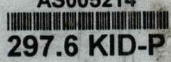




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—KURAN IV, 2.

PAN-ISLAMISM

BY

SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI, Bar.-at-Law

(OF GADIA, BARA BANKI, OUDH, INDIA)

LATE HON. SECY. OF THE PAN-ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF LONDON

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- 2 **Mushir Husain Kidwai, Shaikh.**—Pan-Islamism. [An account of the Pan-Islamic Society and its aims and aspirations. Reprinted from the "Modern Review" for February 1908.] Pages 1, 1, 76. Published by the author, Gadia, Bara Banki. 1908 [23rd April 1908.] 8°, 1st edition. Frontispiece.

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وَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا

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SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI, BAR.-AT-LAW,

*Late Secretary, Pan-Islamic Society, London, (wearing the Usmania
Order, conferred upon him by H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey,
in recognition of his services to the cause of Islam.)*



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DEDICATED
TO
MUHAMMAD'S TWENTIETH CENTURY APOSTLE OF
PAN-ISLAMISM

Dr. Shah Abdullah Alma'mun Suhrawardy,

M.A., LL.D., BAR.-AT-LAW

As a token of
Sincere FRIENDSHIP and attached BROTHERHOOD
IN
PAN-ISLAMISM



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سَلَامٌ قَوْلًا مِّن رَّبِّ الرَّحِيمِ

—Kuran, XXIII, 2.

*Objects of the Pan-Islamic Society of London and of
Pan-Islamism.*

- (1) To promote the religious, social, moral and intellectual advancement of the Mussalman world.
- (2) To afford a centre of social re-union to Muslims from all parts of the world.
- (3) To promote brotherly feelings between Muslims and facilitate intercourse between them.
- (4) To remove misconceptions prevailing amongst non-Muslims regarding Islam and the Mussalmans.
- (5) To render legitimate assistance to the best of its ability to any Mussalman requiring it in any part of the world.
- (6) To provide facilities for conducting religious ceremonies in non-Muslim countries and to found centres of Muslim thought.
- (7) To found branches of the central Pan-Islamic Society in different parts of the world and hold debates and lectures and to read and publish papers likely to further the interests of Islam.
- (8) To collect subscriptions from all parts of the world in order to build a mosque in London and to endow it.



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(REPRINTED FROM THE *Modern Review*,
FEBRUARY, 1908.)



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PAN-ISLAMISM

".....And to-day wherever Islam exists there is a Pan-Islamic party, generally small, but always having as its leaders the most enlightened and most advanced men. Under the guidance of these men Pan-Islamism is essentially a defensive and not an aggressive movement—for the elevation of the people, and therefore an intellectual and peace-promoting, and not a military or war-provoking one."—Browne's *Bonaparte in Egypt*.

THE Greco-Arabic word "Pan-Islamism" was, as far as I know, first used in its true and correct sense by Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, when he transformed an almost defunct society, "The Anjuman-i-Islam of London," into the now world-renowned Pan-Islamic Society* of the English metropolis. In the year 1903 came into existence this

* Owing to certain circumstances which cannot be detailed here it has been recently decided to call this Association "The Islamic Society" in future. Mr. Amir Ali, C.I.E., late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, succeeds A. al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy as the President. The *Theosophist* for November, 1907, gives a sympathetic account of the Pan-Islamic Society and its aims and aspirations.



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Society with its novel and uncommon name, and its birth was trumpeted abroad by the friends as well as the enemies of Islam. The European people made a great fuss over it and terrorising forebodings were given out by them, so much so that some of those Muslims of India whose spirits have been crushed and in whose opinion flattery is the best policy as distinguished from the policy of agitation which the educated Hindus have adopted, got awfully frightened and took exception to the use of the word Pan-Islamism.

The reason why the use of the word "Pan" with Islam gave rise to such a vehement outburst of opposition among the Christian people is not far to seek. The glorious past of Islam accounts for it. Islam once defied the mighty Empires of Rome and Persia, Greece and Egypt and succeeded at last in extending its influence over all the known world. It has also defied successfully the armed, fanatical and aggressive opposition of the combined forces of Christendom during the crusades, and as a religion, in spite of the innumerable odds against it, it stands not only unvanquished but even progressive and victorious. It spread with lightning speed



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from one corner of the world to another, east and west, north and south, on account of its innate life-giving qualities and morally exalted and practicable principles, and there is no reason why the great moral force within it should not conquer the world again, if the brutal force and the military superiority of the peoples professing another religion be not incessantly applied to make up for the weaknesses of that faith which has been doing its best to annihilate Islam, and if the followers of Islam once more adhere in practice to the principles of their great faith which made the nomads of the desert of Arabia the civilisers of Europe. The far-sighted European peoples know well their own weakness and the mighty latent force of Islam. Hence any effort on the part of Musalmans to revive the inherent expanding spirit of Islam by bringing the Musalmans of different parts of the world more in touch with one another, by educating the Musalmans in their past history and bringing into play the mighty force of the "Pen" to counteract the force of blood-thirsty weapons of warfare and other modern instruments of destruction used so much these days and with such deadly effect



by the followers of the Prince of Peace, cannot naturally be welcome to them.

The recent epidemic of articles on *Pan-Islamism*, *Khilafat* and so-called "*Fanaticism*," has been wilder and more virulent than that which raged three years ago when Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy attached the modern word "Pan" which denotes expansion and union, to the old word Islam. A heated controversy has been going on in almost all the leading European papers and especially in those of England and France as to the meaning and the future of that movement. But Pan-Islamism from a Muslim point of view has not been fully explained yet and it is my object in this paper to offer that explanation.

Many a learned writer has given His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey the credit of being the originator of this spirit of Pan-Islamism. Many have assigned it to the efforts of al-Sanūsi (Senoussi) and others, but in my opinion none of these surmises is correct. The originator of the spirit of Pan-Islamism was Muhammad himself, that greatest of great men, who preached Islam. The great prophet inspired his followers with a genuine spirit of common brotherhood and with



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an intense love for the faith. The Friday prayers every week or those of 'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-uz-Zuha twice a year, in which thousands of Musalmans congregate at one place, offer their prayers under the leadership of one man and embrace each other with brotherly amity and good-will, were instituted on none but Pan-Islamic principles, and that masterly idea of bringing together at one place in one kind of dress hundreds of thousands of Musalmans every year from every corner of the world had as its essential object the advancement of Pan-Islamism and a true Socialism. The advantages that can be derived, and that shall be derived, *Insha Allah* (God willing), in the very near future, from those annual gatherings of pilgrims in Mecca, are immense and make glowingly bright the future of Islam. The idea of establishing practically the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God by that great and true Socialist is the germ and the basis of Pan-Islamism, while the unconcealable truth that embodies the first principles of Islam is a fire that burns in the heart of every true Musalman and is bound to do its work of kindling others with the same flame. The fact is that whether a



Musalman openly styles himself a Pan-Islamist or not, he is in spirit and at heart a Pan-Islamist and is sure to be ready to serve the cause of Islam and even to spread it howsoever he can. Any one who reads the history of Islam can learn that the spirit with which that faith inspired its followers was almost supernaturally irresistible and strong. That spirit distinctly produced even physical vigour and made Muslims extremely brave and undaunted as well as self-confident and strong. Every Musalman became an ardent advocate and a keen lover of Islam and ready to risk even his life to further its cause.

That spirit of Islam which, as I have said, inspired the weak with strength, was, without much loss of time, used for political purposes and was utilised for their own objects by people full of ambition to help them in acquiring leaderships, kingships and in conquering distant countries. Only a few years after Muhammad's death, the Koran was seen hanging from a military banner in a war which unfortunately broke out between the Musalmans themselves. Ameer Mu'awiyah then secured for himself and his descendants a kind of kingship through a very ingenious



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handling of this spirit among the Musalmans. Others followed him in the same path and in fact many succeeding Musalman kings and Caliphs began to use Islam for almost the same purposes for which the Christian Powers use Christianity in these days, *i. e.*, a means of aggression in foreign countries. All Europe shows its sympathy towards the Christian people when they revolt against "the Turkish Yoke." It fosters intrigue and encourages rebellion among the Christian subjects of Turkey. It made Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Crete free from the despotic rule of the Turks, because the Turks were not Christians. But it lets Christian Russia or even Roumania have its own way and massacre Jews, and it also shows no sympathy to either Indians or Egyptians when they clamour for the same freedom and independence which Europe has given to Servia, Bulgaria and even to turbulent Crete. Missionaries in non-Christian countries are sent over to preach Christianity and they go with the Bible in one hand and the Bottle of whisky in the other and when the "heathens" reject them and want to turn them out, the Bayonet intervenes and crushing indemnities



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are demanded and even concessions acquired under the guise of redressing wrongs. Though differing in degree yet somewhat similar was the case with enterprising Muslims of the earlier centuries of Islam. They used religion for political purposes. Mahmud of Ghazni gave a colour of religion to his invasions of India and destroyed idols and Hindu temples on conquering parts of the country. So also did the great Muhammad II, the conquerer of Constantinople, inspire his troops with valour by basing his desire to conquer that invincible town on a saying of the Prophet. Tarik, the intrepid invader of Spain, to whose valour the Rock of Gibraltar (*Jabal-al-Tarik*) is still a standing monument, declared the spread of the Grand Truth, *La ilaha ill' Allah*—there is no god but the only God—to be his only ambition. The shrewd and clever Alamgir of India, gave a religious tinge to the change he brought about in the policy of Akbar, which he thought had weakened the prestige of Musalman rulers, as the English people to-day think that regard for the wishes of the people or yielding to their agitation will affect the prestige of the British Raj. In fact it was



this use of the spirit of Pan-Islamism for political purposes that has made the adverse critics of Islam say that it owes its expansion to the sword. But this statement is far from being true. No doubt the ambitious leaders who had any military foresight in them found in the spirit of Pan-Islamism a great power to excite the enthusiasm of their soldiers and to prepare them for a reckless sacrifice of their lives. They also found it a very strong tie to unite people of different races and colours and so they gave their invasions and wars a religious tinge. But forced conversion to Islam has been expressly prohibited by the Koran. The fanatical and ungrateful policy adopted by Christian Spain as regards Musalmans and Jews was never adopted by Islam even when the spirit of Pan-Islamism was in its full vigour. There was shown not even so much prejudice against non-Muslims as the so-called liberal and socialistic Americans show towards Orientals and people of dark colour, or as the so-called civilised Australians and Transvaalers show towards people who are not of white colour (in the Western technical sense) even if they be their own fellow-subjects



under the same sovereign. Even to-day the country which is most free from racial and colour prejudices, bigotry and fanaticism is Turkey. People of almost every race and nation and colour in their particular and peculiar dresses walk about in the streets of Constantinople more freely than a Turk in his national head-gear can in any other European town.

- On following the history of Islam closely, we find that at first, in theory at least, there was recognised to be only one King of Islam or Khalifa, though Islam had spread to Egypt, India, Spain and Central Asia. The kings of the above-mentioned places used to seek permission of the central Khalifa who had the relics of the Prophet and the custody of the holy places to have their names repeated in the *Khutbah*. So the other kings were as it were vicegerents of the Caliph. But this union did not last long. Each kingdom became not only unconnected with the central authority but quite isolated and exclusive. There was no more any idea of Pan-Islamism. The bigotry of Spain, when she turned out of her domains all the Musalmans, was exhibited in the teeth of other Muslim powers that were



strong at the time, and could, if they cared, have helped their brothers in Spain. In fact, that very sad event—the ultimate result of which was the expulsion of all the Musalmans from Spain, the total destruction of a magnificent civilisation, and putting back by many centuries the progress of modern civilisation—would never have happened had there been any of that spirit of Pan-Islamism, which united all Musalmans, left among the Muslim Powers. The onslaught of Russia on Muslim kingdoms was made when there were in existence Muslim Powers to check it, and the extinction of the Muslim rule in India occurred when the Ottoman Empire was at the zenith of its power. Islamic history is entirely lacking in any combined offensive wars like the crusades against any people for any religious purpose. The coalition or concert of many powers of one religion against another of a different religion, has no parallel in the history of Islam. In fact it was the spirit of Pan-Islamism latent in Islam itself that made it spread in the world. It owed nothing to any combination or organised efforts on the part of the Muslim Powers. The Muslim Powers never made a common cause, and unfortunately even to-day the



weakened and ill-used Muslim kingdoms do not combine together to present a strong united front to the merciless blows of united Christendom. The downfall of the Musalmans from the commanding position they had won for themselves to their present wretched condition, can well be attributed to their failure in latter days to understand the true spirit of their great faith and to their becoming indifferent to the importance of the spirit of Pan-Islamism. Had they acted according to the dictates of their religion, they would not have allowed the Western nations, who were once their pupils, to surpass them in learning, science and inventions of great practical value. They forgot the warning of the Koran that God never alters the condition of any people unless they bring it about themselves, and they allowed their once magnificent and civilised domains to come to their present wretched plight, which gives a right of interference in their affairs to progressive nations. Had they brought the spirit of Pan-Islamism to their help when they were harassed by their opponents, and had united to keep their own supremacy they would not have fallen to this state which is revolting to the very nature of Islam, and



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would make even the most optimistic Musalman lose heart. It seems that there is no hope in the near future of any political ascendancy of Islam, and so the Pan-Islamic revival, from a political point of view, is a little too late in coming. Still Pan-Islamism has a future. The political condition of Musalmans is bad, no doubt. The military efficiency of Christendom makes her too powerful for any physical struggle with her. But how hopelessly weak was the political condition of Muhammad or of his few followers when Islam came into existence as a codified religion! How much physically stronger were the people, who were prepared to shed their last drop of blood to extinguish that tiny little spark of the Grand Truth that fired at first the heart of one man and began to spread fast on all sides soon after! Still Muhammad did triumph and the Truth did prevail. The hope of Pan-Islamism to-day is not in the sword or the bayonet. It is, as ever it was, in the Koran and in Islam. The one religion that can stand the progress of rationalism is Islam, and so the one religion that has any chance of surviving the present scepticism is Islam. In these few Koranic words "Inna lillahi-wa



inna ilaihi-rajiūn" (from God we are and to Him we return) is summed up not only the "monism" of more than 2,000 years of great Vedanta philosophers but also the most modern and scientific monism of Haeckel. Those who believe in evolution must believe that Islam was evolved from the religions that preceded it and can well claim to be more developed than all its predecessors. So far as the belief in God is concerned, the most developed form of that belief is found in Islam. Belief in a plurality of gods failed thousands of years ago. It was only a savage belief. The deification of man also failed and all the "incarnations" have been brought again to their proper places and recognised as nothing more than human beings. Supernaturalism and mystic philosophy offer sometimes a long resistance to the encroachment of reason but in the long run they, too, are vanquished. Krishna of immaculate birth and an Incarnation of God is now recognised to be nothing more than a man of extraordinary greatness and in the very near future the mystical and unreasonable belief in the divinity of Christ, whose birth was as mysterious as that of Krishna, is bound to be superseded by a more rational belief. The



spread of Unitarianism is an unmistakable sign of the times and so are the ever-growing monotheistic movements among the Hindus. So ultimately the belief in one and only one God—without a companion, without a co-sharer in His Divinity, will be *the* religious belief of the world and it will be a triumph of Islam and mean the success of Pan-Islamism.

Not only this; as the substitution of matter and energy for God has failed before, so will that now, and these materialists will ultimately perceive as the Koran points out that “all *creatures* in heaven and earth praise God and the birds also.” Then will they begin to argue within their hearts thus: “Were they created by nothing? or are they the creators of themselves? Created they heaven and earth? Nay, rather they have no faith. Hold they thy Lord’s treasures? Bear they the rule supreme?” And the reply to these pertinent questions will again be as it has been, in the negative. They will find that this universe as it exists and as it works on, neither can be the sole product of matter nor of energy. The *matter* had some One to give it its form, to ordain for it fixed design which is found in this beautiful Universe, in these brilliant



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stars, and the *energy* had some One to guide it to work so correctly and scientifically as the huge solar system works. To *matter* and *energy* apply these verses of the Koran:—

Verily, they whom ye call besides God, cannot create a fly though they assemble for it, and if the fly carry off aught from them they cannot take it away from it. Weak, the suppliant and the supplicated. Unworthy the estimate they form of God! for God is right powerful and mighty."

So matter and energy will again give place to the Great First Cause whom Huxley could not deny and which even MacCabe and Haeckel believe is "One" and "Eternal" and "Infinite" and it will be a triumph of the Koran and mean the success of Pan-Islamism. Not only this, there are other social and moral matters in which Pan-Islamism has a chance. There is no other moral code that has so forcibly run down intemperance, gambling and incontinence and so wonderfully succeeded in eradicating these vices, which Canon Taylor calls the three curses of Christian civilisation. Unfortunately for the morality of the world and the godliness of man all these vices are taking great strides and are increasing day by day as it were under the influence of materialism in those countries which claim to be



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greatly advanced in civilisation. How much money is spent every year in England on alcohol or in corrupt amusements and excitements! How large is the number of illegitimate children born every year in England! How shocking are the revelations made in the Divorce Courts! The condition of France in these matters is still worse. Marriage, an institution so beneficial for the social happiness of all mankind, is coming to be recognised in practice at least as a useless, costly and unnecessary tie, and the population of France is stationary.

At present the European conscience is almost dead to the enormity of this phase of its civilisation, but as we believe that man has in his essence godliness, it may be hoped that even the European people will realise before long that these vices are a curse, ruinous not only to his moral life, but also to his social, political and physical life and that will be a triumph of Islam and mean the success of Pan-Islamism. Arabia of old, in these matters, was almost in the same stage of degradation when one man swept it clean of all of them. Europe also shall be cleaned of them and there is a chance for Islam to do it again.



The very increase in all the European countries of the number of those women whose existence is a curse and outrage on our humanity and a disgrace to civilisation demands Islamic laws which made such an increase impossible, and so Pan-Islamism has a great chance in this social line to effect improvement and to save humanity from further disgrace.

There is one other cause where Islam is destined to play an important part. It is in recognising the equality between man and man regardless of colour and of race. Universal brotherhood shall be established, all the prejudices of race and colour and creed shall vanish when man will take up this verse of the Koran as his guide, as a warrant of his happiness and peace :—

“Whether a Believer, a Jew, a Christian or a Sabian, he who believes in God and the Last Day and *acts* aright, his reward becomes due upon his Creator, he should neither fear anything nor be depressed.”

This again will be a triumph of Islam and mean the success of Pan-Islamism. In fact Christianity has tried for many centuries now to establish a common brotherhood between the human races, to elevate the morals of the people and to bring peace into the world, but



It has completely failed to achieve any of those grand and noble objects, It is the Christian, white, "discoloured," European people who are fanatically prejudiced against the "coloured" and Asiatic races and so it is they who constantly disturb the amity and fraternity that should exist and which did exist under the true Islamic civilisation between man and man. Under the Islamic civilisation, the "black men" of Abyssinia, the white of Spain, the yellow of China and the brown of Asiatic countries loved one another like brothers and treated each other on terms of perfect equality and so they do even to-day if they are Musalmans. Christianity has also failed to elevate the morals of people. Wine, women of ill fame, and gambling are the three great curses of Christian countries, while Islamic countries, under Islamic law, can neither tolerate prostitution, nor wine, nor gambling. Christianity has failed altogether in bringing peace. It is the Christian people who have shed the greatest quantity of human blood in the past and who are still bent on their bloody pursuits.

So the time shall come when Islam will be given a trial again to achieve those grand objects which Christianity has failed to achieve



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and it shall be a success for Pan-Islamism.

It must have become clear from my foregoing remarks that Pan-Islamism is something quite different from fanaticism. But this word "fanaticism" has become a by-word in Europe generally and among Englishmen particularly when they talk of Musalmans. If a Musalman gives up his life for the love of his religion, his country or his liberty, he is branded as a fanatic; if a Christian does it, he is idolised as a hero. It is not only this word "fanaticism" that has its relative meaning. When Australia, the Transvaal and California show colour bigotry and racial prejudice, excuses are found out for this narrowmindedness of theirs; but if Tibet, China or Morocco show any hatred towards the "Whites" and do not like to have among themselves those rather meddlesome and ambitious people, they have their subjects massacred, their cities bombarded and their towns ransacked as a punishment for their audacity in disliking the people of white colour. Fanaticism in the same way, is only objectionable in Musalmans and not in white nations even though the latter might show it in forms more crude and disgraceful. However, I do not mean to say



that there are not fanatics among Musalmans but so there are in every religion, in every race and in every walk of life. I can name a great statesman of England who was as fanatically against the Turkish Government as some Egyptians are against the English occupation of their country. There is a little difference between Musalman and Christian fanaticism. Musalman fanaticism can be found only amongst uneducated people, but among the Christian people you sometimes find men of learning and education more fanatical than the illiterate Musalmans. Go in a fez to some country-place of England or give a lecture on Islam at any place out of London and very probably you will require a police force for your protection. Read any book on Islam or Muhammad written by a Christian and you will find the proof of the basest fanaticism in the abuses that have been piled upon them. Also the vituperations that are poured with Christian charity upon the Sultan of Turkey by even decent English papers are glaring signs of fanaticism among the educated class. While the Muslim monarch of Turkey has patronised many a non-Muslim institution, the Christian King of



England, who has perhaps more Musalmans under him than Christians, would have to abdicate if he were to accept the patronage of, say, the London Mosque Fund.

The unfortunate incident at Denshawai is a good illustration of both kinds of fanaticism. Granting that the assault made by the uneducated Egyptians on the Englishman who provoked them was fanatical, the anger of the educated English people which that incident aroused was the more fanatical, the spiteful revenge, under the name of justice, still more fanatical, and the alarmist speech of Sir Edward Grey, and the spurious letter published by Lord Cromer, which had no other object than to inflame the fanatical spirit of his countrymen and to fabricate an excuse for the inhuman punishments, were not very sober acts. The latter acts can well be called acts of civilised fanaticism but there are also instances of barbarous fanaticism found amongst these "civilised" people. The desecration of the Mahdi's tomb in the Soudan, an act which even a savage would hesitate to do, and the severance of Bambata's head in right savage fashion, are flagrant and shocking instances of the barbarous fanaticism of



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Christian, white and "civilised" people. The Pan-Islamists look at these acts of fanaticism with as great disgust and abhorrence as any fanaticism among the illiterate Musalmans, and it is one of their great objects to protest against such fanaticism in whatever quarter it may exist. They fully realise the danger to which Muslim fanaticism can expose the whole community. They have seen that fanaticism is met by a stronger fanaticism and as they are weaker the fight cannot be to their advantage. So they want to suppress fanaticism among their uneducated co-religionists as it has been suppressed among the "cultured" Musalmans, and to divert the same energy to more profitable channels.

I have acknowledged that there are fanatics among Musalmans and I will also admit that they are very reckless. The reason of this is that Islam is extremely dear to every Musalman, and when a Musalman is given reason to think that he serves his religion by any act of self-sacrifice he will never hesitate to give up even his life for that purpose. To a true Musalman wealth or life is not dearer than his religion. Khalid, the "Sword of God," when invading Persia invited the mighty



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Emperor of Persia to submit to the orders of the Khalifa of Islam, otherwise he would send against him men who loved death in the cause of their religion even as the Persians loved life and its luxuries. This was no arrogant threat, but a real fact. This very spirit in uneducated Musalmans, who do not understand what would be a real service to Islam, becomes dangerous fanaticism when they get enthusiastic and disdain death even on supposed insults to their faith. They love Islam passionately and so grow wild over any injury to it, real or imaginary. But this spirit, this staunch adherence to one object, this undaunted support of one cause served the purpose of many a statesman and general in the olden days, and in the not very remote past excited the admiration of great military geniuses of Europe like Napoleon. I am also inclined to think that that military monarch who sits on the throne of Germany and Prussia has realised the fact that this spirit of fearlessness is a powerful weapon in the hands of one who knows how to wield it, and this explains the Emperor William's memorable words of friendship for Musalmans spoken at Damascus.



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The greatest opportunity any alien people could have of enlisting Musalman sympathies as well as of using Muslim "fanaticism" to their own advantage was offered to the English people, but thanks to some of their fanatical statesmen and the old and bitter prejudices of their people against Islam, England to-day is regarded by the Muslim world not even with as much confidence as she was regarded about twenty years ago. English influence and English commerce have greatly suffered in Turkey. And the English people are not so favourably looked upon as they were before. In Egypt the latest events have proved that Lord Cromer has by no means succeeded in making the English occupation popular, and even in India, notwithstanding the flattering words of certain "Muhammadans" (as they foolishly call themselves), liberal and enlightened Musalmans as well as the majority of "fanatical" Musalmans on the frontier, are not very much satisfied with Anglo-Indian haughtiness and with the unfriendliness of England towards some Muslim powers.

England has drawn hardly any advantage from having under her flag so many valiant and so-called fanatical people, nor has she

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used her Muslim subjects as an asset of value in gaining influence over other Muslim countries. Napoleon is said to have declared that he could conquer the world with a good Muslim army, but England though possessing a good Muslim army has failed to draw any great advantage from it because that army is no more than a mercenary body and England has never aroused in it that world-conquering spirit. She has failed to make Muslims feel their glory in the glory and success of the British Empire.

A Turkish friend of mine once remarked that tolerant and advanced England has not given even one responsible post to any of the 70,000,000 Muslims under her, while the so-called backward Turkey—the country of “intolerant” Islam—has given even such responsible posts as ambassadorships at foreign Courts* to her Christian subjects out of only 3,000,000 of them. This shows that either England cannot trust her Muslim subjects or she cannot

* As to Christian dignitaries appointed as Turkish Ambassadors at the Court of St. James, the name of Kostaki Pasha, Rustam Pasha, the late Musurus Pasha and his father, may be mentioned. Prince Malcolm Khan was the Persian Ambassador in London for a long time and is now in Rome. Hasan Yang Chang, the late Chinese Minister in Berlin, illustrates in his person the enlightened and tolerant attitude of China towards its Muslim subjects.



find even one out of so many and after such a long rule, who could be given a responsible post. In both cases it is a "shame for England."

Mr. William Samuel Lilly of the Indian Civil Service, writes in his book "*India and its Problems*":—

"It appears to me that we should sedulously seek for those among them most fitted socially, morally and intellectually to rule, and associate them with Englishmen freely and liberally, even in the highest offices—such are the Muhammadans of Northern India—one of the noblest races in the country."

But does the British Government act according to his advice? Lord Curzon in India and Lord Cromer in Egypt both practically declined to associate Musalmans with Englishmen in the highest offices, and it is quite reasonable for Musalmans, who have the instinct of a military and ruling race, and whose very religion teaches them equality between man and man, to resent their alleged inferiority. Sir Auckland Colvin, in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "Egypt to-day," attributes to Islam "a fanatical ill-will to the supremacy of an authority which is not of its own creed" and has evidenced surprise at "the Muslim clinging to Constantinople." This shows an



inexcusable ignorance of the true spirit of Islam, the right nature of Musalmans. Islam, indeed, is a democratic religion and its adherents ought not to bow their heads but before God. So also a Muslim would by his very nature prefer to live even in a semi-civilised country with his self-respect, dignity, and equality of rights established, than live under even *Pax Britannica* with a brand of "native" on his forehead and a constant shriek in his ears telling him that "the conquerors" have more rights than the "conquered," that the white colour gives more dignity and privileges to a person than any other colour, that the policy of coercion is the best policy for Asiatics, and that Christian civilisation is the only civilisation that can be respected. A Muslim cannot bear ignominious treatment. This is the secret of the immigration into Turkey of the Musalmans of those provinces which have been snatched away from Turkey by the Christian powers. This is the secret of the Egyptians disliking British predominance and their want of appreciation of the benefits that have accrued to them through it. England has done nothing to appeal to the sentiments of the Musalmans and to win over their fiery enthusiasm for her



glory. On the contrary her statesmen in England and her officials in India and Egypt have very often hurt their feelings.

The greatest factor in shaking the confidence of the Muslim world in England is her very suspicious policy towards Arabian Musalmans. Musalmans were never aggressive in making religious wars as Christians were during the crusades, but they have shown that when their religious feelings and sentiments are in any way touched, they can become unconquerable in spite of a great combination against them. I, as a British subject, and one who even for personal interests has to be loyal to the British Government in India, think it my duty to warn England of the danger she is running by her Arabian policy. No Musalman with any religious feeling in him will ever allow any alien people to have even a shadowy kind of "protectorate" over his holy places. The activity of England towards Koweit or Aden and possibly at Yemen, cannot do England any good at all, while on the other hand, it vexes Turkey, it makes her more and more suspicious of England's motives, and so more and more inclined towards another great military power,



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and this policy is extremely irritating to the Musalmans. Even those Musalmans who are eloquent in praise of the blessings that British rule has conferred upon them cannot be with England (and I hope that English statesmen are far-sighted enough not to be duped by the false utterances of any flatterer) in case England tries to snatch away the holy places from the protection of a Muslim monarch. Muslims love their religion more than their lives and no worldly blessings can be dearer to them than their religion.

The best desire of all the Pan-Islamists is to see that England falls back upon her policy of friendliness towards Musalmans and their rulers. Under British rule is brought together the greatest number of Musalmans, so when England shows any antipathy towards other Muslim countries, they find themselves in an awkward position, as the same religion, which has established common brotherhood among Muslims, has also enjoined them to be loyal to their rulers, and the strict discipline which is found even in the Muslim prayers makes them obedient to law and constituted authority. For this reason it is one of the greatest objects of the



Pan-Islamists to remove the prejudices of the English people against Islam in order that their fanaticism which causes them even pecuniary loss by decreasing their commerce in Muslim countries be not so intense as to totally blind even their statesmen and their historians.

The best way to be immune from the danger of Muslim "fanaticism," and the best way to win over the Muslim world to her side will be for England to revert to her old policy—the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, towards Turkey and to give up at once her ambition towards that land of rocks and sand which though of no value to any other community is very dear to every Muslim heart. A definite alliance with Turkey, which I advocated during my stay in Constantinople, would insure peace in the Near East as the alliance with Japan has insured peace in the Far East. It will gladden the hearts of all Musalmans and make them attached to the English nation. On the contrary when Musalmans see England forward in taking away Crete from Turkey and thus forcing thousands of Musalmans to an exile from home, in making naval demonstrations, contrary to



international law, against Turkey, in putting obstacles in the internal administration and taxation in Turkey and in impeding the construction of useful railways, they feel hurt and when they see that it is only the Christian subjects of Turkey for whom England shows sympathy, their own religious feelings get stirred. Her solicitude for the Christian people reveals her as not very impartial and just, but fettered by religious and racial prejudice and spurred by religious bigotry.

England herself will be to blame if the Pan-Islamic movement becomes inimical to Great Britain later on. It is not so as yet. Up to the present moment the Pan-Islamic movement is in favour of England and at least two bodies of it, the Nedwa in India and the Pan-Islamic Society of England, are even grateful to England and her people. Every member of this Pan-Islamic Society, though keen on the achievement of its objects, is imbued with feelings of loyalty and even gratitude towards England and her people. Though all other opinions I have expressed in this paper are my individual opinions, yet this much I can say on behalf of the Pan-Islamic Society as its old secretary that she



is neither opposed to the British connection with Egypt nor to British Rule in India. Though our Society is interested in the general well-being of Musalmans of every part of the world, though she sympathises with Musalmans wherever they be troubled, in Egypt or in Arabia or anywhere else, she fully realises that for a society with those objects which she has in view there is no other soil in the world than the free land of the little Island which throws its light thousands of miles off and where the chains of even slaves fall off when they land on its blessed soil. She knows also that there is a chance for her success among a people who though conservative and clinging fast to their old prejudices, yet are acute judges and critics and keenly appreciate everything good and true. The sympathy shown to her even in such a short time, and the interest that the educated and broad-minded English people have taken in her, make her grateful to them. It is this gratefulness and this love of the English people that makes her more solicitous to see England and its people on friendly terms with Musalmans and their sovereigns so that she may have no occasion of



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either being ungrateful or unsisterly. Providence has interwoven the destiny of Englishmen with that of Musalmans and they must understand each other better. This Society is fully confident that the more such calm and sober judges and critics, as the English people are, know of Islam, the more inclined they will be towards that great rational faith, and the more friendly feelings they will have towards those valiant people, the Musalmans.

I have said that the Pan-Islamists want to suppress the spirit of "fanaticism" in Musalmans, but they by no means want to extinguish that spirit. They want to turn it into its proper channel and to teach Musalmans to master that fire rather than be slaves to it. Grand objects can be achieved by using properly that love of Islam and Muhammad which Musalmans have. Muhammad told them that knowledge was a birthright of Musalmans and they should pick it up wherever they find it; he commanded them to go to distant and even non-Islamic countries in search of knowledge and if Musalmans have any love for Muhammad they should act according to what he said. Islam made all Musalmans brothers and so if they have any love of Islam they



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should follow its dictates. The Pan-Islamists want to impress upon their brothers that holding life in the palms of their hands on supposed injuries, or keeping themselves behind the progressive people by their own ignorance and then trying to get off from the intrusion of those people by sheer physical force, are not things which Islam demands. These hurt rather than serve the cause of Islam. In India, not many years ago, a pamphlet was brought out by an enlightened Muslim association denouncing the so-called Ghazi-ism shown now and again by ignorant Pathans, and so Pan-Islamists want to denounce recklessness of every kind in serving the cause of Islam, because it is suicidal. As a melancholy instance of this deplorable and fatal recklessness may be mentioned the annihilation of 12,000 brave men in a few hours at the battle of Omdurman. This kind of love of Islam can do no good to the community nor to Islam. But that love of Islam is beneficial which would attract non-Muslims by creating those heroic virtues which Islam created in the old Musalmans, by setting practical examples of Muslim brother-hood, Muslim socialism, Muslim toleration, Muslim morality and ideal of chastity,



Muslim temperance and abstinence from every kind of intoxicant, Muslim love of knowledge and above all Muslim belief in one God. The more intense that love for Islam is, the more it will serve the cause of Islam and the purpose of the Pan-Islamists. That love should be advanced even to the point of "fanaticism" and the fanatical love for Islam which already exists in the hearts of Musalmans should be directed towards the achievement of the objects I have mentioned above.

I was not so sanguine of the success of the cause of Pan-Islamism until I visited Constantinople last August.* As I said in my farewell speech to Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, I have come to believe that the fraternal string of Islam though more than thirteen centuries old, is still strong enough to hold close and fast all the 300,000,000 of us and that it, in the words of the poet,

Heart to heart and mind to mind

In body and in soul can bind.

My visit to the capital of the Turkish Empire has been extremely remarkable and I had a grand time of it there. I was with a friend of mine, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, and both of us received special recognition and decoration

* This was written in 1906.



from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid II, visited many times the Prime Minister, Ferid Pasha, also the Foreign Minister, Tewfik Pasha, both of whom we found to be splendid statesmen and thorough gentlemen as well as good specimens of educated and enlightened Musalmans. Our visits to Ahmad Pasha, a son-in-law of His Majesty and a keen statesman, to Mamduh Pasha, Minister of the Interior, the two Secretaries of His Imperial Majesty, the well-known General Edham Pasha (who gave us his signed photographs "as a remembrance of fraternity"), Arfa-ud-Daula, Mirza Riza Khan Danish and their Excellencies Nouri Bey, Ismail Pasha and Hakky Bey (the latter we found followed the progress of Indian Musalmans wonderfully closely), gave us great satisfaction. In another line we had very lengthy conversations with the venerable Shaikh Syed Abul Huda, also with the Sheikh-ul-Islam, a man of undoubted qualifications and great enlightenment, and Kazi Askar Mahmood Effendi, the highly cultured Alim (theologian). We also had the privilege of visiting that wonderfully enlightened Muslim ruler H. H. the Khedive of Egypt who with Islamic hospitality invited



us to Egypt. I have given this incomplete list of persons whom we visited while at Constantinople to show that I had a grand time there, and it is not because I had the honour of visiting such high personages that I attach so much significance to the visit. It is not this side that has made me so sanguine about the cause of Pan-Islamism. My companion will bear me out when I say that after my visits to the palaces of His Majesty and the great personages I have mentioned, I very often feelingly repeated these sentimental lines of a great poet :—

Ba faragh dil zamani nazari ba mahrooi,
Beh azan ki kasri Shahi hama roz hai o hooi.

—“To sit with satisfied and happy heart for a short time with one beautiful, is better than being in a king's palace and loud merry-making all day.”

In fact I appreciate more the brotherly affection of the two great friends we made in Constantinople, Jelal Bey and H. E. Saad-uddin Bey. So it is not on account of these acquaintances with such big personages that I made, that I attach so much importance to this visit of mine, but because I noticed that the heart of Muslims are full of sympathy



for one other all over the world and with but little organisation and effort can be made to meet in union.

Every Musalman in Turkey—whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, whom we met, seemed to feel as if he had found a long-lost relation. The ecstasies of a poor brother of ours, who was almost in rags, into which he went at the very pleasure of seeing us at the “Sublime Porte” after having read the news of our arrival in the morning papers and other events of the same kind, have made me hopeful of Pan-Islamism. We had an opportunity of meeting Musalmans from almost all parts of the world, even those who have visited China and Japan, and it is the experience which I thus got that has made me so sanguine. The brotherhood of Musalmans and the Islamic spirit in them is still a living force and it requires only to be organised to advance the civilisation of the world as forcibly on to perfection as it did in former ages. The more I realised the spirit of Pan-Islamism and common brotherhood which the Great Prophet inculcated in the hearts of his followers and which has been germinating in these people who have come more than



thirteen centuries after him, the more I became devotedly attached to that Great Prophet, the more I became sure of the ultimate triumph of Islam, and the more I became sanguine of the success of Pan-Islamism. The community is awakening and there are quite bright signs of it.

Whatever be the cause of it,—either a contrast of their past with that of their present which Musalmans have been drawing in their minds, as is shown by modern Muslim literature, a consciousness of the deplorableness of the condition to which they have sunk, or the combination of Christendom against their kings and sovereigns and the dwindling away of their dominions, the spirit of Pan-Islamism has recently revived in Musalmans of many countries.

In India the awakening took the form of schools for religious education and orphanages to save Muslim orphans from falling into the hands of Christian missionaries. Many associations have also been established on sectarian principles. The well-known Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore with its magnificent college (the Islamiyyah College), and orphanage and the noble assembly called



the Nudwat-ul-Ulama are great products of this awakening.

In Afghanistan the spirit of Pan-Islamism was revived by that great statesman, the late ruler of Kabul, Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan. He not only suggested a union between Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan but was also far-sighted enough to use Islam for political purposes. He took the title of "Zia-ul-Millat w'al-Din" (The Light of the Nation and the Faith) and the very idea of establishing a college on modern lines at Kabul which but for his untimely death would have become an accomplished fact in his lifetime, shows how practical his notions of Pan-Islamism were. It is by general education only that those inborn qualifications of a Musalman—patriotism and love of Islam—can be made to serve the cause of Islam and that is the one means by which Pan-Islamists can succeed in their objects. There can be no doubt that His Majesty Habib Ullah—the present successor of that great statesman—who has made a point of following the policy laid down by his father, will prove as staunch a Pan-Islamist as his father was and will carry out all those ideas of Pan-Islamism which the



lamentable death of his father has left unrealised.

In Egypt also the revival of Pan-Islamism has been perceptible of late and it has taken a nationalist turn. But this nationalism has nothing to do with fanaticism. If the efforts which the people of the Transvaal or other colonies made with success for self-government or those which Indians and Irishmen are making for that purpose, are fanaticism then the nationalism of the Egyptians may also be called fanaticism, but a fanaticism of which no one need be ashamed. There are many true Pan-Islamists in Egypt like my friend M. Shoukrey Bey but there are also a number of Musalmans who do not like the "white" people, as the Transvaalers do not like the Asiatics and coloured people, and if the dislike of the latter is not fanaticism, the dislike of the former is also not. H. H. the Khedive is an educated and enlightened prince and a very fit person for guiding Pan-Islamism into a useful and proper channel.

In Persia the spirit of Pan-Islamism has been most successful, thanks to her deceased ruler H. M. Muzaffar-ud-din Shah. One of the great causes of the political downfall of



Musalmans was the schism that broke out in the body of the Musalmans on the question of the Caliphate. That was the time when religion was freely used for political purposes and so this matter, though purely political, was brought within the pale of religion and the difference of opinion whether Abu Bakr, Omar and Osman were legally and rightly Khalifas or only Ali was entitled to that place, was extended to such an extent shortly after, that it made the disciples of one persuasion directly opposed to those of the other and even differences in rituals and ceremonies were introduced to divide the people. This was most unfortunate. It caused great mischief and in the end that difference changed into deadly animosity. The Shiahs began to hate their brother Sunnis only because the latter accepted the predecessors of Ali as Khalifas and they even forgot to reason that that incident which gave rise to this schism was a matter of past history now and beyond the control of the people living more than thirteen centuries after. So the Shiah Persia and the Sunni Turkey became enemies and the people of one country turned against the people of the other, though both worshipped



the same God and followed the same prophet. But the noble Shah, imbued with the spirit of Pan-Islamism, set a personal example of the amity that should exist between the two peoples and visited the Sultan of Turkey in his capital. The meeting between the two great heads of the two sects of Islam was quite brotherly and I was told by eye-witnesses that they embraced each other with tears in their eyes. As a result of this meeting the relations between the two peoples have very much improved and I was delighted to find that the Persians at Constantinople (about ten thousand or more) were conscious of the harm the schism had caused and were full of brotherly affection for their Sunni co-religionists. In fact my time at Constantinople with the Persians was more pleasant than what I spent with my Sunni brothers, because I could speak Persian but not Turkish, and I revere and respect my esteemed Shiah friend, the Majd-al-Sultanat Mirza Mehdi Ali Khan, as much as I do my Turkish friends Hamid Bey and Rafat Bey.

The reconciliation between the two so-called churches in Islam is evidenced by a remarkable incident. The principle of election has



been followed by the Sunnis who recognised the three Khalifas before Ali, because they were elected, but this was never recognised by the Shiahhs. The Sunnis derive their name from following the traditions and the opinion of the majority (*Sunnat wa Jamaat*). The Shiahhs did not do so before, but it is significant that they have now adopted the system of elective government and have got a parliament of their own. So the institution of this elective system of government promises not only, as the Persians think, another Japan in the near future, but also a complete union between these two great sects of Musalmans and the greatest success of Pan-Islamism.

The remarkable revolution in Persia, which, thanks to the magnanimity of the late Shah, has been accomplished with perfect peace, is a child of the spirit of Pan-Islamism. Many enlightened Persians had been preparing the ground for this step for a long time and I have a book anonymously published ten years ago in which this success of the revolution was foretold. The writer of this book I happen to know. He is a learned but unassuming old man, leading a quiet life away from his home, where nobody seems to realise



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what a genius he is. That this change is a result of rational Pan-Islamism is also evidenced by the remarkable fact that it was the Ulamas, the theologians, who were foremost in demanding constitutional government, thus giving up the authority, stronger than even that of the king, which they had hitherto enjoyed over the people.

In Turkey the spirit of Pan-Islamism can be found in no person more than His Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In fact he is given the credit of being the very cause of the revival of this spirit of Pan-Islamism and in the imagination of some fevered brains he is also supposed to have sent secret emissaries all over the Muslim world to draw the Musalmans closer to him, to instigate them to acts of fanaticism against their foreign rulers and so on. There is no truth in these fantastic ideas, but there is no doubt that His Majesty is a Pan-Islamist. The way he has re-assured to himself the Caliphate, the manner in which he receives his co-religionists from different parts of the world in his dominions, the restrictions which he has laid down in order that his people should not go out of the bounds of their own civilisation,



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customs and manners, and above all that glorious idea of making a railway to Mecca and Medina, all these are clear demonstrations of the spirit with which His Majesty is imbued. Had the Christian Powers given a freer hand to His Majesty, had they allowed rest to Turkey even for a quarter of a century, had they not encouraged the rebellion of his Majesty's Christian subjects, who are treated with unparalleled toleration (in fact too much toleration) and are given rights which England, notwithstanding her boast of impartiality and justice, has not given to Indians or any non-Christians, had Turkey not been compelled to spend so much money in military preparations to the enforced neglect of other material and economical reforms, Turkey would have been quite a different country from what it is now. The Pan-Islamist Sovereign has, in spite of all these obstacles, given Turkey many beneficial institutions and above all has slowly but steadily educated his people and prepared them for constitutional government. Shortsighted people even among the Musalmans and malicious opponents of Turkish Government have been giving out that the present Sultan has a



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horror for constitutional government and pro-rogued the Parliament he gave to Turkey on account of that horror. They forget to realise that had Turkey been given a constitutional government before the Muslim population was educated enough to have the government in its hands, Turkey would have practically become by now a non-Muslim power.

There is no doubt that if providence spares His Majesty for a few years more Turkey will have a constitutional Government guided by the masterful hand of His Majesty. It will be the crowning achievement of Pan-Islamism. It will draw the educated Musalmans from all parts of the world who by the experiences gained in their own countries would be able to pay the Christian statesmen in their own coin, when they make any onslaught on the Turkish Government and will read them a lesson in return for the lesson taught by them, as now the oppressed Musalmans from every part of the world seek shelter in His Majesty's dominions. It will then make it possible to utilise the annual gatherings in Hijaz for the purpose they were instituted and it will be then that the whole Muslim world will be devotedly



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attached to their Khalifa. That will be a great success of the great Pan-Islamist Sultan Abdul Hamid and of Pan-Islamism in general.

A Russian Muslim friend informs me that there is a current of Pan-Islamic spirit running in the hearts of the Musalmans of Russia. They very lately held a great meeting from almost all parts of Russia and discussed matters for the well-being of the community. The Russian Muslim papers have been exhorting their brethren to take a lesson from Indian Musalmans in awakening to the needs and requirements of the times and I read a book very recently written by a Russian Musalman on questions economic and political, in which the learned writer has dealt with the Pan-Islamic question under the very name "Pan-Islam."

In Tunis the spirit of Pan-Islamism has been revived and the enlightened Muslims have awakened to the needs of the time. They have got some places in the new "assembly" and mean to show some resistance to the over-domination of the European races. Nor are the signs of a great revival wanting in Algeria, Morocco, and the Sahara and other recesses of the Dark Continent peopled by the followers of the Prophet.



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The Pan-Islamists, who know the intrinsic value of their religion and have found how suitable that religion is to the requirements of a progressive age and advanced humanity, have come to think that they can put their religion before the enlightened people of advanced countries with a chance of its being accepted as their religion, at least with a confidence of making those people adopt its principles of Theism and practical morality which are undoubtedly the most perfect and the most practical. With this object the eyes of the Pan-Islamist are turned towards England, America and Japan.

As I have said, the destinies of England seem to have been intertwined with those of Musalmans, so England was the first to yield to the proselytizing ambitions of Musalmans which have resulted in the formation of genuine Islamic centres in London, Liverpool and elsewhere. Many have adopted the faith of Islam, the first and most remarkable convert being the late Lord Stanley of Alderley. Thus neither the floating bulwarks nor the surrounding seas could stop the penetration of Islam to the soil which had remained untouched by it for a long time. It is a matter of regret though,



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that the spread of Islam in this country has not been so general as it promised to be, still the tone of the English public has decidedly undergone a change in favour of that faith. Ignorance was the cause of many a prejudice and as that ignorance is being removed those prejudices are also disappearing.

Of course there is no hope of Islam becoming the religion of the people who are so conservative and who love their luxurious life too well to like any check being placed on it; but there is every hope that the enlightened people of England will, sooner or later, acknowledge the greatness of Islam, if the exertions of Musalmans initiated in an organised form by Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy to familiarise the people with Muslim customs and manners and festivals, to remove their ignorance of Islam by lectures and pamphlets and to attract them towards the faith by placing it before them in its true light, are continued for some time. Though their number is not large still there are persons who have adopted Islam through Abdullah al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy and their



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conversion is more valuable because they are men of learning and seekers after Truth.*

As I have said, the English people are fair-minded as critics and the appreciation of talent is their strong point. The splendid works of Mr. Ameer Ali on Islam have among their admirers many Englishmen. The collection of the "*Sayings of Muhammad*" and my little pamphlet "*The Miracle of Muhammad*" have succeeded in attracting the attention of many an enlightened person in England and America. The learned Dr. Paul Carus of New York has reviewed both the works very favourably. Many talented ladies of America, like Miss Martha Craig and Miss Alice Ives, are very favourably disposed towards Islam and Muhammad.

These are very hopeful signs of the success of the proselytising Pan-Islamism.

The spread of Islam in America has been even greater than in England if we consider Babism and Behaism as sects of Islam. Islam did succeed in making its staunch follower one highly educated American, the Hon. Alexander Russel Webb, American Consul-General in the Phillipines, whose indefatigable labours

* The illustrated German magazine *Veber Land und Meer* for 1907, gives a brief account of his work.



in the face of adverse circumstances have resulted in the conversion of many and who has recently secured a most valuable adherent to Islam. Americans are a pushing people and extremely practical. Islam is a life-giving as well as a practical religion. Americans are democratic and socialists and Islam is a democratic faith and Muhammad was the greatest and the most practical socialist.

It is not only the eyes of the Pan-Islamists that are turned towards Japan. Now-a-days Japan has become the centre of attraction in many ways, the cynosure of many eyes. What makes the Pan-Islamist cast a covetous look towards Japan, and what advantages would accrue to Japan if she accepted Islam as her state religion may be gathered from a letter which I wrote to the *Morning Post* of London on June 14th, 1906 and take the liberty of quoting it here :—

SIR,—To us, the members of the Pan-Islamic Society, the news from Berlin published in the *Morning Post* of the 13th inst. that Japan is seriously thinking of adopting Islam as her State religion is more than welcome. Of course, we cannot be over-sanguine of it just yet, but as Islam is a chivalrous and practical religion, and as Islamic civilisation is best suited for the Asiatic people, we have full hope that if Japan



wants to play a dominant and prominent part in world-politics of the future, and if she has any ambition of being the regenerator of Asia, she will, sooner or later, adopt that religion which upturned the great Empires of Rome and Persia and which made the wanderers of the desert of Arabia the conquerors and civilisers of almost all the three old Continents.

There are at present two courses open for Japan : one to adopt the civilisation and the religion of Europe and thus merge her identity in the European Powers, the other is to be the restorer of the glory and civilisation of Asia and to be the leading power in that civilisation. If her ambition is nothing beyond the first, she shall have no credit or honour from the Easterns nor much from the Westerns, who are far more advanced than her in that civilisation ; but if she dreams of becoming one day a world-power, and to make Asia again dominate other Continents as she did once, Japan cannot realise that object but by adopting the enlivening and inspiriting religion of Islam—the simple, invigorating, and practical religion—the religion of Muhammad, the greatest reformer, legislator, commander, a nation and empire founder ; the religion of Khalid and Sa'd, the conqueror of Persia in Asia ; the religion of Amrou, the conqueror of the land of Pharaohs in Africa ; and the religion of Muhaammad II., the conqueror of the invincible Constantinople in Europe.

As has been suggested in the *Morning Post*, the political advantages that Japan can gain by adopting



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Islam as her State religion are too obvious to be hidden from the eyes of the statesmen of Japan.

Japan, notwithstanding her marvellous progress and successes, remains nothing but a small State, whose influence is confined to that corner of the world only where she is situated. At present she has no interest and no sympathies beyond that limited sphere. But if she were to become a Muslim Power her successes and progress would arouse the sympathy and acclamation of every Muslim in the world, and as there is hardly any part of the world which is without Mussulmans, Japan by adopting Islam would by one stroke become a Power possessing an influence all over the world and backed, supported, and loved by one-fifth of the whole human kind.—Yours, &c.,

SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI,

Hon. Secretary, Pan-Islamic Society.

127, Sutherland-avenue, Maida-vale, June 14.

Thanks to its own worth the religion of the Arabian shepherd does not owe anything to a Constantine or to any Royal patronage which Christianity or other religions owe. Islam gave splendid kingdoms to the nomads of the Arabian desert but for its power or influence it never put itself under the obligation of any royal convert, nor has to bow down for that purpose before any monarch now. The Muslim theologians, to whom and whom alone Islam as-



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a religion is indebted, themselves disdained all worldly honours. Had these exponents of Islam, some of whom by the sublimity of their character and by their erudition were equal to the old prophets and seers, not attracted people towards Islam by their pious, unselfish and saintly lives and by the true love of knowledge with which they devoted themselves to the study of that great faith and the troubles they bore to expound it, had they not gone from place to place in their tattered garments with their pen and ink and books, and above all with their model characters, the religion of Islam would not have become so dear to the people and it would not have remained undiminished in its influence with the decrease of the political power of Musalmans. It was not only that the great Omar did not care for the conversion of Jabalah bin Ayham, the king of Ghassan, and made him answerable to the same penalty which he inflicted on a poor Musalman, but even in later days the Muslim theologians did not care for the conversion of a great monarch who wanted the restriction of total abstinence to be modified in his favour. There are many instances of Muslim theologians giving up their lives to



save the principles of Islam. The extensive domains won by Musallmans were nothing in their eyes and the religion of Islam was in its Zenith, in their opinion, only for thirty-three years—up to the time of the Caliphate of Ali. On the contrary there might be mentioned a number of kings who rather injured the cause of Islam by their nominal adhesion to that religion and in practice doing acts quite repulsive to the nature of Islam. So Islam for its power and influence never was nor is in want of any regal support from any quarter. Had it been so the political condition of Musalmans of the present time would have made the cause of Pan-Islamism utterly hopeless. It must be known that when the Pan-Islamists look towards the Mikado with wistful eyes it is not because they want to give Islam any strength by converting him but because they hope that Japan itself will become doubly strong and the prestige of Musalmans will be much raised as well as their political place in the world re-established.

It is a well-known fact that the Muslim population of China, which is said to be seventy millions and is a gigantic evidence of the



peaceful penetration and the marvellous success of the honorary missionaries of Islam, is distinguished by sobriety and courage. No royal edict is necessary to eradicate the vice of opium smoking in them, because the Chinese Musalmans do not smoke even tobacco. Dr. Gustave Le Bon in his masterly book on Arab Civilisation writes thus about the Chinese Musalmans--

"They are very particular about speaking the truth and being honest. Those among them who hold offices are popular among people and are well-respected. Those who are in business are well-reputed. The principles of their religion have made them generous and it seems as if all of them are members of one family who help and protect each other."

These Chinese Musalmans have also shown their worth very recently as splendid soldiers and they also seem to be imbued with the fraternal spirit of Islam. When the "mailed fist" of Europe was in Peking, the Musalmans of India were also sent over and the newspapers reported that after the peace when the Chinese Musalmans and these Indian Musalmans met, though they could not understand each other's language, they saluted each other with the Islamic salutation and embraced each other as brethren in Islam.



With such a large number of Musalmans so close to Japan I was astounded when I saw a note of a responsible Japanese minister in the hands of a Mullah in Turkey (Haj Muhammad Ali) showing such a great ignorance of Islam as characterising polygamy as the fundamental teaching of Islam. But the existence of such great ignorance is very hopeful for the future. It shows that the Japanese do not know anything yet of Islam and so there is a greater chance of its success when it is put before them and they are made to know it.

France is also a country which is much in touch with Pan-Islamism, but the success of Islam in France is not possible as long as the people there do not come to fully realise the danger they are incurring as a nation by their unbridled love of luxuries and wine. Social life in France has come almost to the level of animal life and human nature does not like restrictions of any kind, so it seems difficult under the present circumstances for people to turn to Islamic law and be bound by Islamic restrictions. Nevertheless Islam could count a Member of the French Chamber of Deputies and several other Frenchmen in high positions amongst its followers. It will be surely for



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the political good of France not to alienate the feelings of Musalmans from her. She has a large number of her own Muslim subjects and it cannot be said to be a wise policy to wound their feelings. She should also bear in mind that Musalmans are a grateful people. From Paris is published a very useful Pan-Islamic Magazine called "Revue du monde Musalman" which is very creditable to its publishers and which may help in bringing about an *entente cordiale* between France and the Musalman world.

I was not a little surprised when I found Islam so unknown in Hungary though it was a Muslim country not long ago and there is a little tomb of the Muslim Saint Gul Baba in that splendid town Buda-Pest reminding one of days gone by. It might prove useful to the vigorous and pushing people of Hungary in their aspirations to enlist the sympathies of Musalmans. They must remember that it was in Constantinople that Kossuth the champion of their national cause found an asylum.

Prominent amongst German Muslims is Muhammad Adil Schmitz du Moulin whose heart is burning with the fire of Pan-Islamism.

It cannot be too often repeated that the



well-being and salvation of Musalmans lies in one and only one thing, i.e., if they want prosperity even in this world they should fall back upon their true and simple religion, upon the religion of Muhammad and of Ali and thousands of others who truly and rightly and closely followed Islam. There is no religion in this world to which any people owe so much of their worldly prosperity and progress as Musalmans owe to Islam. What was it that brought out the Arabs from the darkness they were in since ages, to play a most dazzlingly prominent part in the history of the world? What was it that made a people without any cohesion, into a compact and united nation? What was it that made those people who were hardly distinguishable from ordinary brute creation, the civilisers of the world, who held "the torch of learning and knowledge" for centuries, and showed their activity in almost every branch of human knowledge, who were recognised as "the enlightened teachers of barbarous Europe" in philosophy, medicine, natural history, geography, grammar, "the golden art" of poetry, chemistry, astronomy and other branches of science? What was it that made those "shepherd people,"



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roaming unnoticed in the desert "since the creation of the world" the conquerors and administrators of such a large part of the world, and extraordinary military geniuses and marvellous statesmen—Khalids and Omars?

All this was done by Islam and Islam alone. Even the early victories of the Musalmans can be attributed to Islam. When two combatants were seen in the field, at times not only of the same nation, same race and same country, but also sons of the same parents, but with the difference that one was non-Muslim and the other Muslim, the self-confidence, the undaunted courage and the enthusiasm which the grand cause he wanted to serve created in the latter, were clearly distinguishable from the first who had no moral support behind him. When we observe critically how the pagan Arabs though greater in number and with greater advantages of supply and position were many times vanquished by the much smaller number of their own brethren who had changed in no other respect than that they had managed to get the spell of Islam over them, we come to understand the secret of the astonishing progress of Arabian conquests which has puzzled many a historian. The



principles of Islam and the cause of Truth both produced extraordinary courage and created a very great amount of self-confidence. One extraordinary Muslim soldier, Derar bin Adwar always opposed an armoured enemy unarmoured and only with a single spear and an unsaddled horse, and Gibbon has written that on one occasion at least (*i.e.*, in the memorable battle of Ajendan) he, in this particular style of his, faced and repulsed thirty great warriors of the side of the enemy. It can also be seen by the perusal of the history of the Muslim conquests that in almost every battle the Musalman army was in the minority sometimes even to the ratio of only one to seven. Still in the majority of cases it was the Musalmans that were victorious. What was it that gave them victory? Noldeke says:—

“Rhetorical expressions about the decaying condition of both empires (Byzantium and Persia) and the youthful energies of the Muslims are unsatisfying to the inquirer who keeps the concrete facts before him.”

These “concrete facts,” he says further, stand thus:—

On one side “Both Byzantium and Persia had at their command genuine soldiers regularly armed and disciplined. The traditions of Roman warfare were not yet entirely lost and the Persians still possessed



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their dreaded cuirassiers, before whom in better times, even the armies of Rome had often fled. The Emperor Heracleus was certainly the greatest man who had held the Empire since Constantine and Julian. He was an astute diplomatist and a very competent general and as a soldier bold even to rashness." On the other side "the wretchedly armed Arab, fighting not in regularly organised military divisions but by families and clans, and under leaders who never before had faced disciplined troops."

How was it then that the Arabs shattered the armies of both the Emperors? To Noldeke as to many European historians who do not understand Islam, "the phenomenon continues mysterious as before," but to Musalmans it is very simple. The key to these successes was Islam itself. It was not the sword that spread Islam but it was Islam that drilled bodily and invigorated physically and inspirited morally its followers and gave victory to that sword which, though its possessors were a fighting people from ages, had never shown its sharpness to the outer world. In short, it is to Islam that Mussalmans owe their conquests and it is also to Islam that they owe their intellectual progress.

The "*Sayings of Muhammad*"* is replete

* By Abdullah-al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy (Constable, 1904.)



with marvellous incentives and injunctions for acquiring knowledge.

Some of Muhammad's sayings on the subject run thus:—

“To listen to the words of the learned and to instil into others the lesson of science is better than religious exercises.”

“He who liveth in search of knowledge walketh in the path of God.”

“With knowledge man riseth to the heights of goodness and to a noble position, associateth with sovereigns in this world and attaineth to the perfection of happiness in the next.”

“Acquire knowledge, as he who acquires it performs an act of piety, who speaks of it, praises the Lord, who seeks it, adores God, who dispenses instruction in it, bestows alms, and also who imparts it to its fitting objects, performs an act of devotion to God.”

“Acquire knowledge. It enableth its possessor to distinguish right from wrong, it lighteth the way to Heaven, it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when friendless, it guideth to happiness, it sustaineth us in misery, it is an ornament amongst friends and an armour against enemies.”

Muhammad even turned the attention of his militant people towards learning and penmanship by beautifully saying:—

“The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr.”



So it was not that Islam sharpened only the sword of the Musalmans, it also quickened their brains. It was on account of this dual influence that in those early Musalmans could be found not only men of extraordinary military valour but also of wonderful intellectual and administrative qualities. Had Islam produced only four men—Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali—it would have still enriched the world with four splendid characters in different aspects. The world knows no saint who can excel in saintly qualities the first, the world knows no statesman who excels the second in the qualities of statesmanship as well as administration, no pious man who excels the piety of Osman and no hero who excels the heroism of Ali, yet what were they before they became Musalmans? What was that greatest of all great men himself before he became a Musalman? None of these were men of any great importance before their conversion.

In short, it is to Islam that Musalmans owe everything in respect of their progress and if they want to regenerate themselves it is to that they should return. Every individual Musalman should try to be a true Musalman.



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and the more he succeeds in that the nearer shall he be to perfection, to prosperity and to success. They should not make themselves stand in want of any such reminder from the Koran:—

Remember also when we accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, saying "Ye shall not worship any other except God, and ye shall show kindness to your parents and kindred and to orphans and to the poor, and speak that which is good unto men and be constant at prayer and give alms," afterwards ye turned back except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant saying, "Ye shall not shed your brother's blood, nor dispossess one another of your habitations," then ye confirmed it and were witness thereto. Afterwards ye were they who slew one another and turned several of your brethren out of their houses, mutually assisting each other against them with injustice and enmity.

What has been recommended to individual Musalmans can also be recommended to Muslim states and Muslim nations at large. Islam demands justice and peace and good government of every kind. The very word "Islam" means "peace." The Islamic salutation is "Peace be on you." The Koran says, "Peace is the Word of the Merciful Creator"; and again:—



"Verily God bids you do justice and good, and give to kindred their due, and he forbids you to sin and do wrong and oppress (Ch. VI.).

"O ye Muslims, stand fast to justice when ye bear witness before God though it be against yourselves or your parents or your kindred, whether the party be rich or poor. God is nearer than you to both. Therefore follow not passion, lest ye swerve from truth.

"The servants of the merciful are they that walk upon the earth softly, and when the ignorant speak unto them they reply "Peace"; those that invoke not with God any other God and slay not a soul that God hath forbidden otherwise than by right, and commit not fornication."

"Say, verily my Lord hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is discovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and also iniquity and unjust violence."

"And commit not disorders on the well-ordered earth."

"O true believers, observe justice when ye appear as witness before God, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: but act justly; this will approach nearer piety, and fear God, for God is fully acquainted with what ye do."

Now any government that is based on such precepts cannot but command respect and admiration from every people.

To adopt Islamic principles in the system of government, to devote all its energy to



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better the condition of its people and to improve the resources of its country and not to lack in military efficiency or scientific and material progress is what Pan-Islamists want from every Muslim state. They also want those Muslim states who are close to each other to form a defensive alliance without delay. The alliance suggested by the late Ameer Abdur Rahman between Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan is the most imperative and leaders of Muslim thought should urge the importance of such an alliance upon the people and the sovereigns of those countries.

It is a matter for the greatest grief and pain to those Musalmans who have sense enough to understand the truly liberal spirit of their great faith that its many ignorant but over-zealous adherents confine it to an extremely limited scope. They look only and very strictly to outward appearances and superficialities. In their eyes a man dressed according to their own ideas of a Muslim dress is the only man deserving of salvation. They ignore the saying of Muhammad "acts should be judged by the intentions and motive actuating them." To them the verse of the Koran "We have not sent thee,



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('O Muhammad), save as a mercy to the worlds" has no import. A Muslim of one sect calls that of another a *kafir* (heretic) though they were strictly forbidden to divide Islam into sects. Those ignorant *Mullahs* and *Mujtahids*, who know practically nothing of Islam and its history and philosophy, pose as great *alims* (theologians) and issue abominable *Fatwas*. These fanatics instead of serving Islam do it great harm and they should be suppressed by Pan-Islamists. The greatest need of religious toleration is in such countries as India and the aspect of Islam best suited for an advanced age and progressive nations is Sufism, where even Hindus and Buddhists and Theosophists can meet with Musalmans. Kabir Das and Guru Nanak laid down, not so very long ago, noble lines for that union. It is time that modern researches should be made in Sufism as has been done by Mr. Surfaraz Husain Qari* and new interpretations given to such grand ideas as are expressed in the following verses† :—

Nature's great secret let me now rehearse—

Long have I pondered o'er the wondrous tale,

* Mr. S. H. Qari's *Beauties of Islam*, edited by Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy will be published shortly.

† Masnavi Molvi Rumi.



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How Love immortal fills the universe,
Tarrying till mortals shall His presence hail ;
But man, alas ! hath interposed a veil,
And Love behind the lover's self doth hide.
Shall Love's great kindness prove of no avail ?
When will ye cast the veil of sense aside,
Content in finding Love to lose all else beside ?

I have shown that the Pan-Islamic movement is spontaneous. It has not been worked up by any single man or by any association. In certain respects it can be called the product of the times. Not only Christians have adopted Pan-Christian principles but people of other religions and races are also becoming conscious that their very existence is threatened if they do not wake up and unite together. The Hindus of India who are an extremely exclusive people, have now in them a Pan-Hindu spirit and it has been manifest among other movements in the form of the Arya Samaj propaganda.

The Jews, another exclusive people, have been trying to return to Zion to be safe from such exterminations as threaten them in Christian Russia. Of course of all these "Pan"-movements Pan-Islamism has the greatest vitality and greatest chance because



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It is an essential ingredient of the religion of Islam and because Musalmans are spread all over the world and also because they have not yet gone down completely in political independence.

But because the Musalmans are so widely spread and because they have not yet been politically effaced and have contending forces against them who are bent upon seeing the complete destruction of Muslim political strength, the task of the Pan-Islamist is more difficult than that of the Pan-Hinduist or the Pan-Judaist.

For the success of Pan-Islamism a perfect organisation is required and branch societies in every Muslim country needed to make the people as well as their Governments realise their condition and their backwardness as compared with advanced nations. The central Pan-Islamic Society should be placed on a firmer footing. London is the place best suited for the headquarters of the Society. It is the metropolis of the empire which is spread over the world almost as largely as Musalmans themselves. It is the metropolis of the British Government that rules over the largest number of Musalmans, and a larger number of



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Musalmans come to this capital than to any other European capital. So London is the best place for a society like this. But this Society requires capital and permanent location before it can make its influence felt all over the world.

I believe that Islam is destined to be the world's religion of the future. Islam, the first principle of which is belief in the unity of God, is the faith destined to become the faith of all advanced humanity and it should be the effort of the Pan-Islamist to spread that belief. The verse of the Koran which I have given above, *viz.*,—

“Whether believers or Jews or Christians or Sábians, he who believes in God, the last day and acts aright, his meed is with his Lord, neither fear nor remorse should overtake him,”

should be the guiding principle of the Pan-Islamists and they should recognise every-body, whether a Hindu or a Buddhist, a Christian or a Jew, who believes in the Unity of God, the last day, and acts aright, as their brother and thus establish a universal brotherhood without any distinction of race, religion or colour.

The Koran repeatedly says that Muhammad never brought any new religion but the



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religions of Adam and other prophets and seers, as Moses and Christ or Krishna and Buddha. The Koran has also said that God has sent prophets to every nation. Muhammad has also called his religion the religion of nature in which every child is born. So all these matters tend to prove that Islam in its wider sense is the quintessence of all religions and every man whose belief is not repugnant to the first principles of Islam, which the Koran holds was the first principle of every true religion, should be considered as under the aegis of Islam and a brother of Musalmans, even though he be not following the rituals and ceremonies followed by the Musalmans.

Recently I was thinking of founding an Association of Universal Brotherhood where all those people who believe in one God could meet each other on terms of equality so that all those people who had common ideas about God and morality could look to one another as brothers even though they differed in rituals or in forms of belief. The members would be free to follow any religion they liked and the only thing wanted from them would be a belief in



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the Unity of God and also to leave off those religious or social matters which are repugnant to universal brotherhood at large. A Jewish member of the brotherhood for instance though not recognising Christ as a prophet would not be allowed to asperse the character of the Virgin Mary and a Christian not to call Muhammad an impostor. So by mutual understanding and without leaving any cardinal points of their own religions, Jews, Christians and Musalmans and even those Hindus and Buddhists whose religious belief in God would not be against the fundamental creed of this brotherhood would become united. This society for establishing the universal brotherhood would have come into existence by this time,* but as I began to think that in the wider sense of Pan-Islamism this universal brotherhood can be established, I have dropped the idea of that society.

The Koran calls Musalmans "the intermediate nation" and so they are. There is no nation which can take any serious exception to the Islamic idea of God, and Islam can be

* An Association on the lines indicated above has already been formed.



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made the universal religion, the intermediate religion and the uniting link between all the enlightened religions of the world.

There is already a harmony in belief existing between the Jews and the Musalmans. Between a Unitarian Christian and a Musalman there is still less difference. So these three world-religions can be united without any difficulty and so I believe can all the religions of the world. There is not much difference in the fundamental principles of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity.

Kufr o Islam dar rahash poyan,

Wahdaho la sharik leh goyan.

Faith and unfaith run together in Thy path and there
they meet,

"He is one, without a partner," both in their own
tongue repeat.

Gilwa har barg-o-gul men tera dekha,

Esa-o-Krishna men bhi usko dhondha,

Islam ne jab rah dekhai teri

Khud nafs men apne tujhe hamne paya.

We found the signs of Thee in the leaves and flowers
(i. e., in Nature),

We searched for the same in Jesus and Krishna,

When Islam showed us the way to Thee

We found Thee in the Ego of our own selves.

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