

The Quilliams, Popular Conservatism & the New Trade Unionism in Liverpool

Yahya Birt uncovers new evidence of Abdullah Quilliam's role as a trade unionist, revealing his links to "Tory Democracy" and "business unionism". He also reveals the important role Billal Quilliam played in the 1911 Liverpool General Transport Strike

In 1898, the Lord Mayor of Liverpool, John Houlding (1833–1902), visited the Liverpool Muslim Institute (LMI), founded by Abdullah Quilliam (1856–1932), for the Eid-ul-Fitr celebrations. About a hundred Muslims attended the event, where the halls were decked with green lanterns and the gathered crowd was treated to the thirty boys of the Osmanli Regiment performing drills.¹

Houlding remarked that it was his civic duty to visit the mosque, as he had done with churches of all denominations and the city's synagogue. The LMI's weekly, *The Crescent*, declared this a "triumph for Islam", noting that the British Muslims had received "formal civil recognition by the Chief Magistrate of the second city in the British Empire". Yet, this was no fortuitous event. Rather, it was the culmination of a long friendship between Quilliam and Houlding that dated back to the 1870s. Both men shared a commitment to popular Toryism and what might be called "business unionism", designed primarily to enable trade union members to get the best attainable wage-work bargain.²

In political terms, Liverpool was a latecomer to the Labour Party's twentieth-century rise in urban Britain, electing its first Labour MP in 1923, and gaining control of the council much later in 1955. Before this, the city's politics was dominated by a "Tory Democracy" that received Protestant working-class support because of its successful combination of religious sectarianism and the pursuit of progressive municipal policies, such as slum clearance, public housing, and reform and extension of the electoral franchise. Regarding trade unionism, it disparaged socialism in favour of labour representation that was close to business, and would only accept limited worker reforms through conciliation boards. The first champion of this was Liverpool MP Arthur Forwood (1836–98), who began advocating for it in the early 1880s, although the idea was initially attacked as "dangerous" by a sceptical national Tory establishment and press. Later, under Forwood's chief protégé Archibald Salvidge (1863–1928), "Tory Democracy" came to dominate in Liverpool through the machine politics of the Conservative Working Men's Association, with its support for Orangeism, temperance, anti-ritualism, and anti-Catholicism.

Liverpool's Catholic Irish, marginalised and impoverished near the city's docks, asserted themselves politically through Irish Nationalism, electing the only Irish Nationalist to Parliament in T.P. O'Conner (1848–1929) from 1885 until his death, and over a dozen councillors. Unlike in Glasgow where the Catholic Irish turned to socialism much earlier, in Liverpool, socialism and a divided trade-union movement remained subordinate to the working-class split between Tory Democracy and Irish Nationalism. In 1901, the *Labour Chronicle's* editorial lamented that while socialism might one day come to Liverpool, the weakened trade-union movement had to avoid politics and religion to survive and grow.³

Locally, the Tories arranged big summer socials in the city's parks that consisted of entertainment and political speeches. Both Quilliam and Houlding helped to organise these events, which attracted tens of thousands of people, and personally supported Forwood to succeed Lord Sandon (1831–1900) as MP for Liverpool. Unsurprisingly, given his Temperance roots, Quilliam first came to Tory activism in 1880 through a rather marginal body, the Liverpool Conservative Temperance Association. In 1882, he was proposed for the Pitt-Street Ward in the municipal elections for the Conservatives, but came last of three candidates. During his short four-year stint as a Tory activist, Quilliam served as a member of the council of the Conservative Liverpool Association and as Assistant Secretary of its allied body, the Liverpool Constitutional Association. By 1884, Quilliam's career as an active Tory party member appears to have petered out, probably due to his ill-health and the forced recuperation that led him to Morocco and eventually Islam. In contrast, Houlding won the Everton and Kirkdale Ward that year (before going on to become Lord Mayor of Liverpool in 1897).⁴ But Quilliam and Houlding would reconnect in 1890 to work together again – as trade union officials.

Houlding, a successful brewer, Tory politician, Orangeman and Freemason, lived and worked in Everton – a largely working-class district of the city – from where he built his political career in the city council. Affectionately known as "King John", he was a noted philanthropist and like Quilliam

gave free dinners to the poor, although today he is best remembered as the founder of Liverpool Football Club. Houlding also became the first president of the Mersey Quay and Railway Carters' Union (MQRCU) in 1889, and Quilliam – who had built a very successful career as a solicitor – was hired as its legal advisor the following year.⁵ The MQRCU, established in December 1889 with 3000 members, was a significant regional road haulage union that remained independent of union amalgamation until 1947. At its peak it boasted over 13,000 members and was the fourth largest transport union of its day.

Liverpool, as the second port of Empire after London, saw its shipping quadruple from 4.4m tonnes in 1858 to 19m by 1914. This meant an "army" of carters and their horses, working long and undefined hours, was needed to move goods between the seven-mile-long docks, warehouses and railways. The MQRCU set out to improve conditions for these carters but had "no intention to make any sudden or unreasonable demands upon the masters, and no desire to adopt extreme measures". The choice of Houlding as President and Quilliam as legal advisor reflected this cautious "business unionism". In 1891, the carters, along with several other unions in Liverpool, invited Lord Brassey (1836–1918) to help create a conciliation board for them, and notably they were the only union to include arbitration clauses in their rules. In 1894, the union backed Houlding as the only trade unionist leader on the city council against his Independent Labour Party opponent in the municipal elections.

It is notable too that the carters union had an overwhelmingly (perhaps exclusively) Protestant workforce at its foundation, reflecting bias in employment, given that many of the transport firms were owned and run by the city's Protestant ascendancy. The union's narrow confessional base was a double-edged sword, providing social cohesion but leaving it open to accusations of exclusivism. Its 1892 rule book forbade any member from expressing political or religious opinions at meetings: disobedience merited a fine of sixpence.⁶

As a lawyer, Quilliam had a good reputation and was dubbed "The Attorney-General of the City of Liverpool" by the *Liverpool Courier*, acting as "solicitor to many trade unions, such as the journeymen bakers, upholsterers, brickmakers, and coppersmiths". By the mid-1890s, he was working between 35 and 40 advocacy cases per week, often in defence of working men and the poor. A decade later, the *Liverpool Freeman* reported that Quilliam had built up "the biggest advocacy practice in the North of England" and frequently had "twelve or fourteen cases a day spread over the Stipendiary's Court, the County Court, the Coroner's Court, the County Magistrate's Court, and some of the suburban courts."⁷ The legal work that Quilliam took up on behalf of the MQRCU and its members included unfair dismissal, personal injury claims, determination of inquests, and arbitration with the Cart-owners' Association at the Board of Conciliation.⁸

Complex: A portrait of the complicated man that was Abdullah Quilliam, Britain's original Sheikh-ul-Islam.

In his capacity as Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles, Quilliam arranged for MQRCU President Houlding and a “party of Liverpool gentlemen” to be received at the Ottoman court by Turkish officials. Houlding was even awarded the Order of the Imtiaz on the instructions of the sultan-caliph, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), Quilliam’s chief religious patron.⁹

When Houlding stepped down as President of the carters union to become the city’s Lord Mayor, Quilliam was elected in his place and served as President between 1897 and 1908. After a vote of thanks for the outgoing President, Quilliam reassured the members of the union that he fully intended to carry on with Houlding’s policy of cordial relations between employer and employee. In line with “Tory Democracy” and “business unionism”, Quilliam endorsed the ongoing use of the carters’ board of conciliation and “depreciated the use of a strike, and remarked on the detrimental effect which the engineers’ strike must have on the country generally.”¹⁰ In November 1900, he presided over a meeting of the railway carters who wanted shorter hours, overtime pay and ending the exploitation of juvenile carters. Quilliam “strongly urged upon the men the importance of being moderate in their demands, temperate in their language and conduct, patient and enduring in the struggle, and to act unitedly, giving loyal support on all occasions to their leaders.” Despite considerable disquiet at the unsatisfactory responses from the railways companies, the meeting ended with a boilerplate resolution that non-unionised railway carters in the district should join the union.¹¹

With its cautious approach and narrow occupational and geographical remit, membership remained flat under Houlding, while under Quilliam it increased modestly by about a quarter, from 3055 in 1897 to 4310 in 1908. However, the roll-call of notices in *The Crescent* and the *Liverpool Mercury* during this period reveal the union was well-run, in good financial health and able to deal with the legal claims, and the injuries, sickness and funeral expenses of its members. Its reputation was such that the founders of the Fabian Society called the MQRCU “an effective trade society”.¹²

During his period as president, Quilliam attempted to increase his influence in the local union movement and city politics, a strategy that sometimes involved members of the LMI, which was predominantly working class and had trade union members. On the four occasions when the LMI debated trade unionism, presentations given by Rechid Hodgkinson and Nur-Uddin Stephen were repeatedly critical of radical socialism, strikes and the move towards union combination. Instead they advocated support for conciliation and the mutuality of capital and labour whilst displaying a romantic longing for true mutuality, self-reliance, the old guilds and the dignity of labour as propounded by John Ruskin.¹³

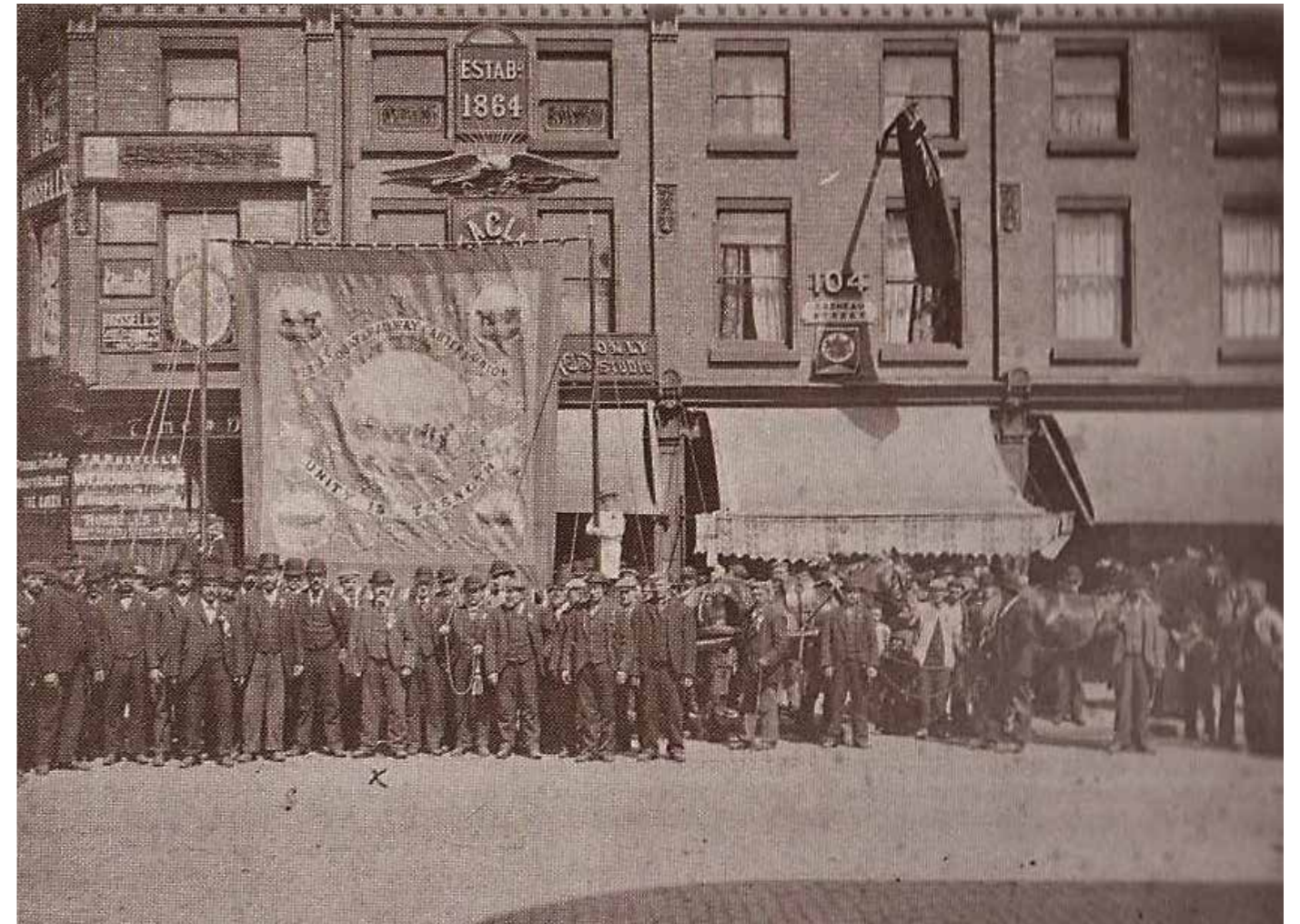
In 1900, Quilliam ran a ten-day impromptu campaign as an independent in the city’s municipal elections, backed by the Tramway Employees’ Union, only to come last. It is interesting to note that the secretary of the union, Fushid-deen F. Peacock, who endorsed Quilliam’s candidacy, was

also an LMI member. Another LMI man, Halim Wahby George, was elected as an executive committee member of the Amalgamated Union of Railway Servants in 1901, after having arbitrated on the union’s behalf in its dispute with the Taff Vale Railway Company. Quilliam later chaired a meeting of local trade unionists to recognise George’s services to the trade union and labour movement.

Quilliam presided over a MQRCU board of trustees with strong Tory representation. It included the local MP for West Derby Liverpool, Watson Rutherford (1853–1927), a committed advocate of “Tory Democracy”, Simon Jude, Councillor for Netherfield, and ex-Councillor J.R. Ketby-Fletcher, a cousin of Quilliam’s wife. Rutherford, whom the carters union had backed in the 1903 West Derby by-election over the Liberal candidate, once lectured the Fabians on the virtues of Tory Democracy, castigating socialism while promoting policies such as national insurance, abolition of casual labour, abolition of strikes in favour of compulsory arbitration, town planning and the clearance of slums, nationalisation of the railways and many other interventionist measures. In 1906, Ketby-Fletcher stood as a Conservative parliamentary candidate with the informal backing of the MQRCU and the formal backing of the Independent Labour Party for supporting socialist policies like nationalisation of the railways, old age pensions and the taxation of land values.¹⁴

Quilliam stood down as MQRCU President in March 1908 after thirteen years and was “unanimously elected” Honorary President in appreciation for his “long and valued association”. Within two months, *The Crescent* announced Quilliam was to depart for Istanbul with his oldest son, Robert Ahmed Quilliam (1879–1954), pre-empting the legal scandal of falsifying evidence in a divorce case that would lead to his debaring as a solicitor the following year. His second son, William Henry Billal Quilliam (1885–1965), appointed to deputise as imam in his father’s absence, promptly sold off the LMI in Brougham Terrace, leaving its small Muslim community with neither leader nor mosque. He did keep up his father’s legal practice, Quilliam & Son, until 1922 but fell into a life of crime and was twice convicted of fraud before being struck off the rolls in 1938. Yet Billal did honour his father’s trade unionism and association with the carters union, but took it in a “revolutionary socialist” direction.¹⁵

During the period of labour unrest before the First World War, there was a nationwide surge in union membership from 2.5m in 1909 to 4m in 1914. One of the most important and extended strikes during this period was the Liverpool General Transport Strike of 1911, the most significant that the city had yet experienced, based on longstanding grievances around low pay, draconian work discipline, work insecurity and anti-union employers. It started with the seamen’s strike in June and by mid-August had become a general strike involving 66,000 workers, including the dockers, the carters and many other allied groups, lasting until 25 August. The grievances were not resolved until December when the corporation tramwaymen were reinstated.



United: Members of the carters union in their Sunday best in Cazneau Street, Liverpool in 1897, the year that Quilliam took over as President, and below the Liverpool Strike Committee in 1911. Billal Quilliam is fourth from left in the back row and seated in the centre is Tom Mann.





Red: Quilliam's friend, John Houlding, the founder of Liverpool Football Club and former Tory Lord Mayor of Liverpool Union (source: Wikimedia Commons).

Philip Gibb, an eyewitness journalist, reflected that it “was as near to revolution as anything I had seen in England. ... For many weeks – nearly three months – nothing moved in Liverpool.” This unprecedented solidarity was even more remarkable given that two years earlier the city had seen its worst-ever Catholic-Protestant sectarian violence, after years of highly provocative anti-Catholic campaigns led by the incendiary preacher, George Wise.¹⁶

Having recently joined the National Transport Workers Federation, the MQRUCU played a pivotal role in this strike by coming out in solidarity with the seafarers, dockers and railwaymen. Three officials of the union – Thomas Ditchfield, its long standing Secretary, William Jones, and Billal Quilliam, its Vice President and Solicitor – were members of the Liverpool Strike Committee, which was led by Tom Mann (1856–1941), the famous socialist and trade-union organiser, who had come up from London to oversee the strike. After decades of experience in strike organisation, Mann had concluded that concerted industrial action was necessary to achieve results, even when political and judicial conditions were favourable – he was the chief figure in the radical new trade unionism in Britain.

To forestall any sectarian tensions between the mostly Catholic Irish dockers and the largely Protestant carters, the Strike Committee forbade any political or religious advocacy. As the strike gained momentum through August, the committee organised a mass demonstration for a general strike on Sunday, 13 August. The carters marched with the dockers, coming “from Orange Garston, Everton and Toxteth

Park, from Roman Catholic Bootle, and the Scotland Road Area”; the drum major from Garston led a mixed sectarian band, and had decked his sceptre in green and orange. The marchers converged on the city centre outside St George’s Hall, with Billal Quilliam marching next to Mann and Ditchfield underneath the MQRUCU banner.¹⁷

Quilliam spoke after Mann to the assembled crowd, and said it was a considered decision for 80,000 men to down their tools, before fatefully remarking that calm discipline would be necessary in the face of any police or military provocation. As the other MQRUCU officials were speaking, the police, unprovoked, attacked the crowd. It was “a savage and monstrous attack ... as left its severe effect upon the heads of hundreds of people. Covered in blood, the poor wretches were falling down stunned all over the street, many lying on the ground either helpless or unconscious.” Billal left the platform and entered the thick of the action in Lime Street, trying to get the crowd to remain calm and keep out of range of the police attacks. But after several charges on those attempting to help the wounded, discipline broke down, and hundreds were injured by police brutality.¹⁸

Yet despite police violence, the transport strike was successful in meeting the demands of the Strike Committee over the coming months. The MQRUCU was transformed. Its membership rose by 2000 that year and the union extended its membership to all classes of road haulers, and some Irish Catholic workers also joined. The carters union, like many other so-called “unskilled” trades in the period, became a mass organisation. In the coming months, Billal played a leading advocacy role in the monthly *The Transport Worker* set up by Mann, articulating the union’s demands, advocating expansion, union discipline in refusing to work with non-unionised carters, offering advice on the legality of peaceful picketing, and notably abandoning the conciliation board in favour of direct negotiations with the owners. All in all, it was a radical departure from the cautious “business unionism” of his father.¹⁹

The new unionism did not transform the city’s politics but it did lay down some long-term seeds of change. In the weeks after “Bloody Sunday”, some sectarian scores were violently settled, and while the Labour Party won seven council seats that autumn, it did not gain control of the council for another forty years. Conservative machine-politics continued to dominate Liverpool, and the authorities charged Mann with sedition in March 1912 for a pamphlet he did not actually write called, *Don’t Shoot*, urging soldiers not to shoot strikers. Billal – by then “well-known and appreciated in socialist circles” – acted as his legal counsel.

Billal’s role in the strike has been virtually forgotten except for a television play, *Such Impossibilities* (1971), written – but never made – by the distinguished dramatist Trevor Griffiths (b.1935), who gave him a lead supporting role to Mann’s protagonist. The BBC claimed it was too expensive to produce, although Griffiths suspected it was rejected for being “too brutal and too overtly political”. Griffiths’ final plea for future production of the play holds a contemporary resonance for the recovery of British Muslim histories, as it reflects our contested present-day predicament when Muslim radicalism has become taboo:

It can be tested against the severest of its intentions: to restore, however tinily, an important but suppressed area of our collective history; to enlarge our “usable past” and connect it with a lived present; and to celebrate a victory.²⁰



Striking: (Left) Tom Mann poses for a portrait in 1920, (centre) Mann speaks ahead of the Liverpool strike in 1911, and (bottom) the Liverpool Transport Strike where Billal Quilliam addressed the crowd reaches its height outside St George’s Hall on “Bloody Sunday”.



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- 1889–1922 (Leicester, 1985), 86–7; P.J. Walker, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A political and social history of Liverpool, 1868–1939* (Liverpool, 1981), 105; LM, 23 Jan 1895; TC, 11 March 1908. Paul Smith provides the most comprehensive, well-researched history of the MQRWU and its later iterations, and I am reliant on it here. Despite its impressive coverage, however, Smith has entirely passed over Abdullah Quilliam’s role in the carters union as legal advisor and then president between 1890–1908.
7. *Islamic World*, IV/43, Nov 1896, reproducing “Men Who Are Talked About”, *Liverpool Porcupine*, 21 Nov 1896; TC, 29 Jun 1898, quoting from *Liverpool Manx Worthies*; TC, 12 Jul 1905, reproducing a report from the *Liverpool Freeman*, 6 Jul 1905. Quilliam qualified as a solicitor in 1878, and started practice immediately in Church Street then Elliot Street and finally Manchester Street.
8. LM, 11 Oct 1892, 21 Dec 1894, 23 Jan 1895, 9 Mar 1895, 20 Sept 1895, 19 May 1899, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 21 Feb 1901.
9. TC, 13 May 1896, 3 Jun 1896. The silver medal was inscribed on the front with Abdülhamid’s *tughra* (signature) with Ottoman arms and the reverse read: “This Order was founded in the year 1800 of the Hijra of the Prophet. This decoration is for those who are sincere and courageous on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. We have granted it to Alderman John Houlding of Liverpool, this 18th day of Dhul-Hijja, 1313 (answering to 1 May 1896). [With spelling corrections.]” For more on Quilliam’s role as “Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles” see J. Gilham, “Abdullah Quilliam, First and Last ‘Sheikh-ul-Islam of the British Isles”” in J. Gilham and R. Geaves, *Victorian Muslim*, 97–112.
10. TC, 17 Nov 1897; LM, 9 Dec 1897.
11. LM, 19 Nov 1900.
12. Smith, “A Proud Liverpool Union”, 38; B. and S. Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (London: Longmans & Co, 1911), 426; see TC, 7 Dec 1904 for an example of a typical report of an annual general meeting, one in which Quilliam was re-elected president.
13. J. Gilham, *Loyal Enemies: British Converts to Islam, 1850–1950* (London, 2014), 101–2; TC, 19 Dec 1906, 12 Jun 1907, 3 Jul 1907, 8 Jan 1908.
14. TC, 17 Oct 1900, 14 Nov 1900, 27 Feb 1901, 1 May 1901, 19 Jun 1901, 23 Apr 1902, 16 Dec 1903, 7 Dec 1904; LM, 2 Nov 1900; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 17 Jan 1906, 20 Jan 1906; Smith, “Class, Skill and sectarianism”, 181–2.
15. TC, 20 Nov 1907, 11 Mar 1908; Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*, 257–8; Gilham, *Loyal Enemies*, 120; for Robert Ahmed Quilliam’s death date, see Civil Registration Death Index, Q1, 256. He is listed as dying in March 1954 at the age of 79 in Liverpool North.
16. E. Taplin, *Near to Revolution: The Liverpool General Transport Strike of 1911* (Liverpool, 1994), 7–21; J. Bohstedt, “More Than One Working Class: Protestant–Catholic Riots in Edwardian Liverpool” in J. Belchem (ed.) *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour* (Liverpool, 1992), 173–216.
17. Tom Mann, *Memoirs* (London, 1923), 268; Smith, “A Proud Liverpool Union”, 15–16; Walker, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, 199, 253; C. Wrigley, “Tom Mann (1856–1941)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34854>.
18. Mann, *Memoirs*, 270–3; Taplin, *Near to Revolution*, 14.
19. See *The Transport Worker*, 1/1–6, Aug 1911–Jan 1912. Even his older brother Robert Ahmed contributed a piece on “The Advantages of Organisation”, TTW, 1/3, Oct 1911, 70–1.
20. Mann, *Memoirs*, 302, citing the *Weekly Citizen*, 11 May 1912; T. Griffiths, *Collected Plays for Television* (London, 1988), 179–232, quotation at 181.

Appendices

Sheet 2 hand written

We the undersigned memorialists namely William Henry Abdullah Quilliam Effendi and Mariam his wife hereby declare

Al-hamdu l'illah Musulman iz Hashadu an l'illa illallah! Wa Hashado anna Mahomedar rasul – Allah! We have been husband and wife since the 13th day of Shaban 1300

Dated this 11th day of May 1900 Answering to the 11th day of Muharrem 1318 W.H. Abdullah Quilliam [signature]

Mariam Quilliam [signature]

Witnesses

We the undersigned Ismail Redjib Bey of 74 Leyland Road Southport near Liverpool and of Salonica Merchant and Ottoman subject - Shaheen Suleiman of 38 Warren Street in the City of Liverpool and formerly of Beyrout Interpreter of the Railway Company and Ottoman subject - Jamal-ud-deen Bokhari Jeffery of 1 Lowther Street in the City of Liverpool Merchant Vice-President of the Liverpool Muslim Society - Henry Nasrullah Warren of 18 Albion Street Everton Liverpool Professional analyst, Fellow of the College of Chemists and Professor of Chemistry to the Liverpool Muslim College & Wahid Feridoon Preston of 11 Albert Road Preston near Liverpool Fellow of the London Society of Science and Treasurer of the Liverpool.

Sheet 3 hand written

Muslim congregation hereby certify that we were all present at the office of the Ottoman Consulate in Liverpool when Sheikh William Henry Abdullah Quilliam and Mariam his wife both of whom we know to be Muslims and members of the Liverpool Muslim Society made the annexed declaration relating to their marriage and the births of their children and we hereby testify that to our knowledge and belief the whole of the statements therein made by them are true in every respect whatsoever.

Dated this 11th day of Moharrem 1318

J. Bokhari Jefferey [signature]

[two signatures in Arabic]

H. Nasrullah Warren [signature]

Walid Feridon, Preston [signature]

N. gl. 3019

N. ll 27-33

Nous, Consul Genéreal Ottoman à Liverpool certifions que les signatures de W.H. Abdullah Quilliam et Mariam Quilliam, apposeés au-dessous de la déclarations de mariage au contre , et les signatures de Ismail Redjib Bey, Shaheen Sulaiman, Bokhari Jeffrey, Henry N. Warren et Walid Faridon Preston, temoins de la date declaration de mariage, ont été apposeés a-dessus en notre presence. En foi de quoi nous avons délivré le present et y avons apposé notre sceau.

Liverpool, le 14 MAY 1900

LE CONSUL GÉNÉRAL

M. Kamil [signature]

[Circular Seal of the 'CONSULAT GENERAL DE TURQUIE À LIVERPOOL', together with 6 Ottoman postage stamps, numbered 136 to 141 and overwritten '14 MAY 1900' and the note 'Droit perçu selon art 13: Pres 161']

Appendix 1

The Respectful Memorial

Sheet 1 handwritten

The respectful memorial of William Henry Abdullah Quilliam Effendi, Sheikh of the True-Believers in the British Isles and Mariam Lyon otherwise Quilliam his wife showeth:

Your memorialist William Henry Abdullah Quilliam is the only son of Robert Quilliam formerly of the City of Liverpool England now deceased and was born on the 10th day of April 1856.

Your memorialist Mariam Lyon or Quilliam is the only surviving child of Thomas Lyon also formerly of Liverpool aforesaid also now deceased and she was born on the 16th day of June 1863.

On the 21st day of September 1883 your said memorialists with the knowledge and consent of their respective parents exchanged marital vows and promises and of their own free will and accord intermarried one with the other according to Muslim custom & usage. At the time of such marriage of your said memorialists there was no Cadi, Hodja, Imam or Sheikh in the city of Liverpool and no properly organised community in Liverpool or in England and it was therefore impossible to have such marriage registered and the English law does not recognize marriages contracted between Muslims in accordance with Islamic usage in fact the law of England has been solemnly declared to be that the English law only recognizes as a marriage the union for life of one man and one woman according to the Christian faith.

The witness Djamalud-deen Bokhari Jeffery whose signature is annexed hereto as a witness to this memorial was present on the said 21st day of September 1883 on the occasion of the said marriage between your memorialists and was one of the witnesses to such marriage. All other witnesses to such marriage are now dead.

From and after such marriage until now your said memorialists have lived happily together as husband and wife and rendered to each other all such duties and obligations as Muslim husband and wife are bound so to do and have been known to and recognized by all the members of the Muslim community in Liverpool and to other residents in that city as husband and wife.

There have been born as issue of the said marriage six children and no more namely:

Ethel Mariam Quilliam born on the 28th day of January 1885

Lily Ayesha Quilliam born on the 7th day of December 1886

Henry Mahomed Ibn Abdullah Quilliam born on the 14 day of January 1888

Florence Zuleika Quilliam born on the 28th day of May 1890

Ismail Quilliam born on the 15th day of October 1893 & who died on the 7th day of November 1893

Mary Habeeba Quilliam born on the 24th day of May 1897.

All the above-named living children are residing with your memorialists.

Your memorialists respectfully requests His Highness the Sheikh-ul-Islam to register the above marriage as from the 21st day of September 1883 answering to the Muslim date of the 13th Shaban 1300 and to grant a certificate of marriage to your memorialists as from that date in order that no question may thereafter arise as to the legitimacy of your memorialists' children as before named And your memorialists will forever pray.

Dated this 11th day of May 1900

WH Abdullah Quilliam [signature]

Mariam Quilliam [signature]

Carried forward to the next page

5. Mahrup Shah (d.1915), Muslim soldier buried at Brookwood Cemetery: Photographs of collected material, 1917-2014 (SHC ref Z/632). Our online research guide can be found at <http://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/military/india-woking/mahrup-shah/>

6. Ahmadiyya Muslim Association, Woking: Records, 1978-2017 (SHC ref 8859). An online guide to the Woking Ahmadiyya Community can be found at <http://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/diversity/amc/>

7. The Woking Muslim Mission website <http://www.wokingmuslim.org/> has digitised surviving copies of the *Islamic Review*.

Lord Henry Stanley of Alderley; Britain’s First Muslim Baron - *Maryam Ibrahim*

1. Jamie Gilham, ‘Britain’s First Muslim Peer of the Realm: Henry, Lord Stanley of Alderley and Islam in Victorian Britain’, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 33, 1 (2013), pp.93-110

2. WordPress.com [internet] Forgotten Victorians [updated 2017 March 17; cited 2018 March 23]. Available from: <https://williamgray101.wordpress.com/tag/alderley-park/>

3. Amadiyya Anjuman Isha’at Islam Lahore (U.K.), Muslim Mission, Death of Lord Stanley of Alderley, reported in the *Review of Religions* from Quilliam’s paper [cited 2018 March 23]. Available from: <http://www.wokingmuslim.org/pers/quilliam/rev-rel2.htm>

Art and Imagination in British Muslim Life - *Hassan Mahamdallie*

1. Touched by Wonder: Art and Religion in the 21st Century. Ziauddin Sardar <http://ziauddinsardar.com/2013/07/touched-by-wonder-art-and-religion-in-the-21st-century/>

2. Shut down but not silenced: Isis play Homegrown demands to be staged, Lyn Gardner, Guardian 8 March 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2017/mar/08/isis-play-homegrown-national-youth-theatre>

A Forgotten Memorial from Abdullah and Mariam Quilliam to the Ottoman Shaikh Ul Islam - *MA Sherif*

1. Y. PRK. A. Dosya 12, Gömlek 54, Tarih 1318 C 25 [corresponding to 19 October 1900]

2. R. Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain, the Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam* (Markfield: Kube, 2010); p.52

3. Jamie Gilham in his *Loyal Enemies, British Converts to Islam, 1850-1950* (London: Hurst, 2014), also adopts ‘Lyon’ as Mary’s surname.

4. Ibid., p.52-53

5. Ibid., p.54

6. Ibid., p.119

7. PRO RG12/2990; RG13/3499

8. ‘Marriages registered in July, August and September 1909, p. 227. Note not ‘Lyon’, but ‘Lyons’!

9. op.cit. Gilham, p.76

Britain’s Black Muslim Champion of the Colonised - *Yasmeen Arif*

1. Ali, Duse Mohamed (1968; first edition 1911): *In the land of the Pharaohs: a short history of Egypt from the fall of Ismail to the assassination of Boutros Pasha*. London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd. Intro to second edition by Khalil Mahmud of Ibadan University, Nigeria

2. Sherwood, Marika (2011; first published online 2010): Ali, Duse Mohamed [known as Duse Mohamed]. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Available online at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/59530>

3. Ian Duffield 1992. ‘Duse Mohamed Ali, Afro-Asian solidarity and Pan-Africanism in early twentieth-century London.’ In J.S. Gundara and I. Duffield (eds): *Essays on the history of Blacks in Britain: from Roman times to the mid-twentieth century*. Aldershot: Avebury

4. Ian Duffield 1976. Duse Mohamed Ali: his press and public. In K. Niven (ed.) *The commonwealth writer overseas*.

5. African Times and Orient Review 1912. ‘Foreword’. Vol. 1, no. 1 published July 1912

6. Innes, C.L. 2002. *A History of Black and Asian Writing in Britain, 1700-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

7. *African Times and Orient Review* 1912. ‘A word to our brother’. Vol. 1, no. 1 published July 1912

8. *African Times and Orient Review* 1917. ‘Today’. Vol. 4, no. 1 published January 1917 p2-3

The Importance of Representation in the Archives - *Di Stiff*

1. Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust later became the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha’at Islam Lahore (UK). Our online guide to the Woking Muslim Mission and the early days of the mosque is at <http://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/diversity/lahore/>

2. Shah Jahan Mosque, Woking: Publications, 1929-2002 (SHC ref 7831)

3. Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Shah Jahan Mosque, Woking: Correspondence and Publications, 1920-1985 (SHC 8382). Surrey History Centre’s online research guide to Woking Muslim Mission and the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha’at Islam Lahore can be found at <http://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/diversity/lahore/>

4. Mohammad Ilyas Raja of Woking: Correspondence and photographs relating to his service as a Woking Borough Councillor and Trustee of the Shah Jahan Mosque, and involvement in Woking Muslim community charity and cultural events, 1914-2018 (SHC ref Z/454). An online research guide to Cllr Raja’s papers can be found at http://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/diversity/shah_jahan_mosque_woking/papers-cllr-raja/ A guide to papers of Major Alaf Khan can be found at <http://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/military/india-woking/alaf-khan/>