

Egypt Educational Reforms in the 19th Century: A Dichotomy Between Traditional Education and Modern Secularism?

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Abstract:

This paper will deconstruct the argument that suggests that educational reform in 19th century Egypt resulted in tensions between the old educational system and Western secular education. Although one would expect the educational reforms carried out in 19th century Egypt resulted in tensions between the religious establishment and the secular one, this wasn't the case. Using historical evidence and the works of intellectuals such as Rifa'a Al Tahwtawi, Jamal Din Al-Afghani, and Muhammad Rashid Rida, this paper will showcase how reformists embraced new ideas and accepted them. This paper will also examine how Western and secular knowledge was brought into Egypt through missionaries under Muhammad Pasha's rule and how this affected the modernization process of education throughout the nineteenth century, especially under Khedive Ismail's rule. Using the example of the magazine *Rawdat Al Madaris*, this paper will discuss the effect of the educational reforms of the 19th century on Egyptian society and how both traditional and modern schools of thought coexisted. This article will explore how girl's education, the translation movement, and the call for reform by religious scholars constituted important development for the modernization process in Egypt. This paper also argues that accounts that describe education reform as having created a split between modernists and religious are based on orientalist representations by British officials. In this way, this paper seeks to unravel a common historical misconception and calls for a more nuanced understanding of education reforms in 19th century Egypt.

Keywords: Modernization, Egypt, Mohammed Ali Pasha, Rifa'a Al Tahtawi, British Colonial Rule, Educational Reforms

Egypt underwent significant reforms in the wake of the 19th century, long before even Japan embarked on its modernization program.¹ Under the rule of Mohammed Ali (1805-1848), educational reforms were at the center of the modernization program and were given much importance. Several scholars argue that the educational reforms initiated by Muhammad Ali Pasha and that continued under Ismail's rule created a dichotomy between traditional and modern education systems within Egypt.²

In his book *Modernization and British colonial rule in Egypt*,³ Professor Robert Tignor analyzes the educational landscape of 19th century Egypt by emphasizing that the said reforms created a dichotomy between traditionalists and modernists. Tignor argues that the emergence of a Westernized school system created a gap in Egyptian society between members educated in civil and religious schools. Tignor explains that one system trained young men to serve in the current administration, while the other, although modernized, prepared them to take on more traditional roles (mufti,⁴ imam,⁵ or schoolteacher). According to him, this resulted in a deep divide and clashes between members of the two elites. He writes that "Only a few men had the ability, energy, vision, or opportunity, to move from one system to the other since regular channels of access did not exist".⁶

This interpretation, however, is not representative of the educational changes in 19th century Egypt as the reality on the ground suggested a different narrative. Egyptians integrated and moved from religious to Western-influenced education with ease and flexibility. The examples of Rifa'a Al Tahtawi, Jamal Din Al-Afghani, and several other scholars who were both religious figures and advocates of reform is proof that the divide between traditionalist and modernists is a distorted interpretation of Egypt's educational modernization program.

Background

Under the rule of Mohammad Ali Pasha and later of Khedive Ismail, Egypt underwent a rapid modernization process. These reforms included the military, the building of new infrastructure but, most importantly, focused on education as the key and heart of the modernization process. Muhammad's Ali sole motivator for initiating the educational reforms was military-based more than anything else.⁷ Moreover, the reforms were not as paramount under his rule as they were in Ismail's rule because he was more concerned with the military. Muhammad's Ali primary concern was to educate bureaucrats, engineers, and doctors and mirror European military superiority. During his reign, reforms focused on educating a generation of technocrats that would serve his military ambitions. Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that the reforms carried out by Khedive Ismail wouldn't have been possible without the legacy of student missionaries that started in Muhammad's Ali reign.⁸ He sent the first batch of Egyptian students to France in 1863. Muhammad Ali Pasha's rationale for sending student missionaries was to bring French military expertise into Egypt and was thus driven by military ambitions.⁹ But the student missionaries ended up having an unintended goal that differed from what Ali envisioned when he initially sent them. Instead, they created a generation of students fluent in culture and languages that would later advocate for reforms and carry essential changes within the educational system. The student missions initiated by Muhammad Ali Pasha could be pictured as one of Egypt's efforts to form Egyptian scholars and intellectuals that will contribute to translating and integrating knowledge from the West to

Egyptian society, and that would constitute the cornerstone of the modernization process of education in the 19th century.

Another goal that was achieved by these student missionaries was also the creation of indigenous expertise to educate Egyptian youth. These missions were a crucial element in the export of knowledge from the West, which will later serve as the basis of enlightenment and revival of the Egyptian educational system.¹⁰ The students of these missions will later use that knowledge to contribute to one of the biggest and perhaps most significant overhauls in Egyptian education under Ismail's rule.¹¹

Reforms Under Khedive Ismail

During Ismail's rule (1863-1879), reforms in education were more impactful and contributed to the emergence of an Egyptian intelligentsia. Perhaps that was facilitated by an educated elite, issued from the student missionaries carried out by Muhammad Ali Pasha. Khedive Ismail initiated a wave of reforms, including the institution of Diwan al Madaris in 1863 and the expansion of the organic law, which stipulated that the government will be overseeing *kuttabs*, the religious schools that were available to the public. This meant that Khedive Ismail centered his efforts on establishing a unified government education that would benefit all Egyptians. These government schools embodied a secular, modern, and western-influenced model, which might have alienated elites of indigenous religious institutions; this, however, didn't mean the two systems of education clashed as commonly argued. This paper seeks to highlight how these two schools of thought coexisted and analyses the case of *Rawdat Al Madaris Al Misra* as an example of a magazine that sought to bring both together.¹²

Rawdat Al Madaris: A Magazine that Sought to Reconcile Religious and Secular Education

Examining the example of the magazine *Rawdat Al Madaris* is vital to understanding the impact of Egypt's 19th-century educational reforms. The magazine was an essential element in the academic arena under Ismail's rule as its bridging of traditional religious knowledge with western sciences represented a groundbreaking expansion of educational reform.¹³ *Rawdat al Madaris Al Mysria as* translated from Arabic to “the Egyptian kindergarten magazine” was an Egyptian cultural magazine and of the oldest of its kind in the Arab world.¹⁴

Rawdat Al Madaris was inclusive in its view and offered a vibrant and ambitious framework through which intellectuals disseminated their knowledge and integrated the new model within the old pre-existing one of religious teachings. The magazine was founded in 1870 by a group of scholars and published from 1870 through 1877. Ali Fahmi Rifaa and his father Rifa'a Al Tahtawi served as its first editors. Moreover, the editorial board also included scholars from religious, traditional education systems (Al Azhar) such as Sheikh Husayn Al Marsafi, Fikri, and others. Furthermore, the subjects that appeared in the magazine included a diverse array of disciplines such as science, literature, botanical and natural sciences, math, poetry, jokes, and puzzles, as well as fatwas, which refers to the legal opinion on an Islamic law provided by an authority figure, and so on.¹⁵ An interesting example of how *Rawdat Al Madaris* ensured modern secular education was inclusive of indigenous forms of teachings were through the use of Quranic verses at the beginning of every article.¹⁶ The verses were included to demonstrate the subject's interest and why it is important to study it from a religious perspective.

It is clear from the argument that Hoda Yousef makes in her paper that the conception of knowledge to the contributors of *Rawdat Al Madaris* is a combination of both religious frameworks and secular subjects taught at contemporary European institutions. A very different narrative from the pervasive assumption that the 19th-century reforms resulted in a bifurcated view of education.

Although there is a need to recognize that institutional reforms favored new subjects and marginalized to a certain extent the indigenous and traditional model of education, the call for reform was carried by shaykhs themselves, and the thirst for knowledge and education was the sole preoccupation of these reformists.¹⁷

The magazine *Rawdat Al Madaris*, the first Egyptian educational journal, illustrates how modernization efforts sought to reconcile traditional education forms and the more secular and modern sciences imported from the West. This demonstrates that, in reality, the reforms were negotiating a discourse in which both systems of education could coexist and complement each other instead of the discourse that usually depicts them as antagonistic.

Rawdat Al Madaris created a space of exchange and dialogue between religious and secular knowledge and attempted to bridge between the two and modernize education while preserving traditional Egyptian values.

The School of Languages and the Translation Movement Role in the Process of Modernization

The dissemination of knowledge is an essential part of education, and translation was a necessary tool for Egyptian intellectuals to integrate European forms of knowledge into existing curricula. Rifa'a Al Tahtawi, a prominent Egyptian intellectual at

the time, was the director of the school of language that operated from 1836 through 1851. The school followed a hybrid education system, weaving the European-style curriculum into a pre-existing Islamic foundation. In addition to training young scholars that would later contribute to expanding knowledge through the translation of works from Europe, the school also operated as a translation center that produced work to benefit the new reforms.¹⁸ The translation was seen as a means to indigenize European knowledge and make it "legible" and "morally acceptable".¹⁹ The translation movement was thus central in the process of dissemination of scientific knowledge from Europe. Another particularly influential figure who contributed to the intellectual Nahda of Egypt is Efendi Ali Mubarak.²⁰ Ali Mubarak received a civil education and studied in France as part of the 1844 student mission. Upon his return, he held several important government positions and significantly influenced education reform policies under Khedive Ismail's rule. He contributed to the opening of Dar El Ulm, which stands for the house of knowledge. Dar El Ulm was the first teacher training school in Egypt. It prepared students to become accomplished shaykhs²¹, who are both welcoming of Western reform and are knowledgeable in religious teachings.²²

The Introduction of Young Female Schooling under Khedive Ismail

Discussions on the importance of young female's education in Egypt were especially prevalent during the reform period. Rifa'a Al Tahtawi is noteworthy for having deployed considerable efforts on the discourse around female education. Having traveled to Paris as a missionary, Al Tahtawi was impressed by the French educational system that integrated both girls and boys, contributing to creating

progress within French society. In his book, *Murshid al-Amin Lil-binat wal-banin*, 1872, Tahtawi argues in favor of female education. He supports his argument with religious texts and hadiths that encourage learning. For Al Tahtawi, there are no drawbacks to educating young females as that could only lead to a "more harmonious family life" and thus the advancement of the nation. In this book, Al Tahtawi defines his stance about education clearly. Although he argues that women are not suited to the study of government administration, he supports the enactment of a universal primary education system for both girls and boys.²³ Another prominent figure in the Nahda, Butrus Al Bustani, also advocated for women's right to education. Butrus argued that educating females would serve a greater purpose, which is that of building stronger communities and contributing to the advancement of society. In his book "*Khitab fi Ta'lim al-Nisa*" he also wrote that women are to be considered active members of a society and that their education is necessary for its advancement. He argued that the process of "*tamadun*," which stands for "becoming civilized" in Arabic, is not possible without educating girls.²⁴ For Al Bustani and several other intellectuals of Egypt in the 19th century, girl's education was crucial. Their argument was often based on the role a woman plays as the mother of "tomorrow's son," thus making for an incentive to educate them to ensure social progress. During the same time frame, under Ismail's rule, the question of girl's education was addressed, and the idea of an all-girls school was discussed in 1867. As a result, Egypt's first girl's school, al-Madrasa al-Suyufiyya, was established in 1873 by Ismail's third wife Jashem Afet Hanum.²⁵ The opening of the first all-girls school in Egypt represented a vital step in modernization and was achieved based on both religious and modern arguments, as explained.

This development indicates if anything that religion did not constitute an opposing movement to reform and educational modernization in 19th century Egypt.

In fact, both the religious establishment and the modernizing movement advocated for promoting women's education. The religious establishment advocated for women's education through religious texts that encourage learning for all. Scholars and proponents of modernization relied on accounts of how girl schooling has contributed to progress in western societies and how the same could be achieved in Egyptian society.

Prominent Scholars and their Advocacy for Reform in Education

Another argument that can demonstrate that the educational reform cannot be thought of as a bifurcation of two systems is through an examination of the educational backgrounds of the scholars that led the reforms themselves. The movement of educational Nahda was under the leadership of religious leaders and graduates of Al Azhar, who were the first advocates of change and modernization of Egypt's educational curricula.²⁶ These religious scholars were part of an old model of education that centered teaching around religion, but they were opened to integrating new forms of knowledge and advocated for the enlightenment of Egyptian society with science or "*Ilm*."

During Mohammed Ali's reign, the term *Ilm*, which stands for science in Arabic, was only referred to when speaking of religious knowledge and teachings from which one could derive wisdom.²⁷ However, during Ismail Pasha's reign, the new educational reforms signaled a shift from this once too narrow definition of *Ilm*. Scholars and intellectuals alike were advocating for a more inclusive array of subjects to be labeled as

Ilm. The definition was made to encompass any form of knowledge deemed beneficial to the umma, as in the Islamic community. *Ilm* didn't exclusively mean religious knowledge, but European knowledge was included in that definition as well.²⁸

Shaykh Husayn Al Marsafi, a prominent Egyptian scholar, and a teacher within the Al Azhar ulama corps, discussed this in detail in his work. He believed in the importance of tarbiyah, which stands for education in Arabic, and described it as "a process of perfection".²⁹ He was thus welcoming of new subjects to be taught and regarded reform with a good eye. Hasan al-Attar, a distinguished Islamic scholar, and Imam of Al Azhar in 1830, advocated for learning "western sciences" from the French, underscoring their importance to the intellectual awakening of Egyptian society.³⁰ The student missionaries didn't see the West as intrusive to Islamic teachings but rather were willing and open to these new forms of knowledge. The concept of the pursuit of *Ilm* wasn't limited in its scope and embraced any knowledge that was seen as beneficial. *Ilm* was conceived and thought of as continuity between pre-existing traditional and religious forms of knowledge and new western and secular sciences imported from the West for these scholars.

Rifa'a Al Tahtawi, a prominent intellectual, was a product of these student missions. He studied at Al Azhar and later at L'Ecole égyptienne and later became the director of the school of languages in Cairo. During his time in Paris, Rifa'a Al Tawtawi studied physics, geometry, political science, and astronomy. His experience would be paramount in shaping education reforms in 19th century Egypt.³¹

In his book "Talkhis al-ibriz fi talkhis bariz" (The extraction of pure gold in the abridgment of Paris), Tahtawi wrote about his experience in the French capital. The underlying message of his work was a call for

Egyptian society to be open to new forms of knowledge.³² Bustani also advocated for the importance of education in his career. He argued that education was essential and constituted the foundation of "civilization" and "reform," which underlies Egypt's intellectual preoccupation with the enterprise of educational modernization.³³

Colonization of Minds through Orientalist Modes of Representations

The pervasive assumption that educational reforms in 19th century Egypt resulted in a split inside Egyptian society finds an echo in orientalist depictions of Islam by British officials.

The British advanced a narrative that depicted a false dichotomy between members of the religious establishment and Western-educated intellectuals and described an objective Islamic essence that resists change to legitimize Britain's colonial enterprise.³⁴

According to Edward Said, orientalism represents the Eastern world, Egypt, through the lenses of the West.³⁵ Orientalist depictions are often distorted and do not account for the concrete realities of the Orient. In this way, Orientalism functions as a tool to justify colonization.³⁶ Examples of orientalist discourse used to advance the colonial argument are present in Cromer's writing. Lord Cromer, a British politician who served as controller general in Egypt during 1879, describes in his correspondence the Egyptian mind as "deficient".³⁷ Orientalist discourse such as the one used by Cromer served as a tool to bolster the legitimacy of Britain's colonial enterprise. Cromer looks at Egyptians from a purely European perspective which he deems superior to Egyptian intellectuality. He portrays Egyptian society as antagonistic to the West and argues that British occupation is necessary because of the Egyptians' inherent inferiority. Arguments such as the one used by Cromer were a deliberate attempt

to justify colonization by depicting Egypt as "backward" and "bad".³⁸ According to Kalmbach, this orientalist discourse completed the colonization of Egyptians' minds before their bodies. Despite their biases, these ideas influenced Muslim intellectuals and scholars who came to adopt and embrace these opinions themselves. We can find traces of these internalized perceptions in the works of several Islamic scholars.³⁹

Similar to Western accounts, these works described Islamic teachings as immutable and stagnant and unwilling to accept new modes of thinking. Jamal Din Al Afgani, a prominent Islamic modernist, wrote:

"Muslim society has not yet freed itself from the tutelage of religion. Realizing, however, that the Christian religion preceded the Muslim religion in the world by many centuries, I cannot keep from hoping that Muhammadan society will succeed someday in breaking its bonds and marching resolutely in the path of civilization in the manner of Western society."⁴⁰

This excerpt is one example showcasing that Muslim intellectual internalized the belief that western society was superior, and that the Muslim community needed to evolve to keep up pace with the world's progress.

Moreover, British officials subscribed to a reductive view of Islamic tradition as antithetical to progress and described Islamic education as "ritualistic indoctrination designed to kill off the rational intellect." The British used their socio-economic leverage to impose their own definitions of modernity by progressively marginalizing religious modes of teachings.

Furthermore, this description of a unified Islamic essence that is hostile to change was also used to discuss women's education. Gender roles, as defined under a larger reform program of Islamic revival, called for

gender-segregated and gender-specific schooling (needlework for girls). However, a closer look reveals intriguing similarities between the Islamist discourse calling for the respect of strict gender roles to adhere to the "true version of Islam" and an orientalist discourse that describes Islam as an immutable ideology that oppressed and marginalized women. The reality is that pre-colonization Egypt did not adhere to these simplistic assumptions. The status of women was far from what orientalist discourse tried to convey. In her study about *Women in 19th century Egypt*, Judith Tuckers explains that women freely engaged in educational spheres, including madrassas and mosques. They were also active members of society and managed businesses. Tuckers argue that the deterioration of women's status is a product of British educational policy that deliberately "restarted women's schooling" and blamed it on Islamic teachings and law. Although they created the problem, the British did not hesitate to label Islam as a supposedly rigid and oppressive religious system.⁴¹ The fact is that this marginalization of women was more similar to the practices of Victorian England than what Islamic tradition advocated for.

Colonial representation advanced politically motivated narratives to the point of misrepresentation. These narratives achieved significant traction because Islamist scholars internalized them. Examinations of the arguments put forth in this paragraph suggest that common interpretations of 19th-century Egyptian educational reforms as divisive within Egyptian society are biased.

According to Kalmbach, it is essential to deconstruct this compartmentalization as it implies that civil education was trying to mirror European models without regard to local and religious norms.⁴² Such analysis deeply misrepresents the educational reforms that used Western knowledge to modernize Egypt. The reforms did not intend to replace

religious and traditional theologies and did not perceive them as inferior. The role of the reforms was to enhance and build upon existing knowledge.⁴³ Egyptian scholars exercised significant agency in attaining¹ these goals of educational modernization. Intellectuals such as Tahtawi and Ali Mubarak designed and promoted a version of modernity that deliberately differed from Western models to accommodate cultural and religious practices and preserve the Egyptian identity. However, this idea of the superiority of European knowledge did become more popular and established by the end of the 19th century, which resulted in tensions within the educated elites.

British colonialism

Khedive's Ismail financial extravagance precipitated Egypt's bankruptcy, especially after the American civil war and the fall of cotton prices in 1866. Due to the country's long-term interaction with Britain, Egypt's bankruptcy signified the end of its sovereignty. The British invaded Egypt in 1882 to protect its financial interests in the country, culminating into the Anglo-Egyptian war.⁴⁴ The war crushed the Urabi revolt, which sought to liberate Egypt from foreign influence and depose Khedive Tewfiq Pasha. Britain's victory allowed the colonial power to take over the country and colonize it until 1956.⁴⁵

The British initiated a series of reform to modernize Egypt including "reforming the education". However, the process of reforming the educational establishment in Egypt started before the arrival of Britain with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. The stated mission of the French mission was to civilize Egyptian society and promote "scientific thinking" in Egyptian society. Britain eventually took over Egypt in 1882, ending France's influence in the region. After

taking over, the British had to realign educational reforms to fit with their interests. The British wanted to limit access to education to the elite, and to this end, they cut the budget spent on education.⁴⁶ Education in the kuttabs (religious establishments) was provided for the masses, while elites enjoyed the privilege of government schools. This created a clear bifurcation inside Egyptian society as it associated religious education with backwardness and the secular establishment as a synonym of modernity.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Based on the evidence discussed above, it appears that the educational reforms in 19th century Egypt encouraged inclusiveness. The study of modern subjects imported from the West alongside pre-existing religious theologies was essential to the modernization process. This is perfectly illustrated in our discussion of the magazine *Rawdat Al Madaris*. The disruption of the "Nahda" by British imperialism led to the bifurcation of the two education models: the traditional religious and the modern secular. Orientalist depictions of Islam as an immutable ideology and their misrepresentation of Egypt's educational reforms also influenced how Egyptian scholars saw themselves. This internalization of orientalist's representations resulted in a narrative tainted by colonial legacy and unrepresentative of the aims of modernization. This will later become the pervasive narrative used by Historians to discuss the 19th-century educational reforms. Until the end of Ismail's rule, reformists thought of the religious establishment and new forms of knowledge as complementary. Intellectuals such as the prominent Rifa'a Al Tahtawi understood the importance of integrating knowledge from the West, not because they thought of religious teachings as inept but because they understood the

usefulness of modern science. To this end, it is important to recognize that this dichotomy did not exist before British imperialism as this split fails to capture the scope of the

reform program of the 19th century and gives legitimacy to orientalist modes of representation.

¹ Mostafa, "The Modernization of Egypt in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparison with the Japanese Case," p. 1.

² Ead, "Globalization in higher education in Egypt in a historical context."

³ Tignor, Robert L. *Modernization and British colonial rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

⁴ Mufti (an Arabic word) refers to a Muslim legal expert on sharia law, who is empowered to give advice on religious matters.

⁵ Imam or إمام in Arabic, is an Islamic leadership position most commonly used to designate the worship leader of a mosque.

⁶ Tignor, "Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt," p.385-387.

⁷ Silvera, "The first Egyptian student mission to France under Muhammad Ali," p. 1-2.

⁸ Cleveland and Bunton, "A history of the modern Middle East," p. 66-68.

⁹ Silvera, "The first Egyptian student mission to France under Muhammad Ali," p. 2.

¹⁰ Silvera, "The First Egyptian Student Mission to France under Muhammad Ali. Middle Eastern Studies," p. 1-3.

¹¹ Cleveland and Bunton, "A history of the modern Middle East," p. 95-96.

¹² Prakash, "Negotiating modernity: education and translation in nineteenth century Egypt," p. 140-141.

¹³ Prakash, p. 141-142.

¹⁴ Yousef, "Reassessing Egypt's dual system of education under Isma'il: growing 'ilm and shifting ground in Egypt's first educational journal, Rawdat Al-Madaris," p.115.

¹⁵ Yousef, p. 112-113

¹⁶ Yousef, p. 115.

¹⁷ Yousef, p. 110.

¹⁸ Prakash, p. 119.

¹⁹ Prakash, p. 96.

²⁰ Hill, "Utopia and civilization in the Arab Nahda," p. 42.

²¹ Shaykh (Arabic: شيخ) is an honorific title in Arabic. In this context, it refers in this context to a religious sufi figure in islam that is authorized to teach, initiate and guide aspiring islamic dervishes.

²² Kalmbach, "Islamic Knowledge and the Making of Modern Egypt," p. 56-57.

²³ Russell, "The Discourse on Female Education. In: Creating the New Egyptian Woman," p. 127-128.

²⁴ Zachs and Halevi. From Difā' Al-Nisā' to Mas'alat Al-Nisā' in *Greater Syria: Readers and Writers Debate Women and Their Rights, 1858-1900*, p. 618.

²⁵ Haghani, *The "New Woman" on the Stage: The Making of a Gendered Public Sphere in Interwar Iran and Egypt*, p. 69.

²⁶ Livingston. "Western science and educational reform in the thought of Shaykh Rifa'a al-Tahtawi," p. 543.

²⁷ Yousef, p. 112.

²⁸ Yousef, p. 115.

²⁹ Youssef, p. 109.

³⁰ Prakash, p. 102.

³¹ Cleveland and Bunton, p. 93-94.

³² Prakash, p. 105.

³³ Hansenn and Saffiedine. "Butrus al-Bustani: From Protestant Convert to Ottoman Patriot and Arab Reformer," p. 30.

³⁴ Kalmbach, "Islamic Knowledge and the Making of Modern Egypt," p. 155.

³⁵ Spoke, "Orientalism", p. 2.

³⁶ Said, p. 219

³⁷ Kernaghan, "Lord Cromer as Orientalist and Social Engineering in Egypt, 1882-1907," p. 3.

³⁸ Kalmbach, p. 73

³⁹ Kalmbach, p. 81-82.

⁴⁰ Kurzman, "Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: a sourcebook," p. 108.

⁴¹ Tucker, "Women in 19th century Egypt," p. 125-126.

⁴² Kalmbach, p. 51.

⁴³ Youssef, p.118-119.

⁴⁴ Donald Reid. *The Urabi revolution and British conquest, 1879-1882.*

⁴⁵ Botman, "Egypt from independence to revolution, 1919-1952," p. 7.

⁴⁶ Loveluck, *Education in Egypt: Key challenges*, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Prakash p. 9-10.