

The Islamic World  
Journal 1893-1907 and  
the Anti-Nationalist  
Pan-Islamism of the  
Hamidean Policy



# The Islamic World Journal 1893-1907 and the Anti-Nationalist Pan-Islamism of the Hamidean Policy

By

Amjad Muhsen al-Dajani (al-Daoudi)

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# INTRODUCTION

This book investigates one of the publications associated with the Quilliam Pan-Islamic movement in Britain during the last decade of the nineteenth century. This movement established the Liverpool Muslim Institute (LMI) in Liverpool during the 1890s under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah Quilliam. The Institute published a local weekly newspaper, the *Crescent*, and an international monthly journal, the *Islamic World*, from 1893 to 1908.

Sheikh Quilliam spearheaded the Institute's political activities defending the Ottoman government during the last decade of the nineteenth century. He was the first and last Grand Sheikh of the British Isles appointed to that office by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1894. Quilliam edited the Institute's publications establishing the guiding ideology of these publications.

This book addresses the lack of research on the purpose of the *Islamic World*. It analyses the journal's approximate 2400 pages of reports and articles from 1894 to 1907 to reconstruct its guiding political ideology. By focusing on the *Islamic World*, we gain insight into the political concerns of Sheikh Quilliam's Muslim movement in Britain, which went beyond converting British citizens to Islam, as Sophie Gilliat-Ray,<sup>1</sup> Humyane Ansari,<sup>2</sup> and Ron Geaves suggest.<sup>3</sup>

This book argues that there is a political dimension to the publishing activities of the Liverpool Muslim Institute (LMI). It challenges the notion that *Islamic World* primarily sought to promote Islam in Britain. It argues that the journal was the Institute's political organ that promoted Ottoman interests to its readers. The journal sought to promote better British and Ottoman relations and defend the Sultan's regime against its critics. The *Islamic World* engagements expose a political dimension to the publishing

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<sup>1</sup> Sophie Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain : An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.39-40.

<sup>2</sup> Humayun Ansari, "*The infidel within*" : *Muslims in Britain since 1800* (London: Hurst and Co., 2004), p.123.

<sup>3</sup> Ron Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam* (Leicestershire: Kube Publishing, 2010), p.2.

activities of the Liverpool Muslim Institute (LMI) that went beyond the promotion of Islam in Britain.

At first glance, the *Islamic World* may look less overtly political compared to the other political papers of the period. However, with a closer look, scholars will find that it is, in fact, very much a political publication. Currently, no scholarly publications discuss this journal's guiding ideology and contributions to the debate on nationalism and Pan-Islamism during the Hamidean period. The Victorian periodicals scholar, Jean Chalaby, observes that "the ideology a text conveys becomes an object of inquiry for the analyst only when discursive producers do not directly state their ideological values or when they entertain the illusion that their discourse is value-free".<sup>4</sup>

In the Victorian propagandist tradition, the *Islamic World* emerges as the premier Pan-Islamic publication of the Sheikh Quilliam movement in Britain. It sheds light on the true purpose of Sultan Abdul Hamid II's Pan-Islamic policy. The journal challenges the notion that this policy intended to counter European imperialism, as pan-Islamism scholars claim. The journal provides an example of an anti-nationalist pan-islamism publication. The significance of this is the relative neglect of the journal's contribution to the debates on Pan-Islamism, nationalism, the Armenian question, and British-Ottoman relations during Sultan Abdul Hamid II's reign.

This journal distinguishes itself from contemporary British and Islamic publications through its patronage and global circulation. Its circulation reaches two hundred cities worldwide, including Constantinople, Cairo, and Fez in Morocco. Ottoman officials regularly write for this journal, and some read excerpts from it at the Ottoman exhibition during the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Jean K. Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), p.77.

<sup>5</sup> "As Others See Us," *The Crescent* Vol. 2, no. 47 (1893): p.374.



# CHAPTER 1

## THE ISLAMIC WORLD JOURNAL'S READERSHIP

### *1.1 Global Circulation*

The problem of identifying readership characterizes research in the Victorian periodical field. Victorian periodical scholars note that information about who bought or read Victorian journals is largely inaccessible. Richard Altick explains that this problem stems from the Victorian reading public being neither a cohesive nor a homogeneous unit but rather a cluster of reading publics.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, Mark Hampton suggests that scholars could rely upon inferences from the texts they read to determine the intended readership.<sup>7</sup>

Although no institutional records survive to inform us of the nature of the *Islamic World's* readership, we can infer the origins of its subscribership. The journal's global circulation, contributors and correspondents, local and foreign coverage by other publications, official reactions, and the editor's celebrity status can help us better understand the journal's readership.

The first inference is the *Islamic World's* circulation. It was regularly sent to two hundred cities around the world for fifteen years.<sup>8</sup> That is a significant accomplishment that underscores the journal's global following.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas: A Companion for the Modern Reader of Victorian Literature* (New York: Norton, 1973), p.59.

<sup>7</sup> Mark Hampton, "Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism and Its Historians," in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed. Ann L. Ardis and Patrick Collier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.24.

<sup>8</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute," *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol.4, no. 39 (1896): pp.77-82.

<sup>9</sup> Eric Germain, "Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* Vol. 27, no. 1 (2007): p.129.

In 1893, the *Athenaeum* journal (1828), which was “well regarded for its broad coverage of books”,<sup>10</sup> reports that the *Islamic World* was “sent post-free to all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, Turkey, Syria, and other countries within the Postal Union”.<sup>11</sup> In June 1896, Sheikh Quilliam complains that at least three hundred subscribers were late with their subscriptions.<sup>12</sup> He notes that “we spent on India at least 50 pounds in postages and the cost of periodicals and pamphlets we have mailed out there, and for which no payment has been made”.<sup>13</sup>

The authors contributing to the *Islamic World* provide the second inference to identify the journal’s readership. The articles and letters published in the journal were sent from Britain, the British colonies, North America, Europe, Africa, and across the Muslim world. *The Athenaeum* (1828) describes the *Islamic World* as

a High-Class Magazine...in the interest of Islam. It will contain original Articles by leading learned Mohammedans...and will be sent post free to all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, Turkey, Syria, and other countries within the Postal Union.<sup>14</sup>

In March 1895, the *Miscellaneous Notes and Queries* journal, published in Manchester, reports that the *Islamic World* had “among its contributors, the leading and most learned Muslim writers throughout the world”.<sup>15</sup> In September 1895, the *Freethinker* reports that “Mahmoud Essad, a judge at Smyrna, translates and publishes in the *Islamic World* what purports to be The Decree of the Prophet [Mohammed] granting toleration and protection to a Christian Monastery in Syria”.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, George Rule, the Ottoman consul at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, G.W. Leitner, John Yarker, Sayyid Ameer Ali, a member of its board of

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<sup>10</sup> Hancock-Beaulieu Micheline and Susan Holland, “Indexing the Athenaeum: Aims and Difficulties,” *The Indexer* 17, no. 3 (1991): pp.167-72.

<sup>11</sup> “The Islamic World Journal,” *The Athenaeum*, no. no. 3450 (1893): p.794.

<sup>12</sup> “The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute,” p.78-79.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.79.

<sup>14</sup> “The Islamic World Journal,” p.794.

<sup>15</sup> S. C. Gould, “Publications, Serials, Exchanges,” in *Miscellaneous Notes and Queries*, ed. Sylvester Clark Gould (Manchester N.H.: S. C. Gould, 1895), p.88.

<sup>16</sup> “Acid Drops,” in *The Freethinker* ed. G.W. Foote (London: G. W. Foote, 1895), p.584.

trustees, Moulvi Cheragh Ali,<sup>17</sup> Mahmoud Essad, a judge at Smyrna,<sup>18</sup> and Muhammad Abdullah Suhrvaryd, among several others, contributed lengthy articles to the *Islamic World* and corresponded with its editor regarding developments affecting British Ottoman relations.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, these authors show that prominent Muslims of that time were a segment of the journal's readership.

The *Islamic World* also publishes various letters and correspondences to the editor. These letters either praise Sheikh Quilliam for his activities or update him on the Muslim community's condition abroad. In 1897, the journal publishes a letter from Canada praising Sheikh Quilliam for his work. In this letter, John C. Williams also includes a money order of thirteen shillings and six dollars to cover the costs of renewing his subscription for the coming year.<sup>20</sup> In other cases, the letters report the maltreatment of Muslims and request assistance to counter the anti-Islam sentiments in their host countries. One letter from Melbourne complains that:

I know many would join us but fear to do so because of the persecution they would have to submit to. Thus Melbourne is cram full of orthodoxy of the worst kind, bitter and persecuting. Employment is hard to get, and those who can get work dare not incur the enmity of their Christian employers by accepting Islam. If they did so, they and their families might starve in the gutter. ... I posted you a newspaper containing a scurrilous attack on Islam. I wrote a reply to this, but it was refused insertion."<sup>21</sup>

Publishing these correspondences attracts the attention of other journals and the British press. In 1896, the *Literary World* reports that:

The *Islamic World* stands sponsor for the following statements emanating from Australia:

The progress of the Faith of Islam is very marvelous. Christians try every means to reduce the actual figures and augment their own...During the past

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<sup>17</sup> Brent D. Singleton, "The Moslem World: A History of American's Earliest Islamic Newspaper and its Successors," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* Vol. 27, no. 2 (2007): p.300.

<sup>18</sup> "Acid Drops," p.584.

<sup>19</sup> Muhammad Abdullah Suhrvaryd, "Will Islam Rise Again?," *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol.2, no. 21 (1895): p.284

<sup>20</sup> John C. Williams, "Kind Letter from Canada," *The Crescent* Vol. 9, no. 212 (1897): p.77

<sup>21</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute," p.82-83.

twenty years or so a very large number of English-speaking people have renounced Christianity and embraced Islam...Numerous large weekly newspapers and monthly magazines are regularly issued in English. In addition to these, quite a small library of books, pamphlets and tracts, have been published, many of which have had an enormous circulation...To keep up Christianity many millions of pounds sterling have to be expended each year. Take away this money and Christianity would collapse in a few years.<sup>22</sup>

Likewise, the British press also starts reporting the letters published in the *Islamic World*. On 19 March 1902, the *Times* reports that a prominent West African Muslim sent a letter to “his Honour Abdullah Sheikh Quilliam Effendi, Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles” informing him of the latest conversions to Islam in West Africa.<sup>23</sup>

The diverse origins of the contributors and correspondents with the editor illustrate the diverse range of readers and the geographical reach of the journal. These letters infer that the Muslim diaspora was among the *Islamic World* readerships. They used this journal to reach out to other Muslim readers for support. Eric Germain observes that Western-Islamic dialogue would not have been possible without the “international diffusion of Liverpool’s publications”.<sup>24</sup>

## 1.2 Global Network

The *Crescent* describes the objective of the *Islamic World* by the aphorism “Islam for the world, and the world for Islam” to underscore its global reach.<sup>25</sup> The journal’s editor, Sheikh Quilliam emphasizes the global character of this journal in 1896, declaring that “our efforts to spread Islam are not confined to the British Isles. Our field is the world”.<sup>26</sup> He boasts of the *Islamic World*’s global circulation, noting that “not a week elapses without our receiving letters from Germany, the United States of America,

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<sup>22</sup> “October Magazines: The Spread of Muhammadanism,” *The Literary World* LIV, no. October (1896): p.290.

<sup>23</sup> “Mahomedanism in West Africa,” *Times* (London), 19 March 1902, p.5.

<sup>24</sup> Germain, “Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” p.128.

<sup>25</sup>, *The Crescent* Vol.1, no. 4 (1893). *The Crescent* Vol.1 ,no.4 (1893): p.32

<sup>26</sup> “The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute,” pp.81-82.

Australia, or some other distant land, asking for sample copies of our journals and for information regarding Islam".<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, the journal is sent to two hundred cities around the world,<sup>28</sup> and regularly circulates in "New Zealand, the provinces of Western Australia and New South Wales, and the towns of Johannesburg (Transvaal), Cape Town, and Kimberley" in South Africa.<sup>29</sup> Its global character testifies to Sheikh Quilliam's success as an editor and to the international significance of the journal. He once boasts, "if any journal of its size has anything like the worldwide circulation of our journals, copies of which are regularly [mailed and] distributed to over two hundred cities worldwide".<sup>30</sup>

Sheikh Quilliam assures his readers that his journal is internationally attractive because of the steady increase in demand for it.<sup>31</sup> He once notes that "in England we enjoy the blessed privilege of a free press, with liberty to express our thoughts in a reasonable way, and this advantageous position can be used for the purpose of promoting the entire re-union of Muslim peoples".<sup>32</sup>

The global reach of the *Islamic World* is an achievement that few Muslim journals, if any, can claim. It helped the Liverpool Muslim Institute promote ideas of Islamic union under the Sultan's leadership. In his discussion of Mohammad Alexander Webb's Islamic activism in America, Umar Abd-Allah explains that journals are "the primary means for spreading religious ideas and ideological movements".<sup>33</sup>

Although the Hamidean period witnesses a proliferation of Pan-Islamic journals in the Muslim world,<sup>34</sup> the distribution of Pan-Islamic journals, however, was limited by financial and geographical constraints that force

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp.81-82.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.77.

<sup>29</sup> Germain, "Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p.127.

<sup>30</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute," pp.77-82.

<sup>31</sup> Germain, "Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p.128.

<sup>32</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: The Union of Islam," *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol.4, no. 39 (1896): p.89.

<sup>33</sup> Umar F. Abd-Allah, *A Muslim in Victorian America : The Life of Alexander Russell Webb* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.182.

<sup>34</sup> Azmi Ozcan, *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans, and Britain 1877-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p.33.

them to cater primarily to a local Muslim readership. The lack of adequate funding to establish international distribution networks limits global circulation. Therefore, most Muslim journals focus primarily on domestic issues to attract a local readership and only cover international developments in a cursory way. They either contextualized international events within a local context, as with *al-Liwa* journal in Cairo,<sup>35</sup> or reprint entire articles from other periodicals as part of their international coverage, as was the case with the weekly *Crescent* in Liverpool.<sup>36</sup>

The *Islamic World* overcame such financial challenges because of its editor's position as Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles. Quilliam shrewdly utilizes his position to attract the support of Muslim leaders and other wealthy Muslims to the journal and his institute. His political connections with Ottoman and Afghani officials facilitate the distribution and circulation of the *Islamic World* in their territories.<sup>37</sup> The patronage of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and the Prince of Afghanistan, among other political elites, suggests that the editor received sufficient funding and support from their regimes to facilitate the distribution of his journal in Ottoman and Afghani territories. Quilliam also secures "financial support from trading Muslim communities spread over the empire",<sup>38</sup> to sustain global circulation.

The *Islamic World* becomes part of an international network, being exchanged for other journals – one publication with another – and sharing information on contemporary developments from around the world. It becomes part of a global Islamic network that shares Pan-Islamic ideals. Germain confirms the international reach of Quilliam's institute by noting that the Liverpool Institute was well connected with the Indian Pathan networks around the world.<sup>39</sup> In 1896, its editor announces that he is exchanging the *Islamic World* with

One hundred foreign journals and magazines published in the following languages: English, French, German, Dutch, Russian, Spanish, Bulgarian,

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<sup>35</sup> Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.124.

<sup>36</sup> Germain, "Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p.129.

<sup>37</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: Patrons," *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol.4, no. 40 (1896): p.114-15.

<sup>38</sup> Germain, "Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p.129.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p.129.

Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Roumanian, Malay, Gujerati, Urdu and Bengalee. Many of these journals are bi-lingual.<sup>40</sup>

Sheikh Quilliam regularly sends the *Islamic World* to various editors in India, the Arab-Ottoman Middle East, North and South Africa, and the United States. He exchanges copies of his journal with the *Mussulman of India* and the *Da'wat-ul-Islam*, both published in Bombay; the *Banner of Islam* from Secunderabad; the *Punjab* journal from Siyalcoot; the *Mohamedan Observer* from Calcutta; the *Patna Institute Gazette* from Patna;<sup>41</sup> the *Muhammadian* journal from Madras;<sup>42</sup> and the *Muslim Chronicle*, among many other Muslim journals from India.<sup>43</sup> In the Ottoman-Arab world he exchanges the *Islamic World* for the *Jaridat al-Nile* newspaper, *Thamarat al-Fanon*,<sup>44</sup> *al-Adab*, *al-Moayid*, and the *Evidence of Truth*, all published in Egypt.<sup>45</sup> He also exchanges it for *al-Bacira*,<sup>46</sup> *Kasim-ul-Akhbar*,<sup>47</sup> and *Al-Muntazir* from Tunisia,<sup>48</sup> and for the *Shuuni Islamiya* (Islamic Annals) from Turkey, which defends Islam's interests in the world and seeks to preserve "all the deeds of our co-religionaries [sic] worthy of being transmitted to posterity".<sup>49</sup>

The *Islamic World's* advocacy on behalf of the Sultan is part of a larger pattern across the world. In the United States, Quilliam exchanges the *Islamic World* with the monthly *Moslem World* published in New York.<sup>50</sup> Muhammad Alexander Russell Webb is the editor of the *Moslem World*, an American convert to Islam whom Muhammad Rashid Rida, the editor of *al-Manar* in Egypt, describes as Sheikh-ul-Islam.<sup>51</sup> The *Moslem World*, like the *Islamic World*, is also on a mission to promote Pan-Islamism

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<sup>40</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute," p.78.

<sup>41</sup> *The Crescent* Vol. 2, no. 28 (1893).

<sup>42</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: The Union of Islam," p.88.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.87.

<sup>44</sup> *The Crescent* Vol. 2, no. 28 (1893): p.239

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.223.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.237.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.236.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p.223.

<sup>49</sup> *Crescent* 6, weekly, no. 149 (1894): p.331.

<sup>50</sup> Abd-Allah, *A Muslim in Victorian America: The Life of Alexander Russell Webb*, p.191.

<sup>51</sup> Muhammad Rashid Rida, "al-Islam fi Bilad al-Massihhiya (Islam in Christian Lands)," *al-Manar* Vol.13, no. 2 (1910): p.125.

globally.<sup>52</sup> The Liverpool Muslim Institute receives its first issue of the *Moslem World* on July 1893, which the weekly *Crescent* describes as a monthly “devoted to the interests of the American Islamic propaganda”.<sup>53</sup>

Webb’s *The Moslem World* adopts the *Islamic World*’s promotion of the Sultan’s leadership to readers in the United States.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Webb’s book *Islam in America* promotes Islam and defends the Sultan against the American press’s support of Armenian nationalism and its accusations.<sup>55</sup> Webb primarily promotes the sovereignty of the Sultan to readers in the United States through books and pamphlets, although he initially starts defending the Sultan using his journal. However, his journal fails to last more than several months preventing him from fully taking advantage of *The Moslem World*’s propagandist potential. One particular work of Webb, *A Few Facts about Turkey under the Reign of Abdul Hamid II* (1895) promotes the accomplishments of the Sultan. In this work, Webb recounts the modernizing achievements of the Sultan, from extending railways to reforming government institutions. Webb left little to the imagination about Sultan Abdul Hamid II’s importance to the progress and modernization of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>56</sup>

The editors of successful journals such as the *Islamic World* regularly establish correspondents in foreign countries to report on the latest developments unfolding in those locales. For example, journals “in Egypt, Constantinople, and Beirut had correspondents in the Indies and Singapore who regularly reported on the mistreatment of fellow Muslims”.<sup>57</sup> Much of the success or failure of a journal during that period depends on establishing correspondents in international capital cities. These correspondents and their reports give their respective journals an international flavor.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.182.

<sup>53</sup> *The Crescent* Vol. 1, no. 21 (1893). *The Crescent* Vol. 1, no. 21 (1893): p.187

<sup>54</sup> Singleton, “The Moslem World: A History of America’s Earliest Islamic Newspaper and its Successors,” pp.297-307.

<sup>55</sup> Mohammad Alexander Russell Webb, “The Armenian Troubles & The Responsibility Lies,” in *Islam in America & Other Writings*, ed. Mohammed al-Ahari (Chicago: Magribine Press, 2006), pp.131-54.

<sup>56</sup> Alexander Russell Webb, *A Few Facts About Turkey Under the Reign of Abdul Hamid II* (New York: Press of J. J. Little & Co., 1895).

<sup>57</sup> Fred R. Von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam: Interaction between Southeast Asia and the Middle East* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), p.6.

<sup>58</sup> E. T. Raymond, *Portraits of the Nineties* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, LTD, 1921), p.295.



In the case of the *Islamic World*, the journal has several foreign correspondents, thus presenting a successful model for a nineteenth-century Pan-Islamic journal. The *Islamic World* had correspondents in foreign countries and distant Muslim territories who report on the various political developments in their countries. Sheikh Quilliam regularly receives these reports from countries as far away as India,<sup>59</sup> America, and Australia,<sup>60</sup> in addition to having correspondents in the Ottoman Middle East, especially Cairo.<sup>61</sup> He also had a correspondent in Paris, covering the latest developments in France and elsewhere in Europe, and contacts in Perth, Australia, and the Cape Colony, South African Republic (Transvaal).<sup>62</sup> Germaine validates this vast network by noting that Quilliam had "several foreign correspondents living in Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, India, Burma, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and three in the Southern Hemisphere".<sup>63</sup>

The vast network suggests that the *Islamic World's* patronage, prominence with Ottoman officialdom, global circulation, international correspondents, and networks contributed to this journal's prominence. Its content is regularly quoted and commented on by foreign and local publications, among other contemporary Muslim publications. For this reason, it is a valuable source that provides insight into Hamidean Pan-Islamism and British-Ottoman relations from a Muslim perspective during the last decade of Sultan Abdul Hamid II's reign.

### ***1.3 Local & Foreign Coverage***

The third inference is the local and foreign coverage of the *Islamic World*. The global prominence of the Liverpool Muslim Institute's publishing activities caught the eye of contemporary historian T.W. Arnold. In his 1896 discussion of the historical spread of Islam, Arnold observes that the Institute adopted vigorous methods of propaganda by publishing a "magazine" that supplemented other methods of Muslim propaganda in

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<sup>59</sup> Suhrvaryd, "Will Islam Rise Again?," *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol.2, no. 21 (1895): pp.284-85

<sup>60</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute," p.82.

<sup>61</sup> A Young Egyptian, "The 13th of June Incident at Denshawai: Specially Written for the Islamic World," *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol.7, no. 84 (1906): pp. 405-13.

<sup>62</sup> Germain, "Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p.127.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p.127.

Britain. He notes that “this missionary movement attracted considerable attention in the Muhammadan world, especially in India, where every incident connected with the religious life of the English converts is chronicled in the Muhammadan newspapers”.<sup>64</sup> Arnold’s observation demonstrates that the *Islamic World’s* readership includes the Musliposym press in India, which regularly reported on the Institute’s journal. Indeed, Christian missionary organizations in India confirm the validity of Arnold’s observation. In 1901, the *Indian Evangelical Review* reports that

A great deal has been made in the Muhammadan world of Mr. Sheikh Quilliam’s Moslem propaganda in Liverpool . . . The Sultan has even conferred upon Mr. Sheikh Quilliam the distinguished title of a Sheikh-ul-Islam.<sup>65</sup>

By describing the Institute’s propaganda as a “great deal”, the *Evangelical Review* exposes the increasing concern with the popularity of the Institute’s publications. It suggests that the missionary community was closely following the Institute’s publications and the activities of Sheikh Quilliam. The Church Missionary Society also took notice of Sheikh Quilliam’s activities in Britain. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1902, the *Lagos Weekly Record* reports that on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1902, during the annual meeting of the Liverpool auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society, Bishop Tugwell questioned the credibility of Sheikh Quilliam. The Bishop comments that Mr. Sheikh Quilliam’s statements in the article ““Lagos News”...would possibly lead you to suppose that many of our converts had seceded from the Church and had lapsed into Mohammedanism”.<sup>66</sup> The Society’s *Church Missionary Review* accused Sheikh Quilliam’s movement of being a “gigantic fraud which passes by the name of benevolence and religion”.<sup>67</sup> It also reported that the

two particularly noticeable movements of Muslim missionary activity in England and America which strikingly illustrate the power of this religion to adapt itself...are connected with the names of a Mr. Sheikh Quilliam at Liverpool and a Mr. Alexander Russell Webb at New York. The most

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<sup>64</sup> Sir Thomas Walker Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam : a History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1896), p.370.

<sup>65</sup> Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), p.26.

<sup>66</sup> “Bishop Tugwel and West Africa,” *The Lagos Weekly Record* XIII, no. 41 (1902): p.5.

<sup>67</sup> Rev. J. A. Lightfoot, “Remember Jesus Christ: The Three-Fold View of Islam,” *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* 50 (1899): p.897.

noticeable feature about these movements is that they have chiefly profited the respective promoters.<sup>68</sup>

Furthermore, some missionary editors corresponded directly with Sheikh Quilliam. For example, in the *Biblical World*, Rev. T. Witton Davies, the Principal of the Midland Baptist College in Nottingham, references the editor of the *Islamic World*, Sheikh Quilliam, as having told Rev. Davies that "the New Islamism is finding general sympathy among Muslims".<sup>69</sup> Similarly, other editors also corresponded with Sheikh Quilliam on Islam. On one occasion, the editor of *The Hat Crusade*, Edward Pickard, asks Sheikh Quilliam whether wicked Muslims would be admitted into heaven if killed in battle.<sup>70</sup> The hostile reports of the missionary reviews and the personal correspondences with Sheikh Quilliam infer that missionary leaders are among the readers of the Liverpool Muslim Institute's journal.

Local and foreign publications also report on the *Islamic World*. Locally, the *Liverpool Review* describes the *Islamic World* as a publication that would "meet the wants of the people of Islam throughout the world". It reports that this journal was "characterised by the boldness with which the doctrines of Mohammed are advocated and those of Christianity condemned".<sup>71</sup> In a review of the *Islamic World* in 1893, the London *Freethinker* boldly predicts the demise of Christianity in Britain, leaving the British public with the alternative of embracing either atheism or Islam.<sup>72</sup> In 1895, the *Freethinker* again reports that "in the *Islamic World* Sheikh Abdullah Sheikh Quilliam contrasts the superstitious medicine of the seventeenth century with the long anterior science of the Arabs, much to the disadvantage of the former".<sup>73</sup>

Such coverage of the *Islamic World* journal underscores the wide range of readers the journal had during its circulation. Sheikh Quilliam once boosted that "scarcely a week passes without an extract from one or other of our journals being quoted in some other publication. I regard this as one

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<sup>68</sup> Lightfoot, "Remember Jesus Christ: The Three-Fold View of Islam," p.897.

<sup>69</sup> T. Witton Davies, "Islam: A Sketch with Bibliography," *The Biblical World* 8, no. 5 (1896): p.344.

<sup>70</sup> Edward Pickard, "Kind Letter from a Member of the Society of Friends," in *The Hat Crusade*, ed. Samuel Fox, Edward Pickard, and Edwin Tregelles (Falmouth: Flushing Press, 1897), p.120.

<sup>71</sup> "The Press on "The Islamic World"," *The Crescent* Vol. 1, no. 20 (1893): p.157.

<sup>72</sup> "The Press on "The Islamic World"," p.156.

<sup>73</sup> "Sugar Plums," in *The Freethinker* ed. G.W. Foote (London: G. W. Foote, 1895), p.634.

of the most important features of our work”.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, various contemporary British publications regularly quote from and report on the *Islamic World*. For instance, the *Isle of Man Times* newspaper quotes from the article “Sheik’s Passing Thoughts” in the *Islamic World*.<sup>75</sup> The *Luzac’s Oriental List and Book Review* in London reports in March and April 1896 on the latest articles published in the *Islamic World*.<sup>76</sup> In 1895, the *Borderland Quarterly Review*, which W. T. Stead edited, reports on several of the *Islamic World*’s articles, such as “Mohammadans of India, Their Attitudes towards England and Russia” and Professor Thomas Huxley’s article “As Seen by a Muslim”.<sup>77</sup>

Internationally, foreign publications also report on the *Islamic World*. For example, the editor of the *Indian Magazine* describes the *Islamic World* as the controversial organ of the Liverpool Muslim Institute that has “some interesting articles which tend to place the system of Islam, in certain respects, under fairer view than [that] to which we have been accustomed”.<sup>78</sup> Likewise, the *Hesperian*, a quarterly journal published in St. Louis in the United States, describes the *Islamic World* as “a thirty-two page monthly issued in the interests of the Moslem faith, at Liverpool England”.<sup>79</sup> In 1896, the *Hesperian* informs its readers that the *Islamic World* published

several articles on the “Birth of Islam,” “Religious Muslim Precepts upon Hygiene,” “Islam and Soofeeism,” etc., etc. that cannot but be very interesting to Christians who are curious or care to “listen to what the other side has to say.”<sup>80</sup>

Such coverage of the journal’s articles infers that literary circles in Britain and abroad are among the readers of the *Islamic World*.

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<sup>74</sup> “The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute,” p.78.

<sup>75</sup> “Summary and Notes,” *The Isle of Man Times*, 31 December 1895, p.2.

<sup>76</sup> “Notes and News,” in *Luzac’s Oriental List and Book Review Quarterly: Volumes 6-7*, ed. Luzac & Co (London: Luzac & Co., 1896), p.120.

<sup>77</sup> “Some Articles of the Quarter: July to September “, in *Borderland: A Quarterly Review and Index - Volume Two*, ed. W. T. Stead (London: Horace Marshall, 1895), pp.382-83.

<sup>78</sup> “As Others See Us,” p.374.

<sup>79</sup> Alexander Nicolas De Menil, “The Literary Wayside: Authors and Magazines,” Microfilm, *The Hesperian: A Western Quarterly Illustrated Magazine* Vol. 1, no. 9 (1896): p.376.

<sup>80</sup> De Menil, “The Literary Wayside: Authors and Magazines,” p.376.

### 1.4 Official Reactions

The fourth inference is the reaction of Muslim and British officials to the activities of Sheikh Quilliam and the Institute's publications. Among the readers of the *Islamic World* are influential political Muslim leaders. The primary patron, his Imperial Majesty Ghazi Abdul-Hamid Khan, the Sultan of Turkey and Caliph of the Faithful, regularly received copies of the recent publications of the Institute. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1897, *The Times* reports that Feridoun Bey, the Special Minister Plenipotentiary of the Sultan to Britain, had assured Sheikh Quilliam – during a visit to the Muslim Liverpool Institute – that the “Caliph watched every detail of their papers in Liverpool with the keenest interest”.<sup>81</sup>

The journal also attracts the attention of the Afghan leadership, his Majesty Abdur-Rahman Khan, and his son Prince Nasrullah Khan.<sup>82</sup> In 1894, the *Glasgow Herald* reports that “the Ameer of Afghanistan has addressed a letter to Mr. W. Sheikh Quilliam, solicitor, Liverpool – styled in this connection Sheikh Abdullah W. Sheikh Quilliam – with reference to the progress of Mohammedanism in England”.<sup>83</sup> On the 6<sup>th</sup> of November of that year, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* publishes a letter from the Ameer of Afghanistan thanking Sheikh Quilliam for his work and confirming the Ameer's full support. In this letter, the Ameer assures Sheikh Quilliam that

We will do what we can for you whenever you need our assistance. We shall ever be pleased to hear about you and your congregation of new Moslems, their health, and the progress of Islam.<sup>84</sup>

The endorsement of such prominent Muslim patrons underscores the significance of the Liverpool Muslim Institute (LMI) and the *Islamic World* in the Muslim world. When the young Prince of Afghanistan, Nasrullah Khan, visits the Institute in 1895, the *Times* reports on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1895 that the “visit to Liverpool interested him even more than his visit to other places”.<sup>85</sup> He also regularly receives the latest *Islamic World*

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<sup>81</sup> “Feridoun Bey and the Sultan,” *Times* (London), 20 July 1897, p.10.

<sup>82</sup> “The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: Patrons,” p.114-15.

<sup>83</sup> “Letter from the Prince of Afghanistan,” *The Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 5 November 1894, p.5.

<sup>84</sup> “Letter from Ameer of Afghanistan,” *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (Sheffield), 5 November 1894, p.6.

<sup>85</sup> “Nasrulla Khan in Liverpool,” *Times* (London), 13 June 1895, p.7.

and *Crescent* issues at his palace in Kabul. In 1894, the editor reports in the *Islamic World* that

we have the pleasure in announcing that we have been honoured with the command to forward both of our journals, *The Crescent* and the *Islamic World*, regularly in the future to His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan.<sup>86</sup>

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1903, the *Times* reports that “the present Ameer also evinces much interest in Moslem work here, reports of progress being sent to him from time to time”.<sup>87</sup> According to the *Times*, the Afghan Prince exhibits “a good deal of interest in the Moslem Institute and its Effendi, the Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles”.<sup>88</sup> The various press reports on the regularity with which Muslim leaders received the journal infer that these leaders were among the journal's readers.

The elite Muslim patronage and political content of the *Islamic World* also attract the attention of Ottoman, Bulgarian, and British officials. Ottoman officials subscribe to the journal and contribute articles and letters for publication. On one occasion, the Ottoman consul general at Liverpool, Enver Bey,<sup>89</sup> and E. Mustapha Behaddin – an official from the Bureau of the Press at the Foreign Office in the Sublime Porte in Constantinople – corresponds with the editor affirming Ottoman interconnectedness to Islamism.<sup>90</sup> In 1893, the *Indian Magazine* reports that Ottoman officials publicly read one of the *Islamic World*'s articles in front of American officials at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.<sup>91</sup> The fact that Ottoman officials chose to read one of the journals' articles about Turkey instead of reading one from the Turkish press infers that Ottoman officials are among the readers of the journal.

Furthermore, the journal attracts the attention of foreign officials or, more precisely, the ire of Bulgarian officials. The Bulgarian government bans the circulation of the Institute's daily newspaper, *Crescent*, which regularly reprints articles published in the *Islamic World* from Bulgarian

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<sup>86</sup> Abdullah Quilliam, “Announcement by the Editor “ *Islamic World* 1893-1908 2, no. 13 (1894).

<sup>87</sup> “The a Meer and the British Moslem,” *Times* (London), 30 October 1903, p.13.

<sup>88</sup> “The a Meer and the British Moslem,” p.13.

<sup>89</sup> Germain, “Southern Hemisphere Diasporic Communities in the Building of an International Muslim Public Opinion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” p.130.

<sup>90</sup> E. Mustapha Behaaddin, “E. Mustapha Behaaddin Letter,” *Islamic World: 1893-1908* Vol. 2, no. 14 (1894): p.50.

<sup>91</sup> “As Others See Us,” p.374.

territories. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1905, the *Daily Mail* reports that the Bulgarian government banned the “*Crescent*, edited by the Sheikh Abdullah Sheikh Quilliam Bey at Liverpool” from circulating in Bulgaria because it contained “matters likely to irritate the Greek and Moslem inhabitants of Bulgaria against the Government”.<sup>92</sup>

In contrast to the Bulgarian government, the British government was more concerned with the activities of Sheikh Quilliam than with his publications. Ron Geaves, the author of *Islam in Victorian Britain*, observes that “both the Foreign Office and Home Office were intensely interested in his [Sheikh Quilliam] activities and maintained files on him”.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, officials at the Home Office and the Foreign Office corresponded vigorously over the Islamic marriage ceremonies at the Institute’s Mosque in Liverpool. According to official records, H. B. Simpson of the Home Office sent a letter to the Head Constable of the Liverpool City Police on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1905 inquiring about a marriage ceremony at the Institute’s Mosque in Liverpool. Simpson informs the Head Constable that the Secretary of State requests a report on the marriage of a 17-year-old English bride to a Moor at the Mosque.<sup>94</sup>

British officials took issue with Sheikh Quilliam conducting Islamic marriages in Liverpool because of the public order issue these marriages raise. According to official records, the *Daily Chronicle*, quoting the *Reuter Telegram*, reports that there was a marriage ceremony of an English woman and a Moroccan citizen that “was solemnised...according to Islamic law, but not according to either Christian or English law”.<sup>95</sup> Naturally, such reports attract the attention of Home Office officials who want to determine if such marriages break any laws. On 9 June 1905, Simpson sends a communiqué to Mr. Chalmers stating that “it does not seem right that people should establish and carry on machinery for registering formal contracts of concubinage: Mr Sheikh Quilliam emphasizes the fact that a Moslem marriage is mere concubinage in English Law”. Simpson inquires whether the Home Office should contact

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<sup>92</sup> “Mr. Chamberlain Has Promised to Attend the Luncheon to the Canadian Manufacturers on Their Visit to Birmingham on June 27,” *Daily Mail* (London), 8 June 1905, p.3.

<sup>93</sup> Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam*, p.306.

<sup>94</sup> “General Register Office RG 48/310: Internal Communiqué between from Mr. H. Simpson to M. Chalmers at the Home Office “, *Moslem Marriage in Mosque: Quilliam Case*, no. C645992 (1905): p.1.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

the Director of P. P. to investigate “whether an indictment would lie against him [Sheikh Quilliam] at Common Law for a public mischief or whether the Holy Mosque...can be treated as disorderly house?”<sup>96</sup>

The Foreign Office weighs in on the matter of an Islamic marriage in Liverpool. The British Consulate in Tangier sends a full report to the Principal Secretary of the State for Foreign Affairs, Herbert White. It reports on the nature of the marriage ceremony and the developments after the couple settle in Tangier, Morocco.<sup>97</sup> On the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1905, E. Grost of the Foreign Office sends a memo to the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Akers Douglas, requesting information about the marriage. Grost explains that he was

directed by the Marquess of Lansdowne to transmit to you...the accompanying copy of dispatch from his Majesty’s Consul at Tangier respecting the case of Clara Casey, who went through a ceremony of marriage with a Moor...at the Muslim Mosque at Liverpool. Lord Lansdowne would be glad to learn in due course what action if any Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas proposes to take in the matter.<sup>98</sup>

The Foreign Office was also interested in Sheikh Quilliam’s political activities in Britain. After the Sultan appoints Sheikh Quilliam as Honorary Turkish Consul for the Isles of Man in 1906, the Foreign Office requests a full report on Sheikh Quilliam from the Central Police Office in Liverpool. The Central Police provides the full report with the recommendation to deny official recognition of Sheikh Quilliam’s appointment as Honorary Consul.<sup>99</sup>

These examples infer that contemporary Ottoman and Bulgarian officials are among the readers of the Liverpool Muslim Institute’s publications. They also demonstrate that both the Home and the Foreign Office were investigating Sheikh Quilliam’s activities. Although there is no mention of the *Islamic World* in these internal official communiqués, they infer official knowledge of Sheikh Quilliam as the editor of both the *Islamic World* and the *Crescent*.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp.14-18.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p.13.

<sup>99</sup> “National Archives: Foreign Office FO 372/34/44 File 37105: Appointment of Abdullah Quilliam Effendi as Honorary Consul for Turkey at Douglas, Isle of Man,” no. C645992 (1906): pp.513-15.



In addition to this interest in Sheikh Quilliam's person, there is evidence that the Foreign Office also followed the publications of the Institute. In 1896, Sheikh Quilliam publishes a scathing fatwa opposing the British expedition to Sudan. The reason is his concern that the British occupation of Sudan further undermines the sovereignty of the Sultan before his Muslim subjects.<sup>100</sup> Sheikh Quilliam confirms this notion by his claim that the Dervish leader, Khalifa Abdullah, "expressed his willingness to conform to the ruling of his suzerain lord, the Sultan of Turkey and Caliph of the Faithful".<sup>101</sup>

The publishing of his fatwa attracts the attention of the British government. In 1897, the Office of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh in British India criticizes Sheikh Quilliam's publication of this fatwa. In its annual report on British India, the Office of Lieutenant-Governor reports that

the appeal made by Mr. Abdulla Sheikh Quilliam in the Liverpool Crescent, calling upon Mohammadans to refuse to help the Government in the Dongola expedition, the ground that they would be fighting against their co-religionists, was generally condemned by the Press as ill-conceived and indicating doubt as to the loyalty of the Indian Muhammadans.<sup>102</sup>

Although the report particularly references the *Crescent*, this does not suggest that officials were unaware that *Crescent* was republishing the fatwa from the *Islamic World*. Instead, it confirms that British officials were following Sheikh Quilliam's editorial activities closely. The fact that the fatwa was republished in the *Crescent* suggests Sheikh Quilliam's intention to maximize public awareness of his fatwa.

The apparent concern with Sheikh Quilliam's fatwa infers that British officials were not only aware of the Institute's publications but also interested in the Muslim reactions to them.

The publication of this fatwa in the *Islamic World* and subsequently in the *Crescent* generated considerable reactions from readers abroad. Sheikh Quilliam received letters from Muslims in Bulgaria, France, Greece, and

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<sup>100</sup> "The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: The Union of Islam," p.86-87.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p.86.

<sup>102</sup> *Report on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh of India*, The Office of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh (Allahabad, British India, 31 March 1898), p.189.

Crete praising the publishing of his fatwa. He also received “twenty-nine letters from educated Muslims in India, all expressing their approval of the fatwa, and thanking me for calling the attention of Muslims throughout the world to this subject”.<sup>103</sup> Sheikh Quilliam also received critical letters of his fatwa from abroad. Some readers asked him to “confine himself to religion and leave politics alone”.<sup>104</sup> They argued that publishing the fatwa was “a strategical error” on the part of Sheikh Quilliam.<sup>105</sup> The *Muslim Chronicle* assured its readers that the fatwa was limited to the “educated Muslims of India”.<sup>106</sup> However, the *Islamic World* also reported that Sheikh Quilliam had stated that

the same mail that brought me the copy of the number of the *Muslim Chronicle* containing the paragraph in question, also carried twenty-nine letters from educated Muslims in India all expressing their approval of the Fetva, and thanking me for calling the attention of Muslims throughout the world to this subject.<sup>107</sup>

These diverse reactions infer the global readership of the *Islamic World* journal. The reactions from the Office of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in India, Chief Commissioner of Oudh in British India, educated Muslims, and the Indian press confirm the international and official interest in the Institute’s publications.

### *1.5 The Celebrity of its Editor*

The fifth inference is the celebrity of the *Islamic World*’s editor. Victorian author, E. T. Raymond, observes that Victorian editors hoped to achieve fame through their journals. He notes that a successful journal turns its editor into a public figure and brings him celebrity status in British society’s literary and political circles.<sup>108</sup> This suggests that the celebrity of a particular editor reflects the success of his journal in attracting a broader readership during the Victorian period.

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<sup>103</sup> “The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: The Union of Islam,” p.88.

<sup>104</sup> Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam*, p.174.

<sup>105</sup> “The Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Muslim Institute: The Union of Islam,” pp.87-88.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p.88.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p.88.

<sup>108</sup> Raymond, *Portraits of the Nineties*, pp.289-92.

There is little doubt that Sheikh Quilliam achieved celebrity during his editorial tenure. Muslims abroad admired Sheikh Quilliam, although many never met him. Dr. Edward W. Blyden, the State Secretary of Liberia and one of the most “noted black authors in the English-speaking world”,<sup>109</sup> expressed his surprise “at the extensive knowledge among West African Mohammedans of this man and his work”.<sup>110</sup> Blyden reports that during a visit to French Guinea in 1900, he encounters “Mohammedans who enquired about Sheikh Quilliam”.<sup>111</sup> He relates that they asked

Do you know Sheikh Quilliam?” On my answering in the affirmative, they would proceed: “Do you believe that a white man, an Englishman, can be a true Muslim?” On being assured of the confidence reposed in him by the Sultan of Turkey, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the Shah of Persia, whose Consul in Liverpool, he is, they would exclaim with evident emotion, “Allahu akbar—God is Great.”<sup>112</sup>

The celebrity of Sheikh Quilliam was closely associated with the publications of the Liverpool Muslim Institute. In other words, whenever foreign or British publications report on the activities of Sheikh Quilliam, they regularly associate him with the journal and newspaper of the Institute. For example, internationally, the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* in Berlin presents Sheikh Quilliam as the editor of the *Islamic World* and the *Crescent*.<sup>113</sup> The *Revue du Monde Musulman* (Review of the Muslim World) in France, which French Islamicist Alfred Le Chatelier edited at the Muslim College of France,<sup>114</sup> presents Sheikh Quilliam to its readers as the editor of the *Islamic World* and the *Crescent*.<sup>115</sup> In 1898, the *Les Croyances de Demain* reports “nous apprend qu’en Angletrre une

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<sup>109</sup> Edward E. Curtis, *The Columbia sourcebook of Muslims in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p.18.

<sup>110</sup> Edward Wilmot Blyden, “West African Problems,” in *West Africa before Europe, and other addresses, delivered in England in 1901 and 1903*, ed. Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (London: C. M. Phillips, 1905), p.111.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.112.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p.112.

<sup>113</sup> Felix Ernst Peiser, “Dr. Hubert Jansen,” *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1, no. 3 (1898): p.84.

<sup>114</sup> J. Oldham, ed., *Noteworthy Articles: The Capacity of Islam to Develop*, 2 vols., vol. 2, *The International Review of Missions* (Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb Ltd., 1913), p.360.

<sup>115</sup> L. Bouvat, “Notes et Nouvelles: Les Musulmans Anglais,” *Revue Du Monde Musulman* Vol.1, no. 2 (1906): pp.270-72.

propaganda islamique a commence, qu'il existe des coomunautes musulmanes, toujours prosperes, a Manchester et a Londres".<sup>116</sup>

Other publications in the United States also report on Sheikh Quilliam and his journal. In 1907, the *American Review of Reviews* publishes an article on the increasing number of Muslims in Europe. It also describes Sheikh Quilliam as "Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles...also the editor of the *Crescent*, a weekly, and of the monthly, the *Islamic World*".<sup>117</sup> The *Hesperian* in St. Louis, America, describes the *Islamic World* as "a thirty-two page monthly issued in the interests of the Moslem faith, at Liverpool England. It is edited by Sheikh Abdullah Sheikh Quilliam".<sup>118</sup>

These examples illustrate that Sheikh Quilliam's celebrity was closely associated with the journal and newspaper he edited. They also infer that foreign editors in Germany, France, and the United States are among the readership of the *Islamic World*.

Domestically, the British press regularly reports on Sheikh Quilliam's activities. They highlight his significance to Muslim leaders, his official representative status, and his defense of the Sultan's regime. In 1898, the *Daily Mail* and the *Glasgow Herald* reports on the Sultan's birthday celebrations with a specific focus on Sheikh Quilliam. While the *Daily Mail* reports that "Mr. Sheikh Quilliam, the Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles, presided, and said that future historians would hand the name of the present Sultan down to posterity with the title of Ghazi Abdul Hamid the Grand",<sup>119</sup> the *Glasgow Herald*, however, reports that

the Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles, presided and referred to the splendid position the Ottoman army occupied today as being due to the continuous watchful care of the institute monarch who occupied the historic throne... A congratulatory telegram was duly despatched to the Sultan and to the Ottoman Embassy in London.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Lucien Arreat, *Les Croyances De Demain*, Bibliotheque De Philosophie Contemporaine (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere, 1898), pp.11-12.

<sup>117</sup> "The World Renaissance of Mohammedanism," in *The American Review of Reviews*, ed. Albert Shaw (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1907), p.746.

<sup>118</sup> De Menil, "The Literary Wayside: Authors and Magazines," p.376.

<sup>119</sup> *Daily Mail* (London), 11 January 1898, p.4.

<sup>120</sup> "The Sultan's Birthday - Liverpool Celebrations", *The Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 11 January 1898, p.5.

The British press also reports on Sheikh Quilliam's importance to Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In 1902, the *Dundee Evening Post* describes Sheikh Quilliam as the

legal advisor to the Sultan of Turkey...and he [Sheikh Quilliam] has frequently been summoned to Constantinople to see the Sultan on business matters. Recognizing his zeal, Abdul Hamid has conferred upon him the title of "Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles"...as a consequence, he is looked up to by every Oriental visitor to our shores. When the Shahzada, son of the late Ameer of Afghanistan, visited England, he went specially to the Liverpool for prayers in the mosque, and made a gift of something like a thousand pounds to the finances of the community...Moreover, Sheikh Quilliam...is in constant communication with other Oriental rulers, and has known the late and the present Shah of Persia.<sup>121</sup>

Locally, the *Cornishman* reports on the latest honors Sultan Abdul Hamid II bestows on Sheikh Quilliam.<sup>122</sup> When a dispute between Britain and the Sultan over the Suez Canal unfolds, the *Corrier* newspaper reports on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1906 that Sheikh Quilliam is

in telegraphic communication with the Sultan regarding the Anglo-Turkish dispute. He declines at present to make any public statement...as it might lead to a rising of Mohammedans against Christians...Asked whether he was likely to be summoned to Constantinople, he said his position in that respect was a delicate one, seeing he was a British subject on the one hand and was bound by religion and official duties to the Sultan on the other.<sup>123</sup>

Furthermore, the *Dundee Evening Post* describes Sheikh Quilliam as the "confidential adviser of the Sultan".<sup>124</sup> The *Manchester Courier* reports that he is

instructed by the Sultan of Turkey to convey to Mr. W. W. Rutherford, M.P. for the West Derby Division...his Majesty's intention of conferring on him the decoration of the Imperial Order of the Medjidieh. It appears the Sultan was impressed with the fair and impartial manner in which Mr.

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<sup>121</sup> "Islam in England," *Dundee Evening Post* (Dundee), 1 April 1902, p.6.

<sup>122</sup> "General Notes: Honours from the Sultan," *The Cornishman* (Cornwall), 31 December 1903, p.3.

<sup>123</sup> "Turkish Crisis: Moslem View of Situation," *The Courier* (London), 10 May 1906, p.5.

<sup>124</sup> "Islam in England," p.6.

Rutherford, when Lord Mayor of Liverpool two years ago, presided over a town's meeting ... in connection with the Balkan disturbances".<sup>125</sup>

The Turkish and West African press also highlight Sheikh Quilliam's importance to the Sultan. According to the *Liverpool Mercury*, the "Turkish "Official Gazette" and other Constantinople newspapers" report on the appointment of Sheikh Quilliam's son Ahmed Bey as an attaché to the Ottoman Consulate at Liverpool in 1900.<sup>126</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1894, the West African *Lagos Weekly Record* describes Sheikh Quilliam as "Mr. W. H. Abdullah Sheikh Quilliam, Sheikh of the English Muslims and representative of the Sultan of Turkey, who has been commissioned by the Sultan to invest Mr. Shitta with the Turkish Order of the Medjldieh".<sup>127</sup>

The most conspicuous of Sheikh Quilliam's political activism is his defense of the Sultan. He utilizes the *Islamic World* and the *Crescent* to defend the Sultan's regime during the Armenian rebellion (1894-1896). He also defends the Sultan during public events and encounters with the British press. The British and foreign press regularly report on his defense of the Ottoman Caliphate. In 1896, the *Edinburgh Evening News* and the *Evening Telegraph and Star* report that Sheikh Quilliam presided over a meeting at Mosque that

characterised the present crusade against Turkey as mischievous agitation. Previous crusades, he said, had been disastrous to those who undertook them, and if the present one persisted...it might be necessary to proclaim a Jihad, which would cause every Mussulman to rally around the standard of the prophet. He maintained that...Armenians were objected to simply because of their revolutionary political schemes. – A resolution was passed protesting against the present agitation.<sup>128</sup>

In the article "The Sultan's English Champion", the *Daily Mail* portrays Sheikh Quilliam as an avid defender of the Sultan's regime. In 1905, it reports that Sheikh Quilliam caused uproar during a town hall meeting in Liverpool in response to the Bishop of Liverpool's proposal to condemn the ongoing "anarchy and atrocity in Armenia" and the Bishop's call on

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<sup>125</sup> "Sultan Honours Liverpool M.P.," *The Manchester Courier* (Manchester), 25 January 1905.

<sup>126</sup> "Local News," *The Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool), 11 May 1900, p.9.

<sup>127</sup> John Jackson, "General News," *The Lagos Weekly Record* IV, no. 42 (1894): p.3.

<sup>128</sup> "A Meeting of Moslems," *The Evening Telegraph and Star* (Sheffield), 24 September 1896, p.2.