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## AFGHĀNĪ AND FREEMASONRY IN EGYPT\*

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The role played by secret societies in the political development of modern Egypt has remained largely unexplored. This article examines the clandestine activities of the Islamic reformer and political agitator Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī during his stay in Egypt in the 1870's.

The study is based mainly on recently discovered documents and other primary sources. It traces Afghānī's connections with Freemasonry and concludes that he attempted to use the brotherhood as a ready-made agency for political mobilization and agitation against the Khedive Ismā'il and the increasing European intervention in the affairs of Egypt. Many of his followers, such as Muḥammad 'Abduh, Sa'd Zaghlūl, Ya'qūb Ṣannū' and Adīb Ishāq, joined, as did some notables, army officers, and Ismā'il's son, Tawfiq Pasha. Disagreement with other Freemasons who wanted to exclude politics from the fraternity resulted in Afghānī's formation of a "national" lodge where he continued his agitation until the deposition of Ismā'il in June 1879. His anti-European agitation, however, was abruptly ended when the Khedive Tawfiq expelled him in August of that year.

IN A HIGHLY INFORMATIVE ARTICLE<sup>1</sup> Jacob Landau recently drew attention to the important role played by secret societies in the political development of Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century and pointed to the need for further investigation of these organizations. This paper will deal primarily with the clandestine activities of the well-known Islamic reformer and political agitator Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-97) during his stay in Egypt from 1871 to 1879. Hopefully, such a study will shed further light on one of the more obscure episodes in Afghānī's stormy and complex career and add to our knowledge of the general political climate in Egypt in the crucial years preceding the British occupation of 1882.

When Afghānī arrived in Egypt in March 1871,<sup>2</sup> he was given a government pension and began teaching philosophy at al-Azhar.<sup>3</sup> Opposition from the con-

servative 'ulamā' to the introduction of rationalistic subjects and to Afghānī's reformist ideas forced him to withdraw from the mosque-university,<sup>4</sup> but he continued to meet with a few students at his home.<sup>5</sup> His following increased and the topics discussed in the almost daily gatherings dealt increasingly with social and political issues.<sup>6</sup> By the time he was expelled in 1879 he was actively engaged in political agitation.

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visitor and then usually on Fridays." (Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh* [Cairo, 1931], I, 32).

<sup>4</sup> Adīb Ishāq, one of Afghānī's followers, speaks of a debate (*munāẓara*) which led to estrangement (*munāfara*). (*Muntakhabāt Adīb Ishāq*, 2nd ed. [Alexandria, n.d.], p. 118). There seems to be little doubt that something much more than this took place which led the conservatives to label Afghānī an atheist (*mulḥid*). See, for instance, the testimony of another follower, an Azhari student, Ibrāhīm al-Hilbāwī, who until he met Afghānī in 1873 was led to believe that the Sayyid "came to Egypt to lead people astray ... and to spread his atheism." (Quoted by Anwar al-Jundī, *al-Sharq fī fajr al-yaqza* [Cairo, n.d.], p. 17). See also the pamphlet (not seen by this writer) by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Qinnāwī, *Taḥdīr al-umam min kalb al-'ajam* (Cairo, n.d.).

<sup>5</sup> According to one source, when students went to Afghānī's home, rocks were thrown through the windows and he was cursed. ("Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī yuṣfa'a bi'l-nu'āl fī al-Azhar," *Kull Shay' wa'l-Ālam* [Cairo], No. 251 [30 August, 1930], 9 and 39).

<sup>6</sup> For a fuller account, see A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh,

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\* This article is an expanded form of a paper delivered at the 180th meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Baltimore, Maryland, April 14-16, 1970.

<sup>1</sup> Jacob M. Landau, "Prolegomena to a Study of Secret Societies in Modern Egypt," *Middle Eastern Studies*, I, No. 2 (January, 1965), 135-86.

<sup>2</sup> Afghānī was in Egypt once before, around August, 1869, and remained about forty days. He was on his way from Bombay to Istanbul.

<sup>3</sup> All contemporary sources cited below agree that Afghānī taught at al-Azhar. A notable exception is Muḥammad 'Abduh who claims that Afghānī "did not go to al-Azhar a single day as a teacher but only as a

This change from teacher to agitator was due mainly to the dramatic events of the 1870's which saw the steady deterioration of the social, economic, political and administrative affairs of Egypt under the Khedive Ismā'il concomitant with the growth of European influence. In 1876 the treasury was declared bankrupt and a system of financial controls was imposed by the creditor nations. Two years later Europeans were included in the cabinet. The economic hardships on the populace resulting from rapacious taxation, extra-territoriality and other extortionist practices reached a new height. Moreover, the Serbo-Turkish war of 1876 and especially the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 awakened the educated classes to the foreign danger, for even the nominal sovereignty of Turkey was viewed as a restraining factor against a European occupation of Egypt.

Another reason for Afghānī's drift into political agitation was his natural impatience for constructive action. By mentality and temperament he was an activist trying to awaken, reform and strengthen the Muslims by any means and within the shortest time possible, and his activities in Egypt—as in other countries—indicate his paramount concern with the more immediate threat to the political fate of the *umma* posed by an expansionist Europe.

Several members of Afghānī's circle in Egypt acknowledge their indebtedness to him for arousing their spirit of national consciousness. They report that he opened their eyes to the political plight of the East, to the nature of the Western challenge and especially to British imperialist designs. He taught them the need for self-strengthening and for a broader unity within the *umma* in order to stave off foreign encroachments.<sup>7</sup> Muḥammad 'Abduh, referring to the illusions Muslims held about the inviolability of the *umma* and their dreams of past glory, remarks that Afghānī was particularly interested in liberating the mind from self-deception.<sup>8</sup> Aḥmad Shafiq adds that he often heard Afghānī preach "with courage and candor the fundamental precepts of patriotism,"<sup>9</sup> the rights and duties of citizens, the obligations of rulers toward their sub-

jects, the responsibility of governmental officials for their actions and the principle of justice under law.<sup>10</sup> He grew increasingly critical of Ismā'il's policies and came to see him as an autocratic and short-sighted ruler bringing ruin to the country. This disaffection was first voiced in secret, and mainly Masonic, societies. By 1879—the year of Ismā'il's deposition—it had become an open campaign.

Before turning to Afghānī's Masonic activities, a brief summary of the history of the fraternity in Egypt may be in order.<sup>11</sup>

Freemasonry was introduced into the Nile Valley in 1798 by officers of the invading French army. During Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, several chapters were founded under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient of France. By the 1860s, a host of chapters were formed under the jurisdiction of a variety of Rites: French, English, Scottish, Italian, German and Greek. Gould enumerates eight lodges founded between 1862 and 1868 under the United Grand Lodge of England alone.<sup>12</sup>

Although all of these chapters were presumably started by European residents, many of them included Egyptian intellectuals, professionals and notables. Most important and influential among these was Prince 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Pasha, Muḥammad 'Alī's youngest son, who in 1867 was elected Grand Master of the Order of the Grand Orient of Egypt.

Generally speaking, Freemasonry in Egypt worked toward the promotion of brotherhood, philanthropy and charitable institutions, although sometimes it was used for undesirable purposes. Some Italian chapters, for instance, harbored conspirators against the Italian Royal House and underworld criminals. In terms of Egyptian politics, Freemasonry proved useful because it offered a ready-made organization for those interested in subversive activities against the Khedive Ismā'il. Two personalities who utilized the fraternity for this purpose were Afghānī and 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. The latter, who felt swindled when Ismā'il obtained the Sultan's approval to replace the Ottoman law of succession (where the oldest living male member of the ruling family inherits the throne) with primogeniture, used his Masonic connections without success in directing anti-Ismā'il propaganda both in Egypt and in exile.<sup>13</sup>

"The Legacy of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in Egypt," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Indiana University, 1968), especially chapters iv and v.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Aḥmad Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī fī niṣf qarn* (Cairo, 1934), I, 146; Ishāq, *Muntakhabāt*, p. 118.

<sup>8</sup> Ridā, *Tārīkh*, I, 32. Cf. *Khāṭirāt Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Afghānī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī (Beirut, 1931), pp. 316-26.

<sup>9</sup> Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 109.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Ridā, *Tārīkh*, I, 37.

<sup>11</sup> This summary is based primarily on Robert F. Gould, *The History of Freemasonry* (New York, 1936), IV; and Landau, "Prolegomena".

<sup>12</sup> Gould, *History*, IV, 232.

<sup>13</sup> For a concise study of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm's Masonic activities, see Landau, "Prolegomena".

The classical difficulties encountered in investigating secret societies apply to research on Afghānī's Masonic career. Afghānī himself kept few records and any kept by the lodges have not yet come to light,<sup>14</sup> except for a group of recently discovered papers belonging to Afghānī.<sup>15</sup> Along with numerous contemporary non-Masonic reports, these enable us now to piece together the following description of the nature and scope of Afghānī's clandestine activities in Egypt.

These reports agree that Afghānī became a Mason for political reasons.<sup>16</sup> In Adīb Ishāq's words, Afghānī had "a strong desire to save Egyptians from humiliation," and when European interventions multiplied and the financial crisis worsened he realized that something had to be done, so he joined the Masons.<sup>17</sup> Years later when Rashīd Riḍā asked 'Abduh why he and Afghānī had become Masons, 'Abduh replied that it was for a "political and social purpose".<sup>18</sup>

Afghānī's earliest known contact with the Freemasons is a letter dated May, 1875 requesting his admission into one of the chapters in Cairo.<sup>19</sup> The letter does not reveal the name of the chapter, but its identity is not vital since Afghānī soon belonged to several lodges. Other documents show that he was invited to attend sessions in various lodges until he left Egypt. Among these were the Italian Luce d'Oriente, Nilo and Mazzini.<sup>20</sup> It would appear that at least between 1877 and 1879 he belonged to one or more of these, because the invitations he received concerned the election of new members and memorial services for past members. In other documents he is identified as a member of the Nile lodge of Cairo<sup>21</sup> which was affiliated

with the National Grand Lodge of Egypt (one of three Grand Masonic bodies established in May, 1878 when the French Grand Orient was reorganized).<sup>22</sup>

Afghānī was also a leading member of the Star of the East (Kawkab al-Sharq), No. 1355, founded in Cairo in 1871<sup>23</sup> and affiliated with the United Grand Lodge of England. According to Mohammed Sabry, it was a British Vice-Consul in Cairo, Raphael Borg, himself a Mason, who urged Afghānī and his followers "à s'affilier à la maçonnerie anglaise" through this chapter.<sup>24</sup> Soon it had many members from the Egyptian elite, including Tawfiq Pasha (Ismā'il's son), Sharif Pasha, Buṭrus Pasha Ghālī, Sulaymān Pasha 'Abāza, Muḥammad 'Abduh, Sa'd Zaghlūl, army officers like Laṭīf Bey Salīm and Sa'id Naṣr, members of the Assembly of Delegates and even 'ulamā'.<sup>25</sup> Sabry does not indicate his sources nor the date of Afghānī's encounter with Borg, but among the recently discovered documents is an invitation for Afghānī, dated 24 January, 1877, to attend an extraordinary session.<sup>26</sup> The following January he was elected president of the lodge for the year 1878.<sup>27</sup> When the dates and nature of these two events are taken into account, it would appear that Afghānī had joined the Star of the East, at least, by 1876.

Another interesting document is an invitation, dated 3 February, 1879, asking Afghānī to attend a meeting at the "Greek lodge of Cairo".<sup>28</sup> Finally, a

<sup>14</sup> One might add that the natural reticence of Freemasons and the great confusion in Rites, Orders, jurisdictions and symbols render research even more difficult.

<sup>15</sup> Īraj Afshār and Aṣghar Mahdavi, eds., *Majmū'a-yi asnād va madārik-i chāp nashuda dar bāra-yi Jamāl al-Dīn mashhūr bi Afghānī* (Tehran, 1963). Henceforth referred to as *Documents*.

<sup>16</sup> Ishāq, *Muntakhabāt*, p. 118; 'Abduh in Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 40-41; Salīm 'Anḥūrī in *Tārīkh*, I, 45 ff.; Riḍā, "Tatimmat mulakkhaṣ sīrat al-ustādh al-imām: dukhūlihi fī al-māsūniyya-min al-tamhīd," *al-Manār*, VIII (2 August 1905), 401-402; Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt*, p. 41; Jurjī Zaydān, "al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Afghānī," *al-Hilāl*, V (1 April, 1897), 567.

<sup>17</sup> Ishāq, *Muntakhabāt*, p. 118. Cf. Zaydān, "al-Sayyid," p. 567.

<sup>18</sup> Riḍā, "Tatimmat," p. 402.

<sup>19</sup> *Documents*, photostat 40.

<sup>20</sup> *Documents*, p. 24 (items 60 and 63); p. 25 (item 68).

<sup>21</sup> *Documents*, p. 24 (item 65, dated May, 1878); p. 25 (item 66, dated August, 1878).

<sup>22</sup> Gould, *History*, IV, 235. Cf. *Documents*, p. 24 (item 61). The National Grand Lodge of Egypt appears to have later come under the jurisdiction of the United Grand Lodge of England. See Gould, *History*, IV, 234.

<sup>23</sup> Gould, *History*, IV, 232.

<sup>24</sup> Sabry, *La Genèse de l'esprit national égyptien (1863-82)* (Paris, 1924), p. 142.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>26</sup> *Documents*, p. 24 (item 59). Cf. p. 24 (item 64); p. 25 (items 67 and 70).

<sup>27</sup> *Documents*, photostat 41, letter from Niqūla Sakrūj, secretary of the lodge, to Afghānī, dated 7 January, 1878. The editors of the *Documents* (p. 24 [item 62]) render the month as June, but closer examination of the photographed letter shows the Arabic transliteration of the Italian "gennaio". The use of foreign calendar words was then a common practice by the European communities in Egypt.

<sup>28</sup> *Documents*, p. 25 (item 69). While it is possible that he did indeed belong to such a chapter of the Greek Rite, it is also conceivable that the original document read "Grecia lodge" and was erroneously rendered into Persian as "Yūnānī," i.e. Greek, by the editors. In this case, the chapter would be an affiliate of the United Grand Lodge of England founded in Cairo in 1866. On the latter, see Gould, *History*, IV, 232.

letter written in Paris in March, 1884 indicates that Afghānī applied for membership in one of the local chapters when he was residing in the French capital.<sup>29</sup>

All this evidence suggests that Afghānī maintained close ties with a number of Masonic lodges belonging to different Rites.<sup>30</sup> While these documents do not indicate the type of activity in which he was engaged, other sources tell of the political considerations which prompted him to join the fraternity. Masonic lodges were eminently suited for the clandestine activities he wished to advocate. They provided the machinery for organized agitation against Ismā'il's policies and the growing foreign influence. In a society where open opposition was hazardous, the secrecy sworn by Freemasons furnished Afghānī with a convenient base for operation. Moreover, since a significant number of Egyptians of the educated and public-spirited classes were also Masons he could, by concurrently joining different lodges, reach many national figures to awaken them to the need for urgent reforms and to inspire them to political action.

In these efforts, Afghānī was aided by some of his own disciples whom he persuaded to join Freemasonry. 'Abduh was one, although later in life he attempted to obfuscate his association.<sup>31</sup> In 1875, the Jewish Egyptian nationalist Ya'qūb Ṣannū' became a Mason.<sup>32</sup> Later Sa'd Zaghlūl, 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwayliḥī, Adīb Ishāq, Salīm al-Naqqāsh and Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī were initiated.<sup>33</sup>

How successful Afghānī was in winning over the Masons to his brand of activism is another question. Freemasons have traditionally been enjoined to refrain from engaging in political activity, and when they did not (as in France and Italy in the nineteenth century), they were criticized or censured by the supervisory body. Such activity also subjected the fraternity to "the constant observation of state authorities lest its members should become involved in intrigue and conspiracy against the government."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Documents, photostats 42-43.

<sup>30</sup> According to Gould (*History*, IV, 238), dual membership was permitted in Egypt as in England.

<sup>31</sup> Riḍā, "Tatimmat," pp. 401-02. According to Alexander M. Broadley (*How We Defended Arabi and His Friends: A Story of Egypt and the Egyptians* [London, 1884], p. 262), 'Abduh was also made master of a lodge.

<sup>32</sup> Irene Gendzier, *The Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Sabry, *La Genèse*, p. 142. See also Gould, *History*, IV, 236, for a eulogy by the Masons upon Zaghlūl's death.

<sup>34</sup> Delmar D. Darrah, *History and Evolution of Freemasonry* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 269-70.

Afghānī's efforts to politicize his fellow Masons seem to have been strongly opposed. We catch a glimpse of the debate in an account by Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī. Someone asserted at one of the early meetings that Freemasonry had no business in politics and that the lodge feared the long arm of the government. Afghānī replied that he was shocked to discover cowardice, selfishness and egoism within the fraternity. He had understood it to be composed of *free masons*, men who would use their tools "for building places of true freedom, brotherliness and equality [while] destroying the towering edifices of injustice, tyranny and oppression."<sup>35</sup>

Eventually, Afghānī withdrew from the lodge and formed another under his own leadership. According to Makhzūmī, Afghānī did so after he "realized that he could not work with those brothers while they were in this state of indifference, fear and cowardice."<sup>36</sup> Another account which may give substance to Makhzūmī's, but is yet to be verified, is given by Rashīd Riḍā. Basing his story on information from 'Abduh, he states that "the initial cause for the withdrawal of Afghānī and 'Abduh from Freemasonry" was an incident which took place during a visit to Egypt by the English Grand Master, the Prince of Wales. The Masonic lodges honored the visitor lavishly and when one of the leading members addressed him as Crown Prince, Afghānī objected that it was not permissible to address any member as such "even though he was the heir to the British Empire". Furthermore, the British government had not conferred any favors upon the fraternity. Some of the leaders, however, repudiated these statements and after a debate (*munāqasha*), Afghānī withdrew along with a select group of followers.<sup>37</sup>

It is difficult to determine from which lodge or lodges Afghānī withdrew,<sup>38</sup> nor is it possible to fix the date. If Riḍā's story has any validity, the break could have taken place either in 1875 or 1876, since these were the

<sup>35</sup> Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>37</sup> Riḍā, "Tatimmat," pp. 402-03. Professor Landau's thorough research into Masonic literature published in Egypt during this period revealed a great deal "of petty jealousies amongst various members or factions". ("Prolegomena," pp. 138-39). This fact may, in part, account for Afghānī's break.

<sup>38</sup> The only reference is made by Makhzūmī (*Khāṭirāt*, pp. 41 ff.) to the effect that it was a Scottish lodge. There is no documentary evidence, however, that Afghānī belonged to a chapter of the Scottish Rite.

years during which the Prince of Wales visited Egypt.<sup>39</sup> Makhzūmī also suggests that the break was early in Afghānī's Masonic career,<sup>40</sup> a career which evidently began in 1875.

The above disagreement has become another source of controversy over Afghānī's religiosity. In a recent critical essay, Elie Kedourie argued that Afghānī was expelled from the lodge due to his disbelief in the existence of a Grand Architect of the Universe.<sup>41</sup> The contention is based upon a dispatch from Frank Lascelles, then British Consul-General in Cairo, in which he reported that Afghānī "was recently expelled from the Freemasons' Lodge at Cairo, of which he was a member, on account of his open disbelief in a Supreme Being."<sup>42</sup>

While British agents are known for their regular and efficient reporting, their dispatches are not always devoid of factual errors or hearsay information. Such misstatements are found in many communications dealing with Afghānī, this one in particular.<sup>43</sup> The dispatch was dated 30 August, 1879, just a few days after his banishment from Egypt. Considering the fact that he had been a member of Masonic lodges since 1875, the claim that he "was recently expelled... on account of his open disbelief" is questionable.<sup>44</sup> The first cardinal principle of orthodox Masonry is indeed its insistence on belief in a Grand Architect,<sup>45</sup> a point which Afghānī himself later acknowledged.<sup>46</sup> While people of all shades of religious belief have been admitted into the fraternity, atheists and agnostics have been barred. This principle

was spelled out in the "Anderson Constitution" of 1723 of which Paragraph I, "Concerning God and Religion," in part reads:

A Mason is oblig'd, by his tenure, to obey the moral law; and if he rightly understands the art, he will never be a stupid atheist, nor an irreligious libertine....<sup>47</sup>

The only serious deviation from this doctrine appeared in the nineteenth century when French Masons under the Grand Orient became "more democratic and anti-clerical" and their lodges "centers of political and religious discussion".<sup>48</sup> In 1877, they deleted as a condition of membership the requirement of belief in a Deity, arguing that Freemasonry is not a religion and therefore a person need not acknowledge God's existence in order to become a member. This position was interpreted to mean that they were atheists or materialists, a charge they denied.<sup>49</sup> Despite their denial, the United Grand Lodge of England, which had original jurisdiction over the Grand Orient, quickly terminated its relations with them. Another factor contributing to the rupture was the persistence of the French Masons in sanctioning political activities, for the second cardinal principle was the acceptance of the apolitical character of the fraternity.<sup>50</sup>

Considering that the Star of the East lodge was affiliated with the United Grand Lodge of England, it seems unlikely that Afghānī was an open disbeliever and at the same time elected its president. According to the document cited above,<sup>51</sup> he was installed as head in January, 1878; the rupture between the English and French Masons had taken place in 1877. Moreover, he was a member of the Nile lodge at least as late as August, 1878.<sup>52</sup> Gould states that "as its model," this lodge "follows the [National] Grand Lodge of England in its customs, laws and ritual, as it interprets them," and that belief in a Supreme Being is "a necessary prerequisite to membership."<sup>53</sup> The weight of evidence, therefore, does not support the argument that Afghānī was expelled or was an unbeliever. Rather, it points to a dispute of a political nature.

<sup>39</sup> Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII: A Biography* (New York, 1925), pp. 380-81, 409.

<sup>40</sup> Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt*, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Kedourie, *Afghānī and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London, 1966), pp. 20-21.

<sup>42</sup> Public Record Office, London, F.O. 78/3003, Political Dispatch No. 498, dated Cairo, 30 August, 1879.

<sup>43</sup> For example, the statement that Afghānī was once exiled from Algiers when in fact he never went there, or that he was sent from Egypt "to Jeddah with the view of going from there to Persia" when other documents show that he was put on a ship bound for India. See also the discussion below on belief in a Supreme Being and on the British role in Afghānī's expulsion.

<sup>44</sup> It is more likely that Lascelles is here referring to another break between Afghānī and the Masonic supporters of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm which occurred in July or August, 1879. See below.

<sup>45</sup> Frank Hankins, "Masonry," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1963), IX, 179.

<sup>46</sup> Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī: dhikrayāt wa-aḥādīth* (Cairo, 1948), p. 74.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted by Darrah, *History and Evolution of Freemasonry*, p. 99.

<sup>48</sup> Hankins, "Masonry," p. 183.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, the letter from the French Grand Orient to the editor of the London *Times*, 18 February, 1885.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Gould, *History*, IV, 234.

<sup>51</sup> *Documents*, photostat 41.

<sup>52</sup> *Documents*, p. 25 (item 66).

<sup>53</sup> Gould, *History*, IV, 234, 237.

Several non-Masonic accounts report that following his withdrawal from the Masons, Afghānī formed "a national lodge" (*mahfalan waṭaniyyan*) affiliated with the French Grand Orient.<sup>54</sup> Within a short time this lodge boasted a membership of more than three hundred. Besides Afghānī's usual followers, it attracted a number of journalists, intellectuals, notables, '*ulamā*', members of the Assembly and some army officers.<sup>55</sup>

According to Makhzūmī, the members were divided into several committees to serve as liaisons with government departments. One was entrusted with admonishing (*indhār*) the War Minister to treat justly those Egyptian officers who had been on duty in the Sudan.<sup>56</sup> Others were assigned to the Ministers of Justice, Finance, Public Works, etc., asking them to treat Egyptian civil servants with fairness and equality. These officials were resentful of Europeans who were receiving three or four times their salaries for the same positions and amounts of work.<sup>57</sup> Sabry notes that the lodge "favorisait l'échange d'idées entre les hommes qui étaient au courant des dessous politiques et des secrets du gouvernement, et créait entre eux un lien de solidarité."<sup>58</sup>

It was this kind of political activity, says Makhzūmī, which caused an uproar in government circles and even reached the ears of Ismā'il.<sup>59</sup> It would appear that Afghānī attempted to make his lodge a political force to be reckoned with. Certainly the bonds of fraternity and solidarity for which Masonry is known could have done

much to facilitate his scheme, particularly as some of the members were government officials. It was through this association, remarks Riḍā, that 'Abduh was able to establish contact with Tawfiq Pasha and other leaders of Egypt.<sup>60</sup>

Tawfiq's association with Afghānī can be traced to this period. He joined the lodge headed by Afghānī<sup>61</sup> and at his inauguration as Khedive on 27 June, 1879, a delegation of Masons from this lodge went to congratulate him.<sup>62</sup> Also, when he died in 1892, another delegation was present at the funeral ceremonies.<sup>63</sup>

In order to gain influence and avoid possible government harassment, Freemasons often sought to admit into their ranks members of royal families. Initiating Crown Prince Tawfiq was therefore in Afghānī's interest. But what was there in Freemasonry to attract Tawfiq? An important factor seems to have been Tawfiq's desire to identify himself with the reform-minded classes. Whether he was moved by a genuine concern for the welfare of Egypt or by anxiety over his succession is beyond the scope of this paper. What is clear is that he was critical of Ismā'il's policies and privately strove to replace him.<sup>64</sup>

Tawfiq and Afghānī seem to have achieved some degree of understanding; they were on good terms until shortly before the latter's expulsion.<sup>65</sup> They shared, if

<sup>60</sup> Riḍā, "Tatimmat", p. 402.

<sup>61</sup> This was probably in 1878. See Sabry, *La Genèse*, p. 143; Ishāq, *Muntakhabāt*, p. 119; Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 521.

<sup>62</sup> Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 88. Text of the address and Tawfiq's reply are in Salīm al-Naqqāsh, *Miṣr lil-Miṣriyyīn* (Alexandria, 1884), IV, 8. Naqqāsh identifies the delegation as members of the Grand Orient of Egypt.

<sup>63</sup> Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 521.

<sup>64</sup> According to Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī (*Documents*, photostats 101-02), "when the British and French governments were urging the Khedive [Ismā'il] to abdicate, the present Khedive [Tawfiq] sent me one of his private [secretaries], the Englishman Amīn Bey, to beg me to urge al-Sayyid ['Alī] al-Bakrī [Naqīb al-Ashraf] to advise his father to abdicate quickly for fear of endangering the succession." Cf. F.O. 78/3002, Dispatch No. 343, Most Confidential, dated Cairo, 11 June, 1879, from Vivian, where Tawfiq assured Vivian "that he had no sympathy or part in what was going on which on the contrary he sincerely deplored."

<sup>65</sup> In a letter to Riyāḍ Pasha following his expulsion from Egypt, Afghānī wrote: "The Khedive had a true affection for me before he came to the throne and I was a friend to his friends and an enemy to his enemies," adding that Tawfiq used to send him his secretary Kamāl Bey daily to say that "the Effendīnā sends his regards." (*Documents*, photostat 34).

<sup>54</sup> Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt*, p. 44; Ishāq, *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 118-119; Riḍā, "Tatimmat," p. 401. Sabry (*La Genèse*, p. 142), without indicating his source, says that Afghānī "s'était mis en contact avec les franc-maçons italiens et s'était entendu avec eux pour fonder le Grand Orient d'Alexandrie où furent admis, vers 1878, des publicistes Syriens et Egyptiens..." Gould (*History*, IV, 232), however, shows that such a lodge was established as early as 1802.

<sup>55</sup> Sabry, *La Genèse*, p. 143. The Sabry account agrees with contemporary Arabic accounts except in labeling the lodge "Star of the East" rather than that founded by Afghānī. The name of the latter is yet to be determined.

<sup>56</sup> Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt*, pp. 44-45. These officers were serving four years while their Circassian counterparts served only two.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>58</sup> Sabry, *La Genèse*, p. 143.

<sup>59</sup> Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt*, p. 45. Cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Fayḍ al-khāṭir* (Cairo, 1944), IV, 257-58. Makhzūmī's statement that the Khedive was Tawfiq must be an error as it is neither consistent with his own account nor with that of others.

for different reasons, the same desire to see a change in the conditions of the country and believed that such a change could be best achieved by removing Ismā'il. On his part, Tawfiq professed liberalism and promised constitutional reforms upon his accession to the Khedivate.<sup>66</sup> Whether he was privy to any plot to remove his father by force can only be conjectured, but certainly Afghānī was thinking in these terms. 'Abduh relates that in the spring of 1879 Afghānī and many notables asked the then Chief Minister Sharif Pasha to "convince Ismā'il of the need to abdicate" but Ismā'il refused.<sup>67</sup> Later Afghānī led a delegation of Egyptians to see the newly arrived French Consul-General, Tricou, and told him that "there is in Egypt a national party which wants reform... and that this reform cannot be carried out except at the hands of the heir-apparent Tawfiq Pasha."<sup>68</sup> Tricou was known for his unsympathetic attitude toward Ismā'il, an attitude which could have been reinforced by this intercession.

According to Blunt, there was much private talk, in that spring, among a group of Azhari reformers influenced by Afghānī as to how Ismā'il could be deposed; they even considered assassination.<sup>69</sup> It is not known who these reformers were, but at least Afghānī and 'Abduh contemplated such a revolutionary step. In 'Abduh's words, Afghānī proposed

that Ismā'il should be assassinated some day as he passed in his carriage daily over the Kasr el Nil bridge, and I strongly approved, but it was only talk between ourselves, and we lacked a person capable of taking a lead in the affair. If we had known Arabi at that time, we might have arranged it with him, and it would have been the best thing that could have happened, as it would have prevented the intervention of Europe.<sup>70</sup>

This plot was probably conceived shortly before Ismā'il's deposition in June 1879. Meanwhile, Afghānī stepped up his campaign by turning to open agitation. In one of his fiery speeches he exhorted people in these

terms:

You have been born into slavery and are living under despotic rule. For centuries you have been under the yoke of conquerors and oppressors.... The livelihood which you have earned by the sweat of your brow is taken away without your knowledge.... Rise from your indifference.... Shake off the dust of ignorance and indolence. Live free and happy like other nations or else die as martyrs....<sup>71</sup>

Such exhortations did not fall on deaf ears. Afghānī, the *Times* correspondent observed, had "almost obtained the weight of a Median law among the lower and less educated classes."<sup>72</sup>

It was during these turbulent times that the national movement began to emerge. In April, 1879 the existence of the Patriotic (Party) Society (*al-Hizb al-Waṭanī*) became publicly known. Doubt has been voiced as to whether Afghānī had any connection with it.<sup>73</sup> Here certain links will be suggested between him and the two main streams of the party—the *fallāḥ* officers and the "constitutionalists".

Reference has already been made to some officers who were members of Afghānī's Masonic lodge. Sabry names two: Laṭīf Salīm and Sa'id Naṣr.<sup>74</sup> Major Laṭīf was director of the military college and leader of the military demonstration of 18 February, 1879. Directed against the "European cabinet" of Nūbār Pasha, its purpose was to protest governmental economy measures and especially the compulsory retirement on half pay for some 2,500 Egyptian officers while they were still owed nearly two years arrears of pay.<sup>75</sup> Although the cabinet was forced to resign and the officers won redress, the ringleaders were at first imprisoned.

According to Sabry, on the same day that the officers were taken into custody, the Freemasons met under Afghānī's leadership and sent telegrams to both Ismā'il and the Prince of Wales demanding their release.<sup>76</sup> While it is difficult to accept Sabry's view that the demonstration was, "dans une certaine mesure,

<sup>66</sup> 'Abduh in Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 74; Wilfrid S. Blunt, *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (London, 1907), pp. 95–96.

<sup>67</sup> Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 74–75.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. Ishāq (*Muntakhabāt*, p. 119) speaks of a "large party" only.

<sup>69</sup> Blunt, *Secret History*, p. 95.

<sup>70</sup> As told in Arabic to Blunt in March, 1903 and recorded in *ibid.*, p. 375. It is interesting that when Lord Cromer denounced this plot, Riḍā obligingly defended Afghānī and 'Abduh. See "al-Radd 'ala al-Lord Cromer," *al-Manār*, XI (1 May 1908), 196–97.

<sup>71</sup> 'Anḥūrī in Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 46–47. Another speech is recorded by Shafīq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 109.

<sup>72</sup> The London *Times*, 30 August 1879. See also the issue of 8 September 1879.

<sup>73</sup> Kedourie, *Afghani and 'Abduh*, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Sabry, *La Genèse*, pp. 142–143.

<sup>75</sup> F.O. 78/2998, Dispatch No. 57, Political and Most Confidential, dated Cairo, 15 February 1879, from Vivian. Also, Dispatch No. 59, Political, 19 February, and Dispatch No. 64, 20 February.

<sup>76</sup> Sabry, *La Genèse*, p. 143.



l'oeuvre de la franc-maçonnerie,"<sup>77</sup> the report of the intercession is corroborated by Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid.<sup>78</sup>

That some officers were Masons is further confirmed by Alexander Broadley, the defense lawyer of 'Urābī Pasha and other leaders of the revolt of 1882. Himself an active Mason (he was the author of *History of Freemasonry in Malta*), Broadley had a special interest in seeking out the Masons among his defendants. His findings revealed that "although none of the leaders of the National party belonged to the brotherhood, a large number of their subordinates were amongst the most active and zealous members."<sup>79</sup> He goes on to say that "the Egyptian patriots, found a strange fascination in the mystic tie which was to unite all men in the common bond of liberty, and believed the same machinery which had helped the Italians in their struggle for freedom and unity would materially assist the Egyptian cause."<sup>80</sup>

As to the "constitutionalists", some of them had long been associated with Afghānī, either as members of his intimate circle or as Masons. Broadley notes that "many of the Deputies in the Egyptian Chamber had hastened to join the craft."<sup>81</sup> Outstanding among these was 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwayliḥī, leader of the opposition and a devout follower of Afghānī. Rāfi's assertion that Muwayliḥī's speeches in the Assembly reflected Afghānī's spirit and thoughts<sup>82</sup> receives substance from the *Times* correspondent quoted earlier. Speaking of "The National Party in Egypt" in terms which clearly implicate Afghānī in the movement, he wrote:

The Parliamentary leader of the National Party—I must use this term in default of a better—is a certain Salem Bey Miwelhy [sic]. . . . But behind this not very formidable individual is a far more characteristic personage. The name of Gamad-el-Din [sic] has become recently familiar as attached to a considerable but unknown power in Egypt.<sup>83</sup>

There was of course no coordinated participation between Afghānī and either the officers or the "consti-

tutionalists". Indeed, as Landau has aptly observed, the "party was rather loosely organized, all ties being personal, so that the membership was never fixed or definite."<sup>84</sup> Did Afghānī offer any specific program of action? Perhaps indirectly. The national manifesto (*al-Lā'iḥa al-Waṭaniyya*), drafted in April, 1879, does not bear his signature—in any case, he was not an Egyptian—but it does bear the stamp of his ideas: the right of Egyptians to freedom, the repudiation of foreign influence and intervention, the institution of constitutional and fiscal reforms and the need for educational reforms, among others.<sup>85</sup> In an interview in the summer of 1879, he spoke the language of the nationalists:

...certain well-defined ideas he [Afghānī] possessed and he knew how to express them with force. For European interference he had no toleration. The cry "Egypt for the Egyptians" he maintained to its utmost conclusions. . . . When I pressed him to assume himself Viceroy and to name the Ministry he would choose, he had a string of names ready. Cherif Pasha, he said, might be tolerated, but for a time only, until young Egypt had gathered strength. . . .<sup>86</sup>

That Afghānī did not leave a greater mark upon the nationalist movement is not surprising, for he left Egypt when the party was still in its embryonic stages.

When Tawfiq replaced his father as Khedive in June, 1879, Afghānī and the nationalists believed that the long-awaited reforms could at last be instituted, for such had been the impression given by Tawfiq before his accession. He continued to give the same impression during the first few weeks of his reign. For example, the delegation of Freemasons sent to congratulate him upon his accession was assured of his intention to implement reforms.<sup>87</sup> Sharif Pasha, who had been serving as Chief Minister since April, stayed in office holding the same notion. Afghānī, too, remained on good terms.<sup>88</sup> But the honeymoon did not last long. Afghānī, Sharif and the various nationalist groups were applying pres-

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>78</sup> Luṭfi al-Sayyid (*Qışṣat ḥayātī* [Cairo, n.d.], p. 34) writes that when he was in Istanbul in 1893, he heard from Afghānī an account of his "quick efforts to release Laṭīf Salīm Pasha and those imprisoned with him." Unfortunately, the author does not elaborate on the matter.

<sup>79</sup> Broadley, *How We Defended*, p. 262.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'i, *'Aṣr Ismā'īl* (Cairo, 1932), II, 159.

<sup>83</sup> The London *Times*, 30 August, 1879.

<sup>84</sup> Landau, *Parliaments and Parties in Egypt* (Tel Aviv, 1953), p. 87.

<sup>85</sup> For a discussion of the "manifesto", see *ibid.*, pp. 87-92. On Afghānī's influence on the 'Urābists, see Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 146.

<sup>86</sup> The London *Times*, 30 August, 1879.

<sup>87</sup> Naqqāsh, *Miṣr lil-Miṣriyyīn*, IV, 8.

<sup>88</sup> 'Abduh recalls that even a few days before Afghānī's banishment Tawfiq told him: "You, oh Sayyid, are the object of my hope in Egypt"! (*innaka anta mawḍi'a amalī fī Miṣr ayyuhā al-Sayyid*). (Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 77). Also reported by Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 109.

sure on Tawfiq for immediate reforms. Sharif submitted a plan for a constitution that would have created a strong representative assembly and ministerial responsibility at the expense of the Khedive's powers. Afghānī urged him to keep foreigners out of the government and in general to end their influence in Egypt. In addition, he wanted him to get rid of the court entourage (*hāshiya*) which consisted mostly of non-Egyptians.<sup>89</sup> This retinue had belonged to Ismā'il but Tawfiq kept it almost intact. It is possible that Afghānī wanted to replace them with Egyptians from his own followers, a move which would have enhanced his influence. There is no indication, however, that he sought a position for himself.<sup>90</sup>

While these pressures were being applied on Tawfiq, the foreign consuls, suspecting that he might succumb, advised him against parting with any of his powers.<sup>91</sup> Tawfiq, who was known for his weak character, rejected the constitutional project and replaced Sharif with Riṣād, a man known for autocratic tendencies. Disillusioned, Afghānī turned to criticism of the new regime, both privately in his Masonic lodge and openly in speeches. As the *Times* correspondent observed:

Supported by Cherif Pasha, he [Afghānī] for some time deemed it expedient to conceal his more pronounced views, but on the fall of the late Ministry [of Sharif] he seems to have lent himself more openly to a propaganda against the introduction of the European element in any form into the administration of the country.<sup>92</sup>

A French journalist, Ernest Vauquelin, gave the following eyewitness account:

One evening in the Hasan mosque in Cairo, before an audience of four thousand [?] people, he [Afghānī] gave a powerful speech in which he denounced with a deep prophetic sense three years before the event the ultimate purpose of British policy on the banks of the Nile.

He also showed at the same time the Khedive Tawfiq as compelled to serve—consciously or not—British ambitions, and ended his speech by a war-cry

against the foreigner and by a call for a revolution to save the independence of Egypt and establish liberty.<sup>93</sup>

Such fiery speeches could serve only to disquiet Tawfiq and to consider banishing Afghānī. But there were other forces working against Afghānī. The foreign consuls, especially the British, saw him as a dangerous agitator whose presence in the land could harm their relations with a malleable ruler. As Consul-General Lascelles noted:

Gamal El Deen [Afghānī], it appears, is a man of considerable capacity and of great power as an orator, and he was gradually obtaining an amount of influence over his hearers which threatened to become dangerous. Last year [1878] he took an active part in stirring up ill feeling against the Europeans, and more especially the English, of whom he seems to entertain a profound hatred.<sup>94</sup>

Contemporary non-British sources agree that the consuls played a significant role in Afghānī's expulsion.<sup>95</sup> That the final decision to expel him was made by Tawfiq does not exclude the possibility of such an intervention. Similarly, the fact that British dispatches do not mention Afghānī prior to his expulsion does not mean that they were previously unaware of his existence. Indeed, such a prominent and dangerous figure could not have escaped the watchful eye of agents constantly on the lookout for any possible trouble-maker.

Another element which possibly agitated against Afghānī was Tawfiq's retinue who felt that Afghānī could undermine its status. Finally, there were rumors that he was plotting to overthrow the Khedive and replace his rule with a republican form of government<sup>96</sup> and others implicating him in a plot attributed to the Masonic followers of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm aimed at replacing Tawfiq with Ḥalīm. In letters written in 1883,<sup>97</sup> Afghānī complained that it was the officer 'Uthmān Pasha (the

<sup>89</sup> Shafiq, *Mudhakkirātī*, I, 109–10.

<sup>90</sup> See the revealing and candid letter from Afghānī to his Persian confidant Ḥāj Amīn al-Ṣarb written in St. Petersburg on 27 March, 1889 and reproduced in *Documents*, photostats 182–83.

<sup>91</sup> Blunt, *Secret History*, pp. 96–97; 'Abduh in Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 76.

<sup>92</sup> The London *Times*, 8 September, 1879, dispatch dated 30 August.

<sup>93</sup> F.I. 407/71 (confidential print), No. 9, Intelligence Department, War Office to Foreign Office, dated 19 July, 1887. Quoted by Kedourie, *Afghani and 'Abduh*, pp. 29–30.

<sup>94</sup> F.O. 78/3003, Political Dispatch No. 498, dated Cairo, 30 August, 1879.

<sup>95</sup> Shafiq (*Mudhakkirātī*, I, 110) bases his information on de Martino who was then the Italian Consul-General and close to Tawfiq and the British and French agents. See also 'Abduh in Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 33, 76; Ishāq, *Muntakhabāt*, p. 119; Zaydān, "al-Sayyid", p. 567.

<sup>96</sup> 'Anḥūrī in Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 46; Shakīb Arslān, *Ḥaḍīr al-ālam al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1925), I, 201.

<sup>97</sup> *Documents*, photostats 32–38.

Police Chief of Cairo) who had spread these malicious rumors and told Tawfiq that Afghānī planned to kill him in concert with the Masons. To Riyāḍ Pasha he wrote:

A group of foreign Masons and their followers...who were under the leadership of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm when he was president of the Masonic Order in Cairo, tried to work for Ḥalīm's succession and I, out of my love for the Khedive Tawfiq, left them....<sup>98</sup>

This statement suggests that Afghānī broke with the Masons for a second time just prior to his expulsion. The incident may also account for Lascelles' confused report to the effect that Afghānī "was recently expelled from the Freemasons' Lodge" which he erroneously attributed to disbelief in a Supreme Being.

On 24 August, 1879, Afghānī was seized by the police, whisked away to Suez, and was put on a ship bound for India.<sup>99</sup> A few days later the official gazette, *al-Waḡā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, published the government's statement charging Afghānī with leading a secret society based on violence and aimed at "corrupting religion and the world".<sup>100</sup> Commenting on the whole affair, Afghānī wrote the following to an unidentifiable Egyptian personage:

You know the truth about our circle (*majlisinā*) and the corruption which has crept into it. Nothing was hidden from you and you knew about me and my secret, so how could you bear it when the officer 'Uthmān Pasha told lies and fabrications about me... and said that I was the president of a society which had for its basis the ruin of religion and the world until the Khedive unthinkingly believed him and ordered my banishment in the most ugly manner?<sup>101</sup>

The swiftness of the move to banish Afghānī appears to have taken him and his followers by surprise. His removal from the Egyptian scene must have satisfied many adversaries: Tawfiq and his retinue, the consuls, such personal enemies as 'Uthmān Pasha, and even the conservative 'ulamā' who had long loathed his liberal teachings and his criticism of their ways. On the other hand, he left behind an elite of intellectuals and revolu-

tionaries whose activities matured and strengthened in the ensuing years until they culminated in the 'Urābī revolt of 1881-82.

It is of interest to note that although Afghānī's banishment abruptly ended his career in Egypt, it did not put a stop to his political agitation on behalf of Egyptians. After a rather uneventful stay in India (during which he wrote his highly publicized *Refutation of the Materialists*)<sup>102</sup> he went to Paris early in 1883. By this time the nationalist forces under 'Urābī had collapsed and Egypt was occupied. Afghānī believed that the French capital offered the most amiable climate for carrying out a campaign against British policies. He met with Egyptian exiles and circulated among French political and literary circles, while his views were given ear in the European press.<sup>103</sup> He invited 'Abduh, then in exile in Beirut because of his part in the 'Urābī revolt, to come to Paris, and together they published the famous journal *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* (The Indissoluble Bond).<sup>104</sup> The aim of this journal was to arouse Muslims to the danger posed by foreign, especially British, imperialistic policies. It called upon Muslims to unite under the banner of one Caliph and to overthrow the British. So revolutionary was its language that both the Egyptian and Indian governments banned its entry and fined its possessors.<sup>105</sup> Although only fourteen issues appeared (from March to October, 1884), it had a profound influence on its readers and was for years the most talked-about journal of its kind.

Afghānī also kept in close contact with Blunt. Ever since the defeat of the 'Urābists, Blunt—"an old-fashioned patriot shocked by the vulgarity of the new imperialism"<sup>106</sup>—had been actively lobbying in England for a British disengagement from Egypt. In 1885, he

<sup>102</sup> English tr. Nikki R. Keddie and Hamid Algar in Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn 'al-Afghānī'* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), pp. 130-74.

<sup>103</sup> They appeared in such journals as *La Justice*, *L'Intransigeant* and *La Correspondance Parisienne*. For details, see A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī: An Annotated Bibliography* (Leiden, 1970).

<sup>104</sup> *Le Temps* (Paris), 9 May, 1896, claims that Afghānī also published *La Voie Droite*, but this writer has been unable to find any trace of it.

<sup>105</sup> F.O. 78/3682, Secret Dispatch No. 1199, dated Cairo, 31 December 1884, from Baring; Riḍā, *Tārīkh*, I, 298-302; *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* (Cairo, 1957), pp. 229-30, 286-88.

<sup>106</sup> Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (London, 1962), p. 110.

<sup>98</sup> *Documents*, photostat 34.

<sup>99</sup> Afghānī's account of his seizure and departure is given in his letter to Riyāḍ and reproduced in *Documents*, photostats 34-37.

<sup>100</sup> *Al-Waḡā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, 31 August 1879. Full text of the communiqué in Muḥammad Ṣabīḥ, *Muḥammad 'Abduh* (Cairo, 1944), pp. 57-57.

<sup>101</sup> *Documents*, photostat 32.

invited Afghānī to come to London to discuss with British officials "the terms of a possible accord between England and Islam".<sup>107</sup> During a three months' stay as Blunt's guest, he met some high officials, including Lord Randolph Churchill (then Secretary of State for India) and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. The result of these talks was that Afghānī should accompany Wolff on a special mission to the Porte "with a view to his exercising his influence with the Pan-Islamic *entourage* of 'Abdu'l-Hamid in favour of a settlement which should include the evacuation of Egypt, and an English alliance against Russia with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan."<sup>108</sup> But at the last moment, even after Afghānī's train ticket had been purchased, Wolff refused to have

Afghānī accompany him, perhaps on the advice of the Foreign Office who received fresh reports of his anti-British activities.<sup>109</sup> Years later Blunt still believed that Wolff had been foolish to change his mind, adding that "he would have got his Convention ratified and succeeded where he had failed."<sup>110</sup>

Disillusioned with the prospect of securing a change in British policy, Afghānī left London "in anger against everything English," as Blunt put it.<sup>111</sup> As far as can be ascertained, this event marked the end of his direct involvement with the Egyptian Question.

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<sup>107</sup> Blunt's memorandum to Edward G. Browne, in Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, new impression (London, 1966), p. 403.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>109</sup> See F.O. 60/594, Confidential Dispatch No. 174, dated Cairo, 22 May, 1883, from Edward Malet, for anonymous threatening letters sent to Sir Edward and Sir Evelyn Wood. The letters were assumed to emanate from Afghānī in Paris.

<sup>110</sup> Blunt, *My Diaries* (London, 1919), I, 100.

<sup>111</sup> Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum* (London, 1911), p. 500