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Mary Flounders Arnett

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Qāsim Amīn and the Beginnings of the Feminist Movement in Egypt

Abstract

Part 1. The man and his deeds within the framework of his time.

Part 2. Translations of two of his books: 1. al-Mar'a al-Jadīda (The new woman); 2. Kalimāt (Aphorisms).

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A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled

QASIM AMIN

AND THE

BEGINNINGS OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

by

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Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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QĀSIM AMĪN
AND THE
BEGINNINGS OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

Part One:

The Man and His Deeds Within the Framework of His Time

Part Two:

Translations of Two of His Books

I Al-Mar'a al-Jadida (The New Woman)

II Kalimāt (Aphorisms)

by

Mary Flounders Arnett

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
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1965

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PART ONE:

THE MAN AND HIS DEEDS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF HIS TIME

I. QĀSĪM'S PARENTAGE

Qāsim Amīn's father, Muḥammad Amīn, was of the princely family who governed the predominantly Kurdish district (wilāya) of Sulaymāniyya in the Turkish province (aḥmāl) of Iraq. Was the family Turkish, as Qāsim's most exhaustive biographer asserts, adding that "the family had lived in this district for such a long time that it was thought to be Kurdish";¹ or was it, as is more generally assumed, Kurdish? To Qāsim has been attributed "Kurdish blood"² and "Kurdish courage".³ Additional support for this opinion comes from Kurdish history itself. It records an unsuccessful mid-nineteenth century War of Independence against Turkish rule as an aftermath of which the Sultān removed the indigenous Kurdish leaders.⁴ These events, taken in conjunction with the family account which describes the dismissal of Muḥammad's paternal cousin as governor (wālī) of Sulaymāniyya during this period,⁵ supports the Kurdish argument. Since only three or so top official families in the entire Kurdish area were Turkish,⁶ the likelihood of Muḥammad's family being non-Kurd is small.

An examination of Qāsim's own writings for the answer to this question reveals no mention of Kurds. In his single reference to Turks, though he does not speak as might be expected from the scion of Kurdish rebels, even less does he speak as if he were of Turkish lineage.

¹ Ahmad Khākī, Qāsim Amīn, Cairo, 1944, p.4.

² M. Ḥusayn Haykal, Tarājim, Cairo, n.d., p.153.

³ Ahmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, "Dhikra Qāsim Amīn", Al-Muqtataf, Cairo, June 1917, p.48.

⁴ Arshak Safrastian, The Kurds and Kurdistan, London, 1948, pp.50-61.

⁵ Khākī, p.4.

⁶ Safrastian, p.45.

"No matter what Egypt's opinion of the rule of the Turks, there is no doubt in my mind that the Egyptian nation has derived great benefit from them. I have found among them an advanced humanity. Through close friendship and marriage, I have learned from them cleanliness, good household order, how to dress and to eat well, and many excellent habits and moral traits.

"Even though education among the men has been about on a par, there still continues to be such a discrepancy between that of Turkish women and that of Egyptian women that you see cultured men falling all over themselves to seek for wives among the former even as they avoid the latter."

Kalimat, Cairo, 1908, pp. 25-26.

Despite the weight of evidence pointing to Kurdish ancestry, there is yet no conclusive proof of it. More in keeping with Qāsim's own time and outlook was the view asserting that ancestral origins were of scant consequence.⁷ He would have scorned the specious reasoning that, since he was born and educated in Egypt, he was an Arab.⁸ He would, moreover, have placed little value upon any identification of himself by past or position. To give him the last word on his lineage:

"In Europe it has become outmoded... to ask, 'Whose son are you?' or even 'What is your occupation?' Nowadays the worth of a person is defined by his principles and by his actions."

Asbāb wa-Natā'ij wa-Akhlāq wa-Mawā'iz,
Alexandria, 1913, p. 32.

Qāsim's father, Muḥammad, who had been orphaned at an early age and brought up by his maternal uncle and grandmother, left Sulaymāniyya at the age of fifteen with his exiled cousin. They lived together in Istanbul, until, in the wake of a disagreement between them, Muḥammad took ship for Cairo.⁹ Soon after his arrival early in the reign of Ismā'īl¹⁰ he made friends among the city's influential Turkish community

⁷Muḥammad Muḥsin al-Barāzī, "Ḥawl Aṣl Qāsim Amīn", Al-Risāla, Number 260, Vol. 6, Cairo, 1938, pp. 1052-3.

⁸Ustādh Jalīl, "Qāsim Amīn, Hal Kāna Kurdiyyan?", Al-Risāla, Number 255, Vol. 6, Cairo, 1938, p. 848.

⁹Khākī, p. 4.

¹⁰Jūrjī Zaydān, Mashāhīr al-Sharq, Cairo, 1922, p. 314.

and was persuaded by them to enter military school. From then on, his training followed a military pattern. Upon graduation, he joined the Egyptian army, in which he advanced to the rank of Lieutenant General.¹¹

Not long after adopting a new homeland, Muḥammad chose a wife. Through one of his first and closest friends, Amīn Basha Tawfīq, captain of Wālī (after 1867, Khedive) Ismā'īl's private yacht, Al-Nahrūsa, Muḥammad met Aḥmad Bak Khaṭṭāb, one time Minister of Finance. The newcomer must have found favor in the older man's eyes, for the two could not have been long in arranging marriage between Aḥmad Bak's daughter and Muḥammad.¹² The first child of this union was Qāsīm Amīn.

Qāsīm was born in the suburbs of Cairo at Ṭurra, where his father was stationed at the military garrison. The date of his birth is open to question. A majority of biographical accounts give the year 1865.¹³ If the date were originally affixed according to the Gregorian calendar, the very roundness of the number in a time not yet familiar with the annual census makes it suspect as an approximation. Only in the most recent bio-bibliography¹⁴ is the Gregorian date of 1865 accompanied by the date 1282 A.H. of the Muslim calendar, which may well have been supplied later. A more concrete reason to discredit the 1865 date is that it would

¹¹Khākī, pp. 4-5.

¹²Personal communication from Qāsīm Amīn's grandson.

¹³Zaydān in Mashāhīr al-Sharq (p. 314) was probably the first to present this date. Thereafter followed Luwīs Shaykhū, "Al-Adāb al-ʿArabīyya fī'l-Rubʿ al-Awwal min al-Qarn al-ʿIshrīn", Al-Mashriq, Bayrūt, March, 1926, p. 224; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, Al-ʿIlām al-Caīrī, 1927, p. 781; Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, London, 1933, p. 231; Yūsuf Asʿad Dāghir, Maṣādir al-Dirasat al-Adabiyya, II, Bayrūt, 1955, p. 138; and others.

¹⁴Dāghir, p. 138.

make Qāsim only fifteen years old when he graduated from law school in Egypt and went abroad for further study. The date less frequently given, but more acceptable, is early December, 1863.¹⁵

In the light of this date, if Qāsim's father came to Egypt during the reign of Ismā'īl, which began January 17, 1863, he must have been married within a month or two of his arrival.

¹⁵Khākī, p. 4, and Maḥmūd Faṭḥī 'Umar, Abtāl al-Hurriyya, Cairo, n.d., p.41.

II QĀSIM'S CHILDHOOD

A. His Education

Qāsim was an extremely shy child, brought up in the usual pattern of a moderately wealthy Egyptian family.¹⁶ Attending government schools, the Primary School in Alexandria (madrasat al-iskandriyya al-ibtidā'iyya) and the Cairo Preparatory School (al-madrasa al-tahīziyya), later renamed the Khedivial School, Qāsim received the best education available at that time in Egypt. Although intelligent, he did not distinguish himself academically during his school years. Forced by shyness to withdraw more and more into books, he was accustomed to dividing his efforts between school work and extra-curricular reading in French history and literature.¹⁷ The scope of his interests included works on general history and literature, social studies, and secular and religious law. Of these boyhood days, Qāsim's only written comment was:

"Of my school days I preserve a lasting memory which will endure forever -- the fear of a beating -- in the lower school, a beating with the rod upon the feet, the shoulders, the head, or any other part of the body; in the upper school, a beating with the tarred whip or bastinado, the marks of which remained for days -- I used to go to the halls of learning, mind amuddle, heart aflutter, body atremble. Nowadays, quite the reverse, I see children going to school, happy and joyous, as a result of the prohibition of beating there and the introduction of games and sports."

Kalimāt, pp.22-23.¹⁸

¹⁶Haykal, Tarājim, p.153.

¹⁷Khākī, p.5, including a quote (without reference) from Al-Hilbāwī.

¹⁸See, for a similar description: Salāma Mūsā, The Education of Salāma Mūsā, translated by L.O. Schuman, Leiden, 1961, pp.11-12.

Law school was Qāsim's choice for further study. He entered the School of Law and Administration (madrasat al-ḥuqūq wa'l-idāra) and ranked among the first in his class. It was probably here that he first came to know Muḥammad 'Abduh. Upon graduation, he took top honors in the bar examination of his year. He obtained his license to practice law in Egypt on October 24, 1881. Though Qāsim was only seventeen, neither of his parents was alive to witness this recognition. In their stead, the old family friend, Amīn Basha Tawfīq, with whom the orphaned Qāsim and his younger brother, Ibrāhīm, had gone to live, interested himself in the young lawyer's future. With the help of Amīn Basha and a government scholarship, Qāsim went abroad to continue his studies.¹⁹

Given this fragmentary record of his formative years and the knowledge of his father's military position and his mother's family's political connections and of his own inquisitiveness, Qāsim's awareness of and sensitiveness to events around him as he grew up can be assumed. While it is not possible to relate Qāsim directly to the influences of this important decade of the 1870's, the ideas in the air about him should be described.

¹⁹Khākī, pp. 508, and personal communication from Qāsim Amīn's family.

B. Egypt in the Early '70s

1. Political Climate

It is possible, in view of his father's close friendship with the captain of the Khedivial yacht, that five year old Qāsim had a front row seat at the celebrations accompanying the formal opening of the Suez Canal. For little boys there was color and movement enough. For adults, royal guests, magnificent feasting, and, in the new Opera House, an especially commissioned work, Aida, by the master, Verdi. Ismā'īl had brought honor to his country and become a peer among the rulers of the world. For the veiled and screened women of Egypt, in particular, it was a memorable occasion, for the guest of honor was not a man, but the Empress Eugénie of France, in full view of everyone and perfectly at ease and in command of the predominantly masculine assembly.²⁰

Amidst all this splendor, Qāsim's grandfather, the ex-finance minister, whether or not he thought the expense justified, must have been wondering about the bills. In his ambitions for Egypt, the Khedive did not respect the cost. He wanted his land to be beautiful, enlightend, and effectual and himself to be its Magnificent Ruler.²¹ In 1866, he set up a Chamber of Deputies à la mode de l'Europe, but in reality a mere show-piece;²² modernized Cairo; improved communications;²³ seized the opportunity which the American Civil War provided of greatly extending the cultivation of cotton²⁴; and raised his status within the Ottoman Empire to practical

²⁰M. Rifaat Bey, The Awakening of Modern Egypt, London, 1947, pp.106, 134.

²¹Rifaat, p.106.

²²Rifaat, p. 164.

²³Rifaat, pp.106-108

²⁴David S. Landes, Bankers and Pashas, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pp.55-56; 69-101.

independency.²⁵ A feeling of well-being pervaded Cairo in the early 1870s. There was, too, an air of freedom to think and to speak that contrasted strongly with the growing autocracy in the provinces of the Ottoman empire, closer to Constantinople, where a weak, extravagant, conservative Sultān was none the more tolerant for having to watch his Balkan provinces win their independence. Many of the best minds of the Sultān's Syrian province sought, or looked forward to seeking, the freer atmosphere of Cairo.²⁶

2. State of Primary Education

In such a prevailing mood Qāsim went each day to the Primary School in Alexandria, worrying about the strap in the hand of his teacher, but, although from time to time he may have seen his grandfather sadly shaking his head over some new governmental extravagance, not unsettled by grim, tight looks on the faces of his elders. He was a lucky little boy. Only five hundred little boys in all of Egypt had the opportunity of attending the government's primary schools.²⁷ Other boys could go to the kuttāb, where the main object of study was to memorize the Qur'ān. Girls, of course, rarely went to school at all. There had been a time when, under Muḥammad 'Alī's program of strength through culture and education, a network of fifty primary schools had been opened throughout Egypt. Before Ismā'īl's time, all had closed. (page 195). Qāsim's school had been the first that Ismā'īl had reopened in 1863. With a secondary Preparatory School, it was located near the palace in the Ras al-Ḥin quarter of Alexandria.

²⁵Rifaat, p. 113.

²⁶Nejla Izzeddin, The Arab World, Chicago, 1953, p.88.

²⁷J. Heyworth-Dunne, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, London, 1939, pp.382, 389. (Subsequent references by page number in text.)

Later the same year a similar school complex was opened in Cairo. (page 348). These remained the only two of their kind in the country. They served some sixteen vocational schools. (page 358). Before Qāsim entered Primary School, a new educational policy had been adopted under Ismā'īl's versatile and energetic minister, 'Alī Mubārak, by which military training was to be divorced from the civil schools. (Page 352). The subjects of instruction were French and drawing, usually taught by Europeans, Qur'ān, Arabic, Turkish, calligraphy, English and arithmetic. (page 355). No tuition was required. During the time Qāsim attended only one-fifth of the fathers contributed a small amount in the way of fees. (page 353).

An occurrence of no significance to Qāsim at the time he was nine, but of great bearing on his adult interests, was the opening in Cairo of a private school for girls, the first of its kind in the East. Before that, it was true, girls -- the few whose parents wished to avail themselves of the privilege -- had been admitted to the kuttābs or, in some cases, had been instructed by shaykhas or elderly shaykhs. They had learned their prayers, certain chapters of the Qur'ān, pertinent religious laws, and, if additional leisure permitted, needlework. All this they accomplished without knowledge of reading or writing, as there was a strong prejudice against girls acquiring these aids. (page 14). The only attempt earlier than 1873 to provide education for girls on a higher level was a medical training experiment, introduced in 1832 by Clot Bak, a Frenchman in charge of Muḥammed 'Alī's program to expand the school system in Egypt. Since no young lady of good family could defy tradition to attend lectures on anatomy, midwifery, and gynecology, the first class consisted of ten illiterate Ethiopian and Sudanese slaves, especially purchased for the project. More slaves, then joined by orphans, gradually expanded the student body.

By 1868, it had fifty-four students with six teachers, three men and three women, in a five year course. (pages 132, 357)²⁸ This School of Midwifery, as well as a few denominational girls' schools opened by the foreign communities in Egypt or by the Copts, failed to attract candidates from the dominant section of society, ready as certain fathers therein may have been to enrich the lives of their daughters. A few fortunate girls had European tutors.

The plans for a new private girls' school were drawn up by a special committee under a French general in charge of a military mission in Egypt. Under the patronage of Ismā'īl's third wife, Cheshmat Hānum, on whom Eugénie's visit had made a profound impression, the Suyūfiyya School was opened in January, 1873. The student body was drawn from the daughters of official families and from young white slaves of the Khedivial households. By 1875, under the direction of a Syrian headmistress, two hundred and ninety-eight students were studying not only Qur'ān under shaykhly guidance, but also reading, writing, Turkish, and drawing with men teachers produced by the new school system, and piano, laundry, and the inevitable needlework with six women teachers.

By 1875, a second girls' school with one hundred and forty-seven students was going at Al-Qarabiyya, thanks to the industry of 'Alī Basha Mubārak as Minister of Waqfs (charitable endowments), Railways, Public Works, and Education. Most probably for budgetary reasons, the Qarabiyya School was under the purview of the Ministry of Waqfs rather than of Education. A third girls' school, proposed by Ismā'īl himself, had to be

²⁸ And Mayy Ziyāda, "Il risveglio della donna in Egitto negli ultimi cento anni," Oriente Moderno, Rome, May, 1929, p.237.

abandoned because of financial difficulties. When Cheshmat Hānum had to withdraw her financial support of Al-Suyūfiyya in 1879, it merged with Al-Qarabiyya and the two, renamed the Saniyya School, were administered by the Ministry of Waqfs (pages 374-375).²⁹

²⁹ And La Documentation Française: La Condition de la Femme dans le Moyen-Orient Arabe, Paris, 13 Octobre, 1955, p.4.

C. Egypt in the Late '70s

1. Political Climate

As the '70s passed their midway point, Qāsim's young life underwent the upheaval of a transfer from the Alexandria Primary School to the Cairo Preparatory School, and at the same time Egypt's young prosperity suffered a much more unforgettable interruption. Having been led far into debt by insolvent ambition, Ismā'īl had to sell a most valuable and treasured property: his shares in the Suez Canal. Britain, although late to realize the Canal's potential, seized the opportunity to buy them and, in so doing, replaced France as the greatest foreign influence in Egypt. She was to prove much less reluctant to wield her influence than her predecessor. The signing of this transaction was the handwriting on the wall which presaged the end of an era, at least superficially lustrous, for Egypt and the beginnings of uneasy domination by foreign power.

Within a short time the esteem in which Ismā'īl was held abroad was replaced by ill-will, and the sense of well-being which his subjects enjoyed at home was shaken. His English and French creditors, alarmed at his drastic admission of indebtedness, arranged with him to have the debt unified, and each group appointed a Controller-General to guarantee payments in good order. The next step was the creation in 1876 of the Caisse de la Dette, a special department to control Egypt's revenues and manned not only by Egyptians, but also by representatives of France, Italy, Austria, Russia, and, after some initial hesitation, Britain. In this role Major Baring, later Lord Cromer, began his career in Egypt. The Controllers-General and the Caisse de la Dette were to prove insufficient to mollify European ill-will.³⁰ At the same time the new anxieties among the Egyptians themselves were fostered by an incipient Arab movement.

³⁰Rifaat, pp.153-158.

2. Intellectual Climate

a) In Egypt

The roots of the Arab movement go back to Ismā'īl's grandfather, Muḥammad 'Alī (1805-49), an Albanian general of the Ottoman Sultān. In the wake of the repulsion from Egypt of Napoleon, Muḥammad 'Alī wished to rid himself of his Turkish suzerain and to rule over the land of the pyramids, reshaped into a country as modern as that of his recent invaders, whose cultural values and liberal ideas had had, for practical reasons, a great impact on him. Many Frenchmen, disgusted with Napoleon's successor at home, were eager to come to Egypt to help him.³¹ Muḥammad 'Alī, realizing that all progress toward a strong country was predicated on raising the extremely low literacy standards, early turned his attention to the school system and, by 1822, had established Egypt's first printing press at Būlāq in Cairo.³² The school system served a second function of weakening his ties to the Sultān. In as many ways as possible, but particularly linguistically, "Arabness" was stressed. Though, during Ottoman rule, Arabic had been replaced by Turkish as the language of government and of the aristocracy and by Persian as the language of literature, in the new schools students learned to read and to write only in Arabic. Although the aristocracy continued to speak Turkish throughout the century, Būlāq published an ever increasing number of books in Arabic. Under the direction of Rifā'a Bak Rāfi' al-Taḥṭāwī, a translation office was instituted and fed the printing presses many

³¹Rifaat, p.36.

³²Izzeddin, p.69-90; J. Jomier, "Būlāk", Encyclopedia of Islam, I, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1960, p.1299; and Nadav Safran, Egypt in Search of a Political Community, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p.30.

scientific, geographical, and general works, translated into Arabic from the French. New editions of masterpieces of Arabic literature were also published, but were soon to give place to original works of history and historical fiction.³³

b) From Syria

From these shoots in Egypt, the Arab movement swung to Syria in the 1830s during the occupation of Muhammad 'Alī's son, Ibrāhīm, and, from the strong trunk of a profound literary renaissance, there grew the main branch of the Arab national movement, which bore its fullest fruit only after it had been again transplanted to Egypt and pruned. The climate of religious toleration under Ibrāhīm gave French Catholics and American Protestants the long-awaited chance to increase their missionary activities, hitherto limited to Bayrūt. The Syrians accepted the mission schools largely because they provided an alternative to Ibrāhīm's militaristically oriented state schools. Girls' schools, too, were well-received. The most attractive aspect of the new education, however, was its revival of Arabic as the language of learning and culture.³⁴

Three men, products of the original educational system run by Christian monks of the earlier part of the century and, later, on the faculties of the newer American mission schools, fathered the Arabic literary renaissance. Nāṣif al-Yāziǧī (1800-1871) was the technician and pedagogue with a passion for a lost world of classical Arabic literature; Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1801-1887), the journalist, traveller, and

³³Hamilton A.R.Gibb, Studies on the Civilization of Islam, Boston, 1962, pp.247-248, Izzeddin, p.71; and R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, Eng., 1953, p.469.

³⁴George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, New York, 1946, pp.28-29 and 35-40, and Izzeddin, p.88.

linguist with a devotion to elegance and clarity of style; and Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883), the encyclopedist and activist, who used the new Arabic to preach tolerance and patriotism. Al-Shidyāq, born a Christian, but later converted to Islam, left Lebanon before the age of twenty to teach Arabic in Egypt at the American mission schools. Not long thereafter he became editor-in-chief of the Arabic section of the official journal, Al-Waḡā'i al-Miṣriyya, formerly Napoleon's Courrier d'Égypte, which al-Taḥṭāwī had revived in 1826 as the first Egyptian newspaper. After intensive travelling, he was called by the Sulṭān to Constantinople, where he founded the weekly journal, Al-Ghawā'ib, which rapidly acquired great renown throughout the Arab world, both for its articles and for its printing of previously unedited Arabic works.³⁵

Al-Yāzījī and al-Bustānī remained in Lebanon all their lives and were close colleagues. Their first collaboration was in the formation in January, 1847, of a learned society. Though it lived but five years and counted only Christians among its members, it was the first attempt in the Arab world to promote knowledge by an organized collective effort and formed a pattern for later groups.³⁶ In 1860, al-Bustānī founded his country's first political newspaper, Nafīr Sūryā (The Clarion of Syria). Stressing concord among sectarians and their union in pursuit of knowledge, it contained the germ of the nationalist idea. Three years later al-Bustānī established the National School, with al-Yāzījī as a principal

³⁵ Henri Pérès, "Les premières Manifestations de la Renaissance arabe en Orient au XIX^e siècle," Annales de l'Institut des Études Orientales, Algiers, 1935.

³⁶ Antónius, pp.51-52.

teacher, to provide boys of all creeds with an education based on religious tolerance and patriotic ideals.³⁷

Although the two men took no positive action to improve the plight of women, they, and al-Shidyāq as well, were sympathetic to the need for a more positive attitude toward them. In 1847, al-Bustānī delivered and then published a speech, intitled - and favoring - "The Education of Women".³⁸ In 1855, al-Shidyāq, whose second wife was an English woman, wrote Sāq 'ala Sāq (Progression), an autobiographical work of confession and criticism, in which he devotes some attention to "what is laudable, what lamentable about women" and to recognition of their constant progress in acquiring political, social, and moral knowledge, and demanding for them a more rightful place in the family and in society.³⁹

Al-Yāzījī's most striking contribution to womankind was the care with which he educated his daughter, Warda (1838-1924),⁴⁰ whose literary gifts he cultivated, enabling her to achieve acclaim as a poetess.⁴¹

By 1868, the second learned society of al-Bustānī and al-Yāzījī, founded by them in 1857, had obtained official recognition and included members from Constantinople and from Cairo. This "Syrian Scientific Society" differed from its predecessor in breaking through the religious barrier and in enrolling Muslims and, despite recent hostilities, Druzes, as well as Christians.⁴² In 1870, al-Bustānī started the publication of

³⁷Rifaat, pp.45-50.

³⁸Dāghir, p.183.

³⁹Dāghir, p.471

⁴⁰Muḥammad Maḥmūd, ed., Al-Shi'r al-Nisā'ī al-'Asrī, Cairo, 1929, p.5.

⁴¹Mayy Ziyāda, Warda al-Yāzījī, Cairo, n.d., p.13.

⁴²Antonius, pp.53-54.

Al-Jinān (Gardens), a fortnightly literary review with frankly political overtones. Its motto was: "Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān" ("Patriotism is an article of faith.") Drawing contributions from writers of the neighboring Arab countries, it increased the flow of ideas.⁴³

c) Back in Egyptans in Egypt

During the '70s the pendulum of intellectual activity swung from Bayrūt back to Cairo, rebounding from Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz's misrule on the one hand and attracted by Khedive Ismā'īl's sanguinity and laissez faire attitude on the other. One of the first to arrive was a learned and outspoken young man of thirty-two who had already been prime minister of Afghānistān and the pioneer of an influential group in Constantinople, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. Though even then a controversial figure, he was welcomed as an illustrious visitor by a far from liberal prime minister, Riyād Basha, and given a government allowance. Unlike al-Bustānī, al-Afghānī's concentration was not upon Arabness and toleration within that concept, but upon Islām: religious, social, and political, its revitalization and modernization along liberal and constitutional lines; its unification under a strong Caliph; and its need to protect itself from foreign intervention. To him urgency superceded moderation; and political activity, even if its vehicle was revolution, was a better means than the pen, even if its vehicle was Arabic, the language of scripture. For the next eight years al-Afghānī lectures to an ever-growing number of students at his Cairo house and at Al-Azhar.⁴⁴

⁴³ Rifaat, p.50; see also Sylvia Haim, Arab Nationalism, Berkeley, 1962, pp.3-4.

⁴⁴I. Goldziher, "Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", Encyclopedia of Islam, Leiden, 1962, pp.416-419.

While eschewing them for himself, al-Afghānī encouraged his students to write up his ideas for the columns of the press and thus to train themselves in the new art of journalistic writing. The Egyptian press corps was mushrooming. Apart from the Syrian influx, there were five newspapers: the official Al-Waḡā'ī' al-Miṣriyya (see above, page 15); Wādī al-Nīl (The Nile Valley), the first non-official journal, begun in 1866, supported by Ismā'īl, and edited by 'Abd Allah Abū 'l-Sa'ūd, a history teacher and government official;⁴⁵ Progrès Egyptien, French weekly, first seen in 1868, independent of the Khedive and a limited repository of discontent;⁴⁶ Al-Watan (The Homeland), established in 1877 by Copts, edited by Mikhā'īl 'Abd al-Sayyid, originally backing the Khedive, then joining the opposition;⁴⁷ Abū Nazāra, founded in 1877 by a Jew, James Sanua, satirizing Ismā'īl and introducing colloquial Arabic as a literary medium.⁴⁸ At a later date Al-Hijāz,⁴⁹ joined the ranks of the opposition, as well as Al-Ustadh, edited by a bright young radical, 'Abd Allah al-Nadīm.⁵⁰

The best known and most enduring newspapers, however, were those founded by the Syrian arrivals of the late '70s and early '80s. Among the first to arrive was Salīm Taqla, recently a student of al-Yazījī's at al-Bustānī's National School, who came to Egypt to teach Arabic and

⁴⁵Gibb, p.250 and Heyworthe-Dunne, p.345.

⁴⁶Heyworthe-Dunne, p.345.

⁴⁷Heyworthe-Dunne, p.345.

⁴⁸Gibb, p.306, and Heyworthe-Dunne, p.344-345.

⁴⁹The Earl of Cromer, Modern Egypt, I, New York, 1908, p.208.

⁵⁰Adams, p.222.

to broaden his experience. In 1875, with the help of his brother, Bishāra, he founded the weekly, Al-Ahrām (The Pyramids), in Alexandria. Five years later it was supplemented by a daily, Sadā al-Ahrām, (The Echo). The two Ahrāms, while admitting some French influence, were a voice of the Arab movement.⁵¹ (Today it is the most widely circulated paper in the Arab world.)

The enthronement at Constantinople of a new Sultān, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II, who replaced misrule with autocracy, accelerated the migration of Syrians to Egypt. For a time, a frankly revolutionary secret society, formed on the pattern of al-Bustānī's learned societies by five young Christian graduates of the Syrian Christian College (founded in 1866 and later renamed the American University of Bayrūt) and including enlightened Muslims and Druzes as well as Christians, held out against the Sultān's tyranny.⁵² One of these five young men, Faris Nimr, and his brother, Ya‘qūb Ṣarrūf, a member of the College's first graduating class, issued Al-Muqtaṭaf (Selection) in 1876. It weathered the oppressive climate for about five years and then moved, along with several prominent men of the secret society, to Cairo, where its role in the Arab movement was that of a channel of European rationalism and popular science.⁵³ (See p.88).

Damascus-born Adīb Ishāq came to Cairo from Bayrūt and, in 1877, at the age of twenty-one, founded the weekly, Misr (Egypt) and, in 1879, Al-Tijāra (Commerce). In this second venture he was aided by a Syrian,

⁵¹Dāghir, p.220 and Moshe Perlmann, "The Egyptian Press", Middle Eastern Affairs, I, 1, New York, January, 1950, p.12.

⁵²Antonius, p.79.

⁵³Dāghir, p. 540, and Perlmann, p. 12.

Salīm Naqqāsh, who is said to have coined the slogan: "Egypt for the Egyptians", which caught on about 1877.⁵⁴ Jurji Zaydān, just graduated from the Syrian Protestant College's medical school, reached Cairo in 1881 and brought out Al-Zamān (Time), which was but a prelude to his greater newspaper, Al-Hilāl (The Crescent), published in 1892.⁵⁵ (See p.88)

The press at this period was important not only for its content, but for its role, in a country where illiteracy and poverty limited the market for books, as the repository of literary effort. Through it, the revitalized and enriched Arabic language was simplified and, at the same time, made more elastic and more precise. Discussion of modern subjects - politics, economics, and science - helped forge a new vocabulary. It was not only the training ground for writers, but also the arena for the intellectual quest and for the ideological strife of a changing society.⁵⁶

Muḥammad ʿAbduh was a man of early and lasting prominence in this arena; indeed he became the most influential figure of the Arab and of the Muslim world in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Ten years al-Afghānī's junior, ʿAbduh was one of his first and most constant disciples, sifting what was constructive in his teachings through the sieve of moderation. ʿAbduh's first book, written in 1874, reflects al-Afghānī's influence, and his first contributions to the press digest his teacher's lectures. Al-Afghānī's ideas are also evident in a series of articles which ʿAbduh wrote for the new weekly, Al-Ahrām, in 1876,

⁵⁴Dāghir, p. 111.

⁵⁵Dāghir, p.442.

⁵⁶Perlmann, p.11.

and which mark his active undertaking of the role of public reformer.⁵⁷ With some difficulty because of his advanced ideas out of harmony with the conservative shaykhs in control, 'Abduh received his degree from Al-Azhar in 1877. Almost immediately, he returned there as a teacher. The following year Prime Minister Riyād Basha arranged 'Abduh's appointment to the faculties of Dār al-ʿUlūm (The Academy of Sciences) and of the Khedivial School of Languages as well. In his new positions he put his educational theories into practice, replacing the dry courses and methods of his own student days with subjects of contemporary interest and with the application of knowledge to social and political affairs.⁵⁸

3. Intellectual Impact on Political Climate

Thus the later '70s presented a financially overextended Khedive, harrassed by foreign creditors, with a semi-formulated, semi-indigenous intellectual movement, which, as a balance to other pressures upon him, he was forced to court. On the advice of the Commission of Inquiry, which he appointed in 1878 to mollify public opinion abroad, he reluctantly authorised the pro-British Nubar Basha to form a ministry. To insure its role as a responsible ministry, independent of the Khedive, Nubar obliged Ismā'īl to accept two European ministers, one British, the other French, at the head of Finance and of Public Works. To embarrass the Nubar ministry and to appease the reaction of public opinions at home, Ismā'īl secretly reactivated the Chamber of Deputies (Assembly of Notables) which he had created in 1866 as a facade of constitutionalism. This move allowed the

⁵⁷ Adams, pp. 32-40 and Heyworthe-Dunne, p.346.

⁵⁸ Adams, pp.43-46.

idea of a constitutional form of government to be envisioned among the intellectuals, little as they trusted Ismā'īl, as a coming reality. The Constitutionalists were represented in government by 'Alī Basha Mubārak, by Sharīf Basha (sometime minister of Justice and of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister), and by a few others. The Khedive heir apparent, Tawfīq, had come under al-Afghānī's influence and had given repeated assurances that, if ever he became Khedive, he would govern on constitutional lines.

The liberal intellectuals were therefore encouraged when, in the wake of open protests, Nubar submitted his resignation and Tawfīq was called upon to preside over a new ministry. Tawfīq, however, was unable to reconcile the dissonant factions, the Khedive on the one hand and the liberals on the other, to the two European ministers, who now controlled the cabinet. Ismā'īl gladly accepted his son's resignation and charged Sharīf Basha, whose liberalism he temporarily overlooked in favor of his anti-British views, with forming a new government, the outstanding feature of which was opposition to foreign interference. While Britain and France were reviewing their avenues of influence in Egypt, Bismarck's Germany formally protested Ismā'īl's resumption of financial control. Britain and France, then Russia and Italy, followed. Britain and France went one step further and advised the Khedive to abdicate. The Sultān was easily persuaded by the Powers to pull rank on his ambitious vassal and seized this opportunity of using his suzerainty over Egypt to depose the resourceless Khedive.

On the morning of June 26, 1879, two telegrams were dispatched to Cairo from Abd al-Hamīd II in Constantinople, one addressed to the

ex-Khedive Ismā'īl and the other to Tawfīq, Khedive of Egypt, informing father and son of their new situations. Four days later Ismā'īl left Egypt forever on his yacht, Maḥrusa, captained by Qāsim Amīn's foster father.⁵⁹

4. State of Secondary Education

During these eventful years (1875-1879), Qāsim attended the Preparatory School in Cairo. The school's curriculum did not include civics and social studies, but it was neither so exacting nor so stimulating that it would have left an eclectic teenager like Qāsim no time to observe the world around him. In addition, his residence with a member of the Khedive's official household placed him inside the arena of public affairs.

The Cairo Preparatory School was located in the confiscated palace of the Khedive's estranged brother, Muṣṭafā Fāḍil, father of the free-thinking princess Nazlī, in Darb al-Jamānīz, which was fast becoming the hub of the new educational movement.⁶⁰ The school averaged two hundred students with a faculty of thirty-five. (page 389). Enrollment reflected the government's budgetary vicissitudes; from 1877 scholarship allowances were reduced, and the student body shrank. (page 383). Economic necessity and the teacher shortage required the employment of some of the best students as tutors. (pages 354), 359, 371, and 354).

⁵⁹ Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt, New York, 1922, pp.95-96; Earl of Cromer, Modern Egypt, I, New York, 1908, pp.43-73; M. Rifaat Bey, The Awakening of Modern Egypt, London, 1947, pp.160-162. (Respectively pro-Nationalist, pro-British, and pro-Khedive.)

⁶⁰ Heyworthe-Dunne, pp.348 and 352-353. (Subsequent referances to this work by page number in text.)

The regulations for the syllabus of the Preparatory School, set out clearly how much work the teachers were to cover in each of the four years. The Arabic syllabus, for example, illustrates the application of old-fashioned Azhari methods in the teaching of language: Al-Alfiyya, (The Magnum) a twelfth century versified grammar by Ibn Mālik of Jaen, was divided into three parts, three hundred lines to be memorized in the first year, four hundred in the second, and three hundred in the third; in the fourth year, the students had to learn the commentary on it by al-Suyūtī, a fifteenth century scholar. The only texts that were prescribed were al-Ṭarṭūshī's (d. 1126) collection of admonitions, entitled Sirāj al-Mulūk, (Taper of Kings), and a similar work by ʿAbd Allah al-Shubrāwī (d. 1778), entitled ʿUnwān al-Bayān wa-Bustān al-Adhḥān (Designation of the Explanation and Garden of Minds). The results of the teaching of Arabic were out of all proportion with the efforts and time spent on the subject; it was not uncommon for a graduate to enter government service without being able to write a letter in Arabic or to draw up a report. The system of learning by memory was applied equally to Turkish, Persian, and modern European languages. The best part of the time was devoted to the study of formal grammar; the rules and illustrative passages were set out in Arabic and memorized. The rest of the syllabus included history, geography, natural history, zoology, botany, physics, chemistry, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, cosmography, calligraphy, and drawing, a wide field for a four year course (pages 381 and 434).

D. Egypt as the '70s Turn '80

1. Political-Intellectual Climate

Qāsim's years at Law School corresponded with the early period of Tawfīq's reign.⁶¹ The new Khedive was a docile and indecisive man, able to handle government routine, but unable to cope with the critical situation which he faced on becoming Khedive. With the Sultān seeking to tighten his newly won hold over his vassal, and the Dual Control powers seeking reaffirmation of their position, the constitutional promises that he had made to the reformist group, headed by al-Afghānī, fell by the wayside. First he consented to his minister Sharīf's suggestion that he issue a decree granting a constitution; then, at the insistence of the consuls of the Dual Control, he refused to sign it. Thereupon Sharīf resigned, August 18, 1879, and Tawfīq attempted to be his own prime minister, coming increasingly to depend, in order to avoid his father's fate, on the advice of the British and French representatives. An early victim of this line of least resistance was al-Afghānī whom he expelled from Egypt in September. Very shortly thereafter, he removed ʿAbduh from the Academy of Sciences and from the School of Languages and ordered him into town arrest in his native village. On September 22, Tawfīq summoned Riyāḍ to form a government. Riyāḍ was a native Egyptian Muslim of humble background. Though a believer in absolute government, he had on occasion given courageous support to change and reform. Much as he disliked European interference, he chose to use it to the best

⁶¹This chapter summarizes the accounts of the period in Blunt, Cromer, Rifaat, and Adams. See, esp., Blunt, pp.94-98, 147, 125, and 116; Cromer, I, pp.68, 73, 337, 202, 212, and 152-153; Rifaat, pp.174-187; and Adams, pp. 7 and 44-51.

advantage of Egypt. He took office under the Dual Control and acquiesced in their opposition to the spirit of profound discontent which at that time was spreading among the educated classes as they saw the government passing helplessly into the hands of foreigners, because he thought this the way to make Egypt solvent enough to remove the excuses for foreign intervention. The reforms of the two-year period of Riyāḍ's administration were concentrated mainly on the liquidation of the public debt, an effort of primary importance for Egypt, but mustering little popular enthusiasm. Riyāḍ also gave his attention to initiating reforms in the national law courts, a development which Qāsim and his classmates probably discussed at great length. (See pp. 63-67.)

The reformists themselves held appointments in the Riyāḍ administration. In September, 1880, he made 'Abduh editor-in-chief of Al-Waḡā'i' al-Miṣriyya, the official journal. 'Abduh was permitted to employ a number of other writers who had been trained by al-Afghānī, among them Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Salmān, 'Abduh's lifelong friend and supporter, and Shaykh Sa'd Zaghūl, then an Azhar student in his early twenties. In this capacity 'Abduh was able to require that all offices and departments of the Government submit reports of their actions and decisions. As mouthpiece of the Government, he could then criticize and publicize as he saw fit. This led to gradual improvement in the work of all departments and, especially, to higher literary standards in official reports.

'Abduh also had the right to censor all newspapers published in Egypt. His insistence on the improvement of the quality of journalistic writing spurred the Arabic literary revival. From the outset he encouraged contributions on the state of education in the country and broadened the

journal's scope by creating a literary department for the expression of opinion on subjects of public interest. His own thirty-six articles reflect his deep concern that the progress of the country, though it might partly depend upon imitation of European ways, should be built on inherent and enduring values. He thought reform possible only when people's character, ideas, and actions changed, a long process predicated on improvement of education. Thereafter follows the removal of corruption and of extravagance and the quest for representative government, justice, and patriotism. In writing of the role of the family, he discusses marriage as a necessary institution, acknowledges the deteriorating influence of polygamy upon the home, and claims that the practical intent of the Shari'a, by its insistence upon justice being done to each wife, favors monogamy. Throughout his editorship, 'Abduh had Riyād's approval.

Riyād, however, was growing more and more unpopular. The Khedive resented his independent spirit, and, despite 'Abduh's position, the reformist set was against him for his cooperation with the Dual Control. In their opposition to the prime minister, Court and Constitutionalsists again grew closer together. Yet Riyād's downfall came from still another quarter, the army. The preferential treatment given by Riyād's Minister of War to non-Egyptian officers, incited the Egyptian officers to mutiny under the leadership of an Azhar educated fallāh, Colonel Ahmad 'Urābī. As a result, a new Minister of War was appointed, Maḥmūd Samī' al-Barūdī, a strong Constitutionalist from Sharīf's party who was sympathetic with, although not close to, 'Urābī's group. 'Urābī seems to have been equally undeserving of the credit granted him by the liberal element and of the

scapegoating directed at him by Riyād. When half a year later, in September, 1881, Riyād forced al-Barūdī's resignation, 'Urābī led another demonstration in front of the Khedive's 'Abādīn palace, acting this time not only on the name of the army but also in the name of the people and demanding an increase in the size of the army, a meeting of the Chamber of Deputies, and a new cabinet.

Tawfiq complied with the last of these demands by accepting Riyād's resignation, submitted ostensibly on grounds of ill-health, but in reality because of the lenient treatment 'Urābī received, and asked Sharīf to form a new government. Sharīf was a Turk by birth and an aristocrat. He was not anti-Khedive, but wished to see him rule in a constitutional framework; or he would have been just as happy, even happier, to have constitutional government without the Khedive. The Khedive liked Sharīf for his sincerity and frankness, but was uncomfortable about his liberal views. 'Abduh and the reformists acclaimed him for his integrity. The press enjoyed greater freedom, especially to criticize abuses benefiting Europeans. Despite his abatement of the Dual Control, the British under the liberal Gladstone and the French preoccupied with domestic worries, welcomed him as an honest and moderate reformer. Although 'Urābī and his group also professed confidence in him, Sharīf had no intention of acting at the dictates of the military and judged that the military was the greatest danger to him. Appreciating, as did 'Abduh, the desirability of keeping the reformists separated from the army, he reassigned Colonel 'Urābī to a post outside Cairo and convoked the Chamber of Deputies, including men of fallāh background such as Sulṭān Basha, to take over 'Urābī's self-appointed task of acting in the name of the people.

Those sympathetic to the regime observed it to be "the happiest time, politically, that Egypt has ever known ... All native parties ... were united ... in the streets of Cairo men stopped each other, though strangers, to embrace and rejoice together at the astonishing new reign of liberty which had suddenly begun for them ... Even the foreign Consuls could not but confess that the new regime was better than the old." (Blunt, pp.116-117). Those unsympathetic to Sharīf's ministry assessed it to be "threatened with a degree of confusion against which moral force, persuasion, or even threats would be employed in vain. ... the mass of the people remained for some time indifferent ... (then) discontented ... Cherif Pasha (sic) was inspired by some statesmanlike principles, and was endeavoring to regain the legitimate authority of the Government, but he was wanting in the energy and strength of character necessary ... (though) ably seconded by (British advisers). Arābi (sic) was the real ruler of the country. He had the army at his back." (Cromer, I, pp.202 and 212).

2. The state of the Law School

The law school in Cairo which Qāsim entered upon graduation from Preparatory School was started in 1849 as a branch of the School of Languages (which had been started in 1836⁶² and had become the School of Languages and Accountancy in 1842). The Law School was part of the educational complex dedicated to producing men for public service who could fit into the newly created administrations without being altogether divorced from their old cultural surroundings. Its first director, Rifā'a Bak, was an Azharī of the best type and the only pure Egyptian with a school under his control. From the West he drew the knowledge

⁶² Heyworth-Dunne, p.150. (Subsequent references to this work will appear in the text.)

most suitable to widen the intellectual outlook of his compatriots without forcing them to concentrate on subject useful only for war. Originally designated the School of Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, of the School of Languages and Accountancy, the law school early shared in creating the effendis, a small class of young men of modern outlook. The subjects of instruction were languages, history, geography, mathematics, and French and Islamic law, marking the first time the last named was found among the curricula of a secular institution. Rifā'a's staff included several of the best known shaykhs from Al-Azhar, two of whom taught the Islamic law courses according to the Hanifi rite (pages 266-268).

During the '50s, the School of Languages and Accountancy of which the law school was a branch suffered a checkered existence. In 1851, as part of a centralization move, Viceroy 'Abbās closed it as such, incorporating it into the general system of Civil Schools. 'Abbās seems to have disliked Rifā'a, for he dismissed him and appointed 'Alī Mubārak in his place. Despite Rifā'a's unquestioned religious beliefs, the conservative 'ulamā' (sages) of Al-Azhar were also hostile to him for his interest in learning outside the boundaries they prescribed, in much the same way they later regarded 'Abduh. Mubārak was at this time just beginning a career in education which was to make him the key man in that field and to put Egypt's school system on a broader and more modern basis. Having finished his training in France in 1849, he became soon after his return to Egypt director of the Engineering School. In the new scheme of Civil Schools, the Law School, indeed the whole School

of Languages and Accountancy, seems to have been greatly overshadowed by the Engineering School and all to have been geared to the military machine (pages 296-299). Nonetheless, though general education came no closer to reaching, nor being demanded by, the masses during the reign of ʿAbbās, it achieved a certain stability and promise of growth (page 316).

Stability, however, was shortlived. In 1854, Sa'īd succeeded ʿAbbās, dismissed Mubārak, closed the Engineering School, recalled Rifāʿa, and ordered him to concentrate his efforts on the War College. Along with this, Rifāʿa was given charge over an impossible number of other educational divisions which were reopened on a smaller scale, but which underwent a fruitless shuffle of opening and closing for the rest of Sa'īd's reign (page 317).

On his accession in 1863, Ismāʿīl's first concern was to get military training back on a sound footing. In 1868, Mubārak succeeded Sharīf Basha, whose Deputy he had been, as Minister of Education (page 347). He at once began the attempt to separate the civil schools from the military. The Darb al-Jamāʿiz became the hub of the former; first the Preparatory School was moved there, and, later in 1868, Mubārak opened the School of Administration and Languages, which was afterwards subdivided into the School of Law and the School of Languages. Monsieur Vidal, a French lawyer, was the first director of the School of Administration, which even then was also known as the École de Droit, and remained in the post for twenty-four years (pages 352-353).

In 1871-2, the Schools of Law and Languages had forty-four students and six teachers (page 389), including Vidal, who taught Roman and French

law. A shaykh taught Islamic law and another Arabic; an effendi taught Persian and Turkish; and the other two members of the faculty were tutors. The shaykhs were noted for their antagonism towards their European colleague, and, in general, the director received little cooperation from the Egyptians on his staff (page 355). During the '70s, enrollment fell off; but by 1878 it was again up to forty-seven (page 389).

An evaluation committee which observed the Law School in 1880, while Qāsim was there, and of which Vidal was a member, issued a very pessimistic report about it. The committee thought that the school was not properly staffed; the director sometimes gave lessons, and sometimes an ex-student was employed as a teacher or even the best student in the class. The committee regarded Turkish as useless for judiciary purposes and recommended abolishing it. Arabic should be taught not by the Azhari memorization method, but with the special object of training the students in the use of legal language and in composition. The school was in need of complete reorganization. Until an up-to-date Faculty of Laws could be set up, it recommended the best students be sent to Europe to study (page 433). A similar committee in 1883 reported that the Law School was organized on an inadequate basis for the needs of the country. To fulfill its function of supplying judges and officials for the Native Tribunals, it should be enlarged and improved (pages 441-442).

Thus, though Qāsim was a member of a very small minority that received higher education, it was not at an institution of great tradition or reputation, and most certainly he was inadequately prepared for post-graduate studies in France.

III QĀSIM ABROAD (1881-1885)

A. Academic Life

Shortly after Qāsim obtained his license to practice law in Egypt on October 24, 1881, he left for four years of study at Government expense at the University of Montpellier in France.

A report on Egyptian students abroad has been made for 1880, and a similar situation for the years immediately following may be assumed. The 1880 report gave the number of government students as thirty-eight in France, and one each in England and Switzerland. There were nine others in France at the expense of their parents. Fourteen were studying medicine, ten law, two civil engineering, two arts and crafts, eight veterinary science, and thirteen preparatory studies for the same branches.

The report criticized the absence of supervision over these students. It recommended that students should be chosen with more discrimination as to physical condition as well as to intellectual capacity. When they returned they were unfit for their posts in Egypt, it said, and lacked practical experience. In addition, their stipends were insufficient.⁶³

Qāsim left with his law professors in France an impression of serious and distinguished scholarship. Haykal notes: "I clearly recall an hour I spent with Professor Learned (L r n w d) of the College of Law in Paris. During our conversation, we talked of Egyptians, and he mentioned Qāsim with great admiration. As an Egyptian and at the same time a fan of Qāsim's, I was overjoyed that this professor shared by feelings that he was a fine scholar."⁶⁴

⁶³Heyworth-Dunne, p.436.

⁶⁴Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Fī Awqāt al-Farāgh, Cairo, n.d., p.125.

B. The French Milieu

During his four years of law studies at Montpellier, Qāsim did not restrict himself to purely academic subjects, but also pursued the richness of French culture through extensive touring in Paris and in the French provinces.⁶⁵ His own appreciation of what he saw, and the unreadiness of some of his compatriots to profit from the European experience, is illustrated by a paragraph he later wrote about a visit to the Louvre:

"We, a group of four Egyptians, went to the Louvre museum to take a look at the most outstanding work which the genius of the world's greatest men had produced. After we had walked around two rooms, one of our group sat down on one of the benches, saying: 'I have seen enough. I'll wait for you here.' Another said: 'I'll trail along with you, because I like to walk and I think this tour is giving my body some exercise.' He went along with us, starring straight in front of him not glancing to right or to left, and continued thus until we reached the hall of jewels and jewelry. He perked up, and began peering at the gold. Then he blurted out, 'This is the finest thing in the building.' We came to the statue of the Goddess of Beauty, unrivaled anywhere in the entire world. I asked our guide what this statue would be worth, if it were offered for sale. He said that it was worth the fortune of the richest man in the world, worth all that the human being possessed, worth any amount its owner attached to it and demanded for it, because it is priceless." (Kalimat, pp.24-25)

The entry before this in Qāsim's notebook also reflects the influence of his sightseeing upon him:

"Perhaps one of the greatest reasons for the decline of the Egyptian nation is its backwardness in the fine arts: sculpture, painting, and music. All of the fine arts, despite the variety of their subjects, aim at the same goal: training the mind to love beauty and excellence. To neglect them is to leave the senses and the emotions inadequately trained."
(Kalimāt, p.24)

⁶⁵Khākī, p.8.

In the field of literature, France was in the middle of a period of reaction against romantic and lyrical tendencies. The great apostle of romanticism in France, Victor Hugo, reached the end of a long life in 1885. Writers tried to apply the scientific method to history and literature, which, in general reflected a spirit of freedom and equality, as well as a sense of realism. By the late nineteenth century, the theories of evolution and progress of Charles Darwin, who died in England not long after Qāsim came to France, had penetrated all branches of thought.

The nineteenth century was great in historical literature. Francois Guizot (d.1874), also a statesman and an educator, created history as a social science, based on accurate research. Ernest Renan (d. 1892), who roused a storm over his original and easily comprehensible religious histories, was perhaps the nineteenth century's finest French prose writer. (See below, p.38). Hippolyte Taine (d. 1893), a philosopher and historian of art and literature, including English, was prominent among the advocates of the scientific method and a founder of the "naturalist" school.

The novelist, Emile Zola, became the chief exponent of naturalism. Mastery of style, however, made Anatole France the accepted leader of contemporary letters in his country. The emotional Pierre Loti was perhaps the greatest impressionistic novelist of his time.

In Qāsim's own later writings can be found the influences of these men as well as the earlier French literati: Francois Fenelon (1651-1715), the pedagogue and author of Traite de l'Education des Filles; Voltaire (1694-1778), the rationalist sceptic, the philosopher-Deist, the Apostle

of the "Enlightenment"; Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the apostle of romanticism, the "father" of modern democracy, one of the first political scientists; and Alphonse Lamartine (1790-1869), the romantic liberal.

Enlightenment and liberalism, at least superficially, were translated into governmental reality in France's Third Republic, whose constitutional laws of 1874-1895 assured full democracy. At the same time, however, the needs of spreading industrialization and of a more vocal populace gave rise to the increased self-consciousness, acquisitiveness, and rivalry among countries which, termed nationalism, became the overriding, though not yet venerated, force. Thus the nominally liberal French Republic was unliberally able to follow the annexation of Algeria in 1858 with the protectorate of Tunis in 1881 and to gain control over many other territories in Africa and the Far East and finally, in 1912, over Morocco.

His French experience cannot have offered Qāsim much enlightenment about the cause which was later so to occupy him: the role of women in society. True, he was for the first time living in a country free of veiling and of recognized polygamy, but what was the French attitude toward women? It was not on a very high plane. According to the Napoleonic code of 1804, "Woman is given to man to bear children; she is therefore his property, as the tree is the gardener's." To the husband, as "chief lord and master", was left the exclusive management of his wife's property. She could not spend or sell her own money or goods, inherited or earned, without his permission. Women, like minors and the mentally weak, were judged incapable of managing their own affairs and could sign a legal document only with their husband's

permission. Marriage, according to Montaigne in the 16th century, was to benefit the community, not necessarily the couple. In the 17th, see Moliere; 18th, and 19th, see Balzac. Marriage had little to do with a compatible relationship between two people, but was more a business agreement. Divorce, introduced by the Revolution, was abolished by the monarchy after the fall of Napoleon, and just again re-instituted in 1884. A widow could only inherit the same share as a child and often suffered therefrom in old age.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Andre Maurois, "France Reassays Love and Marriage", New York Times Magazine, March 27, 1960, pp.36-40; "French Wives May be Granted More Rights", Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Nov. 17, 1960, p.7.

C. France's Egyptian Community

It is not known how actively Qāsim was caught up in the political and social currents in France. Nor is it known how closely, if in any way, he was connected with the undaunted group from Egypt, notably al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh, who chose Paris as their place of exile. In all probability, Qāsim had come to know ʿAbduh during the first half of 1879 when ʿAbduh was teaching at the School of Languages and Qāsim studying at the School of Law.

Forced to leave Cairo, al-Afghānī took up residence in Paris early in 1882. ʿAbduh did not join him there until the beginning of 1884, over a year after he too was ousted from his homeland. Al-Afghānī was not long in submitting articles to the French press, which soon brought him publicity throughout Europe.⁶⁷ During 1882, Le Journal des Débats published his literary discussion with Ernest Renan on the subject of "Religion and Science".⁶⁸ With ʿAbduh, he formed a secret society and began, in 1884, to issue a weekly newspaper in Arabic, both enterprises carrying the same name, The Indissoluble Bond (Al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa). The newspaper created a great stir throughout the Muslim world in its attempt to arouse a national spirit in Islamic nations and to inspire them to unite against Western domination. Within a year the society and its organ were suppressed through the machinations of Sultān ʿAbd al-Hamīd, and its editors left France. Al-Afghānī never returned to Egypt, but ʿAbduh received permission to go back in 1888. After Paris, the two friends did not meet again.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Adams, pp.8-9 and 57-58.

⁶⁸Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Refutation des Materialistes, trans. A.-M. Goichon, Paris, 1942, pp.174-185.

⁶⁹Adams, pp.9-10 and 58.

D. The News from Home

Despite Qāsim's joy in France's intellectual life and notwithstanding the hospitality which the French accorded to visitors and to refugees from Egypt, he and his compatriots there could have been nothing but bitter during most of their first year about the political role which France was simultaneously playing in Egypt.

Almost coincident with Qāsim's departure from Cairo, the outlook went from white to black for the Sharīf government. The major hand behind this change was that of the new French premier, Gambetta. From his predecessor, St. Hilaire, he had inherited a revolt against the French government in Tunis and Algeria. In order to thwart what he considered the pan-Islamic character of this rebellion and to safeguard French investments in Egypt, he was eager to see tight Anglo-French control of Egypt, with or without armed occupation as the case might require. The British Foreign Minister, Lord Granville, allowed himself to be dragged along beyond the point where Gladstone could extricate him or Her Majesty's Government.⁷⁰

At Gambetta's suggestion, the British and the French took the occasion of the convening of the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies, meeting on December 26, 1881, to discuss the articles of the promised constitution (and thereby being the first constituent assembly ever held in Egypt) - to issue a joint note offering to support the Khedive and declaring that the two governments "consider the maintenance of His Highness on the throne ... as alone able to guarantee ... good order and development of

⁷⁰Blunt, pp. 138-142 and Cromer, I, p.215.

general prosperity in Egypt".⁷¹ No one, Khedive, Consuls-General or Sultān, had asked for such a note. The Khedive was favorably impressed by the assembly and took a hopeful view of it; the Note, instead of strengthening him, frightened him; he acknowledged it with formal thanks. The British Consul General wrote: "The note has ... alienated from us all confidence. Everything was progressing capitally, and England was looked upon as the sincere well-wisher ... of the country. Now it is considered that England has definitely thrown in her lot with France ... and that France from motives in connection with her Tunisian campaign is determined ultimately to intervene here."⁷²

The liberal reformers, whom it was calculated to frighten, the Joint Note enraged. 'Abduh and the anti-violence moderates threw in their lots with the militant immoderates led by 'Urābī, who had returned to Cairo and been harnessed with an under-secretaryship in the War Office. 'Urābī gained immensely in popularity and in respect, and talk of pan-Islamism was everywhere. Apprehension, increased by the news that a French force was being assembled at Toulon, was only slightly diminished by the fall of Gambetta's government on a domestic issue on January 31.⁷³ Prime minister Sharīf, though outraged, tried to maintain a sensible course. His hopes of alienating the military from the deputies were now shattered. Sultān Basha, the appointed president of the Chamber, a timid and easily frightened man of the third estate, at first sided with Sharīf, but, under the menace of the Note, followed those no longer in a mood for conciliation. Sharīf's continued unwillingness to

⁷¹Rifaat, pp.189-190.

⁷²Rifaat, pp.190-191.

⁷³Blunt, pp. 137-145.

cooperate with the military drew him closer to the Khedive and to the Consuls-General. Nonetheless, on February 1, Sharīf's constitution became law. In February the less temperate deputies, prompted by the military and despite 'Abduh's advocacy of caution, forced Sharīf's resignation over a budgetary matter. A deputation to the Khedive requested he appoint the Minister of War, Maḥmūd al-Barūdī, the prime minister and 'Urābī the Minister of War. The Khedive yielded.⁷⁴

Except for Mustafā Pasha Fahmī, an aristocrat and a liberal only to the extent that he followed Sharīf and constitutionalism, who assumed the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs mainly because of his knowledge of French, the other members of the cabinet were now all liberal reformists or militarists, who both were now identified in the term nationalist.⁷⁵

The British Foreign Office continued to wish to avoid armed intervention. If absolutely necessary, they thought occupation of Egypt by her Turkish suzerain the least of all possible evil courses. The French suspected in part that the British were holding back, awaiting an opportunity to act unilaterally. This suspicion was enhanced by the opposition of Gambetta's successor, de Freycinet, to his predecessor's interventionist ambitions.⁷⁶ As early as January 31, at least one British official in Egypt admitted that he would thenceforth work to ruin the nationalist party and for annexation or, at least, intervention as the only way to preserve England's foothold in Egypt.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Rifaat, pp.187-192.

⁷⁵Blunt, p.153; and Cromer, I, p.243.

⁷⁶Cromer, I, p.253.

⁷⁷Blunt, p.152.

Gradually an irrational mistrust grew up between the Egyptian nationalists and the foreign interventionists, each group fearing and trying to protect itself from the other. The Khedive's sympathy toward the liberal Sharīf ministry did not carry over to its successor; instead, his ear was more available to the advice of the Consuls-General. An incident which sharpened the break between Khedive and cabinet, though the Chamber of Deputies attempted to play a conciliatory role, gave Britain and France a pretext for sending a battleship squadron to Alexandria, on May 19, 1882,⁷⁸ ostensibly to watch over the interests of Europeans in Egypt. Any attempts the British may have wished to make to involve the other Powers and Turkey and so internationalize the responsibility for the action, the French stopped, wishing to share the control no further.⁷⁹

The Consuls-General advised the Khedive to take advantage of the presence of the squadron to replace the al-Barūdī ministry with one more congenial to him. When the Khedive could find no one willing to undertake the formation of a new cabinet, Chamber president, Sultān Basha, and his colleagues advised him at least to keep 'Urābī in power, the better to keep an eye on him.⁸⁰ The rapprochement between Egyptian liberals and militarists quickened because of France's proprietary attitude. 'Urābī favored action on the part of the Sultān if it would rid Egypt of European interference. The Khedive claimed always to respect the rights of the Sultān and, as May ended without resolve of the impasse, formally asked him to intervene.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Rifaat, pp.195-196.

⁷⁹ Cromer, I, pp.268-269.

⁸⁰ Rifaat, p.197.

⁸¹ Cromer, I, pp.272-278.

All the powers of Europe, save France, applauded this move. The French thought it a mistake, than which only French military intervention could have been graver.⁸² As for the Sultān, after having been so long ignored, he had no mind to snap to attention to mend the predicament. In addition, he too was in a dilemma: He had been in secret communication with 'Urābī, on the one hand; on the other, he could not repudiate an official request from the Khedive. The Sultān's attempt to come to terms with both served to strengthen 'Urābī's prestige and his demands.⁸³

Popular impatience for a restoration of stability erupted into mob violence on June 11. This was the first blood shed in the year of 'Urābī's prominence, and, though neither side deserves the blame for it, 'Urābī emerged as the only protector of law and order, after the police failed to quell the riots. The Khedive thanked him and charged him with the responsibility for public safety; 'Urābī swore to defend the life of the Khedive and of every Egyptian.⁸⁴

Bismarck now tried to influence the Khedive to accept a ministry approved by the military. Paris had done a full about-face, was in a mood to come to terms with 'Urābī, and agreed with the German-Austrian position. The British, however, having previously been thwarted by the French from taking a relatively tolerant position in Egypt, now felt they could not accept 'Urābī and the military party. Nonetheless, on June 17, the Khedive nominated the elderly Turk, Raghīb Basha, prime minister and 'Urābī, minister of war.⁸⁵

⁸² Cromer, pp.282-3.

⁸³ Blunt, pp.232-234; Cromer, I, pp.284-285; and Rifaat, p.198.

⁸⁴ Blunt, pp.234-236, 240, 256, 258; Cromer, I, pp.287-288.

⁸⁵ Blunt, pp.257, 259; Cromer, I. p.293.

Thinking to explore ways to insure the safety of their nationals, the British and the French came together at a conference, which the Sultān emasculated by denying his hoped-for support. The two powers had envisioned the Khedive with Sultānic troops as a counterbalance to 'Urābī. At the same time, the Minister of War tackled the job of insuring the fortifications of the important harbor of Alexandria. The French deemed this a routine operation, any interference with which would be an act of offensive hostility against Egypt. The British, on the other hand, took extreme exception to this defensive activity and demanded the work be stopped immediately. When the demand was ignored, the British admiral, Alcester, usurped the prerogatives of the conference and issued an ultimatum to the Egyptians to surrender their forts.⁸⁶ The reply, drafted by the Khedive and 'Urābī, stated Egypt's right to such measures as she was taking and left the responsibility for the consequences with whoever fired the first shell.⁸⁷

On July 11, the British fired. The menacing forts crumbled within a few hours. For every Britisher killed, two hundred Egyptians lay dead. Within five days, the British were in effective possession of the city.⁸⁸

On July 12, the Khedive called his ministers together, 'Urābī not among them, and placed himself under the protection of the British. On the 14th, he invited 'Urābī to confer on the restoration of Alexandria to the Egyptians and of amity between him and the British. On the 15th, a British official in Egypt telegraphed London: "The Khedive has summoned

⁸⁶Cromer, I, pp.290-296.

⁸⁷Rifaat, p.204.

⁸⁸Blunt, p.289; Cramer, I, p.297; Rifaat, pp.206-207.

‘Urābī here. If he comes he will be arrested, if not, declared an outlaw." (Blunt, p.298). In reply, ‘Urābī reminded the Khedive that it was His Highness himself who had urged the course taken to defend Alexandria from the British fleet. His refusal to attend the Khedive resulted in his formal dismissal as Minister of War on July 22.⁸⁹

There were those in Cairo, however, who considered that, not ‘Urābī, but the Khedive had forfeited his position. Of these, a General Council assembled to take over the direction of affairs, unanimously resolved that the Khedive was no longer in a legal position to command and that, while he remained in British hands, his decrees were invalid. ‘Urābī was not among this group; its leaders were the Grand Muftī, the Shaykh al-Islām, the Imāms of the four orthodox Madhāhabs, the Turkish Grand Qādī, the Coptic Patriarch, the Chief Rabbi, many provincial governors, and leading country notables. The Council resolved to maintain ‘Urābī as Minister of War.

At his headquarters not far from Alexandria, ‘Urābī held daily a kind of court. To it provincial magnates, the Cairo ‘ulamā’, and well-to-do merchants thronged. The independent princess Nazlī Faḍl, cousin of the Khedive, and other princely ladies lionized him and showered him with gifts as the hero of the day. Throughout the Muslim world, he was regarded as the champion of Islām.⁹⁰

Although the fortunes of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, still the editor of the Official Journal, were closely bound up with ‘Urābī at this period, he realized how great a threat an armed revolution would be to his work

⁸⁹Blunt, p.298 and Cromer, I, p.300.

⁹⁰Blunt, pp.294-300.

of reform and how apt it was to result in foreign occupation. Yet 'Urābī looked to him as a teacher, and 'Abduh hoped that his direction of the intellectual side of movement would effect reform and freedom without military conflict. When finally faced with the choice between 'Urābī in arms and the British in arms, he sided with the former and became 'Urābī's partner in exile. He went to Bayrūt in December and on to Paris to join al-Afghānī early in 1884. (See above, page 38).⁹¹

After the bombardment, Britain proceeded cautiously to establish sanctions for her position. She called the powers into conference at Constantinople. The Sultān was prevailed upon to issue a proclamation outlawing 'Urābī, a great blow to Egyptian morale, but would not agree on a joint expedition into Egypt. Britain decided to go the occupation alone.

The invasion route was highly unorthodox and took 'Urābī by complete surprise. The British entered by way of the Suez Canal, the neutrality of which had been sanctioned by the Powers. Ferdinand de Lesseps himself had counselled 'Urābī that the British would not dare use it as a base of operations and had persuaded 'Urābī not to undertake defense in that direction. On September 13, the British seized the Canal and routed the Egyptians in a battle of a few hours duration at Tal al-Kabīr. At best, 'Urābī was not a great soldier, and, receiving no backing from his badly-shaken supporters to defend Cairo, he surrendered to the British on September 14. The British commander-in-chief, Consul-General Sir Edward Malet, escorted the Khedive back

⁹¹ Cromer, I, p.348 and Adams, pp.51-57.

to Cairo with a new ministry formed by Sharīf, who named Riyād Minister of the Interior.⁹²

ʿUrābī was tried before a special court composed of Egyptians, but defended by English lawyers, hired by his Irish supporter, Sir Wilfred Scawen Blunt, who feared that Sharīf's and Riyād's anger over ʿUrābī's responsibility for the British occupation might weigh the sentence toward the death penalty. By pleading guilty to the formal charge of rebellion, ʿUrābī avoided capital punishment and was sentenced to perpetual exile.⁹³

On ʿUrābī's departure with six colleagues not long after ʿAbduh's, the first phase of the Nationalist movement collapsed. It kept on breathing quietly, however, mainly in Paris, where for a decade the anti-British interaction between French and Egyptians was keenest. In France, (where non-involvement was reinforced by the German threat on the Eastern border), the immediate concern about the British occupation was the fate of the Dual Control, headed by the Consuls-General of the two countries, which had remained at least officially in operation and which she wished to see continue. In October, the British informed the French of their intention to withdraw from the Dual Control, and, the following July, a Khedivial decree abolished it altogether.⁹⁴

The victory over ʿUrābī left Britain's Liberal government, headed by Gladstone, "delighted...but troubled in conscience. The Liberal instinct was now to withdraw, but Egypt could not be left a vacuum. To annex her ... was too repugnant ..." (Winston Churchill, A History of the

⁹²Blunt, pp.301-302; Cromer, I, p.323; and Rifaat, pp.211-212.

⁹³Blunt, pp.320-361 and Rifaat, pp.212-213.

⁹⁴Cromer, I, pp.339-340.

English Speaking Peoples, New York, p.338). Britain seems to have intended to withdraw from Egypt as soon as the authority of the Khedive had been restored.⁹⁵ She stated as much in a circular to the Powers in January, 1883.⁹⁶ The following month, the ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Dufferin, led a special mission to Egypt to organize the administration of the country. The mission proposed self-governing institutions, but felt European guidance absolutely necessary. An organic law of May 1 superceded the constitution of February, 1882, and provided in place of the Chamber of Deputies a legislative council and general assembly, both of which were to be merely advisory bodies.⁹⁷ Although these legislative bodies were "to serve as a school for democracy",⁹⁸ no change whatever took place to turn them from advisory to operative organs. On September 11, 1883, Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer, succeeded Malet as agent and consul-general. For twenty-four years he was the de facto ruler of Egypt. Through British aides in all government departments, he called the tune.⁹⁹ In the first few years, fearing repercussions in Europe, primarily France, the British took pains to insist that the occupation was merely provisional. During the '80s, they negotiated two conventions with the Sultān, still the legal sovereign over Egypt, to establish a precise date for evacuation of British troops. Neither were ratified.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ George E. Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, New York, 1963, p.114.

⁹⁶ Sir Reader Bullard, Britain and the Middle East, London, 1951, p.59.

⁹⁷ J.C: Hurewitz, Middle East Dilemmas, New York, 1953, p.63.

⁹⁸ Bullard, p.60.

⁹⁹ Cromer, I, p.345; and Kirk, p.113.

¹⁰⁰ Hurewitz, p.63.

British public opinion proved not as Liberal as feared. The Occupation gained its support as a reaction to the killing for General Charles George (Chinese) Gordon in the Sudan in 1885. The resultant surge of patriotic fervor in Britain, plus the fear that the Mahdists might overrun Egypt from the Sudan if they withdrew, protracted the British stay. By the end of the '80s, the subject of withdrawal was no longer discussed. Formally, the Sultān remained suzerain of Egypt, and Cromer but the peer of the consuls of the other Powers there.¹⁰¹

After his first year in France, therefore, Qāsim and his compatriots found the French government's policy toward Egypt greatly in contrast to its attitude of November, 1881. Though France's attitude was no more prompted by concern for Egypt's welfare than it had been before, its anti-British emphasis was attractive to the Egyptians. France's openly hostile attitude towards the British efforts in Egypt was maintained until well after Qāsim left her shores.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Kirk, p.114.

¹⁰² Kirk, p.113.

IV QĀSIM'S FAMILY LIFE

Qāsim returned to Egypt on August 25, 1885,¹⁰² somewhat over half a year after Gordon's very timely death in the Sudan and two months after the Sudanese Mahdī had died of typhus, his independence movement doomed and his country destined to join Egypt under British control. Egypt had not yet accepted Occupation as inevitable. In 1885, as again in 1887, the British government was actually negotiating the never-to-be-ratified convention with the Sultān pertaining to the date of the troop evacuation.

A. His Marriage

Qāsim went to live with Amīn Basha Tawfiq, in the basement of his house in the Muḥarram Bak section of Alexandria. Soon after moving into the home in 1885, Qāsim fell in love at first sight with the daughter of his host. Although, according to the traditions of that time, Qāsim was not permitted to mix with the women of the family, he caught occasional glimpses of her as she left the house to go visiting or horseback riding. One day, without mentioning the daughter, Qāsim spoke to Amīn Basha of his desire to marry. Amīn Basha had been secretly hoping for a match between his daughter and Qāsim and probed tactfully into the object of the younger man's intentions. When Qāsim admitted his interest in "Your daughter, Zaynab", the marriage was approved with pleasure.

¹⁰²
Khākī, p.5.

B. His Children

The couple had four children, three girls and a boy. The daughters were named Golsen, after a Turkish flower; Shafīqa; and Fahīma, who was also called "Sayyida" in honor of Sayyid al-Badawī, a famous religious personage in Ṭanṭa, the town of her birth. The son, 'Umar, died in a drowning accident in the Jafariyya stream at Ṭanṭa at the age of six. The three girls married; Shafīqa and Fahīma to brothers, Captain Muṣṭafā Safwat Darwish and Judge Muḥammad Tawfīq Darwish. Shafīqa had one daughter, Fahīma one daughter and six sons, one of whom was named Qāsim Amīn after his grandfather.¹⁰³

V QĀSĪM'S PROFESSIONAL LIFE

A. Lawyer and Judge

With Amīn Basha's help, Qāsim was, on December 1, 1885, appointed Assistant Chief of Parquet,¹⁰⁴ (wakīl al-niyāba al-ʿumūmiyya) a deputy of the public prosecutor, who represented the Egyptian government in the ten-year-old Mixed Courts. (al-mahkamāt al-mukhtalifa) (See pp. 57-61), The Belgian M. LeGrelle, named by Nubar, was then public prosecutor.¹⁰⁵ On September 22, 1887, Qāsim entered the Government's division of legal affairs. Qāsim was one of the first Egyptian officials in this department, where, though the Judicial Department was from 1885-1891 under Egyptian aegis, mainly foreigners still officiated. Soon thereafter Fathī Zaghlūl, brother of Saʿd, and Muṣṭafā Fathī joined him.¹⁰⁶

Of his work at this time al-Hilbāwī Bak, afterwards doyen of the legal profession in Egypt, later wrote: "I was already acquainted with Qāsim when he took his position there. I had once tried a case against the Government in Banha, in which he represented the Government. I expected that each of us would have an entirely different outlook because of our educational backgrounds: he a graduate of a European school and I of Al-Azhar. When, however, I heard his arguments on behalf of the Government, I was overcome with an admiration for his excellent style, his good judgment, and his great ability. Ever since that hour, we have been as close as childhood friends."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Khākī, p. 8 and personal communication from Qāsim's family.

¹⁰⁵ Cromer, II. p. 288.

¹⁰⁶ Khākī, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted by Khākī, p. 9.

In June, 1889, Qāsim became a judge in the Nationals Courts,^x which were the old Native Tribunals, drastically reformed in 1883. (See pp.63-67) H was appointed Chief of Parquet in Banī Suwayf (ra'īs nayābat Banī Suwayf). The town of Banī Suwayf, an agricultural center of considerable importance, lay seventy-five miles south of Cairo on the West bank of the Nile and was the chief town of the province (mudīriyya) of Banī Suwayf, the second province of Upper (Southern) Egypt.¹⁰⁸ In this capacity, he was the first to order the release of prisoners accused of crimes against the Government. After two years in this position, he was transferred to the same post in Tanṭa.

From Tanṭa, his reputation for clemency reached the ears of 'Abd Allah al-Nadīm, the only man under sentence of death for his support of 'Urābī, in the provincial hide-out where he had been since September, 1882, when the British entered Egypt. Al-Nadīm placed himself in Qāsim's protection, and, on hearing his appeal, Qāsim adjourned court and took him to Cairo to seek pardon for him out of consideration of the hardship he had undergone in the nine past years. Qāsim took the case directly to the Prime Minister, Riyāḍ Basha, and, although assured that the latter would take positive action, refused to leave Cairo until he had seen the pardon issued.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps his caution stemmed from the memory that Riyāḍ had, in December, 1882, resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sharīf's cabinet because 'Urābī himself was not beheaded.

Such was Qāsim's philosophy and attitude toward his office as judge. Guided by a conciliatory spirit, he could step down from the bench to investigate the roots of the litigation before him and use his personal

¹⁰⁸ C.H.Becker, "Banī Suwayf", Encyclopedia of Islam, I, Leiden, 1959, p.1016.

¹⁰⁹ Khakī, p.9 and 'Umar, p.42.

auspices to rehabilitate the disputants.¹¹⁰ He did not strive to satisfy the majority nor to hide behind safe legal precedents.

On June 26, 1892, along with Sa'ad Zaghlul and Yahya Ibrahīm, Qāsim was appointed a deputy-judge of the Court of Appeal of the Native Tribunals (nā'ib qādī bi-mahkamat al-isti'nāf) in Cairo. Qāsim and Sa'ad sent on to become chancellors (mustashārūna) in this court, a position which Qāsim held, at a salary of one thousand Egyptian pounds a year, for the rest of his life.¹¹¹

Some of Qāsim's later reflections seem born of and applicable to the conduct of his professional life:

"After the age of forty, the intelligent man begins to realize that no absolute has an existence of its own and that the beautiful concepts which we love and revere, such as goodness, truth, and justice, cannot be found to exist in practice apart from their opposites."

Kalimāt, p.8

"The final goal of moral education is surely the forgiveness of sin, of the greatest sin, of all sin."

"Is the sinner responsible or not responsible? And if he is responsible, what is the degree of his responsibility? It is a great problem which anyone who seeks to pass judgment upon another must solve. His solution, however, is almost impossible, since no one can familiarize himself with all of the factors of which the human personality is made up in its moral and physical aspects. The little which one can know thereof shows that the power of the will over the mind is limited and subject to many strong influences which dispute over it, fight over it, and weaken its strength to an unknown and inestimable extent. The entire history of the human being in the past indicates that, although he is not descended directly from the beast of prey, he resembles it in his evil-doing, his rapaciousness, and his appetites. He was created in such a way that his mental and bodily health is a happy accident, a temporary condition."

¹¹⁰ Haykal, Tarājim, pp.154-155.

¹¹¹ Khāki, p.10.

"Sin is the normal thing about which there is no room for surprise. It is the natural state inherent in the instinct of the human being. It is the legacy which Adam and Eve left to their hapless children, from the day when they approached the forbidden tree and tasted its fruit, which I suppose was sweeter than everything allowed them. From that remote day, sin sullied their nature and was transmitted from them to their offspring, generation after generation. That is the heavy burden under which groan our spirits, ablaze with a longing for virtue, unable to attain the slightest bit of it except by a putting forth of the most stubborn efforts. There is no way to gain even this tiny amount except by long practice which is inevitably permeated with repeated lapses into sin which in turn teach useful lessons about what ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{to} avoid in the future."

"Lastly, forgiveness is the only means which sometimes serves to reform the wrongdoer. For rarely will you find a nature, no matter how rigid, which cannot be softened if it is given proper treatment."

Kalimāt, p.10.

This last paragraph shows a marked contrast to the words of Cromer: "No one will think that the increase (in Egyptian crime) is due to poverty ... It is to be found in the fact that the law does not inspire sufficient terror to evil-doers ... I trust that criminals will receive adequate punishment when their guilt has been brought home to them. I deprecate the false sentiment which expends all its sympathy on the criminal and reserves none for his victims. I at times observe symptoms which lead me to believe that this sentiment prevails to a somewhat excessive degree in Egypt."¹¹²

Although the expression of both points of view is somewhat hyperbolic, there is no question that Qāsim's corresponds more closely with the modern theory of penology.

Qāsim includes two more brief reflections on justice:

¹¹²Cromer, II, p.521.

"I know magistrates who hand down unfair judgments in order to become renowned among people for justice.

Kalimāt, p.50.

"To punish injury with injury is to add an injury to an injury."

Kalimāt, p.53.

These are the words of a man whose kindness and clemency were not based on naivete, but on a keen insight into the concepts of good and evil; a man of courage, independence, and observation.

B. The Egyptian Judiciary

1. The Mixed Courts

In becoming a member of the Egyptian judiciary, Qāsim joined one of the most complex legal systems in the world. The complication dates back to the formal concessions granted to Western nations by the local rulers. As early as 1154, a commercial treaty between Egypt and Pisa granted special privileges to Pisa merchants. In 1171, Saladin extended these privileges, according a large measure of religious and civil self-government and immunity from legal action on the part of Saladin's officials without their consent. In 1290 a treaty with Genoa included the first expression of the principle on which, almost seven centuries later, the Mixed Courts were founded: if an Egyptian or foreign Christian has a litigation with a Genoese, the consul shall decide the case. This maxim that the plaintiff must seek his ^{redress} in the defendant's court has played a large role in modern Egyptian history. In 1488 an agreement similar ^x in that arranged with the Genoese was arranged between the Mamlūk ruler Qā'it-bak and the Florentines.

In 1517 the Turkish Sultān Selim I took Cairo and made Egypt a Turkish province. Under Turkish rule this system of concessions which was not limited to Egypt, but extended throughout the Ottoman Empire, came to be known as Capitulations, because of the many chapters - capitula - of the lengthy documents containing them. In 1521, Capitulations were granted to Venice, in 1536 to Francis I of France, in 1581 to Britain,¹¹³ and down through the middle of the nineteenth century to the principle ^{of} powers of Europe and to the United States. In the end there were some fifteen sovereign consular jurisdictions, sheltering some 80,000 foreigners.¹¹⁴

¹¹³Kirk, p.65.

¹¹⁴Jasper Y. Brinton, The Mixed Courts of Egypt, New Haven, 1930. pp.2-5, 9, and 28.

The original aim was to secure a commercial climate of mutual benefit to the Ottoman lands and to the foreign merchants. They were dominated by the essentially religious conception of sovereignty at that time, giving people of alien religious faiths, whether subjects of the Sultan or foreigners, the privilege of being judged by their own laws and customs, as Muslims were judged by their Qur'anic law.

When Muhammad 'Alī gained power in 1807 and wished European cooperation to speed the internal development of his country, he granted the foreign consuls more and more privileges. Muhammad 'Alī had the strength to keep abuses in check. As the hold of the government under the hand of his successors began to weaken, however, abuses multiplied, and the foreigners began to claim by right of usage - a strong sanction in Muslim countries - certain immunities which placed them above the law of the land. Since it was practically impossible to execute any sentence against a foreigner without the consent of his consul, even cases in which Egyptians were not the plaintiff, but the defendants, came to be taken to the consular courts. Criminal cases which involved the Egyptian government rather than an individual as plaintiff now came to the consular courts. Foreign criminals in Egypt had to be tried and, if necessary, imprisoned by their consuls. In case of an appeal, the matter had to be referred to the nearest European court to which the offender belonged. Consuls could even bring suit against the Egyptian government in their own courts and pass sentence against it. Many consuls, especially of the smaller European governments, breached the Capitulations by offering their benefits

to strangers and by accepting for profit Egyptians and Turks as proteges.¹¹⁵

In Constantinople attempts to reform the empire's judicial systems were started in 1820 by European representatives. Further court reforms were instituted by the Turks themselves under the general reform program of 1839 and, in 1856, the Hattı Humayūn attempted further reorganization and, without much success because of the great difference between the system in the two places, to extend them to Egypt.

Another attempt at modification of the existing system occurred in 1861. Two trial courts, composed of five members, two foreigners, two natives, and an Egyptian president, and two courts of appeal of nine members each were set up in Cairo and in Alexandria. They were effective only in cases where an Egyptian was the defendant. The judges in these courts were largely without legal qualifications and the courts proved too weak to override consular privilege.^{115a}

It was Ismā'īl's prime minister, Nubar Bāshā, who undertook the task of total reform of the consular courts. Nubar was a resourceful Armenian, well-equipped for the wily arts of international diplomacy, possessed of international fame and a world outlook. Even before he became prime minister, he was authoring schemes of court reform for which neither the country nor the time was yet ripe. He became minister in 1867 and, for seven years, entirely devoted himself to the situation of the international courts in Egypt. The basis of his project, laid down in 1868, was that justice should emanate from the Government and, at the same time, be independent of it, just as it should also be independent

¹¹⁵Brinton, pp.12-13.

^{115a}Rifaat, pp.115-117, Bullard, p.62, and Brinton, pp.6-9.

of the consular courts. He aimed at establishing in Egypt national courts, drawing the source and fountain of authority from the sovereign of the State, but with the exercise of this sovereignty requiring international consent to make it effective. Both foreigners, selected by the Egyptian government, and Egyptians would be represented and, at the same time, both the authority of the consuls and the absolute power of the Khedive would be curbed. These courts applying codes based primarily on French models, should command the confidence and the respect of Europe and of the rank and file of the population of Egypt. They were not international courts, the litigation provided for not being between nations but between litigants of a mixture of nationality. The designation adopted for them, therefore, was Mixed Courts.

England, Austria and Germany favored Nubar's project, but France offered obstinate objections and the Sultān feared it would prove too great a step toward the final emancipation of Egypt from the last remnants of Turkish suzerainty. England and Russia persuaded the Sultān to back down. France, however, insisted on an important change and continued to hold out. Encouraged by the support of the remaining Powers, the Khedive, on June 28, 1875, incorporated the new courts in the absence, but in anticipation, of French approval. Prevailed upon by the French colony in Egypt and the Suez Canal Company, the French government gave belated approval with a number of conditions and reservations. At last, on January 1, 1876, Riyād Basha (Nubar being then in disfavor because his project gave the new courts jurisdiction over the royal estates) opened the courts at Alexandria.

From the outset, the Mixed Courts were a success. Foreign powers nominated jurists of first rank for the judicial posts. Their principal defect was that the judges were not merely interpreters of the law; they were also to a great extent makers of it and not under the effective control of any legislature.¹¹⁶

The mandate of the new courts was to be renewed by the Powers every five years. The Mixed Courts were organized into three District Courts, at Cairo, at Alexandria, and at Mansura, and were staffed with seventeen foreign judges in all and twelve French-trained Egyptians. Holland had three; Belgium, Sweden and Greece, two each; the Great Powers, the United States, and Denmark, one each. The language of the courts was French. Each judge received \$11,600 and, though nominated by his government, was actually appointed by the Khedive. The supreme power rested with the Court of Appeals at Alexandria, seven judges of which three were foreigners and four Egyptians.¹¹⁷

The jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts covered all suits between Egyptians and foreigners, between foreigners of different nationalities, except in cases of personal status, and between foreigners of the same nationality in cases involving land.

2. The Public Prosecutor

The public prosecutor (or procureur-general) was head of the office of Public Ministry, which was supervised by and answered directly to the Department of Justice, a supervision very lightly applied. The public

¹¹⁶ Brinton, p.45, and Cromer, II, pp.318-319.

¹¹⁷ Rifaat, pp.117-119; Brinton, pp.11,17-18,33,38; Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny, ed., Law in the Middle East, I, Washington, 1955, p.331; and Cromer, II, pp.318 and 516.

prosecutor and his staff constituted the Parquet. Primarily, he was the chief prosecuting officer of the state before the Mixed Courts. He represents the state as sovereign, but not the Government as party litigant, that is, he protects the public interest of the state, leaving the protection of the private interest of the State to the Government's legal department, the Contentient. The public prosecutor has the right and duty to oppose the Government's claim, if he is of the opinion that it is contrary to the public welfare. Further, it is the duty of the public prosecutor to see that the broader interests of the state are properly considered and protected in every litigation which comes before the Mixed Courts, even litigation to which the state is not a party. In fulfilment of this duty, he or his representative sits beside the courts at every session and, whenever he judges the interests of the state require it, exercises the privileges of intervention conferred upon his office by law and by tradition.¹¹⁸

3. Consular Courts

Foreigners in Egypt had the benefit of another distinct set of courts. These were the Consular Courts which had jurisdiction over all suits between foreigners of the same nationalities except those involving land and between foreigners of different nationalities in cases of personal status.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Brinton, pp.90-96.

¹¹⁹ Brinton, pp.97-98 and 289.

4. Religious Courts

In Egypt, there were also two other purely Egyptian court systems. One of these was that of the religious courts. The religious courts dealt in matters of domestic relations and personal status. The Shar'ī courts handled cases between Muslims. Cases between members of a non-Muslim community went before its Majlis Milli. Of these there were fifteen with that of the Egyptian Orthodox Copts having jurisdiction over the greatest number of people.¹²⁰

5. The Native Tribunals - National Courts

The other purely Egyptian court system was that of the Native Tribunals, which looked into all civil, commercial and criminal cases between Egyptians. These cases had previously also been handled by the religious courts, but widespread abuse led to a series of attempts at their reform.

Viceroy Sa'īd had made the first effort -- earnest, but ineffectual -- toward their improvement by acquiring the right from Constantinople to appoint his own judges. This made a great difference to the status of the Egyptian. Theretofore the Qādī al-Qudāt (chief justice) had always been appointed by the Sultān; he, in turn, appointed his subordinates. As he generally paid for his election, so those whom he elected had to pay him, an arrangement which could not have helped the cause of justice. Sa'īd also created five new Provincial Courts (Majālis or Mahākīm al-aqālīm), as a supplement to those then functioning. The five were located in Tanṭa, in

¹²⁰Brinton, p. 285; Charles Issawi, Egypt: An Economic and Social Analysis, London, 1947.

^x Samanūd, in al-Fashn, in Jirjā, and in al-Khartūm. In each of these courts, two shaykhs were appointed, one for Shāfi'ī law and the other for Ḥanafī. Sa'īd abolished his courts, however, in 1860, because the judges were inefficient and corrupt.

Isma'īl reopened them and set up others, notwithstanding the crying need for reform, not only in their operation, but also in their personnel. In reforming the system, some attempts had already been made to teach students both Shar'ī law and the French codes in the school under Rifā'a and in the School of Law in Darb al-Jamāniz. (See above pp.29-32). French codes had been translated and modified to suit local usage and an attempt was made also to codify Muslim law in a more suitable form than that which existed in the Muslim law books.

It was quite another and more difficult problem to produce efficient judges to interpret these codes. Men of the effendī class were appointed as judges in the national courts although a majority of them had no training as lawyers or as judges and could only apply the exact letter of the law as given in the codes and regulations. Although they were trained in the law of fiqh, one of the main branches taught at Al-Azhar, the shaykh-judges who were called upon to administer the Shar'ī law were inefficient and backward, unable to adapt to the new social conditions or to understand the new spirit which was gradually permeating society through contact with Europeans. The effendī, in spite of his lack of training, was more polished and adaptable and quicker witted than his shaykh colleagues.

The production of more efficient teachers and judges was one of the main factors leading to Isma'īl's abortive attempt to reform Al-Azhar. The Rector of Al-Azhar from 1864 to 1870 was a Shāfi'ī, as had been all the Rectors since 1724, the reform-minded Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī. He was forced

out by the conservative Mālikī shaykh, backed by the Mālikī majority of Upper (southern) Egypt and replaced, not by a Mālikī, but by the Ḥanafī, Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī. The Ḥanafī had become more important with the accession of Ismāʿīl and the reform of the law courts, first because it was the official rite and secondly because Ḥanafīs were preferred in the awarding of judgeships, which were now all given to Egyptians to the exclusion of any Turks. Many Egyptians changed over to this rite after 1863 to seek employment as judges. Al-ʿAbbāsī endeavored, in the face of great opposition, to continue the reforms already begun and was sympathetic to the aspirations of al-Afghānī. He was Rector until 1882.¹²¹

The establishment of the Mixed Courts in 1875 gave impetus to a reform and redefinition of the native tribunals. The Government under Lord Dufferin's auspices created a system of national law courts, based on the Code of Napoleon (modified to suit Muslim convention) and modeled largely on the Mixed Courts (though in no way organically related to them) and instituted them in 1883. So different were the new courts that they were more a replacement than a reform of those previously in existence. Sir Benson Maxwell was then Public Prosecutor, but was soon replaced by Mr. (afterward Sir) Raymond West, a judge with distinguished service in India. After several months of study, he produced a voluminous report, but Nubar Basha, who was again in office, did not concur in its views, and West returned, in 1885, to India. It was now left to Nubar to see what he could do in the way of strengthening the new system.¹²²

Nubar's work proceeded better in theory than in practice. ~~Seeing~~
The Belgian Public Prosecutor, Monsieur Le Grelle, whom he had

¹²¹ Heyworth-Dunne, pp.395-401.

¹²² Rifaat, p.120 and Cromer, II, pp.288 and 515.

appointed to head off possible British interference, discovered some serious abuses, notably that for some time the work of the courts had been usurped by "Commissions of Brigandage", a form of courts martial, sitting under the presidency of the Mudīrs. With the suppression of these "Commissions", crime of a serious nature increased, and the Egyptian Government reluctantly consented to appoint to the post of Judicial Adviser an Englishman, Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Scott, who, though disliked by prime minister Riyād, put the judicial system on a sound footing.

Changes in the National Courts were introduced gradually, as experience required. The most important one was the establishment of a Committee of Surveillance, which, without possessing any power to upset or revise judgments already delivered, watched over the proceedings of the Courts of the First Instance. A partial decentralization, first of Civil and subsequently of Criminal justice also took place.

The chief difficulty of the new system was still to find men capable of working it. Before 1890, judges had been named, in Appeal as well as in First Instance, who were far from possessing the necessary qualifications. The best men were not always selected, and the appointments were jobbed. Only gradually were the least capable men weeded out and the standard of efficiency improved.¹²³

The new system consisted of one hundred and two courts of the First Instance (Summary Courts) and eight circuit courts (District Courts), each presided over by a single judge, eleven central courts, and two courts

¹²³Cromer, II, pp.288-290 and 517-520.

of final appeal, one at Cairo and the other at Asyūt.¹²⁴ Their judicial personnel included upward of three hundred and thirty judges, some thirty of whom sat in the various chambers of the Courts of Appeal, each chamber being composed of three judges. Serious or urgent crimes were adjudicated in Assize Courts, consisting of three judges from the central courts and from the courts of appeal.

The language of the courts was Arabic. In order to uphold the courts' prestige, the Egyptian Government paid its judges a somewhat higher salary than it paid the native judges of the Mixed Courts. This helped to attract Egyptian judges from the Mixed Courts to the National Courts.¹²⁵

(In the Treaty of Alliance between Egypt and Great Britain in 1936, the system of Capitulations was abolished. At Montreux, in 1937, an international conference was called by Egypt, assisted by Britain, which set the termination date of the Consular and Mixed Courts, after a transitional period of twelve years, for 1949. The Majlis Milli Communal Courts were abolished in 1959.)¹²⁶

When Qāsim entered the Egyptian judiciary, therefore, it was not one of great historical traditions or of unquestioned popular respect. Qāsim, however, contributed conscientiousness and integrity to his chosen field.

¹²⁴L'Egypte. Memento Economique, Paris, 1950, p.25.

¹²⁵Brinton, pp.278-279.

¹²⁶Rifaat, p.121; Issawi, p.178; and Kirk, pp.172-173.

VI QĀSĪM'S MENTORS

A. Muḥammad ʿAbduh

After seven years of valuable experiences abroad, Muḥammad ʿAbduh was permitted to return to Egypt at the end of 1888. Until his death, seventeen years later, his was the leading spirit of Egyptian intellectual life. Like Qāsim, he was sworn into the National Court system, serving first as judge in the Court of the First Instance in Banha, then in Zaqaḏīq, and then in Cairo. From 1890 until 1899, he served as Consultative Member of the Court of Appeal in Cairo, where he was joined, in 1892, by Qāsim and Saʿd Zaghlūl.¹²⁷

The British Occupation had established a smooth running order in the administration of the country, and, though it did little to enlarge or improve the educational structure, it allowed a generous measure of free expression to the intellectuals, enough indeed (to allow them ample vent) for their antagonisms to being ruled by a foreign power. Many of the intellectuals, Qāsim among them, formed a coterie around ʿAbduh guided by ideals of religious purity and social reform brought about by moderate means, yet with courageous outspokenness. Their love of country did not exclude a cosmopolitan attitude toward foreign influences.

One of the influential people who, with Lord Cromer, had mediated with Khedive Tawfīq in 1888 for ʿAbduh's pardon and permission to return home was Princess Nāzīlī Faḏl. That she did this without yet knowing

¹²⁷ Adams, pp.66-69 and 79. For a full account of ʿAbduh, see Adams, pp.18-176.

‘Abduh is an indication of the esteem which he retained in his absence and of her own forthright attitude. Later the ‘Abduh circle found in Nāzī’s drawing-room their most regular meeting place.

B. Nāzī Faḍl

Nāzī Faḍl was the great-granddaughter of Walī Muḥammad ‘Alī; the granddaughter of Ibrāhīm and his third wife, Ulfet Kadinefendi, a Circassian;¹²⁸ the neice of Walī-Khedive Ismā‘īl; and the first cousin of Khedive Tawfiq. Her father Muṣṭafā Faḍl (1830-1875) was Ibrāhīm's third son, born somewhat later in the same year as his half-brother, Ismā‘īl.

Ibrāhīm took a keen personal interest in the education of his sons. All three had Turkish, Arabic, and Persian teachers, and a resident French tutor. All three were sent abroad to finish their studies in Europe.¹²⁹ At an early age Ismā‘īl and Muṣṭafā were sent to France as members of the scholastic mission of 1844.¹³⁰

Nāzī was born in the early 1840s. She was Muṣṭafā's third child and oldest daughter. After the death of Ibrāhīm in 1848, Muṣṭafā settled with his family in Istanbul and remained there for six years, throughout the reign of his cousin, ‘Abbās I. Entering the service of the Sultān, he became familiar with government routine. At home he maintained a vast library and surrounded himself of the literary and political personalities of his time. His advanced views extended to his family life and to the upbringing of his four daughters, Nāzī, Azīza, Rukiye, and Fatma. As they grew older and at a time when women normally still led cloistered lives, he encouraged them to take part in the literary and political discussions of his friends. A practice unheard of in those days, he allowed his

¹²⁸ Emine Foat Tugay, Three Centuries, London, 1963, p.93. The authoress explains that "the consorts of sovereigns and rulers in Turkey and Egypt whom, being slaves, they had not legally married, were styled Kadinefendi." (Page 13, note).

¹²⁹ Tugay, pp.93-94 and 104.

¹³⁰ Rifaat, p.98.

daughters to ride unveiled on his estate, wearing riding-habits and tall hats, European fashion.¹³¹

On the accession of his uncle, Sa'īd in 1854, Muṣṭafā returned with his family to Egypt and became a member of the Council of State, of which his eldest brother, Ahmad Rifat, now heir presumptive, was president.¹³² Muṣṭafā had vast estates in Upper Egypt which he developed successfully as sugar plantations.¹³³ In addition he owned the Shaykh 'Ubayd Garden, a showplace of some forty acres between Marj and Matariyya on the desert's edge where Nāzli must have spent much of her time as a young girl. Ibrāhīm had purchased it from the Imām of his army in the early 1830s and, displaying a passionate zeal to make it the best of its kind, enclosed thirty-three acres of it with a wall, dug out the sāqiyyas to facilitate its bountiful water supply, and imported fruit trees from Ṭāif in the Hijāz and from Syria. He left it, bringing in a yearly revenue of £800, to his son Muṣṭafā. The pomegranates of the Garden were so large that it was a tradition of the gardeners there that thirty went to make up a camel load. The pick of the crop of its 70,000 fruit trees was sent yearly to Constantinople as a present to the Sulṭān. When Tawfiq lived at near-by Qubba, before he became Khedive, the ladies of his household were carried every Friday of the spring season to Shaykh 'Ubayd Garden to spend the day.¹³⁴

In Cairo, Nāzli's family lived at the palace, Darb al-Jamānīz (Sycamore Court), which Ibrāhīm had appointed splendidly and given to Muṣṭafā's mother, Ulfet Kadinefendi.¹³⁵

¹³¹Tugay, pp.109-110.

¹³²Tugay, p.109.

¹³³Rifaat, p.103.

¹³⁴Blunt (who bought it in 1879 for £1,500), pp.157-159.

¹³⁵Tugay, p.95.

However, Muṣṭafā was drawn back to Istanbul by the greater opportunities for intellectual contacts there. In 1857, because of his remarkable abilities, he was appointed a member of the Majlis-i-Tanzimat (council for reforming old and promulgating new laws) with the rank of vezir and shortly afterwards became a member of the Majlis-i-Vala (High Council of State). In 1861, he was made Minister of Education in the Ottoman government. Subsequently he became Minister of Finance and, then, of Justice. His ministerial career was notable for important reforms and for the abolition of corrupt practices. Unfortunately, ill-health forced him to abandon his political career and to seek a cure for his ailments in Europe. From 1865-1867 he remained abroad, spending the winters in Egypt.¹³⁶

On the death of his older brother, Aḥmad Rifat, in 1858, Muṣṭafā had gone from third to second (after Ismā'īl) in line of succession to the Egyptian vice-regal throne. With the death of Walī Sa'īd and the succession of Ismā'īl in 1863, he became heir-presumptive as the next oldest male descendant, according to Muslim law and tradition and to the previous practice of the vice-regal house. This role was short-lived. Having raised the title of Walī to that of Khedive and given all members of the ruling dynasty princely rank in 1866, Ismā'īl proceeded with the Sultān's permission to change the old law of succession from tanistry to primogeniture.¹³⁷

Ismā'īl was resentful of Muṣṭafā's superior ability to manage money and to make his estates pay and coveted his sugar plantations in Upper Egypt. Rightly or wrongly he charged Muṣṭafā with plotting to

¹³⁶Tugay, p.109.

¹³⁷Tugay, p.110.

overthrow him and sent him into exile at Constantinople, liquidating his property and taking over his estates, valued at four million gold pounds, for a compensation of one million in cash. Muṣṭafā never thereafter attempted to return to Egypt.¹³⁸

Ismā'īl continued to fear that Muṣṭafā was plotting against him with the help of the Ottoman court or of the French. In an unsuccessful counterplot, he seems to have tried to destroy his brother by providing him with money to encourage him to spend himself into ruinous debt.¹³⁹

During his stay in Paris in 1866, Muṣṭafā had sent to Sulṭān 'Abd al-Azīz a detailed report of the situation of the Empire, exposing in a masterly way the current misuse of power and foreseeing the fatal consequences of failure to make a drastic change in the obsolete system.¹⁴⁰ As a result of the Sulṭān's support of Ismā'īl's change in the law of succession, Muṣṭafā, who had used his advanced political opinions in the Sulṭān's service, now drew closer to the liberal group which had recently formed a secret society to establish a constitutional empire. He is believed to have cherished the ambition of becoming its prime minister. When Muṣṭafā's letter to the Sulṭān was translated from French into Turkish and distributed in great numbers by the liberal group, the leaders were exiled and joined Muṣṭafā in Paris at his invitation and as his guests. Muṣṭafā's Paris residence became headquarters of the group which came to call itself the Young Ottomans. Muṣṭafā put them in touch with French political circles and with French foreign office officials.

¹³⁸

M. Colombe, "Une lettre d'un prince égyptien du XIX^e siècle au Sultan Ottoman Abd al-Aziz," *Orient*, V, London, 1958, pp. 23-38.

¹³⁹

Landes, pp. 212 and 225.

¹⁴⁰

Rifaat, pp. 103-104, and 111-112 and Tugay, p. 110.

In 1867, Mustafā took the opportunity of a state visit of the Sultān to France to become reconciled to him. He joined the Sultān's entourage for the remainder of the trip and returned with him to Istanbul, where he again became a minister of the government.

The departure of their prince patron threw the Young Ottomans into disarray. He had made financial arrangements for them, assigning them living allowances and also funds to cover their publications. Some considered his action a betrayal, but most regarded his appointment a success for their cause. Deprived, however, of his guiding hand, they began to give way to internal squabbles and to break up as a group.¹⁴¹

Mustafā spent the rest of his ~~resumed~~ days in a luxurious yali at Kandilli, on the Asian coast of the Bosphorus amid books and friends. To his friends, his house and purse were always open. He kept three chefs, a Turk, a Frenchman, and an Egyptian, who worked with their staffs in three different kitchens. He was friendly with Napoleon III and with Edward Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), whom he entertained on their visit to Istanbul. On such occasions the food, ordered from Paris, was matched only by the host's brilliant conversation. Mustafā died in 1875 at the age of forty-five.¹⁴² Despite the fact that Mustafā and Ismā'īl had remained unreconciled, Ismā'īl paid his debts after his death and took charge of his large family, bringing his widows and children back to Egypt by a specially chartered steamer and allotting each of them a civil pension.¹⁴³

By this time, Nāzī, who married quite young (probably during the period 1854-1857, when the family lived in Cairo), was the wife of her distant cousin, Khalīl Bak Sharīf, grand nephew of Muḥammad 'Alī and son

¹⁴¹Tugay, pp.110-111.

¹⁴²Tugay, pp.142-143.

¹⁴³Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, London, 1961, pp.149-154.

of the future Constitutionalist prime minister Sharīf Basha. Her husband, a man twice her age, had been a member of the scholastic mission to France in 1844, the same year as her father and uncle Ismā'īl. All studied at the St. Cyr Military College.¹⁴⁴ Being near-sighted, Khalīl was a rather backward student in France. Nonetheless, in June, 1845, he was among nine selected to study civil administration. These special students were excused from other classes, but continued to receive a certain amount of military training.¹⁴⁵ On his return to Egypt, he was assigned to the diplomatic service in Constantinople¹⁴⁶ and, after his marriage to Nāzī, brought her there.

The young bride and groom doubtless were frequent visitors to her father's house in the Turkish capital. Several other close relatives found it preferable to reside there. The British Ambassador, Sir Henry Layard, also took a great interest in her and cherished her with the kindness of a second father. Through him, she observed the best side of European freedom and gained full access to the life of the day.¹⁴⁷ After several years in Constantinople, Khalīl became, in succession, Ambassador to Athens, St. Petersburg, and Vienna. During these years, Nāzī got to know Queen Victoria and her son, the future King Edward VII, Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and most of the famous statesmen and other personalities of her day.¹⁴⁸ In 1879, Khalīl died.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴Rifaat, p.98 and Heyworth-Dunne, p.251.

¹⁴⁵Heyworth-Dunne, p.247.

¹⁴⁶Heyworth-Dunne, p.259.

¹⁴⁷Sir Ronald Storrs, Orientalism, London, 1943, p.87.

¹⁴⁸Storrs, p.88; and Heyworth-Dunne, p.259.

¹⁴⁹Heyworth-Dunne, p.259.

On the death of her husband, Nāzī returned to Cairo and married, some said for love and some said for general convenience, an agreeable Tunisian, Khalīl Abū Hājib Bak, Mayor of LaMarse. While her husband continued to reside in Tunis, Nāzī maintained with some scores of servants and old family slaves, great state in a large palace immediately behind the 'Abdīn of the Khedive.¹⁵⁰

Nāzī's childhood residence in Cairo, Darb al-Jamāz, had been appropriated by uncle Ismā'īl along with her father's other estates. By 1868, it formed the hub of the new educational movement of 'Alī Mubārak and was fast becoming the cultural center of Cairo. In the wake of Mubārak's effort to separate the civil schools from the military, the Government's Preparatory School was the first to take up new quarters at Darb al-Jamāz, followed later the same year, 1868, by the School of Administration and Languages, part of which later became the School of Law and is still in existence, the School of Drawing, the School of Surveying and Accountancy, the School of Engineering, the School of Egyptology, and a large general library. When in 1872, Mubārak became Minister of Education, as well as of Waqfa, Public Works, and Railways, he moved the offices of all these departments to the Darb to facilitate the task of control. Soon afterward, a hospital was opened there.¹⁵¹

In her new palace behind the Khedive's, Nāzī received and entertained, with the gracious manner of the House of Muhammad 'Alī, chosen members of Egyptian and European society.

¹⁵⁰ Storrs, p.87.

¹⁵¹ Heyworth-Dunne, pp.352-354.

"You walked in past two eunuchs, named according to custom after flowers or precious stones, lounging outside the Bawwāb's (gatekeeper's) lodge, across a crunching gravel courtyard where a club of friendly cats dozed round a cluster of palms; you stood before the inner door and cried, 'Yā Sātir' ('O Screener'), one of the ninety-nine epithets of God, the conventional warning to ladies that a man is about and that they must veil. There was a scramble, and one or two slaves, giggling with tactfully magnified excitement, ran up the stairs to warn "al-Brincessa"; whilst you followed, took your seat in the drawing-room, and waited. (Whether you were early, punctual, or late; you always waited - if only for a minute.) The room, regarded aesthetically, was by any standards a comic horror. But it was infinitely more interesting and expressive of its owner than the most doggedly consistent Period that sudden wealth, aided by the best hired advice, could have achieved. The electric light hung in (yet was not of) immense gilded gasoliers. The chairs and sofas were debased Modo Luigi Khamastashir (the local Louis Quinze), in magenta plush surrounded by hard, shiny gilding and of extreme discomfort. Every table was loaded with photographs, glazed but not framed, and so was the old concert grand, complete with pianola attachment. There must have been near a thousand photographs in the room; as well as richly framed pictures of the British Royal Family, Sultān 'Abd al-Hamīd, Lord Kitchener, Lord Grenfell, and Lord Cromer. Not only the numerous gilt screens, but every inch of the four walls of the vast apartment were covered with pasted pages of the illustrated papers.

"Nāzī's set piece luncheons and dinners for Egyptian Ministers and couples from the Corps Diplomatique conferred the relative glory of entertainments recorded in the Morning Post. Following her dinners, the evening would be filled with conversation, games, and entertainment in her drawing-room. Seated with her back to the light, a bottle of sweet champagne on an inlaid Arab table beside her, she would smoke continuously one half through innumerable Russian cigarettes, crushing them with a small wicked hand into ashtrays which Fattūma or 'Azīza, standing with a dozen other slaves just outside the room, would, on a cry of 'Kim var orada' ('Who's there?') rush in and remove."

Storrs, p.112.

In one corner, two cabinet ministers would be playing chess, Nāzī and the Turkish High Commissioner, Tric Trac (backgammon); in another Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf, editor of Al-Mu'ayyad, the Palace organ, would be engaged in quiet conversation with someone; over the room might thunder the voice of Sa'd Zaghlūl, then Nāzī's lawyer and later prime minister,

inveighing against the Khedive and supporting Cromer with all his strength. Cromer, Prince Haydar Faḍl (Nāzli's nephew)¹⁵² and Mustafā Fahmī, prime minister in 1891-1893 and in 1895, might also be there. It was in Nāzli's drawing-room that the marriage of Sa'd Zaghlūl to Safiyya Hānum, Mustafā Fahmī's daughter, was agreed upon.¹⁵³ The Reformists were also there: Muḥammad 'Abduh; his friend, Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī, lawyer, writer and former pupil of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; 'Abd al-Karīm Salmān; Ḥusayn Rushdī. There too Qāsim Amīn was persuaded to set down in writing his views on the emancipation of women.

When the gathering was informal, chess would be accompanied by an assortment of musical talents; Sitt Tawasīla, a poor dependent, had a pretty touch on al-ʿud (mandolin); or a vast Abyssinian slave would ascend the pianola stool and pedal out a suite of variations on Home Sweet Home, to which the exquisite little Tunisian Fattūma in shimmering azure what-nots, her loose hair braided in sequins, would gravely revolve and undulate through the oldest dance in the world. On some nights, which were counted the greatest, Shaykh Yūsuf, the Caruso of the Near East, would consent to sing.¹⁵⁴

Nāzli herself, the only emancipated female member of the House of 'Alī in Egypt was the "first Near Eastern woman to cast aside her veil".¹⁵⁵ In her three younger sisters, too, Mustafā's advanced views on the training of daughters bore fruit. Known for their ready wit and ease of manner in society, they, like her, entertained both men and women.¹⁵⁶ Although

¹⁵² Storrs, pp.88-89.

¹⁵³ Al-Muqtataf, June, 1928, p.687.

¹⁵⁴ Storrs, pp.89-90.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Muqtataf, June 28, p.686.

¹⁵⁶ Tugay, pp.110-111.

themselves emancipated before other women of the Near East, none of the four played a prominent role in the furthering the emancipation of Near Eastern women as a whole. Nāzī's sisters, indeed, lived most of their lives outside of Egypt.

Nāzī was beautiful with "fiercely interesting eyes",¹⁵⁷ and at least as "clever as she was pretty".¹⁵⁸ "A person of the highest intelligence and knowledge of affairs"¹⁵⁹ "with a finger in every political pie",¹⁶⁰ "her conversation would be brilliant in any society in the world."¹⁶¹ She was a kind friend, but had a sharp tongue which supported a ready, sometimes broad, wit.¹⁶²

Nāzī knew many languages; she spoke English perfectly.¹⁶³ Her Arabic, however, was far from pure or even correct. She addressed her family and summoned her retainers exclusively in Turkish.¹⁶⁴ In the drawing-room with her guests, she preferred that French be spoken. "It was at her advise or command -- they were not always easy to distinguish -- that the Azhar graduate, Sa'd Zaghālūl, learned French."¹⁶⁵

In any language, Nāzī was a voluble talker. "She came in at three and talked till 4:15, without our getting in so much as a word."¹⁶⁶ Against the combined volume and velocity of her conversation in English, French, Arabic, and Turkish, the comments of her distinguished guests went at times unheard.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁷Storrs, p.87.

¹⁵⁸Blunt, Secret History, p.299.

¹⁵⁹Sir Wilfred Scawen Blunt, My Diaries, 1888-1914, New York, 1932, p.12.

¹⁶⁰Tugay, p.112

¹⁶¹Blunt, Secret History, p.299.

¹⁶²Storrs, p.91.

¹⁶³Blunt, My Diaries, p.246.

¹⁶⁴Storrs, p.82.

¹⁶⁵Storrs, p.88.

¹⁶⁶Storrs, p.87.

¹⁶⁷Storrs, p.112.

Nāzli was a fervent Muslim. The mention of Dante made her furious; his verse: "How mangled is Muhammad! In advance of me with weeping goes 'Alī, Cleft chin to forelock in the countenance." (Divine Comedy: Inferno: Sowers of Discord, Canto XXVIII, Eighth Circle, Pouch 9), the cause. She had once left a house in Bavaria at five minutes notice, because "a horrible, disgusting man" told her he was writing a book on the vices of the Prophet.

Nāzli was a patriot, but she was, in general, distrustful and intolerant of her own people and strongly, sometimes embarrassingly, pro-British. The outstanding exception, typical of the quixotic rather than the shrewd side of her nature, was her ardent support of 'Urābī's cause. During his brief period of success, she showed her enthusiasm by gifts to the hero of the day and, at the time of his trial, did much to help with his defense. Her brothers, 'Uthmān and Kiamil, were among 'Urābī's strongest adherents, the latter being a member of 'Urābī's provisional government. When 'Urābī came to Cairo to announce to the Chamber of Deputies the imminent defeat at Tal al-Kabīr, Kiamil's only reaction was to reproach him for having been too soft all along.¹⁶⁸

Nāzli maintained her admiration for 'Urābī, recalling his singleness of mind and lamenting his overthrow. Five years after his defeat, she once said, "He was not a good enough soldier; he has too good a heart. These were his faults. If he had been a violent man like my (great) grandfather, Muhammad 'Alī, he would have taken Tawfīq and all of us to the Citadel and cut our heads off -- and he would be now reigning happily; or, if he could have got the Khedive to go on honestly with him, he would have made a great king of him. 'Urābī was the first Egyptian Minister who made the Europeans obey him. In his time, at least, the Muhammadans held

¹⁶⁸ Blunt, Secret History, pp.246, 299 and 321.

held up their heads, and the Greeks and Italians did not transgress the law. I have told Tawfīq this more than once. Now there is nobody to keep order. The Egyptians alone are kept under by the police, and the Europeans do what they like."¹⁶⁹

Nāzīlī seems to have elicited compatible opinions from both wings of 'Urābī's opposition. The British Ambassador to Constantinople, Lord Dufferin, who was a special envoy to Egypt to formulate the reorganization of the Government under the British occupation, in an unguarded moment expressed to her his lack of cordiality toward the Khedive, saying, if he had known earlier the kind of man Tawfīq was, he would have made 'Urābī Khedive.¹⁷⁰ Tawfīq, in his turn, intimated to her his dissatisfaction with his British ally. One day the cousins were sitting together when a shout was heard far down the street. "Listen," Tawfīq muttered, turning pale, "I recognise the cries of the Sais before the carriage of Baring. Who knows what he is coming to say to me?"¹⁷¹

No patriotism could bring Nāzīlī to love her kinsmen on the Khedivial throne. She could not forgive Tawfīq for what her father had suffered at his father's hands. The estrangement between them at one point seems to have been so great that Tawfīq was about to cut off Nāzīlī's allowance as princess of the vice-regal family and was constrained from doing so only by the intervention of Cromer.¹⁷² In general, however, she managed to get on with him and, with Cromer, was one of those whom Tawfīq indulged in granting Muhammad 'Abduh pardon in 1888.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Blunt, Secret History, p.299.

¹⁷⁰ Wilfred Scawen Blunt, Gordon at Khartoum, London, 1911, p.8.

¹⁷¹ Storrs, p.45.

¹⁷² Blunt, My Diaries, p.246.

¹⁷³ Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā, Ta'rīkh al-'Ustādh al-'Imām, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh I, Cairo, 1931, p.418.

Of Tawfiq's son, 'Abbās II Ḥilmī, Nāzli was even more resentful. When he became Khedive in 1892, at the age of eighteen, he was very anti-British and showed no inclination to pardon 'Urābī from his exile, and, therefore, on both counts was out of harmony with Nāzli.¹⁷⁴ Later, After 'Abbās had, in 1901, pardoned 'Urābī and Nāzli's Anglophilia had somewhat abated with the replacement, in 1907, of Cromer by Gorst, she softened a little toward him.¹⁷⁵

The cooling of Nāzli's Anglophilia was shortlived. In 1911, she was "full of holy joy" at Kitchener's succession of Gorst. She had known him -- and was affectionately indisposed to let him forget it -- when he was a junior captain. On his arrival and much to her amusement, the Khedive, who had all but neglected her for nineteen years, sent a Palace eunuch to meet her and paid her way to Cairo to greet him.

Nothing could equal the fearful joy of luncheon or tea with Kitchener and Nāzli, she expounding her opinions and his protests ringing surprisingly mild. "You think, I suppose, that the Egyptians are afraid of you, Lord Kitchener? They laugh. And how should they not laugh when you allow to be made minister a dirty, filthy kind of man like ...?" "Really, Princess Nāzli! I don't think ..." "You don't, and if you did..." and the next victim would come up for discussion. On the other hand, she would occasionally flag down an Egyptian Minister by assuring him that, if he misbehaved, the anger of Providence would be slower in effect than that of Kitchener.¹⁷⁶

Most important visitors from Britain received invitations to call on Nāzli. One Liberal M.P., known to be in sympathy with Egyptian

¹⁷⁴Blunt, Gordon, p. 8 and the Earl of Cromer, Abbas II, London, 1915, pp.9-10.

¹⁷⁵Storrs, p.89.

¹⁷⁶Storrs, p.112.

"aspirations", twice regretted his inability to accept her invitations. She finished him off and summed up her feeling toward Britain, as follows: "Sir, After having received yesterday your second excuse of not being able to come and see me, I fully believe now that my friends were right in telling me that your Egyptian friends would never allow you to have a talk with me. I would not believe them as I never thought an Englishman could be greatly influenced by an Egyptian, but I see now clearly that your affection for the Egyptians is stronger even than mine for the English. I should have been most interested to meet you in order to have a long discussion with you about my country and yours without being afraid of anybody nor taking a parti pris. I hope before leaving Egypt you will have studied both parties well and will at least have given credit to your own country for having brought justice and great prosperity to Egypt. Believe me, most faithfully yours, Nāzli." ¹⁷⁷

Between Nāzli and the Reformists existed a constant, mutual loyalty and, at the same time, a running, amiable disagreement. Right up to the time he became Muftī of all Egypt in 1899, ʿAbduh was often the target of her voluble scoldings. From time to time during the '90s, very possibly to avoid unpleasantness with Khedive ʿAbbas, Nāzli left Cairo without divulging her destination. On one such occasion ʿAbduh wrote to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, who was then living in Constantinople, to inquire about her whereabouts. In reply al-Afghānī wrote: "From that model of perfection and beauty who owns the foremost mansion of my heart, Her Highness the Princess, I have had no news, good or bad, nor have I heard anything about her." Al-Afghānī proposed to ask the Sultān after her and was encouraged

¹⁷⁷ Storrs, p.88.

to do so by some of his Egyptian friends, but Maḥmūd Bay Sālīm advised strongly against it, saying, "Our Lord the Khedive will not like it, Mawlai al-Sayyid, because he will think it an interference with his prerogatives."¹⁷⁸

Nor would Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd have been happy about Nāzī's presence in his capital; for, as was her father in an earlier group, the Young Ottomans, thirty years before, she in the mid-'90s was deep in the Young Turk movement, which aspired to overthrow the Sulṭān's despotism. At the time, Nāzī considered ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd very near his end and hoped that, as a lesson to his successor, he would be not simply deposed, but assassinated. Hitherto the Young Turks had been adverse to this extreme measure, but were coming around to its favor. Nāzī was one of those who considered Murād quite sane and a likely successor to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.¹⁷⁹

The critical exchange between Nāzī and the Reformers was not always one-sided. An 1898 conversation between ʿAbduh and Ridā notes her shortcomings in their eyes:

"Ridā: 'I hear that this Princess is intelligent, astute, and interested in politics.'

ʿAbduh: 'Yes, that is very true.'

Ridā: 'But does she ever devote her abilities to the much needed work of training the members of her sex in womanly skills?'

ʿAbduh: 'Yes, but she is fonder of politics. Muslims seem fated to have everyone endowed for one thing engage in something else. Her preoccupation with politics is very much like Jamāl al-Dīn's. That such a wise man, peerless on the subject of Islām and Muslims and with the capacity for a great contribution to education and learning, should be concerned only with politics!

'Princess Nāzī could make a real contribution to female education. If she could interest the princesses around

¹⁷⁸Ridā, p.897.

¹⁷⁹Blunt, My Diaries, p.246.

her who squander so much money and other wealthy women in building schools for girls and in bringing in women teachers from Constantinople and from Syria, that would be the best work she could possibly do, and no one would stand in her way.

'As it is, they fulfill no useful role with their pointless, fruitless extravagance.

'This is my view of the situation; I think it is a mistake to engage in politics. I would never tell her this, because women -- especially princesses -- like you to agree with them and not to cross them. I prefer not to argue with her when she is discussing politics. But if she is talking with someone else in her salon, she will not suffer me to remain silent and insists on drawing me in, much as I always hate to contradict what I consider her mistaken ideas. One day I said to her: 'When I am silent, you are not satisfied; and, when I talk, I do not please you -- for we invariably disagree. What am I to do?' ' "

Ridā, pp.896-897.

Nazlī died at four o'clock in the morning on Sunday, December 31, 1913. "Five days before her death, I had gone in to see her fairly late at night and sat talking and laughing with her for an hour. She was in excellent spirits and made some jokes -- fairly broad in nature -- having reference to the hour and the place. The day before her death, one of her slave girls informed callers that her health was much better. She, however, was convinced that she could not survive December, the month in which both of her parents had died. On Saturday evening, her cousin, Prince Ḥusayn, Tawfiq's brother and, from 1914 to 1917, Sultān of Egypt, sat with her until half past seven. He left her in fair health, though in poor spirits. Her death, which appeared painless, was the result of cardiac paralysis. Just before drawing her last breath, she closed her eyes with her own hand. During the hours that followed, friends gathered in the familiar drawing-room to mourn her: Zaghlūl Basha, Storrs, and others. Much affected, Prince Ḥusayn, now the oldest surviving member of his family, kept repeating rather incongruously, "C'etait un type, c'etait un type."¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰
Storrs, p.91.

Princess-Nāzī Fādī left no written works, no tangible evidence of her influence. She has no project or foundation credited to her name. In her nature were many contradictions: she was an imperious aristocrat, but abhorred despotism; she was intelligent and informed, but blind in her loyalties and stubborn in her judgments -- astute but quixotic; she surrounded herself with the trappings of the past, but lived in the latest hour and remained youthful with the young. She was a fervent Muslim, but not a typical Muslim woman; her desires and her position were stronger than the traditional ties of the veil and of seclusion from masculine society. Her greatest contribution to her contemporaries was her friendship and her penchant for interesting people. Underscoring these were her hospitality and her independent spirit. Without her drawing-room, the multi-opinioned intellectuals in Egypt in her day would have lacked a focal point, an informal meeting place. Without her intrepidity, many an old idea would have remained sacrosanct and many a new cause unsung.

VII QĀSIM'S EARLY WRITINGS

A. Intellectual Climate of the Early '90s

During the early months of 1893, one of the main topics of conversation among the habitués of Nāzli's salon was a new book by a French duke, entitled L'Égypte et les Égyptiens.¹⁸¹ François Charles Marie, duc d'harcourt (1835-1895), was "one of a number of Europeans who made repeated visits to Egypt to bask in its winter sun and to ramble about its provinces."¹⁸² During the past decade he had published several tracts giving his views on various social aspects of the Third Republic: in 1881, Administration de l'armée, discours prononcé à la Chambres des Deputes du 22 fevrier (Paris, A. Quantin, 15 pages); in 1886, Quelques reflexions sur les lois sociales (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 281 pages); and, in 1890, La persecution religieuse dans le bourg d'harcourt pendant la Revolution, 1790-1802 (Falaise, R.Moutanze, 19 pages).¹⁸³

After his third and last visit to Egypt in 1889, he published his book on Egypt to air his views on the weaknesses in that country's moral values and national character. The book's Egyptian readers were outraged; but, although it evoked copious discussion, it brought forth no reply from Egypt's literary or journalistic community. The young Egyptian press still hung back from publicly probing into social ills.

¹⁸¹Françoise Charles Marie, duc d'Harcourt, L'Égypte et les Égyptiens, Paris, 1893, 305 pages.

¹⁸²Khākī, p.61

¹⁸³Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue General.

In 1889, Ya'qūb Sarrūf and Faris Mimr, who had started Al-Muqtataf in Bayrūt in 1876 and moved it to Cairo around 1880 (see above, p. 19), founded Al-Muqattam to oppose the influence of Al-Ahram which had been upholding the nationalists before and during the 'Urābī revolt and was somewhat pro-French. The editors of Al-Muqattam threw their support behind Cromer and the British occupation but, because of the strength of their anti-nationalist feelings, probably were more of a liability than an asset to the cause they espoused.

Al-Mu'ayyad, founded in 1890 by Shaykh 'Alī yūsuf, soon became militantly nationalist and severely critical of the British occupation and of Cromer. It was conservative as well as pro-Khedive. (See p.90.)

During the '90s, Sarrūf and Nimr's Al-Muqtataf (see above, p.19.), which had begun as a channel of Western scientific thought and of popularized Arab history, was established as one of the two leading periodicals of the Arabic speaking countries, became a training ground for contemporary Arab writers, and began giving sociological articles priority over scientific and historical ones. The other of the two leading periodicals was Zaydān's Al-Hilāl (see above, p. 20), which concentrated on historical articles and, in so doing, whether intentionally or not, increased Arab national sentiment.^{183a}

^{183a} Ahmed, pp.30-33.

B. Les Égyptiens (1894): Qāsim's Defense of the Status Quo

One Egyptian, however, could not let the offensive book go unanswered. That man was Qāsim Amīn. Since no one else had done so, and, despite his lack of experience in the field of letters, he wrote his reply in the final month of 1893. What he lacked in literary background he made up for in legal training, which supplied him with logical argumentation and a wide range of detailed facts. Keeping his regular duties to a minimum, he completed his work in French at as rapid a pace as conscientiousness would permit. Early in 1894, Cairo's Al-Jarīda Press published this first book of Qāsim's, Les Égyptiens: reponse a duc d'Harcourt. Al-Jarīda was run by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, an aristocratic constitutionalist, who, though he held moderately conservative attitudes on religious matters, was an exponent on the political side of the progressive reform ideas of the 'Abduh circles. He became an increasingly close associate of Qasim's.¹⁸⁴

Qāsim's determination to rebute d'Harcourt's opinions was wholly justified, for many of the duke's criticisms were based on superficial knowledge and questionable reasoning. The topics which he covered, however, were vital ones, deserving of constant study and continual reassessment. When Qāsim brought his book to a close, it did not close the matter in his mind. The problems which d'Harcourt had raised and failed to solve remained to be solved. Qāsim had pointed out d'Harcourt's shortcomings, but that did not absolve Egypt of hers. Qāsim discussed the issues with his friends and, as time went on began to jot down his new ideas "almost as if he were keeping a diary of the fresh insights which came to him."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴Adams, pp.224-225.

¹⁸⁵Khākī, p.72.

C. Asbāb wa-Natā'ij wa-Akhlāq wa-Mawā'iz (1894-1897):Qāsim's Probing of the Status Quo

During 1894, a series of articles, entitled "Causes and Effects" and by-lined only "An Honest Egyptian", appeared in Al-Mu'ayyad. At that time, this was one of the leading newspapers in the Arab-speaking world. Although its editor, Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf (1863-1913) "directed the appeal of Al-Mu'ayyad largely to conservative, orthodox opinion,"¹⁸⁶ and it was considered "a palace organ"¹⁸⁷ (see p.88), he was a great friend of 'Muhammad 'Abduh' and opened his columns on occasion to contributions of a controversial nature. In 1896-1897, "An Honest Egyptian" penned a second series of articles, entitled "Characteristics and Distinctions". Together the two sets of essays presented a discomfoting picture of mishandled wealth, education, women and bureaucracy in Egypt. To extend the impact of these essays, Muhammad 'Alī Kāmal gathered them up in 1898 and published them in book form. Not until 1913 did the book appear under the posthumously acknowledged authorship of Qāsim Amīn.¹⁸⁸

Although contemporary journalists were not yet much given to the exploration of social issues, Qāsim's book was not a pioneer work or even unique in its day. Even before al-Afghanī and 'Abduh, Rifā'a Bak Rafi' al-Tahtāwī's (see above, p. 13) handbooks on education and 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak's (see above, p.9) tracts on the reform of education and on the

¹⁸⁶ Adams, p.226.

¹⁸⁷ Storrs, p.89.

¹⁸⁸ Qāsim Amīn, Asbāb wa-Natā'ij wa-Akhlāq wa-Mawā'iz, Alexandria; published at the expense of 'Alī Effendi al-Khattāb, Bookseller (and in-law of Qāsim's?); forwarded by a biography of his life by Jurjī Zaydān, reprinted from Al-Hilāl: 1913; 92 pages.

improvement of teaching had broken ground in that field and had been the first to consider the education of women. The pen of Muhammad 'Abduh had, in the early '80s, sketched reforms for most of the social ills besetting Egypt. Thus the "Honest Egyptian" escaped the criticisms born of shocked complacency that a completely new appraisal might have inspired. Nor did he question the validity of Islām itself, as d'Harcourt had done, but only the abuses of Islām.

D. Kalimāt

Throughout his life, Qāsim kept a notebook in which he recorded his impressions of people and events, conversations which he felt illustrative of a point of view, and general philosophic observations. The book was probably intended only for private satisfaction and not for publication. It was not published until after his death.

Kalimāt gives ample indication of Qāsim's literary gifts and reflects his experimentation with many forms of writing and with the portrayal of many moods. Perhaps more than any of his other writings it reveals the mind and heart of this sensitive and constructive person. (See Appendix II.)

VIII QĀSIM'S FEMINIST WRITINGS

A. Intellectual Climate of the Late '90s

During the '90s, the Egyptian factions, which had closed against the British in the '80s, began to find themselves uneasy with one another's platforms, and their divergences of opinion could no longer be played down. The catalyst for this new climate was the succession in 1893 of 'Abbās II Hilmī to the khedivial throne. Whereas Tawfīq had worked out a modus vivendi with the British, 'Abbās refused any kind of compromise with them. In addition 'Abbās was a ruler of the old order and had little interest in constitutionalism or in social reform. To him rallied the conservatives and those non-conservatives who wished to oust the British from Egypt at once and at any cost.

The most prominent figure in the latter group was Mustafā Kāmil (1874-1908), "a consumptive young law-student", who returned in 1895 from Paris, where he had moved deep in anti-British circles. Dubbed a "Gallicised Egyptian", he constantly reminded the Khedive that France, with Russia in the background, was an enthusiastic advocate of Egyptian autonomy. Though differing from many points of view (for example, Kāmil stressed pan-Islamism, while 'Abduh favored pan-Arabism), Kāmil considered 'Abduh a fellow disciple of al-Afghānī and approached him about joining forces. 'Abduh refused, unable to endorse Kāmil's cooperation with the reactionary Khedive and refused alliance. Thus the second phase of Egyptian nationalism crystallized around Kāmil with an inflammatory tone, leaving 'Abduh's reformist moderates free to operate apart from it. Kāmil began organizing his followers into a political group which was to become the Patriotic Party (Al-Hizb al-Watani) (see below, p.123), and which began to publish Al-Liwa' (The Banner) in 1900. He received the active support of France until 1904 when

the Franco-British Entente Cordiale forced her to bring it to an end.¹⁸⁹

On the other hand, ʿAbduh came increasingly to look toward Britain for his support. The return of Gladstone and the Liberals to power in London in 1892 had given promise that the Occupation might encourage democratic institutions and social reform and consider early evacuation. Although this promise was not fulfilled, the British continued to think freedom of speech and of the press a safety valve, harmless to themselves and, at least, a cause of more embarrassment to the Khedive and to the Sulṭān than to themselves. Thanks to this dichotomy, Qāsim set forth his opinions, no sentiment that criticisms of the established order were unpatriotic, had gained hold.

In addition, British countenancing of such freedom of speech made Cairo a haven for dissidents in trouble elsewhere. Even the incendiary ʿAbd Allah al-Nadīm, who had had to leave Egypt as a condition of the pardon which Qāsim had gained for him from prime minister Riyāḍ in 1887 could return. He had spent his exile in Constantinople, where he had been given an official position and had resumed his intimacy with al-Afghānī. Back in Cairo, al-Nadīm rejoined his old friend Muṣṭafā Kāmil and became active in the Nationalist Party.

Most of the refugees, however, were more attracted to Muḥammad ʿAbduh. Many Young Turks, who had worked for constitutionalism at Constantinople were forced to flee to Egypt, where the British demurred to the Sulṭān's demand to hand them back and where they were welcomed by ʿAbduh and found hospitality at Princess Nāzli's salon.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Gabriel Hanotaux, ed, Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne, VII, Paris, 1940, p.196 and Kirk, pp.15-16.

¹⁹⁰ Cromer, Abbas II, p.76.

The progressive Syrian lawyer, 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Kawākibī (1847-1902), walked out of the Sultān's jail and onto the boat bound for Cairo. Although he did not arrive in Egypt until 1898, his ideas were known there through the articles which he had been publishing in the Egyptian press, denouncing tyranny, championing the poor, and deploring illiteracy, especially of women, and corrupt family conditions. Though a disciple of al-Afghānī, he differed with him in drawing a sharp distinction between Arab and non-Arab Muslims and in thinking that the Arabs by descent and language should control the leadership of a united Islamic world. While he plead^x for sectarian harmony, he nevertheless contributed greatly to the inevitable transfer of leadership in the Arab movement to Muslim hands. His introduction of the idea of a purely spiritual caliph led for the first time to considering the divorcement of religion from politics, an essential prerequisite of nationalism. To Nāzī's drawing-room al-Kawākibī preferred the Splendide Cafe where he sat daily, charming his audience with his brilliant talk, his novel and daring views, and the humor with which he could express them.¹⁹¹

Despite this cosmopolitan atmosphere in Cairo, the need for domestic political freedom and social reform pushed interest in pan-Islam and in Arab unity into the background among Egyptian intellectual leaders. On this point 'Abduh's set scarcely differed from Kāmil's. Yet 'Abduh's belief in moderation led to a more cooperative outlook towards the non-Egyptian world. As a counterpoise to Kāmil's extreme Nationalists, 'Abduh's followers supported the political party of more moderate outlook which was in the process of formation (see below, p. 124).

¹⁹¹

Antonious, pp.95-98; Dāghir, pp.672-675; and Haim, ed, pp.25-29.

B. Tahrīr al-Mar'a (1899):

Qāsim's Demand for Reform of the Status Quo

1. Previous thought about the status of women.

To the reformers discussions of social issues, the subject of the status of women was no stranger. It must have stirred the emotions greatly for it intimately touched the daily life of every man, struck at the heart of the basic unit of society, and was closely bound to religious beliefs. Yet, if Islām could not encompass reform in the status of women, no amount of other reform within it could allow it to stand as a modern religion.

Egyptian Muslim writers had been attaching the woman problem obliquely or on the fringes: Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and Mubārak viz-ā-viz education; al-Kawakibī, ʿAbd al-Karīm Salīmān, al-Shidyāq, and Saʿd Zaghlūl had all written something indicating they realized the existence of the problem. ʿAbduh had mentioned the education of women, reminding Muslims of the Qur'ān's qualified statements about the equality of women in some spheres, and criticizing the injustices arising out of polygamy and divorce. His motives for these remarks, however, were less directed toward coming to grips with the condition of women than with illustrating the method by which Islām could be purified of its medieval accretions, reduced to its simplest and most universal form, and returned to its original purity of principle, loftiness of ethic, and high standard of justice. Though using reason in his analysis, ʿAbduh put revelation first and then showed how reason verified it. Thus, he kept reason second and subordinate to revelation.¹⁹²

¹⁹² Safran, p.152.

One of the most widely read of the Islamic apologists of the time who among other subjects illustrating the vital contemporary spirit of Islām, discussed the position of Muslim women, was the Indian Shi'ite, Sayyid Amīr 'Alī. A very persuasive writer, his ideas were copied throughout the Muslim countries.¹⁹³ His book appeared first in English as a series of articles in a London journal. These were translated into a series of Arabic articles, published about 1893 in Cairo in the journal Al-Muqtataf.¹⁹⁴ Writing on polygamy, he states the practices of other societies, ancient and relatively modern (pages 222-228), and concludes that, until fairly recent times, Islamic performance in this aspect of marriage was ahead of most other religious communities (pages 228-235), prompted by Muḥammad's teachings and actions (pages 235-238), and as circumstances permit will disappear in Muslim countries (page 230). Writing on divorce, his presentation follows a similar pattern (pages 241-244), and he concludes that contemporary Islām has fewer divorce rules which are unjust to women than do other social bodies (pages 245-247). Writing on seclusion (a general term which presumably includes veiling, for he does not mention it as such), he states that it was a pre-Islāmic borrowing and was to a certain extent necessary in the early days of Islām, while social chaos was being brought under control, but that Muḥammad never expected the custom to be perpetuated (pages 248-250). He brings his chapter on women to a close with a discussion of the development of the idealization of and reverence for womanhood in Islām; "Islām," he asserts, "like Christianity, is different with different individuals and

¹⁹³ H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam, Chicago, 1947, p.95.

¹⁹⁴ Muḥammad Talaq'at Harb, Tarbiyat al-Mar'a wa-'l-Hijāb, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1323 A.H. (1905), p.16. (Qāsim himself says it was June-July, 1899.)

in different ages, but on the whole, true chivalry is more intimately associated with true Islām than with any other form of positive faith or social institution." (pages 251-253). Where her condition appears more backward than in other societies, it is not the fault of Islām, but the result of a want of culture among the community generally (page 257).¹⁹⁵

Egyptian Christian writers had ventured further into the subject of women than had Egyptian Muslims, but had reached only a very limited audience. The first person thus to approach the woman question in a concentrated work was an Egyptian Christian lawyer, Marquṣ Fahmī. In 1894 he wrote Al-Mar'a fī'l-Sharq (Woman in the East), describing all the ills of the Egyptian domestic scene and demanding the elimination of the veil, monogamy and rights of divorce for wives as well as husbands. In addition he recommended intermarriage between Muslims and non-Muslims. This book had no influence outside the author's immediate circle. Equally unnoticed was a pamphlet of his Christian contemporary, Ḥabīb al-Zayāt, though it was distributed in 1899 as a supplement to the popular literary magazine, Al-Diyā' (The Light), published by Ibrāhīm al-Yazījī. Approaching the problem from a different point of view, this essay, Al-Mar'a fī'l-Jahiliyya (Woman in pre-Islamic Arabia) tried, on the basis of the old poetry, to characterize the position of women before the time of Muḥammad. Executed with great feeling, the work concludes that, in those days, Arabian women had a much higher role than in most contemporary Muslim countries.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Ameer Ali, Syed, The Spirit of Islam, Revised edition, London, 1953, pp.222-257. (See Appendix I, pp. 103-104.)

¹⁹⁶ Ignaz Krachkowski, trans., Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda by Qāsim Amīn, St. Petersburg, 1913, Introduction.

On the whole, Muslim women themselves (were they Egyptian or Syrian, publishing in Egypt because of censorship in their homeland) resembled Princess Nāzīlī Faḍl in neglecting the cause of women in favor of other interests. An exception was the Egyptian Muslim authoress, ‘A’īsha at-Taymūriyya (1840-1902), the daughter of a prominent and wealthy family, like Qāsim (see above, p.2) of Kurdish origin. Over the objections of her mother, her father saw to her education from early childhood, tutoring or having her tutored in literature and poetry, Qur’ān, calligraphy, etymology, prosody and syntax, French, and jurisprudence. She married but was widowed early and lost her only child, a daughter, in early childhood. From then on, her writing occupied much of her attention. She published in press and in poetry her thoughts and opinions on many subjects, including the social needs of women. She is probably the first Muslim of modern times, man or woman, to write of the need for ending veiling and seclusion. Her work was not widely read nor could it provoke the serious consideration given her masculine colleagues.¹⁹⁷

Warda al-Yāzījī of the celebrated Syrian literary family was known in Egypt, but neither she nor her circle of women took a specific interest in questions relating to women. The first signs on any scale of self-conscious expression among women were a flurry of women's magazines which were issued toward the end of the nineteenth century. These periodicals, mostly shortlived, were the work of Syrian Arab women and were composed and published in Egypt because of the censorship in Syria. The first such journal, Al-Fatāt (Mademoiselle), was started in 1892 by Hind Mawfal Nair.

¹⁹⁷Dāghir, pp.238-240.

This was followed in 1896 by Maryam Muzhir's Mir'āt al-Ḥasnā' (Mirror of Beauties). Two of the longer lived ones were Alexandra Avierino's Anīs al-Jalīs (Counsellor), begun in 1898, and Labība Hashīm's Fatāt al-Sharq (Young Woman of the East), begun later, in 1906. These magazines, however, rarely touched on themes of a social character and are of far less interest on the subject of the advancement of women than general magazines and newspapers. Nor, being Christian, do they apply at any length to Muslim women.¹⁹⁸

The most widely noticed public utterance of an Egyptian Muslim in this period was a 1896 speech of 'Umar Lutfī, a lawyer, entitled "The Rights of Muslim Women in the East". Based exclusively on theoretical material from Muslim law and emphasising rights of property and inheritance, his conclusions were that the Eastern woman had thirteen hundred years ago received the rights which European women were only now receiving.¹⁹⁹

2. Qāsim's First Contribution

The first Muslim thoroughly to formulate and to detail the problem of the Arab Muslim woman in itself was Qāsim Amīn. His contribution lies not only in the thoroughness of his exposition of one aspect of reform, that of the condition of women, but also in the steadfastness and courage with which he, a mild-mannered man, held to his beliefs throughout the time's most violent controversy

Toward the end of his life, Qāsim disclosed to a friend how he had come to write his first book on women: "Even after I had written

¹⁹⁸Krachkowski, Introduction, and Pierre Cachia, Tāhā Husayn, London, 1956, pp.27-28.

¹⁹⁹Krachkowski, Introduction.

my rebuttal of d'Harcourt, I could not shake from my mind one important subject which we had debated. I found myself dissatisfied with my own arguments. I am referring, of course, to the problem of the Egyptian woman. Up until that time I had been totally unaware that something might be wrong with our family patterns. I decided upon a complete study of the matter. The more I read on this many-sided subject, the more the nature of the disease became clear to me. Tahrir al-Mar'a was my prescription for its cure."²⁰⁰

Further evidence of Qāsim's openmindedness is the quote attributed to him by Rashīd Riḍā in an eulogy for him: "It profits one nothing to belittle a faultfinder by citing his own faults. We should, instead, recognize our faults, admit them, and seek to remove them."²⁰¹

Qāsim spent the summer of 1897 in Switzerland with Muḥammad 'Abduh, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, and Sa'ad Zaghlūl. They attended lectures at the university and discussed what they heard and read in the light of their own knowledge of Arabic literature and Islamic philosophy.²⁰² The experience was one of deep intellectual searching for them (See below, p.124). Qāsim was in the process of writing his book at the time and read several chapters to his friends.^{202a} *Women in Islamic civilization.*

In his book, Tahrir al-Mar'a (Woman's Emancipation),²⁰³ Qāsim discusses the improvement of the status of women in Islam over pre-Islamic times, an improvement which deteriorated during subsequent history.

²⁰⁰ Tawfīq Ḥabīb, "Qāsim Amin and the Egyptian Woman", Al-Hilāl, #36, Cairo, May, 1908, p.945.

²⁰¹ Rashīd Riḍā, "Qāsim Bak Amīn", Al-Muataṭaf, Cairo, June, 1908, p.458.

²⁰² Jamal Mohammed Aḥmad, The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism, London, 1960, p.87.

^{202a} Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, "Mudhakkirāt", Al-Musawwar, No.1352, 8 Sept. 1950, p.25.

He stresses ^xwomen need to be educated in order to fulfill her role in the family and in society. She must be freed from ignorance and not only learn skills, but also acquire true knowledge and intellectual capacity, albeit she need not attend school beyond the primary stage. While observing modesty in dress and demeanor, ^xshe must be freed of the veil and of seclusion, so that she can become an independent human being, able, if necessary, to earn her own living. She must be freed from the degrading practices of polygamy and from unjust divorce patterns; polygamy and divorce must again be subject to strict limitations and special circumstances. Qāsim concludes that her resultant elevated status in society will raise the spiritual level of the population as a whole. ²⁰³

Many of Qāsim's points reflect a familiarity with Sayyid Amīr 'Alī's article on the status of women. However, Qāsim's was a greatly amplified presentation and differed markedly in two ways. Firstly, Qāsim's purpose was not to prove that contemporary Islamic society was better than others as 'Alī had done. Very likely 'Alī's failure to discuss veiling per se in his discussion of seclusion is indicative of his desire to flatter conservative leadership. Qāsim wanted reform and not excuses. Though avoiding a controversial tone, he did not leave out subjects which would be hardest to accept nor did he include details which would, by making the truth more palatable, distract attention from the problem. Secondly, while 'Alī did not speak of education and had only hinted briefly at a general cultural want, Qāsim devoted ample space to an analysis of the educational needs of society as a whole and stressed the contribution an educated woman could make to the culture and morality of humankind.

²⁰³ Qāsim Amīn, Tahrīr al-Mar'a, Cairo, 1899.

3. Qāsim's Impact

Qāsim's recognition of his countrymen's and co-religionist faults and his prescription for their removal appeared in 1899. Despite his defense of Islām itself, loyal sometimes to the point of inaccuracy and his care to emphasize that he wrote not only to benefit Egypt's womankind, but also, by rehabilitating her, to quicken the country's cultural and economic development, Tahrīr al-Mar'a created a great outcry. Of course, he had the support of his friends, in the forefront of whom were Sa'ad Zaghlūl, then chancellor of the court of appeals; Farah Antūn (1874-1922), publisher of the journal, Al-Jāmi'a (The Alliance), who had helped in the mechanics of the book's composition and who now hailed Qāsim as the Eastern "Oriental Luther";²⁰⁴ and Prime Minister Muṣṭafā Fahmī Basha, who, in the pages of Al-Mu'ayyad, seconded Qāsim's opinions about the education of girls and the lifting of the veil.²⁰⁵ In addition, the book had scarcely appeared in print before newspapers began to report the formation of a committee in Egypt, under the sponsorship of responsible individuals, for the emancipation of women along the lines indicated by Qāsim.²⁰⁶

Detractors, however, far outnumbered supporters. Qāsim's slim volume provoked about thirty books and pamphlets written in opposition²⁰⁷ as well as many columns of the newspapers.

In his introduction to his attack, Ṭala'at Ḥarb explained that he had been prompted to write it because of the vast amount of study and discussion which Qāsim's book had aroused. Public opinion had reacted

²⁰⁴Dāghir, p.147 and "Sufūrī", "Dhikra Qāsim Amīn", Al-Muqtataf, Cairo, June, 1928, p.684.

²⁰⁵"Sufūrī", p.687.

²⁰⁶Ḥarb, pp.2-3.

²⁰⁷Ahmed, p.47.

to an extent unprecedented even in great political issues.²⁰⁸ "When I saw the kind of debate going on between the 'pros' and the 'cons', each claiming the sanction of canon and realized that their arguments were largely meaningless, I was eager to study the problem and to add my opinion." "Here", he adds, almost paraphrasing the words of Qāsim's Introduction to Tahrīr al-Mar'a, "is the result of my study. If I am mistaken, let my good intentions excuse my mistakes; if I am right, as I think I am, I do not ask for reward."²⁰⁹ With his usual eye on popularity, Khedive ʿAbbās aligned himself with Qāsim's opponents. ʿAbadīn Palace was forbidden to Qāsim.²¹⁰ Mustafā Kāmil's close friendship with the Frenchwoman, Juliette Adams, did not inspire him to brook their differences in political outlook and speak out in defense of Qāsim's point of view. Kāmil, then at the height of his power as a nationalist leader, for a time turned all his energy to combating Qāsim's ideas. He kept returning to the subject with his usual fire and eloquence, ostensibly defending the veil but in reality attacking Western standards of morality and indicating the danger of copying them.²¹¹

There were those who criticized Qāsim for his Westernization, and those who cited Proudhon, Auguste Comte, and Samuel Smiles in defense of their opposition to his views.²¹²

Ṭalaʿat Ḥarb rejected the assertion of many that Qāsim was another one of those Egyptians who had adopted Western opinions of Easterners while living abroad. "That is proven by his words and by his defending

²⁰⁸Muḥammad Ṭalaʿat Ḥarb, Faṣl al-Khitāb fī 'l-Mar'a wa-'l-Ḥijāb, Cairo, 1901, p.3

²⁰⁹Tarbiyat, p.10.

²¹⁰Haykal, Tarājim, p.166 and "Sufūrī", p.686.

²¹¹Ahmed, p.47.

²¹²Khākī, p.118.

the treatment of the Muslim woman and veiling in a valuable book written as a reply to that of the Duc d'Harcourt. But I have no idea what influenced him to change his mind so completely in Tahrīr al-Mar'a.²¹³ Like most critics, Ḥarb's greatest objection was to Qāsim's opinions about veiling. He recognized his country's great need for education, but believed that women could receive her share fully veiled. Whereas Qāsim, who couched his discussion in very moderate terms, thought heavy veiling an unwholesome influence insofar as it too much emphasis on the physical relationship between the sexes, Ḥarb thought it the greatest assurance of virtuousness.²¹⁴

Ḥarb was also extremely disquieted by Qāsim's refusal to accept any interpretation of the Qur'ān which supported the concept that women are less intelligent and less perceptive than men.²¹⁵

Before Ḥarb, the great professor, Farīd Bak Wajdī, one of 'Abduh's more conservative disciples and later editor, with 'Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād, of Al-Dustur (Constitution), the first newspaper to open its columns to literary prose and poetry,²¹⁶ had written a reply to Tahrīr al-Mar'a which was published in Al-Mu'ayyad, on September 20 and October 1, 1899, under the title "A Look at Woman's Emancipation" and later expanded into book form as Al-Mar'a al-Muslima.²¹⁷ Wajdī's work revolved largely around the differences between men and women, demarcating the sphere of women and citing the need to limit her freedom. When he discusses veiling, he

²¹³ Tarbiyat, p.16.

²¹⁴ Tarbiyat, p.69.

²¹⁵ Tarbiyat, p.18.

²¹⁶ Cacchia, p.28.

²¹⁷ Farīd Bak Wajdī, Al-Mar'a al-Muslima, Cairo, 1912; and Ḥarb, Tarbiyat, p.20 (pp.20-25 and 33-41 are quotations from Wajdī).

falls into the pattern of many others in idealizing the situation of the veiled women while describing the Western woman in her least favorable light, just as Qāsim had done in his reply to Duc d'Harcourt.²¹⁸

Decrying Qāsim's destructive inclinations and lack of piety, the shaykhs of Al-Azhar, with wild exaggeration, swelled the ranks of Qāsim's opponents. To them Qāsim was contradicting religious law and, worse still, making revelation subject to reason. He was pursuing reason first and then verifying the results of reason by revelation. More iconoclastic still, he gave the spirit of revelation as much or more weight than its letter.²¹⁹

²¹⁸

Khākī, p. 119. Professor Khākī also mentioned a book, al-ḥawā' al-ḥalālāt, which I have not seen.

²¹⁹Safran, p.152.

C. Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda (1900):

Qāsim's Demands Expanded

1. Qāsim enlarges his discussion

A man of Qāsim's sensitive and high-strung temperament can but have been deeply hurt by these hostile reactions. With the courage of his convictions, however, and with the support of Sa'd Zaghlūl, who received the dedication, he published a second, more controversial book one year after the first, in 1900. This, Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda (The New Woman)²²⁰ was not as systematic as the first and confined itself mainly to points allowing of contradictory interpretations. From one approach, Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda, is more important than Tahrīr al-Mar'a, insofar as it relates its subject to a wider context of Muslim life in its present aspects and future possibilities. Written in a more stringent tone, it shows the outrage against his critics which Qāsim could not altogether hide. He rejects altogether the false pride about Muslims of earlier times and the ill-founded arrogance toward the West. Muslims must join the march of progress and look towards the West not with scorn, but with eyes willing to learn.

At the appearance of the second, more revolutionary, book, the storm broke anew. Ṭala'at Ḥarb published a Final Word on Woman and the Veil (Faṣl al-Khiṭāb fi 'l-Mar'a wa-'l-Hijāb - see above, p.104, footnote 208) which was essentially a translation into Arabic of that part of Qāsim's reply in French to Duc d'Harcourt pertaining to the position

²²⁰Qāsim Amīn, Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda, Cairo, 1900. (See Appendix).

of women. "This", says Ḥarb, "is what he said in 1894, and we reecho it in 1900." (Page 47).

Other Final Words of varying degrees of conservatism were published²²¹ within and without Egypt's borders. In 1901, the gādī al-quḍāt (chief justice) of Egypt issued a statement, directed at closing the debate, in which he ruled that veiling would remain.²²²

But the debate continued. Salama Musa says: "In those years (1903-1907), there were two subjects that we used to discuss more than anything else, as the concerned the whole of Egyptian society. They were the English occupation, and Qāsim Amīn's movement for the liberation of women."²²³ The debate was still going on with the tide of disapproval still overwhelmingly against him at the time of Qāsim's premature death.²²⁴

2. Qāsim's reaction to his critics.

"The character of the man is not finished until it is all the same to him whether people praise or blame him." (Kalimāt, p.18)

"Ḥ. Bak was asked, 'What did you think of the book, Woman's Emancipation?' He replied, 'It's terrible!'

'You've read it then?'

'No!'

'But shouldn't you read it before deciding it's terrible?'

'I have not read, and I will not read, a book which contradicts my opinion!'" (Page 34).

"Whenever I have seen public opinion accusing a governmental figure of treason, railing at him, rabid for his downfall, I generally know that he is an innocent man and has performed beneficial service.

"Whenever I have seen public opinion hostile to a promising writer, and it has made him enemies who vie with one another in destroying his ideas and in demolishing his doctrine, and

²²¹Such as that of Mukhtār ibn Aḥmad Mu'ayid Bāshā al-ʿAzīmī, Faṣl al-Khiṭāb au Taflīs Iblīs min Tahrīr al-Mar'a wa-Raf' al-Ḥijāb, Bayrūt, 1318 A.H. (c.1900-1901). Also Abd al-Majid Jarīn, Al-Daf' al-Matīn which I have not seen.

²²²Ḥarb, Faṣl, p.50.

²²³Education, p.29. On page 15, he says that the veil was abolished among Copts about 1907 or 1908.

²²⁴Adams, p.234.

especially whenever I have seen them resorting in their invectives to cursing and slander, it has turned out that he has struck falsehood a mortal blow and given truth the victory over it.

"What is public opinion?

"Isn't it, in most cases, this most simple-minded multitude, hostile to change -- the servant of falsehood and the wellspring of tyranny.

"If reformers were always to wait for the sanction of public opinion, the world would be no different from what it was in the time of Adam and Eve." (Page 26).

"The printed word has the effect of magic upon the unsophisticated man; it mesmerizes him. If he quotes from a book, he says, in order to repudiate any suspicion: 'This has been recorded in books'. If he quotes from a newspaper, he says: 'This was mentioned in the journal'. If you protested that the information might not be consistent with the truth and that the mistake might lie with the writer of the book or journal, he would answer 'Yes, but the writer certainly must check the facts before publication, because his profession requires him to do this.'" (Pages 28-29).

"In books, newspapers, and journals, I see the writer more anxious to flatter the mass of readers than concerned over the expression of his idea.

"The writer who loves his art, however, publishes his ideas just as they are. He publishes the facts, no more and no less, accepting no alteration in them, no modification of them, no surrender of a letter in deference to anything whatsoever -- he is the enthusiast who believes in perfection for what he loves, who does not conceive of the existence of anything on a par with it, and who pays attention to people's censure, but discovers in it a kind of fire of indignation, stimulating his nerves, activating his faculties, and spurring him to continue and to persevere." (Page 8).

"From my knowledge of the opinion molders with whom I have associated, it appears to me that their enthusiasm is superficial, not ignited by a fire kindled within the heart -- the enthusiasm of words which, once they have been expressed, return to dust, leaving no trace behind them." (Page 7).

"The affairs of the world proceed as if Divine Power takes no heed of them or as if It favors cowards and blesses their activities, their lives, their fortunes, and their progeny." (Page 60).

"Every discussion is useful, if its purpose is to uncover the facts. You can find, however, only someone who wants to teach you what he has no knowledge of and who will listen to nothing you tell him, because he is interested only in what he is saying." (Page 20).

"Every new idea is offensive because of the truth which it contains. Despite that, it lives only by means of this truth." (Page 57).

"Rarely is there to be found a truth into which some error is not mixed, and rarely is there to be found an error into which some truth is not mixed. It, therefore, behooves us to listen to every word said." (Page 38).

These remarks were written by Qāsim in ~~the~~ notebook which he kept and were probably never intended for publication. Indeed, they were not published until after his death. On the subject of the status of women, Qāsim had said what he had to say, and it is characteristic of him that he did not spend any time thereafter berating his critics in the columns of the public press. He turned his attention to other fields of interest.

2. Qāsim's Successors

In the first decade of the twentieth century Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid took Qāsim's ideas and related them to the specific situations as they were developing in Egypt. In the columns of Al-Jarīda, he discussed the unwholesome family life of the upper and middle classes caused by seclusion, the contrast between it and that of the peasants, and the new problem of the gap between educated young men and uneducated young women.²²⁵

This century's second decade was witness to the publications of the women themselves. While the furor over Qāsim's books was still in

²²⁵ Ahmed, pp.98-100.

progress Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1886-1918), daughter of a distinguished member of 'Abduh's group, began to write and to speak on behalf of women's rights. Her tone was for more wary and conservative than Qāsim's.²²⁶

Mayy Ziyāda, a Christian from Bayrūt, who moved to Cairo in 1908, gave Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif encouragement and, as her own first published work, offered, under the title of Bāḥithat al-Bādiya (The Desert Inquiress), a biography of Mrs. Nāṣif which included a comparison of her approach with Qāsim's. Miss Mayy held a salon, in many ways reminiscent of Princess Nāzli's, and continued to write and to speak throughout the twenties on a number of literary and social subjects, but always at her best about women, until she was overcome by illness in 1929.²²⁷

By this time several women's groups had been formed and Madam Hudā Sha'arāwī, a Muslim activist (who had publically discarded her veil in 1919) rather than a writer, became with the encouragement of Sa'd Zaghlūl the outstanding figure in the women's movement. On her death the writer and doer, Duriya Shafīq became the most prominent feminist leader and has seen the question of the rights of women carried successfully into the political field. Qāsim had said he found it premature even to speak of women's political role in society, but the Egyptian constitution of 1956 gave women the right to vote and to hold public office.

²²⁶See Adams, pp.235-239, and Mayy Ziyāda, Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, Cairo, 1920.

²²⁷See Mary Flounders Arnett, "Marie Ziyada", Middle Eastern Affairs, New York, August-September, 1957, pp.288-294.

Requirements of economic and advances toward modern society plus a modest amount of legislation have produced a more equitable social climate in Egypt. Standards of education for boys as well as girls, however, are still far short of the goals envisioned by Q̄asim and by current social leaders. 228

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See Attilio Gaudio, La Revolution des Femmes en Islam, Paris, 1957, pp.71-79; Rudi Part, Zur Frauenfrage in der Arabisch-Islamischen Welt, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1934; Doria (Shafiq) Ragai, La Femme et le Droit Religieux de l'Egypte Contemporaine, Paris, 1940; Ruth Frances Woodsmall, Moslem Women Enter a New World, New York, 1936; and Ruth F. Woodsmall, director, Study of the Role of Women, Their Activities and Organizations in Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria, October 1954-August 1955, New York, 1956, pp.22-37 and 76-88.

D. Qāsim's Family Practice

At the time Qāsim was campaigning to have the veil discarded, he did not wish Zaynab to unveil. His obedient wife neither opposed his advanced views nor objected to wearing the burqa (face-veil) or the habara (long black veil). She conformed to the status of the ladies of her time. Qāsim realized that the time had not yet come to put his philosophy into effect and contented himself with articulating it.

Even so, Zaynab did not altogether escape the unpleasantness resulting from her husband's books. One time at a party with a group of ladies, another guest who did not realize who she was turned the conversation to the subject of Qāsim Amīn and stated that he had embarked on his campaign only to please his shameless wife, who loved to step out and be constantly on the go. When this person went on to describe Zaynab as she imagined her, another one of the guests called her attention to Zaynab's presence. After the critic realized what Zaynab was really like, she apologized to her and revised her totally unfounded opinion.

Another time, a young opponent of Qāsim's came to his house and asked to see him. Told he was not at home, he asked to see his wife. Informed that Qāsim's wife did not receive anyone, he protested, saying he had merely wanted to put Qāsim's ideals into practice by meeting and talking with Qāsim's wife, and started to push his way through the door. The servants barred his way, forced him to leave, and locked the door behind him.²²⁹

²²⁹Zaujī, Qāsim Amīn: an interview with Mrs. Zaynab Hānum Qāsim Amīn, Ruz al-Yusuf, Cairo, circa April, 1943, pp.10-11.

However, Q̄asim applied his philosophy in the great care with which he attended to the upbringing of his daughters. Q̄asim refused to let them wear the burqa^c or the ḥabara, and, throughout their lives, never let them put one on. Once, when she was twelve years old, Fahīma went to visit her father's maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm Bāshā al-Khaṭṭāb. When he saw she was wearing a hat and in a summer frock, he took her to Stein's department store, bought her a burqa^c and a ḥabara, and made her wear them on her return home. In the evening, when he saw Q̄asim, he told him what he had done, adding: "Your daughter's grown up, Q̄asim. She must be veiled." Q̄asim, however, took the burqa^c and the ḥabara from Fahīma and gave them to a maid.²³⁰

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Personal communication from Q̄asim Amīn's grandson.

IX QĀSIM'S OTHER INTERESTS

A. Language and Language Reform

Little is known of Qāsim's activities during the five years between 1900-1905. It is reported that he engaged in some travelling for pleasure and observation in Turkey and Syria at some point in life,²³¹ and this may have occurred during these years. Somewhere along the line, his gift for language developed into a concern for the reform of Arabic, and it is logical to assume that this was the stage in his experience when his attention would have turned to it.

Friend and foe, alike, admitted that, even though they might take violent exception to the content, they could not help but admire Qāsim's clear, pure, simple direct prose style. Had it not been for this, his unpopular works might not have been so widely read nor lived so long as modern Arabic classics.

Doubtless his mastery of a language other than his own helped to give him greater insight into his mother tongue, but it was his own flair for language which allowed him his superior knowledge of French. Illustrating Qāsim's reputation for French, if not his infallibility in it, is a story told of Muḥammad 'Abduh. "Both for the sake of practice in translation and in connection with his plans for the reform of Egyptian schools, he ('Abduh) translated into Arabic from a French version a book on education by the philosopher, Herbert Spencer. He then showed his translation to his friend Qāsim Amīn, who was acknowledged to have a greater 'feel' for this language than anyone else around.

²³¹Haykal, Fi 'Awqāt al-Farāgh, p.104.

Of French-versed Egyptians, he was the most skilled in reading, speaking, and writing. Qāsim Amīn made some corrections, and then the Reverend Master submitted the corrected translation to some French Arabic specialists, only to find that Qāsim's corrections were wrong and that what he had written originally had been right."²³²

In respect to Arabic, Qāsim was in the tradition of Nāṣif al-Yāzījī, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (see pp.14-17), wishing to purge it of its archaic inflexibility and, by purifying and simplifying it, to release its natural beauty. At the same time, he went further in his hope to see it opened to new influences. His own words from Kalimāt best describe his opinions on this subject.

"The foremost writers of the Middle Ages were Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Miskawayh and such as they. The Arabic language was the language of literature, science, and philosophy; it was, therefore, the broadest and richest of the world's languages. Then long centuries passed it by, while it was standing still in its tracks, not advancing a step forward, and European languages began to undergo a change and to advance wherever its people made progress in the humanities and in the sciences until they became the desired pattern of facility, clarity, precision, movement, and grace -- the most precious jewel in the crown of modern civilization.

"Despite this, our people have already agreed that our language still continues to maintain its original standing. They assert that it is the mistress of languages, just as our people have agreed that Egypt is the mother of the world."
(Pages 13-14)

"It appears that the Gate of Ijtihād (independent judgment) has been closed in the field of language, just as it has been shut in the field of legislation. We have already come to the decision among ourselves that Arabic has covered and is covering everything!

"For this belief to be true, we would have to assume that this language is the result of a miracle and appeared in a complete form on the first day of its existence in the world. This the weight of proof refutes in so far as all languages are

²³²Ta'rikh, p.1034.

subject to the laws of change and general progress and are subsidiary in their stages to the course of humanity. They are a manifestation of the natural instinct which continues to produce and to innovate, just as in the past. I do not understand why our people want to exclude from the Arabic language the expressive words and graceful turns of phrase which we sometimes hear in popular speech on the pretext that they do not go back to classical Arabic. "We are the successors of the Arabs linguistically, and so everything that our talents create linguistically may certainly be considered Arabic." (Pages 11-12)

"Writers have attached some words to one another over the centuries, so inseparably that they have become wearisome through long associations. For instance: 'the learned scholar', 'the noble gentleman', 'the initiate friend', 'the sheltered lady'. Either let a divorce restore to them the freedom to associate with other words or, at least, let them have a rest by way of a temporary separation from this compulsory partnership." (Page 29).

"The true writer avoids the use of synonyms and does not set down two different nouns for one concept in one place, because that is a redundancy, a grammatical error, and proof of paucity of thought and of imagination. If, however, the piece of writing were to demand mention of a number of similar concepts joined by a single thread, the use of synonyms relevant to them would be fine and, if necessary to facilitate understanding or to clarify differences among them, might sometimes be demanded. Also, a good writer does not place an adjective beside a noun, unless the situation calls for him to distinguish it by an adjective consistent with the facts. Reliance upon the use of adjectives, however, and of superlatives in order to create an effect is the lowest degree of literary art. Much to be preferred to it is the method of Western writers who in description depend upon recalling facts, explaining their context, and analyzing them in detail or upon dissecting the human being, baring his innermost self, revealing what is hidden in his sinews, probing into the depths of his fears, and listening to his soul, in order to understand what attitudes and ideas, what pre-delictions and impulses, are lurking there. The appearance of something is described in its total framework with all of its components, so that in the reader's or listener's mind is occasioned a complete picture, an overall impression, a lasting effect." (Page 40).

"I do not understand the object of writers who, wishing to designate a new invention, go out of their way to search for an Arabic word equivalent to the generally accepted foreign word, such as, for example, their use of the word 'siyāra', instead of the word 'autūmūbil'. If the intent is to bring the meaning more readily to mind, then the word which people are accustomed to performs the function demanded of it more fully than the Arabic word. If their intent is to prove that the Arabic language is not beholden to another language, then they have set themselves an impossible task, since there is not and never will be a language independent of others and sufficient unto itself." (Page 11)

"Among all of the people whom I know, I have not yet seen a person who could read everything that falls under his gaze without a grammatical mistake. Isn't this sufficient proof of the need to reform the Arabic language?

"I have an idea about inflection which I shall mention here as a general principle. It is that the endings of words should remain silent and not be vowelized by any case endings. In this way, which is also the way of all the Romance and Turkic languages, could be eliminated rules governing the tenses of verbs and the cases of nouns, without a violation of the language resulting, since its vocabulary would remain just as it is.

"In other languages, the person reads so that he may understand. In Arabic, he understands so that he may read. If he wished to read the word make up of these three letters: ʿ, l, m, he could read them ʿalam (flag), ʿilm (science), ʿulima (it was learned), ʿullima (it was taught), ʿallama (he taught), or ʿalima (he learned). He cannot decide on one of these forms until he understands the meaning of the sentence. It is that which determines the proper pronunciation. For us, therefore, reading has been one of the most difficult arts." (Page 14)

These linguistic suggestions were as bold, if not bolder, in their context, than Qāsim's suggestions for the advancement of women. Other than the efforts of James Sanua (see p. 18) to gain literary acceptance for colloquial Arabic, it is difficult to find such drastic admissions and recommendations as these: about Arabic's outdatedness; its encumbrance with adjectives, synonyms, and case-tense endings; the shortsightedness of its attitude toward foreign words; and its inadequate use of vowels.

In his Kalimāt, Qāsim includes a few candid remarks about the Arabic writers of his day:

"When wishing to express sincere emotions, the human being, after a period of exertion and an abundance of words, comes to realize that he has said something commonplace, something less than he anticipated. He has found that the best in himself has remained hidden within himself.

"To picture a perfect emotion and to depict its effect in a form consistent with reality, overworked and antiquated expressions not be used. New expressions must be invented." (Pages 57-58).

"The poets, writers and scholars among us do not express their ideas in what they write. Instead their minds are depots which preserve whatever comes into them by reading and hearing and repositories for the ideas of others. They deal in merchandize which is not theirs, and they do not add or append to it anything of their own. All of their work is limited to repeating the other's ideas which they have memorized, just as children memorize the Qur'ān. When the populace hears them or reads their writings, they clap their hands and praise them and shout, 'Oh, so-and-so, how wonderful he is! There is no publicity in the world like it!' " (Page 14).

"When you read the newspapers, you find all of them so uniform in their content and so similar in their style that you can scarcely tell the difference between one and the other. If, during the day, you encounter twenty men of your acquaintance, you hear from the other nineteen what you have heard from the first. You do not find in the newspapers which you read nor hear from the friend whom you meet an unorthodox idea or a new interpretation or an original approach. You find no genius who amazes you or fascinates you with his obsession." (Pages 14-15).

"Of the many ways to express each idea, one way is best: The one which the proficient writer senses." (Page 15).

Qāsim's flair for fiction is also apparent in some of his Kalimāt entries. Had a longer life been vouchsafed him, he might well have pioneered the field of the Arabic novel along with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥaykal, who expressed great admiration for him. In explaining how he came to write his biographical sketches, Ḥaykal says that from the time he was a law student he had given particular attention to all Qāsim

wrote and to everything written about him and that Qāsim had had a great and treasured influence upon his thoughts.²³³

²³³ Adams, pp.249-250, quoting from Tarājīm, p.8.

B. Speaking

Muhammad 'Abduh died on July 11, 1905. Editor, teacher, judge, member and moving spirit of the administrative committee of Al-Azhar, from June 3, 1899 on, he was also Muftī of all Egypt. As such he was officially recognized as the supreme interpreter of Islamic law for the country, and, though his fatwas (legal opinions) were limited in scope, his position lent new weight to the reformist school.²³⁴

On the fortieth day after 'Abduh's death, according to custom, a memorial service was held. Of the six speakers carefully chosen because of their connection with him and their familiarity with his aims and views, one was Qāsim Amīn.²³⁵ In his speech he said:

"When a Western country is stricken by the loss of a leading figure, whether in science, in literature or in politics, even though he has guided them in reforms of heroic proportions, its people say, 'No man is indispensable', and immediately find someone to step in and take his place. For us it is not so easy. Search as we may, we shall find no one in our land to make up for the loss of our professor, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh. I say this not out of a sense of loyalty to a personal friend nor because it is customary to eulogize the dead, overlooking their faults and attributing to them virtues which they never had.

"I say this, because it is the truth, well-known to every Egyptian. He achieved the highest place obtainable in this life, one not dependent upon high government office nor upon a titled family, great wealth, or ancient lineage nor upon any of the commonly accepted marks of nobility designed as substitutes for nobility of soul. He gained his place by his perception, earned it by his diligent effort, maintained it by the power of his resolution and by the firmness of his principles, and served it by his knowledge and by his labor. This place enabled him to hold the reins of a whole nation in his hands, to direct its fate, and to pave the way of its future. It was a place of leadership in the widest sense. Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh is gone from it, and there is no one in Egypt who deserves to put on his mantle."²³⁶

²³⁴ Adams, pp.92,72, and 79.

²³⁵ Adams, p.93.

²³⁶ Ta'rikh, pp.1062-1063.

Early in 1908, a lesser man, and less Q̄asim's friend, died.

Of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's death, Q̄asim wrote:

"February 11, 1908, the day of the funeral of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, was the second time I felt the heart of Egypt beating. The first was the day of the Dinshawāī executions.

"Then I could tell that everyone's heart was heavy, torn, crushed. Gestures and voices reflected shocked disbelief. Grief was in every face, the silent grief of resignation, grief touched with amazement and stupefaction. You could observe people talking in hushed whispers and in disjointed phrases. The pervading atmosphere was that of a wake, with the souls of the executed abroad everywhere in the city. But this emotional unity, finding no channel of expression, was bottled up in people's hearts. It was not clear for the world to see.

"On the day of the funeral of Al-Liwa''s publisher, however, that emotion shone forth strong and clear; it exploded with a tremendous noise which was heard echoing all over the capital and into every corner of the country.

"This emotion, newborn from the womb of the nation, from its blood and sinews, contains the hope to put smiles on our wretched faces and radiant warmth in our cold, frozen hearts. It is the future." Kalimāt, pp.55-56.

The Dinshawāī incident of June 13, 1906, may well have been the first occasion when the new patriotism, which had heretofore existed only among the educated, permeated the general public. As a result of an altercation between a British hunting party, who had shot some commercially valuable village pigeons (another version of the affair is that they accidentally shot a woman), and a group of villagers, one of the British party, an officer, died. Within two days four of the villagers had been sentenced to death, two to life imprisonment, and three to fifty lashes and a year's imprisonment. The penalties were publically executed in Dinshawāī itself. Muṣṭafā Kāmil made political capital of it in Egypt and abroad. In Egypt, at least, Cromer's resignation the following year was ascribed to the success of Kāmil's campaign.

In December, 1907, Kāmil convened the first Nationalist Congress, out of which the amorphous Nationalist Party emerged, the first organized political party in Egypt. (see above, p. 93). Two months later, at the age of 34, Kāmil died.²³⁷

Ahmad Lutfī al-Sayyid tells of chancing to meet Qāsim after Kāmil's death. Lutfī had been criticized for having been hyperbolic in describing patriotistic feeling in Egypt. He relates that Qāsim accused him of not being forceful enough and again expressed the opinion that he considered this new surge of feeling the hope of the future which should have everyone's blessing and which everyone should nourish to full-growth.²³⁸ (But see Appendix II, pp. 22-23.)

²³⁷ Cacchia, pp.23-24.

²³⁸ Lutfī, Al-Musawwar, pt.4, p. 23.

C. The 'Umma Party

When Qāsim spent the summer of 1897 in Switzerland with Muhammad 'Abduh, Sa'd Zaghlūl, and Ahmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, the latter had gone there at Mustafā Kāmil's request. His mission was to acquire Swiss citizenship in order to have the special judicial protection and immunities which foreigners enjoyed in Egypt and then to undertake the editorship of Kāmil's party journal, Al-Liwā' (The Banner). As his acquaintance with Muhammad 'Abduh blossomed into close friendship, however, Luṭfī abandoned this plan and eventually became permanently cut off from Kāmil. Out of the discussions which he, Muhammad 'Abduh, Sa'd Zaghlūl, and Qāsim had that summer, many of the characteristic ideas of the group later to become the 'Umma (People's) Party began to take form. (see above, p.95).

In 1907, when Mustafā Kāmil, whose patron was the Khedive, had succeeded in rallying around his Patriotic Party large sections of the population, Luṭfī and the circle of moderate nationalists around 'Abduh formed their group into the 'Umma Party to counter Mustafā's movement. This party included among its leaders several very rich landowners on good terms with the British, and also a number of eminent intellectuals, social reformers and statesmen including Faṭḥī and Sa'd Zaghlūl and Qāsim Amīn.²³⁹ It was the first of the political parties to have a regular organization and to propose a detailed program covering the political, social, and economic needs of the country. Among other things, it advocated the extension of free and compulsory elementary education and the promotion of higher education, as well as the gradual extension of the principle of representative government by means of councils.²⁴⁰

²³⁹Ahmed, p.87, and Safran, pp.90-91.

²⁴⁰Adams, p.222.

Though the party did not prove very stable, its journal, Al-Jarīda, edited by Luṭfī al-Sayyid until his resignation and its subsequent demise in 1914, reached men of influence as well as the general public with discussions of fundamental cultural, social and political problems and became the rallying point and training school for a whole generation of young writers.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ Safran, p.91.

D. The Egyptian University

Under the British occupation, higher education was limited to the training of government officials and to certain vocational skills. Early in the new century many of the Egyptian leaders became interested in remedying this situation by founding a university which would be on a much broader basis and pursue learning for learning's sake. The idea of such an institution may have first been suggested by Muṣṭafā Kāmil, but further elaboration of the idea had to be abandoned in 1905 because of the disapproval of Cromer. Nevertheless, in the autumn of 1906 a committee to plan for a university was formed and included Sa'ḍ Zaghlūl, Qāsim Amīn, Ḥifnī Nāṣif, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, and other followers of 'Abduh. Kāmil was in Europe at the time, but, when news of the committee's formation reached him, he wrote to it saying that the idea had been his and therefore should be carried out under his auspices.²⁴²

The first meeting of the committee took place on October 13th, at the home of Sa'ḍ Zaghlūl. Sa'ḍ was appointed chairman and Qāsim vice-chairman and secretary.²⁴³ The committee issued the following statement, probably drawn up by Qāsim as secretary:

"This year public opinion has arisen on a spontaneous tide for the realization of this desire. The nation has come to a complete understanding that our education is deficient and its sphere narrow and stagnant. It is coming to demand that we achieve our goal, by pushing back the

²⁴²Adams, p.225.

²⁴³Adams, p.232, and Khākī, p.129.

boundaries now confining advanced learning and higher truths, stalemating great theses and knotty problems begging for solution, and inhibiting new inventions, new experiments, and new information. All these challenges have been and are engaging the minds of great European scholars, but of them we, as yet, have received only a faint echo."²⁴⁴

Before the year was out, Cromer appointed Saʿd Zaghlūl Minister of Public Instruction, and Saʿd turned over the chairmanship of the committee to Qāsim, who held it until his death two years later.²⁴⁵

On April 15, 1908, Qāsim gave a talk at the house of Ḥasan Bāshā Zāyad, on the occasion of his giving a waqf (a charitable endowment of the income from property) of fifty faddāns (roughly an acre) to the University Fund

"If instead of only placing wreaths and refurbishing tombs and illuminating old memorials, the best men of the country put their minds on the revitalization and betterment of their nation, and, if they had worked generously to bring out the best in it, the Egyptian University would today have been, like its counterparts in other countries, the richest community in the land. It is, however, the poorest one of all.

"Gentlemen, true patriotism does not consist of talk or of braggadocio. Our forefathers lived and worked to the best of their abilities. They served their country and fought and conquered for her, yet we do not hear of them boasting about how much they loved their country. We would be better off to imitate them and to rely, not on words, but on deeds.

"We must understand that our social problem is not something which exists by chance or which will be altered by a miracle. Like all other scientific phenomena it is a problem to be analyzed and structured. The existence and growth of human society has numerous causes tied to religion and canon, to morals and climate, to race and language, and to educational methods. The social situation, can only be altered by a change in the causes which go to make up its existence. On that basis, everything written and done and said about the subject is beneficial, auspicious, effective; and everything else is superficial and ineffective.

²⁴⁴Khākī, pp.129-130.

²⁴⁵Hanotaux, p.214, and Tarājim, p.162.

"Gentlemen, one of the most important causes for the inferiority or superiority of any nation is its educational methods. If we examine ourselves, we find that our present educational system is purely vocational or geared to such indispensable professions as medicine, engineering, and law. This education is rationed out to the students in our schools in a given measure, never in excess of the use to which it will be put.

"This bespeaks the finger of government in education, and the directors of private schools fall right in line. The government is well aware that this education is inadequate, but it is hampered in the work of expanding it for the reasons which it has outlined in numerous reports, the most important of these, as it has acknowledged, being the problem of money.

"In reality, there is no government in the world which can, by itself, oversee the program of public education in all its ramifications and gradations. If we observe what is done in highly developed countries, we find that the greatest share of education is in the hands of academic organizations which form the bases and directorates for its administration and that the function of the government therein is limited to cooperating and assisting wherever it can.

"This is what has induced the Egyptian government to arouse the concern of the people over spreading elementary education and what prompts us also to demand that our compatriots consider the dissemination of higher education and do their utmost to perfect the system of education in our country and to make it adequate to fill all the needs of the nation.

"Gentlemen, we cannot now be satisfied to pursue knowledge as a means to the practice of a trade or to the procurement of a job. Our country craves men who seek knowledge out of a love of the truth, out of a longing to discover the unknown, men whose motto is, 'Learning for learning's sake'. We would like to see Egypt produce what other countries have produced: a scholar who embraces all fields of human knowledge, a specialist who knows all their is to know about a particular field, a philosopher of universal fame, a writer read all over the world, an authority to whom the world refers for the solution of a problem and whose opinion is indispensable. Such men as these lead public opinion in other countries, guiding them to success, and planning their advancement. If a country lacks them, uninformed advisers and charlatans take their place.

"Gentlemen, if we look at the educated segment of the Egyptian population, that is, graduates of high schools, we find that their motto is, 'Earn much and toil little'. None of them works out of devotion to knowledge or to his art nor is any of them so filled with a passion for his work that he finds no room to be enthusiastic about anything else. We sometimes find rare individuals who occasionally spend short periods of time adding to their knowledge, but they lack that fever, that fire, which grips the heart and feelings and without which the soul does not seek challenging work nor demand advancement to high rank.

"Does it not appear to you, as to me, that human advancement is especially connected with feelings? Most mature people have sensibilities which make them react in tune with the passage of events, causing them to become greatly excited by them and to be strongly and readily influenced by them. They are happy when things go well, sad when they go poorly. They are foremost in the arena of life. You see them in the front row, risking danger to themselves and competing with one another to grapple with any difficulty. From them, God selects the best, and to him He reveals His secrets. This chosen one then becomes an outstanding poet, a wise scholar, a holy saint, or a revered prophet.

"Gentlemen, the lack of people prepared to seek knowledge for its own sake is a great defect in our country and one which we must remedy. It is the result of our upbringing at home, which has neglected the training of our sensibilities and overlooked the development of our hearts. We have become materialists, for we take an interest only in what we can get out of everything, even in things which by their very nature should not lend themselves to opportunism, such as our relationships with family and friends. It cannot be expected, however, that our morals will change perceptibly until the reform of the Egyptian family is accomplished.

"From this knowledge of ours, is it legitimate to entertain the fear that, when the Egyptian University opens its doors, no one will enter? I have heard this remonstrance and, in my considered opinion, it is a false notion. Even if we must regret not having as great a devotion to learning as we would like, that does not mean that it is altogether missing from our country. From ancient times, love of learning has existed in our country, and it will continue on our soil forever. The history of modern Egypt offers strong proof that ever since the time of the late Muḥammad 'Alī, love of learning has been and still is growing in the souls of our people.

"I have great hope that the establishment of the Egyptian University will be the means of showing the younger generation, and the ones to follow it, a truly good example. Our young people's present state of anxiety and confusion is but a sure sign that they are brimming over with a great force which seeks an arena of activity to enable them to enjoy the equanimity necessary for health.

"We would like the Egyptian nation to build up this magnificent institution with its own hand, so that it will remain an immortal influence in this region and a witness to its being well-prepared for intellectual growth and more progress. Everyone who adds a stone to this institution serves his nation most handsomely. Thanks are due the initiators and thanks are due the sustainers of this noble work. In the first rank of the farsighted benefactors, who are wise in spending their money to best advantage, I see two men: The Honorable Aḥmad Bak Sharīf and our kind host here tonight." 246

On another occasion Qāsim noted: "Purely self-aggrandizing education, whose adherents try to exploit knowledge, is a corruption of education. It may spawn a Nietzsche or a Nordau. These two German philosophers, backed by the ambitions of their military governments, uphold strength over weakness and the grinding down of others and the rigid control of life and food and livelihood. This kind of education drags humanity into savagery and makes of the entire world a cave of dangerous wild beasts, moldering in squalor. Therefore one must look out for that and undermine its established foundations, pull up its roots, burn them, and scatter the ashes to the four winds."²⁴⁷

In May, 1908, the project for the University gained the active support of Prince Fū'ad, son of Ismā'īl, uncle of Abbās Ḥilmī, cousin of Nāzī, and later himself the Sultān (as the Khedive came to be titled), then King. Fū'ad was instrumental in helping the "thinkers" group of the People's Party accumulate the necessary funds, in seeing through the necessary statutes, and in acquiring the necessary faculty. The University was the first institution of higher education in Cairo modeled on Western lines and counted a French, an English, and an Italian professor on its staff. It opened its doors in December, 1908, but that was eight months after Qāsim's death.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷Ra'if Khūrī, Al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-Hadīth, Bayrūt, 1943, pp.136-137.

²⁴⁸Hanotaux, p.220.

X QĀSIM'S DEATH

A. Qāsim's Last Day

On Tuesday evening, April 21, 1908, barely one week after his talk at the house of Ḥasan Bāshā Zāyad, Qāsim died of a heart attack at the age of 45.

Late in the afternoon of this day, he gave a welcoming address to a delegation of Roumanian (rūmāniyya) students, both boys and girls, at the High Schools' Club (nādā al-madāris al-ʿaliyya). He spoke in French:

"I salute this scientific delegation and thank it for visiting the High Schools' Club. I am especially grateful to its young women members, who have braved the hardships of travel to transplant from West to East the seeds of science and of knowledge. My heart is full of joy as I observe that their regard for their education is no less than that of their masculine companions. It is my great desire to see the day when our own young Egyptian Muslim women become their peers as pioneers in science and in knowledge. Then shall we see Muslim women sitting alongside Egyptian men in just such cultural groups as this one today, sharing in the arts and sciences from which they are now barred. Perhaps my hope will be realized as they and the Egyptian people move forward."

At seven-thirty the reception ended, and Qāsim left the Club with Yūsif Ṣadiq Bak (later Bāshā). Upon his arrival home, he felt a disturbance in his chest and a catch in his breath. Saying to his family, "I don't feel like eating anything, don't hold dinner for me", he got undressed and lay down on a chaise longue. He realized that his breathing was

becoming increasingly disturbed and faint and had his chest and back massaged. He tried to rest a little but, before long, got up and threw himself into a chair, where, peacefully and without pain, he passed away. By quarter to nine, he was gone.²⁴⁸

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Ḥabīb, "Qāsim Amīn and the Egyptian Woman," p.949. Khākī gives the date of his death as April 23rd.

B. An Interview with Q̄asim's Wife

Zaynab survived her husband by at least thirty five years. A woman of medium height, she remained slender and dignified of carriage. Bespectacled and smiling, she was active and mentally alert as the years advanced. When interviewed in 1943, she said:

"The girls and boys of the present generation have misunderstood my husband's campaign and have carried his intention too far. Young women today not only appear unveiled but dress in a shocking way that Q̄asim would never have advocated. Q̄asim campaigned for unveiling according to the religious law, which prescribes exposing only the face, hands, and feet. He did not intend a display of décolletage and naked limbs, nor did he intend the mixing of men and women in the form popular nowadays.

"I believe that, if Q̄asim were alive today, he would not be pleased with this situation. But, here, we are not seeking an argument. It so happens that I still find many people maligning Q̄asim Amīn. They charge him with the responsibility for today's shamelessness, attributing it to his campaign; but, by doing so, they show that they have misunderstood his message.

"Mrs. Hudā Shaarāwī is probably the person who best exemplifies respectable, decorous unveiling -- the proper unveiling for which Q̄asim Amīn campaigned." 249

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PART TWO:

TRANSLATIONS OF TWO OF HIS BOOKS

THE NEW WOMAN

by

QĀSIM AMĪN

CAIRO

1900

To my friend Sa'd Zaghlūl

In you I have found a loving heart, a thinking mind,
and an effective will.

You have shown me friendship in its most excellent form,
so that I have perceived that all of life is not misery and
that it has sweet hours for those who can appreciate them.

Now I can understand that such friendship gives even
sweeter hours when it exists between man and wife.

That is the secret of happiness, which I have lifted
my voice to proclaim to the children of my country, be they
men or women.

15 August 1900

Qāsim Amīn

Preface

(3)

The new woman is one of the flowers of modern civilization. Her appearance was first made in the West in the wake of the scientific discoveries which freed the human mind from the thrall of delusions, uncertainties, and superstitions; granted it command of itself; and outlined the route it must follow. That was where science began to investigate everything, to review every opinion, and to accept a proposition only when it had been proven to be of benefit to the people. Ultimately the attempt was made to paralyze the power of the clergy, to erase the privileges of the nobility, to impose a constitution upon kings and judges, and to free the negro race from slavery. This activity culminated in the abolition of most of what men used to consider their privileges, because of which they were superior to women and would not admit to them that they were equal to them in anything.

Europeans used to hold the opinion we have today about women; (4) and, indeed, their affairs were confined to a short supply of religion and rationality, and they were nothing but sowers of discord and tenacles of Satan. They used to say: She is long on hair, but short on brains, created only to serve men. Their savants, philosophers, poets, and priests used to think it futile to teach and train her and used to scoff at the woman who gave up cooking and took up reading books of science and to accuse her of intruding upon what they deemed the prerogatives of men.

When the film of ignorance was removed from them and the condition of the woman came under the review of the investigators, they acknowledged that they themselves were the source of her degradation and the cause of her corruption. They recognized that her intellectual and moral nature was just as amenable to progress as man's. They perceived that like them she had the right to enjoy her freedom and to make use of her powers and faculties and that it was a mistake to deprive her of the means which would enable her to take advantage of them.

From that time Western woman entered a new era and began (5) gradually to cultivate her mind and to improve her character. One after the other she obtained her rights and took her place alongside men in the concerns of human life. She joined them in studying science in school and in listening to sermons in church and sat with them in literary gatherings and attended learned societies and travelled abroad. After that it was not long before that female -- that bestial

being submerged in finery, muffled in clothing, and immersed in pleasure -- disappeared, and there appeared in her place a new woman: sister of the man, partner of the husband, tutor of the children, and educator of the race.

This transformation is exactly what we strive for.

Our highest aim is that the Egyptian woman may reach this elevated standing and take such steps up the ladder of fulfillment as befit her qualities, so that she may be granted her share of intellectual and moral progress and of felicity of circumstances in life and will know how to use what influence she has in the home.

Were that to happen, we are convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that this small movement will be the greatest event in the (6) history of Egypt.

Since such was our conviction, is it proper that anyone dissuade us from persisting in the attempt to realize our hopes; that the mass of the people has paid no attention to it; or that some writers have shown displeasure with it -- whether a critic whose opinion does not agree with ours, a cynic who spends his life in empty talk, or a victim of deception who denies our sincerity?

We do not write out of a desire for the applause of the ignorant or of the common people, who, if they heard the word of God, plain in expression and clear in meaning, would not understand it until it came out distorted and misconstrued as the ra'y¹ of a shaykh -- the most

¹Ra'y in Islamic law: a decision based on individual judgment, not on Qur'an or Sunna.

ignorant of men about his religion. They love their country only when it is represented to them by an ugly picture, by antiquated mores, and by absurd customs. Indeed, we write for people of learning and especially for the new generation, which is the repository of our faith in the future. By the sound scientific education this generation has gained, it can put the problem of the woman in the place it deserves of interest and study.

At this juncture we see no need to discuss the veil from (7) the religious standpoint. The Qur'ānic texts which we quoted in Tahrīr al-Mar'a (The Emancipation of the Woman) are clear in permitting the revealing of the face and hands and the associating of women with men.² Many Muslim scholars, whose opinions we have cited, have agreed with us about this. If another faction of lawmakers prefers to insist on the veil, this is an opinion religion does not require us to follow.

Since there is a dichotomy in this problem, it is proper to give preference to the doctrine which is consistent with human freedom and the general welfare.

The publisher of Al-Manār wrote a short article about the veil which we quote here in support of our view:

"As for the third matter, the judgment of the Sharḥ³ in this discussion, it is known that the Sharḥ has forbidden being alone with a strange woman. Reports of the early period of Islam are filled with discussions between women and men and with their converse together in public, but not alone. Suffice it that the Prophet's wives -- the

²Cairo, 1941, pp.60-72.

³The Sharḥ: the canonical law of Islam.

very ones who were charged with an extreme form of veiling -- used to converse with men, even to the point that the Lady 'A'isha was (8) the commander of an army and its leader in the famous Battle of the Camel.⁴ It is unlikely that even a stickler would say that she spoke with no one unless he was mahram.⁵

This is the opinion of a man whose standing in religion was known to everyone. If the Azharites⁶ would devote themselves to understanding the aims of their religion, instead of devoting themselves to words and to grammatical and philological constructions, they would not have disagreed with us in anything we have said.

It is a shame that the newspapers and the intelligentsia daily accuse the Islamic theologians of being the cause of the decadence and backwardness of the Islamic countries as compared with other civilized countries and ascribe to them laxity in the understanding of religion and disregard of its laws. Then, when an altruist makes a move to present an idea he considered of benefit to the country, their gazes shift toward these same theologians, asking them for a fatwa⁷ on the basis of their opinion about it. It escapes them that those who fight reform and assign to the study of modern sciences no benefit to be gained for themselves in training the intellect, perfecting the moral character, and elevating action

⁴A battle in 656 at Basra, where a movement led by 'A'isha (one of the Prophet's wives) and others in opposition to the caliphate of 'Alī (the Prophet's son-in-law) was defeated.

⁵Mahram: in Islamic law, related in a degree of consanguinity precluding marriage.

⁶Azharites: the faculty of the center of Islamic learning in Cairo.

⁷Fatwa: canonical opinion.

and who accept the study of geography and history only in spite of (9) themselves have no standing in science or in religion which would permit them to express an opinion about any of the country's affairs, let alone about one of the most important questions of human society.

Anyone familiar with the Islamic Shari'ah⁸ knows that the freedom of the woman is one of the most valuable principles which it deserves to pride itself on over its peers, because it gave the woman of twelve centuries ago rights which Western woman has obtained only in this century and in part of the last. She even continues to be deprived of some rights and is now engaged in seeking them.

Our Shari'ah has established for the woman a personal fitness to manage and to dispose of her property; it has urged her training and her education; it has not forbidden her practicing any profession or engaging in any job. It has emphasized the equality between her and the man to an extent that it allows her to be an executor for the man and to perform the function of mufti⁹ and of qadi¹⁰; that is the function of judging among people equitably. Umar himself appointed women as supervisors over the markets of Al-Madīna, despite the availability of men from among the Prophet's Companions and others. French laws, on the other hand, have granted women the right to practice the profession of law only last year. Since our Shari'ah has protected (10) the woman to this extent and granted her this degree of freedom, is it proper for us, in this era, to forget the aims of our Shar' and to

⁸Shari'ah: canonical law.

⁹Mufti: in Islamic law, the deliverer of formal legal opinions.

¹⁰Qadi: judge.

neglect the means which qualify the woman to take advantage of these precious rights and to waste our time in theoretical debates which result only in delaying us from advancing on the path of improving our conditions?

I do not think that is appropriate for us, and I hope that many readers will think as I do.

THE WOMAN IN THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY

(11)

One can know the condition of the woman today only after knowing her condition in the past. This is the basic principle of research into social questions, for we can grasp the reality of our condition in any matter of importance only after examining past events and becoming familiar with the (periodic) changes they underwent. In other words we must know our starting point so that we may know at what point we shall arrive.

Herodotus, the Father of History, mentioned that the relationships of the man with the woman were haphazard and no different from what might be seen among cattle. The important thing when a woman gave birth was to gather in the tribe when the child reached maturity and to relate him to the people most resembling him. This custom was also well-known among the Germanic tribes and the pre-Islamic Arabs, and accounts of contemporary travellers have brought us confirmation of the historical accounts, for all of the travellers who have toured Tahiti and the Marquesa Islands and elsewhere in the region of Australia and New Zealand and parts of India and Africa have noted that marriage (12) is unknown in those areas. Certainly the woman under such circumstances lives independently, supporting herself and being equal to the man in all activities. Moreover, she has the advantage over him in that the children are, in general, related to her alone. In this early period, the woman was of prime importance in the social milieu. Sometimes she participated with the man in the defense of her tribe, as is indicated by the account of the battles of horsewomen in ancient histories and by

the existence of the custom, still widespread in some countries, of drafting women, just as men are drafted. In such a way the king of Siam has intrusted a number of women with the task of guarding him. The king of Dahomey in Hanzan, whose country the French have occupied for a number of years, had a troop of five hundred men and a troop of five hundred women.

When man forsook nomadism, occupied a fixed home, and engaged in agriculture, he discovered the institution of the family. Of the most important aids to the formation of the household was that each family had its private deity which it would choose from among its ancestors, as was current among the Greeks, the Romans, the Hindus, (13) and the Germans and as is still current among primitive peoples. It still has vestiges in China. The family used to offer sacrifices to its gods. This was an inducement for the man to leave behind a progeny to carry out the discharge of the religious obligations.

Women's loss of independence resulted from her entrance into the family. Thus we see the head of the household among the Greeks, Romans, Germans, Hindus, Chinese, and Arabs, owning his wife. He used to acquire her just as he acquired a slave, through purchase, in the sense that the marriage contract was drawn up in the form of buying and selling. This is something every Latin scholar knows, historians have mentioned, and our contemporary travellers have observed. The man buys his wife from her father, all of the father's rights over her are transferred to him, and he may dispose of her by sale to another person. When he dies, she is transferred with his estate to his heirs from among her male children or to others.

One of the consequences of this situation is that the woman does not own anything for herself nor share in inheritance. A man marries a number of women, because monogamy presumes equality between the couple (14) in rights and duties. Later the tyranny of the man over the woman abated somewhat through the action of the government; and the right of ownership, in full or in part, and the right of inheritance, completely or incompletely depending upon the laws, was restored to her. In no country, however, did the government's protection of woman go so far as to give men and women equal rights. The woman in India was deprived of her legal identity; with the Greeks, women were obligated to live in total seclusion and to go out of their houses only when necessary; and with the Romans the woman was as good as helpless. At the beginning of European history, when it was subject to the authority of the church and of Roman law, she was in a worse situation with some clerics even denying that she had an immortal soul. This question was put to a council convened in May, ¹¹586. After long deliberation and acrimonious debate, it resolved that the woman is a human being, but was created to serve man and must live under a man's guardianship: her father prior to marriage; her husband after marriage; one of her sons, if the husband died, or one of her male relatives or in-laws, if she has no sons. In any case, she is not permitted to look after herself. She was not qualified to (15) testify in legal transactions, to have custody of her minor children, or to serve as arbiter or an informant. In some Swiss cantons it has been

¹¹Or Mâcon?

observed that the testimony of two women is the equivalent of that of one man. Traces of these legal practices continue even now in many countries of Europe. That is because the formation of the government was based upon the format of the family. It cannot be expected that a government based on despotic authority will work toward granting woman her rights and freedom.

This kind of despotic government is the first political system to appear in the world. After it had existed for generations in Western countries, it withered and died and was replaced by a constitutional order based upon the principle that the ruler has no right over individuals or property except as prescribed by law.

But, generally, it continues to prevail in the East, where we find the inhabitants of China, India, the Arab countries, Turkey, and Persia subject to the authority of a government which has remained unchanged for thousands of years.

This is not the place to examine the causes which prevented those Eastern societies from ridding themselves of the chronic despotism which (16) deprived them of progress in civilization and confined their movements to a single immovable axis. It is, instead, more important for us to state here what is pertinent to our subject: i.e., the interdependence between the political situation and that of the family in each country. Wherever man has downgraded the status of woman and treated her like a slave, he has downgraded himself and been robbed of the awareness of freedom. Conversely, wherever women enjoy personal freedom, men enjoy their political freedom. The two situations are inextricably intertwined.

To anyone asking which of the two situations has influenced the other, we say that they act mutually, each of them having an influence

in turn. In other words, the form of government influences the conduct of the household, and the conduct of the household influences the social body.

Take a look at the Eastern countries; you find that the woman (17) is the slave of the man and the man the slave of the ruler. An oppressor in his own house, he becomes the oppressed when he leaves it. Then look at the European countries; you find that their governments are founded upon freedom and respect for personal rights. In them the status of women has risen to a high degree of esteem and of freedom of thought and action, even though they have not as yet reached the level which is their just due. Cross over to America; you find men completely independent in their private lives and the government's authority and its interference with the affairs of individuals almost non-existent. Along with this, the freedom of women there is much greater than in Europe, since women and men in America are equal in all personal rights, and, in some states, equality between them has been achieved in political rights as well.

In the state of Wyoming, women have had the right to vote since 1869.¹² I shall, in fact, quote here the opinion of its governor, Mr.

¹²The Wyoming Organic Act was approved by Congress in July, 1868, but the new territory did not function until its officials were sworn in on April 15, 1869. The Territory became a State in 1890. (Wyoming, compiled by the Writers Program of the WPA in the State of Wyoming, New York, 1941, pp.73 and 188.) See also Paul Schubert, "Wyoming's Wonderful Women", Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia, Pa., August 1, 1959. Mr. Schubert states that Wyoming's women were the first to vote, to serve as justices of the peace, to sit on grand juries and on trial juries, to be sworn in as bailiffs, "experiments so radically 'unnatural' that newspaper readers throughout the United States and Europe were regaled with detailed reports" in the Spring of 1870. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, Cambridge, Mass. 1959, pp.161-162, adds that such pressure was put on husbands to forbid their wives to serve on juries that some declared they would never again live with their wives if they did so.

Campbell (SH A M B L)¹³ who expressed it candidly in a speech which he delivered two years after the enactment of this law:

"Two years have passed since women, in accordance with the law, (18) have exercised their political rights. They vote for the nation's representatives, and they themselves represent it. They sit in offices of justice and discharge other public functions. It is only fair to acknowledge that women have carried out their new obligations with an air of self-assurance, discrimination, and tact no less than men's. In view of its short duration, this experiment is insufficient proof to establish woman's readiness to carry out the weighty tasks of government. It does, however, prompt a good opinion of woman's natural gifts. As long as this is the case, they have the right to persist."

After further experiment, lasting four years, the above-mentioned governor said:

"It is six years today since we put women to the test of using their political rights. I have already expressed my opinion in a former session and pointed up the advantages which the experiment revealed. I will now say that what I have seen during these four years has absolutely convinced me that we were correct to give women the right to vote and that making woman equal to man in political rights has by experience proven an unquestionable success."

Two years after that, another governor, General Thayer (T A I R)¹⁴ was appointed. He had been chosen from among the members of the United

¹³ John Allen Campbell, Brigadier General (1835-1880), first governor of Wyoming 1869-1875. (Marie H. Erwin, Wyoming Historical Blue Book, Denver, 1946, p.166.)

¹⁴ John M. Thayer was appointed governor of the Wyoming Territory in 1875 and served until 1878. (Erwin, p.166.)

Senate. In a speech, he said:

(19)

"For eight years now, women have enjoyed political rights in our territory, and with every passing day the people have more confidence in women. I think this a splendid outcome, corresponding as it does with the good of our nation."

Five years after that on January 12, 1882, another governor, John Hoyt (J U N H U I T),¹⁵ spoke as follows:

"The territory of Wyoming is the only place where women enjoy all the political rights given to men, without any differentiation between the sexes. This initiative on the part of our people, who were led by the love of truth and justice to rectify a long-standing mistake, has turned the eyes of the world upon us. Though our adversaries have claimed that we are still in an experimental stage, all of us know that this stage is over for us. I hereby let it be known that, as a result of (20) women's participation with men in governmental activities, our laws have been improved, and the number of qualified officials has reached a level hitherto unknown. Our social condition has advanced greatly and now surpasses that of all other countries. And not a trace of all the calamities with which we were threatened, such as women losing their gentle nature and our homelife collapsing, have we seen except in the imaginations of our adversaries.

"The great majority of our women have a true appreciation of their new rights and consider their exercise a patriotic duty. In sum, I say that the brilliantly successful twelve year experiment has firmly established in our minds and in our hearts that the equality of woman and man is unquestionable.

¹⁵John W. Hoyt was appointed governor of the Wyoming Territory in 1878 and served until 1882. (Erwin, pp.166-167.)

"All these advances prompt us to seek perfection in our social situation so that we shall make the territory of Wyoming a star by which the world will be guided in the great movement which will lead mankind up to the apex of freedom."

There is nothing for me to add to the opinions of these great (21) men, except that the law of 1869 is still in force in Wyoming¹⁶ and that three American states, Utah, Colorado and Idaho, have followed the example of that state and have granted women political rights.

In the remaining states of America, the woman has not yet obtained her political rights, but anyone familiar with the movement of public opinion there has no doubt that she will obtain these rights in the very near future. Here you have the opinion of two of these greatest statesmen:

Sempron (S M I L U N), a member of the United States Senate, has said: "I am convinced that the spread of immorality in our big cities cannot be contained until women have been granted the right to vote."

In the opinion of Gilbert Chafee (J I L B I R H A F I H), also one of the members of the Senate: "Only the participation of women in elections will reform the corruption of political morals, because we know the tavern is the town council chamber and the polling place, and that is only because the tavern is the one place where the woman does not go."

Perhaps the reader will wonder why men in America see no way to (22) combat immorality and corruption without the aid of women. This is

¹⁶It is, however, interesting to point out that, when Wyoming applied for statehood in 1889, it was led to understand it might be turned down unless woman suffrage there were abandoned. Wyoming replied: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without the women." (Flexner, p.178, with quote from Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, ed., The History of Woman Suffrage, IV, Rochester, 1902, pp.999-1000.) On the other hand, Wyoming was only the twenty-seventh state to ratify the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the United States Constitution, doing so on January 26, 1919. (Flexner, p.316.)

item which needs clarification, and therefore I shall quote here the opinion of the American judge, John Lynchman (J U N L I N J M A N). It appeared in 1882 in an important European newspaper. He said:

"Before the participation of women at public functions, when men met together anywhere, no one's pocket was without a revolver. If a trivial dispute arose among some of those present, it usually ended in someone being killed or wounded, and, in most cases, the jurors judged the culprits innocent. When women shared jury duty along with men, it resulted in the punishment of the guilty. Similarly, jurors were not concerned about punishment for drunkenness, gambling or disorderly conduct. But the situation has now changed. As a result of the presence of women at meetings, we now see auditoriums characterized by more order, decorum, and dignity than we knew in the past.

"Women's involvement in public functions has not resulted in (23) their neglecting their household duties. To my knowledge, no husband has complained about his wife because of her being distracted from the welfare of her household by the public welfare. I have not seen a quarrel between husband and wife because of the divergence of their political views, nor have I heard about one, although I know a number of families in which the husband belongs to one party and the wife to another."

The American woman, then, has gained throughout the United States a large share of public rights. She may practice law and plead cases before all the courts. There are women judges in the states of Kansas and Wyoming as well as in Colombia, Chile, New Zealand, and elsewhere. Some of them have been appointed to the position of public prosecutor, and a great number of them are in the Departments of State, Interior, and War.

Scarcely calculable is the number of women stenographers, ministers, engineers, newspaper editors, and of those employed in observatories, in the postal service, and in telegraph offices.

Women occupy most of the positions in the department of education. (24) Their number has now reached ninety-five percent in the elementary schools. Paul Bourget (B U L B U R J I H)¹⁷, the famous French writer, has the following to say in his new book, written after his trip to America, in describing the position of women there:

"When I visited a public school, I found the girls studying alongside of the boys, and the teacher who held the class would be a man or a woman indiscriminately. When I entered a laboratory, I found girls bending over microscopes side by side with young men scientific students, each busy with investigating a problem in anatomy. Should an unidentified newspaper reporter pay you a visit, you would find him out to be a woman. Should you wish to summon one of the famous physicians, you would find that the number of women physicians is equal to the number of men physicians. If it is not equal in some areas, it is large enough so that being treated by them is not considered anything unusual."

It is sufficient to demonstrate the rise of the status of the American woman to say that statistics compiled in 1880 show that the (25) number of women employed in the sciences and in literary pursuits alone has reached seventy-five percent, in commerce sixty-three percent, and in industry sixty-two percent.

¹⁷Paul Bourget (1852-1935), French novelist and critic, master portrayer of emotion and of character. In 1895, he wrote Outre-Mer, a critical journal of a visit to the United States.

When we turn from America to England, the country closest to her, we find that women's occupation with science and industry is almost no less significant than what was observed in America. According to latest statistics, one million of them are engaged in the sciences and in literary pursuits and three million in commerce and industry.

Englishwomen have the right to vote in town meetings and in learned societies and charitable organizations. Enjoyment of these privileges has not been denied women even in the British colonies, such as South Africa, Canada, and Australia.

The question of granting them political rights is still in the preparatory stage. The first petition presented by Englishwomen to Parliament was in 1866. Six hundred thousand women signed it. The first bill presented to Parliament for conceding them political rights was in 1867, and fortunately the distinguished Stuart Mill was the one who took upon himself its defense before the House. He immediately (26) obtained eighty votes of the members, noteworthy among them Disraeli and Gladstone. In 1872, the bill was again introduced and won one hundred and fifty-nine votes, and in 1873, it won one hundred and seventy-two. It was reintroduced from time to time, gaining new votes, until, in 1897, it received a majority. The House of Commons has passed it, and, for it to become law, there remains only the approval of the House of Lords.

In France, the trend of thinking about the status of women has not yet reached this point. The number of women engaged in scientific research is small, and the number of women working in governmental offices is all but limited to the office of the post, telegraph and telephone. The occupation toward which the women of France are particularly inclined is commerce. Much mistaken was the belief of Victor Hugo, one of the

greatest poets of the era in France, who said: "The eighteenth century established the rights of men, and the nineteenth will establish the rights of women." The nineteenth century is at an end, and not much by way of reform which many Frenchmen seek has yet been accomplished. (27) During the last ten years, however, there has occurred in the trend of French thinking a palpable advance, which has ended in women's obtaining the right to vote on boards of trade, and, during the past year, the law which granted women the right to practice law was promulgated.

The position of women in other European countries differs but little from that of French women.

As for Russia, its geographical location has fated it to be influenced by Eastern customs. Therefore its women of the upper and middle classes were veiled like the women of the East, imprisoned in their houses, deprived of education and learning, and possessed of no rights except what the compassion of their husbands and their guardians permitted. This practice disappeared from Russia only in 1726, when a royal decree of Peter the Great initiated the immediate abolition of veiling. The empress Catherine, who came to power after him, completed his work. From 1762 to 1797, she was engaged in establishing schools (28) for girls, and disseminated intellectual and moral education among them.

When, however, Czar Alexander I, who despised freedom, came to power, this movement was arrested until Czar Alexander II came to power. He was in favor of his country's progressing and longed for its advancement. He abolished serfdom and opened many primary and secondary schools for girls, where they were to study the same subjects as boys. The first such school appeared in 1857, but it was not long after this great awakening until the Russian government realized that women's advancement

in knowledge had a great influence on the political situation of the country and that the opposition party was beginning to flourish. Therefore, in 1862, the doors to institutions of higher learning were shut in the faces of men and women. Women, however, did not consent to being thrown back into ignorance after they had had a taste of freedom and learning. Many of them travelled abroad in search of knowledge and took to emigrating to France, Switzerland, and Germany to obtain it. In exile, they began to speak out against the government, to disseminate their ideas through books and newspapers, and to take part in conspiracies along with the men. Thus, the closing of the schools resulted in an intensification of the revolution of ideas over what it had previously been. The government became aware of this state of affairs and perceived it had made a mistake. In 1889, it decided to reopen those schools. From that time to this, their number has conspicuously increased. (29)

This is a summary of the history of the woman's life throughout the world. Let us recapitulate it briefly. In the early ages when humankind was still in its infancy, woman was free. After the formation of the family, she fell into virtual slavery. Then, when mankind set out upon the road to civilization, the form of this slavery changed and woman was granted a little of her due, but was subject to the despotism of the man, who frustrated her in her enjoyment of those very rights granted her. When mankind attained a measure of civilization, the woman received her complete freedom, and women and men were equal in all their rights or, at least, in most of them. These are the four conditions which correspond to four stages in the history of world civilization.

Today the Egyptian woman is in the third stage of her historical (30) life. In the eyes of the Sharf, she is a free human being with rights and obligations. In the eyes of the head of her family and in his conduct toward her, however, she is not free and is denied the enjoyment of her lawful rights. This condition facing woman today is one of the consequences of the political tyranny to which we have been and still are subject.

Although the political tyranny has now entered into its death throes and has reached the brink of hopeless extinction, our men continue to tyrannize over their women.

The sole reason for this is that our political code is in advance of us and has outdistanced us to a point we have not yet reached, for it establishes that each of us can enjoy his freedom and his lawful rights with no distinction between male and female. But deep-rooted in the nature of all of us men is still the desire to monopolize the prerogatives of freedom and to disregard the rights of women.

This goes to prove that the power of old mores still affects us and visibly influences our actions. Our laws were laid down for a (31) free people, but our mores remain those of an enslaved people. Thus we see our men coming to places of learning and moving from one school to another and from one degree to another degree until they have achieved the title of scholar: whether legists, well-versed in law; poets, described by connoisseurs as modern geniuses; writers, dedicated to helping mankind in newspapers called scholarly, literary, artistic, or whatever term you wish; or orators, famous for their love of freedom and independence. All these we have mentioned, on hearing it said that woman's rights have been wronged and that she is an abused human being,

we see starting to ask one another: "Should she be allowed to leave her prison or should the cloak of ignorance be lifted from her?" After long soul-searching, they have fallen back on what was firmly embedded in their natures. They have denied her this right and condemned her to remain in the shadows of ignorance and in lifelong imprisonment.

Was it because of the complexity of the problem which requires great pains to solve and admits of differences of opinion? Indeed not! It is simply that we may imagine freedom, but we do not really feel (32) any love for it. We know about the rights of others, but in our hearts we find no respect for them. We are in a stage of apprenticeship about putting the mores of freedom into action and require time to have them take root in our hearts. As for Europeans, they have a true appreciation of the value of freedom and love and respect it for others, just as they value, love, and respect it for themselves.

So it is with anyone who has a true appreciation of any virtue. A virtuous man is he who exalts virtue wherever it appears. In this context, the famous philosopher, Condorcet (K U N D U R U S I T)¹⁸ has said: "To be valid, a right is for no one or for everyone equally. He who has deprived another of his right, no matter what his creed, color, or sex, has trampled upon his own right."

For this reason, friends of progress in Europe and in America are working to improve the position of woman and to bring her to perfection beyond her present attainments. They have promised themselves to fight (33) for this cause until women reach the level of men and attain equality with them in all human rights.

¹⁸ Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794), French mathematician, philosopher, and revolutionary, best known work: Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progres de l'esprit humain.

I do not deny that a not inconsiderable number of Westerners still debate over the validity of complete equality between the sexes.

In this respect two schools of thought compete with one another. One is content with the freedom and rights which Western woman has achieved, and the other demands they increase until all differences between the sexes disappear.

Human beings have always been split this way about everything into conservatives and reformists! Both want what is best and seek the happiness of the race, but they differ over the means to attain them.

Anyone who has followed the chain of history throughout the ages knows for a certainty that woman has always and everywhere fulfilled her natural role. She stands prepared, however, in a variety of ways for a variety of achievements. She has set foot on and travels the path of gradual fulfillment, moving step by step.

To say that she must remain in a certain position, unchanging and unchanged, is to place her outside the natural laws which have brought about a change in her position in the past and which are now preparing (34) her for the transition from her present role to another one. In general, the origin of the difference between Westerners and ourselves is that Westerners have understood the nature of human beings and have respected their individuality. They have granted women those rights which they have granted themselves in everything connected with private life. Nobody disputes her right to enjoy her freedom in physical or mental activities, except those which decency forbids. In all that, they consider her the equal of man. They disagree, however, over the question of her equality with man in public life. Some of them believe that her involvement in public activities takes her outside the scope of her natural role; others

believe that this natural role does not occupy woman's entire life nor every woman and have acknowledged that she is the equal of man in public life as well.

As for us, we do not look upon woman as we look upon man. Our minds are not yet prepared to grasp this obvious truth; namely, that like man woman is a human being. We have deprived her of the use of all of the rights of human beings and have forbidden her all the privileges of private and public life. Woman's involvement in public activities (35) does not come within the requisites of this book. Therefore, we see no advantage in discussing it. Matters pertaining to the private life of women are what we intend to examine here. This examination will cover three questions: 1) the freedom of women; 2) woman's obligation toward herself; and 3) woman's obligation to her family. We shall discuss them in this order and follow it with a report on education and veiling. Then will follow an epilogue containing the present state of mind in Egypt regarding women.

THE FREEDOM OF THE WOMAN

The fathers of philosophy have not been as wrong about any problem as they have been about the concept of human freedom. They were convinced that God created people in two divisions: one He favored with freedom, and the other He condemned to bondage.

The way of life of the free men was far from personal independence and was subject to patriarchs and princes.

History tells us that in those by-gone times the government meddled in everything connected with private life. It had the primary (36) responsibility in the regulation of the family, of education, of religion, of morals, and of attitudes, even fixing the price of merchandise in commercial transactions. The effect of this meddling in private affairs brought it to a point where the laws of ancient Greece forbade women to leave their houses except on stated occasions. Civilian life was something like army life -- the governor giving an order whenever he wished about whatever he wished, and the governed able but to obey his orders.

When the world became more civilized, the individual gradually rid himself of the authority of the social body and widened the sphere of his freedom, and the situation was reversed. What formerly had been a general rule now became the exception. From then on, the goal of civilization was for the individual to obtain the utmost possible independence and freedom.

That was because the human being was advancing in his thinking and realizing that to put himself at the disposal of the ruler was something which his standing among the human race would not accept and which

was incompatible with his peace of mind and with his happiness. Therefore he would not consent to yield his freedom to anyone, and he would not entrust it to anyone, even to the people closest to him, nor would (37) he consent to abandon it to the government except insofar as it would be necessary to enable it to carry out its function; namely, to maintain public safety internally and to defend the nation's borders externally and also to carry out activities beneficial to everyone.

Under these conditions, the individual is subject to those actions and taxes which it imposes on him. If the government or a fellow individual wished to meddle into any of his activities or into any of his private affairs, he feels the weight of the pressure upon him and finds within him the ache of tyranny.

For that, there are two reasons:

Firstly, if the ruler's decisions were based on personal preference, it would sometimes contradict the wishes of the majority because temperaments differ, instincts vary, and tastes disagree, depending upon individuals, ages, times, and places. To accept the imposition of one principle for all the private actions of each individual would not be easy for human nature. Secondly, experience has demonstrated that the meddling of the ruler in the private affairs of individuals weakens their faculties, makes them unable to perform their duties, and causes (38) stultified minds and the inability to work or to trust another. To be sure, some people take pleasure in idleness and in being left in peace, but this will yield them misery and hardship.

Freedom is a principle which advances humankind and is its stairway to happiness. For this reason, the nations which are aware of the secret of success consider it one of the most precious rights of human beings.

Of course, the meaning of "freedom" here is man's independence of thought, will and action, as long as it fits within the limits of the Shari'ah and maintains moral standards. Beyond that, he is not subject in anything to the will of another, save in exceptional cases, such as insanity and youthfulness. Even in regard to children, the opinion of experts in wholesome education is that forcing children deadens their resolution. They have preferred to let the child be free to take care of himself and merely require his parents to guide and advise him.

Freedom of such broad scope must be the basis for the education of our women. (39)

Some people are surprised at my seeking to give freedom to women and question whether they are in a state of bondage. If they understood the meaning of freedom, they would not disagree with us.

It is not our wish to say that the woman today is bought and sold in the market places, but the human being who can be traded is not the only slave. Common sense decrees that anyone who does not have complete command of his thought, his will, and his action is a slave.

I do not think that the impartial reader will disagree with me if I say that the woman in Muslim eyes is, in general, not a complete human being and that the male Muslim thinks that he has the right of mastery over her and treats her accordingly. Evidence of this is abundant.

In many families etiquette requires that the woman kiss the man's hand when greeting him, nor is it good manners for women to sit with men or to eat with them. Many times have I seen with my own eyes the man, sitting at the table, eating, while his wife stood by, chasing away the flies, and his daughter fetched a pitcher of water. (40)

Yes, the man's treating the woman in such a boorish, improper way is widely seen in some classes, especially in country towns; but enslavement of the woman in other classes and in the cities is found in other forms.

The man who forbids his wife to leave her house for no reason other than his mere wish that she not go out does not respect her freedom. From this point of view, she is a slave, nay, a prisoner -- and prison is a more powerful negation of freedom than is slavery. Nor can it be said that the number of men who imprison their wives has today become insignificant; for, even though it is small compared to the past, all of us know that it is very rare for the woman to be left to her volition and choice about her goings and comings. Although our discussion now is only about the place of the woman in the mind of most men and what, in their belief, she must do and be, yet it is no matter whether the restraint upon the woman is slight or not, for the housebound woman who never goes out is considered by them the superior woman. (41)

Having adopted the opinion of the know-nothings among their faqīhs,¹⁹ the opinion-makers among them, Muslims think they have to imprison their wives and not permit them to go out except to visit relatives during the holidays²⁰ or, better still, not under any circumstances. They consider it a matter of pride that the woman leaves her quarters only to be carried to her tomb!

Without a doubt, acknowledging the man's right to imprison his wife is a denial of the freedom which is the birthright of the human being.

The woman whose father herds her like a beast toward a husband whom she does not know and about whom she knows nothing which would allow

¹⁹Faqīh, expert in Islamic jurisprudence.

²⁰Id al-nakhr = Bayram = 10th Dhu-l-hijra and Id al-fitr = Little Bayram = 1st Shabbal.

her to visualize what he is really like or to form an opinion about him cannot be considered free. She is, indeed, to be considered a slave. It is well-known that the great majority of fathers among all classes of people marry off their daughters in this way. They exchange information by letter, then they sign the marriage contract. The daughters themselves have no say in this important matter with which their happiness (42) or unhappiness in the future is so bound up. It cannot be said that in this the man's situation is the same as the woman's since he, too, knows nothing about his fiancée, because the man can be rid of the consequences of his ignorance by divorcing her at any time he wishes or by marrying in addition to her a second, third, or fourth. The woman, however, who suffers from a man with whom she is incompatible has no way to be rid of him. Therefore, marrying off the woman to a man she does not know and depriving her of the right to rid herself of him, despite giving a free hand to the man to keep her or to dismiss her as he wishes, is true slavery.²¹

The woman who must study only the duties of religious observance, as the faqīhs and their adherents say, and only a limited amount of the rudiments of a few subjects may be counted a slave, because forcing natural instincts and God-given talents to stay within a specified limit and depriving them of development to the full maturity for which they were equipped may be considered spiritual slavery.

The woman who must veil her limbs and the external features of her body to the extent that she cannot walk or ride and, moreover, breathes, sees, and talks only with difficulty may be considered a (43)

²¹ See Kalimāt, p.22.

slave, because the sole purpose of making her encase herself in a piece of cloth is to distort her appearance and to hide her natural human form from the gaze of any man not her lord and master.

On the whole, the woman from the time of her birth to the day of her death is a slave, because she does not live in herself and for herself, but, instead, in the man and for the man. She is in need of him in everything she does. She does not go out unless escorted by him, does not travel except under his protection, thinks only with his mind, sees only with his eyes, hears only with his ears, wishes only with his will, acts only through his intercession, and moves only under his direction. For this reason, she may not be considered an independent human being, but rather some sort of appendage to the man.

Look at a boy not yet fifteen years old and compare him with his mother. You will find that she is inferior to him in intelligence, knowledge, and experience and that he is more important than she is, not only in matters outside the house, but inside the home itself.

How could it be otherwise as long as he orders what is to be (44) done and what is not to be done there and as long as he speaks for her in her business dealings and in the administration of her home and the management of her wealth?

Look at a woman walking along the street, accompanied by a servant. You will perceive at once that the servant knows intuitively that he is in charge and command. He walks in front, she behind. Furthermore, his whole bearing seems to say: "I have been entrusted with this stupid, feeble creature and with watching, guarding, and protecting her." Observe a veiled woman passing by a group of coarse men. You will find

that they do not shield from her hearing any uncouth expression that pops into their heads. Sometimes they bump her or reach out and touch her, even though no movement has come from her which is doubtful or which would provoke them to affront her or to lapse into these disgraceful actions. Why does the woman put up with such outrageousness from men in silence and in fear without developing any defense? Why do those men not venture to speak and to act so atrociously with an unveiled woman? Is it because the veiled woman has a more fascinating kind of beauty for men than unveiled women? Of course not! Rather it has been ingrained in the minds of our men that the veil (burqa) and the shawl (habara) (45) are a mark of ignorance and weakness and a symbol of deception. In their families they have seen that the woman is not respected and feels no respect for herself; that she is tractable, docile, and suggestible; and that she fears the man and will not risk his disciplinary measures. Therefore, they have made light of her; have had the audacity to humiliate her; and have become accustomed to respecting a veiled woman only when a man is with her, even if he is a eunuch!

Is such a pitiful creature enjoying her freedom? With such humiliation, does she consider herself a human being?

People will say: "How can anyone claim that the woman is enslaved by us, when we see her in a position of power over man's heart, bending him to her will and to her whims and manipulating him into satisfying her desires and when the man travels out of his way and goes back and forth between one town and another to select a dress for his wife or to choose for her some sort of trinket with which to gratify her whim or to satisfy her desire. At this point she is the mistress of his house, wherein he

approves only what she has approved and disapproves only what she has disapproved. Considering all this, can it be said that the woman is enslaved by the man?"

Yes, we do not deny any of this. We do, however, deny that (46) it is common to everyone, and we also deny that it is a result of man's respect for the woman or of his belief that she deserves such treatment because of the intelligence and refinement which are hers or because of the right to companionship which she has acquired as part of the marriage contract. Instead, an excess of masculine passion, occasioned by skill in the arts of beauty or by proficiency in the varieties of guile, may at times raise the woman to this level. She is mistress of him as long as his passion involves her. But when passion's fires have died and their relationship has returned to normal, the woman falls from the zenith of her power into the depth of humiliation and dons the clothes of slavery.

Again it will be said that woman's freedom may, in fact, require that the man treat her with respect, that he not stifle her will or her thought, and that he allow her to go out to visit and to exercise; but what is the connection between her freedom and the veiling of her face and her associating with men and her behavior toward them? The answer is that compelling women to veil is the most severe and the most shocking form of slavery. That is because, in the age of barbarism, men used to acquire women, either by purchase, as we have seen, or by abduction.

In both cases, they considered themselves the absolute possessors (47) of their women. As a consequence, the man stripped his wife of human

attributes and restricted her to a single function; namely, letting him enjoy her body. He installed her in his dwelling and forced her to stay there and not leave it, so that no one else might have the pleasure of enjoying her, either to look at or to talk to. It is the outlook of the miser, who wishes to hoard all the advantages of the goods which he owns.

When it proved impossible to prevent emergencies which required the woman to go out of the house at certain times, he strove to follow her with a covering wherever she went. Then he required her to veil her face whenever she went out.

This veil which he originally imposed upon his wife, he then extended to his daughters, to his mother, to his sisters, and to all women, because every woman is a wife or has been a wife or is preparing to become a wife.

Veiling is the symbol of that old domination and one of the (48) remnants of those barbaric mores by which humankind lived for generations before it was led to an awareness that human beings cannot be the object of domination merely because they are female, just as it was led to understand that darkness of skin is no reason for the black man to be a slave to the white.

There is nothing odd about the veil remaining after the disappearance of the cause which brought it into being; that is, after the emergence of the woman from the ownership of the man. For God's Law (sunna Allah) in His creation has proceeded in such a way that the transition from one stage to another is not abrupt, but instead occurs by a variety of changes which those who are subject to it scarcely feel. Often people assume the impossibility of their being shifted out of a certain condition, although they are moving from it, shifting to another and changing for

better or for worse, without realizing it. Then, when the transformation has been completed, it becomes clear to them that they have entered the stage which they had hitherto disavowed.

When men's right of ownership over women became obsolete, the law of gradualism required that women live in a state midway between slavery and freedom, a state in which the woman was considered to be a human being, but one deficient and incomplete. It was too hard for the man to consider the woman, who was yesterday his property, to be his equal today. It seemed all right to him to put her in a rank below himself in the creation. He asserted that, when God created man, He gave him intelligence and virtuousness, but deprived her of these gifts; that, because of her deficiency and lack of intelligence and proneness to carnal desires, it is necessary for her to live a life of dependence under the dominion of the man and to be shut away from men and to conceal herself by being restricted, when in her house, and by covering her face, when going out, so that she would not seduce them with her beauty or deceive them with her wiles; and that she is unfit for intellectual or moral advancement and so must live in ignorance. (49)

That is what lies behind the imposition of the veil and the reason it remains till now. The first action which would be considered a step toward the emancipation of the woman is to tear up the veil and to get rid of all its influences.

Since accusing the woman of lacking intelligence has been the pretext men have given for enslaving her, it is incumbent upon us to examine the woman's nature to find out whether or not it is, as is claimed, inferior to man's. (50)

Were we to ask public opinion, the answer would be easily learned. It is not, however, proper for public opinion to have a voice in an intellectual question such as this, because public opinion is based on well-known theories, which custom has molded and familiarity strengthened, without examination or research. They are the refuge of the populace in its evaluations. . . People trace back to them every natural or social event of which they do not know the cause. Public opinion regards a change in any custom with which it is familiar as contrary to nature, because it does not differentiate between custom and nature since it thinks that what is happening now has always been the same and will remain forever.

There is no doubt that, in general, the woman of today is lower than the man, but we must consider whether this condition is natural to her or a derivative of the way she is brought up. In order to solve this problem, we must resort to scientific principles to learn what they establish about it.

The opinion of scientists is that it is unsound to judge the (51) woman's nature and her capacity for human perfection by the impressions which have emanated from her so far. It will be sound only after she possesses as much freedom as the man and after she occupies as much time cultivating her mind as the man spends in training his intellectual and moral faculties. Even though they have expressed the opinion that the woman is unlike the man in character traits and that between the two sexes are to be found anatomical and physiological differences, distinguishing each sex from the other, there is still in these differences nothing to indicate that one sex is superior or inferior to the other.

That is the conclusion to be drawn from the words of the scientist, Jacques Lorbet, in his book: The Woman in Relation to the Teacher.

Professor Ferchelot has said: "I have given many courses in the mathematical fields and in the fields of ethics and philosophy to science students, among them many women; and, according to my own observation, there is no distinction between the sexes. Always as many of one pass the course as of the other."

The scientist, Mantegazza, professor of humanities and member of the Italian Senate, has said in a new book entitled The Physiology of the Woman: "All of the discussions which involve the lightness in weight of the woman's brain, the smallness of her cranium, and the weakness of her cerebral envelope are nonsense, if, by them, one wishes to prove a difference between the sexes in mental power." He goes on to say: (52)

"How ungrateful is man! His pride compels him to falsify, even in anatomy. He is not satisfied to seize the first place on earth, but also wants to prove that the woman is beneath him within mankind and that she is on a level between ape and man. Accordingly, he therefore has the right to deprive her of the rights which he himself has been given. He forgets that the individual whom he wishes to humiliate is his mother. The truth is that, in respect to anatomy, the woman is neither inferior nor superior to man. She is, instead, different from him, because she has functions unlike his which she performs."

This scientist has pointed out the minute differences which exist between the man and the woman in feelings and in sentiments. He says that, according to his observation, the cause of the most important way in which the woman differs from the man from a moral point of view is the servitude which has overtaken the woman for so long a time. In the lowest classes, the man has broken the woman's resistance by the power of his muscles and, in the other classes, by the ascendancy of his

knowledge and of his education. This inferior status has led the (53) woman to employ the tactics of the slave to defend herself. It also seems that the man excels her in the stamina of his resolution and in the exceeding firmness of his actions, but she excels him in the stamina of her feelings and in standing pain. She endures illness and surgery with a patience amazing to man. The reason for this may be that she is less selfish than the man or it may be that she has become accustomed to submission and to humility.

The woman excels the man also in being less prone to carnal desire than he. With the man, love is an instinctual craving to gratify physical appetite; but, with the woman, it is a heartfelt affection, the goal of which is the blending of two spirits. Proof of this is that men may use all kinds of ruses and stratagems with women in order to attract them; but, despite that, most of them defend their honor and overcome their carnal desires. He stated that, if the case were reversed, and, let us say, women were permitted to use in order to attract men what men now use with women, a man could not possibly preserve his integrity.

He went on to say that the woman's love of goodness is proverbial. With man, self-love has the upper hand. You see him, therefore, thinking first of himself and then of his children, in contrast to the woman, who thinks first of others and then of herself. The man considers it important that he is happy, but the woman considers it important that she make (54) others happy. These feelings are evident in all of life's activities, minor and major. The greatest example of the woman's altruism is the love of the mother for her child. She loves him more than his father does, and she loves him no matter what his defects. One might even say that, when her child is unlucky, she loves him more. The father is just the opposite.

In the opinion of most scholars and of those who have done the most exhaustive research, the woman is equal to the man in intellectual power and above him in sensitivity and compassion. To the observer, however, there appears to be a vast difference between them in intellect, because, for many generations, men have been active in the pursuit of knowledge, their minds have gained insight, and their resolution has been strengthened by use, in contrast to women, who have been deprived of all training. Those differences now observed between the sexes are synthetic, not natural. By equality, we do not mean that every potential in the woman is equal to every potential in the man or every aptitude of hers is equal to every aptitude of his, but we do mean that the sum of her potentials and of her aptitudes is commensurate with the sum of (55) his, even if a vast difference is to be found between them, because mere difference does not signify that one is lower than the other.

On what scientific demonstration does man rely for the enslavement of woman? By what right is it permitted him to deprive her of her freedom? For the sake of debate, let us assume that the woman's intellect is less than the man's. Does lack of intellect in a person justify his being deprived of his freedom? Among individual men, does there not exist a difference in intellect greater than the one now existing between men and women? Doesn't the intellect of the Egyptian vary with the difference of the classes of the Egyptian nation, yet even so we see all men equal in their enjoyment of their physical freedom? Are there not, among our Egyptian women, those more intelligent and more perfect in character than their husbands, their fathers, or their sons?

It is not sound that difference of intellects should be a reason for depriving the human being of his freedom. No, what this difference does, instead, lead to is that one idea surpasses another and guides it

by the power of persuasion or that one will prevail over another by the power of suggestion, until it wins it over voluntarily.

What the Islamic Shari'ah has established about the rights of (56) women -- as we have already indicated above -- directs us to the fact that this moral authority is what the Holy Verses which speak of men having a standing above women are referring to. European law has followed the same lines and has given the man similar authority over his wife and called it conjugal authority. Nonetheless, everyone sees Western women enjoying their freedom.

Also for the sake of debate, let us suppose that the veiling of women is a means of protecting them from immorality. Is that enough to deprive them of their freedom?

If men's conduct toward women is a cause of the immorality, why is the woman's freedom crushed and the man's respected? Is the theory of justice different in relation to the man and to the woman? Are there two truths, a truth for the man and a truth for women? Is not everyone possessed of choice entitled to exercise his choice as he wishes, as (57) long as, by his action, he does not exceed what Shar'c and qānūn²² have defined for him.

We realize that the responsibility of the woman in this world and in the next is no less than the man's before the Shar'c, and we realize that the qānūn does not exempt her from punishment, if she has committed a crime, nor recommend a mitigation of her punishment. We see, moreover, that public opinion magnifies her responsibility until it makes it greater than the man's. If a forty-year-old man seduces a fifteen-year-old girl, taking advantage of her immaturity to commit adultery with her, public

²²Qānūn, civil law.

opinion judges that it is this small girl who has lost her honor and overlooks the part played by the man, just as if he had done nothing objectionable. Is this not because the Sharḥ and public opinion recognize that the woman is responsible for her actions? If she were responsible to this degree, is not that because the Sharḥ and public opinion also recognize that she is free and free to choose?

I think it unreasonable to consider the woman a completely rational and free human being from the point of view of her deserving the punishment of hanging, if she commits murder; and then to consider her so lacking in reason that she is deprived of her freedom in affairs of ordinary life.

Man's belief that his wife, if given her freedom, may misuse it (58) does not justify his depriving her of it, because no human being is justified in encroaching on another by robbing him of his freedom and by controlling his will on the pretext that he wants to prevent him from making a mistake. If depriving a human being of his freedom is permissible in order to prevent an injury which might occur, ninety percent of the men should have been put under the law of the veil to keep them from immorality.

Moreover, even if the woman has accepted the veil being imposed upon her, this acceptance of hers is not to be considered a commitment so sound that it prevents her thereafter from loosening its hold, for it is an invalid commitment because of its inconsistency with human nature and with the principles of the Sharḥ.

Everything that has been said and is being said about women's freedom prompting them to exceed the bounds of chastity is baseless talk

which experience disproves and reason rejects, since basic tests by sound observers show that the freedom of women increases their moral capacities, evokes in them feelings of self-respect, and induces men to respect them.

In support of this opinion, we shall not adopt the policy of (59) others by producing contrived and unrealistic statistics, which some of them published in humorous newspapers to amuse the readers. In them, they have ascribed to one of the scientists the observation that the German woman is unfaithful to her husband seven times, the Belgian six and four-fifths times, the Dutch four, the Italian one and five-sixths, and the French once, and so on until he came to the Turkish -- by which he means "the Oriental" -- woman, who he said is unfaithful to her husband only one-tenth of one time.

This balderdash has led a man who relies on such statistics to believe that what was published in that newspaper as a joke is "precise, scholarly research, based on figures". It has not crossed his mind that to gather statistics on such a subject as this is impossible, because one cannot enumerate cases of adultery unless they have come to court, and obviously only a few of them do.

Because any theorem not traceable to one of the varieties of (60) axioms acknowledged by theoreticians is inadmissible as proof, we do not base our opinion on accepted but unproven theorems, as do those who demand that the name of the woman who has sat for five minutes in the same place with men must be expunged from the roster of virtuous women. Those are a group who, if any one of them were asked for proof of what he says, would have found nothing in the recesses of his brain except that man and

woman are always subject to their carnal desires. Thus, it is their concern to apply of their own accord the morals for which they have a propensity and to believe that they are the morals of all mankind. In their own view, they represent man as he is; and the woman in her present situation represents, in their view, the woman as she is. They have not comprehended that men differ endlessly in their morals and in their merits, according to the time and the place and the methods of education, and that the woman differs in her characteristics and morals just the way men do.

This difference which is apparent in the life of moral women emerges generally from the difference in customs. (61)

The main thing which our men demand of the woman is that she be chaste, and they have the right to demand of her that she be adorned with this virtue, but they have done their utmost to eradicate this virtue and to make it unrealizable. That is because the organization of our life induces in the woman an intensification of the tendency toward carnal desires. For imprisoning the woman and cutting off her means of exercise exposes her constantly to weakening of the sinews; and, when the sinews have become weak, the balance among the moral forces is upset. This is a fact which everyone must recognize, for it is an established fact that, if the body is strong and the heart is pumping blood to all the body cells, the human mind realizes its potential; and, just as it is not debilitated at encountering physical difficulties and infirmities, neither is it weakened by having to resist passions and evil impulses. But clearly, bodily stagnation and a breakdown of strength, both of which have an influence on the will and on the will power, follow overwork and sickness; then, just as when the body has attempted

an undertaking of which it is barely capable and responds with a desire to rest, just so, the mind is aware of its inability to control its (62) passions and to resist any inclination which requires effort and trouble to defeat.

There is no doubt that a strong constitution and sound nerves are two of man's most important aids to self-control and that a weak constitution and poor nerves are two of the main causes which make the human being an instrument with which carnal desires and passions play.

If there is a need to cite the opinion of experts about what we say, I shall pass along what an outstanding man in the field of education, Dr. Fleury (F l w r y), has said:

In his book, entitled The Body and Soul of the Child, he said: "The tool of the mind is the brain, and every ailment which occurs in bodily health affects it. If we have received our full share of the preconditions of physical health, we have been enabled to attain sound will and strong judgment and to improve the moral and ethical standards of the man."

Housebound women are considered before all else sickly women. Therefore, they are much more apt to yield to their carnal desires than are women who enjoy their freedom.

When we combine the veil with idleness -- and it is impossible (63) to separate the veil from it -- what follows is the killing of any virtue in the woman.

It is distasteful to some of us to recognize the existence of this correlation between veiling and idleness. Perhaps it pleases them to say that our veiled women have numerous duties which occupy their time and that giving them the desired freedom might be a cause of

diverting their attention from these duties and of directing it to matters of no benefit to the woman or to her household. But, since it is of interest to us only to determine the truth as it is, we say that the existence of duties is one thing and carrying them out is another and that our women who have no activities and no interests outside the house do not find enough time to carry out their duties to their husbands and to their children. They leave the affairs of domestic life to others, unlike Western women who have widened the scope of their activities until it has almost come to equal that of men's and, along with that, find sufficient time to perform all their household duties. There is no reason for that except that work gives rise to work, and rest gives rise to rest.

Then, too, the way in which children are brought up in the (64) home has an initial role in the lowering of moral standards.

It is possible for me to state frankly here, without hesitation, that, in the mind of a member of the younger generation, male or female, no more than ten years of age, there are already being stored up expressions and images which awaken carnal desire. In his heart there is already growing the yearning prompted by the sexual drive; and he is more sexually precocious than the European boy or girl of fifteen or eighteen.

Climatic difference does not enter into this, or, if it has an influence, it is slight. No, the real influence is the way of bringing up children.

If our intelligent and educated men were to observe what occurs and is said in front of them every day, if they were to reflect on what they see and hear in the streets and at public gatherings all the time,

they would agree with us completely in this and other questions about which there is no reason for difference of opinion except the concern of some of us to triumph over others and the lack of concern of each of us to understand what the other is saying. (65)

If we could spell out all the material and moral influences by which the child's emotions and tastes are formed, the reader would see for himself that it is impossible for the attributes of virtue to grow in the girl who is brought up in an Egyptian family. Suffice it to mention here some examples of these influences which occur in middle class families, the most proper segment of society:

One example is that the children's relatives usually do not hesitate to call everything by its true name and talk in front of them of what has occurred between husband and wife without it occurring to them to order them to go elsewhere during that time. Also, the first thing which comes to the tongue of a visitor when he encounters a small girl in a house is to ask her if she wants to marry him or to marry his little son; and, if there are a number of visitors, each one asks her who among them appeals to her.

Another example is the presence of children at weddings and their seeing the dancing of seductive women and hearing the singing which is all about sensual love. (66)

By such scenes and conversations as these, the little girl is made conscious of what she ought to be oblivious to, and sensual yearning grows within her.

Then, if a girl happened to embrace a boy in the course of play, the blame would be directed toward her by her family, and it would be said to her that she had done a disgraceful thing; and, if the girl

asked what was wrong about what she did, whomever she asks answers her according to what has meaning for him and to what his upbringing has given him the capacity to understand. As the girl grows older, the limitation upon her and her removal from the company of men increase. In this, there is enough stimulation of her mind about the difference between the sexes to prompt her to investigate this matter which occupies her and her family to such an extent. She queries those of her girl friends in whom she has confidence and learns something about it from them, and her imagination is left with the job of comprehending the rest.

And this pattern of life which encompasses the girl and in which the part most important to her is the man and his doings and her kinship to him and her associations with him and her distance or nearness to him is without a doubt the greatest factor in her temperament, because it makes sexual functions the main concern in her life.

Because of men's assurance about the validity of what we have (67) cited and of their feelings that women have no importance and their minds no occupation except their relationship with men, you do not see a man among the Egyptians who trusts his wife or sanctions her having anything to do with a man who is strange to her. In some homes, the man does not trust his brother and will not allow his wife to talk to him; she must veil her face from him even though he is right there with them. Also, in many families, the man will not associate with his wife's sister.

It is not my intention to blame men and women for thinking so badly of one another, because our present customs and morals and upbringing have condemned them to distrust each other and have made the veil the only means to protect women and have not made of religion or chivalry or nobility of character or goodness of ethics a more appropriate means to protect chastity and to eliminate indecency.

But let the reader permit me to go on with my train of thought by saying:

The veil has remained with us to this day for the reasons which we have pointed out; namely, because, from the political, intellectual, and moral point of view, it was an adjunct of our past social order. (68) We were governed tyrannically so we thought that family authority should be founded only upon tyranny. We, therefore, imprisoned our wives, deprived them of their freedom, and took sole possession of the right to lift the marriage bond. In bringing up our children, we employed the command, the threat, fear, and the whip. We were foolish, for we imagined that the woman had no function or job, save to be the object of man's carnal desire and one of the media of his pleasure. We failed to realize that she is also a human being like us and that she has the right to try to find her happiness through the same means which the Divine Lawgiver has put at the disposal of men. Since we have unjustly debased the rank of the woman, justice has taken revenge upon us; and its revenge has been terrible. For we, in this way, have been deprived of true happiness, our moral standards have fallen, and our children's education has been impaired. Such sorrow and despair has gripped our hearts that many of us have thought that the life of the Islamic nations has neared its end and will not retain a share of success in the worldwide jockeying for position. They have begun to brag about the old Islamic civilization, whenever Europeans discuss their sciences and their arts, and to pride themselves on the Arab culture of ages past, whenever modern Western culture is mentioned, just like an old woman who has reached (69) the age of senility, consoling herself with memories of your youthful beauty.

Today, however, our social situation has changed completely. We have become free, and we love freedom. Sound information has begun to spread among the individuals of our community, and our minds have been prepared to recognize the dignity of the human being in the existing universe and the status of the woman in the home and her rightful place in the world. Is it fitting, thereafter, that we maintain the old customs and traditions and retain the custom of veiling, considering it the only means to protect the woman? Or is it more fitting that we seek out another means compatible with the new situation into which we have moved and let her rightful place be to progress with us to the best within her?

In other words, two schools of thought exist. One warns people to stick to the veil, and the other advises them to get rid of it. Which of these schools of thought must we choose, and what are our criteria so that we do not suffer the consequences of error?

If we use our heads and take common sense as our criterion, we shall undoubtedly choose the school of thought which is consonant with our welfare and by which our interests will prosper. We need not fear, (70) thereafter, that our choice will be counter to what is right and proper, because enlightened self-interest which is based upon the principles of common sense is a right which the Shar^c defends. It is impossible that one of the rights which the Shar^c defends would be a source of disadvantage to people or that one of the virtues would be more harmful than beneficial.

Then which of the two schools of thought is consonant with our welfare, and by which will our interests prosper?

As for the veil, its disadvantage is that it deprives the woman of her innate freedom; prevents her from completing her education; hinders her in earning her living, when necessary; keeps husband and wife

from enjoying an intellectual and cultural life together; and keeps them from being mothers qualified to bring up their children. With it the nation is just like a person who has been stricken with paralysis in one half of his body.

Its advantage is limited to one thing: it lessens the frequency of adultery since it is interposed between the two sexes and outwardly prevents association between them, even if it does not remove the predilection for it from within. And what they call chastity is defined by the saying, "It is part of purity to be unobtainable". Bodies are (71) protected, but most hearts are unfaithful. As for freedom, its advantage is the cessation of all the damages which have grown out of veiling (see above), and its only disadvantage is that initially it would be open to abuse. With the passage of time, however, the woman will be prepared to recognize her responsibilities and to be accountable for her actions; and she will get accustomed to self-reliance and to defending her honor, so that, within her, will be developed the virtue of true chastity, which is the contempt of the free, unrestrained person for the ignominious, not because of fear of punishment or of hope of reward or of the existence of an interminable obstacle, but solely because it is ignominious.

It is not possible for the woman to attain this moral level, as long as she is veiled; but it is very easy for her to attain it, when free.

She will attain it, just as Western women have attained it, for we see that, whenever there has been an increase in the Western woman's freedom, there has been an increase in her feelings of respect for herself, for her husband, and for her family.

That very learned man, Mantegazza²³, has said: "The greatest influence on our daughters' characters is the freedom which is given (72) them from the time of their childhood."

He has also said: "It is incorrect to attribute the lofty virtues observable in women who enjoy their freedom to climate, because I have found these virtues in Buenos Aires, where the heat is intense, the skies are clear, and general prosperity is on the rise; and, if the nature of the climate had such an effect on morals, the morals of the women in that country would have been corrupt. In the last century and in the beginning of this century, our girls did not leave the cloistered existence until they were married and were ignorant of everything connected with love. Most of the time, they have received extramarital lessons about love. That was because, on general principles, the girl who does not choose her husband, but is forced to accept him, has already taken a shortcut to sin. Nothing guards the girl from corruption like letting her choose her husband by herself after she has gotten to know him and has compared him with other men."

In describing the women of his country, he has said: "The Italian woman is less chaste than others, because she generally marries without loving her husband; and the situation is almost the same among the women of France."

As for English, American, and German women, he extols their high (73) degree of chastity and attributes it to the way they were brought up and to their enjoying freedom and independence in life's activities. Veiling and freedom are two means to protect the woman, but what a great difference

²³See page, 36.

there is between them in the results which derive from them! Whereas the first means reduces her to the category of a tool or a chattel and offends humanity, the second serves humanity and encourages the woman along the path of intellectual progress and of moral excellence.

You have already seen from what we have mentioned that the method we prefer for educating the woman and for guarding her chastity is not built upon theory unsubstantiated by fact, but is based upon observation and experience.

Western man's respect for the freedom of the woman has reached the point where the father does not take it upon himself to open his daughter's mail. Similarly, the husband has deemed it improper for him to open his wife's mail. This last question has been a subject of serious study among members of the French Bar Association for almost ten years, and it was established that the husband's authority does not permit him to (74) read his wife's secrets, because such an action is considered spying and demeaning to the woman's freedom and honor.

To be sure, most wives read their mail to their husbands, just as most husbands show the letters which come to them to their wives. There is, however, a great difference between what is offered readily and what is looked upon as an obligation required by some alleged law.

Western man's respect for the freedom of the woman has reached the point where twenty-year-old girls may leave home and travel from America to the farthest place on earth, either alone or with a maid, and remain away for months or years, traveling from country to country, without any of their relatives worrying that their being alone would expose them to any danger.

It is part of Western woman's freedom that she may have friends other than those of her husband and a viewpoint other than that of her husband and that she may support a political party other than the one which her husband supports. In all these matters, the man realizes that his wife has the right to favor what is consistent with her own taste (75) and her own mind and her own feelings and to live in a way which she believes compatible with her own point of view.

Despite all that, you see the organization of the households of those Westerners built on firm foundations! And we see those nations in a continuous process of growth! Not yet afflicting them are any of these misfortunes with which those writers and jurists in our midst who have been very loquacious in describing the damage which would result from giving women freedom threaten us! How often have we heard them say that the mixing of men and women will lead to the mixing of family bloodlines and that, when bloodlines have been mixed, the country has fallen into ruin.

The women and the men of all of those countries of Europe are mixing in all walks of life all the time. And, behold, there are our Christian and Jewish brothers and compatriots, who have recently abandoned the custom of veiling and have brought up their women to unveil their faces and to associate with men. How far they are from deterioration and ruin!

Let us abandon these unrealistic theories which have no value in the face of facts.

Experience has proven that freedom is a source of benefit to (76) the human being, the root of his progress, and the basis of his moral excellence and that the human being's independence of will has been the most important moral factor in the advancement of men. It cannot but have a similar influence upon women.

The point is that every change which sets forth visions in the form of a plan for which acceptance is solicited and about which the people have not previously been clear is really an idea set forth ahead of its time. Therefore, only a small number of people, whose vision extends to those events which the future will fathom, understands and properly evaluates it.

Look at the case of Egypt: The Egyptian nation has lived for generations in political servitude, and the result has been a general decline in all phases of its life -- a decline in intelligence, in morals, and in deeds. It has continued to fall from one step to the next until the matter ended in its being a weak, sick, stagnant body, vegetating rather than living. When it rid itself of servitude, it beheld itself, initially, in the dilemma of not knowing what to do with its new freedom.

It was all because no one understood what this word meant or (77) attached any value to it. People used to make light of it and to ridicule it. Moreover, they complained about it and attributed the deterioration of their way of life and the sickness of their souls to it. How many times have we heard that the cause of Egypt's misery is her enjoyment of freedom and equality. Then, little by little, people got used to freedom and began to realize that the deterioration of their way of life could not be the result of it, but that it had other causes. The love of freedom became such a part of most of us that we could not conceive of existence having any meaning without it, and we have the hope of our children, who are growing up in complete freedom, harvesting all of its precious fruits, of which the most important is preparing themselves for action. With that, they will understand thoroughly that freedom is the basis of all vitality.

And such will be the case with regard to the freedom of women.

The first generation in which the freedom of the woman will emerge will do much complaining about it. People will think that a great scourge has been visited upon them, because the woman will be in the process of experimenting with freedom. Then, with the passage of time, the woman (78) will become accustomed to using her freedom, will realize her obligations little by little, and will develop her intellectual and her moral capacities. Whenever a defect in her morals appears, it will be treated by education so that she will become a fully self-conscious human being.

That is because moral growth does not differ in its course from physical growth. Just as the child creeps before he walks and learns how to walk by degrees, clinging to the wall or grabbing hold of his nurse's hand, and, even when he has learned how to talk alone, does not do it well until after he has experimented for a month, during which time he falls very often; similarly, in its moral course, humanity exchanges one condition for a better one only by degrees and after long experiment, during which many bumps and spills and painful trials befall it, until it settles on its course.

That is the law (sunna) of natural creation. It is inconceivable for us to imagine that it is in our power to be free of it or to escape from its chains. It is also unwise for us to turn back or to stop moving forward.

If we wished to attain the goal toward which we have directed our hopes, what must we do but surrender to the wisdom of the sunna of God and accept the difficulties and strains without which its attainment would be impossible. (79)

Otherwise we would be like the neurotic father who feared that, if his son walked, he would fall down and so kept him from walking until he was grown up, with the result that he lived out his life sitting down, his feet having withered away.

THE WOMAN'S OBLIGATIONS TOWARD HERSELF

The first thing which attracts the attention of the Easterner staying in any of the cities of Europe is the important role which the woman occupies there. From the very first moment, it is apparent to him that the division generally accepted in our country between private and public life which interferes with the two sexes cooperating in all of life's phases and aspects is not a principle recognized as valid in those countries.

Were he to leave Europe and travel in America, he would stare in astonishment at the amazing phenomenon which he sees, and amazement would cast his mind into a state of bewilderment. He would find that the division so dear to him had disappeared to such an extent that it was almost nonexistent; he will see women engaging in men's activities (80) and men doing the work of women, without differentiation; and he will hear Americans accusing Europeans of acting tyrannically toward their women and of destroying their rights, just as Europeans reproach Orientals for using despotism with their women.

The Easterner sees this phenomenon and, initially, finds it extraordinary. Then he forgets about it.

After that he does not think about it and lives side by side with Westerners without knowing anything about their ways. Even if mention of them is made, incidentally, in newspapers or in books, that does not provoke in him the slightest urge to gain knowledge of the facts or to delve beneath the surface.

That is because he is sure in his own mind that his customs are best and that anything which differs from them does not merit his attention or interest.

But the truthseeker, who is accustomed to the method of scientific criticism, does not judge social patterns in such a facile manner.

One day he has seen in one of the newspapers that a Miss Gordon has tried a case before a 'Frisco criminal court and defended a man (81) accused of murder. Another day he has seen in a magazine that Miss Carry Rainar, a minister in the United States, has preached a sermon at a church in the city of Laru to a large congregation of men and women. Then again he has seen that Miss Stone is teaching political economy at the University of Chicago to students of that subject, both men and women. He has been made aware that the woman lawyer has women colleagues active in all the courts, that the woman minister has women colleagues in many churches, that the woman professor has women colleagues in most universities, and that the women do their jobs no better and no worse than the men do theirs. What, then, is he to believe? He believes that the words of the poet

Fated are men for battle and war,

And the fair sex for trailing after.

are not at all consistent with the truth. It is, therefore, unsound to cite them in refuting us. We excuse the poet who is only making an account of the condition of the woman in his own time. But can we (82) excuse ourselves from our beliefs that women are fit only for "trailing after", even though one glance at the valuable work which women do in the West is enough to indicate that the life of the woman may rightly be filled with something nobler than play, games, and "trailing after"?

This image by which the poet has characterized the woman is not a true image of the woman, because it is not an image of a human being, or even of an animal, since nothing exists in life unless it has a

function to fulfill or a job to perform, and, among the animal species from the highest to the lowest, none is to be found which is not subject to the law of survival.

If we wished to arrange mankind's activities according to their importance, we would find that they are divided into three categories: 1) life-sustaining activities, 2) activities benefiting his family, and 3) activities benefiting the social entity.

Obviously, all worthwhile education must enable the human being (83) to carry out these activities and to heed this natural arrangement. More important than anything else is the knowledge which insures life's security and the performance of its obligations and necessary requirements. It must be given priority over knowledge specific to domestic duties, because it is possible to carry out any domestic duty only after the accomplishment of the primary duties. Likewise, the knowledge which leads the human being to the awareness of his domestic duties is a forerunner of the knowledge specific to social duties, because the strength of the social body depends upon how well households are organized.

When that has been established, we say that education which encompasses these three categories in the arrangement which we have set down is necessary for men and for women to an equal degree.

We have now disregarded political privileges and rights, and I have not and do not demand equality between the woman and the man in any of them, not because I believed that to prohibit the woman from participating in public affairs -- a complete ban for all time -- is a necessary principle for social organization, but because I realize that we are still in great want of men who are proficient at performing public duties and (84) that, today, the Egyptian woman is not prepared for anything at all and

must spend years in training her mind by study and experience until she is ready to take her place alongside men in the arena of public life.

Therefore, we shall omit further discussion about activities and information pertinent to the third category and limit ourselves here to the discussion of the activities and information specific to the first two categories.

No matter how much people differ in their understanding of the woman's nature, no one may suggest that she can dispense with activities by which she sustains her vital forces and which prepare her to carry out the requirements and obligations of human life.

In the same way, no matter how much we disagree about the scope of the woman's function in the world, it is inevitable that we recognize that she cannot forego activities and information pertinent to her domestic duties. Thus, all information pertinent to these two categories of activities is beneficial, and all training which enables the woman to fend for herself and to improve the condition of her household is also (85) beneficial.

Many of us think that the woman has no need to learn or to be active and assume that the mildness of women's temperament, the softness of their bodies, and the weakness of their constitutions make it difficult for them to bear the fatigue of toil and the hardship of labor.

But such talk is really a slander against women, even though it may appear to be compassion for them.

Anyone observing conditions in our social body sees the sad facts which make him fully aware of that. He sees that the man and the woman are adversaries who agree in but few instances and that they fight with

one another night and day. The man will seize on the weakness and the ignorance of the woman to deprive her of all that she owns and to appropriate the profits for himself. The woman struggles to the best of her ability to defend herself, but finds no way to do it.

Had the court cases between the sexes been compiled into a book, it would have been the best possible reading matter for championing the rights of the woman.

I do not think it would be an exaggeration if I said that in (86) the event of a conflict of interests between the man and the woman for any reason, whether over a marriage which has occurred between them or over the apportionment of property reverting to them or over any contract tied in with it, the first thing the man's thought races to is how to steal from the woman whatever he can of her property. And the poor woman is unaware of the dangers which surround her. Even if she discovered them, it is usually not until after her ruination. In any case, when she has fallen into the net, no device is left to her except to weep and to wail since she perceives herself in an entanglement from which she does not know how to rescue herself.

All Egyptians know that the women of Upper Egypt are a group of people deprived of their rights in legacies which they inherit in accordance with the stipulations of the Shari'a and that this situation continued to exist until the system of Family Courts was introduced in Upper Egypt. Still, some mudirs²⁴, whose opinions were obtained about the formation of the new courts in Upper Egypt, believed it an argument against their formation that, if formed, one of their provisions would be to give women their

²⁴Mudir, provincial governor.

This is no easy task, because it requires varied knowledge and abundant observation.

Even if he amassed all of that, it would still not be easy for him to judge the problem decisively; for he knows that his opinion is based upon hypothetical premises, and its conclusions are only approximate. Therefore, you see him always in the process of research, considering the result of his effort only as groundwork for provisional action and not refusing to correct his opinion according to the demands of the situation and revelations of the action. (89)

The case is just the opposite with someone who possesses fanciful theories. He is convinced that his theory is like a mathematical proposition and so is never wrong, although it is composed of vague generalities in which the mind settles upon nothing definite, such as the weakness of the woman and the strength of the man, the division of life into that inside the home and that outside, and so forth. Such concepts fill his mind. But they are devoid of facts and of observations and are, in reality, phrases which have no sound general basis whatsoever for any time or place.

He does not look at real people, nor does he see himself in need of looking at them or of studying their conditions. It does not occur to him that the human fabric has form other than the fanciful shape which has laid hold of his mind. Therefore, he is not interested in seeing this fabric in the form of a herdsman, a farmwoman, a factory woman, or a tradeswoman or in finding out if she is rich or poor, living alone or in a family, a city dweller, a villager, or a beduin.

None of these many different pictures are communicated to his mind. They make no impression on it, because all of its windows have already (90) been so blocked by the mass of theory which fills his consciousness from beginning to end that no place is left there for anything else.

In other words: If he wrote or spoke, he would not be writing or speaking about a living, flesh and blood woman with feelings and emotions. Instead, he would be writing and speaking about the woman who is in his mind.

Now she is a young woman between twenty and thirty years of age, beautiful, slender, passionate. A nod from her is sufficient to obtain whatever her heart desires, because she is possessed of vast wealth or because she has an extremely wealthy husband who denies her nothing. As for her morality, it is decadent, inclined toward falsehood and deceit, and bent on evil doing. Between her and that, nothing intervenes except sentencing her to remain indoors and to seclude herself from men.

In portraying the woman in our minds like this, we see only the opinions of the Arabs about them, handed down to us.

This is colored by the fact that the life of the Arabs was a life of war and battle, and their livelihood was gained by plunder. It has (91) failed to show that, in a community whose livelihood depends upon fighting, the woman cannot have great importance. For, in this way of life, the woman is unable to keep pace with the man. Therefore, her standing with them went down and her rank among them fell until she came to be considered part of the goods and chattels. The victor got her, and she was counted in with the plunder, just like the rest of the movable property.

From this ensued concubinage and polygamy.

Just as the woman had nothing to do in the Arab community because of the limitation of all of life's activity to raiding and to the defense of the tribe, she also had nothing to do in the family, because the rearing of children with them was restricted to nourishing the child's body with suckle and food so that he grew up to be a fighting man, not a well-educated man of culture and refinement.

It comes as no surprise to see in the proverbs and poems and legends of the Arabs, and even in the writings of their legists, savants, and philosophers, indications of their contempt for the woman.

This is the source of the propagation of the picture of the woman in Muslim minds. It is a true picture, if one were to look at the past; but it is false, if one is to look at the present and at the future. That is because the Egyptian woman today does not resemble the (92) Arab woman who used to live a thousand years ago, either outwardly or inwardly. She differs from her in dress, food, housing, customs, morals, needs and obligations, because the social and economic necessity which is now in existence with regard to her has changed completely from what she was up against in the past. This change was in compliance with requirements and needs unknown to the women of the Arabs.

For the Arab woman was satisfied to eat barley bread, to wear a cotton shirt, and to live in a hair tent. Obtaining and maintaining that did not require vast knowledge or great skill. The Arab woman lived in ignorance of life's affairs, because her family and her people did not need her to sustain their domestic and their social life. The Arab woman was enslaved, because she was, in truth, a chattel to be taken into the possession of the man by plunder or by a contract which was closer to a contract of sale than to a contract of marriage.

As for the present, we are in an age when people feel safe with (93) one another and order has been established among them. War is no longer the chief concern of everyone, one group bent on the other's ruin. People have reached the point where they do not have to go raiding in order to earn a living. Gone are the days when the standings of men were high or low, rose or fell, according to the amount of their plunder in battle and how brave they were. Gone, too, are the days when whoever excelled in boldness and in violence was possessed of the highest authority; and the

weak, all under his wing, were in the opposite state. There is no longer any need for battle, except in special circumstances in which reputable people are in charge. Individuals of the nation have turned their attention, as men and women indiscriminately, to competing in other matters. Some of them compete for honor in learning, and some of them vie for it in wealth, among them those honored for seeking it in industry, in commerce, and in agriculture. The arena for the matching of wits is vast. The woman is a human being like the man. She is naturally endowed with the gift of intelligence, and she has the right today to aspire to approach his level, even though she cannot yet equal him. This situation is a consequence of the abundance of pressing needs,(94) and whoever falls short in his effort, down in his resolution, or back into his laziness and ignorance has come to be menaced by death and encircled by the menace of extinction. The door of a new crusade has thereby been opened to mankind. The people of one country are hardpressed over ways to earn a living, and to do so they struggle to best one another by deed and by cunning. Everyone competes against the foreigner, who has found it easy to penetrate into their midst, because of the convenience of communications and of the multiplicity of means of obtaining protection. This competition has not been simple and easy. It is, rather, something which requires feats of mental and physical strength greater than the clanging of swords and the aiming of arrows.

Time has by now come a full circle for the woman and brought her back to the law of creation. It has put before her requirements which make it impossible for her to live cooped up in her house. She is obliged, in spite of herself, to take jobs in men's fields and to work in order to earn a living, to stay alive, and to go onward and upward. By virtue of

this obligation, she is in great need of learning whatever will enable her to have a share of the victory in this great competition.

The weeping and wailing and complaining of women which we now hear about men for failing to support them or for wiping out their rights (95) and about irresponsible talk, which has cast many of them into the depths of depravity for the sake of satisfying some need, confirms what we have said and makes apparent to every eye the correctness of what we have set forth.

We ask our opponents on the subject: Can they say that there is no need to encourage the woman to know how to earn a living and to raise her position? Or say that she should do that, but, alas, it is not in her nature and among the faculties God gave her there is nothing to prepare her to ready herself for this endeavor?

This problem is not solved by remarks such as: the woman is weak or of limited intelligence; because, weak or strong, bright or stupid, illiterate or educated, all are equal before the obligations of life. Instead, that which is useful in understanding the true nature of this problem and its solution is to know, first: are there to be found women who have no family provider to look after their needs or who have a family provider, but one whose earnings are insufficient to meet their needs; then, if there were to be found women of this sort, what is their number, many or few?

For that, we can refer to the Egyptian population census which was taken in 1897, and these are the latest statistics available. It is (96) brought out in these statistics that the total number of Egyptian women who are employed in a craft or a trade is 63,731; that is, two per cent of Egyptian women are now employed in a trade, and these figures do not include rural women who are employed in agriculture or foreign women of

whom the number gainfully employed in trade has reached twenty per cent.

It goes without saying that these gainfully employed women have no family provider, for to our knowledge no men will permit their wives or their daughters to be gainfully employed in a trade, unless they themselves are incapable of earning any living whatsoever.

Going back to our observations, we find that women who have no family provider are more than double this amount, because the majority of them live as a dependent upon their relatives and to earn a living some of them use means which they do not admit to. I add to this category those wives whose husbands do not earn enough to provide life's necessities for them and for their children. They are always quarrelling and at odds with their husbands. Thereupon their feet hustle them into the (97) Shari'a courtrooms to demand maintenance; and, if the judge were to award the wife two qurush²⁵ per day, the husband would shout: "This is too much". The number of these women is no less than all of the preceding put together.

If we have established that no more than two per cent of Egyptian women have no family provider, ought not these women, forced by necessity to compete with men to earn their living, be equipped to succeed before entering into life's battleground with the means by which men prepare themselves? Is it right or just that they are deprived of training which would qualify them to look out for themselves? Is it of benefit to men or to the whole social body that these women are deficient, illiterate, and poor?

We do not dispute that natural disposition has prepared the woman to engage in household activities and the rearing of children and that she

²⁵Qurush, piastre, about three cents.

is exposed to natural obstacles, such as pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing, which do not permit her to pursue activities which men are (98) able to tackle. Moreover, we state here that the best service which the woman renders the social body is to marry and to bear and rear her children. This is self-evident matter which does not need long study to establish. But the mistake is for us to infer from this that it is not necessary for the woman to be prepared by education and by upbringing to carry out her role in life and to do what is necessary to support her children, if she should have small children and the need should arise.

That is because everywhere there is to be found a number of women who are unmarried and a number of others who are divorced or widowed and some who have husbands but who must earn a living because he is very poor or too infirm or too lazy to work. Not a few women are married and have no children. It is not right to bar all of these women from obtaining work outside the home on a pretext that they have men to furnish their support or because they have domestic duties or because of the existence of natural impediments between them and the job.

We are not saying to the woman: Renounce marriage and do not wish for offspring or leave your husband and children at home and spend your (99) time in the streets or live like men, and we repeat that we would like every woman to be a wife and every wife to be a mother. But this does not cause us to forget that the fact is other than what we would desire, since the fact is that a vast number of women have no provider and no domestic obligations.

This group of women is small today in our country in comparison to Western countries, for, if we take the most recent statistics in France, we find that there are 3,622,270 unmarried women, 2,060,778 widows and

924,286 childless married women; that is, there are, in France, more than five million women in a position to work and obliged to do it without any disadvantage befalling their families by their working.

But, with the passage of time and the march of civilization in our countries, the number of unmarried women will increase; and, instead of their being, as today, two per cent of the Egyptian women earning a living by a trade, there will be almost double this number. That is because sociological events are subject to natural laws by which it is easy to project what will occur in the future. (100)

Therefore, we can assert that the number of gainfully employed women will inevitably increase each year over the previous one, because we are traveling the route which Europe traveled before us.

It makes no difference that there are fewer marriages in Europe than in the East. The reason for that is that it is not as simple for one of them to marry as it is for one of us, for the European demands that his wife be a comrade who is by his side as long as he lives and a companion who shares with him in all of his activities, his thoughts, and his emotions. He demands of her all the qualities which one of us seeks when he wants to make a friend, and to find such a one is difficult.

I shall add to that another reason. It is that the economic situation in highly developed countries does not allow the individual to be able to earn his living before he reaches the age of thirty, except in rare instances, because he encounters stiff competition in his path and must break through the ranks which are in front of him. This he does, if luck has been with him and he has been well prepared to gain a foothold in commerce or in industry or in literary fields. Most of them (101) spend their lives seeking and finding nothing.

It is a matter of prudence with them that a person does not marry before he is confident of a means of livelihood by which he will obtain enough to support himself and his children, because they are conscious of their duty to their family and are not content to be a cause of misery to their wives and children. On the other hand, the ignorant man is the one whom stupidity hurries into marriage and who ignores what that social union imposes upon him. Nor does he acknowledge his family's claim upon him.

We are prodded along this course by a power which no one can oppose. It seems to me that marriage with us has already become more infrequent. I know many men and women who have passed the age when marriage usually takes place, and they are still single, voluntarily or involuntarily. But I am not aware whether this is common or peculiar to certain situations. I can verify, however, that the average age of marriage is later than it was in the past. Now it is generally between twenty and thirty, whereas in the past it was at maturity and often before. (102)

It avails nothing for our literary giants to detest the state we have come to today or will come to in the course of time and to cite what Europe experienced as a result of the decrease in the number of marriages there and of the gainful employment of women in men's occupations. That is of no avail, because such complaints cannot have any influence upon the course of events in the world. If complaints were sufficient to change the situation, the matter would be simple.

The truth is that the most important single factor to have an influence on the condition of the nation is its economic condition. Regrettably, it is not within the power of any one person to control and direct this economic condition however he pleases.

Yes, there is to be found in every highly developed nation a number of women whom necessity has forced to work -- to work hard -- and to engage in men's work; that is, to become masculine -- if you will. They are women whom men have refused for no one desires to marry them; widows, whose husbands are dead; and divorcees, whose husbands (103) have left them. These women are not committing a crime against the social body, for what is any one of them except desirous of finding a suitable companion to love her and for her to love and to help her and for her to help; and what is any one of them except inwardly grieved because she does not have a child whom she could devote herself to bringing up? What is any one of them except tearful about her unhappy solitude and regretful over the loss of her hopes, which she has spent her life anticipating?

But what is to be done if the law of existence decrees that many women live singly and unattached and work and strive to earn their living and their children's living and that of some of their infirm and disabled relatives.

Objectors will say that they do not bar poor women from undertaking men's jobs and from mixing with them, just as they do not bar the woman from training if it is necessary for earning her living because necessities justify doing what is prohibited. All of them have concurred in this opinion, even "Dr. Learned Scholar"²⁶ (as he called himself on the cover of his book), who was commissioned on behalf of the Azhar faqihs to refute The Emancipation of the Woman. All of them realize that to keep the (104) woman from unveiling her face and from leaving her house and from doing men's jobs and mixing with them and from training which would equip her for

²⁶Farid Wajdi?

such jobs is inappropriate for poor women whom necessity forces to work to obtain their daily bread.

It is evident from this that they agree with us in the case of necessity, but they disagree with us otherwise. For they think that permission must be restricted to this situation only and to such women, and we think it must be general -- inclusive of all women and situations.

If they would realize what they are saying and grasp the ramifications of this opinion of theirs, they would have concurred in our opinion and come to our conclusion, because they advocate that the woman should part with the veil and obtain jobs in the same way as men do, if circumstances require it, and it is well known that every living person is vulnerable to the onslaught of need and to the assault of necessity. Properly to do the job which necessity compels and need prompts, it is (105) not enough that the woman confront it and start to work. On the contrary, before starting it, she must prepare herself completely to cope with it and to see it through. Such preparation does not exist except through the upbringing, learning, training, practice, and experience of people; and, if the woman has been kept from equipping herself to meet needs until she has fallen into them, she is unable to free herself from them, and her debarment from such preparation is tantamount to delivering her to destruction.

Oh, what a wonder, how we expect failure for the man who has been deficient in training, wanting in knowledge, and lacking in experience and do not expect that failure for the woman, when she has shared these deficiencies with him!

Cases of impoverishment, of divorce, of the death of the husband, and of spinsterhood are all everpresent and occur at any time. Since knowing the unknown is not an easy matter, it is necessary that every woman be prepared for such eventualities before she falls into them.

Therefore, we think that one of the most important things incumbent upon fathers is to prepare their daughters to face these eventualities with whatever will overcome their mischief, offer protection (106) from their harmfulness, and pave the way for them to achieve a portion of happiness in this life.

Yes, we think it incumbent on every father to teach his daughter as much as he can and as completely as he can and to show the same concern for her training as he does for his sons'. If, after that, she married, her knowledge would do her no harm; moreover, she may derive great benefit from it and benefit her family; and, if she does not marry or has married and been separated from her husband for one of the many oft-recurring reasons, she can use her knowledge to obtain a livelihood in a way which is agreeable to her and guarantees her peace of mind, her independence, and her dignity.

Whether we look at the material benefits which the possessor of knowledge obtains from his knowledge or at the abstract pleasure which he derives, education in any case is to be sought.

In my hand at this moment is a book written by a French writer, Paul Drozet, entitled American Life. In it he says the following in the discussion of the training of girls:

"In America, I have seen boys and girls going to the same school, sitting side by side in the same classroom, hearing the same lessons, and (107) taking exercise together. And when they have finished their studies, this mixing has continued, inasmuch as you see girls working in laboratories and in factories, employed to keep the records in large hotels, teaching children in elementary schools, and studying at medical schools.

You see them as clergywomen, preaching in the streets, as members of charitable organizations, as heads of municipal councils, and so forth. If you wish to know the reason for these Western practices and the object of bringing up women in this way and the duties she is equipped to perform by this upbringing, you must ponder this question in order to comprehend its mystery. If you thought about it, you would realize that here are two alternative courses which two different categories pertaining to the woman face. Evidence of that is that, if the girl remained single, she would be forced to work for a living like the man who is competing with her. The best upbringing which befits her, then, is an upbringing like that of men. If she married, the burden of earning a living would be on her husband, and she would be busy with running her (108) household and with bringing up her children. But who knows the future of the girl when she is ten years old? And what should fathers do in the face of this unknown future? The Americans have realized that it is prudent to act as if their daughters would not marry and to bring them up like boys from the point of view of education and of independence of action. The American father brings up his daughter to be self-reliant, because he does not know her future. Then if she chanced to meet a husband who wishes to put his hand in hers and to travel life's road with her, this upbringing would prove the best way to prepare her to carry out her domestic duties. And if there is no one who desires to marry her, the father has already freed himself from reproach, since he has considered the future and done everything possible to prepare her to overcome the difficulties which she will confront and the bitterness of life.

There are two careers toward which I would like the training of our girls to be directed: the first is the profession of training and

teaching children. This profession is the best possible one for a woman who wants to earn her living to undertake, because it is an honored, respected profession and the woman is more predisposed to it than the man and more aware than he of ways to win them over and to (109) gain their affection. Our country is the country most in need of women who are trained for this profession, yet we have scarcely a woman who is trustworthy in the training of children. Egyptian families are in need of a great number of governesses, so that they can dispense with foreign governesses. Likewise, there are no girls' schools in Egypt in which the administration and instruction are in the hands of Egyptian women. This is a great lack in our country, since all of us are now obliged to educate our daughters in foreign schools.

The second career is medicine. Every man knows the extent of the difficulty he faces when one of his women relatives is ill and he urges her to let herself be seen by a male physician, especially if the illness is one of those peculiar to women. If there were a number of women skilled in the practice of medicine, there is no doubt that their skill would be in great demand because of the need for them which they would find in Egyptian households. Here we should also say that the art of medicine is one which suits the natural disposition of women. What one now sees in public hospitals and in families of the splendid services (110) which women perform is the greatest proof that the woman with her natural disposition for compassion, patience, and extreme carefulness is as fitted as, if not more fitted than, man to treat the sick.

It is also possible for the woman to engage in all of the activities based on organization and arrangement and not in need of the power of muscles and sinews, such as commerce. How many commercial houses have

been built up by the hands of women after they have fallen from the hands of men. Women can also pursue all of the literary professions.

If the Egyptian woman today needed to earn her own living, she would find no job by which she might obtain something to live on except some tedious, menial jobs, such as household service or peddling worthless wares. To prevent women from engaging in the work men do is really tantamount to relegating them to inferior, poorly paid jobs such as these and to depriving them of respectable, well-paid jobs.

This low status is one which we wish to replace by a loftier one. (111)

The woman must be brought up to exist for herself first, not to be a chattel for a man whom she may never in her whole life be destined to marry.

The woman must be brought up to take part in human society as a complete entity in herself, not as putty in the hands of a man.

The woman must be brought up to find the sources of her happiness and of her unhappiness in herself, not in others.

How would we receive a man who would give us such words of advice as this: Bring up your sons as if they are to be husbands only and prepare them for nothing except marriage? Undoubtedly, we would receive him with derision and contempt. For we would know that it is inevitable for the man first to be a human being prepared for meeting the hardships and difficulties encountered by human beings and to obtain the happiness merited by human beings. Then, when he has been educated and become equal to earning his living and has been graced by goodness of character, he has naturally been a good husband. Then, how could we accept the advice of anyone who tells us: Prepare your daughters to be housewives (112) only; do not prepare them for any other purposes and goals in life?

From the preceding it follows that the woman has the right to engage in the jobs which she thinks necessary to earn her living and that this right calls for the recognition of another right for her, which is that her upbringing be directed into paths which will prepare her to take advantage of all of her potentialities. That does not mean requiring every woman to engage in men's jobs, but it does mean that every woman must be prepared to work when prompted by need.

THE WOMAN'S OBLIGATIONS TO HER FAMILY

Up to here, our discussion has been about the training and (113) activities which are necessary to sustain the woman's existence in a suitable way. We wish, now, to discuss the activities and training which are necessary for the woman to be useful in her family.

Everyone agrees that setting up and organizing the family is in the woman's hand, but not everyone is alike in understanding this matter. The understanding of the great majority of people is that it means the woman renders service to her husband and to her children, if the family is poor; or directs the work of the servants, who carry out their duties on her orders and under her supervision, if the family is rich.

At this point, their thinking stops.

So by our begrudging the woman her due in all circumstances, and after having deprived her of her freedom and kept her from preparing herself to cope with the necessities of her life, we have ultimately narrowed the scope of her activities even within the family. This is the (114) most powerful proof that everything pertaining to the woman's progress is interdependent; for the well-trained, free woman is the one who can have a great influence on her family, while the untrained, enslaved woman cannot have any more influence on her family than the head household servant.

Muslims have believed that the woman's enjoyment of her freedom and her occupation with men's concerns and the broadening of her education would lead to her neglecting the performance of her domestic responsibilities. They have, therefore, put between her and the outside world a complete veil, so that nothing will distract her from companionship with

her husband or the management of her household or the upbringing of her children. But look at the result! You find it contrary to what they intended, since the Egyptian woman does not know how to be a companion to her husband nor can she manage the running of her household nor is she fit to bring up her children.

That is because all of the activities of the human being, no matter how different or varied, spring from one source, his perception. If his perception has been superior, his influence in everything has been great, beneficial, and laudable; but, if it has been inferior, his (115) influence on everything has been insignificant, harmful, and anything but laudable.

The insignificant role which the Egyptian woman plays in the family today corresponds with her getting away from the afore-mentioned source. The inability of our women now to cope with activities which ought to be theirs does not cause us to despair about their progress or to judge it impossible for them to reach the point which is anticipated for them.

The woman has obligations other than what most of us think, and the most important of these duties is the home-training of children. If you wish to know how ignorant our mothers are about the simplest fundamentals of home-training, look at our child mortality statistics and at those of a city such as London. You find that the number of deaths among our children is more than double that of London. You may already have read the statistics of the Department of Public Health which were published this year and have discovered that the number of deaths among children under five years of age in Cairo is 145 per thousand, as compared to 68 per thousand in London. (116)

Since the good health and poor health, the life and death, of our children are connected with the method which women have followed in bringing them up, is it not feeble-minded and dim-witted of us to entrust those children to whatever the ignorant may improvise and to abandon them to the superstitions of wet nurses and the blandishments of old women who do as they please with them, accountable to no one.

Every year uneducated mothers kill more children than the number of fatalities in the most terrible war, and many of them inflict on their children sickness and chronic deformities by which life becomes a heavy burden for them as long as they live. In most cases, this misfortune has no cause other than the ignorance of the mothers about the laws of hygiene. If the child's mother had known that everything connected with the child's feeding, housing, clothing, sleeping, and playing has an influence on his body, she could have undertaken to protect him from illness to the extent of her knowledge of hygiene; and, if every mother knew that most illnesses which waste her child's body did not strike without reason and that she is responsible for his health or lack of it, she would not be careless about protecting him from everything around him which might cause him bodily harm. But how will she come to know that with her (117) ignorance which makes her believe that happenings occur without reason or are the result of inexplicable causes.

It is undesirable to describe in detail here all the reader should know about this subject, but we shall say in summing up that the child's physical training alone demands much information, mostly connected with the laws of hygiene, and that knowledge of these laws requires a vast amount of other information which is necessary to facilitate her understanding.

The mother must know the best ways to feed her children, because the body's growth is always regulated by the way it is nourished; the firmness of the tissues, especially of the brain tissue, is dependent upon good nourishment. Some medical authorities have even said that the nations which are better fed than the rest are more powerful than the rest and dominate the others.

The mother must know how to protect her child's body from exposure to heat and to cold and what temperature -- hot, lukewarm, or cold -- water she should use to wash his body. She must know that air and sun have (118) a commendable affect on health and not to deprive him of enjoying them. The same could be said about other things, such as sleep, play, and so on.

Then, from another aspect, it is incumbent upon her to have full knowledge of the child's spiritual, intellectual, and moral capacities, if she is not to be the prime factor in the corruption of her child's character.

Look at the way the Egyptian woman treats her child. You would not think it originated in an intelligent human being who values the result of his work. An example of this is that she keeps him from playing so that he will not disturb her, unaware that, by keeping him from playing, she stands in the way of his growth. If she wants to punish him, she threatens him with something she cannot, or will not, carry out; or she frightens him with fantastic tales which conjure up in his mind specters which may remain with him throughout his life. If she wants to appease him, she makes him promises she cannot keep. In this way he has in her an example of mendacity, and she weakens his faith in words. In most situations, she seems angry with him, scolds him in a loud voice, and disquiets him with threatening motions, just as if she wishes to (119) implant in him, by the most powerful proof, that she is incapable of

self-restraint and self-control. Probably the cause of her anger has in no way merited all of that. Then, when she sees she has made an impression on him, she is quick to embrace him and to kiss him and to appear remorseful about what she has done. The poor child does not know how he merited her anger, in the first place, and her pleasure, in the second.

Nor are these faults peculiar only to mothers. We find many of our fathers, because of their ignorance of psychology, using methods in bringing up their children which are no less atrocious and foolish than those women use. One of the greatest atrocities which many a father commits against his son is to revile and insult him with phrases which the child, not knowing the meaning of them, answers in kind; then, when the answer is clever, the father laughs gleefully and is delighted at the superiority of his son. Similarly, you see a father giving his son an unnecessary order. The child disobeys it, and he falls on him like an unfeeling savage and beats him on any part of his body which he happens to hit. He acts this way only because he sees in the disobedience of his (120) son an infringement of his authority and a contempt for his dignity.

If the father had realized what he was doing and known that every habit which a child forms while growing up has an influence on him which is the basis for a deeply-rooted character trait, he would not have let him form a habit of anything which it would be unpleasant to see in him as an adult. If he knew that the purpose of home-training was not to accustom the child to obey every command which is issued to him, but rather the object of it is to form the habit of self-control, he would have avoided the command, the threat, and the beating. These means do not prepare the

child to master himself. The child is, instead, trained to master himself, if his father has made an effort to convince him and to alert him about the consequences of his actions, so that there is generated in him a firm belief that whatever good or evil befalls him is something he has earned.

The best way for home-training to reach this goal (i.e., self-mastery) is to let the child go his own way, acting on the promptings of his own ideas, and for the teacher not to step in except to point out what will be the affects of these actions in the form of advice and guidance. If the youth insists on going against the advice, he is left (121) to himself, under most careful supervision lest he injure himself badly, until he experiences the consequences of his action. Deprivation and prevention are permissible only in rare circumstances in which the youth exposes himself to danger.

In this way the child is prepared to be a man who may rely on himself when the time comes that no one will be at his side to defend and protect him.

I can set down by way of summation a fact which I would like every father and mother to read. It is that all of the faults which you observe in children -- such as lying, fearfulness, laziness and foolishness -- are an outgrowth of the parents' ignorance of the principles of home-training and that it is easy to eliminate these faults by moral methods and sometimes by medical methods.

If guarding the child from illnesses and curing him of faults requires abundant learning, as we have said, then attending to the child's physical fitness and implanting laudable qualities in him require subtler knowledge and wider learning.

The vast majority of people thinks that home-training is some- (122)
 thing of slight importance, but anyone who is really informed knows
 that among human affairs, no matter how great, nothing requires broader
 knowledge or more minute insight or harder work than home-training.
 From the point of view of knowledge, it requires all fields of knowledge
 pertaining to information about the physical and spiritual laws of
 human growth. From the point of view of arduousness and difficulty,
 correlating these laws to suit the situation of the child from the day
 of his birth until he reaches the age of maturity requires patience,
 constant work, precise observation, and careful supervision rarely re-
 quired of her in other work. It is not to be inferred from this that
 I advocate that every mother must fully understand those broad fields of
 knowledge, but I maintain that all mothers must know their outlines.
 The more any one mother knows about the fundamentals and the derivatives
 of these fields, the more strongly prepared she is to bring up her children.

The reader will notice that I have neglected the role of fathers
 in this discussion about home-training. That is not out of inadvertance,
 but because the whole sphere of home-training is up to the mother. For
 the child, boy or girl, from the time of his birth until puberty exper-
 iences no example but his mother; no society but her, and no impressions (123)
 except those she exposes him to. His mind is a blank page, and she en-
 graves it as she wishes. The engraving is completed, and it is a recorded
 book by the time the child reaches fourteen years of age, as Alphonse
 Daudet²⁷ (ALFUNS DURIH) has said. After that, it is within the power of

²⁷Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897), French novelist; experienced a depressing
 childhood, about which he wrote with pathos and grace in his novels and
 reminiscences.

the youngster to add but little to what has been inscribed upon his mind or to subtract from it but an insignificant bit from which would result no alteration of the book.

This is the secret behind Westerners' respect for their women and their veneration of their mothers. Each one of them knows that all of the fine qualities and good character traits which he possesses are by virtue of his mother who deposited in him a piece of her soul and the best piece she had. If, among Westerners, there is anyone who is conscious of the love of truth and of the disposition to fair deeds, who values nobility of spirit and has compassion for the poor, who aches for the suffering of the sick and is kind to animals, if, among them, is to be found anyone who has made order and system the foundation of his work and goodness and diligence the object of his soul, and if there is among them anyone who finds in himself a reverence for his religion, a regard for the honor of his country, and a longing to seek perfection in every- (124) thing; this is not because he has read in books or learned in school that these qualities are commendable -- for, if decency were taught by vote, to reform the world would be a very simple matter, but this is because his mother wanted him to have these qualities and endured indescribable fatigue to imprint them on him and to establish them in his character.

It is she who has wanted no ugly picture to enter his range of perception. It is she who has presented to him the beautiful side of everything. It is she who has gradually accustomed him to good habits until they have become as embedded in him as the roots of plants are imbedded in the earth.

This function which mothers in those countries perform is the most important and the most useful thing which any living being on the face of the earth does, for nothing is more important or more useful than instructing the minds of children and preparing them to become upright men.

From this, it is evident that the woman's job in the social body is to build the moral character of the nation. That moral character has a greater influence on society from the point of view of the nations' (125) progress and regression than does the influence of governmental systems, laws, and religions.

Among Westerners, therefore, there is not to be found anyone who is ignorant of woman's status in the social entity or of her important role in the family. It will do no harm to cite here a few words of some philosophers in order to clarify for the reader the position of women in their opinion.

Smiles (S I M L S)²⁸: "In the instruction of the human species the woman has a greater part than any teacher. To me, man's position in the species is that of the brain in the body, and woman's position is that of the heart."

Schiller (S H I L R)²⁹: "Whenever a man has achieved glory in his work, a beloved woman has been at his side."

²⁸Samuel Smiles (1812-1904), Scottish author and journalist, editor of the weekly Leeds Times; wrote Self-Help (1859) and similar studies, several biographies, and an autobiography. Eldest of eleven children raised by a widowed mother.

²⁹Johann Christopher Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), German poet, dramatist, and philosopher; many of his dramas have women as their main characters.

Rousseau (R U S U)³⁰: "Men are what women want them to be. If you want to make men high-minded and virtuous, teach women high-mindedness and virtuousness."

Fenelon (F N L U N)³¹: "The duties which women pursue are basic to human life; for the woman manages all of the household affairs and, in so doing, has a preponderant share in the betterment or corruption of (126) moral character. The nation is not a self-sustaining abstraction, as it would appear. It is the sum of all of the families, and who but the woman makes it possible to improve the family?"

Lamartine (L A M A R T I N)³²: "If the woman has read a book, her husband and her children have as good as read it."

Such examples of wisdom from the sayings and writings of scholars and philosophers showing what influence the woman has on the improvement of the moral character of nations are too abundant to give in full.

It is strange that many of our young people who have a knowledge of foreign languages and who must certainly be acquainted with some of these writings should think that I have exaggerated about woman's high status and about her exalted function. Some of them, moreover, have been of a mind to belittle my opinion and to consider it worthless and not fit to contemplate. For instance, the "Azhar Scholar", who refuted The Emancipation of Woman, has expressed their thoughts when he says:

³⁰Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), French writer and popular philosopher; wrote inter alia, on education and domestic affections though not himself a good example of either.

³¹Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon (1651-1715), French writer and archbishop: His Treatise on the Education of Girls was probably the most influential of all his books and guided French ideas on the subject all through the 18th century. It holds a judicious balance between those who advocated higher education for girls and those who thought the less girls know the better they were. He summed up in favor of the educated housewife, his first object being to persuade mothers to take charge of their daughters themselves and bring them up to be good housewives and mothers.

³²Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), French poet, statesman, and man of letters; a precursor of the Romantic revival.

"In no piece of historical literature, of devotional literature, or of journalistic literature have we learned that any nation or any (127) government has been advanced by its women or has had its status advanced by its females. Those European governments have, indeed, advanced in our time and have gained recognition in science and in education, in commerce and in industry, and in the field of major inventions which are of universal benefit; but in which area of science or education, in which area of commercial or industrial creativity has any woman gained recognition?"

Anyone who reads these lines has a right to think that this "Azhar Scholar" and people like him have never read a history or a religious book or a journal.

For women whose memory history has immortalized because of their reputation in the various fields of science and of education or because of their great deeds are not few in number, and stout volumes are to be found containing biographies of their lives. It is not possible for us to recall here the deeds of some of the best known women in history -- perhaps opportunity will permit us to write a book on that particular subject; we can, however, assert here that there has been no branch of the sciences or of the arts but that the woman has demonstrated in it that she stands prepared to reach the highest stage of human perfection.(128)

In particular, let me draw the "Azhar Scholar's" attention to the venerable ancestors of his country that he may know that the history of his religion is not devoid of mention of women who had a very favorable influence on it.

The matter, however, does not require history to verify it, for we have already found in our own century many women who ranked high and were well-known throughout the civilized world.

One such is Maria Mitchell (M A R I E H. M T S H L)³³. She discovered a comet which was named for her, was appointed director of an observatory in America and professor of astronomy, and had many writings in this field.

Caroline Herschell (K A R U L I N H R S H L)³⁴ discovered seven stars, and the London Academy of Science conferred their Gold Medal upon her.

Teresa DuBavier (T R I Z D U Y A F I R) wrote important works in the field of geography and paleontology and was a member of the Munich Academy of Science.

Sophie Germaine (S U F I J R M I N)³⁵ has made significant discoveries in the natural sciences. (129)

All scientists know that it was the Marquise du Chatelet (D U S H A T L I H)³⁶ who publicized the theories of Newton (N U T U N) in France and Clemens Rouvet (K L M N S R U I H)³⁷ the theories of Darwin (D A R W I N).

³³Maria Mitchell (1818-1889), American astronomer; discovered a telescopic comet on October 1, 1847; in 1865, became professor of astronomy and director of the observatory at Vassar College.

³⁴Caroline Lucretia Herschell (1750-1848), English astronomer; assisted her brother in his astronomical researches. In 1783, she detected three nebulae and, from 1786-97, eight comets. She received the Gold Medal of the Astronomical Society in 1828 and one from the King of Prussia in 1846.

³⁵Sophie Germain (1776-1831), French mathematician.

³⁶Gabrielle-Emilie La Tonnelier de Breteuil, marquise du Chatelet (1706-1749), French writer; friend and collaborator of Voltaire.

³⁷Or Rouvier (?). Or could he mean Darwin's granddaughter, Gwen Raverat, who wrote a book of family reminiscences, entitled Period Piece?

Madame de Staël (M D A M I S T I L)³⁸ was the first to recognize that Germany belonged to Europe, and similarly Madame Tarnovskaya (M D A M T A R N U S K Y)³⁹ publicized the theories of Lombroso (L M B R U Z U)³⁹ in Russia.

The number of women philosophers and writers who grew up in this and the previous centuries, it is impossible to enumerate in a book such as this, but I see no escape from mentioning two whom no man has surpassed in the art of writing: Madame de Lafayette (M D A M L A F A I T)⁴⁰ and George Sand (J R U J S N D)⁴¹.

Although there is the connection which we have claimed between the progress of nations and the advance of the position of women, we do not wish to imply by it that the woman benefits the nation directly by scientific discoveries and philosophical theories. Instead we mean by it, specifically, her work with the improvement of the moral character of the family and, thus, of the nation in the way we have indicated.

³⁸ Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Baronne de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817), French novelist and miscellaneous writer; wrote De L'Allemagne over a period of two years, publishing it in 1813.

³⁹ Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909), Italian criminologist and professor of psychiatry; conducted wide and systematic research on the relationship between mental and biological conditions.

⁴⁰ Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne, Comtesse de Lafayette (1634-1692), French novelist. With her masterpiece, La Princesse de Cleves (1678), begins the history of the modern novel of sentiment.

⁴¹ George Sand, pseudonym of Madame Amandine Lucile Aurore Dudevant, née Dupin (1804-1876), French writer and apostle of women's rights. Turning from novels of revolt and tendency novels, she established her true reputation with simple stories of rustic life.

In other words, we maintain that the emergence of a learned man or an eminent scholar in a country is occasioned by events which occur (130) for two reasons. The first is his hereditary predisposition for whatever talent he shows, and the second is the home-training which supports the growth of this predisposition within him. Insofar as one of these two reasons has been lost, the probability of such a learned or scholarly man coming into existence has lessened. From this, it is clear that the moral identity of the human being is made up of two factors; a natural factor and a manmade factor. It is not within our ability to influence the first, but we have wide control over the second in that by early home-training we can develop the child's instinct, if his instinct is sound, and round out and perfect it. And we can weaken its influence, if it is otherwise. Of course, the control of the second, ultimately, has a limit; but the vastness of its scope permits us to make great use of it, if we have been informed how to manipulate it and have been shown correct methods of home-training.

This early home-training -- whose reins are in the woman's hand -- is what earns for her that exalted rank than which no rank in the social body is higher.

The woman's influence on the family is not limited to bringing up the children. It is plain to see that the woman influences all of the men (131) who live around her. How many women have smoothed their husbands' paths to success in their jobs and arranged for the occasions of rest and tranquility, that they may have leisure from their occupations? How many a woman has shared the labors of her husband, her brother, or her son? How many a woman has soothed the man's heart and strengthened his resolution in times of despair and hopelessness? How many a man has sought glory and noble things out of a desire to please his beloved and achieved his goal?

Stuart Mill (I S T U A R T M I L) has written the following in the Forward of his book entitled On Liberty, which was published after the death of his wife:

"I dedicate this book to the spirit who inspired the best thought herein set down, to my friend and wife, whose passion for truth and justice was of greatest help to me and whose approval was one of the greatest rewards I hope to attain in my work. In all that I have written until now and in this book, she has had a share of the work no less than mine. Great is my sorrow that this book has been published in the present state before she had a look at it. If only my pen had the (132) power to describe half of the excellent thoughts and lofty sentiments which have been buried with her, the world would derive more benefit from them than from all that I have written stemming from my own thoughts and sentiments without the advice of her peerless mind."⁴²

The wife of the renowned Pasteur (P A S T U R) participated in all of his scientific investigations. The daughter of Lombroso is still working with her father. Similarly, when the renowned Lamarck (M A R K)⁴³ lost his sight, he found no means of support but his daughter, who gave paid

⁴²The Arabic is a translation of the following: "To the beloved and deplored memory of her who was the inspirer, and in part the author, of all that is best in my writings -- the friend and wife whose exalted sense of truth and right was my strongest incitement, and whose approbation was my chief reward -- I dedicate this volume. Like all that I have written for many years, it belongs as much to her as to me; but the work as it stands has had, in a very insufficient degree, the inestimable advantage of her revision; some of the most important portions having been reserved for a more careful re-examination, which they are now never destined to receive. Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave, I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it, than is ever likely to arise from anything that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivalled wisdom."

⁴³Jean Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, Chevalier de Lamarck (1744-1829), French naturalist, chiefly in botany and zoology, part of whose evolutionary teachings is known as the doctrine of Lamarckism.

lectures and provided for her father with what she earned from them. She then urged him to complete his scientific research and wrote what he dictated to her, as a result of which he became with her aid one of the most famous natural historians.

This example, and others which it would take too long to expound, indicates to us that the educated woman by training her children can do a great deal for men's welfare and happiness. What is more advantageous to man than that he should live with a companion at his side who remains with him night and day, at home and abroad, in health and sickness, in joy and sorrow; who is intelligent, educated, and familiar with all (133) of life's requirements; who looks after everything which touches her husband's welfare and her children's future; who manages his wealth, preserves his health, defends his reputation, promotes his business dealings, reminds him of his obligations, and alerts him to his rights; and who knows that, from her hard work, she will derive the same benefit as her husband and children?

Can a man be happy who does not have a woman at his side to whom he can devote his life and who, by her devotion, personifies perfection in his eyes. He is proud of her, desires her approval, solicits her favor with kind acts, and is brought closer to her through the very best qualities and through noble traits of character. She is a friend who adorns his house, who gladdens his heart, who fills his hours, and who makes his cares melt away.

This kind of life of which our men have no conception at all is one of the greatest sources of great deeds. I say, and do not hesitate to repeat what I say: if delicacy of feeling among us does not reach a point where men have a relationship with women similar to the one we have

indicated and if men continue to neglect women, to leave them in a downtrodden condition of which every one of the effects causes suffering, to feel nothing, to be in no hurry to prepare the woman through training to be a companion on a par with the man, a comrade who is well-versed in household management, a friend who is ready to sacrifice her most precious possessions for her husband, and -- as to her involvement in what she must do for her children -- an expert in the methods of bringing them up; then all we have done until now and all we will do in the future to advance the concerns of our nation will vanish into thin air.

This is the fact which we have come to recognize through our study of the causes of the backwardness of Eastern countries, in general, and of Islamic countries, in particular.

This opinion, which we have submitted to the readers before, we submit to them once more. All that we crave from them is that "they do not throw it overboard", as has been suggested to them by many philosophers and writers, most of whom maligned The Emancipation of the Woman before they had read it.

It makes no difference that Islamic nations are in a state of intense weakness for which a cure must be undertaken. It is our duty to identify this sickness by recognizing its causes first; then to study its cure, just as any doctor would do who is interested in curing a patient. And what are the causes of the sickness?

Its causes are reducible either to climate, to religion, or to family structure. (135)

As for climate, it is not correct that it is a cause of the sickness. For it is well-known that the Egyptian nation is one of the oldest, and historians acknowledge its prior claim to an abundant originality in the arts and sciences, which shifted from it to the Greeks, then to the Romans, then to the Arabs, and then to the Europeans. The first great religion in the world appeared there, and for centuries it enjoyed having a city so famous that its ruins are still famous and will continue to be so for all eternity. It was self-governing and managed its affairs well for generations. In time, however, it was conquered by great powers, both neighboring and distant, who subdued it and subjected it to their rule. Then, after the loss of its independence, it maintained its existence and its entity despite the overwhelming oppression, tyranny, and hardship which befell it. This indicates that it was naturally endowed with strong vitality and was equipped to hold its own in the rivalry with other nations. So, if the climate has not hampered the Egyptian nation from undertaking very great works or from establishing a legal code and originating sciences and arts, why has it become a hindrance to it in these times in which the degree of the climate's heat has, without a doubt, been somewhat tempered. (136)

Although it remains unconfirmed by reliable scientific data that heat has any influence at all on the body or on the mind and the most that can emerge from difference of climate is a disparity in temperament and character among nations, it is observable that the inhabitants of the

East are distinguished by sharp wit, quick comprehension, and good memories. These valuable attributes compensate them for being somewhat deficient in patience and perseverance.

In the East, the inhabitants of cold climates are no less culturally backward than the inhabitants of hot climates.

To attribute the cultural backwardness of Muslims to the Islamic religion is an outright mistake. Anyone who claims that Islam, which addresses the mind and urges work and effort, is like this, obstructs the progress of Muslims. Muslims have already proven that their religion was one of the most powerful factors in their cultural progress. With the clarity of this historical proof, none may have doubts about this question. Of course, true Islam has today deviated from its original principles and for a number of centuries has been concealed under a veil of innovations (bida). Its growth has been halted and its development curtailed. This religious decline seems to have had a great influence (137) on the conditions of Muslims, but this decline to which certain Western writers attribute the Muslims' cultural backwardness is itself in need of an explanation, for it is a secondary, not a primary, cause.

Thus, we see nothing in the conditions of the Muslims resulting from the two above-mentioned causes. The first of them has no influence at all, and the second is to be considered among the secondary causes. We have left the third cause, and to it should be attributed the condition of which we complain. The decline of the Muslims, like that of the Hindus, the Chinese, and all Easterners, not counting Japan, is a result of the condition of the family structure in these societies.

That is to say, the family is the first thing which enters the human being's range of perception in the early part of his growth. It

the constant, continuing thing which he always sees. If the child has seen in it examples of order, work, highmindedness, and keen sensitivity, he will have become attached to these attributes and this attachment will be the first step on the path of his development; so that, when he grows up, he finds in his personal situation something to help him in this (138) development.

Development, then, has two stages. The first is a preparatory stage which the human being passes through in his childhood and youth. In it, the qualities of order and organization are etched upon the child's mind; there grows in him an inclination toward good works, he is bent toward the love of excellence, and the body organs become accustomed to activity and movement. The second is an active stage which the human being passes through during maturity and until the end of life. In it, these qualities go from a state of latency to being manifested in deeds.

If the preparation has been neglected in the first stage, it is impossible to help the individual in the steps of development. No matter what knowledge he memorizes in schools after that and no matter what religious and ethical teachings are put before him, he will live like a bird which has had its wings clipped: whenever it starts to fly, it falls. When he has realized by experience how inept he is, he will surrender to his fate, be content with it, and end by preferring it over everything else.

That is because teaching, whether it is religious or scientific, cannot have a beneficial effect unless it has found the mind an aid to (139) success; just as a seed, no matter how good, will not sprout except in soil suitable for growing it.

Our children now spend their time learning writing, reading, and foreign languages and studying science for several years. Then they move onto other higher and loftier disciplines than those. After they have completed the period of study and have entered the arena of general life, we have expected them to go among us as men of noble sentiments, charitable impulses, good moral character, and lofty ambitions, as men who feel and who act; and, through them, we have hoped to gather the fruits of such teaching in pursuit of which was spent valuable time and money. But, and what a pity, we see our expectations about them have been dashed. We see that these educated young men have hard hearts, small ambitions, and feeble resolutions. As for sentiments, theirs are almost nonexistent. No beautiful scene delights their eyes, just as no ugly sight disgusts them. Tenderness does not stir them, nor compassion move them to tears. They do not respect a great thing, nor despise a paltry one. No service, no matter how useful, prompts them to act. (140)

There is no reason for this except that their early training has not extended to their conscience. This conscience, which is the prime mover toward action, is not apparent nor does it gain strength and grow except by home-training. It has no agent in the home except the mother. It is she who imbues her child with respect for religion, country, and moral excellence, implants in him beauty of character, and infuses into him a charitable spirit. But of greater influence on him than all of this is how she appears in his eyes, graced by such qualities. For, unwittingly, he will imitate her and, little by little, grow so accustomed to doing this that these qualities will become undetachable requisites for him.

He has none of this if he spends his youth without responding to any of these images or being deeply impressed by any of these examples. Even if he is thereafter made aware of them in school, they are held in his mind and none of them penetrates into his innermost being. They do not occasion in him real feelings which would be a call for action and an incentive for him.

For this reason, you see our poets composing rhymes describing (141) the bitterness and torments of love which the lover suffers, but they themselves do not love. Our orators lecture most beautifully to ears other than their own about patriotism and urge the performance of patriotic duties, but not one speaker brings forth any proof that he has any insight into what he is saying. You see that men of religion who have devoted their lives to its service are the people least perceptive about true religious feelings. You see us, all of us, turning away from everything, yet yearning for everything.

While I was writing these lines, I read in the newspaper, Al-Mu'ayyad, an article by the Rt. Hon. Ibrāhīm Bak al-Hilbāwī, which it released while he was on board ship sailing to Europe this year. Something which I remember in particular about this informative article surprised me; namely, its author's striving for sincerity in the wording. What prompts me to mention it here is that the Honorable Ibrāhīm Bak al-Hilbāwī described to us what he was experiencing and how disturbed he felt as he passed the island of Crete:

"This is the first time that I have seen this island with my own eyes since it was removed from the jurisdiction of our government and (142) bestowed by the Europeans upon the second son of the king of Greece. While passing it, I tried to recall with sadness and regret the events which

occurred before, during, and after this transfer -- the slaughter and the shedding of the blood of the Muslims of this island, the humiliation and outrage which befell them, and, thereafter, the confiscation of the properties and hard-won earnings of those who remained; I tried to recall it as a true Muslim, who suffers for the misfortunes of his brother, but my soul found not a drop of blood in my body capable of indignation, no room in my heart for sorrow or compassion.

"When I examined my conscience about the reason for this inertia and indifference over the disasters and misfortunes which have taken us unawares, I thought perhaps it was because they overtook us in such abundance that they have insulated the heart and it could almost have been said of it: 'Spears have been shattered upon spears'.

"I had already experienced a similar reaction to my lack of concern over what befell the Muslims of Crete, which does not remove from me the soul-shaking grief about their misfortune only; on the contrary, it shames me more whenever I pause to consider that misfortune. It was before coming into Ismā'iliyya at the end of my trip on the Suez line (143) from Cairo, Zaḡāzīq station, and thence the train approached Ismā'iliyya. It was the first time in my life that I took it past Tall al-Kabīr, Qaṣāṣīn, Maḥsama, and Nafīsha, those places which occupied the frontlines for the defense against the English army in 1882. It is natural that passing such spots for the first time would arouse a flood of regret and remind me of the country's loss of glory and independence. Despite that, I was not conscious of any pain or agitation."

This is what one Egyptian, famous for his intelligence and for his patriotism, wrote. If we wished to speak as truthfully as he, we

would have to acknowledge that, if we ourselves also passed these spots and looked them over, they would not move us any more than he was moved or make us feel any more than he felt.

It is evident that the source of this "inertia", as the writer of this article has called it, is not that Ibrāhīm Bak al-Mubāwī is a stupid man or does not know that patriotism is a duty. Nor is the cause of this inertia what His Excellency presumes it to be -- that our hearts have become immune to the multiplicity of misfortunes which have overtaken us, because a continuous succession of misfortunes does not drain (144) the soul of perceptivity nor dilute it. On the contrary, it increases and intensifies perceptivity, teaches patience, and strengthens resolution.

The real reason for loss of perceptivity to such an extent is our neglect of training the emotions during childhood. Consequently, our nerves have become responsive only to the materialistic stimuli which they run across directly and have become incapable of responding to abstract concepts.

During my stay in France, I saw alongside of me a ten-year-old child who was taking great delight in looking at a division of the French army on its return from the war in Tonkin (A L - T U N K I N). When the flagbearer passed in front of him, this lad stood at attention, raised his cap, saluted, and began following it with his eyes until he lost sight of it. I felt that, for this child, the homeland was embodied in the flag which passed in front of him and so awakened in him all those emotions which his home-taught love aroused in him that I considered him a full-grown man. As for the men and women who were watching this parade, so strong were their feelings that they began to act like children. Most of the women threw kisses to the soldiers, while tears of joy streamed (145)

down their cheeks; and most of the men were dancing and singing and throwing their caps on the road.

By parades like this and by the conversations which take place during and after them in front of the children, patriotic sentiment is implanted in them and blooms and bears fruit. Such is the case with the development of the other fine qualities.

The backwardness of the Egyptian is really an outgrowth of his being deprived of this first step. With us the child grows like a weed, and no one in his family is concerned with anything except feeding and clothing him. They look after him just as anyone would look after a pet. After that, anything built upon such a foundation is built upon sand and will soon collapse in ruins.

In short, home-training has two parts: training the mind, that is, directing the intellectual capacities of the human being toward the discovery of universal truths; and training the spirits, that is, directing his will toward goodness and channelling his perceptions toward the beautiful. Both of them are necessary for the happiness of the human being. The source of mental training is libraries and schools; spiritual training is acquired only within the family. It is not possible to acquire it in the family unless the mother has been the first one to (146) administer it. Nor could the mother administer it unless she were very advanced, mentally and morally. We have said, therefore, that if Egyptians wish to advance, they must strive to advance the status of the Egyptian woman.

It is regrettable that Egyptians do not yet understand this fact completely at a time when the Muslims of India have advanced in their thinking and, through their studies, have reached an awareness of the role

of women in the social body and comprehend the importance of her function. Two men stand out among their greatest men: Amīr 'Alī al-Qāḍī (see pt. I, pp. 97-98) and 'Ināya Ḥusayn.

The former published a splendid article on the subject of women in Islam, translated in the journal, Al-Muqtataf, in its issues of June-July, 1899. Random excerpts follow:

"No yardstick measures the advance of nations better than the position of the women there. If the Muslims of India wish to advance, they must give back to the women the high standing which was hers at (147) the emergence of Islam." ...

"From the history of modern Russia, there has been sufficient proof of the relationship of the material and non-material progress of nations to the place of the woman there. Russian noblewomen remained secluded until the beginning of the eighteenth century, living indoors -- nay, imprisoned -- where no light or fresh air entered. The curtain was drawn over her small window, and her doors secured by padlocks, to which the keys were kept in the father's or husband's pocket. When he wanted to move them from one place to another, they traveled in litters, curtained and veiled, just like the women of India. When the women were unshackled and caught up with men in knowledge and in culture and became pillars of the community, Russia became one of the greatest countries on earth." ...

"Knowledge's sun rose in the East and traveled West. From it we must absorb light and to everyone who tries to elevate the status of our women be thankful, but God does not change a people's hearts until they change what is in themselves." ...

"Inevitably, someone will ask: 'Did the caliph's womenfolk and (148) other women come out encased in shrouds as do Eastern townswomen today? It seems to me that they used to wear only a porous veil (niqāb) covering their faces, like the yashmak now worn by the women of Istanbul. It hides the wrinkles of old age and reveals the beauty of youth. The burqa (full-length veil exposing only the eyes), complete with wishāh (scarf), niqāb (porous face veil), and khimār (head veil) appeared only toward the end of the Seljuk period. Confinement in purda, in the form now current with the Muslims of India and of other countries, was unknown in those times, and upperclass women used to appear in front of men unveiled." ...

"The Arabs employed eunuchs in the time of Mu^ʿawiya, adopting that from Rome, and borrowed the harem system in the time of the Ummayad Walīd II. Mutawakkil -- the Nero of the Arabs -- ordered the separation of the women from the men at banquets and public celebrations, but women continued to mix with men until the end of the sixth century of the hijra,⁴⁴ receiving guests and attending social gatherings and going to war clad (149) in armor and helping their brothers and their husbands defend fortresses and strongholds." ...

"And when, in the middle of the seventh century, the role of the caliphs diminished and the Tatars demolished the hegemony of the Arab governments, the ʿulāma⁴⁵ undertook to debate whether it was proper for women to show their hands and feet."

The latter (ʿInāya Husayn) gave a lecture at the Islamic Cultural Society in Madras, India, which was translated in the July 14, 1900, issue

⁴⁴The sixth century A.H. is approximately equivalent to the thirteenth century A.D.

⁴⁵ʿUlāma, religious authorities.

of Al-Mu'ayyad. Exerpts from it are as follows:

"We have another very important topic which I feel compelled to discuss and to examine in all of its ramifications, since no nation will advance nor any state be erected except by doing so; and this topic is the upbringing of girls. If you are not convinced, gentlemen, that women and men are twins, working in the community, and that they either stand together or fall together; then there is no route to advancement, no way to progress or success, nor can we say that the basis of our nation rests on firm supports or is solidly built. Remember that the child is the father of the man and that, when mothers are illiterate, they (150) cannot illuminate the minds of their children with the ethical and educational fundamentals, develop their intellects, or strengthen their bodies with sound hygiene. Therefore, we shall remain, as a nation, forever in the back row."

Look at what men of jurisprudence and learning in India are writing and at what our jurisprudents and authors have written, where they have said that the woman has no role in the advancement of nations and that it is not necessary for her to learn anything except such divine precepts as are necessary for her religious observances or to be permitted to learn how to read and write. All of them have started to warn people to veil her more securely and to caution them away from traveling the path to perfection which we have indicated on the pretext that it is an imitation of Western customs, and they are instilling the delusion that Westerners themselves are unhappy about the condition of their women!

We have shown in detail the social reasons because of which one must heed the role of the woman and bring her out of the interdiction under which she has fallen for many long years. We have demonstrated that

she is morally self-controlled and ethically self-restrained, that she is the one to encourage the nations along the path of good or evil, and that she cannot be good at performing this social function unless she (151) is very intelligent, educated, and moral.

We say this despite some of the things we have read about Western woman and despite some of the things we know about her. We do not see any hindrance to traveling that path which the Western nations took ahead of us, because we observe that Westerners show their cultural progress day by day and we see that the countries in which women enjoy their freedom and all of their rights are those who travel like a beacon in front of the other nations and guide them on the route of cultural excellence. From another aspect we see that all of the nations which have lowered the status of their women are in a state of extreme weakness and are thereby at the same stage of development or at closely related stages among which there appears no dissimilarity despite the differences in climate and the variations of races and creeds.

This is to be observed taking place under our eyes, and no intelligent person can dispute it.

As for their claim that Europeans are unhappy about the condition of their women or complain about some of their demands, that is another (152) subject beyond our scope here. The women's responsibility which is the subject of investigation in our country is different from their responsibility as described by some Western authors. We in this country demand the woman be given back her physical freedom and be awarded her legal (shar'iyya) rights, be educated and be enabled to perform her household functions. No Westerner would argue with us over this demand, no matter how low the stage of his intelligence or his sensibilities.

Some Western writers may, instead, complain of some women's abuse of their freedom and of their demand for equality with men in political rights.

To use the ideas of these writers as proof to refute us is dishonesty and a mistaking of one subject for another, since everybody can distinguish between discovering the right way and getting it to operate well.

Freedom of the press here and in certain European countries has been so abused that everyone is unhappy about it. No intelligent man, however, seeks to claim it necessary to suppress opinions, because such a remedy would be worse than the disease. (153)

The reasons on which our writers base their opinion about the interdiction on the freedom of women are the very reasons which Eastern governments have adopted to deprive their people of freedom of speech, writing, and action; which have misled the later Muslims into locking the gate of ijtihād (independent judgment) upon harmonizing the edicts of religion and the needs of the people in all different places and times without departing from the general principles which the Qur'ān and the authentic Sunna⁴⁶ established; which have prompted our fathers to use harsh and ruthless methods in bringing up their children; and which have brought about, not long ago, our laws imposing a tariff for merchants by which they establish the price of meat, vegetables, butter, and most of what is sold and bought in the marketplaces.

The source of all that is the concern to stop the evils which appear in some human situations, while neglecting to retain the good. One of the reasons for this neglect may be that the beneficial aspects in human

⁴⁶Sunna, the practices of the Prophet Muhammad.

situations -- the good side of them -- are usually hidden to the superficial observer; but the bad aspects are usually apparent to everyone, (154) because they assume the form of crimes and atrocities from which the mind recoils. The objector's first aim is to erase this influence by any means. The handiest and easiest means at the outset of the affair is harshness and severity.

But the thinking man, if he has reflected on the matter, finds that the course of humanity has special laws by which one must abide, for the growth of life and the achievement of its potentials, whether in individuals or in communities, and that every infringement of these laws has a bad influence and is very harmful to the individual and to the social body.

Once this has been established, denying the woman her freedom is the greatest infringement of the laws of her mental and moral growth. Reliance on depriving the woman of her freedom out of fear of the damage caused by abuse of this right may perhaps be beneficial in preventing some women from doing anything to cause this damage, but it is certain that, along with this specific temporary benefit, it brings permanent damage and is a hindrance to the growth of the gifts of the feminine sex as a whole.

In sum, we are not afraid to speak about the necessity of giving our women their rights in regard to freedom of thought and action after strengthening their minds through education, even if it were certain that they would pass through all the stages which Western women have gone through and are going through, because we are confident that all the demands which the women of the West are aspiring to these days are not matters which would be difficult to resolve or because of which there would be

lasting anxiety; the future will take care of them. In all fairness, perhaps a questioner may ask where these stages through which women are moving will end. The answer is that that is an undisclosed secret which it is no one's power to know. Just as we are ignorant of what men's condition will be after a hundred years, so are we unable to know what woman's condition will be after this length of time has passed. However, we are sure of one thing; humanity is marching along the path of perfection. Beyond that, we have only to find the procession and to take our place in it.

Even if there were nothing wrong with veiling apart from the fact that it is a denial of human freedom and that it has gone so far as to make it impossible for the woman to enjoy the rights given her by the Shari'ah and by man-made laws; as to put her in the category of a minor, unable to attend to any transaction by herself, although, in the management of her day-to-day affairs, the Shar' recognizes that she is equally as competent as the man; as to make her a prisoner, although the law considers her as free as the man -- if there were nothing wrong with veiling except this, it alone would be hateful enough and repugnant enough to every nature in which is implanted the capacity to respect rights and to perceive the sweetness of freedom. Much more harmful than all of this, however, is that veiling interferes with the woman's achieving her education.

If it has been established that woman's education is an indispensable necessity, then what is the education which suits her best? Does it suit her best to be educated like the man or to be recognized (157) as having other special educational demands? Is her education possible with the veil, or is its abolition inescapable? Should it be worked out on principles adopted from modern Western disciplines, or should it hark back to the fundamentals of the old Islamic culture?

These questions are basic to a consideration of education and the veil. In the past year, research and debate about it have been in progress among many writers, and now we wish to express our views about it as clearly as possible.

On the first question: we do not find it proper that the women's education fall short of the man's.

From the point of view of physical education, the woman is as in need of good health as the man. She must, therefore, take regular exercise, just as Western women do who join their male relatives in most sports. She must get used to that from early youth and continue it, uninterrupted, unless in poor health or exposed to illness. That is because natural laws decree the necessity of balance between what the (158) body absorbs and what is discharged with the result that, if this balance is upset, the health will have become unsettled and its regime upset. Illnesses which afflict the human being because of his failure to use his physical powers are no fewer or less harmful than those which strike someone who has used up his strength and has not made up the loss by proper nourishment. The woman may experience more pain and difficulties during childbirth, at one time, than the man experiences throughout his entire life. It is intolerable for women except those with strong constitutions and sound bodies, like the village women, who are accustomed to physical labor in fresh air. As for urban women, deprived of exercise and the enjoyment of sun and air, they do not have the ability to bear these difficulties and, therefore, many of them live as invalids after their first confinement or, often, die therein. More than thirty per cent of them have died in childbirth.

Just as it is necessary to guard the health of the woman in order to insure her against death and illness, it is also necessary to guard her health out of a concern for the health of her children and to guard (159) them against ailments. For whatever the mother's constitution is subject to and whatever predisposition it has for illness is transmitted to the children through inheritance.

From the point of view of moral training, since nature has selected the woman and delegated her to preserve the morals of the species, it has handed over to her the reins of morality and left them in her charge. It is she who molds their minds, when they are innocent and formless, and then shapes them according to the patterns of moral character. She disseminates that moral character among her children, and then they transmit it to whoever comes into contact with them. It becomes a characteristic of the nation, after having been a characteristic of the family; just as it became a characteristic of the family, after having been a characteristic of the mother. This demonstrates to us that the good mother does a greater service to her species than does the good man, and the bad mother does more harm to it than the bad man does. Perhaps this is the reason it has always been inculcated into people that, if a woman is party to an immoral action, it degrades her more than it demeans the man involved and that virtuousness raises the woman's prestige in a way that it does not raise the man's.

We have still to discuss another kind of training; namely, intellectual training. This training consists of studying the sciences and (160) the arts, and the goal at which it is aimed is that the human being know something about the essence of existence and where he fits in; so that, after he has gotten to know that as it really is, he can direct his actions toward whatever will turn out beneficially for him, enjoy the delights of learning, and lead a happy life.

The woman is like the man to an equal extent in needing to take advantage of knowledge and to enjoy its delights. They do not differ in longing to delve into the wonders of existence and to dwell upon its mysteries in order to learn its beginning, its enduring qualities, and its end.

No matter what the main occupation of the woman, married or single, with children or without, she should find some time to cultivate her mind and to improve herself. Had our women today set aside for study one-tenth of the time which they spent in idleness and in empty discussion and arguments, Egypt would have made breathtaking advances thanks to them.

The woman will not obtain the desired amount of intellectual training by learning reading, writing, and foreign languages. She needs (161) also to learn the fundamentals of the natural, social, and historical sciences, so that she may grasp the integral laws to which cosmic movements and human circumstances revert; just as she needs to learn the rudiments of the laws of hygiene and of the functions of the bodily organs, so that she can train her children effectively.

The importance of this training is not to cram her brain with subject matter, but to stimulate the woman's mind to seek after the truth, so that, when her schooling has ended, her desire for truth will continue and she will forever be moved and enriched by it.

In addition to that, the girl should study nutrition and home economics.

Here, one must take a look at the need for concern over cultivating the woman's taste and over fostering her natural bent for fine arts. I am sure that many readers will disapprove of teaching girls music and drawing because some among them believe that there is nothing useful in engaging in those arts and some among them consider them indecorous and (162) indignified amusements. The result of this erroneous impression has been a downgrading of these arts in our country to the extent that everyone who has known how beneficial they are in improving living conditions is in a state of despair over it.

The art of painting and drawing is no less beneficial than science, because, though science gives us a comprehension of the truth, this art endears it to us by showing it to us in the most perfect form which the artist can imagine and thereby awakens in us the yearning for perfection. Perfection is something which our intellect grasps, but it does not cut beneath our senses. Therefore, it is impossible for us to conceive it unless it has become tangible in front of us in an agreeable form which we experience. When we have seen it in this form, we become devoted to it. The more skillful the artist has been in his art and the more proficient he has been in his craft, the closer his work has come to perfection and the more one leans toward it, marvels at it, and enjoys it emotionally.

The art of music is equally meritorious, for it is a most eloquent language, which gives expression to what is in our innermost thoughts, and the sweetest thing to come to our ears. One of the best descriptions of it is the statement of Plato:

"Music arouses the apathetic. By it, thought is elevated and the (163) imagination lifted. It scatters joy and gladness in the soul, lifts it out of base habits, and turns it toward beauty and perfection. It is one of the educators of mankind."

This is the training which we would like girls to have. We have stated it in general terms, because space does not permit us to state it in detail. This is the perfect education, which makes it easy for the woman to integrate her many different duties. It equips her to be a self-sustaining human being; a wife, able to obtain for her family the requisites of tranquility; and a mother, competent to train her children.

By the time the girl has been trained to take the necessary measures to develop her physical powers and her mental faculties, she will have reached the age of fourteen or fifteen. What should she do then? How should she live? Should she be secluded in her house and be denied association with men, or should the freedom to do that be given her? This is the subject of inquiry in dealing with the second and third problems. We shall discuss them together because of their interrelationship.

The opinion of the critics of Tahrīr al-Mar'a is that we have (164) been radical on the question of veiling and that we have suggested by removing it imitation of Western customs. They have claimed that the veil does not necessarily degrade the woman and that it does her no harm, and therefore they have deemed it necessary to retain and preserve it. They have said that what lowers the woman's status is merely her lack of education; and, if she were well educated, she could, though veiled, better carry out her duties.

But, after we have scrutinized all that has been said or written about this matter, we hold to our opinion, and reexamination serves only to increase our confidence in the soundness of our belief.

We see no cause for disagreement between us and our examiners except a difference in understanding the meaning of education. They believe that education is book-learning, and that is accomplished, in their view, by the child's attending school for a specified number of years. The goal of his effort there is to attain a diploma; and, when he has gotten this piece of parchment, which some French wits call a "sheep-skin", he is considered to have reached the utmost limit in science and in culture. In contrast to the opinion they have expressed, we believe that education

does not consist of attending school and obtaining a diploma, but (165) that everything which the youngster learns there in his elementary school days is preparation for perfecting his mind and character.

That is because the youngster of fourteen or fifteen does not know anything about science but general theories and overall problems, which he memorizes in short paragraphs. No matter whether these theorems are scientific or cultural, they are worthless except by being shown in practice. That is through observations and experiments which define the sphere of their application and the boundary which separates one from the others and which show the conditions in which they are relevant and their useful and harmful aspects. These applications are the only means to understand the fundamentals as they really are. If they are lacking, these fundamentals are only empty phrases.

For example, it would not occur to an intelligent man to put himself in the hands of a doctor on the day of his graduation from school or to select a lawyer to defend him on the day he obtains his diploma since he has not been in practice long enough.

The same is the case with ethics and morals. Nothing is easier (166) for the human being than to learn the advantages of curbing his appetites and of self-conquest, but nothing is harder to do than actually to achieve it. For the human being to conquer his passion and put it under the rule of the intellect demands great will-power, and this will-power is not obtained by putting up material obstacles between him and imperfections or by merely filling his mind with moral principles; it is born instead out of being exposed to events as they come along and getting accustomed to combating and mastering them.

Repetition of actions, observation of events, and experience of affairs, mixing with people and being in touch with them, and tribulations -- all of these things are sources for knowledge and for sound morals. Through them, high-mindedness is developed until they reach the highest degrees, and before them mean-mindedness is vanquished and sinks to the lowest levels.

In this context, Spencer⁴⁷ has said in his discussion of intellectual training:

"Nothing is to be gained from training which makes the human being a repository for the ideas of others, because words put down in books (167) can be meaningful only in relation to actual experience."

Edmund DuMoulin (A D M Ū N D I M U L A N) has said in his discussion of moral training as translated by my friend Ahmad Fathī Bāshā Zaghlūl:

"The order of events and the course of existence lead us to the discovery that the nations in which the aspiration of the human being has reached its highest degree and which are the sanctuary of sound moral life are where character is established and commendable acts are preserved. Illustrative of the fact that moral influence enables the man to control himself and to master his passion is that no course of study in which the man is taught self-control and self-mastery is more effective than the religious life, in which he is taught to rely only upon himself. Nor does any education win more hearts than that life, for it is what guides

⁴⁷Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), English philosopher of the great scientific movement of the second half of the 19th century; tried to express in a general formula the belief in progress which pervaded his age and to erect it into the supreme law of the universe; evolutionist and friend of Darwin and Huxley. He was greatly admired by 'Abduh, who visited him in England and who translated his work on 'Education' into Arabic from a French version. (See Pt. I, pp. 115-116.)

the man to the essential life. It is nature's school which makes 'him realize how to endure hardships and disasters. It is the easiest to come by and the most widespread and exacting. Those are obligations which have a greater effect on minds than the sermons of preachers and the advice of wise men and perceptors whose words go in one ear and (168) out the other. That is because actions speak louder than words."^{48a}

Experimentation is the basis of knowledge and of true education, The veil prevents the woman from drawing on this valuable source, because the woman who lives imprisoned in her house and who sees the world only from openings in the walls or from between the curtains of the carriage and who does not walk unless she is -- as the amīr said to the qādī -- "swathed in a shroud", cannot be an active, perceptive human being, familiar with people's circumstances and able to live among them.

It is not enough to take the Egyptian women out of this artificial life, of which all complain, so that she may remain a few years in school and then transfer from it to a house in which she is secluded for the rest of her life. Instead, she must continue to have a concern for her body and for her mind after school, and we must let her participate in our normal life. We must put our hand in hers and travel over the earth with her, showing her the wonders of the universe and the subtleties of manmade things, the fine points of the arts, the mounments of times gone by, and the discoveries of the present time. She must share our thoughts and our hopes, our joys and our sorrows. She must attend our councils (169) and benefit from the character and thought and study displayed there, while benefiting us by prompting us to watch our deportment and discipline our speech.

^{48a} Ahmad Faḥmī Zaghlūl, trans., Ṭaḡaddum al-Anklīz al-Saksūnī (Advance of the Anglo-Saxons) by Edmund Lamulin, Cairo, 1899.

An opponent says: "We think you want to improve the Egyptian woman's condition by inducing her to imitate the Western woman. Are you not dishonoring our ancient culture, of which the secluding of women is a reflection of the very foundations? Are there noble souls who are swayed by remembrance of ancient glory? Cast a scientific glance at its foundations, you will realize that it is the true glory toward which we must journey toward determinedly and which will one day be shown to the entire world to be the essence of perfection which the human being should swear by and the psychic forces seek out."

This objection may, perhaps, be pleasant for the reader to hear, because of the elegance of its phrasing; or, perhaps, it may be attractive to him because it appeals to the instinctive tendency found in every human being to be devoted to the ways of the fathers and grandfathers. It would be more proper not to let phrasing affect us to an extent which makes us forget the truth. It is up to us to make preparations to battle the power of inherited customs, whenever we fear that they will rob us of our willpower and of our free choice. Devotion to deeply rooted usages needs no provocation or invitation, because it is (170) a condition which is inherent in the soul, which it grabs by its harness and then tries to claim completely away from its owner. What, instead, needs to be desired and encouraged is to get rid of a damaging past and to embrace a beneficial future. Were it possible for us to make such preparations, one of the most important things incumbent upon us would be to take the old Islamic culture into consideration and to refer to it, not in order to make a carbon copy of it and to follow its example indiscriminately, but in order to weight that culture on the scales of

reason and to contemplate the causes of the rise of the Islamic nation and the causes of its deterioration and to extract from that a principle on which we would be able to erect a structure by which we would benefit today and in times to come.

The Islamic religion appeared in Arabia among tribes who were living in a state of nomadism; that is, in a lower social system. It produced among them a religious cohesion, subjected them to a unified leadership, and established for them a law which supplanted the customs to which they had adhered in their conduct from time immemorial. When it ordered them to embark on a crusade (jihād), they undertook to make war on other nations and triumphed over them; not because they excelled their neighboring nations in scientific and industrial knowledge, but (171) because of the spirit of unity which Islam aroused in them, together with their innate predisposition for combat. When they came in contact with Egyptians, Syrians, Persians, Chinese, Indians, and others, they found in those nations a high level of scientific and industrial and artistic knowledge and derived profit from them, adapting most of them to their own idiom and permitting the conquered peoples to further their development as much as they wished. From that emerged an intellectual awakening -- as is the case with nations following any well-motivated upheaval -- which has continued for almost four centuries.

Upon these two bases the Islamic city was built; the religious basis, which made of the Arab tribes one nation, subject to one ruler and to one law, and the scientific basis, by which the nationality and morality of the Islamic nation were advanced as far as it was possible for them to go at that time.

But, since science was then in its infancy and its principles (172) were formed out of conjecture, largely unconfirmed by any experimentation

at all, the authority of science was weak alongside the authority of religion and the jurists gained ascendancy over the scientists, keeping a close watch on them and plunging themselves into scientific problems and pointing out their shortcomings. Since they did not approach these problems in the right way or make an effort to understand them, they set about giving the Qur'ān and the body of tradition (ḥadīth) an interpretation from which they might devise proof of the wrongness of scientific beliefs. They persuaded people that it was evil to think about them and continued to discredit scientists and to accuse them of atheism (zandaqat) and blasphemy (kufr) until everyone avoided the study of science or gave it up and ended by being convinced that all the fields of knowledge were false except the fields of religious knowledge. Moreover, they went too far in their religion and went to such extremes in their thinking that they claimed religious learning itself must stop at a point, beyond which no one would be permitted to go. They then established that what certain jurists had set down was the eternal truth with which no one was permitted to disagree, just as if they believed it to be one of the principles of religion that the doors of God's grace are closed to the entirety of His people.

This controversy which arose between men of religion and men of science -- I am not saying "between religion and science" -- is not (173) peculiar to the Islamic nations; something similar occurred in the European nations. Although the latter have inherited the sciences of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs and have received them in an almost complete form, it has not taken Europe long to discover the essential principles of these sciences. She drew out of them in two hundred years what others had not drawn out of them in thousands of years. Scientific

discoveries have been continuous; some pulling others along, some giving impetus to others. Among them are the discovery of the laws of the movement of the universe; of the refraction and speed of light and of how sounds are formed and their speed and the shape of their vibrations. She has learned the nature of heat: how the earth was formed; its true shape; how its layers were put together; how the procession of epochs affected it and its inhabitants; the kinds of changes which befell it; and the stages through which it evolved from the time it was a fiery lump until the human species appeared upon it after all the other species. They then recognized the laws of life: the functions of the circulatory system, of the respiratory system, and of the digestive system; the special properties of the faculties of reason; and how the organs of (174) the body are formed, how they are sustained, and how they become consumed. They corrected and completed the principles of chemistry and of natural science.

From these discoveries, writers and philosophers took what they needed to teach the human being where he came from, where he has been going, and what his future is; and they laid the foundation for the ethical, social, and political sciences.

With the revelation of these truths, science built up a solid structure which no intelligent man could think about tearing down. Therefore, after controversy and strife, men of science gained ascendancy over men of religion in Europe and in the end science gained an authority which all people acknowledged.

Since Islamic civilization began and ended before the wraps were removed from the principles of science, as we have shown, how could we believe that this civilization was a "model of human perfection"? We

think it important that we do not fail to give our forefathers their due and that we do not belittle their importance, but we also think it important that we do not deceive ourselves by fancying that they brought civilization to the ultimate of perfection, beyond which there is nothing further. We are seekers of the truth. When we have stumbled upon it, we have discussed it openly, no matter how painful it is for the reader (175) to hear. Therefore, we think it our duty to say that it is incumbent upon every Muslim to study Islamic civilization and to be informed about its outward forms and to its inward leadings, because it includes many of the foundations of our present condition. It is incumbent upon him to marvel at it because it is a work by which humanity has benefited and by which it completed what was lacking from it in certain phases. But many of the outward forms of this civilization cannot be incorporated into the organization of our contemporary social life.

From the point of view of the sciences, the matter has been clarified by what was stated previously.

From the point of view of political organizations, no matter how detailed our study of history, we find that the people of those times had nothing which would merit the term "organization". The form of their government consisted of a caliph or a sultān, unfettered by law, surrounded by unbridled officials. The ruler and his agents carried out their administration according to their will. If they were good, they referred to the principles of justice as much as possible. If they were otherwise, they exceeded the bounds of justice and treated the people unjustly. There was nothing inherent in the organization which forced them back to the principles of the Shari'a.

It may perhaps be said that the caliph was appointed after the (176) individuals of the nation acknowledged him as leader and that this indicates that the authority of the caliph derived from the populace who were sovereign. We do not deny this, but this authority, which the populace enjoyed only a few minutes, was a verbal authority. In reality, the caliph was the sole sovereign. It was he who declared war, concluded peace, levied taxes, promulgated laws, and administered the interests of the nation arbitrarily. He did not think it incumbent upon him to give anyone a share in his command.

It is strange that Muslims, in all the eras of their civilization, never reached the level of the Greeks or went as far as the Romans from the point of view of setting up organizations necessary to maintain the interests and freedom of the nation. Those nations had had representative councils and political assemblies in which they participated with the ruler in administering their affairs.

Stranger than this is that the Muslim commanders (amīrs) and jurists did not think of setting up laws spelling out what acts they felt merited punishment and defining appropriate punishments. In addition, they left the right of pardon up to the ruler to dispense of however he wished, despite the fact that the enumeration of crimes (177) and punishments is one of the primary principles of justice.

There is no need for me to say that they knew nothing of the political, social, or economic sciences, for these sciences are of recent date. If a stickler wished to verify that, he has only to leaf through

Al-Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldūn,⁴⁹ the only book which sets forth the social principles of the Muslims. He would realize that most of the principles on which he draws for support are not devoid of error. He would be particularly astonished to realize that in this book, which professes to analyze the social problems, not one word is mentioned about the family which is the basis of every social body. If their political situation was just as you see, what is it that we are asked to borrow from it?

Similarly if we looked at their family situation, we would find it devoid of any organization, since the man, in contracting his marriage, met all requirements by being in front of two witnesses, could divorce his wife for no reason or for a very feeble reason, and could marry a number of women without taking into account the restrictions of the Qur'an. All that was and has continued until now to be an accepted thing, (178) with no philosophers or jurists thinking of setting up an organization which would prevent the damage caused by a loosely bound family. The least they should have done to alleviate this inequity would have been to determine, for example, that divorce and marriage and remarriage must take place in front of a legally appointed official so that these important matters do not remain a subject for uncertainty, open to vagueness, and fraught with controversy and discord.

How far is this chaos from the systems and laws which Europeans set up to emphasize the matrimonial bonds and family relationships? How

⁴⁹ Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406), historian and philosopher, born in Tunis of a Spanish Arab family. His fame rests on his Muqaddima, in which he presented for the first time a theory of historical development which takes into consideration the physical facts of climate and geography as well as the moral and spiritual forces at work. With his formulation of laws of national progress and decay, he may be considered the founder of the science of sociology. (Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, London, 1946, pp. 567-568.)

far is this from Greek and Roman laws which at no stage of their development overlook the importance of the family and its role in the social body? Can any of this be applied to the improvement of our situation today?

We have still to consider Islamic civilization from the point of view of ethics. Our contemporaries believe that Muslims of long ago possessed all sorts of "sound moral accomplishments," but it is an unwarranted belief or, at least, exaggerated.

From the point of view of ethical principles, it is certain that (179) the Muslims brought no new principle to the world. Before the Muslims, there were such peoples as the Jews, the Christians, the Buddhists, the Chinese, the Egyptians, and others: Those peoples acknowledged these principles, their writings contained them, and they were revealed to some of them as part of heavenly inspiration.

From the point of view of Muslims acting in conformity with these ethical principles, history bears witness to the fact that no era was without good and bad, beauty and ugliness. Information about the Arabs has reached us as recorded in historical and literary writings, and their morals and their behaviorisms have been laid bare to us. We have read their poetry, their proverbs, and their songs and have found no time span devoid of poor ethics and corrupt morals and base natures. We have seen the Arab government, from right after the death of the Prophet until the end of its days, wracked by internal dissension born out of mutual hatreds, malice, and greed, even in times when the government was engaged in waging wars against other nations. We have seen one of the sons of 'Alī marry more than a hundred women so that his father was compelled to warn (180) people not to let him marry their daughters. We have seen men who were opposed to allowing women in the street, but who glanced furtively at

them from chinks in the wall. We have seen some of their amīrs and their grandees who drank so much wine that they did not know what they were saying in social gatherings attended by female slaves who entertained those present with songs. We have seen among their poets him who begged for alms and extended his hand in supplication for nourishment from the bounties of amīrs and rich men and him who praised and extolled himself to the brink of madness or who wrote odes to young boys or who lampooned his rival with obscene phrases and shocking language, too shameful to imagine, let alone pronounce. We have seen some of their historians who falsified history and some of their faqīhs who improvised hadīths and used them for personal aims.

What former period of time has been so free from defects that one could truly say: "It is a model of human perfection"? We must not search for human perfection in the past; if God wishes to vouchsafe it to His servants, it will be only in the very remote future.

One of the strangest things to haunt the human mind is the thought (181) that the time in which it lives is on a lower level of perfection than the time which preceded it. The origin of that is that sons are brought up to respect their fathers and to attach great importance to everything which emanates from them. To them, perfection is whatever they have found their fathers doing. It becomes increasingly fixed in their minds by the fact that fathers always disapprove of what is unfamiliar to them in whatever their sons undertake. They cannot change themselves. So the solicitude of the sons and the conceit of the fathers are each of them helping the other to downgrade the present and to worship the past.

If what they assert is true, the most perfect human being is the first of his species to exist and degeneration has continued age after age

until this very day and the human being will end up becoming a dumb animal, despite the fact that it has been established that, for eons, the human race was at the lowest level of humanity and then rose by degrees until it reached such a high degree that it has a right to be proud of it.

When it has been established that the old Islamic civilization is other than what is engrained in the imagination of writers who have described it as they would like it to have been, not as it really was, (182) and ascertained that it was deficient in many aspects, thereafter it will be all the same to us whether the veiling of women was one of its principles or not and whether it is true that, in the days of the caliphate of Baghdād and Andalusia, women attended the social gatherings of the men or not. For it has proven true that veiling is a custom impracticable in our day.

We do not think it strange that Islamic civilization was mistaken in understanding the woman's nature or in establishing her worth. Its mistake about that was no greater than its mistake in many other matters.

It goes without saying that, in our discussion of Islamic civilization, we do not intend to judge it from the point of view of religion, but from the point of view of the sciences, the arts, industries, ethics, and customs, which constitute the social framework pertinent to it. That is because the religious factor is not alone in having an influence upon the makeup of that social framework; for, despite the amount of the sultān's power over morals therein, it can only result in having an influence commensurate to the level of mentality and morality of the peoples who went before.

What I believe is that our being so subservient to the past is (183) one of the conceits which we must all rise up to combat, because it is a

tendency which leads us into decline and regression. I cannot find any cause for the persistence of this tendency in ourselves except our feelings that we are weak people, incapable of instituting the special set of circumstances which would adapt us to our times and which could be of sound benefit to us. This is a form of dependence upon others, just as if each of us said to himself: "Stop thinking and working and caring. Relax; it is not possible to achieve anything better than what has been."

This is the malady which we must make haste to cure. The only remedy for it is for us to bring up our children to recognize the significance of Western culture and to grasp its principles, its ramifications, and its effects.

If that time came -- and we hope it is not far off, the truth would be unveiled before our eyes as radiant as the sun. We would appreciate the value of Western civilization and be certain that it is impossible to achieve any improvement in our situation, if it is not based on modern contemporary sciences, and that human situations, no matter how they differ, either materially or morally, are subject to the supremacy of science. (184)

Therefore we see that civilized nations, despite their differences of race, language, nationality, and religion, are very much alike in the form of their government, bureaucracy, and courts, in their family organization, in their methods of education, speaking, writing, building, and traveling, and, moreover, in many of their ordinary customs such as clothing, greeting, and eating. From the point of view of science and industry, we find nothing to distinguish our nation from another except as to there being more or less of it.

From this it is clear that the effect of civilization is to steer humanity along a single path and that the source of the dissimilarity which is observable among uncivilized nations or among those which have not yet

achieved a given level of civilization is that those nations have not yet found the way to set up their social situation according to scientific principles.

This is what has made us "hold up the Europeans as examples" and recommend imitating them and what has prompted us to "draw attention to the European woman".

On this question of demarcating the rights and education of the woman, I have made a great effort to find out the opinion of the Muslim (185) savants, ancient and modern, but I have found nothing. One of my friends has reminded me of the book which the Hon. Shaykh Ḥamza Faṭḥ Allah, superintendent in the Ministry of Education, wrote, and I have read it from beginning to end and have found it contains everything but that for the sake of which it was written. It is surprising that those who take a dim view of our admiration of Europeans have all, "The Azhar Shaykh" among them, been compelled to quote, in refutation of us, the opinions of European savants and writers, both men and women.

If from among them anyone would say that I am uninformed about what Muslims have written and unacquainted with their fields of study, I would not dispute him in this. I would, however, rejoice and my heart be filled with delight to see an Islamic book, old or new, which included the rights of the woman and the obligations she incurs as a woman, wife, mother, and citizen. If anyone who claims that I am uninformed and unread brought me a book such as this, I would heap praise and gratitude upon him.

Thinking men among us will say: "We admit that European culture (186) is sound and good and beneficial in respect to the sciences, which it has assimilated, advanced, and applied; but it is unsound, bad, and harmful in respect to the morals and ethics which have accompanied it every place it has gone."

They acknowledge that Westerners are more advanced than we in sciences, arts, and industries, and they acknowledge that their knowledge has enabled them to direct their activities toward obtaining advantages for themselves by superior means leading to happiness in this world; but, when they have seen or heard about how some of them treat others and especially how their men treat their women, their judgment of them has altered totally and they have refused to understand its context and declared that they were inferior to us ethically. This belief appears to be universal with us, as anyone can observe who reads the newspaper or who pays attention to the discussions circulating among people. It is a belief of which the cause is not difficult for us to explain.

That is, we concede the precedence of the Westerners over us in science and in industry, because we see its influences surrounding us (187) on all sides. Wherever we turn, we see its influence in evidence. We see it at home, in what we eat and drink and wear and in all the household utensils and furnishings. We see it in school, while we learn, and in the institutions around which revolve all the roots and branches of our administration and of our government. We see it in the streets in the design of the deluxe buildings, the department stores, the well-planned gardens, and the clean streets on which carriages and steam and electric motor cars travel. In sum, we see all the time and everywhere material proof in the face of which we can only admit that we lag far behind Westerners in scientific and industrial knowledge.

It is as if we wanted to blot out the shame which overcomes us from this admission and to avenge ourselves, but have found no way of doing it except to claim that we are superior to them in ethics and that if they have outstripped us in material and outward things, we have already outstripped them in spiritual and inward things.

It has been easy for us to make this claim stick, because precedence in material things is something which is tangible and its denial is impossible. Precedence in non-material things can only be grasped (188) by the intellect. Not every human being can comprehend it, and the bigot in his absence of perceptivity finds grounds for rejection. The bigot may be supported in his bigotry by what he sees or hears about Western countries of the abundance of places of entertainment and burlesque shows and other such bad habits of which Westerners themselves wash their hands and by the proliferation of which they are pained. The more intelligent of them try to eradicate or to curtail them, and they regret that their attempts fail to achieve what they want. We have taken advantage of the existence of such defects and have built up from them an argument to confirm our claim.

One of the things we hold against Westerners in regard to their morals is the unveiling of their women, their associating socially with men, their enjoyment of complete freedom, and men's deference for them. Most of us consider these customs causes for the spread of immorality among them and believe that none of their women approve of chastity and that all of their men are devoid of self-respect.

Since civilization's goal has been to instruct the mind, to purify it of vices, to keep it away from what is objectionable and harmful, and to spread virtuousness among people, we would have had the right to despise European civilization if our belief about it were correct. (189)

But is this belief correct?

As for ethics in the West being inferior to those in the East, it is a problem which our topic does not permit us to examine exhaustively; but we can present a discussion of it in a few sentences.

The old hostility which has continued for generations between the people of the East and the people of the West because of differences of religion was and is still a reason that the one has been ignorant of the circumstances of the other and that each has thought ill of the other. It has affected their minds so much that it has made them imagine things not as they really are. Nothing removes the human being from reality more than looking at it while in the grip of a strong emotion. For, if he has been sincere in his examination and devoted to unearthing the truth -- and it is rare to find such a one, his emotion will inevitably throw him off in his judgment and the least of its influences is that it embellishes for him whatever he is in accord with and is sympathetic toward; or else, he has been one of those for whom the truth is of no importance -- and they are the greater majority. They have undermined the truth by means of a screen of lies, biases, and errors made up of what their emotions lure them into, so that not one ray of truth penetrates the heart. (190

In addition to that, scientific training came into existence in the Western world only recently and is still lacking in the East. It is not easy for one deprived of this training to base his judgments upon sound premises, because the untrained man derives his judgment from emotion, not from reason. He does not approve of something because it conforms to the truth, he believes something conforms to the truth because he approves of it. This is just the opposite of someone accustomed to scientific research. His reason is not misled by his emotions. Whenever he has wished to take up a problem of natural science or of history, for example, he has gathered together all that has happened in connection with it, sorted the facts, and extracted from them the underlying principle, which he takes as a norm according to what he has inferred from the premises, proceeding therein only out of love of the truth. If it appeared to him

that he should devote himself to contemplating the condition of his neighbor or of his enemy, he would use the method he was used to, accept the conclusions it led to, and defer to them, even if they were contrary to what he desires.

Westerners have achieved a high level of training and many of (191) those for whom this training has been completed have devoted themselves to the study of the conditions of Easterners and Muslims and have written about their customs, their language, their influences, and their religion and have compiled valuable books in which they have deposited their ideas and the results of their study. They have commended what they have thought worthy of commendation and have condemned what they have thought worthy of condemnation, having in mind therein only to establish the truth and to state the facts. They may have happened upon what is correct or they may have been wrong about it. As for us, our people have not yet reached this amount of training. Therefore the judgment of our writers about these things has been shackled by passions and under the sway of emotion, habit, and custom. Anyone who has found a glimmer of the truth, a meaning in his intuition, has found, out of fear of censure, a curb on his tongue which prevents him from publicizing it; or dissimulation has prompted him to long-windedness in support of what he does not believe. If among them were found a man sincere in his intention to seek the truth and to proclaim it, his fate was to be accused of being devoid of patriotism and of being hostile toward religion and the religious community. The most moderate of them in disparaging him accuse him of vacillation and inconstancy, suspecting of him that the acknowledgment of the excellence of the foreigner is something which increases the foreigner's ambitious designs on us and that revealing our faults is something which occasions despair in our hearts. (192)

They have no excuse for such a judgment except that they have been in the habit of making judgments in this way. Nevertheless, they are wrong, because the reason for the ambitious designs of foreigners on us is not our acknowledgment of our inferiority. It is that inferiority itself, which the foreigner was aware of before we perceived it ourselves. They uncovered what our countries were doing five thousand years ago, informed themselves about the characteristics of Egyptians and about the details of their living conditions in the days of the pharaohs, and gathered a considerable body of facts about that time which would not yet have come to us without them; and few, indeed, are those of us who know it! It is no wonder that they knew about our present situation and its strengths and weaknesses ahead of us.

There is no danger that despair over our feelings of inferiority will overtake us, because despair is reserved for cases where it is impossible to save one's self from destruction, and this impossibility does not exist for us; particularly since nations do not stand still in the courses of their lives, but are subject to revolutions and changes and have periods of strength and of weakness, of adversity and of prosperity, succeeding one another, and they do not remain static. If adversity befalls them one day, they are quick to emerge from it by diligence (193) and hard work. Obviously, attention to improvement and perfection comes only after feelings of inadequacy. The nation which is not conscious of being behind other nations and of being deficient in achieving the goals of perfection which others have achieved is not provoked into progress and is not moved to realize any of those goals. Therefore, awakening the nation to its inadequacy and making it perceive its true rank among the rest of the nations is the first duty which one must perform. Similarly, the nation's perception of this inadequacy may be considered the first step along the path of progress.

Therefore, we do not hesitate to state that saying we are more advanced than Westerners in morals is tantamount to the songs mothers sing to lull their children to sleep.

The crux of the matter is that the proof of the Westerners' lead over us in this aspect does not rest upon material considerations, such as their lead in science and industry; instead, one is aware of it from associating with them and studying them from the outside and from the inside until one comprehends their level of ethical qualities.

Europeans are divided, like other nations, into three classes: (194) upper, middle, and lower. As for the lower class, the most it gets out of education is a knowledge of reading, writing, and a few of the rudiments of the sciences. In their personal morality, they are more corrupt than is our populace in its morality.

As for the upper class, it attains a large amount of intellectual training, but its absorption with wealth and leisure get the better of it. Carnal desires rule it. They specialize in pleasures, as serious people have specialized in inventiveness and craftsmanship.

The reason for this is that the culture in which they live makes it easy for them to gratify their carnal desires, and they find means to do that which we do not. They have excelled in inventing ways of enjoying themselves, and they have given them forms which win people over to them. Electricity, for example, which lights cities and transmits news and from which the farmer, the merchant, the craftsman, the traveler and the sick benefit, provides the lords of the underworld with services in a way which suits them. Thus, you see they have newspapers, books, and stage shows which cater to them, as well as lush estates and gigantic mansions. (195)

This perversion is something which Western culture sustains and endures because it cannot eradicate it. Since this culture is founded on personal freedom, it is compelled to accept the perniciousness inherent in this freedom because it knows that there is more good in it than bad.

The existence of this perversion in the West is but one of the natural corollaries of personal freedom and one of its consequences in the current ethical phase in which that country finds itself now.

No one doubts that, with the passage of time, with the dissemination of information, and with the improvement in educational methods in the upper and lower classes of the nation, people will little by little be set right and will approach the perfection which is their cherished goal.

But it should not escape the reader that this perversion which we have noticed in Western nations does not weaken therein the social virtues which are the most powerful pillars for the building of nations or the concomitant virtues of sacrificing one's self and one's wealth to strengthen one's homeland or to defend it. The lowest man in the West, as well as the highest, if called on to launch an attack or to put up a (196) defense or to perform some useful act, will abandon all of his pleasures, put them behind him, and rise up to answer the call, to risk his life, and to give his all to secure for the nation what it desires. How different with regard to admirable qualities is the situation of these two classes in Western nations from that of the Eastern nation!

There is no doubt that the middle class is more advanced than its counterpart in our society. We, in fact, know about the conditions of Westerners only from the outside. Many of us have no more knowledge than

we have picked up in the streets or in the cafés or have read in some stories and anecdotes. It is untrue and unfair for us to think that these outward glimpses are a complete enough picture for an appreciation of their level of morality.

Anyone who would like his judgment about them to be sound must survey all of the phenomena of the life of those nations and acquaint himself with all of the emotions and sentiments which move them. This is a matter which requires a thorough knowledge of their language, their history, their customs, and their moral code. When these conditions have been fulfilled by the investigator, he can understand why the German, (197) leaving his wife and children, will devote his life to aiding the Boers. Why does a scientist disdain life's pleasures and delights and prefer to occupy himself with solving of a problem or with unravelling a mystery or discovering the cure for an illness. Why is it that a wealthy, highly placed politician will spend his time in planning ways to alleviate the conditions of his nation, perhaps even denying himself the luxury of sleep in the process. What is the motivation of the explorer who spends months, even years, far from his family and his country in order to discover, for example, the source of the Nile. What is the emotion which makes the missionary glad to live among savages, despite the variety of discomforts which beset him and the dangers which surround him. What is this spiritual force which impels the rich man to give thousands of dollars to some charitable organization or to an activity of which the benefit accrues to his nation or to humanity.

When one has learned the secret about these qualities and about the sources of these admirable deeds and then has learned how much unity, harmony, and love there is among the members of the family and has observed

in their dealings honesty of speech and solicitude for the truth, the development of feelings of honor, the proclivity to assist the weak (198) and the poor, and the compassion for animals, one will doubtless draw from this knowledge a sound conclusion; namely, that these nations are exceedingly moral and virtuous. For these actions and conditions are indicative of the weakening of the power of self-love, just as they are indicative of the development of feelings about the need of each individual of the nation for the other. Ethical progress is but this very same reciprocity.

Nor is this remarkable, for advancement in the sciences leads to advancement in ethics and morals. There is no doubt that intellectual progress is always accompanied by ethical progress, for science is the stuff by which ethics are nourished. I do not claim that ethics do not exist without science, but I do claim that the ethic of the illiterate man cannot be as firmly imbedded within him as it is in the scientist. Science speaks to the intellect, and scientific truths do not demand that it release them without a struggle. No, they require research, effort, and hard work. Constant preoccupation with science imparts constant self-control, which is one of the most important pillars of ethics. When a person who has been infused with science is worried that he is doing something contrary to ethics, he feels a desire to look at whatever it is, at (199) its effects, and at its advantages and disadvantages. Then he consults with himself in order to ascertain whether or not it is true for him. It is unusual for him then to go through with it. As for the uneducated man, if he is virtuous, his virtuousness is nothing except mere habit, since he is ready to give in to whatever makes a great impression on him, be it good or bad, and is inclined to accept what he sees the majority of people

doing, without examination. And, if the habit has once been broken and he has enjoyed a taste of vice, his self-control will slip from his hand and it will be impossible for him to go back to the way he was before.

We have seen that science strengthens the mind's judgment, nourishes the soul, and, in addition to that, enlarges religious perceptivity. It is not off the subject to bring up this concept, because religion and ethics, in reality, go back to a single thing.

The most beautiful expression of this idea was written by the philosopher, Spencer, in his book on education⁵⁰ from which I have excerpted a part appropriate here:

"Science is not a denial of religious perceptivity, as many people claim. The abandonment of science, however, is the denial of religion. Let us give an example of this. Let us suppose that a leading scientific (200) writer publishes books, establishing certain facts, and people extol them and loosen their tongues in praise of him, despite the fact that they have seen only the covers of his books and have not read a bit of them or at any time made an effort to understand what they contain. What, in my opinion, is the value of such praise? What I believe about the sincerity of these panegyrists is that (if we may compare great things with small) we might say that people believe in the same way toward the Creator and His creation. The worse thing to come out of this behavior is that they are content to live and die without knowing any of the facts about those

⁵⁰Education: Intellectual, Moral, Physical (1861); see also above, p. 117, footnote 48.

things which they proclaim to be the most heretical of heresies and the most mysterious of mysteries. Moreover, they tend to censure anyone who undertakes to understand the facts about them and to comprehend the secrets stored up in them. If they were knowledgeable, they would know that to neglect science is to weaken religious perceptivity -- nay, to destroy it. Service to science is a religious obligation which the heart performs because service to science is an inward acknowledgment that created things have a lofty value and that he who discovers them has a lofty status and a high place. Service to science is a tribute to the Creator and His work which the researcher (201) in science performs, not by mouth and tongue, but by giving his time, his thought, and his labor."

We may conclude from the above that the advancement of Westerners in the sciences has helped to support their progress in ethics and that the slow development of knowledge in our society has been a cause of the decline of our ethics.

Such is the case with our families and what takes place in them between father and son, brother and brother, and husband and wife over matters which do not need detailed enumeration. Such is the case with the villages and what can be observed in them in the way of hatred, betrayal, strife, and heinous crimes, baffling to the reason. Such is the case with our native land and the deterioration of the cohesion of its inhabitants which we see: their division of opinion over trifling things; their hoarding of wealth so that they do not spend it for the sake of anything of general benefit; and their begrudging of any time for thought about any improvement of their country. All these cases are

proof of the decadent state of our morals. Even those good moral qualities which are ours, such as the well-known munificence of many of the remote country communities, go back in fact, to some moral defect such (202) as rivalry out of desire for a good reputation. Therefore, you see many of the country's notables, famous for generosity, hospitality and extravagant parties, behaving in the rest of his affairs anything but generously. They oppress the poor, devour the possessions of their weaker relatives, especially of the women, keep their family in straightened circumstances, and thus achieve what the generous person would scorn.

In that, the situation of the Turkish people is no different from ours. Yes, in some rural areas there they have made progress in ethics and morals and have outshone Egyptian ethics and morals. The sole reason for this, however, is that the Turk lives in his village in utmost simplicity and has, in a sense, a comfortable way of life. He finds nothing to induce him to do anything unethical. He is without many of the vices, because he is ignorant of them and cannot imagine their existence. Should he leave his village and go to live in town, as I have seen him do, none of its inhabitants can compete with him in the race to carnal houses and to burlesque shows, and he outdoes his peers in all the other vices.

In general, we are saying that European civilization is not pure (203) goodness. Pure goodness does not exist in this world of ours, because it is the world of imperfection. It is, rather, the best which it has been possible for mankind to reach now. In it, mankind has already filled in a little of what had been imperfect and has progressed one degree of perfection.

Even if this result is small alongside of the perfection which is anticipated for the human spirit, it behooves us to be satisfied with it. It is up to the future to bring its people to something higher.

Many of us mistakenly imagine that progress can be attained in some aspects of national life without influencing the rest of it. Correctly, however, progress is not true progress unless from it has been evoked a spirit which is evident in all of the nation's affairs, individually and collectively, so that if an investigator wished to analyze progress's sum total, he would find it a combination of its individual parts as exhibited in housing, food, dress, building, thoroughfares, clubs, weddings, funerals, teaching methods, education, theaters, and places of entertainment, as well as in industries, commerce, farming, sciences, and the arts. In short, he would find a trace of progress in all manifestations of its intellectual and ethical life.

That is because the intellectual state and the ethical state are (204) absolutely inseparable from one another. They are, in fact, one state; but two terms have been assigned them in accordance with the difference of viewpoints from which one looks at them. Each piece of information which is stored in the mind is useful to it as a new insight. Through being used in this way, it enters into the code of our behavior. If knowledge is limited to information alone and has no influence on action, most, if not all, of its significance is lost.

As for the Westerners' customs being different from ours and their women going about with unveiled faces and in company with men and enjoying their freedom and the respect of men, none of this indicates a decline of ethics in their society.

Yes, many of us consider these customs defects. But, let me ask, why do Westerners treat their wives this way? Why does a man there respect his wife and have her sit on his right and want her to be enlightened and educated? Why does he permit her to go outside whenever she wishes and to travel and associate with men and women? Why all of this freedom and all of this respect? The answer of any one of us would be only that this is their wicked customs. But this answer is not at all helpful, because it calls forth another question: why has there (205) been this custom? Here no answer is possible.

If the subject of our investigation were one of the customs of an uncivilized people, it would have been easy for us to say that this custom has come about by accident and these people operate under its mandate without thinking about it and in ignorance of its origin and of its bearing on their conditions, as well as in ignorance of the effect which it will produce on their affairs.

Something, however, which the mind will not accept is that the inhabitants of Europe and America maintain this custom without being aware of its causes and its results. It is inconceivable to think that their scholars who exert themselves every day to discover the secrets of nature and that those who study microbes, identify them, classify them, describe them minutely, raise them, and multiply them should overlook or neglect this custom.

The fact is that they have studied it thoroughly and other problems as well and have compared it to our Eastern custom, but I am not aware that any one of them has ever stood up to call his people together and urge them to change it. All, however, are agreed that the viling of women is the reason for the decline of the East and the lack of veiling (206) is the secret of the advancement of the West. The only disagreement to be found among them is about the extent of the woman's political rights,

as we have seen.

This agreement is a matter worthy of arresting our attention. Among Westerners there can be found men who believe that private property is robbery and that possessions should be jointly owned by all of the individuals of the nation. There may crop up among them a man who calls for the abolition of the institution of marriage so that the relationships between the man and the woman will be free and not subject to regulation or limited by law! From them may emerge a faction which proclaims the demolition of all organization and law and does not acknowledge a government, no matter what its essential form. Despite that, it has not occurred to any of them to demand the veiling of women. Indeed, we see the opposite to be the case. The most radical of the demomenational leaders demand the broadening of woman's freedom and the increase of her rights so that she may become man's equal. Despite their divergences of opinion, in that they agree with the leaders of the moderate schools.

What is the secret of this agreement, and what is its cause? Is it because Europeans do not like to change their customs? Not at all. With them, change is the law of progress. Anyone who scans their history from the first century will find that they have altered everything in (207) their society. They have altered their government, their language, their academic disciplines, their arts, their laws, their clothes, and their customs. ~~Every~~ All that these things have attained is now exposed to the criticism of their investigators and is threatened sporadically with alteration and change.

Neither can it be true that one of the reasons for this agreement is what is said about Europeans not placing a true value on nobility of

spirit and not being solicitous of their women. This claim which I have heard from many people can only stem from the ill-informed and the unsophisticated who have no acquaintance at all with the conditions of those countries. Such people know no more of them than is known by the Western tourist who has toured Uzbekistan and its environs and writes of our customs in terms of the itinerants whom he sees around those well-known places. So, then, what is the reason?

The reason is that the question of the woman's rights and of her freedom is not, in fact, merely one of custom. We see the Westerner tipping his hat on greeting someone, while the Easterner touches his hand to his forehead. This is a custom which, possibly, has a link (208) with the history of East and West, but its significance does not go beyond the small issue to which it is relevant and nothing of consequence to private or public life can result from it. As for the woman being educated or uneducated, housebound or at liberty, mixing or not mixing with men, and what her rights in marriage and divorce are and what her role in the family and in society is, these are primarily social questions and, because of that, scientific questions. Accordingly, it should not be extraordinary to obtain agreement about them.

Therefore, we must, instead of scoffing at Westerners and passing judgment upon them according to an imagined principle, i.e., that they have strayed from the truth in those things which pertain to the role of women in their society; we must, instead of that, understand their thinking in this matter, examine their opinions and the causes of the great renaissance in which both men and women have taken part in this century, and study all of its current effects. After that it will be possible for us to have a sound opinion, based on sound, rational theories and supported by experience and facts.

CONCLUSION

(The present state of thought in Egypt regarding women)

In recent years, Egyptians have begun to realize how bad their (209) social condition is. Signs of what they are suffering from it have appeared to them, and they have felt the need of working to ameliorate it. News of Westerners has reached them, and they have mixed with them and become closely acquainted with many of them and know the extent of their progress. Since they have seen that they enjoy the good life and wide power and effective speech and other such advantages of which they find themselves deprived and without which life has no value, the longing to keep pace with them and the desire to attain such blessings have arisen in them. Leaders have stood up among us and have vied over propagating ideas which in their belief will guide the nation along the path of success. This one calls for work and activity, that one for concord and unity and the abandonment of the elements of dissention, another for patriotism and readiness to sacrifice in the service of one's country, still another for adherence to the precepts of the faith, and so on.

One thing, however, has escaped those leaders. It is that these (210) utterances and others like them cannot have any lasting influence on the life of the nation until they have reached the women and the women have gained an understanding of their meaning, have identified themselves with it, and have felt it so intimately that they will be able thereafter to bring up their children in the manner best representing human perfection in their minds.

This is because no social situation can be altered until education has been geared toward the alterations sought and because, to effect a reform, no matter what the sphere, merely a need for it is not enough, or an order which the government issues urging people to do it, or a lecture which is addressed to their ears to invite them to do it, or books which are written to prove its usefulness or articles which are published to explain its advantages. All of these things have no effect except to alert and awaken the nation to the evils of its situation; but they are not the means which transform nations or shift them from one condition to another. Because each change in nations is only a result of the sum total of virtues and attributes of moral qualities and customs, which are not inborn but can be acquired only through upbringing; and that means, through the woman.

If Egyptians wished to improve their conditions, they should start the reform at its beginning. They must realize that there is no hope (211) for them to be a vital nation with a rank among enlightened nations and a place in the world of human civilization before their households and families are a suitable milieu for the preparation of men possessed of those qualities upon which success depends. Nor is there any hope that households and families may become that suitable milieu until their women have been educated and have shared men's ideas, hopes, and disappointments, if not all their activities.

When we stated it last year, people considered this truth, despite its simplicity and its obviousness, the height of balderdash, and the jurisprudents ruled that it was an offense against Islam. Many school graduates considered it an excessive imitation of Westerners. Some of them ended up by saying that it was a crime against fatherland and religion,

and they have conjectured in their writings that the emancipation of the Eastern woman was one of the aspirations of Christian nations who wish by it to destroy the Islamic religion and any Muslim who supported them was outside the fold, and so on with such fictions which simpletons swallow and ignoramuses, not understanding their true interest, relish. (212)

We wish to take just one sentence to refute them: If the Europeans intended harm to us, they need only leave us to our own devices, for they would find no better way of promoting their intention than leaving us in our present condition.

This is the truth, beyond doubt.⁵¹ However much people strive to conceal it and others ignore it, it will inevitably reveal itself to all sooner or later, as truth always will.

Every observer of the present conditions of our social body finds in them indications that our women have broken away from the era of servitude and only a thin veil remains between them and freedom. For he notices.

Firstly: A new perception among Egyptians about the need to educate their daughters, after not having taught them anything.

Secondly: The lightening of the veil and its gradual relegation to oblivion.

Thirdly: The reluctance of young people to marry in the customary way and their desire to change it so as to enable them to be acquainted with the betrothed.

Fourthly: The concern of the government and some citizens, headed (214) by His Eminence Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, Muftī of Egypt, with the reform

⁵¹Qur'ān: Sura II, p.1.

of the Shar'īyya courts. Everyone who read the excellent report which His Eminence had written on the important role of these courts found therein many points which might bring about a great improvement of Egyptian families. I especially want to mention what he has to say about polygamy:

"I lift my voice to protest against the poor taking large numbers of wives. Many a poor man has four wives or three or two, and he cannot support them. There is a continual clash about expenses and other marital rights, yet he will not divorce them, not one of them. Dissension continues to insinuate itself among them and among their children, and neither the husband nor his wives can live according to God's ordinances. The damage of that to religion and nation is evident to anyone."

Thus it happened this year that many women whose husbands have received sentences of life at hard labor or in prison or of a long term in jail are complaining to the Ministry of Justice about their wretched (214) state, since they have no way to divest themselves of their husbands and they have no family provider who will take care of their expenses and the support of their children. So the Ministry of Justice was obliged to ask His Eminence, the Mufti of Egypt, for fatwā from the Sharī'ah viewpoint, the adoption of which would eliminate the causes of complaint. His Eminence looked into this question and other similar questions and produced eleven paragraphs in accordance with Mālikī jurisprudence and presented them to the Ministry of Justice. Here is the list of them; we reproduce them as a service to the poor.

"Paragraph I: If the husband refuses to support his wife and if he is known to have the means, then his estate will be accessed for the support; and if he has no money or persists in non-support, the judge will at once pronounce her divorced from her husband. If the husband claims inability but cannot prove it, the judge will oblige him to pay at once; but if the husband established his incapacity, the judge will grant him a postponement of not more than one month; and if he cannot yet support his wife, the judge will pronounce her divorced from him after that.

"Paragraph II: If the husband is sick or in prison and for this reason refuses to support his wife, the judge grants him a delay for a period during which it is hoped he may recover or regain his freedom. (215) If the duration of the cure or the jail sentence is so long that damage or temptation may ensue, the judge will pronounce the wife divorced from her husband.

"Paragraph III: If the husband is absent at a short distance for a brief period of time and does not leave support for his wife, the judge will set a time limit upon him; and if he has not submitted the amount of the support or is not present to pay her, the judge will pronounce her divorced from him upon the expiration of that time. If the husband is absent at a great distance or his whereabouts are unknown, and it has been established that he has no money to support his wife, the judge will pronounce her divorced from him.

"Paragraph IV: If the absent husband has money or credit in fee simple or a deposit in someone's trust, then the wife is entitled to demand that she be paid support from the money or the credit. It is up to her

to present proof against anyone who denies the credit or the deposit, whereupon she will be granted her demand without surety but only after she has given an oath that she is entitled to the support by the estate of the absentee husband and that he has not left her any money nor charged anyone with supporting her.

"Paragraph V: The divorce issued by the judge on the grounds of non-support is revocable on appeal, and it is up to the husband to (216) seek the return of his wife if his solvency is established and he is prepared to support her during the 'idda⁵², and, if his solvency has not been established or he is not prepared to support her, then he has no right of appeal.

"Paragraph VI: If a man has been lost in a Muslim area and his wife has no news of him, it is up to her to submit the matter to the Ministry of Justice with a statement of the direction in which she knows or thinks that he has traveled or can possibly be found. It is then incumbent upon the Ministry of Justice to inquire after him, via notices to governors and the police, where he may be expected to be found. If information about him is not available, the woman will be given a period of four months after which she will enter upon an 'idda of four months and ten days, as after a husband's death; and she will no longer need any special adjudication and may marry another man thereafter.

"Paragraph VII: If the missing man returns or it is established that he is alive and that occurs before the second husband, unaware that

⁵²Idda, in Islamic law, the legally prescribed period of waiting during which a woman may not remarry after being widowed or divorced.

the first husband is alive, consummated the new marriage, then the wife certainly belongs to the first husband even if it is after the betrothal; or, if the second husband knew that the first was alive, then she belongs to the first, even after the consummation. If the first husband is known to have died during this four month-ten day 'idda and even after it (217) prior to the consummation of the second marriage, the woman will inherit from the first husband, as long as the second husband believed the first to be dead; but if the second husband believed the first to be alive, the woman will inherit from her first husband even after the consummation of the new marriage. If the first husband dies after the second husband, thinking the first already dead, consummates the new marriage, the woman is not to inherit from the first husband.

"Paragraph VIII: The wife of a man who has been reporting missing in a battle between two groups of Muslims and who has been ascertained to have been present at the fighting may submit the matter to the Ministry of Justice. After a search has been made for him and he has not been found, the wife observes the 'idda and may marry after the 'idda. His property is made over as inheritance because of mere lack of information about him. If nothing has been ascertained except only that he went with the army, the judgment concerning him is the same as that in the two preceding paragraphs.

"Paragraph IX: The wife of a man missing in a battle between Muslims and non-Muslims may submit the matter to the Ministry of Justice. After the search for him has been made, it imposes upon her a delay of one year. When it is over, she observes the 'idda. It is lawful for her to marry after the 'idda, and his property is made over as inheritance after

the completion of the year. Every time a delay is imposed for the wife of a missing man to observe the 'idda, the wife's support is provided by his property unless she has no fear of temptation for herself; otherwise she submits the matter to the judge so that he may issue a divorce when the truth of her claim has been established to his satisfaction.

"Paragraph X: When the dispute between husband and wife becomes (218) grave and they cannot resolve it between them by any method prescribed by the Book of God, he submits the matter to the district judge. It is up to him to appoint two impartial arbitrators, one from the relatives of the husband and the other from the relatives of the wife, preferably of the neighborhood. If relatives of honest reputation ask to be excused, the judge appoints two strangers and sends them to the couple. Then they reconcile them according to the prescribed method or else they recommend divorce and submit the matter to the judge. It is up to him to pass judgment on what they recommend. The divorce action granted in this case is a single irrevocable divorce, and the arbitrators may do no more about it.

"Paragraph XI: The wife may seek a divorce action against the husband from the judge, if he has done her an injury and the injury is not one permitted by law; such as, desertion without legal cause or beating and abuse without legal cause. It is up to the wife to establish all that by legal methods."

His Eminence, the Rector of al-Azhar, has found this draft law acceptable and has dispatched to his Eminence, the Muftī, the following comment:

"To His Excellence, the Muftī of Egypt, may God sustain him:

"In examining Your Excellence's speech dated the 4th of the current month, number 19, and the draft law accompanying it, comprising eleven paragraphs, derived from the ideology of the Imām Mālik (may God be pleased with him) about which the expression of my opinion was sought, I have formed the same opinion as you have and have signed it in token of approval. I think you for your concern about this important matter. Herein enclosed is the above-mentioned draft law, Sir. (219)

Al-Faqīr Salīm al-Bushrī al-Mālikī, 6 Rabi' II 1318; Servant of science and the poor at Al-Azhar."

These two problems, that of polygamy and that of giving the women the right of divorce, are among the important problems to which we turned our attention in Tahrīr al-Mar'a. It has made matters easier for us that a great scholar and wise jurisprudent like His Eminence, the Professor Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh has thought them worthy of his attention and has spoken out in support of what we have proposed about them.

All of these indications and others which we observe in homes every day reveal to us that the condition of the Egyptian women has begun to improve and to advance.

This stirring, however, does not stem from insight and reflection; (220) it has been caused by the effects of mingling with Westerners and in accordance with the provisions of the law known to students of natural history requiring that each animal assume the character of the environment in which he lives. Proof that our will has not entered into this stirring is that when we have spoken of the necessity of fostering and continuing it until we reach its ultimate goal, we have been met with violent objection, even

from those in whom the beginnings of such change were apparent and in whose homes its harbingers were obvious.

There is nothing strange about that, for it is our role to follow our prejudices in all of our actions.

The time in which we must decide what we want has already grown too long.

If our aim in life were to live a few years in any condition, whatsoever, no matter whether noble or base, rich or poor, free or slave, educated or uneducated, good or bad, I think the freedom and training which have been given the women up to now would be unnecessary nor would I lift a finger to prevent the man enjoying a number of wives, marrying a woman every day and divorcing her the day after, and locking up his (221) wives, his daughters, his sisters, his mother, and his grandmother, if he wished.

There are to be found in Africa and in Asia a number of countries where the women live hidden away in houses so that they never see a human being and no one ever sees them. In some of these countries the life of the woman has gotten to be so insignificant that, when her husband dies, she must destroy herself so as not to enjoy life after him. What should we do but turn our attention to those countries and ask them the secret of the advancement of their women in illiteracy and seclusion. Perhaps we will find they have something to strengthen our argument in favor of reinforcing the veil and the confinement of the woman.

If the goal is what we read and hear every day about Egyptians wanting to be vital, progressive, civilized nation, then we say to them:

There is a method which will take you out of the sorry condition of which you complain and take you up to the highest level of civilization, just as you desire and beyond what you desire, instead. It is to free your women from the bonds of illiteracy and of veiling. We are not the first to think of this method nor do we take credit for discovering it. Nations have already used it ahead of us, have tested it, and benefited from it. Look at the Western nations. You find great differences (222) among their women. You find the American woman's training, morals, customs, and ethics are different from the French woman's; that she differs in all of these aspects from the Russian woman; that the Italian woman resembles the Swedish and the German woman in none of this. But all of these women, despite the difference of climate, race, language, and religion among them, are unified and alike in one matter: they possess their freedom and enjoy their independence.

It is this freedom which takes the Western woman out of her old degradation. When education is added to it, her volition is directed toward participating with men in the advancement of the society to which they both belong. This participation brings her into useful activities, which doubtless will differ from the activities of men, but which are no less important. The merchant who spends his day in a shop, selling his wares; the clerk, who passes a few hours in one of the government offices, busy with writing a memo to another department; the engineer, (223) who builds a bridge to facilitate communications among countries; the doctor, who removes an organ so that the remaining organs of the body may live; the judge, who mediates disputes which arise among people -- of all of these and others, there is no one who deserves to call his work more useful to the social body than the work of the woman who ushers the man into society and brings him up to be of benefit to himself, to his family, and to his nation.

We do not say to you, as others are saying: Unite, and cooperate with one another; or purge yourselves of the defects which you observe in your character; or be of service to your family and to your native land; or such words as that which disappear into thin air. We know there is no use in transforming souls by a counsellor's advice or a sultān's order or a magician's wand or a saint's miracle. Rather it has been accomplished, as we have mentioned, by preparing the souls of children for the eventualities of the condition sought.

That is the natural, long-term course, beset with difficulties. But the most tractable difficulties are ones which will end in victory and success, and the nearest paths are the ones which will reach the goal.

The End, praise be to God.

APHORISMS

by

QĀSIM AMĪN

CAIRO

1908

- 1 True freedom can encompass the expression of every viewpoint, (3)
the publication of every belief, and the propagation of every idea.
- 2 The easy upward climb may deceive you into an early downward fall.
- 3 If a person praises you for a quality you do not possess, he is
really speaking of someone else.
- 4 "Master" is a word which a mild-mannered man swallows for fear
of what might be worse.
- 5 If your enemy asks you for advice, give it to him in all sincerity;
for by seeking your counsel he has ceased to be your enemy and has become
your friend.
- 6 In Egypt, everyone who knows how to read and write is called a
scholar; if he studies the least bit of science, he is considered (4)
superior to others; and, should he add a little cleverness, he is
counted a genius.
- 7 Faith is not a matter of science or logic. We see scientists who
believe and illiterate men who do not. Rather, faith is purely a matter
of feeling. Through his feeling, a person may perceive a need for faith
so great that he cannot live without it.!
- 8 The fanaticism of religious people and the conceit of scientific
people make it seem as if there is a basic conflict between religion and
science ... This is not true, however, either now or in the future, as
long as the purpose of science is the acknowledgement of truth based upon
logic. No matter how much knowledge a person has, it does not completely
fill his thoughts. After each new scientific discovery, he seeks yet

another; in solving one question, new questions arise. Today and tomorrow, men's minds will have enough established facts to keep them busy, but this will not prevent them from thinking about the unknown which is (5) all around them. This unknown, infinite and eternal, is the special domain of religion.

9 There is nothing like love in its first youthful bloom. This harsh tyrant attacked and shook me all over. It constricted my tongue, entangled my mind, and left my path empty. It pounced upon my heart all at once, yet not all at once. Thereupon my heart was so brimful of love that it had no room for anything else. Love alone owned my soul, making it forgetful of its obligations and of its needs. It came between me and my whims. It removed my anxieties and my griefs, yet it rested secure only after I had broken my ties with others. It was as if I had been born again one day but was wasting away in one hour, an hour which had no past and cared nothing about any future. When, however, despite this condition, one gains the mastery over one's soul and firmly grasps the reins, it accepts its handicap, appreciates its imprisonment, and is content with its lot. In its relationship with another soul, it finds power, joy, and happiness, the like of which there is no other. (6)

10 The lover has all he needs within him. His sky is clear no matter how heavy the clouds. His table is sumptuous though laid only with bread and salt. Accidents befall him, but leave no trace; because he cares not whether they are happy or harmful. He stands up to life with great courage, because he feels that in his body are two souls and in his breast two hearts.

11 If there was ever a man who deserved being envied his good fortune, he is a lover.

12 All love is noble. If between two noble people, it exalts them even more. If between two base people, it earns them a temporary nobility; then, when they stop loving, they drop back to their lowly origins.

13 One cannot always rely upon the sign over the door. Among (7) mental hospital patients there may be someone more intelligent than many people going about at large, enjoying freedom. Behind the locked doors of brothels are women more abundantly endowed with modesty and courtesy and further removed from lust than many a sheltered woman who goes about with bowed head.

14 If he is loved in return, the lover feels an enchanting thrill. Even if it is not returned, his pain affords him another sensation, not unlike intoxication, stimulating the nerves, quickening the blood, and churning up the soul. On the whole he feels life's intensity increased, like the gambler who gets his enjoyment out of playing for high stakes.

15 In my personal experience, I have found the enthusiasm displayed by great thinkers to be superficial, not inspired by any strong inner fires -- an enthusiasm of words, which, once airborne, turn to dust and disappear as a will-o'-the-wisp.

16 In book and press I see the writer more concerned with flattering (8) his reader than with the validity of his own thinking.

The writer who loves his art, however, must present his thoughts for what they are. He must publish the truth, no more and no less, accepting no substitute and relinquishing not one letter pertinent to any

thought. In other words, he should be like the suitor who believes in perfection for her whom he loves and who cannot imagine her equal. He does not mind public censure, but finds it a spur, born of anger, alerting his nerves and his acumen, impelling him to be steadfast and to carry on.

17 Whenever I wish to imagine happiness, I picture a being endowed with the beauty of the woman and the intelligence of the man.

18 After the age of forty, the intelligent man begins to perceive that there is no such thing as absolutes. The beautiful qualities which we love and admire, such as goodness, truth, and justice, cannot be found divorced from their opposites.

19 The final goal of a moral education must be forgiveness of sin, (9) of great sin, of all sin.

Is the sinner always entirely responsible, or what is the degree of his responsibility? Anyone who seeks to pass judgment upon another must first solve this great problem. Its solution, however, is almost impossible, since no one can detect all the factors which go into the make-up of the human personality, in the material and moral aspects. The little which is forthcoming shows that the will has limited authority over the soul and that it is subject to strong pressures which weaken it to an unknown and unassessible degree. All of human history indicates its derivation from beasts of prey, or at least its resemblance to them in evil, greed, and lust. Man was created weak in both spirit and body. Good mental and physical health is nothing but a happy accident, a temporary condition.

Sin is commonplace; there is nothing strange about it. It is a natural state, inherent in the instinct of mankind, the legacy of Adam and Eve to their hapless children from a day when they approached a forbidden tree and tasted fruit which I suppose was sweeter than any- (10) thing else that was offered them. From that remote day, sin entwined their nature and was handed down from them to their posterity, generation after generation. That is the heavy burden under which our inflamed spirits groan in a longing for goodness, unable to attain even a little measure of it except by suffering the arduous exertions. Even this modicum can be attained only by long practice, during which there are many lapses into sin which in turn teach useful lessons of what in future to avoid.

Lastly, forgiveness is sometimes the only means to reform the sinner. For rarely will you find a soul so withered that it will not respond to proper treatment.

20 Just because you do not know when disaster will strike is no reason not to be prepared for it.

21 Avoid evil companions, for they do you a favor only by leaving you alone.

22 I fail to see why writers, in describing a new invention, go to (11) all the trouble of replacing a foreign word with an Arabic equivalent. Take, for example, the use of the word al-siyyāra instead of al-autūmūbīl. If the point is to make the meaning clear, the well-established foreign word performs the required function much more ably than the Arabic word. If the object is to prove the Arabic language self-sufficient, these writers have set themselves an impossible task; for no language is or ever will be independent of others and separate unto itself.

23 It seems that the Gate of Innovation has been closed in the field of language as well as in matters of religion; we take it for granted that the Arabic language covers everything!

Were this really the case, Arabic would have to have been miraculously produced and to have sprung all at once full-blown into the world. The evidence does not bear this out. Every language is subject to the laws of change and evolution, and its stages parallel the course of humanity. Language, then, is an adjunct of the continuing processes of (12) man's inventive and productive nature. I do not know why we wish to exclude the eloquent phrases and felicitous expressions of the colloquial from our written language, just because they do not go back to the classical "tongue of the Arabs".

We are the rightful inheritors of the Arabic language, and so all our linguistic creations should be considered pure Arabic.

24 Among all my acquaintances, I have not yet met anyone who could read through an unvocalized text without making a mistake. Is not this proof enough that the Arabic language needs reform?

I have an opinion about grammar which I shall just mention here. Words should drop their case-endings and that final syllable remain silent. Thus, as in European and Turkic languages, could be eliminated many grammatical rules governing subjunctive, conditional, present, active, etc. This would involve no substantial change in the language, since the vocabulary would remain the same.

In other languages, a person reads in order to understand. In (13) Arabic, he has to understand in order to read. If he wants to read a word consisting of the three letters س, ل, م, he can read them سalamun

(flag), ‘ilmun (science), ‘ulima (it was learned), ‘ullima (it was taught), ‘allama (he taught), ‘alima (he learned). He cannot tell which of these forms is correct until after he has understood the meaning of the sentence. That is what determines the proper pronunciation. To us, therefore, reading is one of the most difficult arts.

25 The foremost writers of the Middle Ages were Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rusd, Ibn Miskawayh, and men such as they. Arabic was the language of literature and science and philosophy, the broadest and the richest language in the world. Then long centuries passed by, while it stood stock still, and European languages began to take hold and to develop along with the progress of the people in literature and in science. Now they, in turn, have become the sought-after models of facility, clarity, precision, flow, and grace. These languages have become the most precious jewels in the crown of modern civilization.

Despite this, we are unanimously resolved that our language continues to maintain its original position and claim that it is mistress of all languages, just as our people unanimously agree that Egypt is (14) still the Mother of the world.

26 Our poets and essayists and scholars do not express their own thoughts in what they write. Their minds, instead, are repositories of what they read and hear, storehouses for the thoughts of others. They deal in merchandise which is not their own and contribute to it nothing of themselves. Their whole effort is limited to secondhand ideas, which they memorize just as children memorize Scripture. Yet both children and writers are showered with applause and praise and hurrahs. "Oh, my, how wonderful so-and-so is!" is an exclamation which can nowhere be equalled.

27 We seek knowledge in order to practice a craft or to secure a position; that is, for monetary gain. Love and attainment of truth, fascination with the unknown, conquest of difficulty, self-improvement -- in short, learning for learning's sake, we deem unprofitable. But most profitable of all is that in which there is no profit.

28 All the newspapers you read, you find so uniform in content and so similar in style that you can scarcely tell the difference between them. All your associates in the course of a day fill your ears with (15) the same conversation. Neither press nor person will provide you with an unorthodox idea or a new expression or an original style. Nowhere do you find a man who causes you astonishment or who makes you pause in admiration of his madness.

29 Of the many ways to express each thought, one way is best. Finding it is the mark of the good writer.

30 A narrow-minded man has a limited capacity. His meager knowledge does not include an awareness of the boundless unknown. When, therefore, he takes leave of the sensory world, he is in the dark, a blind man stumbling left and right, regardless of whether he is an ignorant dolt or a scientific genius.

31 The man who accepts his faith on someone else's say-so is a short-sighted person who wears his beliefs like the rose in his buttonhole. (16) The atheist is a reckless adventurer who exceeds the bounds of reason and knowledge. Worse than either of the two, however, is the man who is an opportunist in his religion. Such a man says: "If I believe in God and He does exist, I shall be among the gainers. I therefore believe in Him."

This type can be trusted by no one, not even by the God of his own making.

32 Good and evil are constantly struggling for supremacy over the soul of man. Sometimes one wins out, sometimes the other. No matter what his education or knowledge; no one is guaranteed against one day falling into iniquity, just as no one is so surrounded by evil that he is forever deprived of doing good.

The truth is that a man's character does not emerge full-blown or remain confined to definite limits. It is instead in a continual state of flux, subject now to disintegration, but yet again to reformation.

33 As long as he lives, man is in the grip of one or another desire. With the years, however, his desire changes. In childhood, it is play; in youth, love; in his forties, affluence; and in old age, authority. (17) All of these desires expose him to wrong-doing and to sin. When one of us falls prey to desire, he must not give in to it nor mind the difficulty of getting rid of it nor despair of himself. Instead he must fight it off, just as a sick man fights off illness. He must bend his will to grappling with it and to overcoming it. He must not dwell upon yesterday's meanness but upon tomorrow's promise.

No one expects perfection of a man, but merely that he be better today than he was the day before.

34 On the battlefield, the army depends for stability upon seasoned troops, soldiers who have faced the enemy and who know how to attack and how to defend. The same is true in the war of the soul: steadfastness is

found only in the man who has been exposed to temptation and to illusory pleasures. Having once experienced them and triumphed over them, he has mastered self-control, which is the main weapon. Conversely, the man who has been sheltered from temptation has but little power (18) to resist when confronted with it. Once embroiled, he can never again be free of it.

35 After the age of forty, the slightest slip is dangerous. .

36 The eye of the greedy man can devour an object in a glance, possessing it as truly as if it had been stolen. I have often seen this expression on the face of a gambling addict.

37 When you look at or listen to certain people, you sense a lack in their character, just as if they had been hurriedly made and had not received their share of good qualities.

38 A man is really mature only after it makes no difference to him whether he is praised or blamed. (19)

39 A well-known Arabic author, now writing in Egypt, paid me a visit and found me reading a collection of French proverbs. He noticed the phrase, "I fear what I desire", and asked, "How can that be? It must be a printer's error." "Oh, no," I said. "Then explain to me," he persisted, "why a man should fear what he desires." I replied, "The fear is not so much of what he desires as of what he dislikes in it. This is particularly true of the discriminating person and causes him great misery. He may see a beautiful rose in a garden. Though desiring to pick it, he is repelled by its thorns. He desires a luscious, fragrant apple, but, fearing he may bite into a large, nasty worm, he throws it

away, though his mouth still waters. He meets the fair lady of his dreams and fain would cast himself at her feet and offer her body and soul, but he fears her false, like the others. A desirable friend, he fears will prove treacherous. He desires ... well, he desires everything, yet fears that all will end in disillusionment; and so he spends his life between hope and the fear that it will come true. He ends up (20) realizing that the only solution lies in discarding his desires."*

40 Every discussion is useful if it is dedicated to discovery of the truth. But you will find scarcely a person who will admit there are things which he does not know or who will listen to what you have to say. He is just too busy with his own line of talk.

41 In general I find that I am much more bored at meetings than when I am alone. I long for people, but when I am with them I grow cool toward them. I seek refuge from them in flight and withdraw into myself to find peace and quiet.

42 Who is really the true friend, the devoted relative, the loyal compatriot? The man of candor, who calls a spade a spade, or he who looks away and praises even defects in order to please? I have no doubt whatsoever that the first, though he may be hated, is the friend and that the second, though he may be loved, is the enemy.

43 Of people who wish to do good, there are those who avail themselves of an opportune time to perform it. When one of these sees someone watching him, he puts his hand in his pocket and takes out his wallet and counts the money deliberately into the hand of the recipient. So that the on-looker is left in no doubt as to the amount involved, he says to the (21)

beneficiary, "Here! Take this ten spot!" After the needy man has gone, he shares with those around him his philosophy of charity and his history of good deeds. For the rest of the day, he can always find some pretext to tell whomever he meets about the great act. This man wants to do good only for himself; the poor are for him nothing but the means to accomplish this.

There are also those wishing to do good who seek out the person in need and take him into their heart. They seek to understand his plight, to share his anxiety and his grief, and to console him, advise him and strengthen his resolution. When they offer material aid, they do it discreetly during the course of a conversation, cautious lest his sensitive feelings be hurt. They imagine a variety of ways to give this help and feel apologetic about it. When their gift is accepted, they are as overjoyed as someone relieved of a great embarrassment. This kind of benefactor realizes that the dignity of the individual must (22) be considered in the same way that personal modesty is respected.

Doing good is a fine thing, but it is best done anonymously.

44 Least in the scale of knowledge is what one learns from books and teachers; greatest is what one learns by personal experience of things and people.

45 In a weak, enslaved nation, the word, "No", is rarely heard.

46 Of my school days, I have a vivid, unforgettable memory -- the fear of being beaten. In the lower school disobedient pupils felt the strap upon their feet or upon their shoulders, head, or any other part of the body. In the upper school, the tarred whip and bastinado left marks visible for days. I went to the halls of learning disturbed, anxious,

even trembling. Nowadays, quite the contrary, I see children going to school, happy and content, as a result of the prohibition of corporal (23) punishment and the introduction of sports and games.

47 True freedom can weather any new idea, any new belief, any new thought.

Only in a free country can a person dare to avow that he has no country; to deny that God and His prophets exist; to calumniate against the laws of his people and their morals and customs; or to shake the foundations upon which their family and social life is based. He may say or write whatever he pleases about these matters, and, as long as his intention is good and his belief honest, everyone -- even his worst enemy -- will respect his opinion. How long must Egypt wait to achieve this degree of freedom?

48 It seems to me that the development of a human being is especially related to his nervous system. Most of the people susceptible to development are nervous. Psychological stimuli affects them greatly, and their taut nerves vibrate with the touch of events. Their influence on them is abundantly and strongly apparent. They are happy or unhappy, as (24) they feel joy and pain. They are frontrunners in the field of life. You see them in the first row daring one another to compete among themselves in overcoming difficulties. From among them, wise Providence selects the best to bestow her secrets upon. He becomes an eloquent poet, holy saint, a wise philosopher, or a noble prophet.

49 Perhaps the greatest reason for the decline of Egypt is its lag in the fine arts: drama, painting, and music. All of these media have the same goal; to discipline the soul to a love of beauty and of perfection. To overlook them is to neglect the instruction of the emotions and of the senses.

50 Four of us Egyptians went to the Louvre to have a look at the most exquisite masterpieces that the imagination of the world's greatest men had been able to produce. After we had toured two of the galleries, one of my companions sat down on a bench, saying, "I have seen enough and will wait for you here". Another said, "I'll go along with you because I like to walk and this visit is a good form of physical exercise." We were also accompanied by a man who looked straight ahead, not glancing (25) to right or left. He went on like that until we came to the hall of jewels and precious metals. Then he exclaimed: "This is the best exhibit in the entire museum."

When we reached the statue of Venus de Milo, which I recognized to be in a class by itself, I asked our guide what it would bring if offered for sale. He replied that it would cost the fortune of the wealthiest man in the world or all mankind's possessions put together; in fact whatever amount the owner chose to set, since it is priceless.

51 No matter what the opinion of Egypt is about Turkish rule, there is no doubt in my mind that our country has greatly benefited from them. I have found in them an advanced humanity. Through friendship and marriage, I have learned from them cleanly and orderly ways, how to dress well and to set a good table, and many other meritorious habits and qualities.

Granted that education is almost the same for the men of the region, there is still a vast difference between that of the Turkish woman and that of the Egyptian woman. As a result you find cultured men continually seeking to marry the former, while avoiding the latter. (26) Today Egyptians and Turks have found themselves confronted with a more advanced people who associate closely with them. They have begun to imitate Europeans in all affairs of life. But I do not think that such imitation will have a commendable influence on rescuing our nation from the state it is in now.

52 Whenever I see public opinion accusing a government official of treason, persecuting him and demanding his resignation, I generally find it safe to assume that he is an honest man and is doing a good job.

Whenever I see public opinion hostile to a writer, so antagonistic that it can hardly wait to tear down his beliefs, then -- especially if it resorts to insults and abuse -- I am sure that that writer has struck a blow at falsehood and has rung the bell for truth.

What is public opinion?

Isn't it in most cases the whim of the hidebound mob, the handmaiden of falsehood, the buttress of tyranny?

If reformers always awaited the pleasure of public opinion, the world would still be no different from what it was in the days of Adam (27) and Eve.

53 A delicious meal, a deeply-moving piece of music, an ecstatic evening with one's beloved, the heart-quickenning splendor of a sunset -- these are experiences which cannot be recaptured. For the joy which comes from newness cannot be repeated the second time round.

54 Just before sunset the Nile steamer on which we were traveling stopped alongside a farm where two men were working. Suddenly one of them came on a short, thick snake. He scrambled away, crying: "Snake, snake, snake!"

The other went over to it with his hoe and beat it to death. Then, without a word, he went back to work. Slowly and cautiously, his companion tiptoed toward the still body. He nudged it gingerly with the side of his hoe and flipped it over a couple of times to make sure (28) it was dead. Then he shouted: "You son of a dog you!" and struck it viciously with his hoe.

Reassured that the snake still did not move, he picked it up by its tail and carried it to the embankment which was by this time full of passers-by. They all -- men, women, and children -- stopped, and he began to recount what had happened: "It attacked us and we killed it." He ended his tale by throwing the snake at the crowd, which recoiled with shrieks, much to the amusement of our hero, who laughed at such cowardice. He kept this up till darkness fell. When everyone went home, he was in the lead, still carrying his victim.

Isn't this typical of all sorts of circumstances? Men who act abhor display, and men who talk have the nerve to usurp the actions of others and to brag about it.

55 The printed word has a magical effect upon the unsophisticated; it mesmerizes him. If he tells of something he read, he thinks that the mere fact that it was in a book makes it above suspicion. If he quotes from the press, he adds, "It said so in the newspaper." If you suggest (29) to him that the information is not necessarily accurate or that the author might be mistaken, he retorts, "Yes, but the writer must have checked up on it; his profession demands it."

56 Some words have been used together by writers for so long that they have become inseparable; take, for example: "the learned scholar", "the noble gentleman", "the intimate friend", "the virtuous woman". Would there could be a divorce to give them the freedom to associate with other words or at least a temporary separation in which they might find respite from this compulsory partnership.

57 One of the most serious afflictions that a man may have to bear, is to be without good taste.

Good taste is an intuition which is cultivated and refined by education. It is the light which guides its possessor to say and to do what is suitable to the situation and to avoid what is unsuitable.

Its opposite is the taste claimed by our own elegant society, who are certain that, outside of Egypt, taste is unknown.

58 People go to the theater to see events which are out of the (30) ordinary and to hear stories which make them laugh and cry. But the astute man, without any cost to himself, can see and hear in the everyday life about him more drama than playwrights have yet imagined or actors yet mastered.

59 Five old government officials, retired from a variety of high positions in a former Egyptian administration, used to get together every day at the house of the one who had held the highest rank. From morning till noon and again from noon till after sundown, they would sit in a big, old, neglected garden under tall trees amid perfumed breezes, where the noises from the street did not penetrate and the only sound was the singing of the birds. And what were they saying and doing? They

were spending their remaining years in one another's company, ~~wiling~~
wiling away ~~in~~ their leisure hours. Occasionally they played back-
gammon. Two of them would advance to the field of combat, while the
others gathered around to kibbitz. And then how their voices would
rise! Six - one, five-four, home, out! No, no! Yes, yes! One laugh- (31)
ing because he was ahead, the other angry because he was behind. After
the game, they would begin to talk and to reminisce about their past
lives and their past achievements. They reviewed events in great detail
and with exact knowledge of dates down to the year and the month. Time
after time they released from the depths of their memory important
occasions and extraordinary occurrences which they had seen or heard of
in the reigns of former khedives. Interspersed in their conversation
were sarcastic comments about the attitude of the present regime, jibes
at the current officials, moralisms over the corruption of the modern
generation's character and over the breach of the peace and over the
disrespect of the young for their elders, the lowly for their betters,
the governed for their governors. They discussed all this in a calm,
dispassionate way, though sometimes a flicker of pain would cross their
faces.

The subject to which they reverted most often was the question of
their ages. Over it, they became involved in violent arguments and in
long computations based on a welter of dates and events and complicated
reasoning, the obvious fallacies in which they were the first to laugh (32)
at in loud ringing tones. Despite the resources of their combined imag-
inations, the problem remained a mystery, each of them sticking to his
guns with original assumptions unchanged.

One morning, arriving as usual at the house of their host, they found that he had died during the night. The next day the remaining four met at another of their houses and took up the pattern of their lives. But they were troubled in spirit, as if their departed friend were near them, reminding them of his loneliness and urging them to join him. One after the other within a short period of time, three of them responded to his insistent invitation. The fifth is still alive, lonely, melancholy, silent. Now he never leaves his house. He cares nothing for life, but only for death which will free him of it.

60 You know Husayn Bay? No? That gay little man, always cheerful, always smiling? When he says "Good day" to you, he laughs; and when you tell him the weather's fine, he laughs. When he hears that some- (33) one has died, he laughs too. He is the life of the party, the genial mixer at the club, holding himself responsible for its smooth functioning and looking after a good time for his fellow members, no matter to what lengths he must go. In the most serious events, he finds a topic for humor; in the best of men, a target for ridicule. If you sacrificed your life for the most noble cause, he would be sure to find some way to poke fun at it and to make you a laughing stock.

There is a vast difference between this frightful nonsense and honest, good-humored criticism. The latter arises out of knowledge, perception, and good taste. This kind of critic looks at human defects and at the world's weaknesses with a quiet gentle smile. He laughs, not as an end in itself, but as a means to attract constructive attention to something which grieves him or over which he has shed tears.

A crusader, he strives after reform in whatever way comes naturally to him. He does not despise noble feelings or great deeds but wars on

crass motives and mundane actions with the gentlest possible rebukes. Many European writers, novelists, and poets have excelled at this technique and are considered among the greatest educators and philosophers.

61 An Azhar official from whom none of the students' secrets are (34) hidden told me that, whenever any of the immoral ones wanted to satisfy his appetite, he went to a public house and in front of two witnesses contracted to marry a woman for a brideprice of about two piasters. After his lust was spent, he would divorce her forthwith and leave, believing himself innocent of any sin.

62 Mr. X was asked, "What did you think of the book, Woman's Emancipation"?

He replied, "It's terrible!"

"Have you read it?"

"No".

"Shouldn't you read it before you say it's terrible?"

"A book which contradicts my opinion, I have not and will never read."

63 Young men seem to have a new moral code. I understand that some of them carry lists of detailed information about young ladies whom they consider marriage prospects. The lists stress financial position and family background and tally up her land-holdings and real estate and what they are worth and what they realize from rents. They include the age of her father, how many more years his health can stand, and the (35) number of heirs which will share in the inheritance. These are items of information which only the most cautious credit organizations would

gather if they were going to lend a vast sum of money without collateral.

64 Today I saw a woman walking along Dawāwīn Street. From the servant preceding her and from her appearance I could tell that she was of a good family. She was tall, well-built, between twenty and thirty years of age. A leather belt encircled her slender waist, and the folds of her cape clung to the curves of her body. The lower part around her hips allowed the beautiful embroidery underneath to show through, and the top part did not cover her dress at all. The cape was fastened to her head, however, and fell down over her shoulders and upper arms. On her face was a piece of thin muslin, narrower than the face itself, which transparently hid her mouth and chin, just as thin clouds might hide the face of the moon, and left her eyes, brows, forehead, and hair up to the crown of her head uncovered. Walking with measured steps, she undulated her body as would a dancer upon the stage and raised and lowered her eyelids languorously, sending beguiling, flirtatious, come-hither glances to the passers-by. The general effect was sensuous and provocative. (36)

65 An ancient Egyptian mother wrote on the grave of her son: "May whoever desecrates this grave be the last to die of those he loves." These are the words of a person who has tasted all varieties and degrees of life's grief. They would frighten anybody who has lost a dear one.

66 There is no difference between revealing a secret which has been intrusted to you and stealing money which has been left in your care.

67 Egyptians who understand that marriage means more than temporary enjoyment follow the law of love and faithfulness and honesty towards their wives and children, a law higher than the principle of self-love which some of their theologians have expounded.

68 As long as divorce is left to the discretion of the husband, (37) men and women cannot grasp the concept that marriage is built on the idea of continuity and on lifelong sharing.

69 With us, marriage is man's possession of a woman for a day, a month, a year, or several years, until by his will alone it is terminated. As long as a man can show his wife the door and tell her to get out, there is no difference between it and fornication.

70 Boredom is the mark of an aristocrat.

71 Man is born wicked, evil, sinful, deceiving, and false. The infant is conscious only of himself and loves and grieves for himself alone. The tremendous ego in him has no limit. These shortcomings grow with the child and stay with him until he reaches manhood. Then he learns how to hide it, appearing good on the outside and inwardly shielded. The most important result of a good education, continued without interruption, (38) is to cut away the diseased branches of this sapling. It can never, however, pluck out its roots.

72 Who would deny that Egyptians have made progress in acquiring patriotic feelings? Our fathers lived, learned, worked, served their homeland, and fought and conquered other lands; yet we have not heard of them as loving their country and accusing their enemies of treason. But now, wherever I go, I read and hear only of love of country and of patriotic and sacrificial zeal in the service of country. The patriotic newspaper, the patriotic school, the Patriotic Party! Commercial and industrial houses, pharmaceutical firms and clinics are all in business for the profit

of the country. Patriotism has become a new religion. Whoever embraces it gains and whoever eschews it loses. It is like the tomato sauce which is put in every dish to make it palatable.

73 Wanting to follow the fluctuations in the public views of one of our acquaintances, we found that he had been an 'Urābist, but that, when the Revolt ended in failure, he favored prison and even the gallows for his former companions and friends. He used to be one of the cronies of a sometime head of government, but, when this man left the government, he deserted him, joined his enemies, and outdid everyone else in making him the object of mud-slinging. Just as he knew every corner of the Khedive's 'Abādīn, even so he was not ignorant of anything in Al-Dūbārah palace of the British. He befriended a newspaper editor, providing him with news and ideas, then he turned around and severed all connections with him, becoming one of his most outspoken enemies. Last but not least, he took part in establishing two newspapers with two diametrically opposed ideologies. I'm sure that in the end he will come out on top, because, when he feels death approaching, he will begin to take the side of God.

74 Man will not find in wealth or breeding or status or any of the commonly pursued values enough pleasure to make life worthwhile. His real delight will come only from being a vital force, leaving to the world an immortal influence.

75 The true writer avoids synonyms and does not use two words for (40) one concept in the same place, since such a redundancy would be a grammatical error and proof of poverty of thought and imagination. When,

however, the precision of the subject calls for the use of several words of different though similar meanings, substantial synonyms are not only good, but demanded for simplicity and for clarity. In addition, the good writer does not qualify a noun with an adjective, unless it is absolutely necessary. His adjectives must approximate the truth; dependence upon superlatives for the effect they may create is the lowest degree of artistic writing and much greatly despised by established writers, who depend only on the facts, on accurate details, and on objective analysis. They probe so deeply into the inner soul of man to find the thoughts, whims, and anxieties which exist therein that their descriptions make up a wholeness from many parts and convey to the reader or to the listener a complete picture, an overall impression, and a lasting effect.

76 I have never seen a Muslim funeral without feeling ashamed. (41)

The camels carrying fruit with hoards of urchins swarming around them and fighting over whatever falls off onto the ground! The sacrificial buffalo, serenaded by hungry mouths, and beggars, who argue over their shares of the meat even before the poor beast is dead! All the self-appointed Qur'ān readers, milling around one another, lame, one-eyed, or blind, hustling, disorganized, dishevelled, yelling with shrill voices or raucously choking out their words! The coffin itself in which the corpse knocks around, rolling now to the left, now to the right, and sometimes, if it is the body of one of God's own chosen saints, flying off into the blue! The women who walk behind the bier, hands dyed with henna, faces and heads rubbed with dust, flailing their kerchiefs in the air in time to snatches of hymns!

What is all this? A congregation of lunatics? A group possessed by devils? Child's play? A carnival?

Funerals going past in the street have elements of all these. (42)
They lack only the one thing a funeral is meant for: respectful commemoration of the dead in silence and solemnity.

77 When I was in Constantinople, a man who lived next door to us died suddenly during the night. But no lamentation did we hear, nor any extraordinary commotion. In the morning the coffin was brought and the dead man carried to the cemetery, followed on foot by men relatives and friends. No voice chanted the Qur'an or petitioned God or the Prophet. They walked along in silence, eyes downcast, heads bowed. After the interment, the bereaved family returned home and locked the door as usual.

78 M. Bāshā invited six or seven of us to his house for dinner. All friends, we looked forward to a happy and informal evening, without anything to mar our pleasure in one another's company. As we entered the dining-room, who should appear but one of those ubiquitous self-appointed holy men, whom our host was compelled to invite to join us. He barged in ahead of us, chose the best place for himself, and was the first to sit down. He sat cross-legged upon his chair and threw back his cloak (43) in such a way that his undergarments showed. Then he rolled up his sleeves half-way to the elbow, which made him look as if he were squatting beside the pool in a mosque's courtyard about to make his pre-prayer ablutions. He was so engrossed with eating that he did not say or hear one word. His chair was so far back from the table that, whenever he took a piece of food, he dropped some of it on his clothes. The bones he threw right

on the tablecloth. When he had filled his belly, he began picking his teeth and sucking from them bits of food which he spat out right and left.

As we ogled at the behavior of this shaykh, one of the guests jumped up with his hand to his face, exclaiming, "Oh, my eye!" We turned round to ask what was the matter. "A bone, I've got a bone in my eye." We peered in, but could see no trace of it. He laughed then and said, "It went clean through and out the other side."

79 Whenever people become dissatisfied with general conditions, they blame it on the system, not on the men that control the system, and they propound new political, administrative, and judicial rules, hoping thus (44) to accomplish sweeping reform.

They are like the owner of a rotten-timbered house which has been weakened by dampness who, to correct the situation, replaces or rearranges the furnishings -- obviously, an utter waste of time.

80 My little five year old daughter thinks she can do anything she sees me do. When I seize her hands and pick her up to kiss her, she tells me she is going to pick me up too, and she grasps me around the knees and tugs until she is purple in the face. Once she saw a man jump across a full irrigation ditch and she got all set to do likewise, sure that nothing she desires is beyond her.

A stupid man who imagines himself equal to the most difficult tasks is like this. He fancies he deserves the most exalted rank and is the equal of the most prominent leader. He thinks that he was born prepared for and capable of everything and that he can do whatever he wants.

81 One night I attended the most brilliant and beautiful wedding banquet that I have ever seen. Countless dollars must have been lavished upon it. At ten o'clock the groom entered to the accompaniment of music. "This," I remarked to a friend sitting near me, "is a public announcement which the dictates of good taste would have kept a private affair. The Western practice is much more agreeable. One minute the newlyweds are with the guests, and the next thing anyone knows they have already slipped away. Then they go off by themselves for several weeks." My friend concurred and added, "Let me tell you an experience I had in this connection." I assented and he continued.

"I could not have been more than nine years old, but I remember the incident as vividly as if it had been yesterday. Little by little the household next to ours had been preparing for a big celebration. They had pitched a huge tent, furnished with gilt chairs and hung with pennants and lanterns. Each passing day enhanced the outlay and the splendor of the decorations. Then came the great night. Candles glowed. A musical ensemble played. Guests drifted toward the house and entered, (46) group by group, the men to sit in the tent, the women to disappear into the interior of the house, where lights glowed softly and gleamed from the windows. Twenty or thirty youngsters from our street were in the vanguard of the revellers, basking in the excitement and in the spectacle. We were all over the place, giggling, horsing around, drunk from the noise and the brilliance.

"Supper over, after the groom had been serenaded in the usual way, he went into the house, followed by a group of boys, I among them. I could see the stairs of the house and first floor hall filled with women,

jockeying for a good view of the groom entering. One of his relatives went ahead of him to clear his path to the bridal chamber. As soon as he was inside, the women hovered around the barred door as if in expectation of a great event. It did not, however, prevent them from chattering, arguing, and laughing, so haphazardly as to make speaker (47) indistinguishable from listener. From time to time one of them would shout, "Hush, ladies," and go right on talking herself. How much time we spent in this way, I do not know. After awhile we began to hear repeated cries from within the room. The women's excitement mounted, until they could not refrain from knocking on the door. It was opened by the bare-headed, bright-eyed, flush-faced groom, who spoke rapidly, even angrily, with his mother and with his mother-in-law. Bit by bit he explained his difficulties to them; then all three entered the room. The army by the door flooded in, I surging along with them. When I got my bearings, I was near the bedstead. There were two old ladies sitting on the bride, one grasping her arms, the other her legs. The girl's moans and cries increased, as the groom displayed a white cloth, soaked with blood. I gazed at it in horror, then dashed from the scene, sure that they had slaughtered her."

82 In those tyrannical days when, at a word from Muhammad 'Alī or (48) Ismā'īl, a dissenter could be annihilated or sent into exile; in those dark days when man's hopes, his freedom, his very life were imperiled by arbitrary threats, and no one, no matter how important he was, had any protection or guarantee against this tyranny; even in those days, there were certain individuals whom conscience impelled to stand out against those rulers and to express their views.

Today, reason to fear the government has ceased, but has men's ability to speak the truth and to expose their ideas increased? The superficial observer might conclude that, in our country's lack of fear of the government and in its total disregard and disrespect for all officials except the police, we have reached total independence of thought. No one would dispute the signs.

If, however, he takes a good look, he will soon see that up until now the freedom to criticize has not been exercised in government, lest (49) this new tune delight the ears of the listeners and open their hearts and their pockets (and make them think beyond their pockets?).

Other questions, as well: religious, social, and those of personal habits and morals, have scarcely been touched critically. (Has not any one seen in them anything worthy of criticism? Of course; many have, but they dare not point it out.

83 One of the provincial notables said: "These days, though we have a great abundance of charitable organizations, schools, libraries, and hospitals, none of the princes, landlords, high officials, or rich men living in Cairo lifts a finger to support them or to bear his share of the responsibility for them. To protect their own wealth, the village mayors and notables are going to have to found a society, known as 'The Society for the Victims of Charitable Organizations'."

84 Whenever I have granted a friend's request for a favor, I have lived to regret the loss of his friendship and to count him a new enemy.

85 I know some judges who have passed unjust sentences, so that (50)
they may be renown for being just.

86 The most miserable man in all humanity is one who has lost his
religious faith; for the thought of death poisons his life and ruins
his enjoyment of it.

87 Egypt has no scholar with a grasp of all human knowledge nor any
expert in one particular branch of learning. We have no philosopher
of universal reputation and no writer equal to those who mold public
opinion in other countries and guide them toward progress and prosperity.
Lacking them, a nation finds ignorant counsellors and conniving politicians
in their place. The plain, unvarnished truth is that all of Egypt's
freedom, order, and justice exists and continues to exist only because
of the activity of foreigners and in spite of her own people. (51)

88 A friend of mine brought a young, newly-graduated relative of his
to visit me to see if I could help him find a job. The young man's hand,
which I shook with pleasure, was limp and hastily withdrawn. I motioned
him to a chair, but he chose to sit upon the sofa, which I had intended
for the older man. Before he took his seat, he adjusted his trousers
punctilliously to make sure of preserving the crease; once seated, he
casually crossed his legs. When I asked him what kind of a position he
wanted, he told me something that paid twenty-five guineas a month. I
gave him to understand that he demanded the impossible and that the
government's scale of beginning salaries would not meet such a demand.
He remained unconvinced and began to hint that, if it wished to, the
government could grant him an exceptional appointment. "But what," I
asked him, "are the extenuating circumstances which would induce the

government to acknowledge the exception which you seek to enjoy?"

"Why, my competence...". Here I interrupted him and repeated that his demand was unreasonable. He looked away from me and began to fidget with his mustache. Then, with a "Thanks anyway", he took his leave, trailed by his relative, who murmured a few words of apology. After they had gone, I mused over what had just taken place and over the young man's (52) background. Taken with similar experiences which I can recall, it posed a warning about the existence of a moral degeneration among many of our young people. It seems to make them a race apart, different from the younger generation of my own time and from the young people with whom I associated in Europe. The incident brought back my past, and pictures began to flash through my memory of dear former friends, endowed with character, modesty, humility, and acceptance of good order. Despite these traits, they were no less knowledgeable than today's young people. The distinction between them is rather that the least little thing that today's youth learns swells his head until it fills his empty brain and convinces him that the wisdom of heaven and earth is his.

89 Sanity and insanity are two opposite things, but their boundaries overlap. No one really knows where sanity ends and insanity begins. If balance among the forces of the psyche is the sign of sanity, then creative genius may well be the result of some imbalance. (53)

Many great men exemplify this by their eccentricities, their nervous breakdowns, their stubborn inordinate attachment to childish superstitions and to mistaken ideas, their extravagant pursuit of pleasure, or their anti-social habits and spurning of accepted standards, or by other excesses beyond the normal practice of people of average intelligence and sensitivity.

Maybe, (among other) Maybes, inventiveness itself -- either with pen or with apparatus -- with its exigencies of mental preoccupation and turmoil, of nervous energy and exhaustion, and of self-expression, is one of the causes exaggerating the eccentricities which make the genius a strange person, rich in some attributes and poor in others.

Divine Providence has ordained it thus, budgeting its wares according to the most fundamental rules of economy. For, if it exceeds the fixed limit in granting a certain power, it compensates by a stingy allotment of another.

90 Punishing evil by evil adds evil to evil. (54)

91 "Intelligence", "awareness", and "soul" are words which describe, not real things, but qualities which assumed an existence in themselves in a time when knowledge was limited and drew more upon imagination. Contemporary intellectuals use them from force of habit, because of their acceptability, and for want of something better.

The truth is, however, that research physiologists have as yet discovered nothing more than a variety of cells, receptive to growth in themselves and influenced by their relationship to the cells around them.

92 When good fortune befalls an insignificant fellow, a useless albeit harmless man, always the object never the agent of thoughts and events, a colorless insipid chap, people accept it and are glad about it. But just let good fortune befall a deserving man, and they are feverish with hatred and hostility. Why should this be? Because the former is one of them, a kindred spirit, speaking their language and familiar with their idiosyncrasies. They feel comfortable in his presence and complacent

about their prospects and aspirations. The latter is alien to them. They have nothing in common, either in character or in deed. In his company, they feel melancholy, realizing that he stands between them and their ambitions. (55)

93 The finest deeds, meanly done, lose their value. The virtuous man is offensive and his thoughts, no matter how knowledgeable and wise, unheeded, if he goes around patting himself on the back. The true friend becomes displeasing, if his speech and actions show bad taste and gaucheness to those he loves. If limited to the gift of money and his heart is not in it, the benefactor's deed is a loss. For people do not ask, "How much did he give?", but "How did he give it?" More important than the gift is the manner of its giving.

94 February 11, 1908, the day of the funeral of Mustafā Kāmil, was the second time I felt the heart of Egypt beating. The first time was the day of the Dinshawāi executions.

Then I could tell that everyone's heart was heavy, torn, crushed. Gestures and voices reflected shocked disbelief. Grief was in every face, silent, resigned grief, touched with amazement and stupefaction. You would see people talking in hushed voices and disjointed phrases. (56) The whole general atmosphere was of people attending a wake, as if the souls of the executed were abroad everywhere in the city. But this emotional unity, finding no channel of expression, was bottled up inside. It was not clearly set forth for all to see.

On the day of the funeral of The Banner's publisher, however, that emotion shone forth strong and clear; it exploded with a tremendous noise which was heard echoing all over the capital and into all corners of the country.

This emotion, newborn from the womb of the nation, from its blood and sinews, is the hope which puts smiles on our wretched faces, and radiant warmth in our cold, frozen hearts. It is the future.

95 Most people do not understand love, only enjoying it as they would a good meal; when they have it, they eat with relish; when they do not, they compensate for it with something else. But, in reality, love is a deep emotion which grips the whole being and requires it to fuse with another being, as certainly as the sick require sun and the drowning air. Kindling the heart is a fire, which distance does not dim nor nearness cool -- nay, both feed it. Tormenting the lover is a sickness, the symptoms of which are mental congestion, heart palpitation, nervous disorder, and disruption of the tenor of his life and the effects of which are especially apparent in his eating, his sleeping, and his work. He ends up fit for nothing but to gaze at the picture of his beloved, enslaved by her, recalling the details of her features and her every movement, word, or suggestion. A look into her eyes fills his heart with joy. He fancies that he walks on paths strewn with roses or that he rides a cloud, flying to the farthest heights, up near the heavens. For this moment he is happy, happier than the greatest king on earth. After the moment has passed, however, he is back in the same old state of pain and torment. (57)

96 Every new idea is denied for the sake of the truth which it contains. Yet none lives save by truth.

97 Whenever a man wants to express his true feelings, he realizes after long exertion and many words that he has said something quite commonplace (58) and not at all up to expectations. The significance of it remains locked

within him.

To capture a feeling and its influence in words, one must avoid trite and overworked expressions and must instead invent entirely new phrases.

98 Love usually begins lightheartedly, but ends up seriously.

If two sweethearts come together, in harmony of soul and spirit, with the choosing of a lifemate in view, the loftiness of their intentions is a continual source of benefit to them and to all mankind. Why is that? Because that kind of love is faithful and unselfish and fulfills the highest requirements of moral enlightenment.

99 Rarely do you find a truth unmixed with falsehood or a falsehood unmixed with any truth. It therefore behooves us to listen to every word that is said. (59)

100 The greatest joy, the joy most singularly apt to lighten life's burden and to bolster man's wish to live, to make him forget the time and the hour and to want to bid it stand still, is to be in the house of a dear friend, comfortably seated and surrounded by familiar objects. In this soothing atmosphere, he passes the evening smoking and watching the upward spiral, talking and exchanging views with those he loves, informally and unaffectedly. He opens his heart and relieves his pent-up emotions and gives his mind free rein. As if travelling on air, he walks, runs, and cavorts with his freedom in a pooling of thoughts and in a sympathy of hearts, experiencing an intoxication the like of which there is no other.

101 The easiest and most commonly-used way to self-advancement is for the candidate to watch for the carriage of an influential man and to run behind it, gripping its two rear wheels and not letting go, despite abuse and the lash of the whip, until he reaches his destination. (60)

102 The affairs of the world seem to proceed as if the Divine Power was not looking or as if He were on the side of the cowardly, blessing their lives and their activities, their fortunes and their posterity.

103 The weak man bows to the mighty, shrinks before the tyrant, and dreads everyone in authority. On the contrary, the strong man, in displaying courage in the face of such men as these, finds a channel through which emerges more than enough power to meet life's needs. ~~is~~ itself.