 1871, by both Egyptians and Europeans, and attended by officials, teachers, and students. These public lectures included talks on literature by Sh. Ḥusain al-Maṣṣāfi, astronomy by Ismā`il Bey al-Falaki, Ḥanafī fikh by Sh. ʻAbdāl-Rahmān al-Bahārwi, Koranic Exegesis and hadith by Sh. Ahmad al-Maṣṣāfi and various other lectures on physics, chemistry, railways, architecture, mechanics, botany and history. The attempt to arrange a series of courses of instruction did a great deal towards the spread of knowledge amongst a limit circle, but it did not create teachers. Nevertheless, some of the Azhāris showed a certain amount of enthusiasm in joining the new Training School which was opened in September, 1872 and called the Dār al-ʻUlûm after the name of the public lecture hall just mentioned.

The decree issued by Ismā`il Pasha fixed the number of students of the Training School at fifty, they were to be between the ages of 20 and 30 years, and were intended for appointment as teachers in the National Schools on completion of their studies.

The results of this interesting experiment were mixed. The Azhāris who became associated with the new institutions that disseminated western knowledge were initiated into European science and learning (whatever may have been its quality), and the fact that they were turbaned shāikhs following the same courses as the efendis in the other schools paved the way for the acceptance and penetration of western learning throughout the country. Not unnaturally, the people who had become accustomed to hear the condemnation of western learning as diabolical and heretical, were now surprised at the participation of the shāikhs in these pursuits.

Probably one of the main reasons for their acceptance of the new learning was the fact that these shāikhs were beginning

---

1 Artin, op. cit., p. 100; Dur Bey, op. cit., pp. 339-142.
2 Artin, ibid., pp. 132-4.
4 Loc. cit., Artin, op. cit., p. 101, credits Dur Bey with the idea; he probably had a great deal to do with its organisation.
5 Rhuh, 9/31 and Artin, op. cit., p. 101.
7 Loc. cit.
8 Artin, op. cit., pp. 102-3.
to realise that to acquire it would open new fields for them, not in a cultural sense, as very few of them took up the new learning for its own sake, but fields where they could earn a living and where they could find a better future than that offered by the old religious institutions with al-Azhar at their head. Already at the Dār al-Ulām, the material advantages offered in the way of food, clothing, instruction and pay must have made it attractive to them; on graduation, they were assured of a post with a certain amount of promotion and a pension on retirement. The vocational aspect of the whole problem of the introduction of western science must not be overlooked; although at first, the Egyptians had dreaded the idea of the new schools because of their connection with the army and war, taxation and misery, they gradually realised that many of the students not only survived, but actually received promotion to very high posts, were honoured with decorations and the coveted titles of bey and pasha, and became very wealthy.

In 1875, the Dār al-Ulām was staffed with three shaikhs, including Ahmad and Husain al-Margafi, who were teaching Koranic Exegesis, the dogmas of Islam, and moral science, and four ēfendi teaching mathematics, geography, history, physics, chemistry and calligraphy; there were 35 students. Thus, as in the combined school under Rifā‘ah during the reign of Muhammad ‘Ali, Islamic and western learning were again united in one syllabus only, in the time of Rifā‘ah, the main object had been to produce translators and officials, and it was an incidental consequence that most of his students had become teachers; whereas now the new school aimed solely at producing teachers for the primary schools, Rifā‘ah’s students had been drawn from the provincial makhtabs and on graduation, were distributed among the administrations; now shaikh teachers were to be equipped to be sent out to the makhtabs.

The popularity of Husain al-Margafi and the other teachers went a long way towards popularising modern learning and also towards the revival of the study of Arabic literature. It was a fortunate conjunction that the opening of the Dār al-Ulām coincided with the arrival of Shaikh Jamāl-ud-din al-Afghānī in Egypt and the beginnings of Sh. Muhammad ‘Abduh’s career; as well as with a new political awakening, with the inception of the Arabic press and the critical Progrès Égyptien, and with the feeling that al-Azhar was not all that it might be.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Unfortunately, the Dār al-Ulām did not produce teachers; it produced a few men who filled the vacancies in the schools but they were not teachers. 1 From this point of view, the recruitment of Azharis was a disadvantage. The first batches of graduates were criticised because they were too old and had already imbibed too much of the Azhari method of teaching and learning which depended mainly on the memory. 2 But the regulations insisted that the students should have done a certain amount of work in al-Azhar, young men would not have suited from this point of view because they would have known very little and speed is not one of the characteristics of al-Azhar. In any case, they, too, would have already imbibed quite enough of the Azhari method to have been criticised for the same reasons.

The rigidity of the system employed by the Azhari teacher and, of course, the age of the students, would not permit of a remoulding of their Azhari mentality and outlook; they set to work and acquired the new sciences in the same way as they had memorised the Korân, Arabic grammar, fikh and the rest of the Azhari curriculum. It was all too new and they took the line of least resistance; they were not only unprepared to start off on new lines, there was nobody to show them how to do so. The syllabus did not include method; if a European had been employed for this purpose, he would not have been able to establish direct cultural and intellectual contact with the students on account of the language difficulty.

The methods of teaching Arabic remained Azhari and were notoriously bad; it was an accepted and well-known fact that Arabic teaching was below the standard of all the other branches. The students were weaker in this subject than in any other; Shafīq Pasha in his Mémoires relates that in his time Arabic teaching “was sterile” 3 and that the students were weak in it. 4 His teacher, Sh. as-Samni, was once afraid that he would fail in an Arabic examination so they came to an agreement upon certain signs that he would make during the oral part of the examination so that the student would pass; when the shaikh held his beard, the word was in the nominative case, when he placed his hand under his beard, it was in the

---

1 Only 27 students graduated from the Dār al-Ulām between 1872 and 1879; see Recueil des Travaux du Premier Congrès Égyptien réuni à Heliopolis, Alexandrie, 1911, p. 160.
3 Shafīq Pasha, op. cit., 187.
4 Shafīq Pasha, op. cit., 379.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

genitive case and when he placed his hand on his forehead, the word was in the accusative.

Yet the fact that the new educational system had to have recourse to the shaikh gave recognition to their system and a sanction to their authority in the field of education, especially in the teaching of Arabic. Moreover, the government was forced to accept them on account of the lack of men and because the Azharis were cheap labour. Within a few years, however, the unsuitability of the Dār al-'Ulām and its failure to produce teachers was recognised but it was not abolished, even when under Taufik Pasha as will be seen, a more up-to-date training school was opened.

Reorganisation of the Schools, 1873-4

`Ali Pasha’s reorganisation was soon afterwards supplemented by another keen reformer, Riyād Pasha, who was made Nāṣir of the Dīwan al-Madāris on two occasions, although the Kedive’s too frequent changes of officials were a hindrance to continuity of policy. Riyād Pasha’s first appointment as Nāṣir of the Schools Administration was made in August, 1873, but he was replaced in the following May. During these few months, he made an attempt to consolidate the work of ‘Ali Pasha by increasing the control of the Dīwan. The unfortunate policy of discouraging self-reliance and the use of initiative in the officials and teachers was now well established; the educational system had begun under a military regime and the Egyptians could not conceive of any other method.

The reorganisation took shape under a set of new regulations dealing with:

(a) the admission of students to the civil schools;
(b) syllabus of the Primary Schools;
(c) syllabus of the Preparatory Schools;
(d) syllabus of the School of Surveying and Accountancy;
(e) syllabus of the School of Arts and Crafts;
(f) syllabus of the Dār al-'Ulām.¹

These syllabuses are interesting only as an illustration of the more intense centralisation of control over the schools and the gradual tendency towards committee meetings, reports, and elaborate regulations which very often remained inapplicable and ineffective.

¹ Sāmi, op. cit., pp. 28-9; Écoles Civiles du gouvernement égyptien, Règlement pour la nomination des Directeurs et des professeurs, pour l'admission des élèves, etc., Cairo, 1874.

380

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

In the regulations for the syllabus of the Preparatory school, it was set out very clearly just how much work the teachers were to cover each year. The course consisted of four years’ study and the Arabic syllabus, for example, illustrates the application of Azhari methods in this field. The Alīfāḥah was divided into three parts, 300 lines to be memorised in the first year, 400 in the second and 300 in the third; in the fourth year, the students had to learn as-Suyūṭī’s commentary on it. The only texts that were prescribed were at-Ṭartūsh’s collection of admonitions entitled Sirāj al-Mulūk and ‘Abdallāh ash-Shubráwī’s work of the same kind entitled Unwa'an al-Bayān wa Bustān al-Aqīlān.² The system of learning by memory was applied equally to Turkish, Persian and modern European languages. The best part of the time was taken up with the study of formal grammar; the rules were set out in Arabic and learnt by heart; even the selected passages had to be memorised. The rest of the syllabus included history, geography, natural history, zoology, botany, physics and chemistry, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, cosmography, calligraphy and drawing, a very wide field for a four years’ course. Artūn Pasha states, however, that these regulations remained ineffective until 1885 because there was no strong hand to enforce them.³

Employment of Students between 1865 and 1875

It has been shown above ⁴ that the main object, in the long run, was the provision of officials and officers in the government service, and it will be seen from the following table (p. 382) that the army absorbed approximately 63 per cent. of the total number of graduates employed by the government.

This table indicates that only the very small number of 19 was absorbed into the Dīwān. Most of the graduates went into the branches which had been created during the 19th century; consequently the staff of most of the Dīwan offices was still made up of the old type of clerk.

The remarkable number of students sent home calls for some attention: the largest number, 638, were sent home in 1868, which was the year in which the Primary and Preparatory

² at-Ṭartūsh died in 1126 A.D., and ash-Shubráwī in 1778.
³ Considerations sur l’instruction publique en Egypte, Cairo, 1894, pp. 32 and 61.
⁴ See supra, p. 371. This table has been compiled from the official statistics for 1875, compiled by Dör Day.

381
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

schools were transferred from al-'Abbâsiyâh to Dârb an-Nâshrîyâh and Darb al-Gamâmîz.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>1864</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspection</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraphs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observatory</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wafd</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools Adm.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation Office</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Officers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Tutors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missions to Europe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinces</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills Printing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transfers from School to School

| Transfers from School to School | 77   | 315  | 861  | 218  | 256  | 301  | 432  | 390  | 349  | 77   | 3233  |

Returned Home

| Returned Home | 68   | 68   | 69   | 68   | 69   | 127  | 171  | 174  | 150  | 67   | 1194  |

Deceased

| Deceased | 91   | 36   | 17   | 27   | 36   | 52   | 71   | 77   | 77   | 14   | 260   |

Total

| Total | 279  | 394  | 1023 | 1205 | 1436 | 1646 | 2091 | 2106 | 1991 | 1806 | 7996  |

Edmond gives the following statistics for these schools and those of Alexandria in 1867 as ²:

- Primary at al-`Abbâsiyâh: 1300
- Preparatory in Cairo: 600
- Primary in Alexandria: 400
- Preparatory in Alexandria: 200
- Total: 2500

In 1868, after the transfer of the Primary school, it contained 388 students while the Preparatory had 400; the Preparatory school in Alexandria had 133 students and the Primary had 108, giving a total of 1,029.³ This represents a decrease of nearly 1,500 students, a large number of whom were probably transferred to the military schools, the statistics show that the latter took 685 students that year, but, as the buildings in Cairo were too small to accommodate such large numbers, the surplus had to be sent home.

Gellion-Danglar, who was in Egypt between 1865 and 1875, remarks on the change in 1868 in rather unfavourable terms and confirms that the staff and the students were reduced in numbers.¹

A glance at the Government Primary and Preparatory School Statistics below for the years 1873 to 1878 will show that there was a gradual decrease from 1,368 pupils to 663. The students were probably sent home on account of the financial retrenchment; for, during the period 1871-1874, there was a big drop in the government budgetary expenditure on schools; 1875 and 1876 were better years, but from 1877 onwards, the allowance was again reduced. Some students may have been sent to the new National schools that had been opened from 1877.

Statistics and the State of Education during the period 1866-1878

The culminating year of Ismâ'il Pasha's work for education in Egypt is generally given as 1875. The Egyptian Government had, by this date, learned the propagandistic value of statistics, and various Europeans were employed to draw up elaborate statistical tables, mainly for European consumption, as convincing evidence of the progress of the country. The effect of this kind of propaganda can be seen in several contemporary and later writers. Amongst the latest to reproduce this exaggerated statistical evidence as a proof that Ismâ'il accelerated the spread of public education may be mentioned Judge Crabites ⁴ and Professor Sammarco.⁵

These statisticians,⁶ by renaming the schools and, for example,

¹ Gellion-Danglar, *Lettres sur l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris, 1876, p. 196:
"on même temps, le personnel enseignant et administratif de toutes (les schools transferred to Dârb al-Gamâmîz), comme aussi le nombre des élèves a été sensiblement diminué."
³ Ibid., supra, pp. 349 and 352.
⁵ V. infra, p. 390.
⁶ V. infra, p. 386.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

describing the kuttâbâs as écoles primaires, gave a false impression of existing conditions. When Sir Stephen Cave came to Egypt in 1876, lack of time and ignorance of local conditions led him to accept figures and facts in connection with Egyptian education and government expenditure on the schools, which foreknowledge and a closer examination would have discredited. The acceptance of this information by a representative of the British Government and its inclusion in his official reports, led the innocent, in turn, to accept them as indisputable, and gave Ismâ'îl’s protagonists the official documentary support of the British Government.

Judge Crabites quotes from the Cave Report and from other writers to show that Ismâ'îl Pasha spent far more on education than he actually did; the passage from the Cave Report reads as follows:— "Education has been carefully attended to, the number of schools established on a European model having been increased from 185 in 1862 to 4,817 in 1875. In the latter year there were 4,817 schools with 6,045 masters and 149,977 pupils, being an increase on the previous year of 1,072 schools, 1,615 masters, and 27,722 pupils. The quality of the education necessarily varies, but it has on the whole decidedly improved, and is, in some cases, of a very superior character." Mr. Crabites also quotes a report by Mr. Beardsley, the American Consul, for 1873, whose figures are much lower than Cave’s which diverge, according to Mr. Crabites, "grows out of the fact that Mr. Beardsley speaks of schools, Sir Stephen Cave of ‘schools established on a European model,’ and the Government publication of the "civil schools of the Egyptian Government." ¹

**LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT**

Professor Sammarco classifies the number of schools existing in 1875 under the following headings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Civil Schools of the Egyptian Government</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Civil Schools of the Wa‘ifs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Religious High Schools</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Religious Elementary (kuttâbâs)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Foreign Schools</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which practically coincide with both Dor’s figures and those of the Cave Report.

This classification shows only too plainly that the majority of the schools belonged to the old type. The Religious High Schools refer to al-Azhar and to two other mosque schools which will be discussed below; the Elementary Religious Schools refer to the kuttâbâs, the position of which has been discussed above; the establishment of the foreign schools can hardly be credited to the Egyptian Government; and this leaves only the Civil and Wa‘ifs Schools, 36 out of a total of 4,817.

Judge Crabites states that “it is inconceivable that the physical equipment for so rapid an expansion could be met out of current revenues”; it was not. He goes on to state that the accounts of the Egyptian Government throw no positive light on this question.⁴ Both ’Ali Pasha Mubârak and Artûn Pasha give us reliable figures; the former gives us the following statement:

- Allowed by the Egyptian Government from the Budget £48,015
- Revenues of the Wâlid Domain ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... £20,000
- Allowed by the Wa‘ifs Administration ... ... ... ... ... ... £7,000
- Total £75,015

Artûn Pasha, who was Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Education at a later date, gives the following figures for the period 1868 to 1879; he also adds other interesting figures regarding the

¹ Op. cit., p. 306
² Actually Dor’s figures are 4,817 schools, 6,045 teachers and 149,977 students.
⁴ Loc. cit.
⁵ Kâfir, 1893 and quoted by Râfî‘, ‘Aṣr Ismâ‘îl, 1,317. Mubârak’s figures include sums which were not given by the Government and he refers to one year only.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

number of students, which, though they have not been considered in the general analysis given below, are useful for purposes of comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Govt. Alize. from Budget</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>Prop. of Free Stud.</th>
<th>Cost per hd.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>£67,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>£41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>67,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>67,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1394</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1394</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>40,240</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1394</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>51,820</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1083</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>60,083</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>61,390</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>41,267</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>35,040</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>45,108</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1396</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL £644,867

Arin Pasha states that these figures do not include the Wakfs Allowance and the Wadi Revenues, nor the Wakfs Schools, (27 according to Sammarco, but 33 according to above lists), he is referring to State Schools only.

Judge Crabites also quotes Mulhall in connection with the financial aspect of the educational policy of Isma‘il Pasha; “Isma‘il established 6,032 public schools, under Messrs. Dor and Rogers, with 5,850 teachers, whose salaries ranged from £34 to £84 per annum; the outlay under this head reaching £3,600,000 during his reign.”

Mulhall’s figures are grossly exaggerated; Arin’s financial statistics exclude the period 1863–1867, which, when included at £67,000 a year, do not approach the amount given by Mulhall. The statement that 5,850 teachers were paid by government is also absurd; the government, at any time, never paid for more than 74 teachers in the Special Schools (in 1874) and 89 teachers in the Primary and Preparatory Schools (in 1875); the maximum total of teachers paid by the Government.

1 This date probably coincides with the separation of the Military Schools from the Diwan al-Maddris and their attachment to the Diwan al-Jihadiyyah.
2 Arin, Considerations sur l’Instruction Publique en Égypte, Cairo, 1894, p. 33.
3 Arin, lbid., p. 34: meaning, of course, state civil schools; the Military Schools are excluded from 1871 onwards.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

dment for one year was 158 in 1875; there were 154 in 1874, and Sammarco gives 136 for 1875.

The cost of the kuttabs, the National Schools in the towns and provinces, and the Wakfs Primary Schools, fell on the public and private individuals, as stipulated in the law of 1868; all available non-governmental resources were utilized in order to swell the statistics to give the impression that the educational welfare of the country was being “carefully attended to” by the ruler.

If we return to the Cave Report quoted by Judge Crabites, it is stated that the number of schools in 1862, i.e., during the last year of the reign of Sa'id Pasha, was 185. The chapter of the present work dealing with education under that ruler has shown that there were only three schools at his death, the Naval, the Military and the Medical. As military schools are excluded from the present analysis, only one can then be considered, viz., the Medical. The figure of 185 is thus purely fictitious; even counting all the European schools, which had nothing to do with the Egyptians and were there in spite of them, the total number, as we have seen, was only 59.

The number of 4,817 schools quoted in this report includes all schools, viz., kuttabs, mosque schools, European and communal schools. The kuttabs are stated to have been established on a European model; if they are to be included for this period, then they should also be taken into consideration for the reigns of the previous rulers. Unfortunately, early statistics are not available, and as they have not been counted for Muhammad ‘Ali, Abbas and Sa'id, it is proposed to exclude them for Isma'il. Acceptance of the number of 4,685 kuttabs for 1875 leaves 132 schools of other kinds, of which 93 were foreign; this gives us a balance of 39 schools which is nearer the truth than the numbers quoted by Cave and accepted by Crabites. This naturally affects the number of students, since of the 140,077, 111,803 went to kuttabs. The number of students in the Egyptian Government Civil Schools and in the National and Wakfs Schools for the years 1868 to 1878 was as follows:

1868—1,399
1869—1,956

2 Both Amici and Dor Bey give this number, although the total number of kuttabs in the 1875 statistics (pp. 17–135) is 4,675, v. supra, p. 390.
3 According to Dor Bey, 1875, and accepted by Sammarco, ibid.; for the foreign schools, together with those of the Coptic, Jewish and other Communities, v. infra, p. 443 sq.

386
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

1892—2,323
1873—4,309
1874—6,000
1875—9,988 in 38 schools
1876—1,862
1877—4,041
1878—4,445 in 36 schools.¹

These figures have been arrived at after a careful analysis of all available statistical material; they have been condensed into one table and given as an appendix. Of the 41 schools (counting the Primary and Preparatory Schools of Alexandria as two, and Kâitbâî and Sulṭân Muṣṭafâ as two, although they are generally considered as one institution, as is the case also with an-Nabḥāšīn and al-Kalâmūn) the Special, Preparatory and Primary come under the category of Government Schools; in 1875, there were nine of them, as the Schools of Drawing and Egyptology, seem to have been closed; this agrees with Artūn's figures for the number of schools, but the figures of students at these nine schools do not. In 1876, there were 26 National and Wakf’s Schools, including the Training School of Dar al-Uṣūm; that of Muhammad Bey Sîd ʿAmīd had been closed on account of lack of funds while Kâitbâî and Sulṭân Muṣṭafâ seem to have been excluded from the statistics, although they are recorded as still in use much later. Amīci gives a list of 24 of these schools. These schools were not, of course, supported by the Government, although the Diwān al-Madāris controlled them; as has been mentioned above, they were maintained by the Wakf’s funds and by private and public endowments and subscriptions.

An important point to bear in mind is that under ʿIsāʾil Pasha, as with his predecessors, the expenditure on schools was not devoted entirely to teaching. Judge Crâbites quotes McCoan, whose statement reads as follows: “True it is that much of this amount is absorbed by the board and clothing of pauper pupils, and so does not represent outlay on pure teaching; but without such bribes of free living, few or none of those who benefit by it could be lured to education at all.” ²

¹ As the statistics for the years 1879-1—2 are incomplete, they have been excluded.
² The list is given on p. 383, note 6, supra.
³ Sâmt, op. cit., app. III, p. 91, gives the closing date of the School of Egyptology as December, 1876.
⁴ e. supra, p. 386.
⁵ Sâmt, ibid., pp. 82-3.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

GENERAL STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SCHOOLS IN USE DURING THE REIGN OF ʿISĀʾIL PASHA FOR THE PERIOD, 1868 TO 1878

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polytechnic</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey and</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptology</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GOVERNMENT PREPARATORY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory Cairo</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Cairo</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory Alex.</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Alex.</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NATIONAL AND WAKFS’ SCHOOLS IN PROVINCIAL TOWNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Būshi</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahk Pasha</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyf</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bani Saif</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minya</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosetta</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tauf</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

389
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1877</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dār al-'Ulūm</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū'-'Alī al-Adā'</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Adā'</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāb ash-Sha'riyāh</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind and Dumb</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Galāmūyāh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Hāfizīyāh</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāfiz Pasha</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāthīrī</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālūn</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Karāhiyāh</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. girls'</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalif Aqūl</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kubah</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mub. Bey Std.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥmad</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sā'īdī</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sayyīdī Zainab</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāīkh Ṣāḥib</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shālihūn</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Karābiyāh</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(T) Teachers, (S) Students, (a) Amīcī, (t) Tableaux, in the year 1873 column, where the figures in Tableaux differ from Amīcī, they have been superimposed but not counted in the total.

### LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Al-'Ayyūbī states that the cost of food, board, clothing and allowances used up three quarters of the budget. The principle of paying for one's education had not yet become widely accepted, in spite of 'Ali Pasha Mubārak's attempt to introduce it, and McCoan's statement does not give the impression that the people were beginning to seek the benefits of education for itself.

The heavy expenditure that was encountered in feeding, clothing and paying the students had four serious effects; firstly, the Budget was limited and, as a great part of it had to be spent in this way, it naturally restricted the number of students who could be accepted in the Government Schools; secondly, as the students were kept by the Government, it reserved the right to dispose of them as it wished without reference to their inclinations and desires; thirdly, it established the principle that education in these westernised schools was vocational, so that it was looked upon merely as a kind of apprenticeship, a means to an end, by which even a village pauper might rise to official appointments, rank and wealth; fourthly, the absorption of such a large part of the budget for purposes other than instruction led to very unfair treatment of the teachers, many of whom were grossly underpaid. On this last point, Dou Beye stated that it was impossible to acquire the services of good teachers when many of them were paid no more than 72 and 62 francs a month, as was the case in the two Cairo schools of al-Kālūn and al-Karābiyāh, where parents contributed towards the education of their sons. Al-'Ayyūbī remarks that European teachers' high salaries had a crippling effect on the financial resources of the education budget; but the statistics given above regarding the number of teachers prove that the number of Europeans employed in the schools was insignificant. Moreover, the few who were employed paid at practically the same rates as their Egyptian colleagues. The following table for 1872 shows the salaries of the various teachers; the total amount spent was £E.20,780, or rather more than a quarter of the combined allowance of £E.50,000 from the Government, the £E.20,000 from the revenues of the

2. Dor Beye, op. cit., p. 304 and al-'Ayyūbī, op. cit., I, 197. This arbitrary method of disposing of the students was considered by 'Abūl Fath as harmful and he actually tried to stop it in 1896.
5. e. ubiṣṣa, p. 370.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE SHOWING SALARIES PAID TO TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE YEAR 1877</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grade of Teacher</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total £E.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First</strong></td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second</strong></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Chief</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clerks and Assistants</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Literature in Modern Egypt**

Wādi domain and the £E.7,000 allowed by the Wāfs Administration. One hundred and seventy-three teachers shared this amount, of this number, forty received less than £E.1 a week and seventy less than £E.2.

The financial crisis that was rapidly overtaking the country made itself felt in the schools; Rāfi‘ states that the Government allowance was reduced to £E.20,000.1 Arţi‘n’s figures, probably more reliable, show a drop of approximately £E.20,000 between 1876 and 1877 and another £E.6,000 between 1877 and 1878.2 The number of students in the state schools had to be decreased, Arţin’s figures showing a drop from 1121 in 1876 to 798 in 1877, and 775 in 1878.3 The general statistical survey in the appendix shows a big decrease in the number of Government Primary and Preparatory schools from 1368 in 1873 to 663 in 1878.4

The National Schools of Asyūt, Banī Sued, Minyā and Tantā also show large decreases; Asyūt sank from 200 in 1873 to 102 in 1878, Banī Sued from 252 in 1875 to 162 in 1878, Minyā from 201 in 1875 to 92 in 1878 and Tantā from 262 in 1873, to 190 in 1878.5 The Wāfs’ schools, on the contrary, show a general increase of 25 per cent., due to the fact that they were dependent on the old-established Wāfs’ institutions and not on the uncertainties of an extravagant and short-sighted government.6

The Military Schools had to be closed down altogether in February, 1879, owing to lack of funds and in April of the same year, one military school was set up under Larmée Pasha, who retained the post until 1893. This school provided for all kinds of military training.7

**Education Missions to Europe**

During the reign of Ismā‘īl Pasha, the policy of sending students to Europe was continued but the names of these students are so far not available. The education mission was still maintained in France under French management, the post passing to M. Misner at one period. Most of the students during the later years appear to have been studying in the universities of Aix and Montpellier.8

Sachet states that in 1868, there were fifty-five students in

2. Loc. cit.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

France¹; according to the biographical notices above,² there were twenty-eight students in France when Ismā‘īl Pasha came to the throne, of whom thirteen were recalled on his accession in 1863. The students referred to by Sachot had all presumably been sent on mission after that date. The subjects assigned to them included medicine, military science, law, administration, engineering, and mining,³ but the most popular subject was medicine, for in 1868, there were twenty medical students in France.⁴ For some time, the students had been given more liberty than before, for they were now allowed to live in private families instead of being accommodated altogether.

Regny states that the Egyptian School was reorganised in Paris in 1869, and controlled the activities of forty students who were studying civil subjects and another hundred who were pursuing military studies⁵; this figure seems rather high. He also states that fifteen students were sent to the Institut international at Turin in 1870 to pursue civil studies and three others to England to study engineering, thus making a total of 158.⁶

The authorities report that 172 students were sent to Europe during the period 1863–1879,⁷ al-Ayyūbī states that about 120 were sent to France, 50 to Turin and three to England;⁸ he does not refer to any sent to Germany, although the statistics for 1873⁹ show that there were two in Germany. The same statistics show that there were only twenty-four students in France, thirteen in England and twelve in Italy, thus giving a total of 51 in Europe for that year.

For the period 1866–1875, there were eight different missions sent as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Students Sent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Op. cit., p. 28; Misner, ibid., gives the number as 49.
² Supra, p. 304-7 and 326-9.
⁴ Regny, op. cit., p. 90; Rāfī‘, ‘Asr Ismā‘īlī, 1/275.
⁵ Artin, op. cit., p. 209; al-Ayyūbī, op. cit., 1/228.
⁶ Štat statiske, 1873.
⁷ Loc. cit.
⁸ Regny, loc. cit.
⁹ Loc. cit.
¹⁰ Supra, p. 382.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Misner states that in ten years, eighty-six students received diplomas and eight were returned to Egypt as unfit;¹ his figures refer to France alone. No students were sent to Europe in 1865, and, if the number of 172 sent during the whole reign be correct, then the remaining 88 students must have been sent in 1863–4 and 1876–9. Of the 28 in France in 1863, 13 were recalled, thus leaving fifteen; if twenty were sent in 1866–7, this meant that another twenty must have been sent between 1863–4, if Sachot’s figure of 55 be correct, thus leaving a total of 68 sent during the years 1876–9.

Al-Azhar

The activities of al-Azhar during the eighteenth century have been discussed in the introductory chapter and occasional references to Azharīs are to be found in the chapters above. The main points to be noted include the confiscation of the property belonging to al-Azhar and the other pious institutions, thereby affecting the material welfare of both teachers and students; that Azharī students and teachers played an active, though subordinate, part during the reigns of Muḥammad Ali and his successors, even if it was against their wishes; that many of the teachers were employed as correctors and editors in the translation departments of the schools, and others as teachers, either in the Special Schools or in the provincial maṭtabā ‘s; and that Azharī students had been recruited to some of the technical schools, particularly the Medical School, where nearly every Egyptian teacher had been originally an Azhari.

Under Ismā‘īl Pasha, the Azharīs were employed on a much larger scale. In the first place, the fact that Arabic was given a more important place in the curriculum of the schools naturally created a greater demand for the shaikh teacher; the number employed in 1875 has been given above ² and shown to represent a large proportion of the teaching staff. The increase in the number of maṭtabā ‘s and the creation of the shaikhs’ Training College (the Dār al-‘Ulam‘ī) added to their authority as the only accepted teachers of Arabic.

The fact that Sa‘īd Pasha had acquired the right from Constantinople to appoint his own judges ³ made a great difference to the status of the Egyptian judge. The Kādīl-Kudāh had always been appointed by the Sublime Porte, who in turn

¹ Supra, p. 376.
² Supra, p. 392.
³ Supra, op. cit., p. 18; Rāfī‘, ‘Asr Ismā‘īlī, 1/49; Sammarco, op. cit., p. 23.