

Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab

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Most education in the pre-colonial Middle East and South Asia was inextricably permeated by religion, in that it relied heavily on study or memorization of religious scriptures and rituals for the purpose of training believers, or on the use of religious texts or stories to teach ostensibly secular subjects such as geography or history. Colonial penetration of these areas introduced a new model of Western education, in which the curriculum was dominated by material whose truth claims were not based on religious faith, and which were not taught through the medium of religious texts. Religion, if allowed at all, was confined to discrete classes on the topic. This marginalization or exclusion of religious material did not necessarily mean that the resulting education was inexorably secular: Gauri Viswanathan has demonstrated that British educators in India circumvented policies forbidding the teaching of Christianity in government schools by creating English literature courses designed “to convey the message of the Bible.”¹ In contrast to its predecessors, however, Western-style education was based on the conceptualization of religion as a discrete subject separate from and incapable of shedding reliable light upon worldly matters, and on the premise that it was mastery of these worldly matters, rather than knowledge of sacred scriptures and rituals, that would bring students success. In this model, religion would be understood “as a new historical object: anchored in personal experience, expressible as belief-statements, dependent on private institutions and practiced in one’s spare time.”²

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¹ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 55.

² Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Is-*

The Western educational model spread slowly in some Middle Eastern and South Asian colonies, in some cases confined to the handful of schools created by the colonizer to produce the precise number of graduates needed for the colonial bureaucracy. In other colonies, however, colonizers set out to establish a Western-style school system and offered subsidies—generally raised through taxes on the local population—to indigenous schools willing to adhere to colonial regulations. Subsidy eligibility required adoption of a curriculum focused on math, science, and language, and the removal of all reference to religion to a discrete “religion” class. It also required that educators receive formal teacher training, which gradually shifted teaching from respected local figures, often religious authorities who did not teach as a primary occupation, to full-time educators with teaching certificates issued by colonial authorities. The British had in the 1860s begun to subsidize schools in Britain which focused on “the efficient teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic, rather than doctrinal matters,”³ and they adopted a similar model in their Indian and Egyptian colonies. In the first several decades of colonial rule there, they built the foundations of a Western-style school system based on this type of education. In 1919, the Montford reforms in India transferred education to the responsibility of Indian provincial governments. In 1922 in Egypt the British, while retaining control of Egyptian foreign policy and responsibility for foreign interests in Egypt, devolved day-to-day control of other Egyptian affairs—including the conduct of government and the provision of education—to Egyptians. After control of education was vested in the fledgling Indian and Egyptian governments, this new, Western model of education centered on “secular” learning which the British had pioneered continued to spread under local auspices. While this new model minimized the time devoted to religion in the schools, it also inadvertently provided unprecedented opportunities for new, indigenous religious movements to reach new publics and achieve key movement goals. This process is clearest in the cases of the Hindu movement the Arya Samaj in India and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

Founded in 1875, the Arya Samaj boasted an estimated 1.5 million members in north India and the Indian diaspora by 1947.⁴ Between 1886 and 1941, the Samaj founded in north India and Burma more than 179 schools and colleges, generally called Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) institutions.⁵ The majority of these were schools and colleges for males⁶ which primarily educated

lam (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 207, quoted in Muhammad Qasim Zaman, “Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, 2:296.

³ Gregory Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 32.

⁴ Daniel Gold, “Organized Hinduisms: From Vedic Truth to Hindu Nation,” in, Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: The Dynamic Character of Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 534.

⁵ Gold, 557.

⁶ The “gurukul” wing of the Arya Samaj did found girls’ schools, the most famous of which was

Hindus, a smaller number of Sikhs, and much less frequently Muslims. In what follows, I focus on DAV institutions in the northern Indian province of Punjab. Punjab is central not only to the history of the Samaj, as the site of its headquarters and those of the DAV Managing Committee which oversaw many DAV schools, but also to the development of north Indian communalism as a whole. Ayesha Jalal characterizes Punjab as the center from which Muslim separatist and Hindu nationalist discourses radiated to the rest of north India, from the 1920s onward.⁷ By the early twentieth century, DAV institutions were ubiquitous in Punjab. In 1911, the DAV College Lahore, the flagship of the DAV system, was the largest of the province's eleven arts colleges,⁸ enrolling one-quarter of Punjab's college population,⁹ and the 1911 Punjab census singled out the Samaj as having opened a boys' school in "every town of importance."¹⁰ With their emphasis on subjects such as math, geography, history, and science, the DAV schools exemplified the Western-style conception of education, and archival evidence makes clear that many such schools received government educational subsidies, both from the British before 1919 and from the pre-independence Indian government after that. In subsidizing the DAV network, however, these governments also allowed the Samaj to pursue its own goals through a geographically far-flung network of educational institutions which otherwise might have been smaller or less active. In some of these pursuits, such as the training of students in the DAV College Lahore in Arya reformed religious practice, the Samaj was only partly successful, at best. It fared much better in others, such as its efforts to greatly expand the population of north Indian Hindus fluent in Hindi as a way to marginalize the "Muslim" language Urdu.

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 and grew to be Egypt's largest religious movement, with 2,000 branches and 600,000 members by 1952.¹¹ Unlike the Samaj, the Brotherhood never founded large numbers of full-time schools for children and youth, but the creation of a Western-style school system in Egypt nonetheless facilitated the spread of its message. Many Muslim Brothers, including the movement's founder Hassan al-Banna, taught in this new school system, and there is scattered evidence that they used their

the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar (KMJ). Until the 1930s, when KMJ girls began taking university examinations in English and the syllabus was adjusted accordingly, the KMJ was not a Western-style school, since it focused largely on Arya religious practice and on training in household skills. See Madhu Kishwar, "Arya Samaj and Women's Education: Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar," *Economic and Political Weekly* 21, 17 (Apr. 1986).

⁷ Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), xv.

⁸ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 333.

⁹ The DAVC Lahore enrolled 583 of the province's 2,270 students in arts colleges. *Report on Education in the Punjab for 1910–11*, 4.

¹⁰ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 135.

¹¹ Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 328.

positions in these schools to teach Brotherhood values to their students or to organize directly for the movement among them. The most direct link between the new education system and the Brotherhood, though, comes from the Brothers' active programs in adult education and literacy training. As the Egyptian government expanded beyond traditional schooling to aggressively promote adult education and literacy it collaborated with existing Brotherhood programs. In one case the government required illiterate soldiers to attend Brotherhood classes and in this case and others it subsidized Brotherhood adult education programs. Where this adult education included instruction in the Brotherhood's understanding of Islam, government direction of students towards these programs or subsidy of them exposed new groups to the movement's message. Even if these classes did not teach religion, however, their cost to Brotherhood branches was often minimal, and it is quite probable that they were thus able to spend the government subsidies for these programs on other Brotherhood operations. A third way that the growth of the education system in Egypt affected the Brotherhood was through transfer of its teachers. Brotherhood teachers in the government school system and private schools affiliated with it could be transferred from one school to another in a different part of the country. As I will discuss presently, there is some evidence that these transfers could help weak Brotherhood branches grow by infusing them with new organizers, although there is also evidence that in other cases transfers led Brothers away from the movement.

The primary sources used in this article are records seized by the Egyptian police from the Brotherhood headquarters in Cairo during the 1940s¹²; the files of the DAV College Managing Committee (CMC) from the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s¹³; and British censuses and education reports from Punjab. Because English was the language shared most widely by members of the Samaj, most of the CMC records are in English; the Muslim Brotherhood documents are all in Arabic. These sources provide unusually precise insight into the socioeconomic grounding of these movements: Brotherhood membership lists tell us exactly how many members in a given location were teachers, while CMC budgets reveal precisely how important subsidies were to particular DAV schools. The most valuable material in these files, however, are letters—between teachers and schoolmasters in the many DAV schools managed by the CMC (not all DAV schools were) or between rural Brothers and Cairo headquarters. The authors of these letters never expected their correspondence to be made public, and are quite forthcoming about the points at which their projects failed, as, for example, when Brothers bemoaned that poor peasants had joined a Brotherhood scouting group only to get the free uniforms. These unusual glimpses from the

¹² These files are at the State Legal Archives, Abbasiyya, Cairo. They come from a collection known as "the jeep case" because they were part of a government prosecution of the Brotherhood known by that name. The files are referred to here by microfiche number.

¹³ These files are at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

“inside” are particularly useful in studying educational establishments dedicated to implanting a certain religious or ideological agenda in their students. In the absence of data which speaks to how these goals were actually received by students, many historical studies of such projects can do little more than impute, from syllabi or educators’ statements articulating a reform agenda, that students actually converted to these ideas. The additional level of information provided by the correspondence of DAV educators, which details their attempts to circumvent student resistance to certain reforms, provides a more nuanced assessment of how successful these projects were.

Finally, these materials also demonstrate the extent to which the creation of Western-style education systems, originally under colonial auspices and subsequently expanded by local governments, could lead to consequences unanticipated by and unwelcome to the colonizers who established the system. The Brotherhood was founded in 1928, six years after control of education was devolved to the Egyptians, but until 1952 the British remained intimately involved in Egyptian domestic politics. When the Brotherhood opposed British demands that Egypt declare war on the Axis powers in World War II, and indeed exploited the war to increase its anti-British activities, Brotherhood leader Banna was transferred for several months in 1941 from his teaching post in Cairo to one in the rural town of Qena, where it was presumed that he would cause less trouble. In October of that year he was arrested, and a member of the Qena branch wrote to Cairo headquarters that many of their regular members, terrified by Banna’s arrest, had stopped coming¹⁴—an outcome which the British would presumably have greatly appreciated. Yet by the end of 1942 the Qena branch was reporting a major expansion in its adult education programs, which included courses in the Brotherhood’s view of Islam, because the local government had ordered all illiterate soldiers in the area to attend the Brotherhood’s literacy classes.¹⁵ This is just one example of how education systems set up under colonial auspices, which ostensibly minimized the role of religion in education, could eventually help to spread the message of religious movements strongly opposed to those same colonial powers.

THE CREATION OF WESTERN EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN COLONIAL EGYPT AND INDIA

At the time of the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, education was overwhelmingly centered on the transmission of religious ritual and text. In Muslim *kuttabs*, boys memorized the Qur’an and learned rituals such as prayer and ablution; they then generally learned basic arithmetic, weights, and currency from the public weigher in the marketplace.¹⁶ Because Coptic Christian boys generally went into a limited number of professions such as land surveying or

¹⁴ Jeep case, Fiche 11796, Oct.—Nov. 1941. ¹⁵ Jeep case, Fiche 11747, 5 Dec. 1942.

¹⁶ J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to The History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), 2–3.

accounting, their *kuttabs* often included study of relevant subjects such as math or geography, as well as some foreign-language training. Like their Muslim counterparts, however, the central role of Coptic *kuttabs* was the transmission of religious material, particularly memorization of parts of the Psalms and Gospels and learning Coptic-language prayers used in church services.¹⁷ The religious adepts who presided over Muslim and Coptic *kuttabs* did so as one of their many religious duties in the community; they were not full-time teachers.

The half-decade prior to the British invasion was marked by attempts by Egypt's *khedives* to supplement the *kuttabs* with a Western-style school system, ranging from the creation of a handful of Western-style schools in the 1830s to plans in 1881 to blanket the country by creating one Western-style elementary school for every two to five thousand people.¹⁸ These plans had little effect on existing educational practices; the real growth in education, fueled by both government and private funding, was in the *kuttabs*, which doubled between 1869 and 1878.¹⁹ Even so, by 1878 *kuttabs* educated no more than 2 to 4 percent of all Egyptian children.²⁰

From 1882 to 1922, the British created an educational system in which the children of a very small elite were trained in English- or French-language schools to staff the bureaucracy, while increasingly large numbers of *kuttabs* were retooled to provide elementary education in Arabic for the masses. By 1905, the Ministry of Education inspected over 2,500 schools and supervised the education of approximately 76,000 students; by 1906 the number of students had doubled.²¹ In order to compete for government aid, *kuttabs* had to focus on reading, writing, and arithmetic, abstain from teaching foreign languages, and accept monthly inspections.²² Teachers in subsidized *kuttabs* had to receive formal training not only in reading, writing, and arithmetic but also in religion itself. Lord Cromer, Egypt's first consul-general, reported proudly in 1903 that as a result of his reforms, "in order to qualify for the post of head-teacher in a Mohammedan *kuttab*, a thorough knowledge of the Koran and of the principles of Islam is required."²³ By 1910, the Khedivial Training College was teaching (Christian) teachers how to instruct their primary school pupils in Coptic Christianity.²⁴

From 1922, when the British devolved responsibility for education to the

¹⁷ This discussion of the *kuttab* is adapted from Heyworth-Dunne, particularly pages 2–3 and 85–87.

¹⁸ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 76–77.

¹⁹ Juan Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 113.

²⁰ Starrett, 29. ²¹ Starrett, 68.

²² Robert Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 46–47.

²³ Lord Cromer, "Annual Report," *Parliamentary Papers* (1903), vol. 87, 1009, quoted in Starrett, 47.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

Egyptian government, until the Free Officers' coup thirty years later, the education system was further standardized and its reach greatly expanded. Increasing numbers of *kuttabs* offering Western-style education were not only inspected but directly administered by the government, and the number of students in such *kuttabs* increased eleven-fold between 1922 and 1930.²⁵ Government spending on education increased from 5 percent of the state budget in 1923 to 11 percent in 1953,²⁶ and the growth of state education meant that higher and higher percentages of all students were in state, not private schools: while the number of private primary, elementary, and secondary schools increased only slightly between 1913 and 1944, government schools multiplied by a factor of almost four.²⁷ The government also increasingly extended its own regulations to private schools in this period. In 1934 foreign-language schools were put under government supervision, and their syllabi and exams were decided by the Ministry of Education. Schools preparing students for government exams were required to follow the Ministry's curriculum in civics, history, geography, and Arabic.²⁸ When the Ministry removed fees from government primary education in 1943, it offered private primary schools compensation if they would eliminate their fees, allow more students into free places in secondary schools, and let the Ministry transfer their teachers to other schools. In the words of Matthews and Akrawi, "the private schools were in no position to refuse, and as most of them had been following the government program of study for some time past, they became, with the abolition of fees, virtually a part of the national system of education,"²⁹ so that by 1949 "most private primary schools (were) supported by the taxpayers."³⁰

While the primary purpose of pre-colonial *kuttab* education had been to teach religious rituals and aid in the memorization of key religious texts, in the new government schools the emphasis was on secular subjects, with the prominence of religion in education inversely proportional to the students' economic status. In 1933, 60 percent of an educator's time in a Westernized *kuttab* was dedicated to teaching Arabic, arithmetic, and other "secular" subjects; in 1932 students

²⁵ Ibid., 68.

²⁶ Fuad Mitwalli, *Mujmal tarikh al-ta'lim: dirasah li-tarikh al-ta'lim al-'amm wal-fann mundhu bidayat al-qarn al-tasi' a' ashar wa hatta nihayat al-qarn al-ishrin* (A summary of the history of education: A study of the history of general and specialized education from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of the twentieth century) (in Arabic) (Alexandria: Dar al-Ma'rifa al-Gamaiya, 1989), 122–23.

²⁷ The number of private schools in 1913–1914 was 161,429; in 1944–1945 it was 216,121. By contrast, the number of public schools in this period had increased from 277,848 to 1,046,482. Roderic Matthews and Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East*, (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949), 34.

²⁸ Judith Cochran, *Education in Egypt* (London: Croom Helm Publishers, 1986), 29.

²⁹ Matthews and Akrawi, 29.

³⁰ Matthews and Akrawi, 18. Private secondary schools, not directly part of this scheme, retained more autonomy from state guidance.

in primary schools catering to the elite spent 93 percent of their time on non-religious subjects.³¹

It is much harder to generalize about pre-colonial education in India than in Egypt due to India's much greater diversity and larger size, and because significant documentation exists only for those parts of India under direct British control. As in Egypt, recitation and memorization, usually of religious texts, were key methods of learning in much pre-colonial Indian education, formal teacher training was not required, and teachers had wide latitude in what and how they taught. In sharp contrast to Egypt, there were several forms of education in north India focused on languages, math, writing, and other "secular" skills, and north Indian schools were not always segregated by religion. Even in inter-confessional forms of learning, however, religious stories and texts permeated the curriculum.

Education was generally provided separately to boys of different faiths when its explicit purpose was to transmit religious practice, or to train them for an occupation monopolized by one community. Examples of the former included Punjab's Hindu *patshalas*, which taught Mantras and basic knowledge of the Shastras, Muslim Koran schools, and Sikh schools which taught the sacred text of Sikhism, the *Granth*, and the Gurmukhi script of the Punjabi language used by Sikhs.³² Occupational training might or might not include religious elements. Nita Kumar's research shows that while Muslim weavers in Banares learned some Qur'an and *hadith*,³³ the city's Hindu merchants received no religious training. Even education in the ethical norms of their trade, including honesty and charity, made no "mention of religion or god."³⁴

Other relatively common forms of education in north India saw boys of several faiths studying non-religious subjects together. Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs from more elite backgrounds often attended Persian schools which imparted literacy in Persian, the court language of the Mughal Empire. Punjabi Hindus, who made up one-third of the province's population, might study Persian with Sikh teachers, but throughout north India Persian was most frequently taught by Muslims. Early British observers in Punjab were confounded by the very unexceptionality of Hindus studying under Muslims; the author of an 1857 Punjab education report called the "attendance of so many Hindus at Mohammedan schools for the sake of learning the Persian language" a "most remarkable fact." "The advantage taken by the teachers of this confidence," he opined, was probably a reason for Islam's steady growth in Punjab.³⁵ Dr. Leitner, a leading British champion of "Oriental" learning, later pointed out the

³¹ Starrett, 69, 83.

³² H. R. Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab, 1846–1884* (Punjab Government Records Office, Monograph 5, 1929), 14.

³³ Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Banares*, (New Delhi: Sage, 2000), 125.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 78. ³⁵ *Educational Report of 6th July, 1857*, 59

structural improbability of this argument, noting that as teachers were paid by their students' parents, the teacher would lose the "goodwill of his customers, and he would forfeit it along with presents . . . if conversions were not of the rarest occurrence."³⁶ The absence of proselytization, however, did not mean that that Persian education was devoid of religious influence. There are many *Sikandarnamas* in circulation in the Muslim world, and their content ranges from explicitly religious to ones that make no mention of religion *per se*. We do not know which version was being taught in mid-nineteenth century Persian schools in Punjab. In all cases, however, the *Sikandarnama* was a text written to legitimize the Mughals by placing them in the lineage of a longer tradition of Persian and Islamic rule constructed in the image of Alexander the Great, and in Punjabi Persian schools boys of all faiths often recited and memorized parts of the *Sikandarnama* as a way of gaining literacy in Persian.

Another example of the use of religious texts in inter-confessional schooling comes from Bengali elementary schools known as *patshalas*. In these *patshalas* Hindu teachers taught "reading, writing, arithmetic, letter-writing, a little Sanskrit grammar, versified Puranic tales" and book-keeping³⁷ both to Hindus and to students from Bengal's Muslim majority. Although most *patshalas* used no written texts, the 40 percent which did primarily used Hindu religious texts, including *Ganga Bandana* (Worship of the Ganges) and *Yugadha Bandana* (Worship of Goddess Durga). Shahidullah, author of one of the most detailed studies of the *patshalas*, argues that the texts "were generally used only as texts for language learning and [were] intended to inculcate moral and spiritual values in young minds."³⁸ The Puranic tales may have been used more widely than the religious texts because they do not appear to have been transmitted in written form.

The use of religious material to teach literacy or morals in Punjab and Bengal speaks to two elements of pre-colonial education that were eliminated in the Western-style education system. One was technical: in the absence of standardized readers to teach literacy, teachers used the few widely accessible written texts, and these were inevitably religious. The readers which frequently replaced religious texts under the British, in turn, could only have been conceived of within a heuristic framework which valued standardization of knowledge, and they could not have been disseminated until the educational practices in which individual teachers taught largely as they saw fit were replaced by a system of many schools following the same curriculum. While standardization made the broad dissemination of non-religious educational material possible, it would not have been desirable, or even intelligible, without a prior conceptual shift from a world in which religious belief made historical events, natural phe-

³⁶ G. W. Leitner, *Punjab Indigenous Education, 1882*, 58

³⁷ Kazi Shahidullah, *Pathshalas into Schools: The Development of Indigenous Elementary Education in Bengal 1854–1905* (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Limited, 1987), 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 13–15.

nomena, and social relations comprehensible to one in which religion's purpose was solely to train individual believers in ritual and to order their personal relationships with the divine. This privatized version of religion would come to dominate the British educational curricula in India.

Protracted British involvement in Indian education began in 1813 with the Charter Act, which dedicated 100,000 rupees annually to Indian education and required the creation of educational facilities to train Indians for the public services.³⁹ Education policy was initially based on the idea of "filtration": the colonial government would educate the elites, who would then instruct the masses. Almost forty years later, with fewer than 40,000 students in government schools in all British-controlled territory and less than one percent of government revenue being spent on education,⁴⁰ Wood's Despatch of 1854 signaled frustration with the slow pace of filtration and announced that the government would take responsibility for education at all levels. "A properly articulated scheme of education from the primary school to the university" would be created, the Despatch instructed, by changing indigenous schools into Western-style institutions through subsidies.⁴¹ While schools run by Western missionaries initially received the lion's share of subsidies, the 1882 Hunter Commission made clear that the government's intent was not to cede the provision of Western-style education to missionaries but rather to create a national education system based on private *Indian* enterprise assisted by government subsidies.⁴² Between 1880 and 1900, Indian private initiative had become "the key agency for spreading Western education,"⁴³ but by 1902 the government still directly ran or subsidized most primary and many secondary schools in north India.⁴⁴

Education subsidies came with requirements that reconstructed educational practice. One was that teachers undergo formal training, reversing common practice in which "public opinion, not an appointment order issued by the State or the village council, determined (teachers') deserts."⁴⁵ The changing situation of teachers (gurus) in pre-colonial Bengali *patshalas* gives some idea of the scope of the changes initiated by this policy. In pre-colonial *patshalas* gurus usually inherited their position, but anyone with the necessary knowledge could teach; if a guru was incapable, students would vote with their feet and go elsewhere.⁴⁶ In the 1860s, the British began encouraging gurus to undergo training in, among other things, what time of day to teach each subject, proper seating arrangements, and the fines to be levied for particular student offenses.⁴⁷ The result was a demographic shift in the teaching pool, as many gurus who had inherited their positions refused training and were replaced by new-

³⁹ S. N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India—Modern Period* (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1966), 46.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 111. ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 48. ⁴² *Ibid.*, 142–50.

⁴³ Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A History of Education in India During the British Period* (Bombay: Macmillan Press, 1951), xix.

⁴⁴ Exceptions to this rule were found in Madras, Bengal and Assam. Mukerji, 157.

⁴⁵ Mehta, 16. ⁴⁶ Shahidullah, 11. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 59–61.

comers.⁴⁸ More generally, many north Indian teachers found that “what they had been used to regarding as knowledge was now declared to be either false or useless.”⁴⁹

Teacher training was necessary in part because subsidies frequently required both teaching new subjects—geography, mathematics, and the like—and a thorough restructuring of how existing subjects were taught. In 1900, the Bengali *patshalas* were required for the first time to teach science, drawing, and physical exercise. After Punjab’s William Arnold “discovered” that Punjabi students were “ignorant of the geography of their own province [and] ignorant that there was such a science as geography,” he introduced required geography classes which soon turned out students who could “‘pass a good examination’ in the geography of India, Asia and the globe.”⁵⁰ Arnold also thoroughly revamped the way that arithmetic was taught.⁵¹ The *Sikandarnama* was in Arnold’s estimation a “narrative of facts which are not true”⁵² and thus had to be replaced. Arnold removed not only the *Sikandarnama*, but also all Persian texts which, in his words, “pertain[ed] to religion,” from Punjab’s government and aided schools.⁵³

While schools receiving government subsidy—although not schools run directly by the government—were allowed to teach religion as a separate class, the proliferation of secular subjects in the curriculum, and the fact that it was success in these subjects that guaranteed success in matriculation exams, combined to severely marginalize the role of religion classes. Nita Kumar has critiqued the way in which the spread of the Western school system led to a devaluing of religion: “Since recognition and aid each required the school to follow a government syllabus, if people insisted on religious education as well, the government had a solution. It repeatedly suggested that Indian schools were welcome to teach the full primary curriculum and to *also* give ‘religious teaching.’ . . . Schools could only complain that if they had to teach the curriculum of government schools ‘they will have no time to give religious instruction.’”⁵⁴ The result was that “optional subjects” such as religion “were received less than seriously partly because they were additional to an already complete syllabus, and because they were official and unrecognized.”⁵⁵

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁹ Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991), 58.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 57. ⁵¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 57.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵³ Quoted in *ibid.*, 55. This change was aided by the fact that English and Urdu had now replaced Persian as the official government languages in Punjab. However, evidence from the period shows that most educated Punjabis sought to continue studying Persian, and that Arnold’s objection to the language was in part based on the religious nature of the Persian material used in the schools.

⁵⁴ Education File 1083, 1925, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow, quoted in Nita Kumar, 104.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS
IN COLONIAL EGYPT AND INDIA

Times of crisis breed religious reform movements, as people ask why the temporal glories of their religious community have faded. The religious reformer answers by drawing a causal link between the spiritual and the temporal: we were wealthy, ruled the nations and were not colonized when we properly practiced the faith, and we lost those privileges when we abandoned it. This answer provides a way to defend the faith from its challengers and to take the mantle of reform from outsiders. When missionaries blame Hindu practices for India's decline, Hindus can respond that Hinduism is perfect, but we have failed to practice it correctly. It also provides what social movement theorists would call a "frame" which motivates people to action by rendering success possible. If the answer to an Egyptian Muslim's question, "why was Britain able to colonize us?" is "because Britain is militarily superior," then little can be done. If the answer is "because we abandoned Islam," then response is possible. As Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna argued, "when [the Muslims] clung to the instructions of Islam they reigned over and built up the entire world . . . [But] after that [they] denied their religion and became ignorant of it . . . thus they arrived at the situation that they are in today, and they will remain in this state until they return to their religion."⁵⁶

The challenge to indigenous faiths posed by colonialism and missionary activity provoked the formation of a multitude of religious reform movements in colonial north India and Egypt. Five Hindu religious reform groups were large enough to be counted in the 1921 Punjab census,⁵⁷ while letters from Brothers often mention the existence of competitor groups in their villages.⁵⁸ The Samaj and the Brotherhood, however, became the dominant religious reform movements of their time in part because they skillfully straddled the line between radical and moderate reform. The Brotherhood's agenda was more mainstream than that of many of its competitors; while many of Dayanand's ideas were provocative, after his death the main wing of the Samaj required acceptance of relatively uncontroversial Arya principles for membership. Hassan al-Banna's charisma was also a key reason for the Muslim Brotherhood's success.

The reform agendas of the Samaj and the Brotherhood centered on defining particular texts as the sole or preeminent sources of the faith and encouraging believers to consult them directly rather than relying on the interpretations of religious elites. Direct access to scripture would allow believers to readily ascertain correct religious practice. Like other Islamic modernist movements of its time, the Brotherhood delineated the Qur'an and *hadith* as the only infallible sources of guidance. Brothers criticized the *shaykhs* of al-Azhar—Islam's

⁵⁶ Quoted in Ibrahim al-Bayyumi Ghanim, *al-fikr al-siyasi lil-Imam Hassan al-Banna* (The political thought of Imam Hassan al-Banna) (Arabic) (Cairo: Dar al-Tawzi' wa al-Nashr al-Islamiyya, 1992), 207.

⁵⁷ *Census of India, Punjab, 1921*, 181.

⁵⁸ Jeep case 1944, fiche 12394; and jeep case 1947, fiche 12319.

official guardians in Egypt—for focusing so heavily on ritual that they failed to make the faith relevant to everyday life, and for casting their lot with the occupier and Egyptian elites. These and other religious elites, Brothers alleged, had been insufficiently vigorous in defending Islam from unauthorized practices, including the common practice of visiting saints' tombs seeking blessings and celebrations of saints' birthdays or *mulids* with women singing and carnival games. Brothers worked to end the raucous elements of these celebrations and publicly urged Islamic behavior on government officials, once noting in the movement's newspaper that all of Egypt "had been saddened" that a particular minister was not fasting during Ramadan.⁵⁹ They also sought to keep non-elite Muslims in line with techniques ranging from gentle counseling to banging drums in the streets at dawn to summon believers to prayer.

While Hinduism and its practices are derived from a multitude of scriptures, Samaj founder Dayanand Saraswati argued that only the Vedas and other texts written when Vedic scholarship flourished were authoritative. Dayanand contended that Brahmins, Hinduism's priestly caste, were well aware that the rituals over which they presided were wrong but encouraged them for their own material gain. First among these incorrect practices was the worship of images representing the Hindu gods and goddesses; according to Dayanand, correctly understood Hinduism was a monotheistic religion and image worship was an abomination. Because the Brahmins' traditional monopoly on Vedic knowledge had allowed them to misrepresent Hinduism, Dayanand called on all Hindus—including women and outcastes, who were traditionally forbidden to do so—to read the Vedas themselves.

The Brotherhood and the Samaj also sought to ensure that their faith would define the culture of their country as it emerged from colonial rule. There were three main ways of imagining Egyptian identity in the early twentieth century. The first was Arab nationalism, developed in the Levant with significant Christian input, which honored the central role of Islam in the region but posited an Arab greatness not dependent upon it. Many Egyptian intellectuals, particularly after the 1922 discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, used evidence of Pharaonic civilization in particular to argue for the second version of Egyptian identity: an Egypt separate from and superior to the Arabs. The Brotherhood rejected claims of an ethnic Arab or Egyptian superiority, arguing that Muslims were distinguished only by the degree of their adherence to Islam, and that that adherence was the key to Egypt's future success. While these narratives were quite discursively distinct, their differences had few practical implications. Although Egyptian Christians figured differently in the various versions of Egyptian nationalism, actually existing Christians were active and welcome participants in the nationalist struggle, and the boundaries of an independent Egypt imagined by all three trends were the same.

⁵⁹ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 4 Jan. 1934.

In the north India of the Arya Samaj, the practical distinctions between different nationalisms were much more pronounced. With significant proportions of Muslims, Hindus and, in Punjab, Sikhs, North India was more religiously heterogeneous than Egypt at a time when religious heterogeneity had become meaningful to an unprecedented degree. Sudipto Kaviraj argues that before colonialism “the sense of the individual community had . . . been ‘fuzzier’—capable of apprehension at several different levels (sub-caste, sect, dialect, and other regional or religious groupings) and not greatly concerned with numbers or the exact boundaries between one community and the next.”⁶⁰ Censuses, representative government, and the increasing awareness of Indian elites that the British were swayed by petitions of leaders with “numbers” behind them all facilitated a transformation in which communities came to be “centrally concerned with numerical strength, well-defined boundaries, exclusive ‘rights,’ and, not least, the community’s ability to mount purposive action in defense of those rights.”⁶¹ Both Hindu and Muslim movements attempted to delineate what had often been shared practices as either “Hindu” or “Muslim.” One of the most concrete Hindu nationalist attempts to cast Muslims as alien to the subcontinent was the effort to make Hindi the language of education and government, and eventually the national language of an independent India.

The standard spoken language of north India in the colonial period was referred to interchangeably as Urdu, Hindi, or Hindustani,⁶² but was written in different scripts: while Urdu was almost always written in Persian script, Hindi used for general communication purposes was generally written in Devanagari, also known as Nagri. The fact that Urdu incorporated many Persian and Arabic words while Hindi drew on Sanskrit was cited by Hindu nationalists as “proof” that Islam was foreign to India and that “their” language, Hindi, should be the language of India. This narrative conveniently ignored the fact that in much of north India Hindus’ language was actually Urdu: as late as 1931, twice as many Hindu men in Punjab were literate in Urdu than in Hindi.⁶³ The codification of Hindi textbooks in the 1920s and 1930s clarified the connection between spreading Hindi and excluding Muslims from the imagined body public. Ramchandra Shukla’s 1932 canonical *History of Hindi Literature*, adopted for use as a required reader in schools in the United Provinces, entirely ignored the pronounced influence of Persian and Urdu poetry on Hindi literature in attempting to construct a solely Hindi literary tradition.⁶⁴

The attempt to draw clear lines between Hindus and Muslims and to severe-

⁶⁰ Sudipto Kaviraj, ‘Imaginary History,’ Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi, Occasional Paper, second series, No. VII, Sept. 1988, quoted in Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 158–59.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 129.

⁶³ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, 260.

⁶⁴ Krishna Kumar, “Hindu Revivalism,” 542.

ly marginalize the role of the latter in an independent India typified many movements generally characterized as Hindu nationalist in this period, from the Samaj to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The Samaj differed from movements such as the RSS in one important way: while the RSS and most other Hindu nationalist groups saw Hinduism largely as a cultural identity and were unconcerned with whether their members practiced it as a faith, Dayanand and many Aryas—although not all—saw the Samaj’s key goal as the creation of a society of Hindus correctly practicing their religion. The animosity of some Aryas toward Muslims was rooted in Muslim religious practices which violated orthodox Hindu beliefs, such as eating cattle, and Dayanand repeatedly alleged the superiority of Hinduism to all other religions, including Islam, in the most incendiary terms, particularly in his key writing *Satyarth Prakash* (The Light of Truth). The replacement of Urdu by Hindi was a key goal both of groups such as the RSS which were unconcerned with religious practice and of the Samaj, both of which saw it as a way to replace Muslim with Hindu culture and to signal the return of Hindus to their rightful position of power.

INDIAN EDUCATION AND THE DAYANAND ANGLO-VEDIC SCHOOLS

When Arya founder Dayanand Saraswati died, Aryas decided to honor him by founding a school. The DAV High School opened in Lahore in 1886, enrolling 550 students in classes from the first grade through the college-entrance level.⁶⁵ With the foundation of the DAV College Lahore in 1889, students could progress from elementary through college education completely within Arya institutions. The concept spread quickly, particularly in Punjab, where Jones notes that “during the 1890s Aryas would build an educational system . . . from the primary grades through college,”⁶⁶ and where by 1911 the census reported that “in every town of importance the Samaj has opened a school for boys.”⁶⁷

While DAV officials frequently claimed that DAV institutions were funded by donations, touting these gifts as proof of great support in the larger Hindu community, government subsidies were frequent. The budgets of the College Managing Committee are only available in systematic form after 1920. The budgets of many schools in the CMC files make clear that they were self-sufficient and did not receive government grants. However, as the examples below demonstrate, several DAV institutions at all levels, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, did receive subsidies. The Dayanand Primary Education Board, which in 1941 oversaw nine primary schools,⁶⁸ received at least one-third of its 1940–1941 budget of 14,698 rupees from government subsidies.⁶⁹ The DAV

⁶⁵ Kenneth Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 77.

⁶⁶ Ibid. ⁶⁷ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 135.

⁶⁸ College Managing Committee (CMC) File 40, p. 211. That the DPE only managed nine schools does not mean that there were only nine DAV primary schools in total: not all Arya Samaj-affiliated schools were managed by the College Managing Committee.

⁶⁹ CMC File 40, p. 209.

Middle School in Lahore received grants-in-aid in 1943,⁷⁰ as did the DAV boys' and girls' high schools in Rawalpindi in 1938–1939,⁷¹ the DAV High School in Batala in 1940–1941,⁷² and the high school in Hafizabad. The latter was so dependent on these funds that when government grants were delayed in 1926, 1931, 1937, and 1938 it had to request emergency loans from the Managing Committee to pay its teachers.⁷³ At the apex of the DAV educational pyramid the DAV's Ayurvedic College (1938–1939),⁷⁴ the DAV College in Srinagar (Kashmir) (1943),⁷⁵ and the DAV College in Rawalpindi (1931)⁷⁶ all received government funds.

While there is only spotty evidence about the role of subsidies before 1920, there is good reason to believe they existed then as well, particularly at the pre-college level. For example, we know that the rapid spread of DAV schools in Punjab in the 1890s marked a radical shift from educational practice in the province as recently as a decade before. Nurullah and Naik note that in the late 1850s most private secondary schools in British India were run by missionaries, but that by 1882 Indians had founded more private secondary schools than missionaries.⁷⁷ This general finding, however, differed sharply from the situation in Punjab. In 1881–1882, only two English-language private secondary schools in Punjab were run by Indians while 118 were run by foreigners, the great bulk of whom would probably have been missionaries. This was one of the most lopsided ratios of Indian to non-Indian private secondary schools in all of British India.⁷⁸ Thus the rapid spread of DAV schools in Punjab only a decade later demands explanation. Perhaps the advent of DAV education fired the imaginations of Punjabi Hindus. The commanding presence of missionary schools in the province clearly alarmed Hindus; while the absolute number of Christians in Punjab remained small, their numbers increased by 410 percent in the decade in which the DAV schools were founded.⁷⁹ Aryas argued that missionary schools were key to this growth, and remarked in *The Regenerator of Arya Varta* that, “at present, boys of tender age are mostly (the missionaries’) victims . . . rarely (do) the boys who read in the mission schools avoid catching the disease with which their masters are afflicted.”⁸⁰ In this environment, the appearance of English-language education opportunities outside of the missionary framework might well have received significant support. Jones ob-

⁷⁰ CMC File 40, p. 545.

⁷¹ CMC File 136, n.p., Budgets for the Dayanand Educational Mission Rawalpindi 1938–1939 and 1939–1940.

⁷² CMC File 152, n.p. Budget estimate for the high school 1940–1941.

⁷³ CMC File 184, pp. 123, 125, 127, 137, 243, 297. ⁷⁴ CMC File 33.

⁷⁵ CMC File 109, n.p., letter dated 21 Jan. 1946.

⁷⁶ See letter on DAV College Rawalpindi, 1931, CMC File 136, p. 84.

⁷⁷ Nurullah and Naik, 297.

⁷⁸ Indian-run English-language education had proceeded much further in the provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the Central Provinces, and Assam by 1881–1882. Nurullah and Naik, 297.

⁷⁹ Jones, 10. This increase took place between 1881 and 1891. ⁸⁰ Quoted in Jones, 48.

served that Arya public events to raise money for the schools became “a regular part of Punjabi Hindu life,”⁸¹ and it is clear that many donated money.

While Aryas clearly raised some of the funds for Punjabi DAV schools, subsidies may also have played an important role in the network’s early growth. One reason that Indian Western-style education spread slowly relative to missionary education in Punjab before the early 1880s may have been that it was only in 1882 that the British government made clear that it intended its subsidies to create an education system based on Indian, not missionary, enterprise. In contrast to Jones’ narrative on school funding, which details Arya fundraising and rarely mentions subsidies, Arya sympathizer Dhanpati Pandey notes in passing in his book about the Samaj between 1875 and 1920 that the DAV schools in this founding period were “maintained by usual grants from the Education Department,”⁸² as if this were so common a practice in DAV education as to be unremarkable. The DAV High School in Rawalpindi received a building grant in 1911.⁸³ *In toto*, it is quite possible that subsidies helped get the DAV educational network off the ground, and between 1920 and 1947 many DAV schools and colleges were subsidized.

If we view government education subsidies as having contributed to the creation and maintenance of the DAV school system, what did these subsidies actually “buy” in the way of helping the Samaj to spread its ideas or achieve its goals? They do not appear to have been particularly useful in spreading the Samaj’s specific concepts and practices of Hindu religious reform: the DAV schools were never intended to focus heavily on this subject. Samaj founder Dayanand, whose example had inspired the schools, had been a traditional guru who studied with his own guru for several years, and originally preached throughout North India clad in a loincloth. He initially proselytized exclusively in Sanskrit, but he later switched to Hindi, and never learned English. Most Aryas, though, were more government clerks than gurus: by 1900 Hindus dominated the middle and upper positions of the Punjabi bureaucracy,⁸⁴ and the high percentage of government clerks among the Aryas was frequently remarked upon.⁸⁵ These were people who respected, and expected, a Western-style education that would help their children prosper in a world increasingly foreign from that of Dayanand. The DAV schools were intended to combine both worlds. As one proponent argued in 1882, “when people will find no difference between the Anglo-Vedic, Government and mission schools as regards English education, and see in the former additional advantages of Vedic instruction, the Vedic schools will be crowded with boys.”⁸⁶ In practice, however, the lion’s share of DAV education focused on non-religious subjects. A series of initia-

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸² Dhanpati Pandey, *The Arya Samaj and Indian Nationalism, 1875–1920* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1972), 101.

⁸³ *Report on Education in the Punjab for 1910–11*, 4. ⁸⁴ Jones, 59–60.

⁸⁵ *Tribune*, 15 Sept. 1888, p. 2, quoted in *ibid.*, 82. ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

tives to prioritize religious study and Hindi education over Western-style education in the schools were rebuffed by Managing Committee members. An 1889 proposal that extensive study of Dayanand's writings be required was rejected. Advocates of a strongly religious approach unsuccessfully urged "an elaborate scheme of Sanskrit, Hindi, and Vedic studies."⁸⁷ The DAV curriculum that eventually emerged provided an education that in the middle and upper departments of the school consisted largely of subjects such as math, English, geography, history, physical science, and sanitation. Students' mastery of these types of subjects is made clear by their repeated success at the highest echelons of the new Western school system. As early as 1888, the government singled out the original DAV school as having produced more students who passed the entrance exams of Calcutta University than any other school in Punjab.⁸⁸ But while Hindi and Sanskrit would not be the center of the curriculum, they would certainly be there, as I will demonstrate shortly.

While classroom study of reformed Arya religion was not a priority in DAV schools,⁸⁹ there is evidence that extracurricular attempts to instill it were also unsuccessful at the DAV College Lahore, which appears to have been almost exclusively financially self-sufficient. The College stipulated that every student living in the College Boarding House—and many students did—had to engage in daily practice of the Arya form of evening prayer and attend weekly Arya Samaj meetings.⁹⁰ While members of the College Managing Committee considered this to be a routine requirement, correspondence between DAV headmasters, teachers, and the CMC exposes the considerable difficulty they faced in compelling obedience to it. Complaints that students did not attend the prayers led members of the boarding house subcommittee to remind the house wardens of their duty to perform evening prayer with their boarders at least three times a week, and to fine students who did not attend.⁹¹ Members of the Managing Committee complained that those who did attend prayed incorrectly, as if they were merely going through the motions and did not understand the meaning of the ritual. Eventually, the Committee resorted to issuing cards to each boarder which had to be signed by wardens after each prayer and each attendance of Samaj meetings, and presented at weekly roll calls.

To the extent, then, that government subsidies helped to make the DAV schools possible, they do not seem to have helped the movement significantly in spreading its religious ideas. One area in which the DAV schools were much more active, however, was Hindi teaching. Aryas strove in every way possible

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 90–91.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 78. The government also mentioned in its 1888 recognition of the DAV School that it did not receive any government funding.

⁸⁹ One exception to this was the DAV College Lahore, where students could concentrate on religious matters by enrolling in the College's Vedic Studies or Theological Departments. By 1914, the two departments together enrolled about seventy-five students in a student body of over 500. Jones, 226–27.

⁹⁰ DAVCMC School Boarding House Subcommittee File 3, p. 59. ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 129.

to advocate for Hindi rather than Urdu as the language of India. The DAV College Lahore played a high-profile role in Hindi advocacy: its first principal argued that the Hindu community could not progress if its members did not share a common language,⁹² and his 1896 suggestion that Hindus address all their letters in Devanagari in order to force the government to hire Hindu employees was roundly castigated in the Muslim community.⁹³ We know that Hindi was taught at many DAV schools,⁹⁴ and that this was at least somewhat unusual in Punjabi education until as late as the 1940s. The 1910–1911 *Report on Education in the Punjab* noted that the use of the Nagri script of Hindi “as a medium of instruction . . . is believed to be confined to the schools conducted by the Arya Samaj,”⁹⁵ and the 1911 census argued that the Samaj and some other Hindus “are doing a great deal in the direction of imparting primary education in the Nagri character.”⁹⁶ The CMC archives contain the following examples of specific schools involved in Hindi teaching in a later period: the DAV Primary Education Board, which oversaw nine schools, was teaching Hindi in 1940;⁹⁷ the DAV Middle School Lahore in 1943 reported teaching it,⁹⁸ and the DAV High School in Batala noted that it sent up students (successfully) in the Hindi section of the university exams in 1942, 1944, 1945, and 1948.

To the extent that government subsidies did fund DAV schools which taught Hindi,⁹⁹ they were helping the Samaj to fight an uphill battle against the linguistic reality of the Punjab. Many Punjabi Hindus spoke, and the majority of literate men in this period read, Urdu, not Hindi. By 1855, the British had made

⁹² Lala Hans Raj, *Mahatma Hansraj Granthavali*, vol. 4, quoted in Krishna Kumar, “Hindu Revivalism,” 540.

⁹³ *Paisa Akhbar*, 19 Apr. 1897, quoted in Jones, 199.

⁹⁴ I have seen no evidence that it was taught at the DAV College level.

⁹⁵ *Report on Education in the Punjab for 1910–11*, introduction.

⁹⁶ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 366.

⁹⁷ CMC File 40, p. 75, letter dated 7 May 1940.

⁹⁸ CMC File 40, p. 545, letter dated 30 Jan. 1943.

⁹⁹ Overall we do not know what percentage of DAV schools taught Hindi, but we do know that teaching it was a high enough priority that we have examples of it in DAV schools across several decades. Ideally, we could prove that all subsidized schools taught Hindi, but the available data does not allow that. Much of the proof that I cite here of government subsidies of specific DAV schools, and most of the evidence of particular schools teaching Hindi, comes from the College Managing Committee files after 1920. Not all DAV schools were managed by the CMC, and so I have no information on whether or to what extent these schools received government subsidies or taught Hindi. For those schools which were managed by the CMC, the CMC records contain no central list of all schools which received funding or which taught Hindi, and so I have listed here the schools which I found that did, which may or may not be a complete list of all such CMC-managed schools. As a result of these archival gaps, we cannot be sure how many schools in this period were either subsidized or taught Hindi, and it is not always possible to prove that a particular school receiving a government subsidy was teaching Hindi at that time. However, in two of the three post-1920 cases of DAV schools teaching Hindi mentioned above, we can show subsidies and Hindi teaching coinciding: The DAV Primary Board, which oversaw nine primary schools, received government funding in 1940–1941 while teaching Hindi, as did the DAV Middle School in 1943. In the third case, that of the DAV High School Batala, we know it received government grants in 1940–1941 and that it had students taking the Hindi section of the university exams in 1942, 1944, 1945, and 1948.

Urdu the official language of the lower levels of government administration.¹⁰⁰ Census-takers noted the active campaigns of Aryas to convince Hindus to register Hindi as their language in the 1931 census.¹⁰¹ But the 1911 census found male Hindu residents of Delhi almost equally divided between Hindi and Urdu speakers,¹⁰² with enumerators defining those whose spoken language included significant Persian vocabulary as Urdu speakers and those whose dialect contained a “preponderance of Sanskritic words” as Hindi speakers.¹⁰³ In Lahore, which the census notes was “the center of the [Arya Samaj] movement and the seat of the DAV,” twice as many Hindu men spoke Urdu as Hindi.¹⁰⁴ Of the 270 periodicals registered by the 1921 census of Punjab and Delhi, 181 were in Urdu, while only thirteen were in Hindi.¹⁰⁵ Between 1922 and 1931, almost six times as many books were published in Urdu as in Hindi,¹⁰⁶ and in 1931 twice as many Hindu men in Punjab were literate in Urdu than in Hindi.¹⁰⁷ The administrators and leaders of the DAV school were also everyday members of the Punjabi Hindi community, and they too often did not know Hindi. A 1945 resolution to conduct all DAV college and school correspondence in Hindi led some particularly staunch Hindi supporters to suggest that only Hindi speakers be elected to the Managing Committee. This proposal generated heated discussion about whether the Arya Samaj, as a “universal faith open to men of all persuasions,” could discriminate in this manner against non-Hindi speakers.¹⁰⁸

It is clear that DAV schools were not the only ones in Punjab teaching Hindi in this period; the DAV High School Batala files show that Hindi was offered as an optional subject in college matriculation exams by the 1940s, at the latest.¹⁰⁹ But it is also clear that as late as the 1940s Hindi instruction was not widespread in Punjab schools, and that DAV schools sometimes had to go to great lengths to offer it. According to the Dayanand Primary Education Board in 1940, the superintendent of Municipal Branch schools who was sent to inspect DPE schools was “a Muslim gentleman [who] does not know Hindi, and cannot therefore effectively report on the work of Hindi teaching in the classes.”¹¹⁰ A 1943 letter from the headmaster of the DAV Middle School Lahore to the CMC notes that in government primary schools Urdu was the medium of instruction, and that the school had been forced—in contravention of strong government preference—to hire untrained instructors of Hindi because “trained

¹⁰⁰ Jones, 59. ¹⁰¹ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, 271.

¹⁰² There were 32,772 for Hindi, 31,496 for Urdu. (*Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 135.)

¹⁰³ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 346.

¹⁰⁴ There were 2,288 for Hindi, 5,561 for Urdu. *Ibid.*, 346.

¹⁰⁵ *Census of India, Punjab and Delhi, 1921*, 316.

¹⁰⁶ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, 281. ¹⁰⁷ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, 260.

¹⁰⁸ DAVCMC, 1945.

¹⁰⁹ CMC File 152, n.p., letter from headmaster of DAVHS Batala to Secretary of CMC dated 2 June 1942. Page 111, letter dated 23 May 1944; and unpaginated letter, dated 4 June 1945.

¹¹⁰ CMC File 40, p. 75, letter dated 7 May 1940.

(teachers) with Hindi as their first vernacular are not available, and . . . the government also has no arrangement for turning out such teachers.” Insisting on teaching Hindi in this environment, he noted, represented a financial cost to the DAV school, which received a smaller government subsidy for untrained teachers than for trained ones.¹¹¹ In 1948, the headmaster of the DAV High School Batala noted that Hindi had only recently been introduced into the curricula of the five government schools in the city.¹¹²

EGYPTIAN EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Like the Arya Samaj, the Muslim Brotherhood was born in a period of rapid educational growth and change. Unlike the Samaj, which took advantage of the growth of a state education system to create its own extensive school network, the Brotherhood built few full-time primary or secondary schools before 1952. However, the growth of the Egyptian state school system nonetheless benefited, and significantly altered, the work of the Brotherhood in three distinct ways. The first was through night and weekend adult education programs run by many Brotherhood branches, at least some of which included instruction in Brotherhood interpretations of Islam. In one case, the government ordered local soldiers to attend such a program; in this and other cases it also subsidized such programs. Where religious education was included in these programs, then, the government was subsidizing such education. Even if adult education did not include religious instruction, the cost of such education programs to the Brotherhood was minimal, and so government subsidies for it might well have been directed to other, non-educational Brotherhood activities.

The growth of the education system also helped Brothers spread their message in a second way: large numbers of Brothers were teachers in government and private (non-Brotherhood) schools,¹¹³ and we have scattered evidence of them using their positions to spread Brotherhood ideas. Finally, the creation of a modern school system run in accordance with government regulations meant a fundamental change in the role of teachers, transforming them from products of local communities, whose position depended upon the respect and pay of the community, to holders of government teaching qualifications who were mutually interchangeable with any other such holder. They were interchangeable in the most literal sense: teachers, including Muslim Brotherhood teachers, were transferred from posts in one area of the country to another. Such transfers could

¹¹¹ CMC File 40, p. 545, letter dated 30 Jan. 1943.

¹¹² CMC File 152, n.p., letter dated 28 May 1948. It is worth noting that while the DAV were serious about spreading Hindi, Urdu was nonetheless taught in DAV schools. With Urdu the official language of the lower levels of government administration and the primary language of publishing it would have been foolish not to do so.

¹¹³ For primary schools, by the 1940s there was increasingly little difference between “government” and “private” education: by this time most private primary schools had been following government syllabi for some time, and by the end of the 1940s most “private” primary schools were subsidized by the government. Akrawi and Matthews, 18.

help or hurt Brotherhood activities, undermining once vibrant branches or revitalizing moribund ones.

Before 1952, the Brotherhood built few full-time schools of its own for youth, either primary or secondary, and the very growth of the government education system may partially explain the movement's relative inactivity in this area. In 1933–1934, the Brothers founded at least three schools in the Delta,¹¹⁴ which they explicitly said were intended for children Brothers had “rescued” from missionaries.¹¹⁵ While missionaries were indeed providing much of the Western-style education on offer at that time, the precipitous growth of the government school system in the 1930s and 1940s created many non-missionary opportunities for Western education, and this may have lessened the urgency the Brotherhood felt for this project. Between 1946 and 1948, the Brotherhood newspaper reported the founding of two companies whose shares would be used to build Brotherhood schools in Cairo and Alexandria,¹¹⁶ and in 1946 the paper noted the Brotherhood's intention to found two elementary schools for boys and two for girls in each of those cities. A kindergarten, a primary, and a secondary school were indeed set up in Alexandria,¹¹⁷ but if the Cairo schools were founded they were short-lived—a 1952 list of all Brotherhood schools in Cairo notes no elementary or secondary schools and only seven kindergartens.¹¹⁸ There were probably other full-time Brotherhood primary and perhaps secondary schools between 1928 and 1952, but they constructed nothing like the DAV's large, geographically widespread, vertically integrated network of elementary, secondary, and college education.

While the Brotherhood built few primary and secondary schools, it frequently offered night and weekend schools for workers, which could go from instilling basic literacy to, in some cases, preparing students to pass admission tests to regular secondary schools.¹¹⁹ Such courses were offered by many Brotherhood branches; Zaky notes thirteen night or literacy schools in Cairo and Giza in 1952;¹²⁰ and such courses were also frequent in the countryside. A particularly well-developed such program was found in Qena, a medium-size rural town.¹²¹ In 1941 this branch offered classes six nights a week, five nights of which concerned religious topics ranging from Islamic history and *hadith* to jurisprudence and commentary on the Qur'an.¹²² In July 1942 the branch reported that it was

¹¹⁴ See, for example, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 4 May 1934.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 13 July and 20 July 1933; and *The Brotherhood Weekly*, 18 Oct. 1934.

¹¹⁶ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 16 July 1946; and *The Daily Newspaper*, 12 Sept. 1948.

¹¹⁷ Mitchell, 288.

¹¹⁸ The total number of schools reported in this document in Cairo and the surrounding district of Giza was thirty-one, with the bulk of them represented by adult education, kindergartens, or Friday religious schools for kids. Mohammed Showki Zaky, 150–51.

¹¹⁹ Ahmad al-Biss, *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimiīn fī Riif Misr* (The Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian Countryside) (Arabic) (Cairo: Dar al-Towziah wal-Nashr al-Islamiya, n.d.), 19.

¹²⁰ Mohammed Showki Zaki, 150–51, quoted in Mitchell, 289.

¹²¹ *Census of Egypt, Qena Governorate, 1947*, 1. ¹²² Jeep case, 1941, fiche 11754.

teaching religion, dictation, and arithmetic three nights a week—probably one subject per night—and that a good number of illiterate men were participating in the program.¹²³ The letter of an Qena Brother to Cairo headquarters in December 1942 makes explicit the branch's intent to use adult education to spread Brotherhood ideas; he recommends that "all branches be advised to adopt [our adult education system] because the religious lessons that are delivered . . . are part of the mission of spreading our message."¹²⁴ This same author notes that the branch's night school had substantially expanded, in large part due to the governorate's decision to mandate the attendance of all illiterate soldiers in the area. In response to a request from the education department, the branch began to offer daily classes, and it petitioned the Education Ministry to offer assistance equaling the salary of one teacher to make this possible.¹²⁵ By 1944 the branch was receiving subsidy assistance for the night schools.¹²⁶

Similar subsidies were paid to other Brotherhood literacy programs. The most formal articulation of the government-Brotherhood educational relationship came in 1946, when, as part of a new government anti-illiteracy program, the Ministry of Education—at the time in the hands of a Brotherhood supporter—agreed to pay the Brotherhood a fixed fee for every student it taught. One-third of the fee would be paid after government inspectors verified that the students were between the ages of twelve and eighteen and that classes were professionally run, with the rest paid after the schools demonstrated success.¹²⁷ In 1948 the Brotherhood newspaper noted that the literacy program of the branch in Cairo's Shubra district was accredited by the Ministry of Education and that 70 percent of its students had been successful, presumably in passing a literacy test. As a result, the author expressed the hope that the branch would receive the bonuses that such accredited literacy programs routinely received for student success.¹²⁸ We do not know if all, or any, of the Brotherhood literacy schools which participated in these subsidy programs taught religion, but it seems clear that the costs of adult education to any given branch were generally negligible. The example of Qena's request for a salaried teacher notwithstanding, most Brotherhood social services of all kinds, including medical clinics, were run by people volunteering their time. The schools were conducted at the branch building during off-hours, and when the Ministry of Education agreed to pay branches for educating illiterate students it provided the necessary books and materials. In these circumstances, even if Ministry subsidies were not paying for Brotherhood religious education, it is quite possible that they exceeded the costs to a branch of providing religious education, and were redirected to other activities.

Another way in which the growth of the school system could help spread Brotherhood ideas was through the activities of Brothers who taught in non-

¹²³ Jeep case, 1942, fiche 11768. ¹²⁴ Jeep case, 1942, fiche 11747.

¹²⁵ Jeep case, 1942, fiche 11747. ¹²⁶ Jeep case, 1944, fiche 11714.

¹²⁷ Richard Mitchell, 287. ¹²⁸ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, 3 Aug. 1948.

Brotherhood schools. Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna himself was a product of the first teacher-training school in Egypt, and taught full-time until the late 1940s, and many other Brothers were teachers as well. Membership lists from rural Brotherhood branches demonstrate this point: in Mansoura, a large rural town, between 9 and 10 percent of the branch's members in 1945 were teachers.¹²⁹ In Manfalout, teachers were 12 percent of the members of the local Brotherhood branch in 1945.¹³⁰ There is scattered evidence that Brothers used their positions within these schools to disseminate Brotherhood ideas to their students. Ahmed al-Biss, a Brotherhood teacher in a rural girls' school, suggests in his memoir that the increased frequency of veiling by his students—a core Brotherhood teaching—was largely due to his influence.¹³¹ In Qena, where between 9 and 10 percent of the branch were teachers,¹³² Brotherhood teachers reported distributing the Brotherhood anthem to students in the schools in which they taught.¹³³

Teaching opened Brotherhood educators up to another possibility: that of being transferred from one school to another. To understand the way that teacher-transfers worked, it is important to place them in the context of the transfer of Brotherhood civil servants more generally. Once administration of domestic affairs was devolved by the British to the Egyptians in 1922, the Egyptian government greatly expanded its presence, sending unprecedented numbers of civil servants to rural areas to survey the land, administer justice, collect taxes, and teach. Many civil servants were presumably locally recruited, but others were transferred from one locale to another. Brotherhood correspondence demonstrates that transfers of members were not uncommon in the 1940s and 1950, including of Brothers who were veterinary inspectors, surveyors, clerks in state banks, and court employees. But if the picture of Brotherhood organization that emerges from the archives is an accurate sampling of what was happening within the movement as a whole, then Brotherhood teachers were transferred more frequently than Brothers in other occupations. There are eleven instances in the archives in which we find the occupation of a transferred Brother mentioned, rather than a generic reference to his transfer. Five of these are teachers, transferred a total of six times, while no more than two representatives of any other single profession appear among these eleven cases.¹³⁴

With the number of public schools at all levels, from elementary and secondary to vocational and religious, increasing from 277,848 schools in 1913–1914 to 1,046,482 in 1944–1945,¹³⁵ it is no surprise that schools might be opened in areas with insufficient teachers, requiring transfers of teachers from

¹²⁹ Jeep case, 1945, fiches 11495–11502.

¹³⁰ Jeep case, fiche 12219, membership list dated 24 Sept. 1945. ¹³¹ al-Biss, 31.

¹³² Jeep case, undated, fiches 11697–11703. ¹³³ Jeep case, 1939, fiche 11847.

¹³⁴ For example, see Jeep case, 1941, fiche 11791 (Qena); Jeep case, 1944, fiche 12056 (Deshna); Jeep case, 1947, fiche 12466 (Domyat).

¹³⁵ Matthews and Akrawi, 34.

other locales. After 1943, the Ministry of Education also gained the right to transfer teachers in the many private primary schools which had accepted government subsidies in exchange for dropping their entrance fees. Brotherhood teachers could also be transferred for punitive reasons. The Brotherhood's activism against the British and against Egyptian participation in World War II led to founder Hassan al-Banna's transfer from his school in Cairo to one in Qena for four months,¹³⁶ and after the Muslim Brotherhood was dissolved by the government in 1948, Al-Biss, the advocate of veiling who taught in the girls' school, was transferred as well.¹³⁷

It is clear that branches feared the effects of such transfers: two letters to Banna mention the impending transfers of leaders of branches—one of whom is a teacher—and express fear that their branches would not be able to get along without them.¹³⁸ However, despite the many archival references to transfers, relatively few specify the consequences these had for the Brotherhood, and only a subset of these references specifically involve teachers. Thus, in speculating on whether teacher transfers on the whole helped or hurt the movement the best we can do is to examine all the cases of transferred Brothers, regardless of occupation, in which we can directly connect either an expansion or contraction of Brotherhood activities to the transfer of specific individuals. We must try to generalize from these, while highlighting ways in which the transfer of teachers in particular might differ from the transfer of Brotherhood employees more generally. There are five letters which specifically record the actual—not the anticipated—effects of transfers, and in them we find clues regarding their overall effects on the movement. One merely records friction within a branch caused by the transfer from Cairo of a leading Brother who did not get along with local members,¹³⁹ two detail specific negative consequences of the transfers; and two record specific positive ones. A 1947 letter from the Brotherhood branch in Girga says that its previously numerous activities have all but ground to a halt since the transfer two months earlier of the branch's president.¹⁴⁰ Equally disturbing, the author notes that while new Brothers have been transferred to Girga during this period, including a court clerk who had been the secretary of a branch in Cairo, they generally would have nothing to do with the Girga branch. Similarly, in 1943, a representative of the Brotherhood headquarters in Cairo found the branch in rural Sohag to be a pale reflection of its earlier self, which the branch's leader attributed to the transfer of several members of its board, and the fact that remaining board members did not regularly attend.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Richard Mitchell, 22.

¹³⁷ The fact that this was an unwanted, and in all likelihood punitive transfer is suggested by the fact that several months later Biss was arrested; after being freed he immediately requested (and achieved through the intercession of a highly placed relative) a transfer back to his original school. Biss, 25–30.

¹³⁸ Jeep case, 1945, fiche 12374, and Jeep case, 1947, fiche 12466.

¹³⁹ Jeep case, 1948, fiche 11944. ¹⁴⁰ Jeep case, 1947, fiche 12319.

¹⁴¹ Jeep case, 1943, fiche 12396.

These cases suggest two things. The first is fairly obvious: that it matters which branch members were transferred. Branches probably suffered more when transfers involved leaders rather than rank-and-file members. We do know that teachers were often members of the boards of their local branches: the archives contain the membership lists of the boards of twenty-two branches, and teachers were members of thirteen of the eighteen in branches outside of Cairo. So if teachers were transferred more frequently than Brothers of other occupations, that they were frequently in branch leadership positions suggests that their transfers were particularly likely to hurt the branches they left behind. But what we would need to know to assess the overall effect of such transfers on the Brotherhood is what, if anything, transferred leaders did in their new locale, information that we do not have for the aforementioned cases of Girga and Sohag. For example, what if the transfer of the leader of the Girga branch decreased that branch's activities, but that leader then set up an entirely new branch in his new location? In terms of the overall growth of the Brotherhood, his transfer might then be viewed as a positive development, or at least a neutral one.

This all-important factor of whether transferred Brothers—whether leaders or rank-and-file members—worked for the Brotherhood in their new locations was probably influenced by a second factor: whether Brothers perceived their transfers to be punitive or merely administrative in nature. In the case of the Brothers transferred to Girga who refused to become active in the Brotherhood branch there, it seems clear that they had been active in their previous locations—the Girga writer knew they were Brothers even though they did not participate in the activities in Girga, and he identifies one of them as the former secretary of a Cairo branch. It is quite possible that these Brothers abandoned Brotherhood activity due to fear—to their believing that they had been punitively transferred, and deciding to do nothing further to invite the government's wrath.

The point that transfers of Brothers could lead them to expand Brotherhood activity in their new locations is made by the cases of Brothers transferred to the rural towns of Dëshna and Bellina. In October 1944, a teacher wrote to Banna saying that he had recently been transferred to Dëshna, a rural town of 126,099 inhabitants in the 1937 census.¹⁴² His letter speaks both to the frequency of Brotherhood transfers during this period and to the fact that some transferred Brothers, far from being frightened away from Brotherhood activity, tried to become active in each new location. Before coming to Dëshna, he wrote, he had been transferred to another rural location, and he wrote of his amazement that “just as he ha[d] been on the verge of settling down in an area and getting to know his Brothers there and work cooperatively with them in spreading the message, transfers came to send them to different places.”¹⁴³ The

¹⁴² *Census of Egypt, Qena Governorate, 1947*, 1. ¹⁴³ Jeep case, 1944, fiche 12056.

first archival evidence of Brotherhood activity in Deshna predates this teacher's arrival. One Brother wrote twice in 1939 of his desire to start a branch there,¹⁴⁴ and in August 1943 another identifies himself as the head of the local branch but provides no further information on the branch or its activities.¹⁴⁵ Upon his arrival in Deshna in 1944, however, the transferred Brotherhood teacher notes that there is no branch in the town, but nine months after his arrival the Deshna Brotherhood branch had 134 members.¹⁴⁶ Almost half of its board of directors were teachers, including the branch secretary, who was a teacher at the same school where the transferred Brother worked (indeed, it may have been him). A similar development seems to have followed a Brother's transfer to rural Bellina, a town which had 215,363 residents in 1947.¹⁴⁷ There appears to have been a relatively active branch there in 1940 and 1941, but by 1943 it may have become dormant, because a January 1944 letter from a Brotherhood bank employee transferred there recounts his earlier promise to Banna that when he was transferred he would seek to resuscitate the town's branch. This man approached teachers at the local primary school, and two of them joined the fledgling branch's advisory board; the supervisor of education pledged his support, and another teacher was enlisted to help set up the branch's Quran-memorization sessions for local children.¹⁴⁸ Six months later, a representative of the Cairo headquarters reported that the branch had seventy members, a large office in the center of town, and a sizeable budget.

In sum, a scarcity of evidence about the outcomes of a significant number of teacher transfers prevents us from saying whether they were, on the whole, a boon or a burden to the movement. If we move beyond the letters of transferred Brothers or of the branches they left behind, and turn to investigate the responses of local communities to such transfers, it becomes apparent how avidly transfers of any Brotherhood employees could be welcomed. In a letter published in the Brotherhood newspaper in 1950, a rural Brother wrote:

For a long time, I have been thinking of sending for some of the missionaries of the Brotherhood message to come and live . . . in these areas that are thirsting for their presence, areas which remain untouched by [Brotherhood beliefs]. I wish that you could see for yourself how people here in the towns and in the villages crowd around, how eager they are, and how willing to travel and to spend their money—[just] so that one of the Muslim Brothers would come and visit them . . . [N]ow God Almighty has willed that [this issue of the Brotherhood newspaper] would suddenly descend upon us bearing the news of the transfer of some of the Brothers to remote areas far away from Cairo. While I was deeply sorry to hear about this deviant policy, because of the family problems that the transferred Brothers will have to endure, I was also very happy because we will soon meet with some of our Brothers, and they will fill the huge void.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Jeep case, 1939, fiches 12067 and 12069. ¹⁴⁵ Jeep case, 1943, fiche 12067.

¹⁴⁶ Jeep case, 1945, fiche 12046. ¹⁴⁷ 1947 census, Girga Governorate, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Jeep case, 1944, fiche 12110.

¹⁴⁹ *Al-Mabahith*, 5 Dec. 1950. It is not clear from the tone of this letter if it is meant to be taken at face value or if it is a kind of tongue-in-cheek response to a government perceived as having

Whether these transferred Brothers included teachers, and whether they actually did “fill the void” or not—whether they were active in their new locations or instead avoided Brotherhood activity—we do not know. What these examples of transfers do make clear is that the creation of a modern state system—in the case of teachers, a modern state educational system—not only brought the state into new places where it had not been before, but also had the very real potential of bringing new religious movements there as well.

CONCLUSION

The rise of Western-style school systems significantly minimized the role of religion in education, but directly facilitated the spread of indigenous religious movements and enhanced their ability to achieve their goals. The stories of the Arya Samaj before Indian independence in 1947 and the Muslim Brotherhood before the Free Officer coup in 1952 demonstrate two points, one familiar to students of the colonial state and one perhaps less obvious. The first is that the size of the modern state, including colonial states, and the irreducible complexity of state attempts to bring about large-scale social change, often mean that it works at cross-purposes with itself, and that its policies frequently generate results the opposite of those intended. This is clearest here in the case of the Muslim Brotherhood, whose spread was inadvertently facilitated by the Egyptian government’s continuation of the policies, started by the British, of building up a centralized education system. Gregory Starrett argues that the British initially transformed the Egyptian *kuttab* from an almost exclusively religious institution into one focused on reading, writing, and arithmetic in part in order to tame the Egyptian masses, to ensure that they would turn a deaf ear to the appeals of religious and nationalist ideologues who were out to upset the colonial order.¹⁵⁰ Decades later, the more fully developed version of the education system initiated by these *kuttab* reforms had instead helped to disseminate the message of a strongly anti-British Muslim Brotherhood.

The second, less obvious but more important point found in the stories of the colonial-era Arya Samaj and Muslim Brotherhood is that divisions made between the state and society are frequently artificial. This is particularly pronounced in countries, or colonies, where the state embarks on ambitious programs of social engineering for which it lacks the necessary financial or administrative capacity, and chooses to compensate for this by “subcontracting” much of its work out to organized groups in society. Colonial states were particularly likely to find themselves in this situation. On the one hand, colo-

transferred these Brothers punitively. If the latter, then the letter can be read as a kind of warning to the government: ‘you think you have slowed these Brothers down by transferring them, but in fact you will only strengthen the devotion of those Brothers already here.’ In either interpretation, the author seems to be strongly suggesting that the transfer of these Brothers might well only strengthen the local Brotherhood movement.

¹⁵⁰ Starrett, Chapter 2.

nizers frequently created state apparati which penetrated society much more deeply than any previous regime, studying, categorizing, and managing the colonized population through institutions as invasive and pervasive as the census, centralized tax collection systems, and the school. On the other hand, the financial logic of colonial rule—that the colony was supposed to economically profit the metropole or, in the worst case to pay for itself and its legions of European administrators—usually meant that the colonial state did not have adequate resources to fully implement its social engineering efforts itself. The logic of this position places centralized education systems that are founded under colonial auspices in a completely different position than those created in primarily Western industrialized nations, as described by Ernest Gellner in his enormously influential *Nations and Nationalism*.¹⁵¹ Gellner, who defines nationalism as “the organization of human groups into large, centrally educated, culturally homogeneous units,”¹⁵² argues that nationalism is made possible by the rise of the state school system, in which a central authority oversees the creation of and conduct of education in large numbers of schools across wide swaths of territory. Gellner explicitly sees these school systems as an inherently secularizing project, in which earlier religiously based imaginings of the community are marginalized in favor of a more “secular” nationalism which defines belonging in terms of a shared geography—we share the same territory—rather than a shared faith. Because his analysis is based on the rise of state school systems in the context of modern capitalist nations, however, he assumes a state which is much more likely to be willing and able to fund its own school system, in contrast to colonial or newly independent states which may be forced by financial constraints to “subcontract” much of the educational process out to private groups. It is precisely these different circumstances which are central to understanding the different types of national and religious identity that centralized school systems transmit.

¹⁵¹ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

¹⁵² Gellner, 35.

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