

“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 scriptures, 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,¹ in which material whose truth claims were not based on religious faith, and which were not taught through the medium of religious texts, dominated the curriculum. In this model religion, if allowed at all, was confined to a discrete class on the topic. This marginalization or exclusion of religious material did not

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¹ This model was also quite new in the West; it was not until 1862 that British law made “the efficient teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic, rather than doctrinal matters, the acknowledged center of the curriculum and the subjects qualifying a school for government grants-in-aid.” Gregory Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 32.

necessarily mean that the resulting education was inexorably secular: Gauri Viswanathan, for example, 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.”² 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 piety and devotion, 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.”³

The Western educational model spread slowly in many Middle Eastern and South Asian colonies, generally confined to the handful of schools created by the colonizer to produce the precise number of graduates needed for the colonial bureaucracy. In some colonies, however, colonizers set out to establish a Western-style school system and offered subsidies - generally raised through taxes on the local population authorized or imposed by the colonizer - to those 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

² Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 55

³ Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 207, as quoted in “Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan,” Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Contemporary Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 296.

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. While this new model of education minimized the amount of 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 more than 179 schools and colleges, generally called Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) institutions, in north India and Burma.⁵ The majority of these institutions were boys’ and men’s schools and colleges.⁶

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), p. 534.

⁵ Gold, p. 557. In 1990 the Samaj ran over 500 schools and colleges. Krishna Kumar, “Hindu Revivalism and Education in North-Central India,” in Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 550

⁶ The “gurukul” wing of the Arya Samaj, described later in this article, did found girls’ schools, the most famous of which was the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar. 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, as its curriculum focused largely on Arya religious

This article focuses 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 the 1920s onward from which Muslim separatist and Hindu nationalist discourses radiated to the rest of north India.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 11 arts colleges, enrolling one quarter of Punjab's college population,⁸ and the 1911 Punjab census singled out the Samaj as having opened a boys' school in "every town of importance."⁹ With their emphasis on subjects such as math, geography, history and science, frequently taught in English, the DAV schools exemplified the Western-style conception of education and were frequent and repeated recipients of British educational subsidies, which were often critical to their financial survival. In subsidizing the DAV network, however, the British were also making

practice and training in household skills. The total number of these girls' schools was much smaller than that of the DAV schools. See "Arya Samaj and Women's Education: Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar," Madhu Kishwar, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXI, No. 17, April 1986.

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

⁸ The 1911 census registers 11 arts colleges in Punjab. *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, p. 333. The DAVC Lahore enrolled 583 of the province's 2,270 students in arts colleges. *Report on Education in the Punjab for 1910-11*, p. 4.

⁹ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, 135

it possible for the Samaj to pursue its own most central goals through the mechanism of a geographically far-flung, centrally directed network of educational institutions which it could not have otherwise afforded. Some of these goals, such as training students in the DAV College Lahore in Arya reformed religious practice, were only at best partially met. Others, such as the Samaj's goal of greatly expanding the population of north Indian Hindus fluent in Hindi as a way of unifying the Hindu community and marginalizing the "Muslim" language Urdu, were much more successful. At a time when most literate Hindus in Punjab read only in Urdu and Urdu was the official language of instruction in government schools, DAV schools were singled out in British censuses for their pioneering role in Hindi instruction.

Founded in 1928, the Muslim Brotherhood grew to be Egypt's largest religious movement, with 2,000 branches and 600,000 members by 1952.¹⁰ Unlike the Samaj, the Brotherhood never founded large numbers of schools for children and youth, but the creation of a Western-style school system in Egypt nonetheless facilitated the spread of its message in two concrete ways. Between the British invasion in 1882 and 1922 the British created the foundations of a Western-style school system by subsidizing indigenous schools willing to require a focus on reading, writing, and arithmetic, to confine religion into clearly marked classes, and to institute mandatory teacher-training. In 1922 the British, while retaining control of most aspects of Egyptian affairs, devolved control of education to the fledgling Egyptian government, and between 1922 and 1952 the Egyptian government dramatically expanded the

¹⁰ Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 328.

scope of the system, more than quadrupling the number of students in fifteen years.¹¹ Many Muslim Brothers, including the movement's founder, taught in government schools, and as the education system grew they were often transferred – almost always against their will - from one school to another, often from urban to rural locations. In some cases these transfers resulted in teachers opening Brotherhood branches in their new communities. Brothers also developed active adult education programs which supplemented instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic with courses in (the Brotherhood's understanding of) Islam. As the Egyptian government expanded beyond traditional schooling to aggressively promote adult education and literacy it frequently collaborated with existing Brotherhood programs to reach that goal, requiring illiterate soldiers to attend Brotherhood classes or paying the Brothers to increase the number of students in their classes. In these ways the creation and expansion of the Western-style education system in Egypt clearly facilitated the spread of Brotherhood ideas to new populations, particularly those in villages and larger rural towns.

The primary sources used in this article are records seized by the Egyptian police from the Brotherhood headquarters in Cairo in the 1940s,¹² the files of the DAV College Managing Committee (CMC) from the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s,¹³ and British censuses and education

¹¹ 15 of every 1,000 Egyptians were in school in 1925-26, while 69 of every 1,000 were in 1940-41. Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 12.

¹² These files are at the State Legal Archives, Abbasiyya, Cairo. The files 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.

reports from Punjab. These sources provide unusually precise ways of measuring the connection between the spread of Western education and the achievement of central goals of indigenous religious movements. Brotherhood membership lists, for example, allow us to register exactly how many Brotherhood members in a given location were teachers in government schools, while CMC budgets illustrate precisely how central subsidies were to a particular DAV school or college. 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. Never expecting their correspondence to be made public, the authors of these letters are quite forthcoming about the points at which their projects failed, as when the DAV College Lahore met repeated student disinterest in practicing Arya religious rituals. This glimpse from the “inside” is particularly useful, and unusual, in studying educational establishments dedicated to implanting a certain religious or ideological agenda in their students. In the absence of data which speaks to the ways in which these goals were actually received by students, many historical studies of such projects can do little more than impute, from the existence of 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 and demonstrates the points at which their attempts to make DAV education ever more narrowly “Hindu” failed in the face of a more multicultural reality, provide a more nuanced assessment of how successful these projects are.

These materials also demonstrate the extent to which the creation of Western-style education systems under colonial auspices led to consequences unanticipated by – and sometimes unwelcome to – colonizer and colonized alike, as in the case of transferred

Brotherhood teachers. In some cases these transfers were punitively motivated, as when a British administration irritated at Brotherhood condemnation of colonialism leaned on the Egyptian government to transfer particularly vocal Brothers to undesirable, generally rural locations. Brothers, meanwhile, found these transfers undesirable and fought them aggressively, almost always unsuccessfully. These transfers, however, could backfire on the British by leading to the creation of a Brotherhood branch in a previously unpenetrated area, while transfers helped to overcome a collective action problem which had long faced the Brotherhood: the unwillingness or inability of its best organizers to spend extended periods in the countryside. In the pages that follow I will briefly summarize the rise of Western school systems in Egypt and India, examine the goals of the Samaj and the Brotherhood as religious reform movements, and demonstrate the ways in which the creation of these school systems directly facilitated the achievement of key goals of each movement.

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.¹⁴ Because Coptic Christian boys generally went into a limited number of professions such as land surveying or 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

¹⁴ J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to The History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), pp. 2-3.

of the Psalms and Gospels and learning Coptic-language prayers used in church services.¹⁵ 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 the promulgation of government-approved lists of required subjects in the 1860s to plans in 1881 to blanket the country by creating one Western-style elementary school for every two to five thousand people.¹⁶ 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 1878.¹⁷ Even so, by 1878, *kuttabs* educated no more than two to four percent of all Egyptian children.¹⁸

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 *kuttabs* and supervised the education of approximately 83,000 students; by 1906 the number of students had

¹⁵ This discussion of the *kuttab* is adapted from Heyworth-Dunne, particularly pp. 2-3 and pp. 85-87.

¹⁶ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 76-77

¹⁷ 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), p. 113.

¹⁸ Starrett, p. 29.

doubled.¹⁹ In order to compete for government aid, *kuttabs* had to focus on reading, writing and arithmetic, abstain from teaching foreign languages and accept monthly inspection.²⁰ Teachers in subsidized *kuttabs* had to receive formal training not only in reading, writing and arithmetic but also in religion itself, a subject they presumably already knew well because of their previous role as the religious adepts of their communities. Lord Cromer, Egypt's first consul-general, noted proudly in 1903 that as a result of his reforms, "in order to qualify for the post of head-teacher in a Mohamedan *kuttab*, a thorough knowledge of the Koran and of the principles of Islam is required,"²¹ and by 1910 the Khedivial Training College was teaching (Christian) teachers how to instruct their primary school pupils in Coptic Christianity.²²

From 1922, when the British devolved responsibility for education to the Egyptian government, until the Free Officers' coup 30 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, with the number of students in such *kuttabs* increasing elevenfold between 1922 and 1930.²³ Schools which had been outside the government education system – generally foreign language schools – were required to follow government curricula in civics, history, geography and Arabic for

¹⁹ Starrett, p. 68.

²⁰ Robert Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 46-47

²¹ Lord Cromer, "Annual Report," *Parliamentary Papers* (1903), vol. 87, p. 1009, as quoted in Starrett, p. 47

²² Starrett, p. 66.

²³ Starrett, p. 68

students preparing for government exams.²⁴ This increasing centralization was complemented by a major expansion in the scope of the education system. Government spending on education increased from five percent of the state budget in 1923 to 11 percent in 1953,²⁵ and the number of educated Egyptians increased from 15 of every 1,000 Egyptians of all ages in 1925-26 to 69 of every 1,000 in 1940-41.²⁶ While the primary purpose of pre-colonial *kuttab* education had been to teach religious rituals and aid in memorization of key religious texts, in the new government schools religion was significantly minimized in favor of an emphasis on secular subjects, with the prominence of religion in education inversely proportional to the student's 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 in primary schools catering to the elite spent 93 percent of their time on non-religious subjects.²⁷

India's much greater diversity and larger size, as well as the fact that significant documentation exists only for the minority of India under direct British control, makes it much harder to generalize about pre-colonial education in India than in Egypt. 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

²⁴ Judith Cochran, *Education in Egypt* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 29.

²⁵ Fuad Mitwalli, *The History of Public and Technical Education From the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century Until the End of the Twentieth Century* (Arabic), (Alexandria: Dar al-Ma'rifa al-Gamaiya, 1989), pp. 122-23

²⁶ Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 12.

²⁷ Starrett, pp. 69, 83.

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 schooling was not always religiously segregated. Even in interconfessional 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 the transmission of religious practice or training 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.²⁸ 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*,²⁹ 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.”³⁰

Other relatively common forms of education in north India saw boys of several faiths studying non-religious subjects together. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of 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

²⁸ 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), p. 14.

²⁹ Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Banares*, (New Delhi: Sage, 2000), p. 125.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78

study Persian with Sikh teachers,³¹ but throughout north India Persian teaching was most frequently done 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 noted that “I cannot but think that the confiding attendance of so many Hindus at Mohammadan schools for the sake of learning the Persian language is a most remarkable fact.” “The advantage taken by the teachers of this confidence,” he opined, was probably a reason for the steady growth of Islam in Punjab.³² Dr. Leitner, a leading British champion of “Oriental” learning, later convincingly pointed out the structural improbability of that 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.”³³ The absence of proselytization, however, did not mean that that Persian education was devoid of religious influence. After Punjab, and its educational practices, came under British control in 1849, Director of Public Instruction William Arnold reported that Persian students’ understanding of the key historical development of the last several centuries in north India - the rise of the Mughal empire - was derived from the *Sikandarnama*. A mythical history of Mughal triumph, the *Sikandarnama* not only traces the rulers’ lineage to Alexander the Great but also attributes their success to the glories of Islam. The *Sikandarnama* was recited and memorized in Persian schools to impart literacy in Persian, not as a way of learning history. But in the absence

³¹ Hindu memoirist Prakash Tandon noted that, in the 1850s, his grandfather received his elementary education at a school attached to a Sikh temple. Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century, 1857-1947* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p. 15.

³² *Educational Report of 6th July, 1857*, p. 59

³³ G.W. Leitner, *Punjab Indigenous Education, 1882*, p. 58

of a class titled “history” which would teach a chronology within a “scientific” interpretive framework, the *Sikandarnama*’s telling of recent north Indian history remained dominant.

Another example of the use of religious texts in interconfessional 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-keeping³⁴ to other Hindus and students from Bengal’s Muslim minority. 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.”³⁵ 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 would be eliminated in the Western-style education system. One element 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 educational practices in which individual teachers taught

³⁴ Kazi Shahidullah, *Pathshalas Into Schools: The Development of Indigenous Elementary Education in Bengal 1854-1905*, (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Limited, 1987), 13

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

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 phenomena, and social relations comprehensible to a world in which religion’s purpose was solely to train individual believers in ritual and to order their personal relationships with a god or gods. It was this privatized version of religion that would become dominant in the curricula of the British education system in India.

Protracted British involvement in Indian education began in 1813 with the Charter Act, which dedicated an annual 100,000 rupees to Indian education and required the creation of educational facilities to train Indians for the public services.³⁶ Education policy was initially based on the idea of “filtration”: the colonial government would educate the elites, who would then instruct the masses. Almost 40 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,³⁷ Wood’s Despatch of 1854 signaled government 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.³⁸ While schools run by Western missionaries initially received the

³⁶ S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India – Modern Period*, (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1966), 46.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 111.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 48.

lion's share of subsidies, the 1882 Hunter Commission signaled that the government would redirect funds to schools run by Indians. Between 1880 and 1900, Indian private initiative had become "the key agency for spreading Western education,"³⁹ but by 1902 the government still directly ran or subsidized most primary and many secondary schools in north India.⁴⁰

Education subsidies came with a set of requirements that reconstructed educational practice. The first requirement 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."⁴¹ 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 could not demonstrate his facility with *patshala* subjects, students would go elsewhere.⁴² 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 for students and the fines to be levied for particular student offenses.⁴³ The result was a demographic shift in the teaching pool, as many gurus who had inherited their positions refused training and were replaced by newcomers to the field.⁴⁴ More generally, many north

³⁹ Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, *A History of Education in India During the British Period*, (Bombay: Macmillan Press, 1951), p. xix

⁴⁰ Exceptions to this rule were found in Madras, Bengal and Assam. Mukerji, p. 157.

⁴¹ Mehta, p. 16.

⁴² Shahidullah, p. 11.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Indian teachers found that “what they had been used to regarding as knowledge was now declared to be either false or useless,” and that they would be required to study new material to keep their jobs.⁴⁵

Teacher training was necessary in part because subsidies almost always required both teaching new subjects—geography, mathematics and the like—and thoroughly restructuring the way that 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 in short order turned out students who could “‘pass a good examination’ in the geography of India, Asia and the globe.”⁴⁶ Arnold also thoroughly revamped the way that arithmetic – already a central subject in much Indian education – was taught.⁴⁷ Once again, however, perhaps the most fundamental change was that of the extraction of religious material from every subject other than “religion,” as when William 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.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991), p. 58

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 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

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 those religion classes. Nita Kumar has insightfully critiqued the way in which the spread of the Western school system led to a revaluing of various subjects, and a consequent devaluing of religion. She argues that even Indian reformers who wished to retain instruction in religion in Western-style education faced a conundrum:

“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 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.”⁴⁹

The result was that schools emphasized the subjects required in the government curriculum while “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.”⁵⁰

The Rise of Religious Reform Movements in Colonial Egypt and India

objection to the language was largely based on the religious nature of the Persian material used in the schools.

⁴⁹ Education File 1083, 1925, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow, quoted in Nita Kumar, p. 104.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Times of crisis breed religious reform movements, as people ask why the temporal glories of their religious community have markedly 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 Hasan 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 become 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."⁵¹

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,⁵² while letters from rural Brothers often mention the existence of competitor groups in

⁵¹ Quoted in Ibrahim al-Bayyumi Ghanim, *The Political Thought of Imam Hasan al-Banna* (Arabic) (Cairo: Dar al-Tawzi' wa al-Nashr al-Islamiyya, 1992), p. 207.

⁵² *Census of India, Punjab, 1921*, p. 181.

their villages.⁵³ 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 controversial, after his death the main wing of the Samaj required acceptance of only the most unexceptional Arya principles for membership. Hasan al-Banna's charisma was a key reason for the Muslim Brotherhood's success, but the high level of institutionalization which both movements achieved—from schools to medical clinics to newspapers—was crucial in creating clienteles committed to the groups even in the absence of their leaders.

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 distinguish between correct and incorrect 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 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. Azhar's *shaykhs* and other religious elites, Brothers alleged, had been insufficiently vigorous in defending Islam from incorrect practices not authorized in the Qur'an or *hadith*, including the common practice of visiting saints' tombs in search of blessings and celebrations of saints' birthdays or *mulids* with women singing, people sleeping in the streets and carnival games. Brothers worked to end the raucous elements of these celebrations and publicly urged Islamic

⁵³ Jeep case 1944, fiche 12394, and jeep case 1947, fiche 12319

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.⁵⁴ 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 and find sanction in 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; correctly understood Hinduism, according to Dayanand, was a monotheistic religion and image worship a perversion of the true faith. 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. Three main ways of imagining Egyptian identity were on offer 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 religious identity. 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 Muslim Brothers rejected claims of an ethnic Arab

⁵⁴ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, January 4, 1934.

or Egyptian superiority, arguing that the only grounds for distinguishing between Muslims were the degree of their adherence to the faith and that adherence to Islam was the key to Egypt's future success. While these narratives were quite discursively distinct, the differences between them had few practical implications. Although Egyptian Christians figured differently in the various versions of Egyptian nationalism, actually existing Christians were welcomed as comrades in the nationalist struggle by all parties, including the Brothers, and the boundaries of an independent Egypt imagined by all three trends were the same.

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 a degree unimaginable even fifty years earlier. 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."⁵⁵ 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

⁵⁵ Sudipto Kaviraj, 'Imaginary History,' Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi, Occasional Paper, second series, No. VII, September 1988, quoted in Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 158-9

least the community's ability to mount purposive action in defense of those rights."⁵⁶ Both Hindu and Muslim movements attempted to differentiate what had often been shared practices into strict categories of either "Hindu" or "Muslim." One of the most concrete manifestations of Hindu nationalist attempts to cast Muslims as alien to the subcontinent was the attempt 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 Hindustani⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ The codification of Hindi textbooks in the 1920s and 1930s clarified the connection between spreading Hindi and excluding Muslims from the imagined body public.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 129.

⁵⁸ In the 1911 Punjab census, for example, almost exactly half of those identified as writing in Hindi used the Nagri script. The Lande and Mahajani scripts which made up the other half were used largely by traders for book-keeping. *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, p. 323.

⁵⁹ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, p. 260.

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.⁶⁰

The attempt to draw clear lines between Hindus and Muslims and to severely marginalize the role of the latter in an independent India described many movements generally characterized as Hindu nationalist in this period, from the Samaj to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). 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, the Samaj saw all of its activities as part of the larger goal of creating a society of Hindus correctly practicing their religion. Some Samaj animosity toward Muslims was rooted in Muslim religious practices which violated orthodox Hindu beliefs, such as the eating of cattle. Other Samaj goals, such as the replacement of Urdu with Hindi, were shared with groups such as the RSS which were unconcerned with religious practice, but were pursued for different purposes. Both groups sought the triumph of Hindi over Urdu as a way of replacing Muslim with Hindu culture and signaling the return of Hindus to their rightful position of power. For the Samaj, however, replacing Hindi with Urdu was equally important because it would unify Hindus and strictly separate them from Muslims, making it easier to define and create practitioners of a "correct" version of Hinduism freed of corrupting practices shared by both communities, such as worship of local saints patronized by both Hindus and Muslims. The triumph of Hindi over Urdu but would also prove the superiority of Hinduism as a religion to Islam, something which Dayanand repeatedly alleged in the most incendiary terms, particularly in his key writing, *Satyarth Prakash (The Light of Truth)*. While many Hindu nationalists pressed the Hindi cause, the Samaj was one of the earliest

⁶⁰ Krishna Kumar, "Hindu Revivalism," p. 542

and most active pro-Hindi groups in Punjab and the United Provinces, singled out in both the 1911 and 1931 Punjab censuses as key instigators of the movement there.

Indian Education and the DAV Schools

When Arya Samaj founder Dayanand Saraswati died, Aryas decided to honor him by founding a school. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) High School opened in Lahore in 1886, offering classes from the first grade through the college entrance level and enrolling 550 students.⁶¹ 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,”⁶² and where by 1911 the census noted that “in every town of importance the Samaj has opened a school for boys.”⁶³

While DAV officials frequently claimed that DAV institutions were fully funded by donations, touting these gifts as proof of great support in the larger Hindu community, government subsidies were in fact critical. The budgets of the College Managing Committee are only available in systematic fashion after 1920, and they make it clear that from the 1920s until 1947 subsidies were essential to the functioning of a large number of institutions at all levels of DAV education. The Dayanand Primary Education Board, which in 1941 oversaw nine primary

⁶¹ Kenneth Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Punjab*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 77

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, p. 135

schools,⁶⁴ received approximately half of its 1940-41 budget of 14,698 rupees from government subsidies.⁶⁵ The DAV Middle School in Lahore received grants-in-aid,⁶⁶ as did the DAV boys' and girls' high schools in Rawalpindi,⁶⁷ the DAV High School in Batala,⁶⁸ and the high school in Hafizabad; the latter was so dependent on these funds that it had to request emergency loans from the Managing Committee in 1926, 1931, 1937 and 1938 to pay its teachers when government grants were delayed.⁶⁹ At the apex of the DAV educational pyramid, the DAV's Ayurvedic College,⁷⁰ the DAV College in Srinagar (Kashmir),⁷¹ and the DAV College in Rawalpindi⁷² all received substantial funds.

While spotty evidence does not allow conclusive statements about the role of subsidies before 1920, there is good reason to believe they may have been substantial in that period as

⁶⁴ College Managing Committee (CMC) File 40, p. 211. The fact 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, and it is quite likely that similarly the DPE did not manage all Samaj-affiliated primary schools.

⁶⁵ CMC File 40, p. 209.

⁶⁶ CMC File 40, p. 545.

⁶⁷ CMC File 136, n.p., Budgets for the Dayanand Educational Mission Rawalpindi 1938-39 and 1939-40.

⁶⁸ CMC File 152, n.p. Budget estimate for the high school 1940-41.

⁶⁹ CMC File 184, pp. 123, 125, 127, 137, 243 and 297.

⁷⁰ CMC File 33.

⁷¹ CMC File 109, n.p., letter dated January 21, 1946.

⁷² See letter on DAV College Rawalpindi, 1931, CMC File 136, p. 84.

well, particularly at the pre-college level. For example, we know that the rapid spread of DAV schools in Punjab in the 1890s remarked upon by Jones marked a radical shift from educational practice in the province as recently as a decade before. In 1881-82, only two of Punjab's 120 English-language private secondary schools were run by Indians, with the rest in the hands of missionaries—one of the most lopsided ratios of Indian to non-Indian private secondary schools in all of British India.⁷³ The rapid spread of DAV schools in Punjab only a decade later, then, demands explanation. Perhaps the advent of DAV education fired the imaginations of Punjabi Hindus and led them to donate money necessary to build the schools. The commanding presence of missionary schools in the province clearly alarmed Hindus. Although the absolute number of Christians in Punjab remained small throughout the colonial period, the number of Christians in Punjab increased by 410 percent in the decade in which the DAV schools were founded.⁷⁴ Aryas, and probably many other Hindus, believed that missionary schools were key to this growth, noting 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.”⁷⁵ In this environment, the appearance of English-language education opportunities outside the missionary framework received significant support. Jones notes that Arya public events to raise money for the schools

⁷³ Indian-run English-language education had proceeded much further in the provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Northwest Province and Oudh, the Central Provinces and Assam by 1881-82. Nurullah and Naik., p. 287.

⁷⁴ Jones, p. 10. This increase took place between 1881-91.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Jones, p. 48.

became “a regular part of Punjabi Hindu life...not only provid[ing] funds for Arya schools but a social forum for the educated elite.”⁷⁶

While Aryas raised some of the funds for Punjabi DAV schools, it appears that 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 readjusted its subsidy system to favor Indian, not missionary, schools. In contrast to Jones’ narrative on school funding, which details Arya fundraising and never 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,”⁷⁷ as if this were so common a practice in DAV education as to be unremarkable. We also know that even the flagship institution of the DAV network—the DAV College Lahore—which was largely self-sufficient throughout the pre-colonial period, received subsidy support in its early years,⁷⁸ and that the DAV High School in Rawalpindi received not only

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

⁷⁷ Dhanpati Pandey, *The Arya Samaj and Indian Nationalism, 1875-1920* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1972), p. 101.

⁷⁸ Despite initially claiming that the College’s self-reliance sharply differentiated it from other “communal institutions” which received government aid, DAV leader Lajpat Rai admitted that the College had received “a petty (government) grant of a few thousand rupees.” While the lack of extant College budgets at this time make it impossible to judge the importance of this contribution, the fact that the estimated monthly expenses of the DAV High School, with classes from first grade through college entry level in 1886, were only 400 rupees suggests that

ongoing general aid but also a building grant as early as 1911.⁷⁹ *In toto*, there is strong reason to believe that subsidies played a crucial role in getting the DAV educational network off the ground, and clear evidence that between 1920 and 1947 subsidies were central to the maintenance of many DAV schools and colleges.

While the basic Arya program of religious reform was clear, the question of how to translate it into a coherent educational program produced heated battles within the Samaj, largely due to the markedly different social backgrounds and goals of various camps within the movement. Samaj founder Dayanand, whose example had inspired the DAV schools, had been a traditional Hindu guru who studied with his own guru for several years and originally preached throughout North India clad in a loincloth. He originally proselytized exclusively in Sanskrit, later switching to Hindi and never learning English. Most Aryas, though, were more government clerks than gurus: by 1900 Hindus dominated the middle and upper positions of the Punjabi bureaucracy,⁸⁰ and the high percentage of government clerks among the Aryas was frequently remarked upon.⁸¹ These were people who respected, and expected, a Western-style education that would help their children and other Hindus prosper in a world increasingly foreign from that of Dayanand. The DAV schools were intended to combine both worlds: as

this grant may have been central to the College's early finances. Lala Lajpat Rai, *The Problem of National Education in India* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1920), pp. 16-17. Figures on the DAV High School's 1886 budget are from Jones, p. 76

⁷⁹ *Report on Education in the Punjab for 1910-11*, p. 4.

⁸⁰ Jones, pp. 59-60.

⁸¹ Aryas "recognized and alternately praised or denigrated the fact that their members were mostly clerks, 'pen pushers.'" *Tribune*, September 15, 1888, p. 2, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 82.

one proponent argued in *Arya Magazine* 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... [T]he English language will also be a medium of comparison of the Aryas to the Modern Science and enable the boys to be acquainted with the manners and ideas of the greatest nations of the modern world.”⁸² In practice, however, a series of initiatives to prioritize religious education in the schools were defeated by members of the schools committee more dedicated to Western-style education. Advocates of a strongly religious approach to DAV education urged the centrality of Sanskrit study, necessary to allow Hindus to follow Dayanand’s instruction to read the Vedas for themselves. In 1889, they proposed that students learn Sanskrit from the fourth grade;⁸³ it later became compulsory for students in the ninth class and was subsequently required each year from third through tenth grade. Aside from Sanskrit, however, there were few manifestations of a religious agenda in DAV elementary and secondary classrooms. An 1889 proposal that extensive study of Dayanand’s writings be required was rebuffed, as was a proposal two years later by the same group that science and English be made optional,⁸⁴ presumably to free more time for religious study. Time was in fact an important constraint, as, aside from Sanskrit, the rest of the day in the DAV schools was filled with secular subjects including English, math, geography, physical science and sanitation.⁸⁵ DAV students’ mastery of these subjects is made clear by their

⁸² Ibid., p. 69.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 90.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 322.

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.⁸⁶ Much later, and in a different part of Punjab, students from the DAV High School in Batala, which enrolled 389 students in 1942, passed the college matriculation exams in higher percentages than any other school in Batala in almost every year between 1938 and 1944.⁸⁷

Attempts to blend success in Western-style learning with Arya reformed religious practice were much more pronounced at the college level, but if the experience of the flagship DAV College Lahore was any guide, they had mixed results. DAVC Lahore students could concentrate on religious matters full-time if they wished by enrolling in the College's Vedic Studies or Theological Departments. By 1914, the two departments together enrolled about 75 students,⁸⁸ a significant minority in a student body of over 500. The College's most concerted effort to inculcate students in Arya religious practice came in its stipulation 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.⁸⁹ While members of the DAV College Managing Committee considered this a routine requirement, correspondence between DAV headmasters, teachers and the CMC shows 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 of the CMC to write to the house wardens reminding them

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 78.

⁸⁷ CMC File 152, n.p., pages from 1942-44.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 226-27.

⁸⁹ DAVCMC School Boarding House Subcommittee File 3, p. 59.

of their duty to perform evening prayer with their boarders at least three times a week and to fine students who did not attend.⁹⁰ 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. Boarders had to present the cards at weekly roll calls. However, fines collected by the Boarding House, which made up a substantial portion of the Boarding House's receipts for these years, demonstrate high rates of noncompliance.

While significant numbers of DAVC Lahore students avoided Arya religious practice, DAV officials achieved much greater success in another part of their religious reform agenda—preparing the groundwork for the replacement of Urdu with Hindi by creating a Punjabi Hindu population fluent in Hindi. This was a markedly uphill battle, because many Punjabi Hindus spoke—and the majority of literate men read—Urdu, not Hindi, throughout most if not all of the pre-independence period. In the 1911 census, enumerators defined those whose spoken language included significant Persian vocabulary as Urdu speakers while registering those whose dialect contained a “preponderance of Sanskritic words” as speaking Hindi.⁹¹ By that definition, male Hindu residents of Delhi were almost equally divided between Hindi and Urdu speakers;⁹² 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.⁹³ In 1931, twice as many Hindu men

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 129.

⁹¹ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, p. 346.

⁹² 32,772 for Hindi, 31,496 for Urdu. Ibid., p. 135.

⁹³ 2,288 for Hindi, 5,561 for Urdu. Ibid., p. 346.

in Punjab were literate in Urdu than in Hindi,⁹⁴ and in the 1920s and 1930s Urdu was overwhelmingly the written language of Punjab. Of the 270 periodicals registered by the 1921 census of Punjab and Delhi, 181 were in Urdu, while Hindi came in fourth after English and Gurmukhi with only 13.⁹⁵ Between 1922 and 1931, almost six times as many books were published in Urdu as in Hindi.⁹⁶

Aryas strove in every way possible to replace Urdu with Hindi. Their agitations to convince Hindus to register Hindi as their language in the censuses were singled out for attention in both the 1911 and 1931 Punjabi censuses, with the 1931 census reprinting an Arya handbill to this effect “distributed far and wide.”⁹⁷ 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,⁹⁸ and his 1896 suggestion that Hindus address all their letters in Devanagri in order to force the government to hire Hindu employees was roundly castigated in the Muslim community.⁹⁹ The main role of DAV schools and colleges in the Hindi battle, however, was not to advocate for Hindi but to teach it, a project in which they played a pioneering role in Punjab. At a time when Urdu was the language of instruction in government schools and teacher-training programs in Punjab, the

⁹⁴ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, p. 260.

⁹⁵ *Census of India, Punjab and Delhi, 1921*, p. 316.

⁹⁶ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, p. 281

⁹⁷ *Census of India, Punjab, 1931*, p. 271.

⁹⁸ Lala Hans Raj, *Mahatma Hansraj Granthavali*, vol. 4, quoted in Krishna Kumar, “Hindu Revivalism,” p. 540.

⁹⁹ *Paisa Akhbar*, April 19, 1987, quoted in Jones, p. 199.

1910-11 *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,”¹⁰⁰ 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.”¹⁰¹ By contrast, thirty eight years later a 1948 letter from the headmaster of the DAV High School Batala to the CMC noted that Hindi had only recently been introduced into the curricula of the five government schools in the city.¹⁰² It is clear that Hindi was taught in some other non-DAV schools before this, as we know from the DAV High School Batala files that Hindi was offered as an optional subject in college matriculation exams by the 1940s at the latest.¹⁰³ But it is also clear both that as late as the 1940s Hindi instruction was not widespread in Punjab schools, and that DAV schools in this period went to great lengths to offer it within a Western-style education system as yet incapable of, or uninterested in, teaching it on a large scale. The abnormality of teaching Hindi at this time was demonstrated by a 1943 letter from the headmaster of the DAV Middle School Lahore to the CMC, in which he notes that the school has been forced – in contravention of strong government preference – to hire untrained instructors of Hindi because “trained (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

¹⁰⁰ *Report on Education in the Punjab for 1910-11*, introduction.

¹⁰¹ *Census of India, Punjab, 1911*, p. 366..

¹⁰² CMC File 152, n.p., letter dated 5/28/48.

¹⁰³ CMC File 152, n.p., letter from headmaster of DAVHS Batala to Secretary of CMC dated 6/2/42. P. 111 letter dated 5/23/44, and n.p. letter dated 6/4/45.

DAV school, which received a government grant of five rupees for each trained teacher the school employed but only half that much for untrained teachers.¹⁰⁴ The exceptional nature of Hindi teaching in this environment – or perhaps the government’s lack of interest in it and thus in assessing its quality – was similarly highlighted by the fact that the superintendent of Municipal Branch schools in 1940 who was sent twice a year to inspect the Dayanand Primary Education Board schools was “a Muslim gentleman (who) does not know Hindi, and cannot therefore effectively report on the work of Hindi teaching in the classes.”¹⁰⁵ Despite these odds the DAV schools regularly turned out students well-versed in Hindi, as DAV High School Batala students’ very high level of success in the Hindi component of the college matriculation exams demonstrates.¹⁰⁶

Egyptian Education and the Muslim Brotherhood

A 1946 issue of the newspaper *The Muslim Brotherhood* featured a story about a play presented as part of an end-of-the-year celebration at a new girls’ elementary school in the village of Samnoud. The indivisible unity of the Nile Valley—the belief that Sudan was an inseparable part of Egypt—was the play’s subject. The play appears to have involved an unusual compression of chronological events, juxtaposing the concept of Egyptian presence in the Sudan, established in the nineteenth century, with the rise of Islam in the seventh century. While Egyptian control of the Sudan was an article of faith for all Egyptian nationalists, other turns and twists in the play would have been less widely accepted. At one point, the girls assumed the role

¹⁰⁴ CMC File No. 40, p. 545, letter dated 1/30/43.

¹⁰⁵ CMC File No. 40, p. 75, letter dated 5/7/40.

¹⁰⁶ CMC File 152, n.p., letter from headmaster of DAVHS Batala to Secretary of CMC dated 6/2/42. P. 111 letter dated 5/23/44, and n.p. letter dated 6/4/45.

of the first Muslim women ecstatically receiving the Prophet, and the *Brotherhood* correspondent noted that the “enthusiasm of the headmasters intensified when the Brotherhood flag with its picture of the Qur’an appeared on the stage,” accompanied by the girls singing:

By the Qur’an the East was illuminated
It is the lighthouse which guides us to the truth
We will always be supporters
of Islam and of the fatherland.¹⁰⁷

What is particularly interesting about the story of this play is its location in a government school. The Brotherhood founded a school for boys and one for girls in 1933 but by the Free Officer coup in 1952, generally understood to mark the end of the colonial period, it had no more than a handful of schools for children and youth. It appears that the Brotherhood’s early enthusiasm for schoolbuilding was deflated by the marginalization of the enemy that had provoked its emergence: missionary education. Fear that missionaries were using their schools to convert Muslim children was widespread in Egypt at the time, and the Brotherhood said explicitly that it had created its 1933 schools for children whom Brothers had “rescued” from missionaries.¹⁰⁸ In the 1930s and 1940s, however, the role of missionaries in Western-style education had declined dramatically, largely due to the precipitous growth of the government school system. In 1925-26, two years before the Brotherhood was founded and eight years before it began creating schools, there were 227,102 students in state primary and secondary schools

¹⁰⁷ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, May 31, 1946.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, July 13 and July 20, 1933, and *The Brotherhood Weekly*, October 18, 1934.

and 68,823 students in foreign—almost exclusively missionary—institutions.¹⁰⁹ In 1944-46, by contrast, 93 percent of secondary students were in state schools and missionaries only educated 7 percent;¹¹⁰ missionary influence in primary education had been similarly curtailed. Although the Brotherhood never publicly explained why its interest in school formation tailed off, it appears that the increasing availability under government auspices of culturally “safe” schools for Muslims dramatically decreased their sense of urgency.

As the Samnoud school play suggests, much of the work of spreading the Brotherhood’s message was carried out in state schools. While the movement had few schools, it had many teachers. Brotherhood founder Banna was a product of the first teacher training school in Egypt, developed by modernizing Egyptian rulers in the years before the British invasion, and his travels around Egypt on behalf of the Brotherhood were always scheduled for weekends and holidays when school was not in session. Many other Brothers shared the founder’s profession: membership lists demonstrate that in two of the largest and most active rural centers - Mansoura, with a population of 259,725 people in 1947,¹¹¹ and Qena, a rural town with 188,305 inhabitants in that year¹¹² - between 9 and 10 percent of the branch were teachers.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Cochran, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ Donald Malcolm Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 141.

¹¹¹ *Census of Egypt, Daqhaliyya Governorate, 1947*, p. 3.

¹¹² *Census of Egypt, Qena Governorate, 1947*, p. 1.

¹¹³ For Mansoura, see Jeep case, 1945, fiches 11495-11502. For Qena, see Jeep case, undated, fiches 11697-11703.

There is scattered evidence that Brothers used their positions within state schools to disseminate Brotherhood ideas to their students, both young children and adults. In his memoir, Ahmed al-Biss, a Brotherhood teacher in a rural girls' school, describes encouraging his charges to wear the veil.¹¹⁴ Brotherhood teachers in Qena's teacher preparation schools distributed the Brotherhood anthem to their students.¹¹⁵ Both of these instances would have been impossible prior to the creation of a Western-style school system. Before that system's creation, girls who were educated at all were educated at home. The creation of teacher training schools as a central foundation of the Western school system created an opportunity for mobilization that was exponentially better than that provided by normal schools: while a teacher in a normal school only has 30 students to whom he can proselytize, the teacher in a teacher-training school can attempt to "sell" his message to 30 teachers-in-training, each of whom will have 30 students.

The most provocative example of the effect of the Western school system on the spread of Brotherhood ideas, though, comes from the phenomenon of teacher transfers. The transfer of Brotherhood teachers from schools in one community to another occurred in one of two ways. The first was as a general bureaucratic measure to expand the reach of the school system, in which Brotherhood teachers happened to be moved from one school to another in their capacity as teachers. The enormous resources poured into the school system facilitated rapid school-building and extension of schools to previously underserved areas, which in turn could require teachers to be transported from other areas to staff them. The second way in which Brothers could be transferred was as a type of punitive action. Brotherhood teachers, as well as other

¹¹⁴ Ahmad al-Biss, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian Countryside* (Arabic), (Cairo: Dar al-Towziah wal-Nashr al-Islamiya, n.d.)

¹¹⁵ Jeep case, 1939, fiche 11847.

Brothers working as state employees, were the specific targets of three waves of punitive transfers in 1942, 1947 and 1951. Perhaps the best known punitive transfer was that of Brotherhood leader Banna in 1941. With the British government determined that Egypt declare war against the Axis, Brothers' calls for Egypt to remain outside the conflict, and their stepped-up actions against British rule in Egypt, led the British to demand that the Egyptian government pressure the movement into silence. The result was Banna's transfer from his school in Cairo to one in rural Qena for four months as well as the transfer of his deputy.¹¹⁶ Punitive transfers were meant to function as both decapitator and deterrent, crippling local Brotherhood branches by removing their most active leaders while encouraging them, and others, to stop Brotherhood activity. Sometimes they succeeded. Decapitation was clearly the fear of members of the Brotherhood branch in Dumyat, who wrote a panicked letter to Banna in 1947 on the occasion of the transfer of the branch's leader, a teacher, saying "we were stunned... [W]e cannot fill his position, so please do whatever you can to prevent [the transfer]."¹¹⁷ A Brother in rural Girga in the same year complained of transfer's deterrent effects, writing Banna that "many of the Brothers who were transferred to Girga [act] as if they know nothing about the movement...as if it were forbidden for them to as much as enter the branch office."¹¹⁸

Transfer could also act, however, to bring Brotherhood ideas to unpenetrated areas. In October 1944, a teacher in Dëshna, a rural town of 126,000 in 1937,¹¹⁹ wrote to Banna to apprise him of his efforts to start a Brotherhood branch there. The teacher's letter speaks to the

¹¹⁶ Richard Mitchell, p. 22

¹¹⁷ Jeep case, 1947, fiche 12466.

¹¹⁸ Jeep case, 1947, fiche 12319.

¹¹⁹ *Census of Egypt, Qena Governorate, 1947*, p.1

frequency of Brotherhood transfers in this period. He personally had been transferred twice and noted the constant transfers of other Brothers by saying that “this employee has been amazed that just as he has 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.”¹²⁰ While Deshna as yet had no Brotherhood branch, the teacher reported that “pro-Brotherhood feelings abound” and he had received an enthusiastic reception from local white-collar workers. Nine months later, a report on the status of various branches in the area reported that the Deshna Brotherhood branch had 134 members.¹²¹

Transfers like these unwittingly helped the Brotherhood overcome its inability, and often unwillingness, to send its largely urban leadership to the far reaches of the countryside for any length of time. Rural Brothers frequently wrote to Banna requesting that he delegate experienced Brotherhood activists for long stays in their area. A 1945 letter from Girga argues that the most serious problem the Brothers faced in rural areas was their dire need for experienced activists. This Brother noted that he had previously sent several letters to Banna asking for such activists, as well as requesting that visitors make the case to Banna in person, but to no avail.¹²² National leaders attempted to expand the Brotherhood’s reach through frequent visits to remote towns and villages, but these generally lasted only a few days. Banna was out of Cairo almost every weekend and throughout the summer,¹²³ and on religious holidays he and other top leaders

¹²⁰ Jeep case, 1944, fiche 12056.

¹²¹ Jeep case, 1945, fiche 12046.

¹²² Jeep case, 1945, fiche 12364.

¹²³ The August 3, 1933 issue of *The Muslim Brotherhood* noted the schedule of Banna’s trips for the month, including visits to ten largely rural branches across Egypt.

visited every corner of the country. The 1948 schedule for the Prophet's birthday holiday had 17 prominent Cairo leaders visiting over 60 towns and villages in 15 days.¹²⁴ While new branches were often founded in the wake of these trips, it took more than the enthusiasm generated by the visit of prominent Brothers to keep a fledgling branch afloat, or to sustain a troubled one.

Sometimes government coercion was the obstacle stopping urban Brothers from going to rural branches. The Girga writer cited above admitted that it was probably impossible for Cairo Brothers to come to Girga due to the government's attack on the movement at that time.¹²⁵ There is some evidence, however, that many Cairo Brothers were not particularly eager to spend even a few days in remote rural locations. Most Brotherhood leaders originally hailed from the countryside but had moved permanently to Cairo, usually prior to their ascendancy within the movement. An article in the July 1948 issue of the Brotherhood newspaper *al-Jarida al-Yawmiyya* suggests that lower-level Brothers may have been no keener on rural residence. The article rebuked Brothers who refused speaking assignments at particular branches and instructs Brothers that the Cairo office, not members, would decide on their travel schedules. The problem is initially framed as a purely administrative matter: having headquarters delegate speaking engagements is presented as more efficient than having activists accept branches' invitations directly. Further instructions to the activists, however, suggest that the real problem was some activists' unwillingness to go to certain parts of Egypt. The article stipulates that when asked to speak at a particular branch, the activist's correct reply would be "[each of us] is [but] a soldier in the ranks at all times, and nothing prevents him from working in certain areas except his business in others." Heavenly rewards for good deeds, the article warns, are only achieved when

¹²⁴ Jeep case, 1948, fiche 11107.

¹²⁵ Jeep case, 1945, fiche 12364.

one rids oneself of personal desires, and so activists should go wherever they are sent without discrimination or preference—for “all places are places of God.”¹²⁶

In a climate which paired demand for experienced Brothers in the countryside with cadres of Brotherhood activists unwilling to leave the big cities, transfers could be a godsend. A Brother wrote a letter published in the Brotherhood paper in 1950 expressing precisely this sentiment, and a cynical insight into just how these transfers might backfire against the government.

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.¹²⁷

In sum, Brotherhood teachers, teaching in government schools because their movement had few childrens' schools of its own, were unintentionally given the opportunity to spread their

¹²⁶ *The Daily Newspaper*, (Arabic), July 22, 1948.

¹²⁷ *Al-Mabahith*, December 5, 1950.

movement's message to previously unpenetrated areas through involuntary transfer. The expansion of the Western school system also increased their chances to spread their message to older students who participated in the one form of education which the Brotherhood itself provided: literacy training and basic education for youth and adults. Night and weekend courses of adult basic education or literacy training were offered by many Brotherhood branches, particularly in the countryside, where the higher rates of illiteracy may have lent special urgency to the project. The Brotherhood branch in Qena in 1941 offered nightly classes in Islamic history, *hadith*, jurisprudence and commentary on the Qur'an,¹²⁸ expanding the menu the next year to consist of lessons in religion, dictation and arithmetic offered three nights a week to a substantial crowd of illiterate men.¹²⁹ In 1946 the rural Girga branch was teaching hour-long classes in reading, writing, math, religion and "general information" every night of the week except Friday,¹³⁰ and in the same year a branch in Tanta, Egypt's third largest city, opened a school for abolishing illiteracy attended by 100 local workers.¹³¹ The prevalence of religious classes in these adult education offerings suggests that many branch leaders shared the assessment of a Brother writing from the Qena branch to Cairo in December 1942. He recommended 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."¹³²

¹²⁸ Jeep case, 1941, fiche 11754.

¹²⁹ Jeep case, 1942, fiche 11768.

¹³⁰ Jeep case, 1946, fiche 12331.

¹³¹ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, June 3, 1946.

¹³² Jeep case, 1942, fiche 11747.

Many Brotherhood branches ran their adult education offerings on their own initiative and with their own funds, but the increasing dedication of government education officials to adult education led to government subsidies of these programs. These subsidies, in turn, directly led to the expansion of the programs to teach more students, and perhaps even to use of money from the subsidies to cover branches' non-educational expenses. The 1942 letter from Qena extolling the religious benefits of adult education goes on to note that the branch's night school had substantially expanded, in large part due to the governorate's decision to mandate that all illiterate soldiers in the area attend its classes. In response to a request from the education department, the branch began to offer daily classes and petitioned the Education Ministry to offer assistance equaling the salary of one teacher to make this possible.¹³³ By 1944, the branch was earning LE 58 a year from the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs.¹³⁴ By April 1947 the branch was providing undereducated workers with basic education at night and reporting a class of thirty students in the first year of this program and twenty in the second year, in addition to a program aimed solely at illiterate men.¹³⁵

Other ways to win state monies for Brotherhood adult education and literacy – and to use that money to expand the reach of the Brotherhood's educational programs – abounded. When the literacy program of the branch in Cairo's Shubra district was accredited by the Ministry of Education, it became eligible for Ministry bonuses offered to schools which made more than a specified percentage of their students literate.¹³⁶ The most formal articulation of the emerging

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Jeep case, 1944, fiche 11714.

¹³⁵ Jeep case, 1947, fiche 11603.

¹³⁶ *The Muslim Brotherhood*, August 3, 1948.

government-Brotherhood educational relationship came in 1946, when a new government campaign against youth illiteracy was accompanied by an agreement between the Ministry of Education and the Brotherhood that the ministry would 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 12 and 18, that they regularly attended the classes and that those classes were adequately supplied with teachers, and the rest would be paid when the schools provided evidence of student literacy.¹³⁷ This type of Brotherhood educational “subcontracting” from the Ministry of Education not only allowed the expansion of the programs to larger numbers of students, but in all likelihood helped to fund a branch’s non-education programs as well, because the costs of adult education were low. Qena’s salaried teacher aside, most Brotherhood adult education was run by volunteers and conducted within the branch building, requiring few if any salaries and no rent or infrastructure payments. By contrast, an educationally active Brotherhood branch could win a substantial portion of its entire budget from subsidies: in 1946-47, state assistance made up 47 percent of the Qena branch’s entire budget, more than membership dues and private contributions, which accounted for only 38 percent.¹³⁸

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 key goals. The stories of the colonial-era Arya Samaj and Muslim Brotherhood demonstrate two points, one familiar to students of the colonial and contemporary state and one perhaps less obvious. The first point is that the size of the modern – including in

¹³⁷ Richard Mitchell, p. 287.

¹³⁸ Jeep case, 1946-47, fiche 11607.

some cases the colonial - state, and the irreducible complexity of its attempts at large-scale social change, often mean that it is working at cross-purposes with itself and that its policies will frequently lead to results opposite of the ones intended. This comes through most clearly in the case of the Muslim Brotherhood, whose spread was inadvertently facilitated by the policies of two governments which it adamantly opposed – the British colonial government and the partially empowered Egyptian government onto which the British devolved many domestic responsibilities after 1922. Gregory Starrett argues that the transformation of the Egyptian *kuttab* from an almost exclusively religious institution to one focused largely on reading, writing, and arithmetic was initiated by the British largely in order to tame the Egyptian masses, dissuading them from criminal activity but first and foremost ensuring that they would turn a deaf ear to the appeals of religious and nationalist ideologues out to upset the colonial order.¹³⁹ Decades later, the more fully developed version of the education system which began with these *kuttab* reforms had helped to disseminate the message of a very strongly nationalist Muslim Brotherhood and in 1941 the Egyptian government would act on British demands that it silence the Brotherhood's anti-World War II propaganda by transferring teacher Hassan al-Banna from his elementary school in Cairo to one in the countryside. Even more ironically, that same partially empowered Egyptian government would itself initiate the transfer of large numbers of Brothers in 1942 and 1947 in an attempt to quash the movement's activities while, in those same years, it would order illiterate soldiers to attend Brotherhood adult education classes and pay, through education subsidies, almost half the annual budget of one of the countryside's most active Brotherhood branches.

¹³⁹ Starrett, Chapter Two.

The second, less obvious but more important point made by the stories of the colonial-era Arya Samaj and Muslim Brotherhood is the frequent artificiality of the division between the state and society. This artificiality is particularly pronounced in countries, or colonies, in which the state embarks on an ambitious program of social engineering for which it lacks the necessary financial or administrative capacity, and chooses to compensate for this deficit 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, colonizers 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 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*.¹⁴⁰ Gellner, who defines nationalism as “the organization of human groups into large, centrally educated, culturally homogeneous units,”¹⁴¹ argues that it is 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 - that makes nationalism possible. Gellner explicitly sees these school systems as an inherently secularizing project, in

¹⁴⁰ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

¹⁴¹ Gellner, p. 35

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 of 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 than a colonial or newly independent state which may be forced by financial constraints to “subcontract” much of the educational process out to private groups. It is precisely these different circumstances, however, which are clearly central to understanding the types of national and religious identity that centralized school systems transmit.