



# The Real Cry of Syed Shaykh al-Hady

With selections of his  
writings by his son,  
Syed Alwi

Edited by ALIJAH GORDON

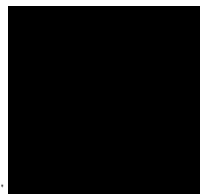
BADAN PENYELIDIKAN  
KEMASYARAKATAN MALAYSIA

DENGAN SUKACITANYA MENGHADIAHKAN  
NASKAH INI KEPADA

*Tan Sri Dr. Tan Chin Tuan*

.....

SEBAGAI TANDA PENGHARGAAN  
ATAS SUMBANGANNYA



.....  
Pengerusi



The Real Cry  
of  
Syed Shaykh  
al-Hady



# The Real Cry of Syed Shaykh al-Hady

with selections of his writings  
by his son SYED ALWI AL-HADY

Edited by  
ALIJAH GORDON



MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

1999



## DEDICATION

There are those who give over their lives to conviction and struggle and there are those who stand as critics on the sidelines; they could always do better, but they do nothing.

It is to the strugglers *fi sabil Allāh* that this book is dedicated: to the *berani mati* Syed Shaykh and his contemporaries, to his son, the indefatigable Syed Alwi, and to the multitude who would seek to lift up the coconut shell that the sun might shine in.

ALIJAH GORDON

*Published in Malaysia, 1999*

*By*

MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (MSRI)  
No: 49, JALAN U THANT (JKR 2825), 55000 KUALA LUMPUR,  
MALAYSIA  
TEL: 603-452-8699/457-8649 FAX: 603-452-8709

All Rights Reserved.  
Copyright © 1999 Malaysian Sociological  
Research Institute (MSRI)

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission from the Publisher.

ISBN 983-99866-3-5

Typeset by EXPO Holdings Sdn Bhd  
Printed by Art Printing Works Sdn Bhd

Printed on Totally Chlorine Free (TCF) environment-friendly paper.

## CONTENTS

PUBLISHER'S NOTE .. .. .	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .. .. .	xv
EDITOR'S NOTE .. .. .	xix
PLATES .. .. .	xxi

RIAU: THE *MILIEU* OF SYED SHAYKH'S FORMATIVE  
YEARS & THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE  
SUBJUGATED *UMMA*

Alijah Gordon .. .. .	1
-----------------------	---

THE LIFE OF MY FATHER

Syed Alwi al-Hady .. .. .	69
---------------------------	----

SYED SHAYKH: THROUGH THE PRISM OF A CHILD'S  
EYES & THE AL-HADY CLAN

Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady	85
-------------------------------------	----

SYED SHAYKH: HIS LIFE & TIMES

Linda Tan

His Life .. .. .	109
His Times .. .. .	121
His Mission .. .. .	137
His Role .. .. .	158

## TO TURN THE CURRENT OF THE AGE

Alijah Gordon . . . . . 163

## SYED SHAYKH: SELECTIONS OF HIS WRITINGS

Real Praise is Man's Spiritual Food . . . . .	173
<i>ash-Sharaf</i> : Glory or Honour . . . . .	177
Demand for the Improvement of the Sons of the Soil . . . . .	181
The Real Cry . . . . .	186
Pandita Za'ba's Critique of "The Real Cry" and <i>al-Ikhwān</i> 's Retort . . . . .	189
Between <i>al-Ikhwān</i> and the Religious Leaders . . . . .	195
Kelantan 'Ulamā' Move to Ban <i>al-Ikhwān</i> and <i>Saudara</i> . . . . .	198
Belief in the 'Ulamā': Dispute Between Kaum Tua and Kaum Muda . . . . .	201
What is that Shriek in the Masjid? . . . . .	204
The Need for an Anglo-Malay School . . . . .	206
Islām Commands Exertion and Work . . . . .	209
Does Islām Empower Anyone to Compel Others to Follow His Belief? . . . . .	211
Can the Malays Escape Annihilation and Extinction? . . . . .	213
It is Not Islām but the Attitude of the Religious Leaders that Causes the Downfall of Muslims . . . . .	219
Changes in the Upbringing of Girls are Urgent . . . . .	226
Responding to Readers' Queries:	
Should Muslims in Lumut Stop Friday Prayers? . . . . .	229
Are <i>Lebai Pondok</i> , 'Students of the Huts', Socially Useful? . . . . .	230
Is Reward after Death Possible? . . . . .	233
Would Wearing Gold or Silk Invalidate a Marriage? . . . . .	234
<i>Terawih</i> Prayers: How Many <i>Raka'at</i> Should be Performed? . . . . .	235
Is it <i>Sunnat</i> to Kill <i>Wahhābīs</i> ? . . . . .	236

SYED SHAYKH'S RESOURCE: SHAYKH 'ABD ALLĀH				
MAGHRIBĪ:				
A Reformist ' <i>Ulamā</i> ' in the Malay States				
	Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	239
Teacher and Kaum Muda Activist				
	Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	249
SYED ALWI AL-HADY: BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE				
	AND FAMILY TREE . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	257
ADDENDUM: Riau and the Restoration Movement				
	Alijah Gordon . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	265
APPENDICES:				
A: Riouw en Onderhoorigheden (Riau and Dependencies)				
	Translation . . . . .	D. K. Bassett . . . . .	. . . . .	271
B: Interview . . . . .				
	Raja Haji Muhammad 'Arif . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	274
C: Clarifications . . . . .				
	Pandita Za'ba . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	278
GLOSSARY OF TERMS . . . . .				
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	287
ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .				
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	301
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .				
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	303
ANNOTATED INDEX. . . . .				
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	328
THOSE WHO GAVE . . . . .				
	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	359



## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

*Man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what is heaven for?*

Robert Burns

THERE is a cynical 'academic', judging from the outside — as valid as observing and passing judgement on a man gesticulating in a telephone booth when you cannot hear what is being said — who years ago decreed that *The Real Cry* would never be published. MSRI, despite or perhaps for the very reason of the honesty of its intentions, suffered many terrible happenings, recorded in the national press of Singapore and Malaysia, which successively disrupted its work for many long years.

It was the late Pandita Za'ba, Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal 'Abidin bin Ahmad, the first Chairman of MSRI, who led us to an interest in the works of the (*iṣlāh*) 'reform' figures of Malaya, particularly Syed Shaykh al-Hady and his contemporaries, and it was his son, the late Syed Alwi al-Hady who with great reverence for his father, chose from his father's writings in *al-Imām* and *al-Ikhwān* the selections for inclusion in this volume, which he thought would exemplify his father's 'cry'. The more one went into the subject, the more one became aware that some of the significant articles — including those by Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin — were adaptations or translations of the writings of al-ustāz al-imām Muḥammad 'Abduh, initially a disciple of the revolutionary pan-Islāmist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and later the Grand Muftī of Egypt, who became one of the leading reinterpreters of Islāmīc fundamentals. But the point is that Syed Shaykh and his colleagues brought that life-giving mentality into Malaya through their writings and publications for which they often suffered scorn "for in an age of ignorance, awareness is itself a crime".<sup>1</sup> Rashīd Riḍā, follower of Muḥammad 'Abduh, had noted with regret that exceptional men were generally alone (*ghurabā*) in the world, like Islām itself.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. 'Alī Shari'atī, *Kavir* (Desert), cited without details of publication in *On the Sociology of Islam: Lectures by Ali Shari'ati*, transl. Hamid Algar (Berkeley, Mizan Press, 1979) 11.
  2. Cf. the Ḥadīth of Nabī Muḥammad: "Islām was born alone, and will become alone, as at its beginning. Happy the solitary men. Those are they who will come to reform that which will be debased after me." Wensinck, A. J., *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1927) 114A: "Originated", quoted by Aziz Ahmad, "Iṣlāh", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990) IV, 142.

The canonical obligation (*farḍ/farīḍa*) of 'commanding what is good and prohibiting what is evil'<sup>3</sup> is constantly invoked by the reformers, both as a justification for their actions and as an appeal to the faithful, who are bound, each according to his social standing and means, to play his part in 'commanding the good'. The reformists refer to the many Qur'ānic verses which praise those who do works of *islāh*<sup>4</sup> and particularly to *Sūra* XI: 90 which they hold to be the perfect motto of Muslim reformism: "I desire only to set things right".<sup>5</sup> These scriptural statements are illustrated by the tradition that Prophet Muḥammad intimated Islām would need to be revitalised periodically and that in each century Providence would raise up men capable of accomplishing this necessary mission of moral and religious regeneration.<sup>6</sup>

But the struggle for *islāh* was often thwarted by the weight of *taqlīd*. *Taqlīd*, or blind obedience to the utterances or actions of another as authoritative without investigating his reasons, confines us to live within fossilised interpretations of the eighth–ninth centuries. It is the most constrictive concept for the development of a creative reinterpretation of Islām, according to the realities of our times which as Nabī Muḥammad said would lead us to 'crawl into a lizard's hole' if our forefathers had done so.<sup>7</sup>

There are four recognised *māzhabs* (schools of Islāmic law) within Sunnī (orthodox) Islām. But in the States of Malaya, with the exception of Perlis, it is the Shāfi'ī *māzhab* which is at least initially prescribed. In issuing any *fatwā* (formal legal opinion) or certifying any opinion, the Muftī shall ordinarily follow the accepted views of the Shāfi'ī school of law. If the Muftī should consider that following Shāfi'ī's accepted views would lead to a situation which is repugnant to the public interest (*maṣlaḥa*), he may follow the accepted views of the Ḥanafī, Mālikī or Ḥanbalī schools. Should the Muftī then determine that following the accepted views of the four schools would be detrimental to the public interest, he may resolve the question according to

---

3. *Sūra* III: 104, 110.

4. *Sūra* VII: 170.

5. Translation by Arberry, Arthur J., *The Koran Interpreted* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964) 222; XI: 88 in Abdullah Yusuf Ali and Pickthall translations; see Bibliography.

6. Aziz Ahmad, "Islāh", *op. cit.*, 141.

7. *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, compiled by his son 'Abd Allāh from his lectures, 11 (Cairo, 1311 A. D.) 327; also refer to Wensinck, *op. cit.*; and see 'To Turn the Current of the Age', 164 *infra* for full quotation.

his own judgement.<sup>8</sup> Only in the Constitution of the State of Perlis<sup>9</sup> — this in part to the credit of the late Imām Abu Bakar Ash'ari<sup>10</sup> — do we find the inclusive concept of *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Jamā'a* or 'The People of Tradition and the Community', without commitment to any one school of law.

It was the British colonial authority which reserved for the sultan in each Malay state the power over Islām and Malay *'ādat* (custom, customary law) within his state. This brought about a powerful alliance between the traditional élite and traditional Islām. A hierarchy of religious officials was established who were totally dependent on the goodwill of the respective sultans for their positions. By 1904, Muslims were forbidden to teach Islām outside their own homes without the Sultan's written permission to do so. By 1925, anyone printing anything concerning Islām without the written permission of the Sultan in Council would be penalised.

It is therefore understandable, while nevertheless a bitter irony, that Syed Shaykh al-Hady, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī, and other *iṣlāhī* reformers had recourse to the 'sanctuary' of direct British imperialism in the sultanless Straits Settlements' island of Penang as a base from which to thrust their barbs against reactionary religious forces in the Malay States and from which to struggle to remove the 'moss from the ears' and 'the rust from the heart'<sup>11</sup> of a slumbering *umma*.<sup>12</sup>

- 
8. Administration of Islamic Law (Federal Territories) 1992, s. 39, quoted in Ahmad Ibrahim, *The Malaysian Legal System* (2nd, edn., Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1995) 52–3.
  9. Part II Religion of the State, 5. (1): "The religion of the State shall be the Islamic Religion Ahli Sunnah Wal Jama'ah as heretofore professed and practised in the State." Codified 1 February 1948. (Faxed communication from the Pejabat Penasihat Undang-Undang Negeri Perlis, 18 November 1998.)
  10. See 'His Mission', 150, n. 194 *infra* and Harun Din, "Syeikh Abu Bakar al-Ashaari: Ulama Tegas dan Berani" (Shaykh Abu Bakar Ash'ari: A Steadfast and Courageous 'Ulamā') in *Gerakan Islah di Perlis: Sejarah dan Pemikiran (Iṣlāhī Movement in Perlis: History and Thought)*, ed. Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pena, 1989) 101–10.
  11. "Salinan Ucapan Shaykh Abdullah Maghribi di Madrasah al-Hadi al-Diniyah: malam perhimpunan menghormati hari Maulid Nabi SAW" (A copy of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī's speech at Madrasah al-Hādī al-Dinīya during a gathering on the night of the celebration of Mawlid al-Nabi S. A. W.), *Saudara*, 321, 5 (8 July 1933) 7, quoted in Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab, "Syed Syeikh Abdullah Maghribi: Pendidik dan Kaum Muda", *Jebat*, V, 6 (1975–6), 4, and 'Teacher and Kaum Muda Activist', 254 *infra*.
  12. *Umma*: world-wide community of Muslims.

As for those who arrogated unto themselves the lofty status of *'ālim* — one possessing a high level of religious knowledge — these reformers could not but concur with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's rebuke:

"... you spend no thought ... incumbent on every intelligent man, which is: What is the cause of the poverty, indigence, helplessness, and distress of the Muslims, and is there a cure for this ... great misfortune or not? ... There is no doubt ... that if someone does not spend his whole life on this great problem, and does not make this grievous phenomenon the pivot of his thought, he has wasted and ruined his life and it is improper to call him a sage ... ."13

It is to this cause of the depressed that Syed Shaykh made his 'cry'. As you read on, consider if any part of Syed Shaykh's outpourings would still be a 'real cry' today, some 90 years later.

Unlike the multitude, Syed Shaykh al-Hady's reach did exceed his grasp, and it's for that reaching that we do him honour.

ALIJAH GORDON

---

13. Keddie, Nikki R., *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, repr. 1983) 64, 120-1.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE research project Islām in Malaya was supported financially as a unit. Many have given and it is not possible to isolate any one contribution as being the particular contribution responsible for the costs of any one work. Thus our gratitude must go to all who so generously contributed to the total research project of which this book is but one part. Their names appear at the back of this volume. At last, Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady came forward to sponsor not only the printing of this book, but also an overrun of 1,500 copies to be gifted to all secondary schools in Malaysia, this as a tribute to his adoptive father — his grandfather — al-marhum Syed Shaykh al-Hady.

For the accumulative labour of love which produced this book we must thank: Syed Alwi al-Hady who made the initial selections of his father's work from the Jawi; Tun Dato' Seri (Dr.) Haji Hamdan b. Shaykh Tahir, presently Tuan Yang Terutama (Governor) of Penang and the late Pandita Za'ba (Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad) who provided the back issues of the Jawi journals *al-Imām* and *al-Ikhwān* from which these selections were made; the secretary of the late Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy who typed these into Rumi; Syed Ahmad b. Ali, former Librarian of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, for typing into Rumi certain missing selections; Tunku Ahmad and others who translated these into basic English; Azizah bt. Mohd. Amin who modernised Malay spellings when MSRI intended to bring out a Rumi version; Dr. Ibrahim Abu Bakar, Department of Theology and Philosophy, Faculty of Islamic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, who spent many a Sunday re-checking our translations of Syed Shaykh's Jawi writings; and finally a few problematic paragraphs were referred to Khalidah Adibah Amin and Kassim Ahmad for guidance.

Only a selfless steadfast friend like Linda Tan — without a trace of *kufir* — could have tolerated the hiatus in bringing out this work. Linda utilised MSRI's materials in preparing *The Life and Times of Syed Shaykh al-Hady* for her degree under the auspices of the History Department, University of Malaya, where Raffles Professor of History, Dr. Tregonning gave his moral support for its publication. In her thesis she acknowledged the advice she received from Professor S. Q. Fatimi; the kindness of Pandita Za'ba, her teacher of Malay, who shared with her "many anecdotes of Syed Shaykh's later years", and

similarly the sharing of Syed Alwi al-Hady; she thanked Raja Muhammad Ariff of Riau, Dr. D. K. Bassett, Cikgu Harun of the Royal Press, Encik Idrus and Basmeg of Qalam Press and lastly Dr. Bashir Mallal of the *Malayan Law Journal* for their assistance.

A substantial contribution was then made by Lois Kieffaber, who with her essential humility did the initial editing of Linda Tan's thesis. When the editor came to take this work in hand, as well as the Selections of Syed Shaykh's writings and other contributions, she constantly turned to Kay Lyons for advice, which she freely gave; then this good lady prepared both the initial Bibliography and the basic Index.

We extensively used the invaluable research writings and translations done by Barbara Watson Andaya and Virginia Matheson on Riau; and the copious writings of Professor Madya Dr. Mohammad Redzuan Othman of the History Department, University of Malaya, were an indispensable resource, as was George Antonius's classic on the 'Arab revolt, which we have striven to synthesise for Malaysian readers; and we appreciate Dr. Md. Sidin b. Ahmad Ishak's allowing us to copy and use his thesis "Malay Book Publishing and Printing in Malaya and Singapore 1807-1949".

A year ago, Noor Khairiyati Mohd. Ali came on staff and did the running to the National Archives to refer to historic documents, where she wishes to thank Kamariah Nazir, and to the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) where she had the continual *ikhlas* support of Research Fellow Zaidi Ismail and the co-operation of Dr. Muhammad Zainiy Uthman, Senior Research Fellow, as well as of Librarian Haji Ali Haji Ahmad, The Assistant Librarian of the University of Malaya, Haji Ibrahim Ismail, the Librarian of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Raja Masittah Raja Ariffin, and Ustazah Sarijah Bejo of the Bahagian Dakwah Pusat Islam were helpful to her. In the initial stages, it was the former librarian of the University of Malaya, the late Beda Lim, who went out of his way to assist Lois Kieffaber. MSRI Board Member Fatimah Haron was of help with what was needed from the University of Malaya library, and our colleagues in Beirut, Mdm. Hanan Masri and Mdm. Zainab Sakallah provided necessary information. At MSRI's request, ISTAC's Zaidi Ismail generously traced *fatwā's* (formal legal opinions) given by Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā and published in his *al-Manār* of Cairo, which MSRI had translated. Translators there are, but those who go out of their way to respond to queries are not that many and for this we gratefully remember Ustaz Hamidun Abdul Hamid, Deputy Head, Quranic Language Division, International Islamic University Malaysia. MSRI had the good fortune to have had extensive

clarifications from Syed Ahmad Jamal Alsagoff of Singapore on the Alsagoff family and their antecedents, as you will note in the Annotated Index, as well as the assistance of Dr. Harry A. Poeze of KITLV with dates of birth and death.

The editor, with age and debilitation having overcome her, was blessed to have the assistance, without complaint, of MSRI Coordinator Noor Khairiyati Mohd. Ali, who also translated Pandita Za'ba's criticism of the 'Real Cry'; her steadfast *sabar* cannot be forgotten. MSRI's Secretary Harliza Khairuddin typed and re-typed the manuscript too many times to count and was always a model of good-naturedness, while Philip Zachariah also gave a hand. Lia Syed had the grace to spend many tedious hours with the editor checking the index line by line against the proofs. Lastly, our dear Shakib Gunn, former Development Officer of MSRI, created the unique dust-jacket and did the layout of the historic photographs, which with two exceptions had never been published before.

MSRI and the editor had no control over external events — the *qaḍā'* of Allāh — which delayed this book for more than a generation, and we pray the forgiveness of al-marhum Syed Alwi al-Hady who had so wanted to see the fruition of this tribute to his late father, Syed Shaykh al-Hady.

ALIJAH GORDON



## EDITOR'S NOTE

THE diacritical marks you will see in the book are an attempt to render in English the sounds of 'Arab names and 'Arabic words. Although Muslims in the Malay World carry names derived from 'Arabic, since Malay hasn't the same phonemes, these are not similarly pronounced and diacritical marks are not added. You will also see that the word Madrasah — an institution where Islāmic sciences are studied — is spelt differently: Madrasah in Malaya and Madrasa in the 'Arab World.

According to the 'Arabic the family name, usually written Alsagoff in Malaya and Singapore, is al-Saqqaf. You will see in the text where different writers have cited this family name differently: al-Sagoff (Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab); al-Saqah (Jamilah Othman); al-Saqqaf (Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya). These alternative spellings have been included in the Index.

The word '*ulamā*', the plural of '*ālim*', is often used in Malaysia as the singular, i.e. instead of saying he was an '*ālim* — a religious scholar or personage of religious learning — you might find that the individual is referred to as an '*ulamā*'.

You will see that the word 'Malaya' or Tanah Melayu (Malay Peninsula) is used, which at the time of Syed Shaykh's writings included Singapore and Peninsular Malaya, Malaysia only having come into existence in 1963.

Za'ba refers to the late Pandita Tan Sri Dr. Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad. Logically, therefore, Za'ba should be written Za'aba, but we have followed his biographers and others, including Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Institute of Language and Literature, Malaysia.

Finally, while one is indebted to the libraries of the various Malaysian universities, the National Archives, ISTAC and the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, one would wish they would exchange with one another photostat copies of valuable research materials no longer covered by copyright and vital to anyone doing research, particularly on the pre-World War II period.

ALIJAH GORDON



## PLATES

1. Raja Ali Kelana ibni Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi of Riau was the great-great-grandson of the legendary Bugis hero Raja Haji, regarded as a 'living saint' during his own lifetime, who was martyred during a Bugis attack on Dutch Melaka in 1784. Raja Ali Kelana was the half-brother of Riau Sultan Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah and the adoptive father of Syed Shaykh al-Hady.
2. Syed Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawi, the father of Syed Shaykh al-Hady, was of Malay-'Arab descent. He was born 1837 in Kampung Hulu, Melaka and died 1895 in Riau.
3. (Left to right) Syed Shaykh al-Hady with Tengku Othman ibni Sultan Abdul Rahman on the occasion of their travel to Cairo at the turn of the century. On Tengku Othman's return to Riau in April 1906, he was known for his opposition to the treaty his father — the Sultan — had signed with the Dutch abolishing the Bugis position of Yamtuan Muda or Deputy Ruler.
4. The first batch of Riau princes chaperoned by Syed Shaykh al-Hady on their journey to Cairo to further their studies. (Left to right) Engku Hasan ibni Raja Ali Kelana; Tengku Othman (Osman), eldest son of Sultan Abdul Rahman and son-in-law of Raja Ali Kelana; Engku Adam ibni Raja Ali Kelana and Raja Muhammad Said ibni Raja Ahmad, Judge of Riau-Lingga.
5. Haji Abu Bakar b. Ahmad (Haji Bachik) of Melaka, close friend and supporter of Syed Shaykh al-Hady's efforts to establish progressive *madrasahs*. Haji Abu Bakar died 1938 in Penang.
6. Syed Shaykh al-Hady and his family in the compound of their home at No. 410 Jelutong Road, Penang.
7. Composing room at Jelutong Press where *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* were printed: standing: Syed Shaykh al-Hady and Mohd. Tamim b. Sutan Deman, one of Syed Shaykh's friends and supporters. Sitting are the composers.

8. Reception Committee Members to welcome Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn, Head of the Woking Mosque, England Mission, sitting in the compound of Syed Shaykh al-Hady's house, where the Khwāja stayed for a few days during his visit to Penang in April 1921. (Left to right) S. M. Haniff, elder brother of S. M. Zainal Abidin, B. A.; Haji Shamsuddin, retired Superintendent of Posts & Telegraphs, Penang; S. M. Osman; S. M. Yusoff, brother of S. M. Zainal Abidin, B. A., office assistant Education Office, Penang; the guest: Khwāja Kamāl ud-Dīn; Syed Shaykh al-Hady; Mohd. Shariff, retired schoolteacher; Syed Alwi al-Hady; S. M. Zainal Abidin, B. A. (Zainal Abidin b. Sutan Maidin), retired Inspector of Malay Schools, Penang; and Mohd. Said b. Haji Abu Bakar, son of Haji Bachik (Plate 5) and Manager of Jelutong Press. The old man under the porch is Haji Maidinsah, one of Syed Shaykh's friends and supporters; the boy sitting down in front of the group was the only brother-in-law of Syed Alwi al-Hady, who died as a bachelor.
  
9. Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur, third wife of Syed Shaykh al-Hady and adoptive mother of Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady, whom she's holding on her lap; photograph taken in approximately 1923.
  
10. Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari was born in 1869, near Bukit Tinggi in Sumatra. At the age of 12 he was sent to Makka where he studied for 12 years. In 1893 he entered al-Azhar University and took a degree in Astronomy. There he came to know the legendary reformist al-ustāz al-imām Muḥammad 'Abduh and his disciple Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. Shaykh Tahir returned to Malaya in 1899 and became one of the founders of *al-Imām* in Singapore in 1906. He was a contributor to Syed Shaykh al-Hady's *al-Ikhwān* and at one stage an editor of *Saudara*. Upon Syed Shaykh's death in 1934, Shaykh Tahir delivered a *do'a* at his grave. Left: photograph taken in Singapore on 13 October 1956, thirteen days before he died. Right: probably after 1906, but while he was still comparatively young.
  
11. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī, born Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ghadamisi, in Libya — part of the north African 'Maghrib' — in 1892, studied and taught in Makka before coming to Malaya in 1917. As a progressive 'ālim, he was a teacher, writer and activist in the cause of *iṣlāḥ* or reform in Islām. The Shaykh was a primary resource for Syed Shaykh al-Hady's crusade. Shaykh Maghribī returned to Makka in 1946 where he was a judge

in the Sharī'a High Court until his death in 1974 at the age of 82. Photograph scanned from large group photograph taken in front of Selangor Club, Kuala Lumpur, 1946.

12. Syed Alwi al-Hady and Sharifah Azizah al-Mashhur on the occasion of their marriage in 1921, seated in front of Syed Shaykh al-Hady's house at 410 Jelutong Road, Penang.
13. Penang, 1920. (Left to right) Syed Alwi b. Syed Shaykh al-Hady; Tan Sri Haji Mohamed Noah b. Omar, later to become Speaker of Parliament, then President of the Senate, and father-in-law of two Malaysian Prime Ministers: Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Hussein Onn; Mohd. Said b. Haji Abu Bakar ('Haji Bachik'); (seated) Haji Mahmud b. Haji Abdul Manaf.
14. July 30, 1946 founding of Melaka division of UMNO (United Malays National Organisation). Standing (left to right): Tun Syed Nasir Ismail, Ismail Mat, 'Kazi' H. Mukti b. Abdul Hamid, Syed Alwi al-Hady, and Tan Sri Haji Anuar Abdul Malik. Seated (left to right): Ahmad b. Jamal, Dato' Onn Ja'afar, and Mohd. Ali.
15. Ribbon-cutting ceremony at the opening of MSRI's previous premises at 28N Oxley Road, Singapore. (Left to right) Syed Alwi al-Hady, G. H. Kiat, Dr. Ho Yuen and Alijah Gordon. In 1963, Syed Alwi, the eldest and only surviving son of Syed Shaykh al-Hady, was Vice-Chairman and Dr. Ho Chairman of MSRI; the elderly Mr. G. H. Kiat had joined with Alijah Gordon to collect donations for the purchase of the premises and was given the honour to cut the ribbon.
16. Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady taken in 1985, when he was Chairman of Malaysian International Merchant Bankers.
  - Plates 1–2, 4–8, 10 (2 photographs), and cover photograph entrusted to Alijah Gordon by the late Syed Alwi al-Hady.
  - Plate 11 scanned from a photograph deposited with the National Archives Malaysia by Syed Alwi al-Hady.
  - Plates 3, 9, 12–14 & 16 by courtesy of Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady.
  - Plate 15 from MSRI's archives.



RIAU: THE *MILIEU* OF SYED SHAYKH'S FORMATIVE YEARS  
AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE SUBJUGATED *UMMA*

Alijah Gordon

*“... now ... we are hostile to each other, destroying unity  
... and what we rightly owned is devoured by foreigners ...”*

Imam al-Shaykh Haji Abu Bakar Ash'ari  
*Punca Penerangan 'Aqal* (1937) 35  
(The Source of Enlightenment)



**R**IAU<sup>1</sup> was the cradle that held Syed Shaykh in his most formative years. Riau, the main island in the old kingdom of Riau-Lingga, is just forty miles from Singapore.<sup>2</sup> Centuries earlier, the Johor-Riau kingdom had been the most powerful state in the archipelago. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Riau was the principal entrepôt on the sea route from India to China. However, an unsuccessful attack on Dutch-controlled Melaka in 1784 brought Riau's eventual decline and absorption by the Dutch. Following the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, the Malay World was partitioned through the Melaka Strait, irrevocably dividing the Johor-Riau kingdom and severing the cultural unity of east coast Sumatra and the Peninsula. 'Brother was parted from brother and friend from friend'. Dutch 'protection' was formalised over the Sultanate of Riau-Lingga in 1830, and British Singapore was rapidly to eclipse Riau as a regional trading centre.

As a result of the intervention of a Bugis force on behalf of Johor against Minangkabau invaders in 1722, the Bugis leader had been recognised as Yamtuan Muda,<sup>3</sup> Deputy Ruler or 'under-king', and this position descended to his progeny. While the Malay Sultan and court resided on Lingga, the Bugis Yamtuan Muda family and those closely associated with it lived on the island of Penyengat. And it was Penyengat, rather than Lingga, which was the real heart of the

- 
1. Unless stated to the contrary, the information on Riau is taken from Barbara Watson Andaya's most valuable "From Rūm to Tokyo: The Search for Anticolonial Allies by the Rulers of Riau, 1899–1914", *Indonesia*, 24 (October 1977) 123–56. However, the interpretation is solely the writer's responsibility. Also see Barbara Watson Andaya & Virginia Matheson's "Islamic Thought and Malay Tradition: The Writings of Raja Ali Haji of Riau (c.1809–1870)" in Reid, Anthony & Marr, David (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia), 1979) 108–28, 408–9.
  2. Riau, situated south of Singapore, comprises a group of islands stretching roughly from Karimun, Batam and Bintan in the north to Pulau Abang and Pulau Penggelap in the south, and from Karimun and Kundur in the west to Pulau Mapor in the east. These islands are known as Kepulauan Riau: the Riau Archipelago. Jamilah Othman, "Sayyid Shaykh Al-Hadi — His Role in the Transformation of Muslim Societies in Peninsular Malaya and the Straits Settlements during the Latter Half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries" (unpublished M. A. Thesis, Malay Studies, National University of Singapore, 1984) 18.
  3. In "From Rūm to Tokyo ..." (1977) Barbara Watson Andaya uses the term Yamtuan Muda, a contracted form of Yang Dipertuan Muda used in Raja Ali Haji's *The Precious Gift*, refer n. 4 *infra*.

kingdom: the Bugis providing Riau with both its secular and religious leadership. It was here in 1866 that the religious scholar cum moralising historian, Raja Ali Haji ibni Raja Ahmad (c. 1809–70) finalised *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift), an epic of his Bugis ancestors' involvement in the Malay World, particularly Johor,<sup>4</sup> which his father, Raja Ahmad (b. 1773) had begun. It addresses the reasons for past contradictions between Malays and Bugis and identifies the 'fire of envy' manifested in the many incidents of *fitna*<sup>5</sup> as causing these conflicts. 'Perpetrated by man because of his inborn failings, *fitna* can bring about incalculable damage.' Yamtuan Muda Raja Ja'far (r. 1805–31), on the contrary, is put forward as worthy of emulation since he sought

- 
4. Raja Ali Haji ibn Ahmad, *The Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, transl. Matheson, Virginia, and Andaya, Barbara Watson (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), and see Appendix B, ed. n. 6 *infra*. Earlier Raja Ali Haji compiled "Sha'ir Sultan Abdul Muluk" (The Rhymed Poem of Sultan Abdul Muluk), published in 1847 by *TNI; Gurindam Duabelas* (The Twelve Rhymed Advices), 1847; *Bustān al-Kātibīn li'l-Sibyāni al-Mut'ālimīn* (A Children's Guide to Writing), 1851, lithographed in 1858 and used in Singapore and Johor schools; *Thamarat al-Mahammah* (The Benefits of Official Duties), 1857, lithographed at Lingga 1886–7, his exegesis on the nature of government, which closely resembles al-Ghazālī's *Nayīhat al-Mulūk* (Counsel for Kings), the famous treatise on Islāmic statecraft; *Mukaddimah fī intizām waḥdā'if al-malik khusūsan ilā mala' wa shūhban wa ikhwān. Al-riwayah mempersembahkan hidayah ini akan jadi peringatan keHadrat al-Marhum Yangdipertuan Muda Raja Ali* (Introduction to the Systematic Arrangement of the Duties of the King especially concerning the Nobles, the Companions and Fellow Men. An account offered as a wise counsel to be a memorial to His Excellency the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali), written soon after the Yang Dipertuan's death in 1857 and lithographed at Lingga in 1887; *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan sekalian Raja-rajanya* (Genealogy of Malay and Bugis Princes), 1865 (Singapore: Maṭba'a al-Imām, 1911, repr. Johor Bahru by royal command, 1956); in *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* (Book of Linguistic Knowledge), 1858 (1869?), the first known lexicographical work in Malay, definition and comment are intertwined and the debasement of language and decay in customs much regretted; Raja Ali Haji uses Iblis symbolically; destruction is not at the behest of *takdir* (*taqdīr*) (the 'decree' of Allāh) but the result of *hawa nafsu*: of these desires, the most destructive are *bantahan* (contentiousness) and the desire to *membesarkan diri*, to aggrandise oneself, like Iblis, the fallen angel; *Sha'ir Sinar Gemala Mustika* (Rhymed Poem on a Precious Gem); *Sha'ir Suluh Pegawai* (Rhymed Poem on the Enlightened Officer); and *Sha'ir Siti Shiana* (Rhymed Poem on Siti Shiana). See Andaya/Matheson (1979) *op. cit.*, 118, 408–9 and Jamilah Othman, *op. cit.*, 23, 26.
5. *Fitna* is a discriminatory test, 'putting to the proof', and the idea of scandal is associated with it to such an extent that to take part in this putting to the test is a very grave fault: "... persecution is worse than slaughter", al-Qur'ān, *Sūra* II, 191, Pickthall transl., see Bibliography.

advice on matters of government and never attempted to *membesarkan diri*, to aggrandise himself, but in humility ate the rice his slaves had left.

By 1899, intermarriage between the Malay and Bugis aristocracies had been such that the Dutch could rationalise not appointing a new Yamtuan Muda on the death of Raja Muhammad Yusuf, who had held the position for some 40 years. Coincidentally, his son, the designated successor — the adoptive father of Syed Shaykh al-Hady — Raja Ali Kelana<sup>6</sup> ibni Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi was reluctant to succeed.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the September 1900 diktat that no other Yamtuan Muda would be appointed struck at the heart of Bugis power.<sup>8</sup>

6. Kelana was a title of distinction introduced into the Malay World by the Bugis in the early 18th century, with the general meaning of 'knight errant'. In the latter part of that century the title was more specifically applied in Riau to the chief assistant and designated successor of the Bugis Yang Dipertuan Muda or Yamtuan Muda (Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, 414).

7. For this contention, Andaya, "From Rüm to Tokyo ..." (1977) *op. cit.*, n. 11, cites a Dutch official source, but adds: "Raja Ali never spelled out his reasons for refusing the post, but the Dutch assumed he wished to devote more time to his business activities".

However, Syed Shaykh al-Hady in "The Terrible News", *al-Ikhwān*, II, 11 (16 July 1928), commenting on a *Panji-panji Melayu* report of 15 Zu'l-hijjah 1346 A. H./4 June 1928 A. D. on the pathetic state of the deposed Sultan of Riau — Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah — when he appeared in a Singapore court, apparently in a bankruptcy hearing, gives a different insight: "Many things which happened to the former Sultan of Riau were predicted and steps taken to prevent them from happening, to the extent that he [Raja Ali Kelana] was willing to give up his title and status and live in poverty because he did not want to be the reason for the fall of the Sultanate or the Government. But *Qudā'* [Allāh's eternal decree] has its own path no matter what we plan".

It's a great loss that while Syed Shaykh said he had "the authority to write the truth as to what eventually destroyed this old pure Malay empire", but could not do so in *al-Ikhwān* which excluded politics and therefore would "discuss in the next issue of *Saudara*", MSRI's Noor Khairiyati could find no such elaboration in subsequent issues of *Saudara*.

8. With the 1905 destruction of the position of Yamtuan Muda, who by the agreement of 1845 had been entrusted with the actual governance of 'Lingga, Riouw and Dependencies', the Sultan, himself, was provisionally entrusted with the performance of the duties of governor or regent. He left the Malay island of Lingga, where former Sultans had been established, and took up residence at the Istana of his deceased father on the Buginese island of Penyengat. (Bruyn Kops, de-, G. F., "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden", *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. Stibbe, D. G., II (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., The Hague and Leiden: M. Nijhoff, 1919) 621, excerpt translated by D. K. Bassett, Appendix A, 271 *infra*).

The Bugis princes dominated the religious leadership of Riau. They were known for their patronage of visiting 'ulamā'<sup>9</sup> and the promotion of reformist ideas. In 1857–8, Yamtuan Muda Raja Haji Abdullah was *murshid* (spiritual guide) of the Naqshabandiya Ṭarīqa (Ṣūfī or mystic order), which was strongly linked to Turkey. According to *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, all the Penyengat princes belonged to that *ṭarīqa*.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1890s, the Persekutuan Rushdiyyah — *rushd*, the ability to know 'the right way' — an Islāmic study club, debated Islāmic issues and was a focus of anti-Dutch feeling.<sup>11</sup> Raja Khalid Hasan, better known as Raja Hitam, who was the royal scribe, was one of the leaders

9. 'Ulamā' is the plural of 'ālim, one who possesses the quality of 'ilm, knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree: in this instance, knowledge of traditions and resultant canon law and theology. See Macdonald, D. B., "'Ulamā'", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 599.

10. The Naqshabandiya (Khālidī branch) became a socio-religious force in the Archipelago with the return of Shaykh Ismā'īl Minangkabawī from Makka in the early 1850s. He began teaching the *ṭarīqa* in Singapore, and when he expressed a desire to visit Riau, the Yamtuan Muda, Raja Ali sent his own boat to fetch him to Penyengat. Raja Ali, himself, and his relatives, became Shaykh Ismā'īl's *murīds* (novices) and twice weekly practised the *dhikr* ('remembrance' of Allāh, primarily by reciting the Names/Attributes of Allāh in order to attain an ecstatic or mystic experience). Raja Ali's younger brother, Raja Abdullah was later made Shaykh Ismā'īl's *khalīfa* on the island. Although the Shaykh returned to Singapore, he several times revisited Riau. (Bruinessen, van-, Martin, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia", *Der Islam*, 67, 1 (1990) 161–2; Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, 285, 297, 300, 301, 320, 403 n. 4, 404 n. 3.) According to Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Ismail al Minangkabawī, penyiar thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985, 107) during Ismā'īl's subsequent stay in Riau, women were obligated to wear the veil. In footnote 4 to Folio 424 of Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, the annotators write that Haji Ismā'īl was later denounced as being a false teacher. He had come to Singapore from Makka about 1856. He returned to Makka "very wealthy" (Wall, von de-, A. L., "Kort begrip der beteekenis van de tarikat naar het Maleische van Sajid Oesman ibn Abdullah ibn Akil ibn Jahja", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 35 (1893) 225. On the death of Raja Abdullah in 1858, he was succeeded by Raja Muhammad Yusuf, who visited Makka and sought initiation into the order with Mazharī Shaykh, Syed Muhammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī (who was later to spend his last years in Riau). (Bruinessen, van-, *op. cit.*, 163.) "The Khalidiyya and especially the Mazhariyya as taught by the *az-Zawawī* were more *Shari'a*-minded" than the earlier orders present in Indonesia and opposed the *wahdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) doctrine which in Indonesia was easily assimilated with pre-Islāmic monistic mystical beliefs (*ibid.*, 173).

11. Anti-Dutch feeling was not a new phenomenon on Penyengat. Since 1818, a Dutch Resident had been established in Tanjung Pinang, opposite Penyengat. The Dutch had treaty rights to bring in warships to Riau-Lingga and even had veto power over the choice of any new Sultan. Raja Ali Haji (c. 1809–70), see 2 *supra*, knowledgeable

militantly opposed to the Dutch. Raja Ali Kelana, Raja Hitam's cousin and half-brother of the Sultan, notwithstanding his refusal to accept the Yamtuan Muda position, was a person of great influence. He was the great-great-grandson of the Bugis hero Raja Haji, the fourth Yamtuan Muda from 1777 until 1784 when he was martyred during a Bugis attack on Dutch Melaka. For Raja Ali Kelana's religious learning,

---

*continued from page 4*

in religion, genealogy, history, literature and law, had a political influence which spanned four decades and was considered a threat to Dutch control of Riau. He was described by out-going Resident Netscher as a "... thoroughly fanatic scholar, who would quite willingly see the entire elimination of Christians and Christendom". (Andaya/Matheson, "Islamic Thought ..." (1979) *op. cit.*, 114.)

The Persekutuan Rushdiyyah's membership was set out in its 1896 publication *Taman Penghiburan* (The Garden of Leisure), *iaitu berita kesukaan pada hari idul fitri yang diadakan oleh lid-lid Rushdiyyah Kelab*, an announcement concerning the 'Id al-Fiṭr celebration. The Bugis Raja members were Ali Kelana; Khalid al-Hitami (Raja Hasan); Abdul Gani; Abdul Rahman; Awang; Idris and Muhammad. Lingga-based Malays were represented by three Tengkus: Abdul Kadir; Abdul Majid; Abu Bakar and a Tuan Haji Ja'far. Two Syeds were members: Syed Umar and Syed Shaykh al-Hady whose name is given as Syed Shaykh al-Hady *Wan Anum*, the nickname his son Syed Alwi refers to in 71 *infra*.

In 1895, the club established a printing press: Maṭba'a al-Riauwiya. They printed Raja Ali Kelana's *Pohon Perhimpunan* (The Gathering Tree or The Assembly Place), a kind of diary of a voyage he took from 19 February to 4 March 1896 with the Dutch Resident Schwartz to Pulau Tujoh (the seven islands in the Natuna Anambas and Tembelan archipelagos) to view the coconut and sago plantations there. During the journey, religious and moral problems of the communities — including incest — were referred to Raja Ali for his ruling. (*Pohon Perhimpunan* was reprinted in 1983 by Bumi Pustaka at Pekanbaru.)

The press also printed Raja Ali Haji's *Thamarat al-Mahammah* (see n. 4): *Risālat al-fawā'id al-wāfiyat fī sharḥ ma'nā al-tahiyat* (Treatise on the Comprehensive Benefits in Commenting on the Meaning of the Salutation); a translation they made in 1894 of an 'Arabic work by the Makkan scholar Syed 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī, Raja Khalid's *Shu'ir Perjalanan Sultan Mahmud Riau-Lingga* (Rhymed Poem on the Adventures of Sultan Mahmud), 1889; and *Kanun Kerajaan Riau* (The Canon Laws of the Riau Government), and a pamphlet discussing Japan's victory over Russia.

Jamilah Othman writes that in 1906, the group established the Perserikatan Dagang Ahmadi (Ahmadi Trading Company) to finance their activities. "The economic venture which still exists [1984] is the Ahmadi coconut estates in Pulau Midai ... managed by descendants of Raja Haji Ahmad ...", *op. cit.*, 28.

Timothy P. Barnard, "Taman Penghiburan: Entertainment and the Riau Élite in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century", *JMBRAS*, LXVII, 2 (1994) 26, states that the press in Riau and therefore the club (we wouldn't think this necessarily follows), probably existed for ten years (1895–1905) when under Dutch pressure the press was transferred to Singapore and became the al-Ahmadīya Press, which he says printed *al-Imān* (whereas we have references to an al-Imām Printing Press). For the information on *Taman Penghiburan* and *Pohon Perhimpunan*, we are indebted to his article. 17–46.

promotion of education and business acumen. he was also highly respected by the Malays. As well as his own residence, it is said he owned fifteen houses in Singapore, coconut plantations on several islands, held a number of mining concessions, and operated two steamships plying between Riau and Singapore, carrying passengers and goods.<sup>12</sup>

There was a constant intercourse between Riau and Singapore which kept Riau in touch with the Muslim movements in the Middle East. The Suez Canal opening in 1869 made Singapore only two weeks away from Port Said in Egypt and an embarkation point for the *hajj* (pilgrimage), a vital link in the international network of Islāmic communications. Militant movements invariably had their representatives stationed at Makka.

The defeat of the Muslim Ottomans — holders of the Khalīfat, meant to embody the world-wide community of Muslims — in the 1877–8 Russo-Turkish war and European imposition of terms at the Congress of Berlin led to the Ottoman Khalīfat's loss of vast areas in the Balkans.<sup>13</sup> European colonisation of Muslim lands became increasingly aggressive:

---

12. See Appendix B, 276 *infra*.

13. In fact the disintegration of the Ottoman state in Southern Europe began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century for which the Janissaries bear a major responsibility. The Janissary élite corps (*yeni çeri*) antedates the establishment of the *devşirme* (*devshirme*: child levy). While they were the slaves of the Sulṭān, their power nevertheless grew to such an extent that they were instrumental in bringing Selim I (1512–20) to power, and Süleymān I was forced to pay them an 'accession gift' when in 1403 he ascended the throne. During their reigns, the Janissaries numbered around 12,000 men and represented the best fighting force of the Khalīfat, and possibly of Europe. By the end of the reign of Murād III (1574–95) their number had increased to 27,000. At the closing of the 18<sup>th</sup> century — the reign of Selim III (1789–1807/8) — there were 50,000 men still serving in Janissary units, but about 400,000 claimed the rights and privileges belonging to members of the corps. As their number increased, their influence also spread not only in military and political affairs, but also throughout society as a whole. Around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they achieved the abolition of the *devşirme*, thus securing the privilege to serve in the corps for their own sons.

The growing financial troubles of the state also touched the Janissaries. To make it possible for them to earn a living, they were allowed to join guilds. Most of these 'new Janissaries' did not serve as soldiers, although they were armed, something of an artisan-militia, and drew pay from the treasury. By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they were the masters of Istanbul, and the government began to disperse them, as much as possible, as garrison forces. This pattern was repeated in the provincial towns. A few active Janissaries on military duty maintained close connections with a group of armed petty traders and artisans who were considered their auxiliary forces and were called *yamaks*. They became the scourge of landlord and peasant alike. They defied the officials of the state, disobeyed even the Sulṭān's orders, and instituted a reign of terror. The inability of the authorities to check these lawless men illustrates the impotence of the once all-powerful Ottoman state. It also created the circumstances that had to lead to its disintegration.

France had occupied Algeria as early as 1830, followed by Tunisia in 1881; Britain gained control of Egypt in 1882 and from there conquered the Sūdān in 1896–8; and the Russians wrested Merv from the Sulṭān of Bukhārā in 1884. The trauma of these aggressions and losses was the catalyst for the world-wide Muslim community's search for the causes of Muslim weakness. As early as 1867 — the year of Syed Shaykh's birth — Malay-language pamphlets were distributed in Singapore advocating Islāmic unity to confront European aggression in the Balkans. The Ottoman Khalīfa, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (1876–1909), looked to a pan-Islāmic movement under his leadership to drive back the advancing 'Christian' World. Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had been further incited by the Dutch-Acheh war (1873–1903), which ended in Acheh's subjugation. From 1897–9, the Ottoman Consul-General in Batavia (Jakarta), Muḥammad Kiamil Bey, fostered the concept of a united Islāmic brotherhood. He was transferred to Singapore in 1904, despite the British colonial authority refusing to grant him an *exequatur* (recognition as Consul).

In early February of that year, the Riau princes had decided to turn to the Ottoman Khalīfa to seek his help that the position of Yamtuan Muda — 'under-king' — might be restored. In Singapore, a sum of 20,000/- Singapore dollars was raised to finance the mission. In October 1904, Raja Ali Kelana, accompanied by Syed Shaykh al-Hady, left for the Middle East carrying a number of letters from the royal archives as well as the Dutch treaty made with Riau when they deposed the ruler in 1857. It is unknown if they ever reached the Ottoman

---

*continued from page 6*

The tragic reforming Sulṭān, Selīm III (1789–1807/8) was educated as a traditional Muslim professional-Ottoman (see 49–50 *infra*) and believed it was his duty to rid society of its imperfections, to eliminate corrupt practices including the acquisition of 'rights' not in accordance with strict Muslim-Ottoman jurisprudence. In order to resist Russian and Austrian encroachment, he became a technological moderniser. The Janissary-*yamak* forces that rampaged throughout the Balkans were threatened by his goals and became his major adversaries. For seven years from 1791, Selīm's forces battled the local lords and *yamaks* in the Balkans. The deprecations of *yamak* forces triggered the chain of events that led to the 1804 revolt of the Serbs, which in turn led to other successful uprisings that with the support of various European Powers eventually brought to an end Ottoman rule in Southern Europe. (Sugar, Peter F., *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; repr. 1993) 55, 241–2, 245–6.)

The Janissaries' failure to crush the Greek insurrection in the early 1820s totally discredited them and encouraged Sulṭān Maḥmūd II (1808–39) to plan their elimination. When the Janissaries revolted in 1826, he dissolved the corps by proclamation, putting all opposition down by force. Thousands were killed and others banished, but most were simply absorbed into the general population.

Khalīfa.<sup>14</sup> Earlier, in July 1904, the Khalīfa had made a general appeal to the Dutch queen on behalf of the Muslims of the Netherlands Indies, but he hadn't the power to do more.

Raja Ali Kelana — and presumably Syed Shaykh along with him — returned in March 1905 to find that the Sultan had agreed to conclude a treaty with the Dutch which omitted any reference to the position of Yamtuan Muda and disastrously gave the Governor-General the right to appoint the heir to the Riau throne! Raja Ali Kelana, Raja Hitam and leading court members, all of Bugis blood, refused to be identified with the proposed treaty. In September 1905, the Sultan nevertheless gave his sole signature to this invidious document.

Mohammad Redzuan Othman writes of the role of an anti-colonial religious scholar (*'ālim*), Shaykh Wan Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn Mustafa al-Fatani in trying to forge links between the peninsular Malays, under threat of further British colonisation, and the Ottoman Khalīfat. Shaykh Wan Ahmad was the first known Patani Malay to have studied at al-Azhar University in the 1870s. His stay in Cairo would have coincided with that of the anti-imperialist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. In Makka, Shaykh Wan Ahmad was a prominent *'ālim*. The Ottoman Khalīfa, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, who wished to extend his influence to include the Malays, appointed Shaykh Wan Ahmad to run the Malay press, al-Maṭba'a al-Miriya al-Kā'ina, when it was established in 1884. In 1885, Shaykh Wan Ahmad represented the Sharīf of Makka at a conference of *'ulamā'*, Muslim religious scholars, held in Istanbul.

Following the expansion of British colonialism into the northern Malay State of Kelantan and the negotiations to transfer *suzerainty* from Siam to the *sovereignty* of British Malaya, a counter-effort was made to place the State under the sway of the Ottoman Khalīfat. This initiative was taken in the 1890s after Shaykh Wan Ahmad went to Istanbul to express the wishes of the people of Kelantan. Subsequently, two delegates were sent to Kelantan: one travelled via Singapore and the other via Bangkok to meet at Kota Bharu. However, these attempts were inconclusive, and Shaykh Wan Ahmad died in 1908.<sup>15</sup>

---

14. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani: Sultan, Politik dan Riau", *Dewan Budaya* (September 1991) 53, speaks of Raja Ali Kelana having been a student of the anti-colonial Shaykh (Wan) Ahmad al-Fatani who had hoped to reach Raja Ali Kelana to the Ottoman Sulṭān.

15. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "al-Afghani's Pan-Islamic Ideas and the Turks' Appeal: Perceptions and Influence on Malay Political Thought" (unpublished paper delivered at the International Conference on Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and the Asian Renaissance, 23 February 1998) 6–7, 9–11; Redzuan cites as his sources:

The attempt to rescue the Malay State of Kelantan from incorporation into either British Malaya or Siam is one more demonstration of the unrealistic hope, born of desperation, that the Ottoman Khalifa, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, theoretically the supreme head of the Muslim community world-wide, could insulate Muslim peoples from the ever-expanding foreigners' yoke when clearly he hadn't the reach nor the military power to enforce such protection.

In this atmosphere of rampant colonisation and imperial control, in May 1905 came the electrifying news of the destruction of the Russian fleet by the Japanese in the battle of Tsushima. This was particularly gratifying to Muslims who had suffered ignominy at the hands of Russia. But while Muslims and other subject peoples now looked to Japan for an anti-colonial ally, the Meiji oligarchy's concern was to raise the status of the Japanese people internationally. In March 1899, the lower house of the Dutch parliament granted the Japanese the same legal status as Europeans and Christians, and 'Arabs and Chinese broke ranks with other Third World peoples to push for a similar status.

The visit of a Japanese training squadron fleet to Batavia (Jakarta) in 1903 was perceived as the beginning of Japan's annexation of the Netherlands Indies. In June 1905, after the Dutch had drafted their contract with the Sultan of Riau and two weeks after the Russians' defeat, Raja Hitam went to Singapore on the pretext of setting up a medicine shop in association with a Japanese firm. An anonymous

---

*continued from page 8*

♦ Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Fatawa Tentang Binatang Hidup Dua Alam Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani* (Shaykh Ahmad Fatani's Fatwa Concerning Amphibians) (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990) 36:

\_\_\_\_\_. "Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani: Sultan, Politik dan Riau" (Sultan, Politics and Riau), *Dewan Budaya* (September 1991) 53;

♦ Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, "Satu Kajian dan Perbandingan Riwayat Hidup Kadir Adabi dengan Assad Syukri" (An Analysis and Comparison of the Lifetimes of Kadir Adabi and Assad Shukri) (unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Malaya, 1978) 2-3.

In 1909, the British colonial authority and the Siamese codified the border between them, whereby Kelantan, along with Terengganu, Kedah and Perlis, was incorporated into colonial Malaya. (See n. 28 on the Terengganu Sultan's reaction.) This invidious agreement created an 'internationally recognised boundary' which split the Malay people in half, the Patani Malay Muslims being 'legally' abandoned to Buddhist Siam's control. In a re-enactment of this 'giving away of what does not belong to you', in 1943, during the World War II occupation of Malaya, the Japanese rewarded Siam (now Thailand) for providing the Japanese army with unhindered passage into Malaya by 'giving back' these four northern Malay States, which reverted to Malaya after the British reoccupation!

letter to the Dutch colonial government alleged he was negotiating in the Sultan's name to hand over the kingdom to Japan. As a consequence, Raja Hitam was forbidden to return to Singapore.

Japan's success was the result of her ability to master science and technology. Since she had achieved this without sacrificing her customs and morals, young Muslims from a number of countries were attracted by her example and left to study in Japan. As early as 1890, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had sent his warship *Ertoghrul* to Japan with a medal for the Emperor. When the warship arrived at Johnson Pier, Singapore, on 15 November 1889, as reported in *The Straits Times* the next day, the harbour was crowded with Malays who expressed their hope for a close Ottoman-Japanese relationship. The Achehnese, on whom the Dutch had opened aggression in 1873, sent an envoy to Singapore with letters requesting the Ottoman commander (and Syed Mohamed Alsagoff of Singapore) to take up their case with Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.<sup>16</sup>

Now an Ottoman-Japanese alliance was advocated in the Middle Eastern press. There was even hope of Japan converting to Islām! The Cairo journal *al-Mu'ayyad*<sup>17</sup> pointed out the implications of a Muslim Japan for the political situation in the Middle East now that the Ottoman's were faced by an alliance of Russia, England and France. Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī, a follower of Muḥammad 'Abduh and a Professor of 'Arabic Literature at Dār al-'Ulūm in Cairo, wrote his *al-Tāj al-muraṣṣa' bi-jawāhir al-Qur'ān wa al-'ulūm* (The Crown Bedecked with the Jewels of al-Qur'ān and the Sciences) with Japan in mind. It was a summons to other nations to embrace Islām. Dedicated

---

16. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "al-Afghani ..." (1998) *op. cit.*, 9. Anthony Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia", states that "the Turkish warship had long since departed, but high hopes were placed in Alsagoff, who left on a tour of Europe shortly after receiving the Atjehnese letter. Dutch officials complained that these hopes negated the effect of the special coercive measures by which they were trying to subdue the Atjehnese. On his return to Singapore in 1892 Alsagoff sent an envoy to Atjeh, ostensibly to advise submission. The very fact that an envoy should appear apparently had the opposite effect, and an Atjehnese embassy to Constantinople was soon organised." (*Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI, 2 (February 1967) 278.)

17. *al-Mu'ayyad*, edited by Shaykh Alī Yūsuf, was one of the most widely read Cairo newspapers. It was regarded as *The Times* of Egypt. One of its Singapore contributors was Syed Muhammad b. 'Aqil b. Yahya, an associate of Raja Ali Kelana. His name is written Akil in Malay. Syed Muhammad 'Aqil's contributions to *al-Mu'ayyad* were under the pen name Saif al-Dīn al-Yamanī. See Rashīd Riḍā's obituary for Syed Muḥammad 'Aqil, *al-Manār*, XXXII, 3 (March, 1932) 238, cited in 42-8 *infra*. We thank Mohammad Aboul Khir Zaki, "Modern Muslim Thought in Egypt and its Impact on Islam in Malaya" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1965) 385, for leading us to this invaluable source.

to the Mikado of Japan, it was sent for presentation at the Japanese Parliament of Religions in 1906.<sup>18</sup> About 1909, the editor of the Egyptian *al-Irshād* (Guidance) visited Japan and gave the impression that mass conversions were taking place across the country!

*Al-Imām* (The Leader), modelled on the reformist *al-Manār* (The Lighthouse), published by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in Cairo, was established in Singapore on 23 July 1906 and widely distributed throughout Malaya and the Indies. While in its 21 August 1906 issue<sup>19</sup> *al-Imām* pointed out the benefit to Japan should its people convert to Islām which would ally them with millions of Muslims throughout the world, on 14 April 1907<sup>20</sup> it spoke of the benefit to Muslims should the Japanese convert:

We would be able to mingle with them like water with sugar [*seperti air dengan gula*] and we could study from them and be taught by them about all the amazing things which have recently appeared in the world ... We would then enter into the group of those people who are civilized ... and the benefits would pass to our descendants.<sup>21</sup>

By 1908, *al-Imām* postulated Japan's defeat of the Netherlands' colonial power. If the colonial regime persisted in its harsh exploitation, the people of the Indies would rise up, free themselves and then place themselves under Japanese rule, which would be "like going from hell to heaven".<sup>22</sup>

Raja Ali Kelana and Raja Hitam were active contributors to *al-Imām*, as was Syed Shaykh al-Hady.<sup>23</sup> The relationship between *al-Imām* and the Riau court meant, as Snouck Hurgronje was to remark, that the journal was "a suitable place for [Raja Ali Kelana and others] to publish their desires and grievances". In *al-Imām*, Syed Shaykh al-Hady inveighed against the colonialists "... for placing Eastern peoples

18. Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī's work was published in Cairo by Taqaddum Press, 1324 A. H./1906 A. D. See Adams, Charles C., *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad 'Abduh* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1933, reprint 1968) 245.

19. *al-Imām*, I, 1 (23 July 1906) 26–30; I, 2 (21 August 1906) 56–62.

20. *al-Imām*, I, 10 (14 April 1907) 313–15.

21. Translation by Andaya, "From Rūm to Tokyo ..." (1977) *op. cit.*, 143.

22. *al-Imām*, I, 7 (5 January 1908) 224–6.

23. *al-Imām*'s founders and contributors are discussed by Syed Alwi, 76–7 and notes *infra*; and in 'His Life', 112–13 *infra*.

under slavery, for their duplicity and disrespect to Eastern rulers ...”<sup>24</sup> ‘*Ilmu* — knowledge — science and technology, which Japan possessed, were denied to them. In 1906, ‘Abdullah b. Abdul Rahman of Muar, Johor, later Dato’ Haji Abdullah, head of the Religious Department of Johor, brought out *Matahari Memanchar*, ‘The Rising Sun’, a history of the Japanese people, being a translation from ‘Arabic of *al-Shams al-Mushriqa* by the Egyptian nationalist Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874–1908), “... and it helped to stimulate among the readers a feeling of pride and hope for the renaissance of Oriental peoples, even the Malays”.<sup>25</sup> In the 12 July 1907 issue of *al-Imām*, Syed Shaykh castigated the Malays for their submission to colonial rule:

We believed most faithfully that we, the peoples of the East, were created imperfectly with less than perfect minds and vision. We held fast to this belief until there came to us the Japanese, an eastern people endowed with knowledge and crowned with national pride and victory. They worked with their knowledge to extract the natural wealth from our soil, and both the Japanese and the Europeans took their shares and later joined their knowledge and resources in all fields.<sup>26</sup>

The Dutch became so apprehensive of Japanese intent that, beginning in 1907, the Governor-General required lists to be made of permits issued to Japanese intending to visit the Indies and investigations were ordered into any development suggesting an increase in Japanese influence, such as the founding of Japanese-type schools.

In 1907, the Sultan of Terengganu hired a Japanese medical attendant, Kondo, who was to entrench himself in the ruling élite and in 1910 was primarily responsible for bringing Japanese to Terengganu to develop mining concessions.

Following the rubber boom in 1909, Japanese began investing in plantations in Singapore and Johor. From 92 acres in 1907, Japanese-owned estates increased to 83,750 acres by 1911, and in 1912 a

24. *al-Imām*, I, 6 (18 December 1906) 170–2.

25. As described by Pandita Za’ba (Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal ‘Abidin b. Ahmad), ‘Modern Developments’ in Winstedt, R. O., “A History of Malay Literature”, *JMBRAS*, XVII, 3 (January 1940, 3rd pt. for year 1939) 148. *Matahari Memanchar* was published by Imām Printing Press and sold for two Malayan Dollars per copy. After the Japanese invasion of Malaya, in 1942, a weekly was started under that name, also from Muar, Johor.

26. *al-Imām*, II, 1 (12 July 1907) 25–6, quoted from “Demand for the Improvement of the Sons of the Soil”, 181 *infra*.

Japanese Planters' Association was established in Singapore. Despite Dutch insistence on the illegality of such transactions, Raja Ali Kelana and the Sultan of Riau secretly negotiated the sale or rental of certain islands as well as mining and copra concessions to individual Japanese. By 1914, the Riau Resident admitted it was simply not possible to eliminate either the Japanese or their capital from the archipelago. In 1907, a chair in Malay had been established at Tokyo University.

Though nothing had come of Riau's proposed appeal to Japan in 1905, it had not been forgotten. The issue of the Yamtuan Muda institution, the succession to the Riau throne, and the realisation of being 'pensioned puppets' was ever present. Raja Ali Kelana and Raja Hitam impressed on the Sultan the view that he had surrendered not only his money, but also his prestige and self-respect to the Dutch. In 1910, the disputes between the court and the Dutch administration were brought to a head when the Sultan, on the advice of his ministers, refused to sign a new political contract, claiming it would deprive him of any real authority. His justifiable adamancy provided the Dutch with a welcomed pretext formally to depose and exile the Sultan to Singapore in February 1911. A few days after his arrival there, the Sultan handed over to the Japanese Consul copies of all treaties made between himself and the Dutch. On several occasions, the Sultan met Japanese representatives privately, and he even sent a letter to the commander of the Japanese squadron in Singapore, whom he had previously entertained as a guest. Large numbers of Riau Malays packed up their belongings and fled to Singapore in the belief that a great war was about to break out between the Dutch and Japan, with the possible intervention of the Ottomans.

Sultan Abdul Rahman wrote to *The Straits Times* protesting his deposition, which was published on 15 February 1911 under the heading: "One Treaty Read, Another Offered for Signature". He wrote of successive treaties which took more and more power out of his hands, finally reducing him to a "mere figurehead". "I was left without power or authority in the land of my ancestors ... ." He condemned the Dutch, stating that their motive was to obtain "... the collection of all the revenues, mining and other concessions". In August 1911, he wrote to Queen Wilhelmina seeking her intervention so that "I will not end my days as an exile, in shame and humiliation". The establishment of direct European rule in Riau and the banishment of the foremost princes were regarded as outrageous. It was unthinkable that descendants of a dynasty which had ruled for two hundred years could simply be swept aside.<sup>27</sup>

---

27. On subsequent attempts to restore the Sultanate through the 1940s see Addendum: "Riau and the Restoration Movement", 265-70 *infra*.

Realising Ottoman impotence, in September 1912 Raja Hitam collected money from Riau residents visiting Singapore to finance a trip to Japan. Members of the exiled royal family contributed funds from the sale of their personal belongings. In October 1912, a letter was drawn up asking for the Emperor's intervention so that Riau could be placed under Japanese rule and the Sultan restored to his former position. On 31 October, Raja Hitam left for Tokyo, carrying the Riau petition signed by the Sultan and his advisers. He reached Tokyo, but it is unclear why he left after only a few days.

In April 1913, shortly after his return, Raja Hitam and several of the exiled princes were said to be collecting money once again. The Sultan of Riau personally contributed Singapore \$3,000/-. In May 1913, Raja Ali Kelana and Syed Shaykh al-Hady went to Terengganu to solicit support from the Sultan, who was related by marriage with the Riau ruling family, some of whom he had incorporated into Terengganu's hierarchy.<sup>28</sup>

Raja Ali Kelana was to have accompanied Raja Hitam on this second voyage to Japan, but he had accepted the post of Ketua Agama (religious head) in the State of Johor and could not leave. (Nevertheless, under Dutch pressure, Straits Settlements' Governor Young made Ali Kelana's removal part of the enforced settlement with Johor of 1914.) Raja Hitam left on 11 December 1913, carrying with him deeds to thirty plots of coconut trees contributed by Riau Malays in return for Japanese assistance. On 11 March 1914, after a brief period in a Japanese hospital, Raja Hitam died, ostensibly succumbing to the bitter cold of Tokyo's winter.

---

28. Sultan Zainal Abidin III (r. 1881–1918) struggled to retain his kingdom's independence. His response to the 1909 trade-off which drew a boundary between 'British Malaya' and Siam, was that the Siamese were thieves, who gave away to the British what did not belong to them in the first place. He only agreed to the Treaty after an assurance that the British agent assigned to Terengganu would only have consular powers. In 1911, he promulgated a state constitution modelled on Johor, creating the outward trappings of a modern sovereign state. But the economy could not support the expenses, and in 1914 Terengganu was forced to request a loan from the Straits Settlements. The discovery of wolfram, a valuable component in some alloys, intensified British pressure to extend the agent's power. Only the intervening World War I gave a respite. Malay belief in an impending Ottoman victory hardened Terengganu's resistance. But after the war and the Ottoman's defeat, in 1918 a British 'investigating' commission to Terengganu predictably recommended the appointment of an 'Adviser' whose counsel 'must be asked and accepted in all matters except religion'. This was effected on 24 May 1919. Sultan Zainal Abidin's death on 25 November 1918 spared him this humiliation. (Andaya, Barbara Watson and Leonard Y., *A History of Malaysia* (London: Macmillan Asian Histories Series, 4th edn., 1987) 198.)

As for the Japanese — would-be liberators in the minds of those who were not convinced of the power of their own people successfully to overthrow colonialism — what was their thinking, what were their concerns?<sup>29</sup> After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan 'entered the modern world'. When in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the western scramble for concessions in China was on, the Japanese joined in. "Only by becoming one of them could Japan survive ... Japan should forget about its being in Asia and act together with the civilised nations of the West."<sup>30</sup>

In 1895, Japan established herself as a co-colonising nation by her acquisition of Formosa as a result of the Sino-Japanese War. Subsequently, a Japanese army officer reconnoitred the Philippines, but in 1898 when Filipino nationalists fought the invading Americans — who having defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War considered the Philippines their rightful booty — the Filipinos were denied Japanese help as Japan considered American or British control desirable in order to prevent any hostile power taking over!

In 1902, Japan's alliance with Britain, 'the world's greatest power', further enhanced its status. Thus did the First World War provide an opportunity for Japan. As Britain's ally, she was delegated the responsibility to defend Hong Kong and Weihaiwei, a port in Shandong, China. With this opening, Japan extended her naval patrols as far south as Singapore. She even improved on Singapore's naval facilities by installing a signal station at Pengerang in Johor!<sup>31</sup>

The Japanese took advantage of the war situation to push the British to recognise Japanese medical practitioners of a lower level than Malayan colonial standards, as their services were needed by the growing Japanese population working in Malaya. In a February 1916 confidential note, Sir Eyre Crowe, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, wrote that in ordinary circumstances they would no doubt refuse to discuss the two subjects together: recognition of medical practitioners and naval co-operation, "But our need for naval co-operation is so great that I don't think we can refuse to make any concession".<sup>32</sup>

A further dismemberment of the Ottoman Sulṭānate was brought about in October 1912 when Montenegro moved into northern Albania

29. For the following discussion on Japanese interests, we are indebted to Yuen Choy Leng's "Expansion of Japanese Interests in Malaya, 1900–1941" (unpublished M. A. Thesis, History Department, University of Malaya, 1973) 110–20.

30. Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific* (New York, 1967) 65, quoted in Yuen, *op. cit.*, 110.

31. Parkinson, C. Northcote, *A Short History of Malaya* (rev. edn., Singapore: Donald Moore, 1956) 31, quoted in Yuen, *op. cit.*, 112.

32. Yuen, *op. cit.*, 115.

as well as the Sanjaq of Novi Pazar (founded by the Ottomans in 1455).<sup>33</sup> Montenegro's allies sent an ultimatum to the Ottoman Porte demanding autonomy for the remaining European provinces. This was rejected and culminated in a disastrous war. When the Treaty of London was signed in May 1913, the Ottomans lost almost all their European territories, including Crete, to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Albania.

The Balkan war was generally seen by Muslims as a new crusade. The Malay press, *Neracha* (The Scales, 1911–15), also known as *al-Mizān* (The Balance), and *Tunas Melayu* (The Malay Bud),<sup>34</sup> both under the editorship of *al-Imām*'s last editor, Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha,<sup>35</sup> assisted by K. Anang,<sup>36</sup> gave increasingly enthusiastic exposure to the news from the battlefield. In 1912, *Neracha* had been the only newspaper which extensively reported on the Ottoman's defensive war against the Italian aggression in North Africa.<sup>37</sup>

33. Edith Durham was in Montenegro during October 1912, and when the fighting was over in Kosova the British military attaché asked her to go with him on a visit to Prizren: but the trip was forbidden by the authorities. As she later recalled: "I asked wounded Montenegrins why I was not to be allowed to go and they laughed and said 'We have not left a nose on an Albanian up there!' Not a pretty sight for a British officer." Later she did visit one northern Albanian outpost, where she saw captured Ottoman soldiers whose noses and upper lips had been cut off. Most foreign journalists were forbidden to enter Kosova, but some news did emerge . . . . (A most valuable source for an understanding of Balkan and Albanian history is Noel Malcolm's *Kosovo: A Short History* — 'short' but runs 491 pages — (New York: New York University Press, 1998); this quote is found on 253.

The following on the effect of the Ottoman wars on Muslims in Malaya is from Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Ottoman's War with the Europeans (1912–1914): A Paradigm Shift in the Development of Malay Political Thought", *Jebat*, 23 (1995) 89–96.

34. *Tunas Melayu* was a monthly journal published in 1913, the first Malay journal to include photographs.

35. Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha was born 1885 in Singapore. Initially an assistant editor of *al-Imām*, he became editor in 1908. For his role in the *ribā* (usury) controversy, see 'His Times', 130 *infra*. Pandita Za'ba, Appendix C, 280 *infra*, writes of the controversy Haji Abbas stirred up by contending that dogs are not unclean. Za'ba says Haji Abbas was one of the early batch of students from Malaya to study at al-Azhar, reportedly returning in 1905. He was later to become Mufti of Pahang State in Malaya.

36. Re K. Anang — Mas Abdul Hamid — see n. 39 *infra*.

37. The Turco-Italian war (1911–12) led to the Italian annexation of that part of Libya comprised of the Vilāyas of Ṭarāblus (Tripoli) and Bēghāzī, which had been under Ottoman sway since 1551. By 1938–9, under the Italian fascist regime of Mussolini, 20,000 Italian colonists had been implanted in Libya. It has been estimated that forty percent of the Libyan people died in their heroic resistance. See also 59, n. 143 *infra* on the Sanūsī's spirited defence in the plateau of Cyrenaica.

*Neracha*, whose readership extended to the Netherlands Indies, Makka and Cairo, chastised Malays who enjoyed themselves hedonistically at football matches, oblivious to the sufferings of fellow Muslims. The newspaper launched a fund to help the Ottomans secure weapons and ammunition, asking readers to donate at least \$1.00 each. Malays in Perak, as well as Muslims in the Netherlands Indies, organised campaigns to raise funds for the Red Crescent Society in Istanbul. A similar campaign had been launched earlier for the Muslims of Ṭarāblus (Tripoli in Libya) during the Italian onslaught. *Neracha* lectured the Malays, and all Muslims, on their responsibility to support the Khalīfat, reminding that the fall of the Ottomans would be a disgrace to all. *Neracha*'s efforts exposed Malays to the challenges faced by their fellow Muslims, transcending local and national boundaries.

At the beginning of November 1914, Great Britain declared war on the Ottomans. This led the Ottoman Khalīfa to issue *Jihād-i Ekber*, *Fard-i 'Ayn*, a *fatwā* (formal legal opinion) declaring it incumbent on all Muslims to wage *Jihād* or Holy War against Britain, France, Russia, and their allies.<sup>38</sup>

The British, aware of the spiritual allegiance of the Muslims to the Khalīfat, immediately imposed a news blackout on the war. The colonial authority brought an enactment empowering themselves to censor all news reports; only those favourable to Britain could be published. Even Reuters telegrams to the local press were stopped. Ultimately, *Neracha* had to cease publication in June 1915, and similarly *Tumas Melayu*.<sup>39</sup>

Malay rulers in the Federated Malay States — who had to be obeyed implicitly — not only gave their unconditional support to the British but actually forbade any of their inhabitants from rendering any form of assistance to the Ottomans or raising any agitation in favour of participation on their side. The Sultan of Pahang was to add

---

38. See 56–9 *infra* for a full discussion of the call for *jihād*.

39. K. Anang (Mas Abdul Hamid), who had been assistant editor of *Neracha* and in 1914 editor of the journal *Majalah al-Islam*, was banished from Singapore in 1915 because of his alleged role in the Mutiny. According to a 1922 British intelligence report, he then became editor of a 'seditious' paper, *Islam Bergerak* (Islām Astir), published in Java. In Singapore, he had been a close associate of Bashir Ahmad (Mallal?) (see App. C., n. 14) and a strong advocate of the Khalīfat movement to reunite the Muslims of the world. For this purpose, he carried on an active correspondence with his old friends throughout Malaya. The British suspected that his activities were directed towards laying a foundation for a United Islām comprising Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, Borneo and British India. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Ottoman's War ..." (1995) *op. cit.*, 94, n. 3.

that he would view with seriousness any form of transgression by his subjects!<sup>40</sup>

*The 'Mutiny': Uprising by Umma-conscious Muslims*

Notwithstanding the British suppression of war reports in any way favourable to the Muslim Ottomans, in Singapore on 15 February 1915, a mutiny broke out involving the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry which had the potential to take control of the island.<sup>41</sup> The 5<sup>th</sup> was an Indian regiment of old standing, raised in 1803 at Cawnpore by Lt. F. M. Johnson, and was erroneously credited with having been one of the few native regiments which remained loyal during the Indian Mutiny of 1857.<sup>42</sup> But this was not the case, for only fifteen men had stood with the British Raj; the remainder mutinied at Sangor, and the regiment was then reconstituted.<sup>43</sup> The 5<sup>th</sup> was comprised of only Rajput tribes and Pathans, all being Muslims recruited from the Delhi area,<sup>44</sup> and separated accordingly into Right and Left wings.

Like any other regiment in the Indian Army, the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry was composed of two wings, each consisting of two double companies, commanded by a mounted Captain. But whereas the Indian Army code of 1904 directed that the strength of each company be 250, the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry had only 200 men per company. There were thirteen European officers, sixteen Indian officers and 809 NCOs and men.

A factor of significance in the Singapore Mutiny was that the German cruiser *Emden* appeared in the Bay of Bengal on 21 September 1914 and had been largely successful in destroying commercial ships to

40. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, December 1994) 307.

41. A hardly cited unpublished thesis by Rudolf William Mosbergen, "The Sepoy Rebellion (The History of the Singapore Mutiny, 1915)" (Department of History, University of Malaya, 1954) led us to look into the Mutiny in some depth and gave valuable references. It is hoped that the following discussion will lead to a proper study and to the examination of the links, if any, with the Khalifat movement in Singapore and its supporters in Malaya. We do not include a blow-by-blow account of what transpired during the actual uprising, which is amply covered in that thesis.

42. Bartley, W., "Singapore and the Great War" in *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, (eds.) Makepeace, Brooke, and Braddell (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991) I, 408-9.

43. Gimlette, G. H. D., *A Post-script to the Record of the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1927) 153-4.

44. Lovett, Major A. C. and MacMunn, Major G. F., *The Armies of India* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911) 169.

the extent that all trade routes from Singapore westwards were closed. On 26 September, the *Emden* made a surprise attack on Madras in India, which was used by the underground Indian movement in its agitation against the British Raj.<sup>45</sup> On 28 October came its daring raid on Penang, which resulted in the sinking of the Russian cruiser *Zemchug* and the French torpedo-boat *Mousquet*.<sup>46</sup> These exploits impacted on the people in Malaya, including the Indian Muslim troops stationed in both Malaya and Singapore. Even conversation about the *Emden* was considered treasonable by the British.

On 9 November, while raiding the Cable Station on the Cocos Islands — also part of the Straits Settlements — the *Emden* was intercepted by the Australians, escorted into Singapore and its crew detained. The 'prize crew' was held at the Tanglin Detention Camp. Their arrival coincided with Britain's 4 November declaration of war on the Ottoman Khalīfat and the resultant call for *Jihād* (Holy War) against Britain and her allies issued on 7 November. Having developed a relationship with his Indian Muslim sepoy guards, Oberleutenant (Lieutenant) Julius Lauterbach encouraged them in their disaffection.<sup>47</sup>

Prior to the mutiny, defence arrangements had been changed. Since the British battalion's departure to the front had depleted the garrison, the Singapore Volunteer Rifles was reconstituted, and after 6 December when the Malay States Guides refused to proceed to German East Africa, all but a mule-battery had been withdrawn to Taiping, Malaya. The 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry was ordered to Hong Kong to form part of its defence and was to have left on 16 February. In replacement, 83 men of the Malay States Volunteer Rifles were despatched to Singapore from Kuala Lumpur, and through arrangements with Sultan Ibrahim of Johor (r. 1895–1959), 110 officers and men were detached from the Johor Military Forces and sent to assist in garrison duties.

Soon after the August outbreak of World War I, two double companies of the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry were sent to Pulau Brani (a small island close to Singapore, between Mount Faber and Sentosa Island). It was alleged that there Jemadar (Viceroy Commissioned Officer) Chisti Khan conducted meetings and discussed war topics with his men "in a spirit of

---

45. In Prince Franz Josef von Hohenzollern's book on the *Emden* (London, 1928) 31, Captain von Müller said he had put forward for consideration the sending of a small cruiser into the Indian Ocean where its appearance would have a valuable influence for Germany on the morale of the Indian peoples, and so it did.

46. Bartley, *op. cit.*, 407–8.

47. Thomas, Lowell, *Lauterbach of the China Sea: The Escapes and Adventures of a Seagoing Falstaff* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930) 109.

extreme and calculated pessimism".<sup>48</sup> He described the German invasion of Belgium on 4 August and predicted that England would be invaded in a matter of time. "You take care, there is very little of the English Kingdom left now."<sup>49</sup> "In November, [Ottoman] Turkey came into the fray, [and] the feelings of the local Moslem (*sic*) community were stirred deeply ..."<sup>50</sup> On 5 December, the group led by Chisti returned to the Alexandra Barracks and, starting after dinner at 7:00 and lasting until midnight, they would invariably meet and discuss. Chisti Khan is said to have been encouraged by two of his colleagues, Subadar Dunde Khan and Jemadar Abdul Ali.<sup>51</sup> This alienated nucleus was goaded on by Lauterbach.

When the regiment received orders that they were to ship out to Hong Kong, they inferred that the transfer was "... intended to lure them to sail for an unknown destination",<sup>52</sup> the inference being that they would be sent to fight the Muslim Ottomans. Chisti Khan is alleged to have suggested that once they were out of Singapore, the ship would be sunk.<sup>53</sup> Lauterbach in conversation with Lowell Thomas maintained that Chisti had said "... how do we know what is happening to our soldiers? Our people are being slaughtered for the sake of the British Raj ...". Lauterbach then enhanced Chisti's reservations by pointing to the climate in Europe which would kill the Indian troops; if they didn't die in battle, they would die like sick dogs. "... I think all of you will die in that foreign inhospitable land, where it is so cold."<sup>54</sup> Reportedly, when the men were ordered to pack their *charpoy*s — light Indian bedsteads — Chisti Khan said "what is the use of doing up your *charpoy*s when we are going on service and shall all die?"<sup>55</sup>

The sympathy of the Indian Muslims for the Ottoman Khalifat went back to the time of the Crimean War (1853–6), and the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry had in its ranks a core of Muslim devotees who when provoked, were galvanised into action. The conscious Muslims among

48. "Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council". *The Straits Times*, 24 September 1915, 8.

49. *The Straits Times*, 19 March 1915, 7.

50. "Governor's Annual Address ...", *op. cit.*, 8.

51. Jemadar Abdul Ali was killed during the uprising. Subadar Dunde Khan and Jemadar Chisti Khan were tried — the prosecution led by R. Braddell — and found guilty. See *The Straits Times*, 18, 19 and 20 March 1915.

52. *The Straits Times*, 24 September 1915, 7–8, and "Governor's Annual Address ...", *op. cit.*, 8.

53. *The Straits Times*, 2 March 1915, 7, testimony given by accused Colour Havildar Imtiaz Ali.

54. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 111.

55. *The Straits Times*, 19 March 1915, 7.

them would meet with Lauterbach so he could read and explain news from the *Singapore Free Press* and *The Straits Times*, because they were convinced they were being fed lies, which Lauterbach confirmed. There was also a feeling that the British colonial authorities had become aware of the precise temper of the regiment and the schemes being discussed<sup>56</sup> and that having boarded the ship supposedly bound for Hong Kong, the ship would be sunk.

When the regiment finally mutinied on 15 February — the day before they were to set sail for Hong Kong — they turned to the German officer to lead them, the very same Lauterbach who had heightened their apprehensions, but his response was “war is war ... but this was mutiny and they would have nothing to do with it”.<sup>57</sup> Some of the German internees were anxious to participate in the rebellion, but Lauterbach advised them against it: “... these mutineers really haven’t a chance, as soon as the British land sailors and marines from the ships in the harbour all this will be squelched, and then where will you be? They will say we started the mutiny and every last man of us will be shot.”<sup>58</sup> Lauterbach, without shame or remorse, claimed that once the mutiny broke, he was hoisted on the shoulders of the Indian Muslim troops who ran about shouting: “Here is our leader”. Lauterbach later said “... a German officer does not fight without his uniform or in the ranks of mutineers”.<sup>59</sup> But these proud statements notwithstanding, the German internees took their benefit from the mutiny: seventeen escaped, eleven succeeded<sup>60</sup> by commandeering a local boat and sailing across the Strait of Melaka to Dutch-controlled Sumatra — the Netherlands being neutral in the war — and the rest were apprehended. Lauterbach led the triumphant party!<sup>61</sup>

It is clear that the Indian Muslim troops were superior in number, but they were badly organised, suffered from a scarcity of efficient leaders, and were under the mistaken impression — which was to cost

56. “Rumours of disaffection were receiving consideration and no doubt influenced the military authorities in their decision to remove the regiment to another station.” *The Straits Times*, 31 December 1915.

57. *The Straits Times*, 12 April 1915, “Governor’s speech at the Review of the Troops”.

58. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 115.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *The Straits Times*, 12 April 1915.

61. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 119. In any event, the German internees had planned to escape. Governor Sir A. H. Young said “the prisoners had built with much toil and ingenuity a tunnel: I saw the tunnel and it only required another hour’s work to enable them to escape in any case. The men who dug it did not do so in the belief that it was unlikely to be needed.” (“Governor’s Annual Address ...”, *op. cit.*, 8.)

them dearly — that Sultan Ibrahim of Johor represented a ‘Muslim Raj’ and all they needed to do was to reach Johor to be free to join the Ottomans in what had been declared to be a *Jihād* (Holy War) by the Khalīfa Islām.<sup>62</sup> But upon succeeding to reach Johor, upwards of 180 were taken into custody and returned to Singapore under armed escort to face trial.<sup>63</sup> These included Malay States Guides who had fled northwards with the intention of reaching their regimental headquarters at Taiping.<sup>64</sup> In return for the Sultan’s action, he was later awarded the G. C. M. G. (Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George) which entitled him to be called ‘Sir’. The Governor, Sir Arthur Young, was to commend the Sultan for his “firm loyalty to the King”!<sup>65</sup>

It was reckoned that over 300 insurgents took advantage of the indecisive attitude of Lieutenant-Colonel E. V. Martin, the officer commanding, and made good their escape.<sup>66</sup> It is indicative that no British army authority thought to activate a detachment of the 36<sup>th</sup> Sikhs who were in possession of arms but without ammunition and, having no means of either defence or offence, withdrew in a body to the Botanical Gardens to sit out the Mutiny! When even untrained civilians were being mobilised, it’s unlikely the 36<sup>th</sup> Sikhs were simply overlooked.

In fact, the British position was weak. “The first defensive force was a party of men from the H. M. S. *Cadmus* which was promptly landed and proceeded towards Alexandra Barracks. No doubt their movement checked any attempt of the mutineers to advance on Singapore in large numbers.”<sup>67</sup> The authorities had to call up civilians, and the Japanese — proving once again their lack of identification with Asian aspirations — organised 200 of their nationals to take part in the suppression. On the 17<sup>th</sup>, the French cruiser *Montcalm* put into port and landed 190 men, a Japanese warship also docked, and landing parties of

62. Far from Johor’s being a ‘Muslim Raj’, in 1914 Sultan Ibrahim had accepted a British ‘General Adviser’, the colonial euphemism for British control. Re the call for *jihād*, see 56–9 *infra*.

63. *The Straits Times*, 12 April 1915.

64. *The Straits Times*, 15 March 1915 and Maxwell, W. G., *Annual Departmental Report of the Straits Settlements*, “The Singapore Mutiny” (Singapore, 1916) 96.

65. *The Straits Times*, 12 April 1915.

66. Brown, Captain E. A., “An Account of the Mutiny of the 5th Light Infantry, Singapore, 15 February 1915”, unpublished manuscript, 15, cited in Mosbergen, *op. cit.*, 39. *The Straits Times* of 31 December 1915 was to comment: “The points upon which we remain in some doubt are the precise steps taken by Col. Martin to deal with the crisis that had arisen.”

67. *The Straits Times*, 31 December 1915.

armed sailors actively ferreted out the Indian Muslims. On the 18<sup>th</sup>, 110 Russian seamen from the cruiser *Orel* joined. On the 20<sup>th</sup>, the Japanese cruiser *Tsushima* arrived and landed 75 ratings, and six companies of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the King's Own Shropshire Light Infantry (Territorials) from Rangoon disembarked from the *S. S. Edvana*. In *M. S. V. R.*, the first issue of the Malay States Volunteer Rifles' magazine, there is a description of their driving the "... blackbirds helter-skelter like the Gadarene swine<sup>68</sup> down the valley ... a moving target of which we all took advantage". Eventually, 614 Indian Muslims of the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry were in custody, while 52 had been killed, wounded, or drowned. Discounting their officers, this would leave only 143 unaccounted, but note the contradictory statement that 300 succeeded to escape.<sup>69</sup>

The comic relief in this tragedy was that the Mutiny occurred during Chinese New Year, and the "holiday-makers filled the rick-shaws, thronged the street-stalls, and crowded the theatres" regarding all that was taking place with utter disregard.<sup>70</sup>

Preaching at St. Andrew's Cathedral, the Bishop of Singapore is quoted as having said: "I think that there was no circumstance which helped us so much as the lack of a prepared plan of action on behalf of the mutineers. Had they been ready with some definite plan of attack on Singapore at the beginning of the outbreak, how many of us would be alive now? Scarcely any, as far as we can judge."<sup>71</sup> As it was, excluding the Indian Muslim troops, 42 had been killed of whom 34 were Europeans.

*The Straits Times* of 31 December 1915 made this assessment: "About 400 of the Light Infantry had mutinied [the numbers cited substantially differ], all were well armed and they had provided themselves with ample ammunition. But they had no leader, and no definite purpose, and when they found that organisation was opposed to them, they soon broke into scattered parties, their chief anxiety being to escape the penalty of their mad folly. Such a body boldly and promptly led on the afternoon of the 15<sup>th</sup> might have done almost anything."<sup>72</sup>

---

68. The Biblical Gadarene swine. Luke 8: 26-39, were pigs that ran into the sea after demons possessed them, a despicable characterisation of human beings and especially offensive to Muslims for whom that animal is unclean.

69. Brown, *op. cit.*, 15, cited in Mosbergen, *op. cit.*, 39.

70. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 96.

71. *The Straits Times*, 4 March 1915.

72. A factor in their demoralisation was that Chisti Khan had been wounded. (Mosbergen, *op. cit.*, 25; no source cited.)

Sir Evelyn C. Ellis, addressing those who had put down the Mutiny, was reported by *The Straits Times* of 20 March 1915 as having said "he wished to impress on them the gravity of the danger they had, by their prompt action and bravery, averted. They were not to think they had been engaged in suppressing a small local disturbance. There were evidence to show that they had assisted in defeating one of the aims of the destroyer of Europe ... that irresponsible perpetrator of what the Kaiser called 'frightfulness'. 'Frightfulness' was a term invented by the Kaiser to describe his measures to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies."

Epitomising the mentality of the colonials, Governor Sir Arthur Young in his address quoted in *The Straits Times* of 12 April 1915, "... thanked the 'boys' who looked after their masters' and mistresses' houses while those houses were outside their safe area ... showing in what high esteem the 'boys' held their masters and mistresses".

Now to the issue of the Malay States Guides, whose members were also Muslim. As reported in *The Straits Times* of 22 April 1915 (p. 7) under the heading: "The Mansoor Case: Grave Charges Against an Indian, [Field] General Court Martial Opened": "... a slight elderly man with a white beard, dressed in a long loose shantung silk coat, with a typical Bombay headgear", was put on trial. Although not a member of 'His Majesty's Forces', the Governor had authorised his trial before that Military Court.

Sir Evelyn Ellis opened the case for the prosecution. The accused — who pleaded 'not guilty' — was Kassim Ismail Mansoor, a member of a well-known family of Indian merchants connected with Singapore, and his trial was depicted as "a case of extraordinary interest, not only for its local bearings but also in an Imperial sense". The first nine charges attached to the schedule "dealt with the foulest crime that was known to mankind, namely, compassing the death of the King", or "high treason". The tenth charge dealt with giving intelligence to the enemy and was punishable under section 43 of the Army Act with death in the same way as treason. The eleventh charge, "attempting to levy war on the King", was closely akin to the first nine. "The offence of treason was provided for by the local Ordinance of 1868. The penalty of forfeiture of property pertained at that date, but in 1870 an Act was passed in England by which forfeiture of one's goods and property was abolished." But it was held this did not apply in Singapore as "the Act was not extended outside the United Kingdom, and the Colonies with legislatures made their own provision in matters of this kind. Therefore, if the court should come to the conclusion that the prisoner was guilty, only one penalty was possible, and that was one

which will be richly deserved if the facts were proved, namely, the termination of a misspent life and the deprivation of all goods and property in this world."

Kassim Ismail Mansoor was accused that on 28 December 1914 he had forwarded to his son in Rangoon a letter to be delivered to the Ottoman Consul so that it might be reached to the Ottoman authorities in Istanbul. We are asked to believe that as late as the end of December he would not have taken into consideration that Burma was a British preserve and Britain having declared war on the Ottomans in early November, there could not have been a Consul of Ottoman nationality in Rangoon. The object of the letter was that an Ottoman warship might be sent to Singapore for the purpose of taking away the Malay States Guides to any place where they would come into conflict with British troops. That, it was contended, "was as clear a case of invitation to invade His Majesty's territories as it was possible to conceive. It did not matter in the least that such an idea was fantastic. What they had to deal with was the wicked intention of the prisoner and whether his intention was feasible or not was a matter of complete indifference." Allegedly, that letter was intercepted by the censor in Rangoon. "An invitation such as that was held on many occasions in the old days in England to constitute compassing the death of the King. In the letter there was the information conveyed that the Malay States Guides were ready to mutiny. Whether or not that was the case was a matter of no materiality."

Kassim Ismail Mansoor was born in Rander, Surat in the Bombay Presidency in or about 1850, which constituted him a British subject "... which was a matter of no moment because, whether British or not, when he committed the offences he was resident in this Colony, and thereby owed allegiance to His Majesty". As regards the last charge, it was alleged that "... anything that involved a preparation for such an invasion as accused suggested, or was likely to lead to it, was an attempt to wage war on the King".

Kassim Ismail Mansoor went to Singapore in or about 1884-5 soon after the death of his father who owned considerable property in the island for proof of his father's will; after four or five years, he returned to Rander. Towards the end of 1913, he went again to Singapore. While there he resided in his own house at Telok Ayer Street, and additionally he owned a plantation with two or three little bungalows at 5½ milestone, 166 Pasir Panjang, which he used for weekend retreats. "... Native soldiers had frequently been seen in his plantation, and on other occasions he had been seen to arrive in his gharry, stop at the quarter-guard of the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry, go in and mix with the soldiery there. That ... was a very important matter because he

had no earthly reason for mixing either with the men of the Malay States Guides or the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry for they came from a totally distinct part of India and [he] could not, or ought not, to have had any relations with them at all."

Attached to the 'treasonable' letter posted to his son in Rangoon in what was alleged to be his handwriting — but never proven to be his handwriting "... for such evidence [as to handwriting] was never satisfactory" — was a slip cautioning that the enclosed letter should be placed in an envelope, written by a stranger, and addressed to the Ottoman (Turkish) Consul; the attached slip was to be destroyed. "He mentioned that the sepoys were true Mohammedans. Then there came the important letter which ... was not in the same handwriting as the [slip] ... . In it was the information that there was a mule-battery and the members of that artillery were Mohammedan, and that the whole regiment did not desire to go and fight in Europe. It was stated that the men wished to join the Turkish forces and that they wanted someone to make that possible. They had money to pay travelling expenses, but wanted someone to show them the way whereby they could reach Turkey. The letter went on to refer to a Turkish man-of-war which, if sent [to Singapore], could be boarded by the sepoys, and made mention of the fact that the manager of the German firm of Behn, Meyer and Co., who was the Turkish Consul, and all the Germans, were imprisoned. It was further stated that the men did not desire to fight against the Turkish forces ... These sentiments were given as representing the feeling of the Malay States Guides." For the purpose of reply the name of a Bengali baker was given at the address of the accused's Pasir Panjang property. This letter was purported to be signed in English, in very poor characters, by Havildar Osman Khan and Havildar Secunda (*sic*) Khan, who both sent their salaams.

As reported in *The Straits Times* of the following day, 23 April, allegedly the letter in question — not in the handwriting of the accused — also said that the regiment here had altogether become disloyal. It had even gotten ready to mutiny. The sepoys were prepared to risk their lives, and if the Lt. Colonel of the regiment tried to exert his authority by force, they were prepared to fire. "... We do not desire to fight against the Turks ... . Therefore they entreat some Mohammedans to help them for God's sake and enable them to reach the Turkish forces. We are ready to pay our own expenses; we don't want a single *pie*: all that we ask is not to let us fall into the hands of the English while leaving Singapore. ... As you are the Turkish Consul, kindly let us know by what way those sepoys may leave Singapore and where they may go. You, Sir, will get much honour; if we fight against the English

on behalf of Turkey and die, we shall be martyrs. That honour will be bestowed on you. Turkish forces will get men, and Turkey will be stronger, and the honour of us Mohammedans will continue by the existence of the Sultanate of our Islam Khalifat, as your honour well knows. All of us in the Malay States Guides have agreed together to write this letter."

One of the people alleged to have signed the letter, Osman Khan, took leave on 19 January and had never appeared again. The other man, now spelled Sikandar Khan, was still with the regiment in Taiping and was not in Singapore when the letter was posted to Rangoon. Only at this stage is there mention that the 'treasonable' letter was allegedly posted from Singapore on 28 December 1914. The letter was written in Gujerati, while these men ostensibly came from a part of India where Gujerati was not used. Prosecution "... did not think the letter could have been written by either of the soldiers", rather the accused had gotten some other individual to write it.

In another letter of unproven handwriting, Kassim is alleged to have told his son: "It was my mistake that that letter was enclosed in my letter. The man brought the letter to me already written and begged me to enclose it with mine, so I did it. So ... destroy it."

The British arrested both Kassim Ismail Mansoor and his son Ali Mansoor in Singapore on 23 January 1915, prior to the Mutiny. We are not informed whether the other son, Ismail Kassim Mansoor of Rangoon, was detained, but it is probable he would have been.

At the outbreak of the war, the Malay States Guides had been mobilised. On 1 September 1914, the regiment had volunteered for active service and accordingly was moved to Tanglin, Singapore. On 6 December, after Britain's November declaration of war on the Ottomans and the resulting call for *Jihād*, they received orders to proceed to German East Africa. "They had not acted upon these orders for the reason that the men refused to go, saying that it was not in their contract to serve outside Malaya. In consequence of that the regiment was moved back to Taiping, the battery alone remaining in Singapore at the Alexandra Barracks." Captain Blanford of the Malay States Guides gave evidence that Sikundar (*sic*) Khan was one of the men who had refused to go on active service and that he was a 'naik', a corporal, not a 'havildar', a sergeant.

The most notable point in the trial of Kassim Ismail Mansoor was that Sir Evelyn Ellis reiterated again and again that verification of the handwriting of the 'slip' attached to the 'treasonable' letter was irrelevant and further that inasmuch as Kassim had caused the 'treasonable' letter to be forwarded with the intention that it be reached to the

Turkish Consul — under cover of that ‘slip’ of unproven handwriting — the charge was “made out in its entirety, and for these reasons the prosecution submitted no reasonable person could possibly say that the letters had not been written by the person he alleged had written them”.

The defence led by Mr. L. E. Gaunt, assisted by V. D. Knowles and H. C. Cooke Yarborough, stressed that this 65-year-old man was innocent until proven otherwise. “This prisoner stood charged with treason, the gravest offence that could be alleged against him, but at that moment he was before them as an innocent man. He must be tried by the laws of evidence, and these letters up to now had not been proved as being evidence.” “Prisoner was referred to as a merchant well known to those with whom he did business and there must be many who knew his writing and his signature and yet no word or anything had been produced to make the letters evidence.” That point, replied Sir Evelyn, “was a fetish. The best evidence was the best available.” “There was no necessity for them to prove the handwriting, for they had connected the prisoner with the letters by other circumstances and associations.”

After a short retirement, the President said the Court had “given very serious consideration to the important point raised by the defence and it had decided that the case should continue and the letters held to be admissible as evidence”. It was on those letters of unverified handwriting that the prosecution’s case stood.

To further implicate Kassim Ismail Mansoor, if even tenuously, the Prosecution roped in Sergeant Major Abdul Wahid, a Malay member of the Straits Settlements Police and once again used a racist basis for their accusation: Abdul Wahid being a Malay (Muslim) and the accused being an Indian (Muslim), what could be the nature of their relationship other than a seditious purpose when Kassim invited the Sergeant Major to his Pasir Panjang house. At no time was there any understanding either by the prosecution, nor was this brought forward by the defence, that Islām — properly conceived — recognises no division according to race. From the Imperial government’s point of view those of different race would have no basis for any human contact, not even between Indian Muslims of different areas of origin within India, while yet the Colonial Secretary, R. J. Wilkinson would later emphasise “that the British Government is not a government of one nation or one religion”. As Reichstag Deputy Erzberger wrote in the *Tag* of Berlin, “England has embodied in her forces troops of all races, yellow, red and black; she would even enrol a spotted race if there existed one in the world”,<sup>73</sup> but this led to no sense of commonalty.

---

73. *The Straits Times*, 24 April 1915, 9.

In *The Straits Times* of 24 April (p. 9) Mr. Gaunt's efforts for the defence were reported. The accused, himself, was not called upon to testify. Mr. Gaunt argued that since all the letters between Kassim and his son in Rangoon had been opened by the censors and that on at least one occasion a letter had been enclosed in an erroneous envelope, any letter not deriving from Kassim might readily have been inserted into an envelope addressed by him to his son, and as there was a break in the links, there could be no chain.

Fundamentally, Mr. Gaunt "doubted very much whether there would be found a case on record where a civilian had been tried for treason before a court martial. Such a trial as that deprived the accused of his right to be tried by his equals. He had been deprived of the right of trial by a ballot of jurors of his own class. He had been deprived of the right of trial by a judge experienced in law, and there was the fact that counsel in a case like that was taken at a great disadvantage. In the ordinary course of trial before a jury, the charges and the evidence against the accused were placed before counsel perhaps weeks before the actual hearing at the Assizes. In this case, they were not permitted to know any allegations against the accused until they came into Court, and it was only in the past two days that the defence knew the man was to be tried or what evidence there was against him. In the place of a trial by jury chosen by ballot, he was being tried before five officers, who had been selected from a very small class of the public and chosen by one man." Mr. Gaunt went on to say that although the five members of the Court were experienced in handling men, nevertheless he could claim to have a larger knowledge of criminal affairs.

He "... asked the Court to put out of their minds all thoughts of the Mutiny of the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry on 15 February because that was not concerned with the case. It might be said that the accused had something to do with the members of the Malay States Guides' battery but he did not think any connection whatever could be shown between what the accused was alleged to have written and the mutiny." But given that of the 42 killed, 34 were Europeans — possibly some of their fellow officers, friends or acquaintances — it was unlikely that these British army judges could block the Mutiny from colouring their judgement. Mr. Gaunt asked the court to note that while Osman Khan, the alleged signatory of the letter had absconded on 19 January, the accused made no attempt to leave Singapore "while if he had a guilty mind he might have cleared out also".

As for allowing "native soldiery" to frequent his plantation, Mr. Gaunt found this "... too ridiculous to comment on. Why should not soldiery frequent his plantation? The next charge was of visiting the 5<sup>th</sup>

Light Infantry quarter-guard. Was there any suggestion that he went there or into the lines with a seditious purpose? Thousands of people in Singapore had visited the Alexandra Barracks. There was nothing in that charge whatsoever, nor in the charge relating to his acquaintance with Sergeant Major Abdul Wahid of the police who only makaned [ate] with the accused as he might have done with any other native friend."

Sir Evelyn Ellis in his reply maintained that "it was to his mind impossible to disassociate the actions of the accused from what had happened on 15 February. He could have had no proper reason for mixing with the soldiers. He was a merchant, they were soldiers, who came from a totally different part of India, who could not write his language, and if they could just manage to understand one another it was all that could be said."<sup>74</sup>

In *The Straits Times* of 4 May 1915 (p. 7) under the heading "The Mansoor Case: The Extreme Penalty for a Traitor" it was reported that Kassim was found not guilty on the first five charges. On the sixth, of "causing to be forwarded" in association with persons unknown the letter meant for the Ottoman Consul, he was found guilty. The seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth charges were not proven, but on the charge of "attempting to wage war on the King", the verdict was guilty. This decision was promulgated within the enclosure of the Singapore Criminal Prison on 3 May in the presence of Kassim Ismail Mansoor, his brother, his son and several friends. "The proceedings over, Mansoor evinced an inclination to speak but either could not or decided to remain silent. He was led back to his cell by the warders who supported him by his arms."

On 31 May, *The Straits Times* (p. 9), under the heading "Mansoor Executed: Fitting End For An Infamous Traitor", alleged that prior to his execution by hanging Kassim had made a statement admitting the guilt imputed to him. What witness there might have been to this alleged admission we are not informed. "His well-to-do circumstances gave him an air of being an influential man possessed of superior knowledge, and enabled him to impose, with ease, on the credulity of the somewhat ignorant men, whom he deluded into the belief that he was in a position to obtain help for them from the enemy. Later on, at the importunities of some of these misguided men, he took steps to place himself in communication with the agents of the enemy." Allegedly he addressed that letter "... in a moment of self-esteem, stimulated by the flattery and importunities of the deluded men". "He

---

74. *The Straits Times*, 24 April 1915, 9-10.

sincerely regretted his blind folly and accepted the retribution meted out to him as just and well deserved."

In a final note the newspaper stated that Kassim Ismail Mansoor was a native of Rander, a suburb of Surat, in the Bombay Presidency, and belonged to a "sect of Mohmedans (*sic*) known as Pinjaras (*sic*), a class noted for its business enterprise, thrift, loyalty and freedom from fanaticism".

In summary Court Martials which commenced on 23 February 1915, 126 Indian Muslim mutineers were tried; 37 were executed, 41 sentenced to transportation for life; eight for 20 years; 16 for 15 years, ten for ten years, two for seven years and 12 to various terms of "rigorous imprisonment" of from one to five years. It is notable that of the 126 tried, 126 were found guilty, surely a record in the history of jurisprudence. In reporting on one in a series of sentencings, *The Straits Times* of 19 April 1915 gave the soldiers numbers, but most were only additionally identified by their personal names; would it not have been otherwise had they been British servicemen?<sup>75</sup>

The Mutiny had its effect in the far north of Malaya. The Kelantan Uprising broke out at the end of April 1915. The Kelantanese were convinced the British were being defeated in the European war and the Mutiny had brought news of the killing of Europeans and the successes of the mutineers. "It was commonly accepted ... that all the European troops and all British battleships had left the East for Europe."<sup>76</sup>

J. de V. Allen pointed out that "... Kelantan Malays were convinced that Britain was losing the war and that, especially in view of the Singapore Mutiny which occurred January to March (*sic*) of 1915, she would be unable to send troops to Kelantan. The arrival of the 200 soldiers caused great surprise." Its leader To' Janggut intended "to drive out all Europeans and all foreigners of every nationality ...". George Maxwell, Acting Colonial Secretary, stressed that it was genuinely believed that the British Empire was on the verge of collapse at the time the uprising began. British dispatches suggested "... that what had happened had been a fairly widescale, if somewhat ill-organised, outburst of six years of opposition to British rule [1909-15]". And Allen makes the point "... that Britain never in fact enjoyed twenty-five consecutive

75. *Utusan Melayu* and *Lembaga Melayu*, Malay language newspapers, reported on the mutiny, but from their content it is obvious that both papers received their information from the same source as *The Straits Times*; *Utusan Melayu* gave only brief summaries, whereas *Lembaga Melayu*'s reports were almost verbatim.

76. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994) *op. cit.*, 312.

years of peaceful rule unchallenged by a Malay resistance movement of some kind".<sup>77</sup> Despite undue pressure, Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Johor managed to resist incorporation into "... a purely colonial-type administration, such as was associated with the F. M. S. [Federated Malay States] all over the Peninsula".<sup>78</sup>

Ibrahim Nik Mahmood confirms that the people of Kelantan had come to believe that the British might be defeated in the European war and, consequently, the Germans would overrun Kelantan! British alarm led them to advise the Sultan to convince his subjects of the 'absurdity' of the belief, and in compliance the Sultan issued a notice on 15 March referring to the superior strength of the Allies relative to that of the Germans. The outbreak in Pasir Puteh was perceived as a spark which might enkindle a state-wide rising; indeed, this might have been the outcome had To' Janggut not been killed. For several days, his body was hung upside down at the town's *padang*. Other leaders who were captured were later executed.<sup>79</sup>

For British-allied Japan, entranced with a vision of empire, the Mutiny was a welcomed opportunity. The First World War had withdrawn the bulk of Britain's forces, and therefore the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry was crucial to Singapore's defence. When they mutinied, there was only one British man-of-war in the harbour. Though Russians and French from ships in the harbour contributed their share to the repression, Japanese intervention was substantial. Besides the men from Japanese cruisers, the Japanese Consul recruited approximately two hundred of his nationals to patrol the island for a week. Mitsuharu Tsukuda in his book, *From the Nanyo* (Tokyo, 1916) spoke of the repercussions: "... the attitude of the British ... underwent a change ... . The attitude of the Chinese and the Malays also changed. All races, without exception, gave way to the Japanese on the footpath, the Japanese never before felt their shoulders to be so broad." "We were in military possession of a portion of British territory ... the flag of the

---

77. Re forces hostile to the British in Terengganu. J. de V. Allen, "The Ancien Regime in Trengganu, 1909-1919", *JMBRAS*, XLI, 1 (July 1968) 45, n. 102, states: "There is no single piece of evidence for the existence of a religious 'party' but frequent reference is made to 'priests' and 'the seyyids' until 1919 when a 'religious party' is clearly mentioned in Young to CO conf. of 4 June 1919, CO 273/487".

78. J. de V. Allen, "The Kelantan Rising of 1915: Some Thoughts on the Concept of Resistance in British Malayan History", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, IX, 2 (1968) 244, 245-6, 254, 256.

79. "The To' Janggut Rebellion of 1915" in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. Roff, W. R. (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974) 79, 83, 84.

Rising Sun was set up in the centre of Singapore ... . The Alexandra Barracks are in the heart of Singapore Island and Singapore is in the heart of Nanyo [Southeast Asia]."<sup>80</sup>

While Muslims half-way 'round the world from Japan saw her achievement of acquiring *'ilmu* — knowledge — science, technology, and thence military power, without surrendering her own values and culture as an example to be emulated, and Riau had thought of Japan as a liberator from the Dutch and restorer of lost prestige, the reality was that Japan perceived herself as an empire and the repression of the Mutiny conjured up visions of imperial splendour. Japan, far from being a liberator, helped put down an anti-colonial revolt by a part of the *umma*,<sup>81</sup> the same world-wide community of Muslims. And yet into the forties this wishful perception of Japan would persist. The tragedy is that Japan could have been that liberator, but her thrust was for equality for herself and her people and to be an equal — if not the first of equals — among the world colonial powers. Thus did she place herself on the wrong side of history.

Among Singapore Muslims and anti-colonialists generally the repression of the Mutiny, led by *umma*-conscious Muslims who would not fight the Muslim Ottomans on behalf of the British Empire, understandably generated considerable discontent. It is to the discredit of Syed Omar from the prominent Alsagoff<sup>82</sup> (al-Saqqaf) family and

---

80. Yuen, *op. cit.*, 115–18.

81. *Umma*, Qur'ānic word for people, community, bringing together people of very different stocks and nations to form a higher unity, which the Ottoman Khalīfat embodied and which was the only independent Muslim power left in the face of the growing colonial control by the European powers.

82. "To the commercial development of Singapore many Arab traders have made important contributions. Among them are Messrs. Alsagoff & Co., whose business was established about sixty years ago by Abdulrahman Alsagoff. When this gentleman first left Arabia he traded between Melaka and Java in his own vessels. His son Ahmed married Raja Sitti, the daughter of Hadjee Fatima, Sultana of Gowa, in Celebes, who carried on a large trade, owning many vessels and prahus. It was not until she died that the business was carried on under the name of her son-in-law, Syed Ahmed, although he had managed it during her lifetime. The business developed largely, and Syed Ahmed died in Singapore a very rich man. He was succeeded by his son, Syed Mahomed, and the present proprietor of the concern is Syed Omar Alsagoff, nephew of Syed Mahomed and grandson of Abdulrahman Alsagoff. It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do more than give the bare outline of Messrs. Alsagoff's extensive operations. They do a large business in the export of every kind of local produce and woods to Arabia and Europe, including the products — rubber, sago, coconuts, coffee, cocoa, and pineapples — of their own large estate at Cocub, Johore. The Perseverance Estate, the Straits Cycle and Motor Company, and the Express Saw Mill Company — one of the largest saw-mills in the East — are the property of this firm, who also import spices from

Syed Muhammad 'Aqil (Akil)<sup>83</sup> — one of the founding supporters of *al-Imām* — that at this critical juncture they volunteered their services to the British Colonial Secretary to calm the situation. On 6 March, they organised a meeting at Victoria Hall, reportedly attended by three thousand people as well as the traditional leaders of the various Muslim communities: 'Arabs, Indians and Malays. In the presence of the Colonial Secretary, R. J. Wilkinson, they committed themselves to sending a telegram to His Majesty the King of England "... expressing the absolute loyalty of all Mohamedans (*sic*) in the Colony, a loyalty which has never changed, and never will change". This having been read out, the Colonial Secretary rose and, speaking in Malay, expressed his pleasure at their loyalty and devotion and went on to say that "the British Government is not a government of one nation or one religion ... . There are 'Arabs and Hindus, Indians, Malays and Chinese and many others." He spoke of 100,000 Indian troops fighting for the Empire! He referred to what had happened in the island and said: "There may be hearts in Singapore which are sore, but there are also here those who would soothe any pains". The British Government had always taken care to protect the customs and religions of the different

---

*continued from page 33*

Banda, Moluccas. As many as two hundred men are employed at Cocub and forty in Singapore. The firm convey many Mahomedan pilgrims every year to Mecca, and it is noteworthy that Messrs. Alsagoff & Co. are the owners of the Raffles Hotel buildings." *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, eds. Wright, A. and Cartwright, H. A. (London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., 1908) 705–7.

83. Syed Muhammad 'Aqil (Akil) b. Yahya was born in Masila in Ḥaḍramawt. He came to Singapore at the age of fifteen and resided there most of the time. He read an enormous number of religious works and works of general reference, and thus while young obtained considerable knowledge of international affairs. As a young man he corresponded with Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq (from Lebanon), the editor of the Istanbul 'Arab pioneer paper *al-Jawā'ib*. Syed Muhammad knew 'Umar Tusun Pāshā and Khedīve 'Abbās II well. He often met the latter when he was in Cairo in 1903 and again ten years later. Syed Muhammad also knew Aḥmad Mukhtār Pāshā, previously Governor of Yaman (Yemen), and was a close confidante of its ruler Imām Yaḥyā. When the Ottomans fought to stem the Italian aggression on Ṭarāblus (Tripoli), Libya, Syed Muhammad collected money for the cause of Islām. He had many Syrian acquaintances and knew many Egyptian newspapermen. He met Sharīf Ḥusayn in Makka in 1914. They became friends because 'Aqil was on intimate terms with the Muftī of Makka, Syed 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad Šāliḥ al-Zawāwī who had been in Singapore and whom he accompanied to Japan in 1898/9, and al-Zawāwī and Sharīf Ḥusayn attended the same school in Makka and later went together to Istanbul. When Sharīf Ḥusayn became King, he was annoyed with Syed Muhammad when he refused his pressing invitation to come and live in Makka. For his life, see FO 371/5236. Lee-Warner to the Under-Secretary of State,

*continued on page 35*

nationalities in the Empire,<sup>84</sup> and he emphasised that "there are more Mohamedans under the rule of our Government than there are Europeans". "Our policy is only one — that is Peace." "If there is no peace in Singapore, the property and possessions of the people will be injured and lives lost. Those who break the peace of this country are the enemies of the people of Singapore." (Applause!) If anyone's heart was "sore" they could either see him or Syed Omar!

Mirza Mohammad Ali Namazee rose and characterised the mutineers as "demented and senseless people". "No one could conceive that these base men should have so degraded our religion." "According to the precepts of our faith the King is considered the shadow of The Most High and our faith teaches us that to him we must give implicit obedience." "We all regard these mutineers with the very deepest horror and contempt." He hoped the colonial government would not harbour any doubts of their deep sincerity in the expression of their loyalty. 'Arabs spoke, and even an Egyptian teacher who urged those gathered to remember the "might and power of the British Emperor" and went on to eulogise the British colonial Government of Egypt. The speaker then exhorted those assembled "peacefully to mind their own business, following their trades and avocations in quietness".

Colonial Secretary Wilkinson concluded by referring to the assistance the colonial government had had from Syed Omar's son who served as a Commissioner on the Municipal Board. "I shall be very pleased to see the sons of the Mohamedan people learn the English language, customs and rules, so that in the days to come they can join in ruling this country, because the Mohamedan people are really the inhabitants of this island."

Haji Mohamed Yusoff Imam on behalf of Tengku Ibrahim expressed the most hearty thanks of the people of Kampung Glam — the area surrounding the old *istana* (palace) occupied by the descendants

---

*continued from page 34*

Foreign Office, Downing Street, 15 July 1920: enclosure Memorandum A, 3–4, cited in Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "Arab political activities and colonial reactions in Malaya before World War II" (unpublished paper, Leiden: Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 8–12 December 1997) 11, n. 38, and see *infra* 37–8, 42–8 and 66, n. 160.

84. Not only did the British reserve for the Malay rulers in Malaya the power over Islām and Malay custom but they gave similar state-religion status to Buddhism in Burma.

of Sultan Husain since the early 1800s — for the good words that had been spoken.<sup>85</sup>

Thus did the class interests of those concerned with the security of their properties and their position in colonial society override any concern for those subjugated by colonial power, be it Dutch or British, let alone for the survival of the Ottoman Khalīfat, the *umma*'s only remaining military power, however weakened it might be.

*The Splits Within: Sāda v. Non-Sāda 'Arabs*

But there were other unspoken reasons for this overt alignment with the colonial British. While Syed Mohamed Alsagoff, a principal 'Arab leader in Singapore who died in 1906, had had intimate relations with the Ottomans which brought him under British suspicion, his nephew Syed Omar Alsagoff had come under the influence of Brigadier-General Dudley Ridout, the General Officer Commanding the Troops, Straits Settlements. The General had led Syed Omar to concur with his views on 'Turkish misrule' and its 'domination by Germany'. Syed Omar was then to become the first leading 'Arab to disown the Ottomans and to switch support to the British-aligned Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, the Grand Sharīf of Makka.<sup>86</sup> As tangible evidence of his conversion, Syed Omar offered the British the use of certain of his 'fully and handsomely furnished' residential properties in Jidda.<sup>87</sup>

Sharīf Ḥusayn's revolt against Ottoman rule in the Hijāz (now part of Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya) — after a British commitment of support — was a blessing for the British in the war they declared against the Ottomans in November 1914 for it split the allegiance of the Muslim *umma*. Sharīf Ḥusayn even exploited the Qibla — the direction to which Muslims turn in prayer — by using it as the title for his propagandising

85. "Moslem Mass Meeting: Address of Loyalty to the King", *The Malaya Tribune*, 8 March 1915. The *Tribune* also reported that preliminary to this meeting, on 27 February, a meeting was held in the Alsagoff family residence. Among those present were "S. M. bin Aqil, S. A. [undoubtedly Syed Omar] Alsagoff, A. M. S. Angullia, Serang [labour contractor] Mohamed Yusof, Sheik Daud, H. M. Hakim, Sheikh Awad Saadan [Saidan/Sa'aidan], and Inche Mohamed Eunos [b. Abdullah, see 'His Times', 129, ed. n. 106, and 131–2 *infra* and 'Demand for the Improvement ...', 184, ed. n. 8 *infra*]". The same Syed Muhammad 'Aqil and Shaykh Awad Saadan had been involved in *al-Imām*.

86. See 55–67 *infra* on the Ottoman-appointed Sharīf of Makka and his subsequent betrayal of Ottoman interests in the British-backed 'Arab Revolt.

87. Unless stated to the contrary, the information on the alignment of the 'Arabs in Singapore is from Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "Arab political activities ..." (1997) 5–13.

newspaper. This the British also used; they fed out *al-Qibla*'s anti-Ottoman, pro-British propaganda to the 'Arabs of Singapore and Malaya. Even after the war and the Ottoman's defeat, British apprehension of the expatriate 'Arabs — also in Batavia — led to their maintaining a close surveillance spanning 'Adan (Aden), Cairo, the Federated Malay States, Singapore and Batavia.

The 'silent social grievance' under the surface in Ḥaḍramī 'Arab communities, resulting from the contradiction between the reputed descendants of Prophet Muḥammad, the Sāda (plural of Sayyid, Syeds) and the non-Sāda, was another dimension of ideological alignment.<sup>88</sup> The non-Sāda, who in 1913 formed the Jam'iyat al-İşlāḥ wa'l-Irshād al-'Arabī (Society of 'Arab Reformation and Guidance) in Java, were actively critical of pro-British 'Arabs. The Irshād strongly condemned Sharīf Ḥusayn's collaboration with the British and the French during the 'Arab Revolt as collusion to dismember the Ottoman Khalīfat. The Sulṭān of Ḥaḍramawt, Ghālib b. 'Awad al-Qu'ayli accused Irshād of being 'Bolshevik' and its struggle a threat not only to al-Mukallā and to the Netherlands Indies, but also to the British Empire! The Sulṭān referred to the British power as "my friend Britannia" and requested the Governor of Singapore and the Consul-General in Batavia to discredit the Irshād in order "to disperse their unity and disable their thorn".

The British colonial power needed detailed intelligence on the anti-British 'Arabs, more likely than not the non-Sāda. Syed Muhammad 'Aqil (Akil) was a trusted confidante of R. J. Wilkinson, the Colonial Secretary and the Officer Administering the Government of the Straits Settlements. 'Aqil, and possibly Shaykh Awad Saidan — both from the original backers of *al-Imām* — supplied the British with information on Muslim affairs.<sup>89</sup> They were considered to have obtained illicit wealth from the colonial authorities as a reward for sundering the unity of the Muslims and the Ottomans. Shaykh Awad Saidan was also accused of collecting false Ḥadīth of the Prophet which he translated into Malay and circularised claiming that the Khalīfat should be held by an 'Arab.<sup>90</sup>

88. Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Uraydī b. Ja'far al-Şādiq (the great-grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), called al-Muhājir, 'the Emigrant', was the legendary ancestor of the Ḥaḍramī Syeds/Sayyids (pl. Sāda). His grandsons Başrī, Jadīd and 'Alawī settled in Sumal, six miles from Tarīm in Ḥaḍramawt. Since 1127 this town has been the centre of the Bā'Alawī family in its wider sense, i.e. the offspring of the 'Alawī mentioned above. The term 'Alawī refers only to Sāda. See also Bujra, A. S., "Political Conflict and Stratification in Hadramaut", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 3, 4 (1967) 356.

89. FO 371/5236, Lee-Warner, *op. cit.*, 2, and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "Arab Political Activities ..." (1997) *op. cit.*, n. 39.

It was alleged he went to the extent of posting this leaflet on the walls of the Singapore Grand Masjid.<sup>91</sup>

The Sāda — Syeds — insisted on maintaining their status as it was in the Ḥaḍramawt social structure. They claimed to have spiritual authority (*sulṭa rūhīya*) through which they exercised socio-religious control and perpetuated social divisions.<sup>92</sup> Hypergamous marriage symbolised the closed stratification system, which relegated non-Sāda to a lower status.<sup>93</sup> These issues were very much alive even in expatriate Ḥaḍramī societies.

In 1905, a Sharīfa (female equivalent of Syed) married an Indian Muslim with her parents' consent. Allegedly it was the same Syed Muhammad 'Aqil who referred the matter to the editor of *al-Manār* asking if such a marriage was lawful. Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, disciple of al-ustāz al-imām — master and guide — al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, gave his opinion which he published in *al-Manār*. He began by referring to *al-Manār*'s 1904 article on the question of equality of ancestry explaining that this is a controversial issue. In essence he wrote that if the woman's guardian or in the absence of a guardian, the woman, herself, accepts a man of "unknown noble ancestry" "... then the contract is sound, because she discarded the condition of compatibility [of lineage]".<sup>94</sup> In 1904 he had ruled that "... every man is an equal, if his marriage does not bring shame to his people or to the woman's people. Therefore it is said that a man of learning is equal to a daughter of a nobleman or a wealthy person, though his ancestry is poor or unknown, as knowledge is the most honourable quality, and it brings no shame. Equality varies with time and place."<sup>95</sup>

---

90. The contention that the *imāmate* — Khalīfat — belongs to the Quraysh reflected the historical fact that the world of Islām in early centuries was ruled by Makkān families. Although the Ottoman Khalīfat was abolished by Atatürk (Muṣṭafā Kemāl) in 1924, sympathy continued to exist among the 'Arabs of Singapore. When attempts were made at its resurrection, these were enthusiastically pursued by Syed Hassan b. Abdullah al-'Attas; see 66, n. 160 *infra*.

91. FO 371/5236. Dunn, Consul, British Consulate General, Batavia to Earl Curzon of Kedleston, 18 May 1920, 2; enclosure translation of *Islam Bergerak* (Islām Astir, edited by K. Anang, see 17, n. 39 *supra*), 11 (10 April 1920). Dunn suspected the article to have been written by the Secretary of the Turkish Consul-General in Batavia. Re Dunn, see 42 *infra*.

92. Safie Ibrahim, "Islamic Religious Thought in Malaya, 1930–40" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York: Columbia University, 1987) 226.

93. Information on the Ḥaḍramī split is from Bujra, "Political Conflict and Stratification in Hadramaut", *op. cit.*, 356–63, as well as Safie Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, 226–37.

94. *al-Manār*, VIII, 6 (16 Rabī' al-Awwal 1323/21 May 1905) 216. Translated by MSRI.

95. *al-Manār*, VII, 10 (30 July 1904) 384. Translated by MSRI.

The Sāda were incensed, and the leading Ḥaḍramī 'ālim at that time, Syed 'Umar b. Sālim al-'Aṭṭās of Padang, Sumatra, issued a counter *fatwā* (formal legal opinion) ruling the marriage to be unlawful. Syed 'Umar, coming from the Sāda — who considered themselves 'masters' — held that all Muslims are the slaves of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Khalīfa, kinsman and son-in-law of Prophet Muḥammad, as well as of all descendants of 'Alī, which the Sāda claim themselves to be.<sup>96</sup> Since the non-Sāda are the slaves of the Sāda, the Syeds, the marriage broke the rule of *kafā'a* or equality of status; 'Arab women generally cannot marry non-'Arabs, and Sāda women cannot marry non-Sādā, and so on. He went so far as to argue that *sharaf*, nobility, was inherent in the Prophet's lineage and no accomplishment of any kind by the non-Sāda could achieve that nobility. The parents' consent to the marriage was irrelevant since he contended that Islām, itself, forbade such a union.

The *fatwā* was sent to Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā who published a reply ruling that descent (*nasab*) has nothing to do with *kafā'a*. Considerations of descent are against the teaching and spirit of Islām which insists on the equality of all Muslims, irrespective of race or tribe, and nobility is achieved by a person's deeds, especially in piety, and not by ascription through lineage. He therefore denied the Sāda had any special nobility or status by virtue of their reputed descent from Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>97</sup>

In 1913, in the Central Javanese city of Solo, Shaykh Aḥmad Surkatī (who was to become the leader of Irshād),<sup>98</sup> at a meal attended by most of the Solo 'Arab community, spoke with concern of the situation of a Sharīfa — female equivalent of Syed — who was living with a Chinese. When his suggestion that money be collected to enable her to extricate

96. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900–1942* (Singapore/Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973) 62, n. 86.

97. *al-Manār*, VIII, 15 (30 Sept. 1905) 580–8 includes al-'Aṭṭās' *fatwā* and Rashīd Riḍā's final commentary. VIII, 24 (10 Feb. 1906) 955–7 reproduces a letter from Syed Hasan b. Alawi b. Shihab, a Ḥaḍramī from Singapore, and asks readers to refer to the previous article for Riḍā's opinion. Also see Ṣalāh al-Bakrī, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Siyāsī* (Cairo: Maktaba Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1956) 247–53.

98. Shaykh Aḥmad Surkatī (b. 1872 in Sūdān, d. 1943), who devoted most of his life to study and who in 1906 received the highest certificate given to a religious teacher by the Ottoman government in Istanbul, was later to be vilified by the Sāda as the "foreign intruder ... fission fungus ... violator of order and peace ... the enemy of the fatherland ... the negro ... the schoolmaster ... the Sudanese ... the sower of dissension ... the teacher of false doctrine who deserved lashing, and who should be shunned". See Schrieke, B., "De Strijd onder de Arabieren in pers en literatuur", *Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, LVIII (1920) 198, 201–3, cited in Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 66, n. 104.

herself from this unlawful situation brought no response, he proposed to find a Muslim who would be prepared to marry her. The Syeds objected for reasons of *kafā'a* (*ebenbürtigkeit*) as a Sharīfa could only be married to a Syed (although none of them proposed doing so).<sup>99</sup> One can only conclude that in their world-view both the existing extra-marital relationship or the proposed alternative of marriage to a non-Sāda Muslim were equally repugnant!

Yearly, the Sāda/Syeds of Jakarta would send a delegate throughout Indonesia to record the births of all Sāda babies whose names were entered into a register. It is not known if a similar record was maintained for Singapore and Malaya or if the Jakarta register might have included them. Additionally, within the Sāda those belonging to families of the *mansībs*, spiritual and mental directors of local communities in Ḥaḍramawt, enjoyed a higher status.<sup>100</sup>

In Ḥaḍramawt and in the east, the Sāda and their disciples had always been the ultimate religious authority and their interpretation of Islām predominated in Ḥaḍramī society. Thus the non-Sāda had recourse to appeal to an outside authority in order to question the basic tenets of Sāda teaching. The non-Sāda, the Irshādīs, held that until then the Sāda had 'captured and corrupted their minds', 'poisoned their thinking', and made them 'worship' the Sāda.

Consider how in villages the children of the Ba'Alwi [Sāda] already look down upon the villagers. Hear how in playing

---

*continued from page 39*

"These personal attacks on Ahmad Surkati may with advantage be explained. It can easily be understood that the democratic idea of equality shows itself chiefly among those 'Arabs who in their own country are reckoned as belonging to the lower classes, but in this country [Indonesia] by their indefatigable industry, commercial talent and good luck have acquired considerable wealth. Just like the Sayyids, they have not much education to boast of — many of them can neither read nor write — but the more progressive Sheikhs (as the non-Sayyids are generally called in these parts) had in the Sudanese Ahmad Surkati an intellectual champion, against whom the other party have no one of equal calibre to put forward. So all their ineffectual hatred concentrated itself mainly upon Surkati, who moreover was looked upon and despised as a non-Hadramī and an intruder." See B. Schrieke to Dr. T. W. Arnold, India Department, British Foreign Office, Colonial Office Records, Series 273, vol. 505, File No. 51362, Foreign Office to Colonial Office, 15 October 1920 enclosure, in *The History of South-East, South and East Asia, Essays and Documents*, ed. Khoo Kay Kim (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1977) 138.

99. Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 62, n. 87.

100. *Ibid.*, 57 and n. 71.

together with village children, they as 'grandsons of the Prophet' boast of their holiness and how they claim to be able to curse others ... . Look how the 'Syed' children ... squeeze the poor villagers who do not dare to deny the request of 'uan Syed' or 'uan Seripah' for fear of being cursed and who believe that they will be blessed in return for their act of giving something to people considered to be saints ... .

Look how the villagers have not the courage to reject the request of 'Mr. Syed' who approaches them for their daughter's hand. They do not dare to mention the amount of the dowry and leave this to the discretion of 'Mr. Syed'.<sup>101</sup>

The Irshādī accused the Sāda of using Islām to maintain inequality and their superior status, of teaching people *khurāfat*, superstition (*khurāfa*, nonsense) such as kissing (*taqbīl*) the hands of the Sāda, 'worshipping' their shrines, insisting on exclusive terminology for themselves, mandating that only they should be in the front when offering prayers;<sup>102</sup> they were the reactionaries who had kept Ḥaḍramawt in 'darkness and ignorance'. And they pointedly reminded that Prophet Muḥammad had no descendants except through his daughter Fāṭima and that 'Arab society was patrilineal'.<sup>103</sup> The Irshādī insisted that all people were equal and deliberately used 'Syed', which they treated as the equivalent of 'Mr.', to address everyone. They advocated intermarriage between the three non-Sāda strata in Ḥaḍramī society, including the *masākīn*, the poor, and the peasants.<sup>104</sup>

101. *Titel Sayid Djadi Urusan, Pemerintah Tjampur Tangan? Keterangan dan Penerangan Djelas Tentang Hak dan Hukum jang Njata Didalam Islam* (The Title 'Syed' a Matter for Government Involvement? A Clear Statement and Explanation Concerning Rules and Rights in Islām) (Djakarta: Perserikatan al-Irshād, 1932), cited in Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 68.

102. In Bandrusi, Central Java, in 1933, the 'Alawī (Syeds) and Irshādī fought in a *maṣjid* for the first row in prayer. And physical assaults were made on Jailani (n. 104). Such assaults recurred at least as late as 1940. See Safie Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, 236.

103. Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 68.

104. In the 1930s, non-Sāda ideological vigour manifested itself not only in the quantity of the material they published and spread among the 'Arabs of Singapore, but in its quality. Abdul Wahid al-Jailani, the editor of *al-Hudā* played the most important intellectual role. He contended that there was no clear evidence, due to many factual errors, in the 'Alawī's claim to be 'children of the Prophet'. "Aḥmad b. 'Isā, who is he?", *al-Hudā* (21 November 1932). He regarded the Sāda as chauvinists "... who wanted to replace the Islāmic system with Brahmanic paganism" whereby certain people would be held sacred. *al-Hudā* (28 March 1932) 5, cited in Safie Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, 230.

The Sāda, in turn, accused the Irshādī of being *khārijīs*, ‘seceders’,<sup>105</sup> and of introducing ‘Bolshevik’ ideas. They went to the extent of asking the Sharīf of Makka to stop the Irshādī from making the pilgrimage! Relatives of Irshād members or even of their sympathisers who were living in Ḥaḍramawt faced difficulties laid down by the *manāsīb* or ruling group who were related to the Sāda/Syeds back in Indonesia/Malaya.<sup>106</sup> The British Consulate in Batavia was led to refuse passports for Ḥaḍramawt — over which Britain held a Protectorate which they ruled from ‘Adan (Aden) — to all Ḥaḍramīs suspected of leanings towards Irshād. B. Schrieke, who in his capacity of Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken (Adviser for Internal Affairs) kept watch over Islāmīc movements in Indonesia and advised the Dutch authorities accordingly, was to caution Dr. T. W. Arnold of the British Foreign Office as follows:

By a ceaseless campaign in *Iqbal*, the organ of the Sayyids, by biased information, by which the Straits Government was also (I fear) deceived through Sayyid Muhammad bin Agil, who is responsible for much trouble during the War, some persons succeeded in establishing the dangerous character of the *Irshad* group.<sup>107</sup>

Whether or not Schrieke’s letter should be credited, in December 1920 the British rescinded the ban and officially announced that “henceforth the members of *Irshad* will be able to obtain passports without any objection”.<sup>108</sup>

The contradictions within the ‘Arab component of the Malayan-Indonesian forces of Islāmīc revival are best illustrated in the writings of Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā when he compiled a biographical memoriam in three parts on the 1931 death of Syed Muḥammad ‘Aqil, which we have translated and now excerpt.

On 14 Rabī’ al-Awwal 1350 A. H./July 1931 A. D., ‘Alī Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl, “One Crying”, and ‘Abd Allāh Yaḥyā, “One full of Sadness”, from al-Ḥudaydah, al-Yaman (Yemen), informed Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, editor of *al-Manār* in Cairo, that Syed Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl b. Yaḥyā had died the day before, after suffering three weeks of high fever. His coffin was carried in an official procession by army pall-

---

105. The *Khawārij* — ‘those who went out’ — held that any believer was eligible to be Khalifa or *imām*, even though he be a non-‘Arab or even a slave.

106. Schrieke, “De Strijd ...” (1920) *op. cit.*, 240, cited in Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 67.

107. Schrieke to Dr. T. W. Arnold, India Department, British Foreign Office, *op. cit.*, 140.

108. Schrieke, “De Strijd ...” (1920) *op. cit.*, 240, cited in Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 67.

bearers and was given a gun-salute, a "respect usually reserved for important figures of state".<sup>109</sup> Rashīd Riḍā was later to publish their letter with the notation that it was received "at a time when *al-Manār* was not allowed to be published"! He then drafted some preliminary notes on Syed Muḥammad's life, but when he returned from an Islāmic meeting in Palestine, he found "... they had been disposed of by the cleaners!"<sup>110</sup>

Rashīd Riḍā recounts his first coming to know Syed Muḥammad through his writings in *al-Mu'ayyad* under the pseudonym Saif al-Dīn al-Yamanī ('The Sword of the Religion' from al-Yaman).<sup>111</sup> He then tells of Syed Muḥammad having distributed *al-Manār* and of the 1906 establishment in Singapore of *al-Imām* which was to render in Malay many of *al-Manār*'s reformist articles. But he goes on to record in detail what he politely calls the differences of opinion between himself and Syed Muḥammad. The first concerned Syed Muḥammad's denouncement of the Umayyad Khalīfa al-Mu'āwiya:<sup>112</sup> "the Shī'a of the 'Alawī'<sup>113</sup> sect had initiated the problem in the whole of Indonesia. I was requested to give a *fatwā* [formal legal opinion] on the matter, and I ruled [in XII, 5 (1909) 339] that this should be prohibited because of its negative effect and the danger it constitutes as it would divide and

109. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 1 (October 1931) 80. Translating now from 'Arabic, diacritical marks are added, also on 'Aqīl.

110. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 3 (March 1932) 238.

111. While Rashīd Riḍā goes on to praise Syed Muḥammad, he also notes that "he married several times, having two, three or four wives at any one time and was blessed with a lot of children. In 1913, I was told that his children and grandchildren exceeded fifty in number, living in different countries. He did not know all of them individually and had no knowledge of the number who had died among them. However this state of family affairs never interfered with his business or his scientific and political researches." (*Ibid.*, 239.)

112. Syed Muḥammad 'Aqīl's attack on Mu'āwiya reflected the Shī'a position that 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, husband of Faṭīma the daughter of the Prophet, should have been Khalīfa on the death of Nabī Muḥammad. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 661–80) established the Umayyad (Banū Umayya) dynasty which continued until 750 A. D. They were descendants of the Makkan aristocracy which had fought Islām in its early stages. Under Mu'āwiya, the Khalīf ceased to be the executor or continuator of the *sunna* of Muḥammad, nevertheless the unprecedented triumph of the 'Arab movement took place under the banner of the religion of the Qur'ān, and Islām established itself as a universalist religion. While under the Umayyads, the Khalīfa became one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, Mu'āwiya preserved the frank, familiar manners of an 'Arab chief of pre-Islāmic times and moved among other 'Arab chiefs as *primus inter pares*. Also see Arnold, T. W., "Khalīfa", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op.cit.*, 236–41 and G. Levi Della Vida, "Umayyads", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, London: Luzac, 1934) IV, 998–1004.

113. See n. 88 *supra*.

separate the Muslim *umma* [world-wide Muslim community],<sup>114</sup> while having no observable benefit."<sup>115</sup>

"Then the propaganda in Indonesia condemning those who were not from Ahl al-Bayt<sup>116</sup> [People of the House of the Prophet] and their descendants got worse. Among its leaders was Muḥammad 'Aqīl's teacher, Syed Abū Bakr b. Shihāb ... . As we anticipated, the chasm between the contenders became wider and wider. At that time [1913], a new society called al-Irshād — Society for Guidance — came into existence. The objective of the society was to provide academic and religious education through its schools ...: al-Irshād was very concerned to disseminate the teachings of al-Qur'ān and the Sunna and was adamantly against superstition and the superstitious practices that were spreading. This made them to be at loggerheads with the 'Alawīyīn,<sup>117</sup> as they refused to recognise the superiority of their lineage. The attitude of al-Irshād was construed by the 'Alawīyīn as an attack on and rudeness to their scholars and leaders ... ."<sup>118</sup>

"I was requested by al-Irshād to provide some teachers for its schools, and I fulfilled this request on the basis of co-operating in goodness and in being God-fearing, and goodness and God-fearing can only come through knowledge. This brought Syed Muḥammad to write to me criticising my providing help to the society which had gone astray and led others astray. His description of it was worse than that! Later on, some members of the 'Alawīyīn spread the word that I had helped

---

114. See n. 81 *supra*.

115. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 3 (March 1932) 239. Subsequent to Rashīd Riḍā's 1909 ruling, as reported in *al-Manār*, XII, 12 (1909) 953–5. Syed Muḥammad 'Aqīl wrote and published *al-Nasā'ih* (Advices) in defence of his anti-Mu'āwiya position. See Bluhm, Jutta E., "A Preliminary Statement on the Dialogue Established Between the Reform Magazine *al-Manār* and the Malayo-Indonesian World", *Indonesia Circle*, 32 (November 1983) 38.

116. 'People of the House': origin in strong clan sense of pre-Islāmic 'Arabs: *al-bayt* applied to ruling family of a tribe: those to whom a share of the *ṣadaqa* — alms — is forbidden. Current orthodox view is that the *ahl al-bayt* includes the *ahl al-'abā'*: the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭima, their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, together with the wives of the Prophet: families of 'Alī include Ṭālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim. Imāms Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa extended the definition to include all Banū Hāshim and Imām Shāfi'ī enlarged to include the Banū Muṭṭalib as well. See Goldziher, I., Arendonk, van-, C., and Tritton, A. S., "Ahl al-Bayt", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edn., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986) I, 258.

117. Plural of 'Alawī, see n. 88 *supra*.

118. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 3 (March 1932) 239–40.

al-Irshād against them. I did not and do not help except with what I believe is the truth. If I were to follow my passions I would have been with the 'Alawīyīn because I am one of them, and those who have knowledge amongst them know this."<sup>119</sup>

Rashīd Riḍā then reports that Syed Muḥammad was a "... blind follower of Ahl al-Bayt, the Zaydī *mazhab* (school of law)".<sup>120</sup> He went to the extent of trying to convince King Ḥusayn (of Makka) to spread this school in the Ḥijāz and to base religious judgments upon it rather than on the Ḥanafī *mazhab* which had been imposed on the rulers of Makka by the Ottomans. King Ḥusayn refused and was angry with Syed Muḥammad. "This could have been the reason for Syed Muḥammad's letters from Makka condemning the King for his evil, his harshness, the deplorable state of his prisons, and numerous other condemnations which I published at that time, as I had depended on him in this matter."<sup>121</sup>

Syed Muḥammad then attempted to influence the Shaykh of al-Azhar to make the Zaydī school of law part of the teaching curriculum, but he refused. "I was not against this effort because the Zaydī school of law is like any of the other four schools of law taught at al-Azhar; the differences being secondary and not primary. On the other hand, I was against the excesses in paying homage or rather worshipping the Ahl al-Bayt ... . This tyrannical attitude was highly unsuitable given the present current of thinking where freedom of thought and choice, and equality and democracy are the trend. Furthermore, what could they achieve through these excesses?"<sup>122</sup>

---

119. *Ibid.*, 240.

120. In practice a fifth *mazhab* (school of law). 'The practical group of the Shī'a': distinguished from the Ithnā 'Asharīya and the Sab'īya by the recognition of Zayd b. 'Alī, the grandson of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib who was the first to try to wrest the Khalīfat from the Umayyads by armed rebellion after the catastrophe at Karbalā' (see n. 128 *infra*). The essential demand on their *imām* is that he be of the *ahl al-bayt* (see n. 116 *supra*), without any distinction between Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids, i.e. no succession by inheritance. The founder of the Zaydī state in al-Yaman (Yemen) was al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Husayn. For centuries the Zaydīs waged war with the Ottoman Turks. The kingdom was established by the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yahyā who in 1904 moved against the Ottomans and in November 1918 definitely occupied Ṣan'ā'. See Strothmann, R., "al-Zaidīya", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit.*, 651-3. In 1962 al-Yaman was declared a Republic. Its people are Shāfi'ī and Zaydī.

121. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 3 (March 1932) 240.

122. *Ibid.*

In a further instalment of this biographical memoriam, Rashīd Riḍā wrote: "I am of the belief that the gravest threat facing Islām is the dissension and division within the *umma*. The most dangerous is the difference between the Ahl al-Sunna [Sunnīs] and the Shī'a.<sup>123</sup> a more critical issue than even the apostacy of the renegades ... . I also believe that the excesses of the followers of the 'Alawīyīn ... are more dangerous to themselves ... ." Rashīd Riḍā then refers to the 'Alawīyīn's enmity to the Banū Umayya and their attitude that their Imāms, the Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt, were more worthy than the Umayya to be leaders of the *umma*, and that given the freedom of choice the *umma* would have chosen them.<sup>124</sup>

"I also believe that the greatest danger to the descendants of these Righteous Imāms is the complex ingrained in them that the honour of lineage is greater than the honour of knowledge and deed for the grandeur of the *umma*, and that their lineage is above worldly pursuits of name and possessions, and hence most of them frown upon hard work for the general benefit of the *umma*. They believe that it is their superior lineage that makes kings bow and kiss their hands and the rich to provide large sums of money to them. They have become illusioned by these pretensions of superiority. The *Sharī'a* of Islām prohibits the descendants of Prophet Muḥammad from taking a share of the alms as an honour to them, but the 'Alawīyīn have allowed this for themselves because of this fascination with their own lineage. They erroneously believe that the respect and kissing of their hands by wealthy people is the rightful thing to be done and the alms given to them are part of their right and heritage."<sup>125</sup>

"When I saw that Syed Muḥammad and his teacher Syed Abū Bakr b. Shihāb were trying to spread excessive demands for the respect of

---

123. General name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting point of all being the recognition of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as the legitimate Khalīfa after the death of Prophet Muḥammad; see also 'Alids in Glossary.

124. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 4 (April 1932) 315–16.

125. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 4 (April 1932) 316. "I was told by Ṣādiq Bāshā, a well-known nobleman of Makka, that he had wanted to educate his children in the state school but that he was told by the Chief Secretary of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [thus pre-1909] that the Sulṭān did not condone this, as he felt it was beneath the dignity of the descendants of the Prophet to mix with commoners in school, when even worldly people kissed their hands as a form of supplication for their blessings. Ṣādiq Bāshā then brought a teacher to instruct his children at home, and even this was not acceptable to the Sulṭān ... as he did not want children from the Ahl al-Bayt to be educated and knowledgeable about the fundamentals of religion and the *Sharī'a*, as this might lead them to aspire for power." *Ibid.*

the 'Alawīyīn and were insisting on their superiority over others because of their noble lineage, things that would rekindle the division and separation within the Muslims and fan the flames of enmity between them, which might even lead to accusations and condemnations of some of the respected Companions of Prophet Muḥammad, I strongly believed that their propaganda would bring the opposite result of what they hoped for, especially in this era of democracy and equality. They would be against the primary current of the day, and this would create enmity and hate in the people against them and their lineage (and this actually happened)."<sup>126</sup>

Rashīd Riḍā goes on to explain that he had suggested to Syed Muḥammad that a private comprehensive school be established for the Ahl al-Bayt whose "... graduates would become specialists and experts in all fields of religious sciences, worldly sciences and the arts, which form the focus of development in this era". They "... should be work-oriented; a breed of graduates that would be needed by the *umma* for its rejuvenation and development and that would bring back its greatness and its ability to bring succour and reform to mankind as a whole. They would be responsible for the education, learning and guidance in the schools. They would be mobilisers of societies in the fields of religion, knowledge and welfare. They would be establishers of social institutions, political parties and finance companies. When all this had been done, then and only then would the *umma* know and recognise the progenies of the House of their Prophet as leaders, as they would be a lifeboat in the storm of illiteracy, inferiority, chaos and division."<sup>127</sup>

As for financing such an institution, Rashīd Riḍā challenged that when it came to the collection of donations, one would know who were the true lovers of the Ahl al-Bayt and who were "... the hypocrites and blind followers who limited the expression of their love to the celebration of 'Āshūrā' [Day of Atonement] and to the transferring of the dust of the dead to Najaf, Kāzimīya [Kāzimayn] and Karbalā',<sup>128</sup> and other innovations that the spirit of this era will destroy in no time". "But Syed Muḥammad 'Aqīl, who had been among the first with whom I shared

126. *Ibid.*, 316–17.

127. *Ibid.*, 318.

128. Karbalā' or Mashhad al-Husayn is a place of pilgrimage west of the Euphrates, on the edge of the desert in 'Irāq. On 'Āshūrā' day (10th Muḥarram 61 A. H./10 October 680 A. D.), Imām al-Husayn b. 'Alī Abī Ṭālib, on the march from Makka to 'Irāq where he intended to enforce his claims to the Khalīfat, fell in the plain of Karbalā'. The place where the decapitated body of Muḥammad's grandson was interred became a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Shī'īs. See further 'Alīds and Shī'a in Glossary.

this suggestion, had no zeal to apply it; none from him, none from the other 'Alawīyīn, and none from the Shī'a."<sup>129</sup>

Rashīd Riḍā concludes "... with this advice, especially for my brothers, the founding members of the 'Alawīyīn society in the East Indies and in other places: a leader cannot betray his followers, even though some of them would take me as an enemy. My advice is that you try to be as tolerant as possible in your efforts to improve your relations with al-Irshādīyīn and know that humbleness is better than haughtiness and that people will only respect and honour your noble lineage in this modern era through two means: the easier one being good conduct and character and the performance of good deeds; the other is to excel in knowledge and works of reform for the public, things I have suggested to you before. Take heed from the lesson of the Kingdom of Great Britain, an aristocratic country that is now governed by a Prime Minister from the Labour Party. Know that the honour and respect you give to your lineage are dependent on your protection of its sanctity through your behaviour and actions. Do not forget the principle of Islāmīc law in gains and losses: one who is rewarded twice will be given double the torment."<sup>130</sup>

The 'Alawī (Sāda)/Irshādī split clearly had a class basis which resulted in contradictory political alignments, while the primordial force of race and language identity — as well as Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's despotism — were crucial in the destruction of the Ottoman Khalīfat from within.

### *The Institution of the Khalīfat and Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's Rule*

The Ottoman ('Othmānī) Khalīfat was not a national empire, nor was it identified with a locality and its citizens. The Khalīfat had no citizens. 'Othmānīca (Osmānīca), the language of administration, was incomprehensible to the majority of Turks.<sup>131</sup> The Khalīfat was a

129. *al-Manār*, XXXII, 4 (April 1932) 318.

130. *Ibid.* Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā refers to an *uqda* of the *Sharī'a*, in compensations and fines.

131. The original homelands of all Turkic people were the plains of southern Siberia and the endless expanses between the Caspian Sea and the Altaic range. The early Turkish 'states' were tribal federations dominated by a warrior aristocracy, the *begs*. By the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Turkish-inhabited areas bordering on Persia had been subjugated by the 'Abbāsids and had supplied them with an endless stream of slaves, many of whom became important functionaries in Baghdād.

Towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century a confederation of Ghuz and Oghuz tribes established itself in the region of the Aral Sea. Known after their conversion to

dynastic state whose *raison d'être* was based on religious assumptions. It was a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and even a multi-religious state held together by the rule of a given family whose right to reign was based on Turkic tradition, but whose duties and obligations were determined by Islāmic religious considerations. The structure assigned supremacy to the ruler and Islām. Politically the Sulṭān was in theory absolute. He delegated some power to the professional Ottomans — the 'Othmānīca speakers, the nobility — who ran the various administrative offices, but this professional Ottoman class had no legal rights, although tradition gave them extensive power. They could be recruited from practically any element in society and could be dismissed at the will of the Sulṭān. It was the importance of their function as administrators and political managers of the state — not ethnic origin, language or religion — that placed this class at the apex of the social pyramid. Functionalism was the criteria: peasant, tradesman, guild merchant, craftsman, clergyman, or day labourer — anyone who lived in the

---

*continued from page 48*

Islām as Turkomans, these peoples had a chief called Saljūq. His descendants expanded the realm as far as Iṣfahān. In 1055 when the weak Khalīfa al-Qā'im (1031–75) wanted to free himself from the tyranny of the chief of his bodyguards, he turned to Tughrilbeg, the leader of the Saljūq state and made him his chief officer. For the next 100 years, until 1157 when the Khalīfas reasserted their power, the Saljūqs were the real masters of the 'Abbāsīd state and their title was Sulṭān.

When they were expelled from Baghdād, they had already established other power centres in Anatolia and Anadolu in Asia Minor. Shortly after he had become master of Baghdād, Tughrilbeg sent his nephew, Alp Arslan to secure the realm's borders. In 1071, Alp Arslan won one of the crucial battles of history, defeating the Byzantines and capturing the emperor. Byzantium never recovered and Eastern Anatolia was freed. As early as 1072, Süleymān, a relative of Alp Arslan, conquered most of Asia Minor. While the First Crusade was reconquering most of Anatolia, Süleymān's son returned to Anatolia and established the state of the Saljūqs of Rūm (Rome, Byzantium). From 1107 until 1307, when their state was destroyed by the Mongols, the Sulṭānate of Rūm developed the features of the frontier-*ghāzī* — warrior for Islām — state, as well as cultural features that became the foundations of the Ottoman state.

The migration of Turkoman nomad warrior-herdsmen became massive in the 13<sup>th</sup> century with the Mongol conquests. The origin of 'Othmān's family is unclear. His father Ertoghrlu (d. 1280) was a *ghāzī* warrior. In 1277, the Mongols defeated the Saljūqs. 'Othmān, a man of outstanding ability, carved out an independent principality for himself, and moved against the northern half of the Byzantine province gaining his first victory in 1301. His son Orkhan captured the great city of Bursa, which became the first Ottoman capital, and from there they expanded. For an excellent study on the expansion and consolidation of the Ottoman state, see Sugar, *op. cit.*. The information in this note is taken from his work, 8–15.

Ottoman Khalīfat — performed a duty directly useful to the state. The relative usefulness and importance of a profession determined the social and class status of its practitioners. It was a highly centralised and regulated imperial order.

The population was also divided vertically along legal-religious lines in what might be termed a home-rule policy. In addition to Muslims, there existed the *millets* — legal-administrative units — of the Orthodox Christians, the Armenians, and the Jews; each independent within the limits of its own competence. Although Islām was certainly superior in Ottoman eyes to any other creed, they did not subordinate the latter to the former. The *millet* system simply created a secondary imperial administrative and primary legal structure, as well as acceptable living conditions for the non-Muslims, the *zimmi* (*dhimmi*) or 'protected persons'.

The organisation of the Ottoman Khalīfat corresponded perfectly to its self-conceived character expressed by its official name, 'The divinely protected well-flourishing absolute domain of the House of 'Othmān'. To assure that it was 'well-flourishing', the population had to be strictly organised and when needed transferred from one location to another. The result was a very strict, over-organised socio-economic structure that soon ossified and was, at the same time, amazingly lenient. This lenience, for instance, prevented the enslavement of the Southern European peasantry and allowed the population, both urban and rural, to reorganise on a small communal basis under the leadership of their own *elected* officials. Ironically this system, while assuring their survival, facilitated their subsequent national rebirth to the destruction of the Khalīfat. Professor Kemal Karpat stated that "... had the Ottoman government accepted the idea of minority-majority or developed a political sense of nationality it could easily have liquidated the patchwork of races and religions under its rule transforming them into one homogenous Muslim or Turkish group".<sup>132</sup>

However by 1908–9 and the rise of the Young Turks through the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the Turks themselves had moved to a new assertion of the Turanian origins of the Turkish people

---

132. Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Millets to Nations*. Research Monograph no. 39 (xeroxed) of the Centre of International Studies of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University (Princeton, 1973) 39, quoted in agreement by Sugar, *op. cit.*, 274, but doubtful if applicable to the 'Arabs. We are indebted to Professor Sugar for the above description of the classical Ottoman structure.

and called for regeneration and reunion with kindred populations (the majority of whom were under Russian rule), while the 'Arabs were to claim equality or even a special place in the fortunes of Islām by virtue of their language and descent.<sup>133</sup>

No accurate statistics exist, but a fair approximation would give the total population of the Ottoman Khalīfat in 1908, excluding Egypt, as approximately twenty-two million, comprised of seven and a half million Turks, ten and a half million 'Arabs, and four million Greeks, Albanians, Armenians, Kurds and others. And outside its dominion, millions of Muslims had fallen under Russian, British, French, Spanish and Italian colonial control. France had seized Algeria as early as 1830, Tunisia in 1881, had colonies of Muslim lands in Black Africa; Spain took Morocco in 1859–60 — later to be shared out with France — ; Italy pounced on Libya in 1911; while in 1882, Britain gained control of Egypt and from there in 1896–8 she took the Sūdān; she struggled to control Afghānistān, and be ever mindful of Britannia's rule of what had been Mughal India, Arakan, Singapore and the Malay States. It was a harrowing epoch for Muslim peoples.

Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II ascended the Ottoman throne on 31 August 1876. In response to demands by the Young Ottomans and theological students, he acceded to promulgate a Constitution, drafted by Midhat Pāshā, which provided some check on the unfettered caprice of the Sulṭān. Notwithstanding these legalisms, in February 1877 the Sulṭān exiled Midhat to Europe and in March, having inaugurated the new Parliament, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd seized on the pretext of Russia's declaration of war to decree the suspension of the Constitution. It was to remain suspended for 31 years!

The war ended with the arrival of Russian armies at the outskirts of Istanbul.<sup>134</sup> The Congress of Berlin met in July 1878 to revise the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano wherein victorious Russia had imposed extremely onerous terms on the Ottomans. The new Treaty virtually

---

133. We are indebted to George Antonius' *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the 'Arab National Movement* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939) for the information in the following pages on the Ottomans and the 'Arab Revolt; however, the conclusions drawn are entirely our own.

134. Istanbul was founded as Byzantium. In 330 it was adopted by Constantine the Great as the new capital of the Roman Empire. On 29 May 1453, the city was captured by the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥemmed II, breaching the land walls with the largest cannon the world had ever seen. Constantinople became the Ottoman capital and acquired the name Istanbul (10th C. Būlin or Stanbūlin, then Stimboli, Stambol). Stoneman, Richard, *A Traveller's History of Turkey* (New York: Interlink Books, 1993) 226–7.

abrogated the former. It reaffirmed the principle that the status of the Ottoman Khalīfat was to be decided by the Western powers jointly and that the peoples of the Balkans had the right of national self-determination. Serbia and Montenegro were made independent; Bulgaria was divided, a part remaining under Ottoman control; and Romania became independent. Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austrian administration (to be annexed by her in 1908). Some territory was given to Montenegro, including the Gusinje area to the north of the current Albanian border which had been part of Kosova. This handing over of an Albanian-inhabited area to a Slav state, caused intense and widespread resistance, eventually to Ottoman rule itself. Lastly, Russia gained Batumi, Kars and Ardahan. Only Macedonia, Albania and Thrace remained of Ottoman European territories. By a separate convention, Cyprus was put under British rule. Russian influence was reduced in the Middle East; and the power of Austria-Hungary and Great Britain was enhanced.

Financially, the Khalīfat had reached the stage of bankruptcy, leading the Sulṭān to mortgage to foreign capitalists the principal resources of the empire. A large share of the money obtained was used to reorganise the army, expending vast sums on military academies and training, while real education remained half starved.

At the time 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ascended the throne, the attention of the *umma* had been 'captured by a voice calling it to a new life': the voice of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838/9–97), 'one of the most ardent and most eloquent preachers the Muslim World had ever heard'. His aim was to raise the *umma* to the status of free and progressive nations by a process of wide education and adaptation of Islām to the conditions of the age; but he believed that to achieve this end, revolutionary action was unavoidable. He wanted Muslims freed of foreign domination as a prelude to their moral regeneration, and then united — including Shī'a Persia — under one universally acknowledged Khalīfa, as in the golden age of Islām.

It was at the height of Jamāl al-Dīn's struggle for pan-Islāmic revival that Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd began to lay the foundations of his own Islāmic policy. His plan was to restore the Khalīfat to its proper place and to identify it with the Sulṭānate in the popular mind. He aspired to become the head of Islām, in influence as well as name. A college was founded for the training of missionaries who were then dispatched in batches to the furthest corners of the *umma*. The Sharīf<sup>135</sup>

---

135. *Sharīf*: noble, exalted.

of Makka was to give active support in the form of exhortation among the pilgrims who carried the message back to their home countries, sometimes founding cells for its further diffusion. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd made special efforts to win the loyalty of the 'Arabs to the extent that while the Sublime Porte and the Ministries were held by Turks, the Palace fell entirely into their hands.

Where the Sulṭān had reports of recalcitrance and the potential insurrectionist was of high standing and could not readily be neutralised, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd would arrange for his living in ease and comfort in Istanbul. One such 'guest' was Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, a scion of the House of Banū Hāshim, the noblest of all 'Arab families as they trace their descent in the male line to Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and for generations had been holders of the dignity of Grand Sharīf of Makka. Ḥusayn arrived in Istanbul in 1893, a young man in his late 30s, and there he was to remain for fifteen years.

Railroad building, perceived as a unifier, was to contribute to the Khalīfat's dismemberment. A railroad was constructed by German engineers from Damascus to Madīna, a distance of 900 miles, which it reached in 1908. (A third of the cost of three million pounds sterling had been contributed in donations.) This speeded up both communications and ideas. Where previously a quick caravan took 40 days and the sea route 10–15 days, the railway took only five.

On 24 July 1908, in a panic caused by the outbreak of a military revolution, and under pressure from the Albanians of the Ottoman bastion of Kosova, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd granted his subjects a constitution. He abolished censorship, released all political prisoners and disbanded his virtual army of spies. The revolution was the work of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The CUP was a medley of races and creeds, in which Turks predominated and Jews came second. It sought 'racial fusion' as envisaged in the suspended 1876 Constitution. The fact that it provided for the fusion of the different ethnic groups into a single, Ottoman democracy, with Turkish as its distinctive language, was considered by the 'Arabs as the negation of their cultural identity.

The CUP removed the ruling Sharīf of Makka and despite 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's forebodings — actually for the very reason of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's antipathy — chose Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī to be Grand Sharīf and Amīr of Makka, custodian of the Holy Places in the Ḥijāz and supervisor of the pilgrimage and other observances; Sharīf Ḥusayn was then 53 years old.

Elections were held for the first parliament, but the electoral constituencies had been so demarcated as to favour Turks at the expense of

other ethnic groups. Although the 'Arab population outnumbered Turks roughly in a ratio of three to two, in the Chamber of Deputies out of a total of 245. Turks numbered 150 and only 60 were 'Arabs, or a ratio of five to two in the Turks' favour.

Confidence in the new régime was greatly weakened in October 1908 by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the declaration of complete independence by Bulgaria. Muslim 'traditionalists' felt that the Young Turks were merely hastening the break-up of the Khalīfat. In April 1909 there was an attempted coup, supported by such Muslims (particularly Albanian soldiers of the First Army Corps in Istanbul). But the coup failed; in its aftermath the Young Turks deposed the Sultān, who was sent off to internal exile in Salonica, and a new compliant successor was installed. The CUP then banned the societies founded by non-Turkish ethnic groups, amongst them al-Ikhā' al-'Arabī al-'Uthmānī, 'Ottoman 'Arab Fraternity', which barely eight months before had been inaugurated with vows of everlasting fidelity at an impassioned meeting of 'Arabs and Turks.

In fairness to the Young Turks it must be said that the legacy they inherited from the Ḥamīdian régime was not only damnable in itself but that they had come into it at a particularly inauspicious moment. The separatist forces at work in the Balkan provinces were in the ascendant, the covetousness of two European Powers lurked menacingly behind a thin diplomatic veil, and a series of disasters occurred before the Young Turks had had time to prove their worth: the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the simultaneous secession of the remaining two-thirds of Bulgaria; Italy's aggression on Libya in the autumn of 1911; and the Balkan War of 1912. In those few years, the Ottoman Khalīfat lost all its remaining provinces in Europe (except for eastern Thrace); that part of Libya which comprised the provinces of Ṭarāblus (Tripoli) and Bēghāzī; Crete and the islands of the Dodecanese. In addition to the territorial losses, a burden of military expenditure had been incurred which made serious inroads on the Ottoman's budgetary resources.

While the CUP did not adopt the Pan-Turan doctrine with all of its irredentist implications, they were powerfully influenced by its teachings. Turanianism, exalting Turkish nationality and stressing the affinity of the Turks of the Ottoman Khalīfat with their ethnic brothers in Central Asia, was the negation of the theoretical doctrine of Ottomanism which aimed at uniting the different ethnic groups of the Khalīfat into one entity on the basis of equality. A worse mistake was the CUP's adoption of a policy of centralisation, while ethnic diversity called for decentralisation to give the 'Arabs and others a measure of home rule.

*Jihād v. 'Arab Revolt; British Perfidy and the Ploy of Nationalism*

With the suppression of al-Ikhā' al-'Arabī al-'Uthmānī, the 'Arab leaders were driven underground, and a series of societies came into being between 1909 and 1914, the existence of some never to be known by the Turks.<sup>136</sup>

From February 1914, CUP-installed Sharīf Ḥusayn, initially through his son Amīr 'Abd Allāh, began contacts with the British. One of Lord Kitchener's preoccupations (he was then British Agent in Egypt) was the growth of German influence and what he considered the ominous advance of the Baghdād Railway line, and the implied threat to Britain's position in the Persian Gulf and India. War broke out in August 1914, and Kitchener was appointed Secretary of State for War. The Ottomans proclaimed neutrality, however with the prospect of their being drawn into the War, Sharīf Ḥusayn of Makka had to choose: to stand by the Ottomans in their hour of need and earn their grateful recognition of 'Arab aspirations for self-determination or rise and seek 'freedom' at the point of the sword. Sharīf Ḥusayn made his choice of alliance with a colonial power against the Muslim Ottomans. Although signed by his son Amīr 'Abd Allāh, it is he who wrote to Sir Ronald Storrs, then Oriental Secretary at the British Agency, opening himself to an understanding with Great Britain and hinting he might lead his followers to revolt provided Britain were to promise effective support.<sup>137</sup>

On 31 October, he received Kitchener's reply promising that the British Government would guarantee his retention of the dignity of

---

136. Two open societies were al-Muntadā al-Adabī (Literary Club) and the Ottoman Decentralisation Party — Ḥizb al-Lāmarkazīya al-Idārīya al-'Uthmānī — formed towards the end of 1912, the founders of which were men of experience and good standing, who had made their mark in public life such as Rashīd Riḍā of *al-Manār*. Nevertheless, four of its founding members — all Muslims — were hung during World War I for treasonable nationalistic activities. One of the two secret societies was al-Qaḥṭāniya (named after Qaḥṭān, one of the legendary ancestors of the 'Arab race) which hoped to turn the Ottoman Khalīfat into a dual Turco-'Arab empire, similar to the Austro-Hungarian edifice, in which the Ottoman Sulṭān would alternately wear a Turkish and an 'Arab crown, thus achieving unity through separation. Three of its original members, Muslims from Damascus and Jerusalem, were hung by the Ottomans during World War I for treasonable nationalistic activities. Another secret society, formed in Paris in 1911, was Jam'īyat al-'Arabīya al-Fatāt, 'The Young 'Arab Society', which was committed to outright 'Arab independence. Of the seven 'Arab Muslim founders, three were similarly hung during the war, also for treasonable nationalistic activities.

137. Antonius, *op. cit.*, 132.

Grand Sharīf of Makka and holding out the promise of support to the 'Arabs in general in their endeavours to secure their 'freedom' on condition they ally themselves with Britain. It concluded with the hint that in the event of the Sharīf being proclaimed Khalīfa, he could count on Britain's recognition. "The terms of the message were studiously general .... but ... it spoke of 'the 'Arab nation' and the 'emancipation of the 'Arabs'." The word of Kitchener, "whose fame in the East was then greater than that of any living Englishman, [was] accepted without question".<sup>138</sup>

The mere fact that the Ottomans had sided with the Central Powers meant that the problem of 'Arab national aspirations could not fail to be drawn into the orbit of European politics. Their attitude was henceforth a matter of immediate concern, especially to Great Britain. Thanks to the Ottoman hold on Syria and 'Irāq, she was in a position to threaten British interests at two vital points: the Suez Canal and the head of the Persian Gulf where lay the valuable oil-fields of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Nor could the potential threat in the 'Arabian Peninsula be overlooked. The long Red Sea coastline afforded the Ottomans numerous sheltered bases for laying mines or for sending emissaries across to Egypt, the Sūdān and further into Africa to distribute arms and preach disaffection from their colonial subjugators. In Yaman (Yemen), the Ottoman garrison of two divisions was strong enough to threaten the British colonial base in 'Adan (Aden). While in the political field, the proclamation of Holy War (*Jihād*) by the Sulṭān-Khalīfa might, *if it were to receive the endorsement of the Sharīf of Makka*,<sup>139</sup> turn the Hījāz into a hot-house of inflammatory propaganda to arouse not only the 'Arab countries but also the large non-'Arab Muslim populations living under colonial rule or on the flank of Allied dependencies.

Of those Ottoman strengths, the most formidable was that involved in a call to *jihād*. It was a foregone conclusion that if the Ottomans were to join the Central Powers, one of her first acts would be to rouse the Muslim World against the Europeans. As Khalīfa and supreme Imām, the Sulṭān could declare that the premier Islāmīc state and the seat of the Khalīfat was at war with Christian Powers aiming at her destruction, that the Holy Places were in danger, and that it was incumbent upon all true believers to rally around the banner of the Faith. To what extent the call was likely to be obeyed it was not easy to tell beforehand. There had been no precedent in modern times for the

---

138. *Ibid.*, 133-4.

139. *Ibid.*, 135.

proclamation of *jihād* on a world-wide scale, and the fact that the Ottomans were in alliance with Germany (as a defence against Russia) might possibly weaken the strength of that appeal. On the other hand, the sentiments of Pan-Islāmic solidarity which Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had fostered were a factor which could neither be accurately gauged nor safely ignored. The Mahdīst rebellion in the Sūdān and the resistance of the Muslim populations in Tunis, the Maghrib (Morocco) and Ṭarāblus (Tripoli) to European colonial domination had shown that the invocation of a religious motive in a call to arms still retained incendiary power. Even a partially successful *jihād* could prove a serious threat to the European Powers, which neither Britain with some 70 million Muslims in India and 16 million in Egypt and the Sūdān, nor France with her 20 million in Africa, nor Russia with a like number within her borders could afford to disregard.

By far the most serious danger was the threat to Britain in Egypt. In the outlying parts of the Muslim World, such as India, Maghrib or the Caucasus, a successful call to *jihād* was expected to cause difficulties to Great Britain or France or Russia, but might not exceed the dimensions of local rebellions; or, in the event of Afghānistān being drawn in, a local war on the north-west frontier of India. In Egypt, on the other hand, the threat had much more formidable implications, since the throttling of the Suez Canal would not merely have embarrassed Britain, but crippled her at a vital point. Thus the Muslim World in which *jihād* was to be preached fell into two distinct zones: an outer belt of countries inhabited by diverse non-'Arab nations, and an inner circle of countries which were 'Arab and whose geographical centre was Egypt. Land attacks on the Suez Canal could only be made across territories inhabited by 'Arabs, and one way of warding off that threat was to win the 'Arabs over to the Allied colonial side. That is what Kitchener had immediately in mind when he sent his message to the Sharīf and that is how, with Britain's Declaration of War on the Ottomans, the 'Arab question was automatically drawn into the European political orbit.<sup>140</sup>

On 22 October 1914, the British Embassy in Istanbul reported that a 'highly inflammatory manifesto', inciting Muslim soldiers in the Allied forces to mutiny in defence of Islām was being circulated and that several thousand copies were to be smuggled into Egypt through Syria.<sup>141</sup>

140. Russia declared war on the Ottomans on 2 November 1914, followed three days later by Britain and France.

141. Antonius, *op. cit.*, 137.

The formal call to *jihād* was issued in three stages, in the first month of the Ottoman's entry into the War. First came the *fatwā* rendered by the Shaykh al-Islām on 7 November 1914, in which that dignitary — the highest theological official in the Ottoman Khalīfat — declared it the sacred personal duty of all Muslims in the world, including those living under the rule of Great Britain, France or Russia, to unite against those three enemies of Islām; to take arms against them and their allies; and to refuse in all circumstances, even when threatened with the death penalty, to assist the governments of the Entente in their attacks on the Ottoman Khalīfat and its German and Austro-Hungarian defenders. Then came the Sulṭān's proclamation to the army and the fleet, issued on 11 November, in which he exhorted them to fight for the liberation of enslaved Islām as well as in defence of the threatened Khalīfat. Lastly, there was the manifesto to the Muslim World, issued on 23 November, over the signatures of the Shaykh al-Islām and twenty-eight other religious dignitaries. It bore the Sulṭān's *imprimatur* — official licence to print — in the following terms: "I command that this manifesto be distributed in all the Muslim countries". It called upon all the Muslims of the world, whether subjects of the Entente Powers or not, to obey the injunctions of the Holy Qur'ān as interpreted by the sacred *fatwā* and participate in the defence of Islām and the Holy Places.

Those three formal utterances were followed by a spate of subsidiary literature specially composed to appeal to the masses who professed Islām, which appeared in all the languages of the Islāmic world. These were broadcast to the millions throughout the Ottoman Khalīfat, and smuggled into Egypt, the Sūdān, Persia, Afghānistān, India, Singapore and Indonesia. They varied considerably in tone and content, some advocated mass desertion from the ranks of the Entente armies, others the resort to assassination and individual insurrectionist acts. All stressed that Islām was in peril through the greed of the Entente Powers and that to take up arms in its defence was a God-ordained duty which no believer might shirk.<sup>142</sup>

Missions were despatched to reinforce by word of mouth the colder appeal of print. Emissaries of all kinds — itinerant preachers, scholars, learned divines, professional agitators, German orientalist — travelled in all directions open to them, while a few succeeded in insinuating

---

142. Was it not to this call that the Mutiny in Singapore responded in February 1915? See Dupré, F. J., "The Holy War That Failed", *The Moslem World*, V111, 2 (April 1918) 172-7, which gives the titles and details of publication of these tracts.

themselves into Egypt, the Sūdān and other parts of Africa which were under colonial rule. Their main efforts were directed at winning over to the Holy War the non-Turkish Muslim populations, that is to say the Indians, the Afghāns, the Persians and others, but above all the 'Arabs. The Muslims of Turkey, of whom the deeply religious Anatolian peasantry formed the backbone, stood scarcely in need of persuasion. But among the 'Arabs, who were geographically best placed to harass the Entente, the preaching of *jihād* was conducted with particular vigour and with special emphasis on the duty devolving upon all Muslims to defend the Holy Places.<sup>143</sup>

What broke the back of the call to *jihād* was the initially under-the-table alliance of Sharīf Ḥusayn of Makka with the British; it was the Sharīf who robbed the call to *jihād* 'of its principal thunderbolt'. 'Arabs conscious of the colonial designs of the Europeans, including Fayṣal, the Sharīf's own son, looked sullenly at the threat of foreign domination, and the leaders asked themselves whether it were not better for them, if it did come to a choice, to continue bearing the Ottoman rule they knew than to fall under some other rule certainly not less alien and infinitely more powerful. In about May 1914, Jam'īyat al-'Arabīya al-Fatāt ('The Young 'Arab Society') and al-'Ahd ('The Covenant Society', a

---

143. Later in about August 1915, there came accidentally into the hands of General Sir John Maxwell, commander of British forces in Egypt, a packet of letters addressed by Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī to Muslim rulers and journalists all over the 'Arab World and India, inciting them to *jihād* and informing them that he was the representative of the Khalīfa in North Africa. (Official History of the War. *Military Operations in Egypt and Palestine*, I, 105, cited in Antonius, *op. cit.*, 137, n. 1.)

Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī's influence in North Africa went far beyond the confines of his immediate domain. The Vilāyas (administrative districts) of Ṭarāblus (Tripoli) and Bēghāzī in Lībya had been lost to Italy in the War of 1911-12. But the sparsely inhabited plateau of Cyrenaica had not been completely conquered. The region had political importance as the home of the Sanūsī Fraternity and their energetic chief from 1901-16, Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sharīf (1873-1933).

The Sanūsī Order had been founded in Cyrenaica in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by a devout Algerian. The tenets had much similarity with those of the Wahhābī movement in that both preached a return to the ways and usages of early Islām. It had missionary aims, and its organisation into *ṣāwīyas* (monasteries-schools) scattered about the country gave it the means of exerting political influence as well as of recruiting volunteers for military purposes. The movement encouraged settlement and the cultivation of the land. It founded colonies of adherents over an extensive area in Central Africa. (See Antonius, *op. cit.*, 121-2.)

The Sanūsī led a spirited resistance to the Italians, and thus his call to *jihād* would carry the moral weight of his own practice. He went to Ankara in Turkey and for a time conducted a pan-Islāmic campaign from there.

secret 'Arab movement in the military)<sup>144</sup> had drawn up the Damascus Protocol defining conditions for co-operation with Great Britain against the Ottomans, which they transmitted to the Sharīf of Makka who was to seek British agreement.<sup>145</sup> It called for the recognition of the independence of the 'Arab countries and defined the frontiers.

In Cairo, in early 1915, the British opened consultations with all tendencies, including Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā of *al-Manār* who had sufficient influence to sway followers in Syria and 'Irāq. But Rashīd Riḍā and others demanded guarantees of 'Arab independence as an indispensable condition of a call to 'Arab revolt which undertaking no Britisher in Egypt was in position to give and neither was that Britain's actual intent.

Realising the futility of trying to win over the 'Arabs without definite commitments, in June 1915 the British published a totally insufficient declaration pledging that the 'Arabian Peninsula should be recognised as an independent state exercising full sovereignty over the Holy Places of Islām and hinting that the British would welcome a proclamation of an 'Arab Khalīfat.<sup>146</sup> This led to a spate of correspondence between Sharīf Ḥusayn and Sir Henry McMahon, the High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sūdān, which resulted in McMahon's note of 24 October 1915 pledging to recognise and uphold the independence of the 'Arabs within the frontiers proposed by the Sharīf, with the exception of certain parts of Asia Minor and Syria. Also excluded were areas where Britain had treaty relations with various 'Arab chiefs, needless to say, areas rich in oil.

In subsequent correspondence, the Sharīf made it understood that it would remain out of the question that France or any other power should be conceded 'a single square foot of territory' in those parts of Syria McMahon sought to reserve, and he reiterated the 'Arab claim to all of Syria. At the time of which we write, 'Syria' included present-day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan. But again the Sharīf succumbed; he deferred this cardinal issue until after the War! This postponement of fundamental disputed issues is indicative of what Antonius considered the Sharīf's naïve but 'profound belief' in British integrity born of his

---

144. al-Qaḥṭānīya (see n. 136 *supra*) had been disbanded when it was discovered to have been penetrated. Major 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maṣrī of the general staff, who had joined the CUP and taken part in the military revolution of 1908 and the 1909 march on Istanbul, founded al-'Ahd, primarily an association of army officers.

145. For the details of that Protocol, see Antonius, 157–9, 164–5.

146. Antonius, *op. cit.*, 160.

years of acquaintance with British Embassy officials in Istanbul whom he found to have an 'absence of guile', and at his own peril, he did not differentiate between individuals and the interests they represented.<sup>147</sup> However, as the leader of the momentous decision that was the 'Arab Revolt, had he not been ego-involved in all he had invested, it would have been incumbent upon him to have called a halt to preparations for the Revolt and instead negotiated for a united front with his fellow-Muslim Ottomans against Britain's stated intention to divide the 'Arab heartland in a sharing out with its French ally.

Nowhere in the text of any of the communications is there any specific mention of Palestine *per se*. "While certain portions of the 'Arab area are specifically, if somewhat loosely, singled out as calling for special treatment, no mention is made anywhere of that part of Syria which was known, in Ottoman administrative parlance, as the Sanjaq of Jerusalem. The territory of Palestine in its ... [post World War I] frontiers is made up of the former Sanjaq of Jerusalem with the addition of a portion of the former Vilāyet of Bairut (*sic*) which was contiguous with it. And the fact that Sir Henry McMahon, who is at pains throughout the correspondence to enumerate by name each of the provinces affected by his reservations, does not mention the Sanjaq of Jerusalem, even indirectly, disposes at once of the legend that ... Palestine was specifically excluded from the area in which Great Britain pledged herself to recognise and uphold an independent 'Arab government."<sup>148</sup>

The 'Arab Revolt began on 5 June 1916. On 2 November 1917, Sharīf Ḥusayn had himself proclaimed 'King of the 'Arab Countries', wittled down by the British to 'King of the Ḥijāz'! The late Sharīf — King Ḥusayn — in exile from 1925, continually harped on his 'justification'. With the letters from British officials in front of him, he would say: "Here are the premises of our revolt, and my justification ... I say justification".<sup>149</sup> But was he justified?

On 16 May 1916, before the Revolt opened, a secret Agreement was drawn up between Sir Mark Sykes, Assistant Secretary of the British War Cabinet, and François Picot, the French Consul-General in Beirut. The agreement divided the 'Arab World between Britain and France under a mandate system, and provided that a Jewish state be established in Palestine. The Agreement was only known to Sharīf

---

147. Antonius, *op. cit.*, 175.

148. *Ibid.*, 177.

149. *Ibid.*, 183.

Ḥusayn in December 1917, eighteen months later, and that thanks to the Bolsheviks. One of their first acts after the revolution was to publish secret documents from the archives of the Russian Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among them were the texts of the 1916 Agreement, which the Ottomans forwarded to Sharīf Ḥusayn with an offer of a Turco-‘Arab separate peace.

The letter addressed to Sharīf Ḥusayn’s son, Amīr Fayṣal, was worded as an appeal from one serious-minded Muslim to another: that it was the duty of those who cared for the glory of Islām to dedicate their energies, and if need be their lives, to its service; that Fayṣal and his father had been misled by promises of ‘Arab independence into rebelling against the supreme authority in Islām; that those promises had now been shown to have been utterly mendacious since the true intentions of the Allies were to partition the ‘Arab countries and place them under foreign masters: French in Syria, British in ‘Irāq and International in Palestine; and that the only course left for the ‘Arabs was to return to the Ottoman fold and secure their legitimate rights by coming to an understanding with them. The letter was accompanied by an invitation to Fayṣal to come in person to Damascus under promise of safe-conduct, in order to open negotiations. It also contained on a separate sheet an outline of the terms on which the Ottomans were prepared to negotiate. These terms envisaged the grant of fullest autonomy to all the ‘Arab provinces of the Khalīfat, in which their nationalist aspirations would be fully met; and there was a clause to say that in the event of the negotiations resulting in an agreement, as there was every reason to believe they should, the validity of its terms would be secured not only by the Sulṭān’s ratification, but also by a collateral guarantee from the German Government.

Aḥmad Jemāl Pāshā, a leading member of the CUP, Minister of Marine, and the Ottoman authority in Damascus, stressed the significance of the Sykes-Picot Agreement as proving that the ‘Arabs had suffered themselves to be duped by the Allies. Had Great Britain’s promises meant what they said, he might have seen some sense, albeit misguided, in the ‘Arab Revolt, and possibly even excused it. But since it was now proved beyond all doubt that the Allies harboured secret designs which were the very negation of ‘Arab independence, then it behoved the ‘Arab leaders to undeceive themselves and realise that their co-operation with the Allies which they fondly imagined would gain them independence, was in reality leading to the enslavement of the ‘Arab countries by France, Great Britain and Russia.

On 4 December 1917, in a speech in Beirut, Jemāl Pāshā charged: *“that they [the British] are outside the gates of Jerusalem today is the*

*direct outcome of the Sharīf's revolt in Makka*".<sup>150</sup> The Sharīf did not reply, for again he was deliberately and dishonestly deluded by his British ally.

Within months of Lloyd George coming to power in December 1916, with Balfour as his Foreign Secretary, negotiations were opened with the Zionist-Jewish leaders.<sup>151</sup> Amongst other motives, the primary British imperial interest, first propounded by Kitchener, was to secure Palestine or at least a portion of it as a bulwark to the British position in Egypt and the overland link with the East.<sup>152</sup> As is painfully known, the 'Balfour Declaration' resulted in the Zionists achieving their recognised foothold, initially to a national home in Palestine, which now after eighty years of creeping Zionist-Israeli annexation has led to their occupation of most of 'Arab Palestine.

But yet again the Sharīf chose to be deceived! Commander Hogarth, 'one of the greatest authorities of his time on 'Arabian history' and one of the heads of the 'Arab Bureau in Cairo, was despatched to the Sharīf in January 1918 to give him the British Government's assur-

150. *al-Sharaf*, nos. 464-5.

151. Hitherto Zionist efforts had been concentrated on persuading the Ottomans to permit an increased colonisation of Palestine. Sultān 'Abd al-Hamīd had discouraged it point blank. In view of the strong Jewish influence in the counsels of the CUP, the Young Turks were initially inclined to entertain Zionist proposals. These they later rejected after the 1912 angry scene in the Ottoman Chamber when 'Arab deputies protested against the acquisition by Zionist Jews of a large area of arable land in the Plain of Estraelon and the threatened dispossession of the Palestinian 'Arab peasants.

The majority of influential English Jews were opposed to the nationalistic idea inherent in political Zionism. Support from non-Jews came from C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, from A. J. Balfour, and finally Lloyd George. The Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association — the two most representative bodies of English Jewry — opened a campaign to dissuade the Government from acceding to Zionist designs. Their view had a spokesman in the person of Edwin Montagu, the only Jew in the Cabinet, and then Secretary of State for India. The presidents of these two Jewish organisations issued a statement carried in *The Times* of 24 May 1917 stressing their fidelity to *cultural* Zionism of which the aim was to make Palestine a Jewish spiritual centre in which the Jewish genius might develop on lines of its own and entering a strong protest against the idea of *political* Zionism which claimed that the Jewish settlements in Palestine should be recognised as possessing a national character in a political sense and that settlers should be invested with certain special rights on a basis of political privileges and economic preferences. They prophesied that the establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine was bound to "have the effect throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands and of undermining their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of those lands". (Antonius, *op. cit.*, 265.)

152. *Ibid.*, 261.

ance that "Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed insofar as would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the 'Arab population'".<sup>153</sup>

With this 'assurance', Sharīf Ḥusayn caused an article to be written in *al-Qibla*, his official mouthpiece, calling on the 'Arab population in Palestine to bear in mind that their sacred books and their traditions enjoined upon them the duties of hospitality and tolerance and exhorting them to welcome the Jews as brethren and co-operate with them for the common welfare'.<sup>154</sup>

The rest is history ... an unedifying and unsavoury story. When the blood and thunder of the war subsided, Britain held 'Protectorates' over Palestine (including 'a Jewish national home'), Transjordan and 'Irāq, while France inherited what was left over of Syria, including Lebanon.

### *The Umma's Search for Unity*

With the fall of the Mughal empire (1526–1858)<sup>155</sup> to British imperialism in the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Sulṭān became manifestly the greatest figure in the Muslim World. As Catherine II of Russia claimed to be the patroness of the Christians of the Orthodox Church dwelling in Ottoman territories, the Khalīfa asserted religious authority over the Muslim Tartars of the Crimea who in 1774 had ceased to owe him allegiance as a temporal sovereign. From this period onwards it

---

153. *Ibid.*, 268.

154. *al-Qibla* (Makka) no. 183 (23 March 1918) cited in *ibid.*, 269.

155. An Indo-Muslim dynasty which ruled, latterly with decreasing effectiveness, from 1526–1858. The name Mughal, a variant of Mongol, stems from the claim of descent from Jenghiz Khān made by Bābūr who founded the empire with the capture of Dihlī. Not until the end of the reign of Akbar (r. 1556–1605) was the empire, then occupying the vast territory from Afghānistān to the Godavari River, free from divisive wars. Shāhjhān (r. 1628–58) and Awrangzib (r. 1658–1707) brought the Mughal territory to its greatest extent, but even at its zenith the empire suffered the blows of the Sikhs and the Marāthās who had brought it to near ruin by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. When Great Britain occupied Dihlī in 1803, the empire actually came to an end, but the British maintained puppet emperors until 1857. Many features of the Mughal administrative system were adopted by Great Britain in ruling India, but the lasting achievements of the Mughals were in art, particularly in painting and architecture. Their capitals at Dihlī, Fatḥpūr-Sikrī and Āgrā, with the surpassing beauty of the Tāj Mahal, contain some of the greatest edifices of India. See 'Mogul', *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, eds. Bridgwater and Sherwood (New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd edn., 1950) 1300.

became common in Christian Europe to regard the Khalīfa as the equivalent of the Pope.<sup>156</sup>

In the 1876 Ottoman Constitution it was affirmed that "H. M. The Sulṭān, as Khalīfa, is the protector of the Muslim religion". Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II sent emissaries to different parts of the Muslim World to encourage reverence for his own person as Khalīfa. His efforts met with some response as thoughtful Muslims, especially those whose minds were disturbed by the growing control of European Powers over the affairs of the Muslim World, recognised that the Ottomans represented the only independent Muslim power which was of any account in the 'civilized world'. But the despotic and reactionary character of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's government, his cruel suppression of all liberal movements and all efforts for constitutional reform, alienated sections of his own subjects and he was deposed in 1909.<sup>157</sup>

When Sharīf Ḥusayn assumed the title of *King of the 'Arab Countries* or *King of the 'Arabs* (notwithstanding British objections), it was resented by both the Idrīsī and Ibn Sa'ūd<sup>158</sup> who, while welcoming his alliance with Britain and his rupture with the Ottomans, had no thought of placing themselves in vassalage to him or abating their claims to full sovereignty in their own dominions.<sup>159</sup> (Both Ibn Sa'ūd and Ḥusayn were receiving subsidies from Britain.)

On the other hand, Ḥusayn faced the unabated hostility of the Muslims of India, who had not forgiven him his insurgence against the Ottoman Khalīfa and were agitating to mobilise opinion in favour of maintaining the Sulṭān of Turkey as the only acknowledged head of Islām. Ḥusayn, by the fact of the Revolt, had committed himself to the final disseverance of the Ottoman connection with the Holy Land. The success of the Revolt deprived the Sulṭān-Khalīfa of one of the prerogatives which were regarded as essential attributes of the Khalīfat:

156. Arnold, "Khalīfa", *op. cit.*, 238.

157. *Ibid.*

158. The British Imperial Government of India looked upon the 'Arabian Peninsula as their 'special concern'. It was Delhi, not London, that normally controlled the politics of 'Adan (Aden) and its hinterland, and of the Persian Gulf. Ibn Sa'ūd assured that as far as the Najd was concerned, the Ottomans would expect help in vain. In 1915, he concluded a treaty of alliance with the British Viceroy of India. An agreement was also concluded with the Idrīsī in April. The agreements related to local interests only. Their value to the British lay mainly in their negative results: they shut out the prospect of their alliance with the Ottomans; prevented supplies from reaching the Ottomans through the Persian Gulf; and made it impossible for the Ottomans to use the seaboard of 'Asīr as a base to attack Allied shipping in the Red Sea. Antonius, *op. cit.*, 162.

159. *Ibid.*, 329.

overlordship of Makka and Madīna.<sup>160</sup> Thus Ḥusayn was in conflict with both the Muslims of India and other areas, as well as with Ibn Sa'ūd and the Wahhābīs who could not reconcile themselves to a non-Wahhābī regime in the Holy Cities.<sup>161</sup>

160. In India as early as 1919, the All India Khalīfat Conference was formed, an association which regularly organised meetings. When Muṣṭafā Kemāl disestablished the Khalīfat in 1924, they began to look to Ibn Sa'ūd as a possible candidate, but without success. In Egypt the solicitude for a better political organisation of Islām had been voiced by Rashīd Riḍā, pupil of Muḥammad 'Abduh, in his treatise *al-Khilāfa aw al-imāma al-'uzmā* (A Supreme Khalīfat or Leadership), which appeared in 1922, but his views met with little sympathy in the conservative circles of al-Azhar University. The Egyptian 'ulamā', however, took immediate action after the abolition of the Ottoman Khalīfat. A Khalīfat Congress met in Cairo from 13–19 May 1926 under the presidency of the Rector of al-Azhar. It was attended by representatives from the Muslims of many countries, including Indonesia and Singapore. But Turkey, Persia, Afghānistān and also Ibn Sa'ūd were not represented at all. The resulting resolution recognised that the Khalīfat is capable of realisation, but nothing more was decided than an appeal to the Muslims of the world to work together for its establishment. Such a co-operation never came to be realised. (See Arnold, "Khalīfa", *op. cit.*, 239.)

The attempt to resurrect the Khalīfat was enthusiastically pursued by Syed Hassan b. 'Abdullah al-'Attas. He was reported to have distributed to the Muslims in Malaya two issues of a monthly magazine on the development of the Khalīfat movement in Egypt. The October 1922 issue contained an appeal exhorting Muslims, especially 'Arabs, to give their wholehearted support to find a solution to the Khalīfat question. He also issued a pamphlet in 'Arabic on the subject. He addressed his appeals to some Malay rulers and prominent Muslims in Malaya. The British were not alarmed as they believed the Malays' attitude was "one of indifference since what they desired most was a fair treatment for their pilgrims". CO 273/518. Laurence Nunns Guillemard to Duke of Devonshire, 25 November 1922, enclosure *The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, No. 9, November 1922.

Syed Hassan, together with Syed Abu Bakar al-'Attas attended the Cairo Khalīfat Conference in 1926 as representatives of the Sultan of Johor. (*Seruan Azhar*, I, 9 (June 1926) 171.) Ironically, Syed Muhammad 'Aqil (see 34, n. 83, 37–8 and 42–8 *supra*) also attended, along with his nephew Syed Ahmad b. Omar and Syed Ahmad's two sons, Syed Muhammad Ali and Syed Abdullah. (FO 371/11698, *The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, 37, March 1926.) A photograph of 'Aqil, who represented Singapore at the Conference, and photographs of Syed Ahmad and his sons, who were described "comprehensively as the representatives of Malayan lands" appeared in an illustrated newspaper, *al-Muṣawwar* (Portrayal) of Cairo, 21 May 1926. (FO 371/11698, *The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, 39, May 1926.) Re Singapore/Malayan involvement in the Khalīfat issue, see Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "Arab political activities ..." (1997) 1–21.

161. The House of Sa'ūd became the secular champion of the Wahhābī movement, which originated in the teachings of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century calling for the purification of Islām. The Wahhābīs denounced superstitions and accretions and preached a return to Islām's former purity. This coming together in 1747 marks the birth of the movement.

In March 1924, immediately after Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) abolished the Khalīfat, Sharīf Ḥusayn lent himself to a hastily improvised proclamation of himself as Khalīfa by Muslim bodies in the Ḥijāz, Palestine, Syria and 'Irāq, without a prior ascertainment of opinion in the Muslim World at large. His assumption of the dignity was not only repudiated by the unanimous consensus of the rest of the Islāmic World, it also gave Ibn Sa'ūd and the Indian Muslims a handy weapon with which to impugn his motives and discredit him. The cry went forth that his real designs had at last revealed themselves: to serve his personal ambition at the expense of Islām and its unity.<sup>162</sup>

Finally Ḥusayn, as spokesman for the 'Arab Revolt, could do nothing to overcome the reality of British treachery once they had used him and achieved victory in the war. His insistence on Britain's fulfilling commitments they never really intended, led them to discard him like a worn-out shoe when finally Ibn Sa'ūd marched on the Ḥijāz. Sharīf Ḥusayn as King of Ḥijāz abdicated in October 1924 and sailed away to take refuge in 'Aqaba. In the following June, the British Government, alleging Ibn Sa'ūd's objections, advised that his presence in 'Aqaba would no longer be tolerated! He left for Cyprus where he remained until 1930. When he was afflicted by a stroke at the age of 75, he was 'allowed' to return to 'Ammān to end his days near his sons.<sup>163</sup> He died in June 1931, an embittered man.

### Conclusion

There the perfidy ends. The arrogance of lineage split 'Arabs from within and was taken to its logical conclusion in the pride of race-based nationalism, putting aside purported higher loyalties to Islām to break the institutionalised unity of the *umma* that was the Khalīfat.

162. Antonius, *op. cit.*, 335.

163. Ḥusayn's son 'Alī had succeeded as King of Ḥijāz on Ḥusayn's abdication, but was himself to capitulate to Ibn Sa'ūd's superior forces in December 1925 and left for Baghdād to live in exile at the court of his brother, British-installed King Fayṣal. Upon Fayṣal's death in 1933, he was succeeded by his son Ghāzī who in 1939 was in turn succeeded by King Fayṣal II, later to be overthrown and killed in the 'Irāqī revolution of 1958. The British had put Ḥusayn's son, 'Abd Allāh to rule Transjordan; he was assassinated in Jerusalem on 20 July 1951 for his Zionist affiliations. 'Abd Allāh's son Ṭalāl, who succeeded him, was deposed by the Jordanian Parliament in 1952 and ended his days in a mental asylum, and it was Ṭalāl's son, Ḥusayn (b. 14 November 1935, d. 7 February 1999) who then reigned as King of Jordan. King Ḥusayn, who was standing near his grandfather 'Abd Allāh when he was assassinated, would proudly assert he was carrying on his grandfather's policy of accommodation with Zionist Israel.

'Nationalism', the ploy of Western imperial greed, swallowed the 'Arab World including Palestine, which is yet to be retrieved.<sup>164</sup> The League of Nations' mandate system gave legal, internationally recognised cover to subjugation and the Zionist colonisation of Palestine. Muṣṭafā Kemal turned his back on the Muslim World and concentrated on the survival of Turkey *per se*, stomping heavily on Islām and all its institutions. Further East, the Japanese played out their imperial dreams at the cost of great suffering to the Korean and Chinese people. Britain continued unperturbed as the colonial power in India, Burma, the Malay States and Singapore, and the Dutch devourers of Indonesia were only overcome by the Japanese invasion of the Second World War, raising high a new myth of 'co-prosperity' for Asian peoples.

As for the bewildered aristocracy of Riau, it lived and died in exile, the Sultan a broken, impoverished figure, a shadow of the ruler he once was.<sup>165</sup> Raja Ali Kelana died in Johor, and Syed Shaykh moved on to Melaka and thence to Penang. There he wrote and published, ever conscious of the direct British rule under which he functioned and which with a stroke of a pen could proscribe all he cried out to awaken a sleeping *umma*. The colonialists were to remain, sustained by the contradictions within the peoples they ruled.

---

164. Ironically, the wider context of pan-Arabism provided Zionism with a 'moral' rationalisation for the transfer of the 'Arabs' of Palestine to neighbouring 'Arab territories. And again it was an illusory aspiration — this time of Sharīf Husayn's son, Amir Fayṣal — which led to negotiations with Zionism, to wit the January 1919 agreement between Chaim Weizmann — world Zionist movement leader — and Fayṣal, the aspirant to leadership of the 'Arab nationalist movement. "According to the agreement, concluded under British auspices in the presence of T. E. Lawrence, Faisal would support Jewish immigration into Palestine on the basis of the Balfour Declaration, while the Zionist Organization would provide economic experts to the Arab state Faisal sought to create. Although the agreement does not mention transfer, it nonetheless serves as a kind of prototype of attempted Zionist deals in that it involves an exchange of Zionist assistance for Arab acquiescence in Zionist goals." (Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought 1882-1948* (Washington, D. C.: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1992) 21-2.

165. See Addendum, 265-8. *infra*.

THE LIFE OF MY FATHER

Syed Alwi al-Hady

*Harimau mati tinggalkan bĕlang,  
orang mati tinggalkan nama.*

The tiger may die but he lives again in his pelt,  
a man who is dead lives again in his fame.



## THE LIFE OF MY FATHER

**T**O fulfil the request of Alijah Gordon, who at that time was embarked upon the research project "Islām in Malaya", did I attempt to bring to light the contribution of my father, the late Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawi, to the development of Islām in Malaya. I have made every effort to obtain a selection of his writings published in two leading periodicals, *al-Imām* (The Leader), started in Singapore on 23 July 1906 and which ran until 25 December 1908, and *al-Ikhwān* (The Brotherhood or Brethren), published in Penang from 16 September 1926 until 16 December 1931.

That I have been fortunate enough to succeed in this is due to the generosity of my good friend, [Tan Sri] Haji Dr. Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad, Pandita Za'ba, who knew my father well and who was kind enough to lend me five volumes of *al-Ikhwān*; it is from these that I have made most of the extracts which MSRI has translated and are published in this volume. The reader may find it amazing that I do not have copies of my father's work; for this the Japanese occupation is responsible.

Perhaps it is not out of place for me, by way of introduction to this volume, to give a brief sketch of my father's life that readers may have a better understanding of his work, the work of someone I revere very deeply.

My father was born on Tuesday afternoon, 25 Rejab 1284 A. H. or 22 November 1867<sup>1</sup> in Kampung Hulu,<sup>2</sup> a little known village in Melaka, and died of brain disease on 20 February 1934<sup>3</sup> at the age of 67 in Penang, to where he had moved in later life to continue his life's work.

- 
1. Ed. Note: This date is found in the short introduction to his book *Kitab Agama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason). (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931). The introduction also gives a list of the books written by him.
  2. My grandfather, Syed Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawi — born 1 Shawwāl 1253 A. H. / 29 December 1837 A. D. and died 15 Zu'lhijjah 1312 A. H. / 8 June 1895 A. D. — was also born in Kampung Hulu, as was my great-grandfather (although I have no written evidence of this). My grandfather's first wife was Zu'lhijjah and their children were:  
Hasan, 1275 A. H. / 1859 A. D.—1290 A. H./1873 A. D.;  
Noor, (died in infancy) 1276 A. H./1859 A. D.;  
Salmah, 1281 A. H./1865 A. D.—1288 A. H. /1871 A. D.;  
Shaykh, 1284 A. H./1867 A. D.—1352 A. H./1934 A. D.;

*continued on page 70*

My grandfather, Syed Ahmad, as well as his brother Syed Muhammad moved from Melaka to Pulau Penyengat Indra Sakti, Riau-Lingga in about 1291 A. H. /1874 A. D. At that time Syed Shaykh was seven years old.

Not long thereafter, for reasons known only to Allāh, my father, Syed Shaykh, attracted the attention of His Royal Highness Raja Ali Kelana ibni Almarhum Yang Dipertuan Besar Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi who became so attached to him that he adopted Syed Shaykh and treated him like one of his own children.

After learning the basics of Malay language and Islāmic fundamentals in Riau, accompanied by his uncle Syed Muhammad al-Hady,<sup>4</sup> Syed Shaykh was sent to Kuala Terengganu for further studies. At that time the *madrasas* and *sekolah pondok* in Terengganu and Kelantan were very highly regarded in the Malay peninsula. Although the schools were run in the 'pondok' way, they were much better and bigger than the religious schools in the other states of the peninsula.<sup>5</sup> And furthermore, Syed Muhammad al-Hady was at that time married for the second time with a girl from Terengganu. When I first visited Kuala Terengganu in 1920 or 1921 after my return from Beirut, I was taken by Syed Abdulkadir al-Idrus (Engku Pengiran Anum Terengganu)

---

*continued from page 69*

Fatimah, (died in infancy) 1287 A. H./1870 A. D.

By his second wife, he had these children:

Noor, born 1309 A. H./1891 A. D.– d. 1966;

Hussein, born 1312 A. H./1895 A. D.– d. 1968.

3. Ed. Note: *Saudara*, 24 February 1934. He is buried at Masjid Jelutong burial-grounds. Re "brain disease", see "Through the Prism ...", 100 *infra*.
4. Syed Shaykh's uncle, Syed Muhammad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawi, the younger brother of his father, was also born in Kampung Hulu, Melaka in the month of Rabī' al-Akhīr 1256 A. H. /June 1840 A. D. He married Sharifah Hashimah bt. Othman Alsagoff (one of the two princesses from the Daeng Chelak (Bugis) family). The other daughter married an 'Arab from the al-Ba'Alawi family at Pulau Penyengat. Syed Muhammad al-Hady died at Bandar Hilir, Melaka on Saturday 2 Zu'lhijjah 1334 A.H., that is 30 September 1916. He had eight children with Sharifah Hashimah, all of whom died before the Second World War. They were Saqaf and Hasan, and daughters, Sharifah Sheikhun, 'Aishah, Fatmah, Maznah, 'Aloyah and Zeinab.
5. Ed. Note: *Pondok*. Malay for 'hut', refers to the 'huts' in which students lived at rural residential schools where classes might be held in nearby *suraus* (prayerhouses) or *masjids*. *Pondok* schools contributed to the flourishing of Islām amongst the rural Malays. For a discussion of such religious schools, see "Through the Prism ...", 92, ed. n. 13 *infra* and "His Mission", 147, ed. n. 186 *infra*.

to an area close by where my father had studied. Engku Pengiran Anum related that Syed Shaykh was never interested in his studies. Instead he spent his time with the royal family. This was possible because his uncle Syed Muhammad was a close friend of the Sultan. (This can be verified from the deeds of the land on which the General Hospital now stands, the land gifted to him by the Sultan.)

My father had not been long in Kuala Terengganu when he was called back to Pulau Penyengat by his adoptive father. It was there that he received his full education in Malay language, culture and religion.

To understand the significance of the family's move from Melaka to Pulau Penyengat, it must be remembered that in the early 18th century, Johor, the immediate successor to the Melaka Sultanate, had made the Riau-Lingga Islands the seat of its government. Riau was to become the political, social, religious and literary focus of the Malay people. So strong was its influence that even after the arbitrary decision by the British and the Dutch to separate Riau from the rest of Malaya by their treaty of 1824,<sup>6</sup> Riau continued to play a considerable role in Malay culture. This explains why the Johor-Riau dialect was considered standard Malay, both in British Malaya and in the Dutch East Indies, until 1928.<sup>7</sup>

It was my father's good fortune to have been adopted by Raja Ali Kelana, half brother of Sultan Abdul Rahman, ruler of Riau-Lingga, as his education was naturally advanced, not only in Islām but also in Malay language and culture. He drew from this fountainhead, both by direct instruction and by living as one of the members of the royal family, a privilege enjoyed by few. Within the royal family circle he was known by the endearing name of Engku Anum (fully ripe or ruddy), while later in Singapore he was simply known as Wan Anum.<sup>8</sup>

Among the earlier members of the royal court at Pulau Penyengat were many notable writers and poets, the most well-known being Raja Ali Haji ibn Ahmad (1809–70), the author of *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*

---

6. Ed. Note: Mills, L. A., "British Malaya 1824–67", Chapter IV, *JMBRAS*, III, 2 (Nov. 1925) 71–81; repr. *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 3, 191 (1960) 86–98. Britain and the Netherlands partitioned the Malay World through the Melaka Strait. This irrevocably divided the Johor-Riau kingdom, severed the cultural unity of east-coast Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, and is the basis of the contemporary boundary between Malaysia and Indonesia.

7. Ed. Note: In 1928, the Indonesian Youth Congress in Jakarta (then still Batavia) resolved to make the Malay language Indonesia's National Language or *Bahasa Indonesia*. Malay was not numerically the strongest of the Indonesian languages. However, historically it has always been the lingua-franca of the area. The difference in dialect pronunciation between the Riau-Johor dialect and the Bahasa Indonesia can be illustrated in the word 'what': *aper* for the former, *apa* for the latter.

8. Ed. Note: 'Ripe' or 'ruddy' would be *ranum*; but this may have been dialect.

*dan sekalian Raja-rajanya* (Genealogy of Malay and Bugis Princes), *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift) and other literary works. Of the lesser known writers were Raja Hasan and his sisters Raja Kalzum and Raja Safiah, who made the writing of poetry their pastime.<sup>9</sup>

It was in such a congenial environment that my father lived his most impressionable youthful years. It was also in Pulau Penyengat that my father married. His bride, my mother, Sharifah Sheikhun,<sup>10</sup> was a cousin, the daughter of Syed Muhammad b. Hasan al-Hady, who lived in the household of Raja Ali Kelana.

My father also worked for the welfare of the people of that beautiful island. He served so well that the people made him their youth leader. With the assistance of men from the royal house of Riau, he organised cultural shows and exhibitions. More often than not, the performers were from the royal household.

Although he spent his young life in service of the royal family and the people of Riau, my father did not forget his duty to widen his knowledge of Islām and 'Arabic and to continue his study of the Malay language and culture. He never tired of questioning those he knew could help him expand his knowledge. It had become his nature not to believe anything that was logically unacceptable. Thus it became known that it was hard for any religious teacher at that time to ask Syed Shaykh to follow any given rule if they could not convince him with a good and logical explanation. In fact, I remember him often saying to his friends that one of the requirements of being a teacher is to be prepared to accept questions and then to have the ability to answer clearly and logically so as to be understandable to the questioner. I guess, because of his nature, he was not able to stay long in the 'Sekolah Pondok' at Terengganu, only a year or two. One of his last teachers at

---

9. Ed. Note: R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*. XVII. 3 (January 1940, 3<sup>rd</sup> pt. for year 1939) 131; rev. edn. under the title "A History of Classical Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*. XXXI, 3, 183 (June 1958) 134, deletes reference to these three royal writers.

10. About 1309 A. H. /1891 A. D., Syed Shaykh married his cousin Shanfah Sheikhun, the eldest daughter of his uncle Syed Muhammad. From that marriage four children were born: myself, born in Pulau Penyengat, 15 Muharram 1310 A. H. /8 August 1892 A. D.; Ahmad born 1314 A. H. /1896 A. D., who died in infancy; Aishah born 1315 A. H. / 1897 A. D., who died in Penang in December 1933, shortly before our own father; and Umhani, born 1316 A. H. /1898 A.D. who also predeceased our father, dying in Penang in April 1931. From a second wife whom Syed Shaykh married in Singapore while his first family were still living in Pulau Penyengat, Mariam was born in Telok Belanga, Singapore, in 1321 A. H. / 1903 A. D. and died in Penang on 5 June 1954. Ed. Note: There was no issue from his third wife, Sharifah Zainah of the eminent al-Mashhur family of Penang.

Pulau Penyengat was Ustaz Haji Husain (I have forgotten his full name),<sup>11</sup> a religious teacher and a famous *'ālim*,<sup>12</sup> especially in Pulau Penyengat and generally in Riau-Lingga.

It was while in Pulau Penyengat that my father began attacking the un-Islāmic teachings of those religious leaders who worked only for their personal benefit. Years later in 1925, on one of his train trips to Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, he met one such old protagonist, Shaykh Muhammad Saleh. Haji Saleh had left Riau years before because he was opposed to the modernist interpretation of Islām as advocated by my father. It is interesting that this same Haji Saleh then went to live in Perak (Malaya) where he became the Shaykh al-Islām (the chief religious authority) of the State during the reign of Sultan Iskandar.<sup>13</sup>

Through his intimate relationship with the royal family, on many occasions my father had the good fortune to accompany the sons of the Sultan of Riau and Raja Ali Kelana to Egypt and Makka for the purpose of study and pilgrimage. My father took full advantage of those opportunities to further improve his knowledge of 'Arabic and Islām.

In those 'Arab lands, my father had the chance to meet the political leaders, scholars, and intellectuals of those societies. He also met those involved in a movement to wipe out all that was erroneous and contrary to the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān and the Prophet.<sup>14</sup> This movement

- 
11. Ed. Note: Raja Haji Muhammad 'Arif (276 *infra*) informs that Syed Shaykh was taught by Haji Husain Palembangi and Haji Saleh Minangkabau.
  12. Ed. Note: *'Ālim*: one who possesses the quality of *'ilm*, knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree: *'ilm* as used here would mean knowledge of traditions and of resultant canon law and theology. Plural: *'ulamā'*. See Macdonald, D. B., "'Ulamā'", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit.*, 599.
  13. Ed. Note: The Shaykh had been the Sultan's religious teacher in the Kuala Lumpur Police Barracks.
  14. Ed. Note: Syed Alwi refers to Gerakan Membasmi Khurafat, movement to eradicate deviant teachings or superstitions. He also writes of his father having met Syed 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī, "a well known figure among the Malays". Syed 'Abd Allāh actively confronted the tyrannical Sharīf of Makka and for this reason had to seek refuge amongst his Naqshabandi disciples in Borneo, where he was to become Muftī of Pontianak. He visited Riau in 1895 and Maṭba'a al-Riauwiya, published his *Risālat al-fawā'id al-wāfiyat fi sharḥ ma'nā al-taḥīyat*. Syed Shaykh translated one of his articles, published in *al-Imām* (July 1908) 25-7. Some time after 1908 when Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī had succeeded as Sharīf of Makka, Syed 'Abd Allāh was made Muftī. See *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936*, eds. E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1965) III, 1600-11; Bruinessen, van-, Martin, *op cit.*, 165, 167; Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "Arab political activities ..." (1997) *op. cit.*, 11, n. 38 and "Riau: The *Milieu* of Syed Shaykh's Formative Years ..." 34, n. 83 *supra* (hereafter cited as "Riau ...").

was inspired by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī.<sup>15</sup> The leadership later fell to Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh, who was to become the Muftī of Egypt,<sup>16</sup> and then to Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935). I am not certain that my father met Muḥammad ‘Abduh (who died in July 1905), but he did know Rashīd Riḍā, with whom he corresponded.<sup>17</sup>

I remember that when I and eight other friends left for Beirut in 1914, my father gave me a letter of introduction to Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā and insisted I should see him personally. That my father had access to Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā would assure you that he was of the élite of the intellectuals. Subsequently, whenever we visited Egypt we always paid a courtesy call on the Shaykh, and he never failed to offer advice.

The Egyptian reformist movement published the magazine *al-Manār* (The Lighthouse),<sup>18</sup> which exerted a strong influence on my

15. Ed. Note: Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838/9–1897) advocated Pan-Islāmism in the face of European domination of the Muslim World. He insisted that the salvation of the Muslims lay in the efforts of the Muslims themselves. He therefore preached the rebirth of Islām and the political awakening of the people of the East, in whom he attempted to instil a sense of pride and dignity.

Undated, but probably written during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–8. Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī proposed "... to arouse Muslims bordering on or within Russia to rise against the Russians ...". He would "emphasize Russia's aims and convey ... that if ... a calamity befalls the Ottoman Government, neither will permanence remain to Mecca nor majesty to Medina". See Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) 131–2.

16. Ed. Note: Muḥammad ‘Abduh was born of Egyptian peasant stock in 1849 and died in 1905. At the age of 17, his father sent him to al-Azhar University, the highest seat of Islāmīc learning in Egypt and the Muslim World. He met Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in 1869 and was so inspired by the latter's rationalism that he made himself Jamāl al-Dīn's disciple. A scholar rather than a revolutionary, Muḥammad ‘Abduh gave new interpretations of Islām in accordance with modern needs and advocated social reforms through his papers and periodicals. See "To Turn the Current of the Age", 166–71 *infra*.

17. Ed. Note: Pandita Za'ba (Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad) in his letter (Appendix C, 285 *infra*) says this of the relationship between Syed Shaykh al-Hady and Rashīd Riḍā: "I had the impression that he [Syed Shaykh] never cared much for Rashīd Riḍā, as although Riḍā was a fanatical worshipper of ‘Abduh, he never reviled the opponents of ‘Abduh, an unexpected attitude for a scholar!"

18. Ed. Note: *al-Manār* was founded in 1898 by Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, a disciple of Muḥammad ‘Abduh. Some of its purposes were:

- to promote social, religious and economic reforms,
- to prove the suitability of Islām in the modern world,
- to remove superstitions and beliefs that do not belong to Islām,
- to encourage tolerance and unity among the different sects,
- to promote general education and the sciences and arts, and
- to arouse the Muslim nations to compete with other nations.

*al-Manār*, I, 3, 4, quoted in Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 181.

father. He was a fervent reader of *al-Manār* and a militant supporter of this reformist movement. He believed that the objects of the movement must also be realised in Malaya.

In 1901, when my father was thirty-four years of age, his adoptive father Raja Haji Ali Kelana transferred the management of the well-known Batam Brickworks to his care, a post previously held by a Mr. Benson.<sup>19</sup> My father left his family in Pulau Penyengat and went to live in Singapore. However, he regularly returned to Pulau Penyengat as the trip took only six hours by motorboat.

There were others in Singapore who shared my father's feeling for change. He had become acquainted with a number of Malay scholars who had returned from the 'Arab World, namely Abbas b. Mohd. Taha (b. 1885 in Singapore),<sup>20</sup> Shaykh Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaluddin

19. Ed. Note: It is interesting to note what the editors of *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* say about the Batam Brickworks:

"That truth is sometimes stranger than fiction is again attested by the life-story of Raja Alie (*sic*), who was Crown Prince (Kelana) of Riau during the reign of his father. Yang di-Pertuan Raja Mohamed Easop (*sic*), and relinquished the honour in favour of a commercial career. He is now sole proprietor of the Batam Brickworks which, though situated on the Dutch island of Batani, two hours sail from Singapore, may properly be included in the industrial concerns of the Colony; all the business is transacted from the head office at 10 Raffles Quay, Singapore. The Batam Brickworks had been established for many years but the founder was unable to make the business a success, and after passing through many vicissitudes, the undertaking was purchased by Raja Alie, the present owner, in 1896. At that time the plant was capable of an output of 30,000 bricks a day, but with the new machinery that has now been installed to meet the growing demand for Batam bricks, exactly double this quantity will be turned out. The bricks, which are machine-made, have been supplied to the Government, the Municipality, and the Railway Department in Singapore and the Federated Malay States for several years and have given every satisfaction. They received awards at the Pinang Agricultural Show in 1901 and at the Hanoi Exposition of 1902-3. Raja Alie also does a large trade in copra in the Natunas Islands. To such dimensions has his business grown that Raja Alie acquired the steamer *Karang* to convey the copra between the Natunas Islands and Singapore. The vessel carries about 3,000 bags each shipment and is constantly engaged. The superintendent of the brickworks where 200 men are permanently employed, is Tengku Sembob. Mr. Syed Sheikh al-Hady is the attorney and manager of the concern at the head office in Singapore. He is a British subject and is a clever businessman. Raja Alie is the father of a large family and has sent his sons to Egypt to be educated." (*Op. cit.*, 664.)

20. Ed. Note: Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, who succeeded Shaykh Tahir as editor of *al-Imām* in 1908, was born in Singapore in 1885 and, as a youth, studied in Makka, returning to Singapore in 1905. After the closure of *al-Imām*, in 1911 he was to found and edit the weekly *Neracha* (The Scales) and in 1913 the monthly *Tunas Melayu* (The Malay Bud). In these he continued the cause to which *al-Imām* had been dedicated.

al-Azhari (1869–1956),<sup>21</sup> Syed Muhammad b. Akil [‘Aqil],<sup>22</sup> the Acehnese Shaykh Muhammad Salim al-Kalali and Shaykh Awad al-Sa’aidan.<sup>23</sup> Shaykh Muhammad Tahir, born 1869 in Sumatra, was educated in Egypt and Makka. He was considered to be more of an ‘*‘ālim* than my father but he was less radical and not as outspoken. Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, however, was of a strong and independent view. One of the earlier students from Malaya to have studied in the ‘Arab World, he started the controversy on the question of *ribā* or usury by declaring that interest from a Co-operative or Savings Bank was not *ribā*.<sup>24</sup> These men laboured and devoted their time and money to the cause of Islām. They held meetings until late at night at my father’s place at 135 Prinsep Street, Singapore.<sup>25</sup>

Eventually, in 1906 this group published *al-Imām* (The Leader), modelled after *al-Manār* of Egypt. The intention of this magazine was:

- to impart knowledge to the Muslim brethren in the East;
- to advise and indicate the ways of a good Muslim;
- to remind those who were idle of the need to work, to awaken those asleep, and to guide those who had lost their way back to the true path of Islām.<sup>26</sup>

*Al-Imām* had its own printing press at 19 Weld Road, Singapore. Both the magazine and the press were managed by Shaykh Muhammad b. Salim al-Kalali; and the first editor was Shaykh Tahir, followed by Haji

---

21. Ed. Note: Shaykh Tahir’s birthplace is given by Pandita Za’ba as Kota Gedang, Sumatra, and by others as Ampek Angkek, Sumatra, and variously Kota Tua, Bukit Tinggi, Sumatra! At the age of twelve, Muhammad Tahir was sent to study in Makka, where he lived for twelve years. In 1893, he went to Cairo to study astronomy at al-Azhar University. He spent four years in Cairo, where he came to know the reformist Muḥammad ‘Abduh and his disciple Rashīd Riḍā. When in 1898 *al-Manār* was founded by Rashīd Riḍā, Shaykh Tahir contributed articles. After his graduation from al-Azhar he spent a further two years teaching in Makka before returning home in 1899. In 1903, he also accompanied the Riau royal youth to Makka and Cairo.

22. Ed. Note: See “Riau ...”, 10, n. 17; 33–8; 42–8; 66 *supra*; 250 *infra*.

23. Ed. Note: Pandita Za’ba in Appendix C, 281 *infra*, who writes of Shaykh Awad (Awadh) as once having been his opponent, spells the name as Sa’idan. It is cited elsewhere as al-Saidin and variously as Saadan! See “Riau ...”, 37–8 *supra*.

24. Ed. Note: Actually reflecting the position taken by Muftī Muḥammad ‘Abduh.

25. Ed. Note: The registered office of the Batam Brickworks.

26. Ed. Note: “... to remind those who are forgetful, arouse those who sleep, guide those who stray, and give a voice to those who speak with wisdom.” *al-Imām*, 1, editorial (23 July 1906).

Abbas b. Mohd. Taha. Although my father wrote many of the articles, he could not be named as editor as he was then the manager of Batam Brickworks. Another prominent figure, Syed Muhammad b. Akil [‘Aqil] gave unstinting support, financially and intellectually. However, the ‘financial hero’ of *al-Imām* was Shaykh Awad al-Sa’aidan.

With the publication of *al-Imām*, the Malays were given the opportunity of knowing the true commandments and teachings of Islām, in contrast to the false and nonsensical teachings to which they had hitherto been subject; and from that date the Muslim leaders, teachers and scholars who had failed to carry out their Islāmic duties properly began to fear that their manipulation of this most holy of religions would at last be revealed to the Malay public. It was *al-Imām* which first brought realisation to the Malays, and even if this movement did not eradicate completely the prevalent falsehoods and deceptions, few now dared to practise their trickery in the open.

So earnest was my father’s crusade for modern Islām that there were religious teachers with their pupils and followers who dubbed him the ‘Chief of the al-Manār Group’ (*Ketua* or *Khalīfa Kaum al-Manār*), accusing him of going beyond the pale of Islām. He was also called ‘Chief of the New Group’ or ‘Young Faction’ (*Ketua* or *Khalīfa Kaum Muda*) or ‘Chief of the Wahhābī Group’.<sup>27</sup> These ‘titles’ were meant to be terms of abuse, which they were to those of reactionary mentality. But these attacks were in the nature of ‘slinging in the dark’ for his accusers were never so bold as openly to confront him in debate. They could only hope to prevent ignorant Malays, their followers and pupils whom they had hoodwinked, from being influenced by my father’s attacks.

Unlike Shaykh Tahir and Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, my father was not a man of high education who possessed formal qualifications. His education only enabled him to read and write and speak the ‘Arabic language which when he began studying religious knowledge was no more than sufficient for his own use; but he was able to do what he did in his crusade against the false and the nonsensical because of his determination and his ceaseless reading of religious journals, books,

---

27. Ed. Note: *Wahhābī* refers to community founded by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87). The members call themselves *Muwahhīdūn* ‘unitarians’ and their system (*ṭarīqa*) ‘Muḥammadan’. They regard themselves as *Sunnīs* of the Ḥanbalī School as interpreted by Ibn Taymīya, who strongly attacked the cult of saints. The general aim of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb was to do away with all innovations (*bid’a*) which were later than the third century of Islām. Thus the community are able to recognise the authority of the four *Sunnī* (orthodox) law schools and the six books of tradition. See Margoliouth, D. S., ‘Wahhābiya’, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit.*, 618–21.

newspapers and religious tracts, particularly publications from Egypt. So avid a reader was he that going back to my schooldays I can remember the collection of his books which was both envied and admired by 'Arabic and Muslim scholars in Singapore. His love of reading continued till his death.

In addition to *al-Imām*, my father and his friends tried yet another bold experiment. On 4 February 1908, they opened a religious school called Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyyah.<sup>28</sup> It was situated where the present Chinese YMCA stands in Singapore. The Madrasa taught not only religious knowledge, 'Arabic and Malay, but also English, arithmetic, geography, history, elocution and the writing of essays. My father and his friends were eager to introduce Western knowledge into their religious school. Unfortunately, the experiment failed due to lack of support.

---

28. Ed. Note: Ibrahim b. Abu Bakar, *Islamic Modernism in Malaya: The Life and Thought of Sayid Syekh al-Hady 1867–1934* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1994), 61, in reading through *al-Imām* of 1906–8 found no evidence that Syed Shaykh was either a teacher or a founder of this school. Ibrahim explains the school's demise as a result of a split between some of the parents and the Riau ruling family. The school's promoters appointed Raja Ali Kelana as patron, but this was disputed. Due to the opposition, Raja Ali Kelana withdrew his financial support. The main source of support was from its principal, 'Uthmān Effendī Raf'at, with some contributions from parents and other Muslims. While the school ran without him for sometime, Raja Ali Kelana was not pleased and asked his half-brother, the Riau Sultan, to intervene. The Sultan ordered the school and its teachers to move to Pulau Penyengat, where it was renamed Madrasah al-Aḥmadīya. Syed 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Šāliḥ al-Zawāwī, although one of the founders and administrators of the school, did not accept the move. He was an 'ālim from Makka who lived in Singapore for more than ten years. He returned to Makka in 1908. Unfortunately, Ibrahim does not explain the basis for the controversy and neither does he give the source of his information. Re Syed 'Abd Allāh, see n. 14, *supra*.  
 Abu Bakar Hamzah, *al-Imam: Its Role in Malay Society, 1906–1908* (Kuala Lumpur: Media Cendekiawan; repr. Pustaka Antara, 1991), 76–7, quotes *al-Imām*, II, 12 (9 June 1908) 388–9, where the school's Board of Management clarified that the school was not a private enterprise of Raja Ali Kelana. "To avoid any further confusion from the members of the public who wish to make contributions, Raja Ali has hereby withdrawn his name from the patronage of the school ... It is hoped, therefore, that all Muslims will contribute their services for the benefit of the children of their own brethren."

But Abu Bakar Hamzah also writes that the school brought an "unpleasant reaction from the Kaum Tua" (Old Group or Old Faction). He quotes a correspondent from Batu Biduan, Sumatra, printed in *al-Imām*, II, 12 (9 June 1908) 372–5, speaking of their favourable impression of the subjects taught in the school and their calling on the community to send their sons there, but of getting a negative reaction, the source of which came "from a very murky stream, i.e. from those people who are seen wearing big turbans ... ." (*Ibid.*, 75–6.)

though the encouragement of Muslim children to study science and language remained one of my father's objectives until his death.

*Al-Imām* ceased publication in 1908 and the Madrasa closed in 1909. Through lies and trickery and betrayal by a member of the royal family and one of the aristocrats, in 1911 the Dutch took Pulau-Pulau Segantang Lada or Riau-Lingga totally under their control, and Sultan Abdul Rahman was deposed. My father left Singapore some time after the Pulau Batam Brickworks stopped operations. He first went to Johor Bahru where he worked as a Shari'ah lawyer until sometime after 1914 when increasingly Johor used English law rather than Shari'ah law.<sup>29</sup> Before it progressed further, he left for Melaka. There, on the suggestion and with the co-operation of Haji Abu Bakar b. Ahmad (Haji Bachik, d. 1938 in Penang), a close friend, he opened an 'Arabic religious school called Madrasah al-Hady for instruction in 'Arabic and a true knowledge of Islām. But a few years later [before 1916 and perhaps earlier] he had to leave Melaka, and 'carrying his school with him' he removed to Penang.

The main reason for his leaving Melaka, which I only came to know on my return from Beirut towards the end of 1920, was that the Melaka Malays refused to accept his teachings as they were more attached to their own Muslim scholars and teachers than to al-Qur'an and the true message of the Prophet.

In Penang, my father reopened his school in Tek Soon Street which was now called Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah, after the name of the leader of the Muslim community in Penang at the time, Syed Ahmad al-Mashhur [better known as Ayid Mashhur].<sup>30</sup> After some

---

29. Ed. Note: Johor under Sultan Ibrahim (r. 1895–1959) gave consent for the Qādī to use the Ottoman *Majallat al-Ahkām al-'Adliya* as a reference on all matters regarding the implementation of Civil Law. The *Mejelle*, as popularly known in Turkish, represents an attempt to codify the Civil Code of the *Hanafi Mazhab* (School of Law) on civil transactions between people. The 'Arabic version was translated into Malay under the title *Majalat Ahkam Johore* and published by the office of the State Mufti (1331 A. H. / 1912 A. D.). Its implementation was abruptly curtailed when the British Civil Code was introduced after Johor's 'acceptance' of a British 'General Adviser' in 1914. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), *op. cit.*, 177–8.

30. Ed. Note: Madrasah al-Mashhūr was previously known as Sekolah al-Qur'an. It was established in 1916 by Syed Mahzar Aidid, Shaykh Ali Bawazir, Syed Omar al-Saqah, Syed Omar Mahzar, and Shaykh Hassan Baghdadi. It was located at Masjid Melayu in Acheen Street, Penang and was under the tutorship of Syed Abdul Rahman al-Habshi. It began with about 16 students, the majority of whom were 'Arab children. Madrasah al-Mashhūr was an outgrowth of this school. It began classes at Kampung Jawa Lama. Syed Shaykh proposed an expansion in the school's curriculum and became its headmaster. See Jamilah Othman, *op. cit.*, 83; Omar Farouk Shaek Ahmad, "The Arabs in Penang", *Malaysia in History*, XXI, 2 (1978) 7.

years, he handed over the management of the school to a board comprised of representatives of the Muslim community in Penang, and this school, with its separate division for girls, still exists today.<sup>31</sup>

After handing over the management of the school to the board, my father continued to send articles to those newspapers and magazines courageous enough to publish them. After a time, in 1926, he organised the publication of *al-Ikhwān* as a continuation of *al-Imām*. *Al-Ikhwān* (The Brotherhood or Brethren) was printed locally. At the same time, he started writing novels<sup>32</sup> and other books to obtain much needed income to support *al-Ikhwān*. His novels were such a success that in 1927 he was able to set up his own printing press in Jelutong, called The Jelutong Press.<sup>33</sup> Thereafter, *al-Ikhwān* was published and printed there. In 1928, he launched *Saudara* (Brother; Friend; Comrade), a newspaper which was published weekly until 1932 when it came out twice weekly.

These writings earned him the prestige of being the 'father of the modern Malay novel', and the income from those books helped to maintain *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara*. However, he never gave up his religious writing and became the author of many Malay religious books such as

---

*continued from page 79*

Syed Shaykh took a great interest in developing the school. His Melaka supporter Haji Bachik offered his house at Tek Soon Street for its use and helped to build another house within the same compound. There were about three hundred students. The medium of instruction was 'Arabic and the only non-religious course was the English language. Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin was one of the teachers. It is interesting that although the school was named after Syed Ahmad al-Mashhur, the meaning of *mashhūr* in 'Arabic is 'famous'.

31. Ed. Note: Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, 71, quotes Muhammad Daud, "Madrasah al-Mashoor al-Islamiyah Pulau Pinang: 1916-1969" (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1980) 56, 60-1, to say that Syed Shaykh left his post in 1919 after two years and six months. Syed Shaykh was succeeded by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Maghribī, who served from 1919-20. Apparently, he was not paid what was due to him — variously cited as Malayan 1,000.00, 1,700.00, 2,000.00 — and this conflict led to his withdrawal in 1920. See also "Through the Prism ...", 99, ed. n. 23 *infra* and 'Syed Shaykh's Resource: ...', 243 and 250, n. 9 *infra*.
32. Ed. Note: Pandita Za'ba, writing in R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Malay Literature", *op. cit.*, states that none of these novels are considered "original writings". However, Virginia Matheson Hooker disputes this. Analysing *Hikayat Faridah Hanum, atau Setia Ashek Kepada Ma'ashok-nya* (1925-6) she contends that this is an original narrative. See "Transmission Through Practical Example: Women and Islam in 1920s Malay Fiction", *JMBRAS*, LXVII, 2 (1994) 110, and 'His Mission ...' 155, n. 209 *infra*. (Note that in the 1958 revised edition of Winstedt he omitted Za'ba's contribution, see his note on p. 6 therein, and his title was changed to "A History of Classical Malay Literature".)
33. Ed. Note: Syed Alwi wrote that the Jelutong Press "was put out of action during the Second World War", but he explains no further.

*al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (History of Islām), *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa* (Commentary on the Opening Chapter of al-Qur'ān) and *Tafsīr Juz' 'Amma Yatasā-'alūn* (Commentary on the final section of al-Qur'ān),<sup>34</sup> *Agama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason), *Agama Islam — Soal Jawab* (Islām — Questions and Answers) and *Alam Perempuan* (Woman's World), based on Qāsim Bey Amīn's work,<sup>35</sup> and others.

I must record another of my father's contributions. *Ṭarīqa Taslīm*,<sup>36</sup> also known to the Malays as Matahari (Sun), had been established for years in Penang. A few of the leaders, one of whom had arrogated unto himself the title of Khalīfa, [supreme head of the Muslim community], were forced by the strong criticism of their beliefs and rulings by the youth in their communities to approach Syed Shaykh for affirmation that what they believed was the truth of Islām. The leader and a few of his right-hand men went to see Syed Shaykh at his house at 410 Jelutong Road, Penang, to seek his confirmation that their beliefs were correct. Coincidentally, I was at home during their visit and present at their meeting with my father. My father agreed to investigate the matter on condition they agree to accept his findings, which would be based clearly and firmly on al-Qur'ān and the Prophet's Ḥadīth. All six of the leaders (if I am not mistaken) accepted this precondition.

For about three months, my father researched and investigated the matter with the help of two of his good friends, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Maghribī,<sup>37</sup> then the principal of Madrasah al-Huda al-Diniyyah at Dato' Keramat Road, Penang, and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari.

When the investigation was completed, a gathering was called at Masjid Jāmi' in Jelutong where about 10,000 Muslims, Malays and others, both men and women, congregated. They came not just from Penang and Seberang Prai but from all over the north of the Malay peninsula.

34. Ed. Note: Both commentaries were Malay renderings of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh's work.

35. Ed. Note: Qāsim Amīn (1863–1908) was one of Muḥammad 'Abduh's younger followers. In 1899, his book *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (Emancipation of Woman) appeared, followed in 1901 by a second book *al-Mar'a al-Jadīda* (The New Woman), both published in Cairo. No less than thirty books and pamphlets were written to refute his works and to attack him personally. See Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 231.

36. Ed. Note: In one of the versions of Syed Alwi's memoirs, he writes that his father referred to such *ṭarīqa* as *'tarek ikat'*, 'pull and tie'.

37. Ed. Note: See 'Through the Prism ...', 99, ed. n. 23 *infra* and 'Syed Shaykh's Resource: ...', 239–56, *infra*.

My father stood up and informed the audience of their findings. He spoke non-stop for about three hours, citing one *kitāb* after the other. All the books to which he referred were marked and neatly placed in order on a large table in front of him for the easy reference of those who might wish to dispute what he had said. However, not one from the audience came forward, even though my father called upon them to do so after he had finished speaking. More than an hour passed without any contention.

Present at the gathering were the second in the leadership of Taslīm and eight senior followers, as well as quite a number of their supporters. When it was opened to the public to ask questions and none did, it was unanimously decided that based on the findings of Syed Shaykh and his colleagues:

- All the rulings in the book of Taslīm were wrong and contradictory to Islām; accordingly, the following of the *ṭarīqa* is *shirk* (polytheism).
- The book of Taslīm should be burned in front of the congregation on that very day. The book was then held aloft by the second in the leadership of the *ṭarīqa* and a few of his right-hand men set it alight.
- To avoid the followers of Taslīm amongst the audience being singled out and thereby losing face, all those present should call out *Tawba* (I repent) and repeat together the *Kalīma Shahāda* (Confession of Faith), and this was immediately done.

These proceedings were fully reported in *Saudara* of 1933.<sup>38</sup>

---

38. Ed. Note: 350, 6 (18 Oct.) 7: 351, 6 (21 Oct.) 7: 352, 6 (25 Oct.) 6; and see Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, 'A Reformist Ulama...', 246 *infra*, who writes about the role of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī in this ideological confrontation. Although what Syed Alwī recorded occurred in 1933, Syed Naguib al-Attas wrote of Taslīm: 'Exposure of a counterfeit' in *Some Aspects of Sūfism as understood and practised among the Malays*, ed. Gordon, Shirle (Alijah) (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 89–96. Naguib states in n. 2 (90): "Most of the doctrines are based upon ideas found in a book written in Lahore, India in 1926 ... *Anā'l-Haqq* (I am the Truth)". He further says, "The followers of Taslīm believe that Muḥammad is not the last of the prophets and that many prophets would and have come after him. One of these prophets is their Leader, and until he dies he will remain the incarnation of Muḥammad on earth. When he is dead he will be succeeded by his son and heir. All the followers of Taslīm must submit themselves to the Leader ... including their wealth, wife and children — with utter submission" (91). They interpret *taslīma* as utter and complete submission from which Taslīm derived its name (94–5). Taslīm continues to be based in Bayan Lepas, Penang, in a village they call Kampung Seronok or 'village of pleasure'. Here the members have formed their own community.

On 20 February 1934, in Jelutong, Penang when he had completed his sixty-seventh year, my father returned to the mercy of Allah. At the time of his death, he was still working. Let us hope that his work has enriched the teaching of Islām and brought new light that shall not be extinguished.<sup>39</sup>

---

39. Ed. Note: There are instances where Syed Alwi's recollections are contradicted by later researchers, as you will read in the notes. But when questioned by the editor, for instance re his statement that his father was taken to Pulau Penyengat at the age of seven, he replied in his own handwriting: "I got my date from my Grandfather's notebook"; re other queries, he wrote: "please stick to mine [what I have written] and don't worry too much about what Roff said!". Thus what you have read are Syed Alwi's contentions, who was after all Syed Shaykh's son, and thus they remain as written.

Our beloved Syed Alwi — who called the editor 'Anakanda' — was 77 years old on 8 August 1969. He died in Penang and was buried on 6 January 1970 in the Jelutong Masjid burial-grounds, where his father Syed Shaykh also lies, and may Allāh grant him peace of soul.



SYED SHAYKH: THROUGH THE PRISM OF A CHILD'S EYES  
AND THE AL-HADY CLAN

Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady

*Laut yang dalam dapat diduga  
hati orang siapa tahu?*

The depths of the sea can be plumbed,  
but who can tell the feelings of the human heart?



## THROUGH THE PRISM OF A CHILD'S EYES

**M**Y first memories as a child are of a serious but kindly face peering at me. Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur's gentle hands holding me, feeding me, bathing me. This continued until I became aware and recognised this mother of mine who had been looking after me from soon after my birth. When I was terribly young, I regarded this kindly lady and Syed Shaykh as my mother and father. It was only later that I was told my real father and mother lived across the street at 431 Jelutong Road. My grandfather, Syed Shaykh, had asked my father, Syed Alwi, to give me to him as his adopted son. So, from the time I opened my eyes, as far as I was concerned, Syed Shaykh was my father and his wife, Sharifah Zainah, was my mother. Fact or no fact, throughout his life and my life with him, we acted, behaved, lived and loved as real father and son. I knew of no other father and mother than Syed Shaykh and Sharifah Zainah. This state of affairs continued during the time of my pre-school and schooling life until his death.

As far as I can remember, I was not allowed to be away from him even for one night; he really wanted to keep me entirely to himself, not to have any other influence acting upon me. In other words, he wanted to handmake me.

One of the reasons why Syed Shaykh didn't want any influence to be put over me is perhaps because he was disappointed in my father. Alwi was sent to Beirut, but he didn't finish his studies,<sup>1</sup> and he came back with a Lebanese wife. He married Nabihah and brought her back here, and Syed Shaykh didn't like that, you know. He was bent on

---

1. Ed. Note: To be fair to the late Syed Alwi al-Hady, we must explain, as per the autobiographical notes he left with us of his years during World War I. Writing of 1914, he says that having completed his Standard VII education in Johor Bahru it was originally intended he should study in England, but "it was suddenly switched to ... Beirut for two years study of 'Arabic and Islām before proceeding to England". On 11 May 1914, Alwi, with eight others, among them Mohamed Noah b. Orang Kaya Omar of Muar, later to become Tan Sri Haji Mohamed Noah and father-in-law of two Malaysian Prime Ministers, Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Hussein Onn, travelled to Beirut by the Japanese ship *N. Y. K. Mishima Maru*. The group was admitted to the Kullīya 'Othmāniya Islāmiya. In November 1914, the Triple Entente declared war on the Ottomans and "the College was seriously affected" (Alwi doesn't

*continued on page 86*

having Alwi coming back as a graduate, and instead he came back with a Lebanese wife! So, I don't know what happened, of course, I wasn't even born then. But whatever transpired, in 1921 Nabihah returned to Beirut where she gave birth to a son, Syed Ahmad al-Hady, who died in childhood. After her departure, Alwi was married to Sharifah Azizah al-Mashhur, the niece of Shaykh al-Hady's wife who brought me up, and I was born on 7 July 1921.

Perhaps this state of affairs — of totally relinquishing your child — did not exist in other families. Consider how trusting and respectful my father, Alwi, was to Syed Shaykh. Very few fathers — if any — would give away their son completely to their own father to be brought up. I wouldn't have given my son to my own father to be brought up.

---

*continued from page 85*

elaborate on this). Then "we all, through the help and guarantee of our 'saviour', then Mr. Muṣṭaphā Khālīdī (now a doctor having his own Maternity Hospital in Beirut), were admitted to the Syrian Protestant College" (founded 3 December 1866 and from 18 November 1920, renamed the American University of Beirut).

In another version of his own typed notes, he wrote that "towards the end of 1916, at the peak of war effects (*sic*) ..." he and three others from the group left college and joined Kullīya Ṣalāhīya at Jerusalem. The college was founded with the blessing of General Jemāl Bāshā of the Ottoman Army. Alwi remained for only a few months; he then left the college and in "1917–8 volunteered into the Turkish Army under General Jemāl Bāshā and his Deputy General Muṣṭafā Kemāl Bāshā (the famous Atatürk). Sent to serve in the Medical Corps of the 14<sup>th</sup> Army at a military hospital in Damascus and given the rank of *Kuṣūk Zabıt* (2<sup>nd</sup> Lt.)."

With the defeat of the Ottoman Turks, Alwi found employment "for about a month" as interpreter for the Military Police of the British Army in Zahleh, Lebanon and then as a clerk and interpreter in the Royal Army Service Corps of the 35<sup>th</sup> Lines of Communication of the British Army in Beirut. In Lebanon, he married Nabihah, Alwi, born in 1892, would have been about 26 years old.

"Early 1920". Alwi and Nabihah with five of the Malayan group were sent home: from Suez by the small minesweeper steamer *Ban Hong Leong* to Bombay, then across India to Calcutta by rail, and from there by British-India boat to Penang.

Stephen Penrose in his *That They May Have Life* (New York, 1941) 161, writes that "Djermal Pasha [Jemāl Bāshā] and other commanders [of the Ottoman Army] could not fail to be favorably impressed when they found that graduates of the American medical school were the only doctors who would willingly serve in typhus wards and in the frontline dressing stations. It was Djermal who refused to permit the medical school to be closed down when America finally entered the war." Thirty-two medical graduates gave up their lives in active service during that war.

Although the United States entered the war, it never declared war on Ottoman Turkey, thanks to the intercession of Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, President of the Board of Trustees of the (American) Robert College at Istanbul, who pleaded against it with his intimate friend, President Woodrow Wilson. (*Ibid.*, 162.)

Thus, Syed Alwi, degree or no degree, did serve the *umma* during the war.

So that shows Alwi's complete trust and obedience in his relationship with Syed Shaykh to allow him to take his son and adopt him completely and absolutely. Now, most people who give up a child for inter-family adoption, you know, they still go back to the original family and stay over long periods, and then return to the adoptive family. But in my case, I can't remember any particular occasion when I returned to be with my own father and mother even for a few days. It never happened. The reason why Syed Shaykh did this was that he wanted to handmake me. And, indeed, it is remarkable that I don't have any feeling for anybody other than for Syed Shaykh and his wife.

The man, Syed Shaykh, was a caring human being who appeared to have no other hobby but reading, writing, and talking. He always talked about things that mattered and very rarely spoke of what was frivolous or unimportant, which fortunately or unfortunately I have developed in my own character. His reformist zeal, which he wrote so much about, was translated into everyday life in guiding me towards concentrating and devoting much of my time towards reading, writing and learning to improve myself, in the first instance, and contributing towards enlightening the community as an additional social responsibility. He was most of the time serious and a strict disciplinarian as far as my upbringing was concerned. Schooling and education were to him the sacred task of every child; no matter what the circumstances, going to school was absolutely essential.

There was one instance, which I still vividly remember. It was in the 1920s when I was still about five, six or seven years old. When I came back from school, I discovered that the Regent of Kedah, Tunku Mahmud, who was Syed Shaykh's friend, had visited the house. I was disappointed that I was not at home to meet this great man who perhaps might have given me 10 *ringgit*, and I told this to Syed Shaykh. He turned around and said, "do you think meeting a great man who might give you 10 *ringgit* is more important than one day's schooling?" In those days, 10 *ringgit* was big, big money. *Nasi lemak*<sup>2</sup> was one *sen*, my tram fare to school was one *sen*. So I never forgot that, and I have told the same story, given the same reminder, to my children and my grandchildren, until this day.

The second happening was when I was older. I was already in express class in the Government English School, Penang. I was fortunate or unfortunate to have been in a class where the master was a complete monster. He was, really; to me he was mad! He was an excellent teacher,

---

2. Ed. Note: *nasi lemak*, rice boiled in coconut milk.

but he believed in really hammering and clobbering his pupils without the slightest care for the consequences. So, I used to be beaten up, but not too badly. I used to be slapped, I used to be hammered with a ruler, and when he got tired he would get the student to bang his own hands on the table; if it was not loud enough, he would shout, "some more". And one day, of course, he went to the extreme. My cousin, I think his name was Syed Zain, was slapped until he fell down: in fact, he fainted for a little while, and so I was, all the students were, very distressed over this severe thrashing. When I went back, I told my *Habīb*<sup>3</sup>—I called my grandfather *Habīb* and my grandmother *Habība*—"now *Habīb*, this is what happened in school; I think this is beyond the limit. Teachers can scold, can do a few little punishments, do a little spanking, but this is really thrashing. Zain could have died." I knew Syed Shaykh knew the teacher; he was a friend of the teacher's elder brother, a senior government officer whom he used to visit off and on, so I thought he would take some action.

A week later, this teacher called me up. He said, "Syed Mohamed, come here". The moment I went forward, for no reason, he slapped me right, left and centre, and he told me, "you went to report to your grandfather about my beating students who are no good. You know what your grandfather told me? He said, 'do what a teacher should do to make sure Mohamed will be a good student. Not only can you beat him, but beat him until he's dead. What I request, after that, is that you send his body back to my house'." Tears came dripping down my face; and, of course, after that lecture he gave me some more hammering. "You know what your grandfather told me; I'm not going to beat you today until you die, but if you're not good that is precisely what I'm going to do, because I've got his permission now." Well, I went home, and told the story, "*Habīb*, why did you go and tell him that?" So he said, "naturally I must tell him. You told me to take action, so I've taken action."

So, this is the way he looked at the importance of education. In other words, if you're no good, you might as well be dead. Now, these two incidents have never really faded from my memory of this man who had a visionary zeal not only to bring change by writing, by advising, by lecturing people to improve themselves, but in me, whom he loved perhaps more than his son, more than his daughters, and on whom he had pinned a lot of hope on my being a good student, yet he believed if I could not be a

---

3. Ed Note: *Habīb*, literally beloved, dear one; term of endearment or respect common in 'Arab culture.

good student and a good man, I might as well be dead! So here again is a story I have been telling my children and grandchildren.

Syed Shaykh never went out of the house purely for leisure; he never went for holidays; he worked, wrote, and talked all the time, and much of the time he would bring me along to see the work he was performing, but never did he say this is the kind of life I should have. This is imprinted in my mind, that he didn't try to talk me into his kind of life. His main stress was on my performing well in school, and he wanted me to shine in my scholastic life. I remember very distinctly when I received a present for being number five in the Jelutong Malay School, that is in my class, but in all the other classes only the first three pupils got presents. Afterwards, my teacher told me that my grandfather was giving the presents to the top pupils and when he heard I was number five and not number three, he said he was going to give five presents for that class. This is the way he encouraged me.

Now, another point is that he sent me to the Qur'ān teacher across the street, not away to a *pondok*. Once a week I would go there to read my Qur'ān. I finished my Qur'ān, and after that he said, "you should know 'Arabic, so I want you to go to the 'Arabic school". Now at that time, Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah was already very big, but in some ways it had strayed from Syed Shaykh's earlier concept. I think Shaykh 'Abbas Bakar Rafik who took over from Syed Shaykh's appointee, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī,<sup>4</sup> one of the outstanding '*ulamā*' from Makka, to become its *mudir* from 1920 to 1956, was involved with Kaum Tua or the 'Old Faction'. Meanwhile, Shaykh Maghribī had started Madrasah al-Huda at 538 Jalan Dato Keramat.<sup>5</sup> So I was sent there every weekend to learn 'Arabic. I went, but couldn't cope, and also the teacher was no good and was mean. I cried to the old man ... "this teacher, he's mean, he's downright mean, and he looks down on pupils who go to English school, and not only does he hammer but he kicks". I didn't like my teacher to kick me. So, I cried to Syed Shaykh, "please don't make me go there any more". He didn't say 'yes' or 'no', but I just didn't go any more. So it just goes to show that to him overall academic achievement was of primary importance. In my opinion, if you're good academically, you could pick up Islāmīc knowledge by reading. After all, at that time more books on Islām were being written in English than in Malay, and the only thing was to pick the right books, which I did.

---

4. Ed. Note: See 99, n. 23 and Divider preceding 109 *infra*.

5. Ed. Note: Madrasah al-Hūdā al-Diniyyah, established in 1930; thus Dr. Hady would have been at least nine years old at the time.

As I said, Syed Shaykh would not waste time: he would not talk about frivolous things; he never went to pictures, to *kenduris* or parties; he would not go to the *bangsawan*; we used to have *bangsawan* in those days.<sup>6</sup> He never went to any of these and, of course, he was very upset with *ronggeng* and *joget*, and so on.<sup>7</sup> These he considered to be against the religion. That was bad, you see, and so what did he do? He prayed five times a day. From the time I was three years old, I would stand by him and pray. He took approximately five minutes to pray. He didn't recite something long. His prayer began with *bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm* (In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate). To him, we must be precise, short and quick: then people will get on with it. If you make it too long, then people might neglect the prayers, and until today I do a five-minute prayer. Every child, every grandchild of mine from the age of three will be standing by my side to pray. What he preached, he really practised.

Now the next point is on fasting. Syed Shaykh fasted according to the *ḥisāb* (mathematical calculation). He said that *ru'ya*, this business of going to sight the moon was all nonsense; he wrote a lot of articles on this. At home he practised according to *ḥisāb*, and he would say, "all right, tomorrow is the day we start fasting", and if he started his fasting a day earlier than others, when he had completed his thirty days, he would go out and smoke his cigarette in public!

He was so obsessed with reforming the religion to such an extent that he went to the extreme: to write, to lecture, to debate: it became almost an

---

6. Ed. Note: *Bangsawan* is a form of 'operatic' theatre which developed in the 1870s in Malaya and then spread to Indonesia, changing in the process both its name and, to a certain degree, its style. It also came to be known as *Sambul* and *Sandiwara*. It consists of sung and spoken drama performed without scripts, based upon scenarios which served as skeletal guides supplying the plots and leaving much room for improvisation; other features include painted backdrops, stereotyped acting, incidental music and limited, similarly incidental dance. After *Mak Yong* and *Wayang Kulit*, *Bangsawan* is the third most important style of pre-modern theatre, and owing to its use of standard Malay and its distribution throughout the Malay-speaking territories, it came closest to a 'national' Malay theatre form. In its purest form, it spread to Singapore, Sumatra, and to parts of northern Kalimantan; it spawned as its offshoots several other genres, some of which continue to be active, particularly in Indonesia. (See Yousof, Ghulam-Sarwar, *Dictionary of Traditional South-East Asian Theatre* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994) 13–18.

7. Ed. Note: *Ronggeng* is a Malay dance of Portugese origin where men and women face one another in two lines, but they do not touch. The emphasis is on the steps of the dance, while the movement of hands and arms is restricted and of secondary importance. (See Sheppard, Mubin, *Taman Indera, A Royal Pleasure Ground: Malay Decorative Arts and Pastimes* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972) 89. *Joget* is a Malay dance where a couple dance together but without touching.

obsession with him; I think the reason is very simple, he believed very firmly.

In the days of Syed Shaykh's youth in Riau, with the exception of the royals, few could read or write. They went to little *pondok* schools, where he himself was sent, to memorise the Qur'an and learn orthodox, traditional, conservative, or even perhaps primitive Islāmic instruction. The vast majority of the people in Riau were probably in that category.

In 1911, they made a survey in Kuala Kangsar, Perak and found only about 28 percent of males of all ages were literate.<sup>8</sup> The vast majority of Malays lived in rural areas; the towns were dominated by Chinese and Indians.<sup>9</sup> Overwhelmingly, economic enterprises were in Chinese hands,<sup>10</sup> and English-educated Indians and Ceylonese formed

8. Ed. Note: The disparity in literacy between the Federated Malay States (FMS) of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang and Perak and the non-federated east coast states is shown in the 1931 census: 48.3 percent of all Malay males, rural and urban, in the FMS could read and write Malay, and 62.8 percent in urban Kuala Lumpur, but the figure fell to 7.9 percent in Terengganu and eight percent in Kelantan. (*British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census* (London, 1932).)

9. Ed. Note:

*Proportion of Malays, Chinese and Indians to Total Urban Population  
in 1911 and 1921*

States	Malays		Chinese		Indians		Total of Chinese & Indians	
	1911	1921	1911	1921	1911	1921	1911	1921
Perak	11.5	10.4	67.2	66.2	19.1	21.4	86.3	87.6
Selangor	10.7	9.0	67.4	63.1	18.1	24.2	85.5	87.3
N. Sembilan	14.4	9.1	64.1	68.5	16.4	18.0	80.5	86.5
Pahang	23.3	16.3	57.3	66.1	15.9	15.0	73.2	81.1

Source: Nathan, J. E., *The Census of British Malaya (The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected Malay States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Terengganu and Brunei), 1921* (London: 1922) 42.

10. Ed. Note: Purcell describes the period around 1931: "Chinese ownership of tin-mines and rubber estates is no real indication of their share of the wealth of the country. Chinese had, for instance, large holdings in European rubber companies. Malaya's important and growing secondary industries were very largely in Chinese hands. The pineapple industry, the creation of the last two decades, is entirely a Chinese enterprise ... In Singapore, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Klang, Ipoh, and elsewhere the Chinese owned oil mills, biscuit factories, rubber works for the manufacture of shoes, tyres, etc., iron foundries, sawmills, and sauce factories; there were Chinese shipping companies; they ran motor agencies and repair shops; the bulk of the retail trade everywhere was in their hands." Purcell, Victor, *The Chinese in Malaya* (London: Oxford University Press; repr. 1967) 241-2.

the bulk of the clerical staff in Government and in the estates; while in 1911, estate labourers were 60 percent Indian and 25 percent Chinese.<sup>11</sup> So the Malays were largely relegated to the rural areas to follow their traditional pursuits of fruit-growing, padi-planting and fishing, thereby assuring an on-going food supply. Their participation in the British-created rubber industry was as smallholders.

So this is the point, when you mention Pandita Za'ba saying Syed Shaykh was anti-British,<sup>12</sup> I think this is not true. Never during the thirteen years I was brought up by him, did he say any bad thing about the British. He said many bad things about the sultans, the *rajās*, about the *'ulamā'*, about the leaders. But he never said one bad thing about the British, except that our sultans did not ask the British to give Malays more opportunities in education, because he knew it was no use being anti-British when the majority of your people were padi-planters and at a village level, the *hajīs* and *lebais*, the *pondok* and other Qur'ān teachers were so damn poor they had to earn a living by taking money from their pupils, thus needing the young to spend more time on Islāmic studies to ensure their own income, rather than encouraging them to go to government vernacular schools or English schools where they said they would train them to be worldly and to be Christians. Syed Shaykh believed the first phase was to destroy the rather primitive Islāmic teaching that was being taught to the majority of the Malays.<sup>13</sup> That was his main objective. He said nothing else.

It was no use asking for independence, no use asking the British to get out. He said the Chinese and Indians would take over the whole place and what could we do? How many people could govern the country? How many people could bring the water supply? How many

---

11. Ed. Note: Blythe, W. L., "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XX, 1 (June 1947) 68.

12. Ed. Note: In Za'ba's critique of Syed Shaykh's 'Real Cry', 189-90 *infra*.

13. Ed. Note: Khoo Kay Kim makes the point that the *pondok* schools, which existed before there were Malay vernacular schools, "... were extremely important for they provided the means by which Islam continued to flourish among the Malays". He writes that unlike the other Malay States, the early phase of educational development in Kelantan "owed almost nothing to the British administration". He writes of Haji Muhammad Yusof b. Ahmad, the legendary To' Kenali, who from the age of 10 studied in Makka and twenty-two years later returned and opened Pondok Paya in his village. After teaching in Kota Bharu, he established a new school in his village, Pondok Bangkak. By 1917, 300 pupils were studying under him. Several of his pupils became leading religious teachers, writers and social critics. (Khoo Kay Kim, "Malay Society, 1874-1920s", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, V, 2 (September 1974) 185-6.

people could be engineers? So he did not believe, which no sensible or rational person in the 1920s could even think of, let alone speak, could even think inside themselves, to get rid of the British. His main thrust was to destroy those bloodsuckers who were misguiding the Malays for their own pockets; to change the mindset of the Malays. This was the whole theme of *al-Imām* and *al-Ikhwān*. This was the basic theme. That was why he and others started *al-Imām*; that was why he started *al-Ikhwān*. Of course, in doing this with real missionary, extra-missionary zeal he offended thousands of these *pondok* teachers and 'ulamā' who had the backing of the sultans and the religious councils.

Syed Shaykh was a firm supporter of the vernacular schools being upgraded to provide good worldly teaching, with Islām as one of the subjects, which has finally come about. But this was not acceptable to the *pondok* teachers because then the children would go to government schools and learn a bit of religion, so their income would decrease. While Syed Shaykh never really succeeded during his lifetime to destroy this old religious teaching system, he obviously made an impact on the Malay intelligentsia who could read and write.

Through *al-Imām*, *al-Ikhwān*, and *Saudara* — and papers published by other people — the ball started rolling. Younger people started coming in. He was getting on, he was almost sixty when he started *al-Ikhwān* in 1926, and he was plugging the same theme of changing religious interpretations and changing religious education, and so on. He started *Saudara* in 1928. Mohd. Yunus b. Abdul Hamid<sup>14</sup> was appointed editor, later assisted by Abdul Rahim Kajai.<sup>15</sup> I remember

---

14. Ed. Note: Mohd. Yunus Abdul Hamid was born in 1889 in Langkat, Sumatra. Before coming to Malaya he was involved in the publication of several newspapers in Indonesia such as *Benih Merdeheka*, *Sinar Zaman* and *Warta Timoer*. Mohd. Yunus came to Penang in 1924 at the invitation of Syed Taha al-Sagoff. While in Malaya, apart from founding (?) and editing *Idaran Zaman* (1925–8) — a weekly newspaper with a strong reformist bent — and *Malaya* (1926–8), Mohd. Yunus was also involved in editing *al-Ikhwān*, which started in 1926, *Saudara* (1928–30 and 1937–8), *Dewasa* (1931–2) and *Persahabatan* (1936–7). For his life and involvement in publications, see Mohd. Sarim Haji Mustajab, "Profail Seorang Wartawan 1920an — Mohamad Yunus Abd. Hamid". *Jebat*, 7/8 (1977–8, 1978–9) 159–66. See also FO 371/11698, *The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, 39 (May 1926) 295: Muhammad Yunus Abdul Hamid cited in Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), 212, n. 190.

15. Ed. Note: Abdul Rahim Kajai — Kajai the village in Minangkabau from where his people came — born in 1894, was to become editor of *Majlis* from 1931 to 1935. Having come from a Malay school background, from 1906–9 he studied 'Arabic in

Yunus and Rahim Kajai well. They came in because the workload was too much for one man, and Syed Shaykh was still writing non-stop; that's why he brought in Yunus, a kindly figure. I liked him very much. He came from *Idaran Zaman* (March of Time or Signs of the Times). So Syed Shaykh managed to get Yunus, pay him a big salary, to carry on with *Saudara*. After that Abdul Rahim Kajai was taken on as assistant editor. Kajai I also knew pretty well; he used to come to the house. He was very fond of the old man. Yunus and Kajai, the younger people, moved away from solely plugging the same thing as Syed Shaykh had been doing. The Malay readers, themselves, had also changed. Mostly, they didn't go to *pondok* anymore. They didn't go for months learning the Qur'ān, and some went to English schools. Various clubs had started where they went and played games. You know, things had changed.

Now, the next phase was the development of clubs, some sort of associations where Malays could discuss their problems, enjoy themselves, have a meeting-place, and at the same time be able to talk about the sad state of affairs of the community and how to overcome it. My father, Alwi, was the next generation. He was involved with these club people. From the time I was adopted by Syed Shaykh, I was one hundred percent his possession. My father would have to get Syed Shaykh's prior permission even to take me out. So one day, I remember very distinctly, there was a club, YMU (Young Muslim Union), where all these English-educated Malays — my schoolteacher who hammered me and his brother — and all these people, were members. So on the day there was to be a club party, my father decided to bring me along, and he asked Syed Shaykh's permission. Syed Shaykh said, "all right, but

---

*continued from page 93*

Makka. His father was a pilgrimage *shaykh* and after his death in 1913, Kajai was obliged to move to Makka to carry on his work. He came back in 1917, returning again to Makka from 1924–7. Having been a writer for *Saudara*, upon his return in 1930 he moved to Penang to become assistant editor and finally its editor. He would be categorised as Malay-activist rather than as Muslim-activist. *Majlis* described itself as a national paper seeking Malay national unity. In 1935, Kajai moved on to the Singapore *Warta Malaya* and then to become editor of the new *Utusan Melayu*. He died on 5 December 1943. For his short stories, see *Banyak Udang Banyak Garam* (Lots of Prawns, Lots of Salt), 1959 and *Lain Padang Lain Belalang* (Other Fields, Other Grasshoppers), 1962. See also his 1941 *Panduan Wartawan* (Journalists' Handbook) and a collection of his writings *Pesaka Kajai* (The Kajai Heritage). For further details, see Ismail Hussein, 'Abdul Rahim Kajai', *Dewan Bahasa*, 3 (1959).

come back before ‘*aṣr*’ [middle or late afternoon]. So we went there for lunch — supposed to be a lunch party — and I must be back before six to pray my ‘*aṣr*. Of course, you know, in the club, things dragged on, and Alwi brought me back about sunset, *maghrib* time. The old man was waiting, frenzied, waiting. The moment we stepped in he told me, ‘go and pray your *maghrib* and *qadā*’ your ‘*aṣr*’, and he gave such a shelling to my father. I remember him chasing Alwi with a walking-stick, and Alwi jumping down the stairs and running across the road back to his house. This shows Syed Shaykh’s discipline. The interesting thing is this club thing, which I suddenly came to realise was the venue for the younger people not only to play billiards or whatever but to meet and discuss things which Syed Shaykh didn’t know a thing about. He was not a member of any of these so-called clubs; he thought my father was there enjoying himself, even forgetting to pray at ‘*aṣr*. So, this illustrates a generation-gap incident I was involved in.

The next point I want to make is why I didn’t become a busybody reformist like my grandfather, or a political busybody like my father. It is very simple. I had seen the sufferings of my grandfather, in particular, because I was brought up by him, I lived with him. I had seen the attacks on him on the roadside, heard the verbal abuse, the shouting, yelling on the roadside; when I went with him to the Chowrasta market, I saw him being attacked. And when he went lecturing — sometimes he brought me along — I saw and heard the heckling that went on, and I was perturbed that he still remained and lectured, and at the end of that answered all sorts of questions, hundreds of questions, and when we got into the car going back — he obviously was upset by some of the questions — he said that was what the world was all about. “You must be fearless, you must deal with your main principle. All other things are unimportant. You must take it in your stride, don’t take it too much to heart. Those were ignorant people.” So, that was the lesson from Syed Shaykh; that it is a service, a dedication, and he was doing it with missionary spirit.

We started off very well. Syed Shaykh had come to Penang from Riau and Singapore. In Riau he was among the élite of the royalty, and then he was put in charge of Raja Ali Kelana’s Batam Brickworks and was in some sort of business in Singapore. After that he moved and became a *Shari’a*<sup>16</sup> lawyer in Johor. With the opportunities, with the development, especially in Singapore and Johor during the formative years, obviously he must have made some money. He brought this money to Penang and bought some properties and built a big house at

---

16. Ed. Note: *Shari’a* is the canon law of Islām.

410 Jelutong Road. It was a beautifully designed house. He started a small business somewhere in Acheen Street, near the *masjid*. From there, he became involved in the creation of Madrasah al-Mashhur. His wife, as well as Alwi's wife, were from the al-Mashhur family. They were quite well off, so I think the al-Mashhur family must have contributed something. The original concept was according to Syed Shaykh's idea of modern Islāmic teaching. For many years, al-Mashhur continued to be a good school where they trained some of the subsequent leaders of the country. But perhaps after that, he wanted a bigger audience; a *madrasa* gives a small audience.<sup>17</sup>

Syed Shaykh was more a writer, a thinker and a propagandist. So he started writing, the sequence I can't remember. *Faridah Hanum* was a big hit in 1925.<sup>18</sup> He made some money from there and probably from the profit generated from its sale he started *al-Ikhwān* in 1927. The circulation wasn't vast, and I don't think *al-Ikhwān* was breaking even. It was subsidised from *Faridah Hanum*'s profit. The Jelutong Press, which Syed Shaykh founded in 1927, made *al-Ikhwān* financially viable, for to contract out the printing to another company would have been an immense burden. He had put everything, all he had, all his assets, plus mortgaging the house, to start the Jelutong Press.

Now as the depression took hold during 1928–9, the price of rubber dropped to a *sen* or two; you could buy a rubber estate for a few dollars an acre, and a lot of Malay smallholders lost their lands. From 1930 onwards, things were very very tough. Of course, we couldn't afford to have a car anymore. The house was mortgaged for RM 5,000/- — an enormous amount of money in those days — and towards the end even meeting the interest charges was unbearable. Rather than when he started the Jelutong Press, it might have been at that time that Syed Shaykh mortgaged the house. When you mortgaged to a Chettiar, it was not six percent interest per annum, it was probably 26 percent per annum! So from that time, I experienced hardship in the al-Hady family. Money was scarce, and we kept on selling a lot of things. My grandmother's jewellery was also sold, including her large diamond. This might account for *al-Ikhwān* being discontinued in 1931.

---

17. Ed. Note: For a discussion of Syed Shaykh's involvement with Madrasah al-Mashhūr, see Syed Alwi, 79, ed. n. 30 *supra*.

18. Ed. Note: Pandita Za'ba wrote that "the popularity of the 'Hanum' tales can be gauged from the fact that since their publication many Malays have affected the names *Hanum* or *Hanim* for their girl babies. (Za'ba (Zainal 'Abidin bin Ahmad), 'Modern Developments' in Winstedt, R. O., "A History of Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XVII, 3 (January 1940, 3<sup>rd</sup> pt. for the year 1939) 154.)

In 1928, Syed Shaykh had started *Saudara* newspaper in order to catch the secular reading market. How much of a financial success *Saudara* was I'm unable to comment [but it ran until 1941]; I was still a little child when it began. But, obviously, it was a big physical and financial strain to cope with *al-Ikhwān* as well as *Saudara*; therefore, he had to engage Yunus who must have commanded a pretty big salary, and thereafter, in 1930 he employed Abdul Rahim Kajai, who was one of the outstanding journalists at that time. I suppose *Saudara* couldn't afford to pay Yunus, and as a result he moved on in 1931. Rahim Kajai, having grown in stature, also left *Saudara* in 1931 to join *Majlis*, which was a fairly well-capitalised newspaper. I remember reading a very touching letter from Syed Shaykh to my father to the effect that I'm glad you're taking over the editorship of *Saudara* [that was in 1931].<sup>19</sup> So that is the sad story ...

Syed Shaykh ran the Jelutong Press so very efficiently and so very economically. I remember there were only three core staff. One of them was Encik Ismail; he was the machinist, he was the chief compositor, he was the *jaga*, he did everything. In the end, Syed Shaykh asked him to marry his adopted daughter Madina.<sup>20</sup> Of the three staff I can remember, Syed Shaykh was most fond of Ismail. Another one was Mohd. Ariff b. Haji Mohd. Shariff, he was the chief clerk, he was the accountant, he was everything. Each one of them might have

---

19. Ed. Note: *Saudara* had a series of editors:

- Mohd. Yunus b. Abdul Hamid      29 Sept. 1928–23 Aug. 1930; 18 Dec. 1937–26 Feb. 1938
- Abdul Rahim Kajai                30 Aug. 1930–12 Sept. 1931
- Syed Alwi al-Hady                19 Sept.–10 Oct. 1931; 3 Oct. 1934–21 July 1937
- Syed Shaykh al-Hady            17 Oct.–7 Nov. 1931; 1 Feb. 1933–20 Feb. 1934
- Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah       17 Feb.–31 Dec. 1932
- Shaykh Mohd. Tahir Jalaluddin   March–Sept. 1934
- Abdul Majid b. Sabil             24 July–15 Dec. 1937; 1 Oct. 1938–31 May 1939 and possibly later through 1941 closure
- Mohd Amin b. Nayan            3 Jan.–31 Oct. 1940

Re Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, see 'His Mission', 143, ed. n. 170 *infra*; re Shaykh Mohd. Tahir, see Syed Alwi, 76, ed. n. 21 *supra*. For a discussion of Syed Shaykh's involvement with Madrasah al-Mashhūr, see Syed Alwi, 79, ed. n. 30 *supra*.

20. Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur had adopted this Chinese girl. When I was a little baby, she was the one who brought me up as a nurse. She looked after my nappies, she bathed me; she was like another adoptive mother to me. So I was more attached to her than to my own mother or to Alwi al-Hady. I gave her money every month from the time I was working. Every month without fail, she collected all my house rents in Penang; those properties were from my mother's side, the al-Mashhur family; I sent her a few hundred dollars a month up until she died about two years ago.

had one or two assistants. And the third man was this chap Arifin Ishak. Arifin actually came from Kedah and worked in the Jelutong Press as the marketing and sales manager.

As for Sahabat Pena, Arifin might have started the idea in 1934<sup>21</sup> because he was working at *Saudara*, but it was vastly expanded by Alwi al-Hady. He loved this travelling sort of thing, and he went around the whole country until it became a gigantic affair. He took one month's leave — June 1935 — to go around drumming up support for Sahabat Pena, and he was its Secretary-General. After that in 1937, he broke off from it because of the pure Malay thoughts coming up at about that time. There was a change of attitude in some of the young Malays who turned against the Melayu-'Arab and Melayu-Peranakan (those of mixed Malay-'Arab and Malay-Indian Muslim descent).<sup>22</sup>

You see it is very difficult to run a newspaper as a one-man show. And after that Alwi, himself, was under tremendous strain. But Alwi carried on, and I think Sahabat Pena members subscribed to *Saudara* in a big way. I think that is one of the reasons why *Saudara* could continue for so long after Syed Shaykh's death.

The two people who were Syed Shaykh's constant company, whom he could sit down with and talk, were Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī.<sup>23</sup> Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was a world class 'ālim, really. He was much younger than Shaykh Tahir, who was

---

21. Ed. Note: For Arifin's account of the development of Sahabat Pena, see his 'Tarikh Sahabat Pena' (History of the Pen Friends), *Taman Paspam*, 1 (1940).

22. Ed. Note: Sahabat Pena, formed in 1934, was initially meant for kids, but later was transformed and became a vehicle for Syed Alwi al-Hady to build a mass organisation, which his father had never had, in order to conscientise and organise young Malays. Despite the usual *fina* that it was political, even a secret society, its membership grew to ten or twelve thousand to become one of the largest pre-war Malay organisations crossing Malay state lines. Its slogan was: *Hidup Bahasa, Hidup-lah Bangsa* or 'Long Live the Language and the Malay Race'. The British colonial authorities were apprehensive of the potential of the organisation and may well have carried out their own disinformation campaign against it and may even have had a hand in fanning the 'pure Malay' attitude which in 1937 split the organisation and led to the resignation of Syed Alwi as Secretary-General and to Pandita Za'ba replacing Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī as Adviser. Syed Alwi being of Malay-'Arab descent and Maghribī being an 'Arab from Makka. Subsequently, the organisation was to wither and by 1940 it was irrelevant.

definitely one of the real *'ālim* from the Malays. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was an 'Arab. He was the top, young, brilliant, modernist *'ālim* in Makka and was brought here to teach at Madrasah al-Mashhur. Having had a falling out with the administrators of al-Mashhur, he left. In 1928 he went on to teach at Madrasah al-Idrisiyah in Perak, but was pushed out by Kaum Tua forces and returned to Penang, where he established Madrasah al-Huda in 1930. He was very, very close to Syed Shaykh. My personal feeling or my guess rather, is that these two — Shaykh Tahir and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh — were Syed Shaykh's consultants in regard to deep and complicated religious matters. They were frequent visitors at the house, and they would sit down and talk for hours. These were the two closest and, of course, Mohd. Yunus and Abdul Rahim Kajai, when they were on his staff.

Our house was at 410 Jelutong Road, a road where a tram used to run when I was a little kid. Between the road and our house there ran a

---

23. Ed. Note: Shaykh Tahir was born in 1869, a generation earlier than 'Abd Allāh Maghribī; for an outline of Shaykh Tahir's life, see Syed Alwi, 76, ed. n. 21 *supra*. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī's birth name was Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad. He was born in Libya in 1892. 'Maghribī' was affixed to his name as he came from the Maghrib, i.e. North Africa. At the age of 14, he went on the *hajj* to Makka and remained there to study under outstanding '*ulamā'*. He was to become a teacher in Masjid al-Ḥāram and later Director of Madrasa al-Rāqīya. In about 1917, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh came to Singapore, but soon left to Penang; there he married into the al-Yafī'ī 'Arab Yamanī family. He was appointed as a teacher at Madrasah al-Mashhūr where he came to know Syed Shaykh, a relationship of ideological sharing which continued until Syed Shaykh's death in 1934. An excerpt from the eulogy he gave for Syed Shaykh, delivered at the grave, appears on the divider preceding, 109 *infra*.

Shaykh Maghribī's appointment at al-Mashhūr abruptly ended in 1920 over the non-payment of his salary. In 1928, he joined Madrasah al-Idrisiyah in Perak, but he was summarily pushed out by Kaum Tua forces, and he returned to Penang. In 1930, he opened Madrasah al-Hudā al-Diniyyah for both girls and boys.

Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was one of the writers in *Saudara*, the newspaper which founded Sahabat Pena in 1934. Syed Alwi, Syed Shaykh's son, became Sahabat Pena's Secretary-General and Shaykh Maghribī its Adviser. At various times Shaykh Maghribī's activities caused alarm to the British colonial authorities.

Madrasah al-Hudā was bombed in one of the Japanese air attacks on Penang in World War II and was closed down. It's unknown what the Shaykh did during the war. He left Malaya in 1946, back to Makka where in 1950 he was appointed a Judge in the Shari'a High Court, which post he held until his death in 1974 at the age of 82. (See also 'Syed Shaykh's Resource:' 239–56 *infra*.)

big drain. There was a bridge across the drain on which we placed seats, and almost every evening after *Maghrib* (sunset) a group of people who were younger than Syed Shaykh, the so-called minor thinkers and intellectuals of the *kampungs*, would gather. They would come and sit and talk with him but, of course, he would do most of the talking: being an al-Hady, they never stopped talking. There would be about six or seven of them — I can't remember their names — but one of them was C. D. Ismail who later became one of the big noises in Penang UMNO. He died about four or five years ago. They would come and sit down and discuss religion and current topics and so on from *Maghrib* to 'Ishā' [sunset until evening or the beginning of the night], and at 'Ishā' they would go back and pray and have dinner. So, for that one hour or so he would have what we called his *Member Titi*, meeting of the 'Members of the Bridge'.

When Syed Shaykh died on 20 February 1934, I was thirteen. I was there with him. I remember very distinctly about this. He complained of severe pain in the neck, which went down his left arm. He used to cry with his pain. We rubbed oil and all sorts of things, but the pain was so debilitating. I pitied him when the pain went on like that. In those days, you didn't have really good medicine to relieve pain. So if you had that pain for two or three weeks, your heart would probably give way: of course, the al-Hadys might have a trait to die of heart failure of which my father died. It must have been his heart. It can't be that Syed Shaykh died of "brain disease".<sup>24</sup> Had he had a brain tumour, he would have had headaches and become unconscious.

It was a big funeral and a lot of people came, but it was very simple. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī eulogised Syed Shaykh's unique contribution.<sup>25</sup> As you know, and as Shaykh 'Abd Allāh emphasised at the grave, Syed Shaykh was adamantly against *talkin*, instructing the dead how to answer the angel-inquisitors, Munkar and Nakīr. It was a very simple funeral, he didn't want more. In fact, he

---

24. Ed. Note: As said by Syed Alwi; see 69 *supra*. Dr. Hady says, "this is unlikely because 'brain disease' that could lead to death would be caused by infection or tumour. Brain tumour means you get severe headaches and finally your blood pressure goes right up, and you go off. He had neither of these. He didn't have headaches and neither did he have fever; he kept on complaining of this pain in his neck that went down to his side."

25. Ed. Note: See the divider preceding 109 *infra* for the eulogy Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī delivered, published in *Saudara*, 386 (24 February 1934).

said he wanted his grave to be unmarked, but anyhow, we stuck something in the earth.

---

When Syed Shaykh died, the Chettiar foreclosed on the mortgage, and my grandmother, Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur, and I had to move over into a small attap house.

I didn't think to move in with my father, Alwi, rather than to the attap house. As far as I was concerned Syed Shaykh and Sharifah Zainah were my father and mother. We were almost like strangers, my father and I.

---

*continued from page 100*

Among Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin's papers was a handwritten draft of what appears to be a report on the funeral meant for publication, which in translation reads: "After prayers, the deceased was taken to his last resting-place and real home. The grave was very simple, free from any form of pride and show which has become the habit of some people. The ceremony was conducted as simply as possible . . . . It is clear that making funeral processions into celebrations, full of flowers, colourful clothes and decorations, contradicts the required humility and solemnity we are asked to display when death comes. Lavish funeral processions are a sign that people want to show off their wealth and to demonstrate that they can afford to spend much money. They never think of whether this practice is allowed or not by the religion. We say this because we believe that the dead cannot get benefit from anything other than his good deeds and there is nothing which can harm him except his bad deeds, which are contrary to the commands of Allāh and His Messenger. The flowers, the beautiful clothes, and the decoration of the coffin, cannot bring any benefit to the dead. It is only a waste of money. Allāh condemned the wasteful, because they are brothers of Satan.

There is no Muslim who believes that such a funeral will benefit the dead, but they say it is *hājat* [the fulfilment of a wish]. Do you know what this *hājat* means? It is something by which Satan lures people. Therefore, they feel that if they carry out funerals in this way, they would gain praise for respecting the dead . . . . Glory to Allāh, how can we respect the dead by doing something contrary to the teaching of Islām, something which cannot bring any benefit to him. Rather it is harmful for the family and children who need the money for their living. Let us hope that this practice will soon disappear.

The number of people who attended the funeral was beyond expectations: there were so many. When the deceased arrived at the open grave, he was lowered and disappeared under the hail of falling earth. After the grave was levelled, al-Ustaz al-Fadil al-Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin stood up, raised his hands, and read a supplication [*du'ā'*] for the deceased, while the people behind answered 'Amīn'. Then Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī spoke."

(Ref. National Archives SP 10/F/1109).

I knew he was my father, but you know, we had absolutely no contact, no love. I never remember him cuddling me or things like that ... . We were friends, good friends. Yes, he had taken me out, but not very often. He wasn't allowed to. This is my feeling ... that Syed Shaykh wanted me to lead a very sheltered life, and he wanted to be one hundred percent responsible for my education and upbringing. At that time, of course, I knew nothing, I only knew he loved me, he brought me up, and I was his only object of responsibility, other than his lectures and his missionary and reformist works.

As for my brothers and sisters, we did meet. They lived just across the road. But even then, I don't remember staying overnight that many times. 431 Jelutong Road was Alwi's house, actually not really Alwi's house, it was his wife's mother's house, the al-Mashhur family, and Syed Shaykh had acquired the land opposite at 410 Jelutong Road. The whole lot belonged to the al-Mashhur estate; this was a rich family. I was born at 431 Jelutong Road and after a couple of weeks or so, the moment I suppose I was weaned from my mother, I was brought across the road to 410 Jelutong Road. I do not remember sleeping over for one week, five or six days, with my father and mother and the other kids. We went to the same school, and therefore we had a relationship, but nothing close. It's not that Syed Shaykh discouraged a relationship, I think he was neutral, but he was so strict that the other children didn't like to come to the house. So it was more my going there, now and then. The relationship with my brothers in school, and so on was normal. We were friends, but there was no real deep feeling because we didn't live together. Now and then, I would cross the road and go and play with them, but the traffic was more of me going there, rather than the other children coming over. They didn't feel free and easy to come, because they were rather scared of Syed Shaykh's strictness.

Your question about my brothers and sisters: did they develop in any special way? I am sad to say they are all very average. The simple reason is that Alwi always busied himself in many ways, in many good ways too, but unfortunately he did not give due diligence and care for his children. He changed jobs every so often, and he was always on the move. He was a very busy man; he never stopped working or thinking about work, but he changed jobs too often, and he couldn't really settle down. As a result, I wouldn't like to use that serious word 'neglect', you see, but he didn't give sufficient supervision and care to the development of his children. It may be sinful for me to say this, but I am grateful that Syed Shaykh took me over so that I have developed in the way that I have.

Sharifah Azizah al-Mashhur, Alwi's wife and my mother, was not well educated. In those days wives depended on their husbands to do all the thinking, planning and caring. They just looked after the chores of the house. She was very young from what I hear, she died in 1930 when I was nine.<sup>26</sup> Again, I don't remember her cuddling me or anything like that. She was a fine lady, charming, soft spoken, devoted; but she left everything to Alwi.

There was one instance when, after being an English form-teacher in the Anglo-Chinese School in Penang, and O. A. in the oilfields of Standard Oil of New York outside Palembang, Sumatra for another nine months, Alwi joined the Department of Co-operatives. He was a co-operative officer, which in 1924 was a pretty high job, a Malay Administrative Service sort of thing. But he always wanted to do more than what the boss told him to do. He always felt he must have independence of action. So, although he performed very well, he antagonised his boss, who was Captain Noor Hashim, a Straits Settlements' Civil Servant.<sup>27</sup> After some time he started quarrelling with Captain Hashim. So, naturally, when people made life difficult for him ... he had to look for another job. He — like Shaykh al-Hady — had this independent spirit, but he carried his to the extreme. If you are on your own, if you are a writer, you can be independent: you can do anything you want. But if you are in a department, you have to play by the rules set by the department head. Alwi didn't want to play by the book. He felt he should do things faster, so that was the sad thing about it.

And the other thing was, like the UMNO thing, which again is a very good point on human loyalty. Alwi joined with Dato' Onn Ja'afar to start UMNO (United Malays National Organisation). He was the number one assistant to Dato' Onn, because through Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena (Brotherhood of Pen Friends), he knew thousands of conscious Malays. So, when Dato' Onn began organising in Johor, he made Alwi the Publicity Officer, and Alwi spent a few years of his life in the early stages of UMNO going to every area to build up

---

26. Ed. Note: In 1931, as Syed Alwi was left with seven small children to raise, he married Sharifah Rahmah al-Mashhur, nicknamed Sharifah Embon or Bon, the sister of Sharifah Azizah, whom he referred to as Achik.

27. Ed. Note: Captain Hashim, like Haji Abdul Majid Zainuddin and Pati Achir b. Dato' Mohd. Shah, a co-operative official, were thought to be employed as British agents to ferret out those inimical to the colonial order.

According to Syed Alwi's autobiographical notes, he served as a co-operative officer from 1924-30, in Taiping and then in Kuala Lumpur.

UMNO branches. But he never rose above Publicity Officer; more junior people became Secretary-General, and it's from the post of Secretary-General that you go up; you can't go up as a Publicity Officer, but he enjoyed doing it.<sup>28</sup>

He wanted to do work he enjoyed doing. This was another reason why he changed jobs so very often. He always told me, "you are materialistic, you always think of reward, you always think of money, you always think of cost effectiveness; rather you should always think of doing something for fun, doing something for the country, and doing something for society". So I said to him, "I'll leave it to you and my *Habīb* to do that. I don't do such things."

I decided not to be a missionary, not to be a reformist, not to be a writer, but just to follow my own narrow specialty which I'm good at. And if I'm good at it, at least train a few others to do the same good things I have managed to do. I picked a small segment of expertise, concentrated on that and trained others by the dozens to take over so that they could carry on with a specific narrow sector of a modern society.

When Syed Shaykh died, we lost the house; we were living in an attic house, and we didn't have money even to have continuous electricity. So I got them to install metered electricity. In the old days, there was an electric meter where you put in 20 *sen* and the light came on. So for my studies I had to put in 20 *sen*. Many a time I didn't have 20 *sen*. So I went to the Japanese 10 *sen* store and bought a bulbular lamp (it looked like a clown's hat) which used kerosene oil. So, that was our light; it wasn't a bed of roses.

This last bit I lived in; there is a bit of bitterness in the last five minutes of recollection, but you can't help it. I suffered it, but I didn't suffer as much as many more of my brothers and sisters. So that's why I worked very hard to establish myself as a respected individual who didn't bother people, and I didn't want people to bother me. I wanted to do my job well and be outstanding in whatever I wanted to be. And I think I succeeded in that. I guess Syed Shaykh would probably be proud of what I have done, although I have not followed in his

---

28. Ed. Note: In Syed Alwi's autobiographical notes, he writes that from 1945-6 he was Secretary-General of Pergerakan Melayu Semenanjung, Johor or the Peninsula Malays' Movement (PMM), which is thought to have had a membership of 100,000. He refers to Dato' Onn Ja'afar's PMM as "the seed of UMNO". From 1946-51, Alwi was the Publicity Officer of UMNO, and it appears he left in June 1951 when Dato' Onn withdrew. Dato' Onn had proposed extending full citizenship to everyone "prepared to give their all to the country" and to open UMNO to all races. See Funston, John, *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of UMNO and PAS* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia), 1980) 137.

footsteps. Again, I must say he never once opened his mouth and said I should follow in his footsteps and be a writer. Never once. So perhaps he, himself, knew what he had achieved and what was the reward he had gotten in this worldly life. Of course, hopefully, he has received his reward in the Hereafter. But as far as this world is concerned, he received nothing, although he gave everything he had to society, but whatever he did was on his own accord. He stuck his neck out against all odds. Why did he do it? He could have invested in land with the money he made and dumped into *al-Ikhwān*, *Saudara*, and so on. He could have been a Malay Boon Siew. I would have done that. I would have been a billionaire by now. But, of course, I'm not Syed Shaykh and Syed Shaykh is not Syed Mohamed. It's just as simple as that.

I finally got a scholarship, a Pahang State scholarship. Before that Syed Shaykh had always wanted me to become a lawyer. Go to Oxford or Cambridge and become a lawyer. That is what he hoped I would do. He never hoped for me to go to al-Azhar, he didn't wish for me to go to al-Azhar. He wanted me to go to Oxford or Cambridge and become a lawyer and come back here and become the number one lawyer. But when he died there was no money. I couldn't go. Not only that, we even lost the house! How could I go to England?

I got the Pahang State scholarship to study medicine. Now, I was good, but I was not good enough to get a Federal scholarship, so they said "why don't you do another year and we'll see. Your results are good, but not spectacular". So in the meantime, Alwi knew the Sultan of Pahang. They were looking for Malays to go as medical students, but they didn't have scholars of the calibre to go. So the Sultan told the Inspector of Schools to interview me. I was interviewed along with two or three other people, and I got it. So in 1940, at the age of nineteen, I went to the King Edward VII College of Medicine in Singapore. The scholarship was quite good. I got 100.00 over dollars a month. I stinged, I starved, I sent half to my grandmother, my adoptive mother, in her little attap house, where I couldn't afford to put in the 20 sen for electricity. She lived there until her death, and I looked after her with the little bit of money I had.

When I was a surgeon, there was no such thing as fixed working hours for me, and there was no such thing as working hours for all my staff. No one ever complained or grumbled. I used to operate from seven o'clock in the morning and might finish at one in the morning. Nobody would leave the operating room as long as the surgery continued. And after operating, sometimes I would sleep at the hospital. And on non-operating days I would go at 10.30 or 11 o'clock at night and make my rounds. My staff would of course be there at 9.30 to make

sure everything was right. So that was my habit in Penang and then in Kuala Lumpur from the time I became a surgeon. People used to say I was a crazy surgeon, crazy for work.

In later years, at some of the parties with my former assistants who had since become specialist surgeons themselves, I asked them, "why the hell didn't you beat me up when I made you all work so hard?" So, one of them, who has since become a great surgeon, himself, said, "well, Datuk, to be really honest, many a time we not only thought of beating you up, we thought of killing you! But better sense, better judgment, prevailed. We considered that while you made us work like that for six months, one year or two, you had been doing that for 20 years non-stop! So, if you had slackened and you made us work so hard, we would have beaten you up, but knowing you had been working like that all your life, how could we ever do anything but to conform, and what's worse, now we're making our assistants do the same!"

I was crazy for work. I wanted to do something more than what I was being paid for; this has always been my ambition. So, while I worked as a surgeon, I trained lots of people; I brought lots of experts from overseas to come and develop various specialities when I became the chief. At that time, the British time, a chief must not know less than his assistants at any time and about anything, contrary to 'the attitude of the kingdom of the blind', to which I didn't subscribe. When I came to the Kuala Lumpur General Hospital, the first thing I said was that I wanted to raise the standard of surgery to the same standard of surgery as in London or New York or wherever. Of course, I could not do this by myself. I got in touch with my friends, the top surgeons in Britain, Australia and in America: "please come here and improve our standard. It's no use coming in for a day; you must come here, take turns to come, a month at a time", and they came. "Please take our doctors into your specialised departments for comprehensive training"; and they took many.<sup>29</sup>

Then through the American Hope Foundation, I got them to send a neurosurgeon, Dr. Roy Selby.<sup>30</sup> He came here with a greater missionary spirit than I ever had. He trampled on my toes, he trampled on the Hope

---

29. Dr. S. Kandiah was sent to do plastic surgery with Bernard Morgan at Jacksonville, Florida. He came back and pioneered plastic surgery here. Dr. Karpal Singh was sent to do paediatric surgery at Great Ormond Street in London. He returned and pioneered paediatric surgery here. Dr. Sreenivasan was sent to do urology. He came back to start the Institute of Urology. Dr. Sharma and Dr. Thuraisingham were sent to Brompton Hospital in London; and they came back. I got everything ready to start a cardiology and cardiac surgery department, but through the politicking of a certain individual, best left unnamed, the department of cardiac surgery was delayed for a decade or so. Only on 12 June 1993 did we start Institut Jantung Negara, the National Heart Institute.

director's toes, he trampled on everyone's toes, but he got the neurosurgical institute established. During the first few months, he was eating in my house; every lunchtime I would take him home. Roy Selby's missionary zeal established a specialised unit with features as good as anywhere in the world, and he got many top American neurosurgeons to come. He also got places for Malaysian general surgeons and physicians to go and work in America to obtain certification from the American Board of Neurosurgery and come back. He got about 10 places. But, unfortunately, the drawback is that not all of those Malaysians had sufficient loyalty or love for their country. Out of the six or seven we sent at tremendous cost to do their full neurosurgical training in America, I think only four came back. The others practised there and got American citizenship. But whatever it is, the neurosurgical institute is an established institution.

Syed Shaykh was the most pragmatic and down to earth reformist I can think of, especially in his treatment of his two sons, that is Alwi and myself. He didn't send Alwi to a *madrasa*; he didn't send him to al-Azhar. He sent him to study in Beirut. He gave him all the Islāmic teaching and training as a guidance in life, but not to make a living from it. And the same thing with myself. He never asked me to go to a *madrasa*, instead he sent me to a government school and monitored my progress month by month. He wanted me not just to pass, but to surpass, to be the top in everything, and finally to place myself in a responsible position in ordinary life and to excel in whatever I did. Instead of being a follower, try to be a leader in the pack you are in. And in this way, I think I have succeeded in meeting his hopes and, hopefully, he is proud of that.

As for myself, my wife Ruby bt. Abdullah and I have two kids; actually we had three. The eldest is our daughter Sharifah Faridah al-Hady, who is an Associate Professor of Pathology and Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Malaya. The second, a son, died of cancer of the lymph nodes at the age of sixteen. I tried everything I could. I took him all over the world for treatment, but after two and a half years of suffering, he finally died in 1973. Thereafter, I didn't want to live myself. I wanted to follow him, but it's still not to be. I haven't overcome the grief from that loss. Our third offspring is a mechanical engineer who was an engineer at Esso for many years.

---

30. Ed. Note: Dr. Roy Selby had not only expertise but humility. He wrote a column for MSRI's *Benih*, targeted at lower secondary school students, explaining in simple language various diseases, such as epilepsy, most unfortunately termed *gila babi* (pig madness) in Malay. His writing humanised and made epileptics understandable.

Recently he left Esso and is running his own petroleum-servicing company. His name is Syed Faisal al-Hady, and the son who died was Syed Farid al-Hady.

In bringing up my children, basically I followed the upbringing of myself by Syed Shaykh, that is by making life as simple as possible; secondly, by having basic discipline; and thirdly, by impressing on them constantly to use their brains as a guide in everything in life.

That is the story of my life with Syed Shaykh. I am still greatly influenced by his ways, his life and his philosophy, and the future which he wanted for his children.<sup>31</sup>

---

31. Ed. Note: Dr. Hady's recollections were taped on 10 and 22 April, and he gave his signed approval to the final edited version on 17 October 1998.

## SYED SHAYKH: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

Linda Tan<sup>1</sup>

*The demise of Syed Shaykh is indeed a great loss to all the Malay States and their people, in fact we can say a loss to the Malay World. If all of us were today to unite and search day and night to find someone who is sincere and willing to sacrifice himself, his wealth and time, to fulfil his humanitarian duty towards his people and his country — a nation that is in critical need of such a Muslim figure as he — we would never find one who could fill the void he left.*

Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī  
at the grave of Syed Shaykh al-Hady,  
Jelutong, Penang, 20 February 1934.

---

1. Linda Chen Mong Hock (Mrs S. H. Tan), born in July 1929, was an activist in the political life of Singapore from the age of 25. She is a graduate of the University of Malaya and the University of Singapore. While at the University of Malaya she became interested in the Malay Language which under the guidance of Pandita Za'ba (Tan Sri Haji Dr. Zainal 'Abidin bin Ahmad) she continued to study. Later she completed a course in Malay Studies leading to a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree. She was able to use Syed Shaykh's original writings for the evaluation of "His Life and Times". She obtained her Masters Degree from the University of Singapore in 1963. Her valuable thesis was later published under the title *The Early Chinese Newspapers of Singapore, 1881-1912* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967).



## HIS LIFE

**S**YED Shaykh b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady was born in Kampung Hulu, Melaka, in the year 1867.<sup>1</sup> His patrilineal family being of 'Arab descent as well as Syeds, descendants of Prophet Muḥammad, were held in high regard by the local Malays. This is well illustrated by the fact that Syed Shaykh's granduncle could be accepted in marriage with a member of the royal family of Riau, thus very favourably establishing himself.<sup>2</sup>

When Syed Shaykh was a boy, he received some Malay as well as religious education in Melaka, but being naughty he was sent away to Kuala Terengganu to study at a religious school.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he did not benefit very much from either school, for his uncle, Syed Muhammad b. Hasan al-Hady, soon had to take this naughty boy along with him to Pulau Penyengat, Riau.

Riau had long been the seat of the Government of the Johor-Riau empire. It was, therefore, the political, social, religious and literary centre of the Malays before the British and the Dutch colonial spheres of influence embraced this area. Even after the partition agreed to by the British and the Dutch Governments in 1824,<sup>4</sup> Riau was an influential religious and literary centre. The Malay spoken in Johor-Riau, for example, was considered to be the standard Malay of British Malaya as well as of the Dutch Indies until 1928.<sup>5</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Riau produced one of the finest historians, Raja Ali Haji (c. 1809–70), author of

- 
1. In Syed Shaykh's book, *Kitab Agama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931) there is a short introduction by the author giving the date and place of his birth and the books he had written.
  2. This was told to me by Syed Alwi, Syed Shaykh's son. It was confirmed by the late Raja Muhammad 'Arif, a descendant of Raja Haji (Tengku Chik'). See Appendix B for a genealogy of the Riau royal family.
  3. Interview with Syed Alwi, who recalls being taken by the late Syed Abdulkadir al-Idrus to the *mukim* where his father got his "first scanty religious knowledge".
  4. Mills, L. A., "British Malaya 1824–67", *op. cit.*, 71–81.
  5. In 1928, the Indonesian Youth Congress in Jakarta (then still Batavia) passed a resolution to make the Malay language their national language and to call it *Bahasa Indonesia*. After that the Indonesian language expanded at such a tremendous rate that it far outstripped the progress of the Malay language in Malaya.

*Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan sekalian Raja-rajanya* (Genealogy of Malay and Bugis Princes), *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift), and other works. His son, Raja Hasan, and his daughters, Raja Kalzum and Raja Safiah, wrote poetry as their pastime.<sup>6</sup> Since the female members of the royal family were also encouraged to read and write, the royal palace would have been quite a centre of literary activity. In such a congenial climate, Syed Shaykh soon took to learning seriously. He was described as having been "very fond of books and having had tireless energy for reading".<sup>7</sup> The naughty boy, nicknamed 'Wan Anum',<sup>8</sup> now proved to be both intelligent and hard-working. He became a favourite of the palace and was adopted as a son by Raja Ali Kelana, half-brother of the Sultan.

Syed Shaykh not only mastered the Malay language, but also learned 'Arabic and studied religion. Riau was a convenient stopover for religious teachers travelling from the 'Arab lands to the East as, since the time of Raja Ali Haji, the royal family of Riau had been encouraging the spread of Islām in general and the pilgrimage traffic in particular.<sup>9</sup> Many members of the royal family made the pilgrimage to Makka<sup>10</sup> and some remained to study in Makka or Cairo.

Syed Shaykh was taken to Makka and Cairo several times and purportedly sat at the feet of Muḥammad 'Abduh.<sup>11</sup> Be that as it may, he certainly was impressed by Muḥammad 'Abduh's progressive interpretation of Islām and came home with a sense of discovery and mission. In the Middle East he also met his contemporary, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Muḥammad 'Abduh's chief disciple and the leader of the *al-Manār* group.<sup>12</sup>

Not only Syed Shaykh was inspired; many other Muslims who went to Cairo and Makka came back with a new outlook and a wider perspective. They felt almost sorry for those who had never left their *kampungs* during their lifetime. They were 'frogs under a coconut shell', as the Malay proverb goes. In Riau, these returnees, many of whom

---

6. Winstedt, R., "A History of Malay Literature", *op. cit.*, 111, 131.

7. Interview with Raja Muhammad 'Arif.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Pilgrimage is the last of the five pillars of Islām, the other four being Declaration of Belief in the Oneness of God and in the Messengership of Muḥammad, Prayers, Fasting and the payment of Tithes.

10. Interview with Raja Muhammad 'Arif.

11. Winstedt, R., "Malaysia", *Islam Today*, ed. Arberry, A. J. and Landau, Rom (London: Faber, 1943) 223.

12. See 'His Times', 123-7 *infra* for more about Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā.

were members of the royal family, joined the Islāmic study club, the Persekutuan Rushdiyyah, formed on Pulau Penyengat in the 1890s. It was this club which became a focus of anti-Dutch feeling. There, late into the night, Syed Shaykh used to discuss, argue and debate with other members on such topics as theology, the general backwardness of the Muslims, and how to arouse their Muslim brethren in the East from apathy and to lead them towards progress and prosperity.<sup>13</sup>

Syed Shaykh became noted for his outspokenness, enthusiasm, eloquence and intellectual ability. He debated well and would argue until he had had the last word.<sup>14</sup> During these debates and discussions, Syed Shaykh and his friends must have decided on certain courses of action, as could be seen later.

In Riau, Syed Shaykh was put in charge of a charitable house, the *Rumah Waqaf* where Muslims stayed *en route* to their various destinations. Here Syed Shaykh learned more 'Arabic and deepened his religious knowledge from scholars such as Haji Husain Palembangi and Haji Saleh Minangkabau. This exposure, plus his journeys to the Middle East, led him to become proficient in 'Arabic.<sup>15</sup>

It was while still in Riau that in 1891 Syed Shaykh married his cousin, Sharifah Sheikhu, the daughter of his uncle Syed Muhammad. Their son, Syed Alwi was born there in 1892.<sup>16</sup>

13. Ed. Note: Ibrahim b. Abu Bakar in *Islamic Modernism in Malaya: The Life and Thought of Sayid Syekh al-Hady 1867-1934*, *op. cit.*, 59, contends that the Persekutuan Rushdiyyah was not concerned with Islāmic modernism. The principal members were Riau aristocrats, and the *Tarīqa Naqshabandiya* (mystical order) dominated. Their main concern was to purify themselves through performing supererogatory prayers, the recollection of Allāh and other rituals. The club collectively produced works about Islāmic mysticism, the Naqshabandi Order, Friday sermons and the *Kanun Kerajaan Riau*.

As his source, Ibrahim cites Abu Hassan Sham, "Tariqat Naqsyabandiyah", 74-82; "Karya-karya yang Berunsur Agama", 24-5; "Karya-karya yang Berlatarbelakangkan Islam", 260-64; and "Pengarang-pengarang", 191-2; see *Biblio*. And see "Riau ...", 4-5, n. 11 *supra*.

14. This information supplied by Raja Muhammad 'Arif is substantiated by references in *al-Imām*. One of those who liked to argue with Syed Shaykh, according to Raja Muhammad 'Arif, was Raja Hitam, the grandson of Raja Ali Haji.

Ed. Note: Re Raja Hitam (Raja Khalid Hasan), see "Riau ...", 4-5, 8, 9-10, 13-14 *supra* and 274 *infra*.

15. Interview with Raja Muhammad 'Arif.

16. In 1902, Syed Alwi was taken to Singapore to attend the Kampung Glam Malay School. According to Syed Alwi, his father sent him to this school because he could then automatically transfer to the English-language Victoria Bridge School at the end of his Malay school career, which he did. After Standard Seven, in 1914 he left to Beirut to continue his studies. See "Through the Prism ...", 85-6, ed. n. 1 *supra*.

In 1901, Syed Shaykh's adoptive father, Raja Ali Kelana, started the well-known Batam Brickworks in Pulau Batam with an office at 135 Prinsep Street, Singapore.<sup>17</sup> Syed Shaykh was first appointed agent and later attorney and manager.<sup>18</sup> Bricks were then in great demand: in 1902, they were sold at \$50 to \$140 per *laksa*.<sup>19</sup> The business expanded rapidly, and Raja Ali Kelana was soon able to buy a steamship called the *Laurah*.<sup>20</sup>

In Riau, life was in turmoil as a result of the deteriorating relationship between the Sultan and the Dutch colonial authorities. The Dutch Resident accused the Sultan of gross disobedience and disloyalty; the Sultan, on the other hand, bitterly complained that the Dutch tried to take away all his power and make him a mere figurehead.<sup>21</sup> According to the Dutch, as a result of the 1905 Treaty they made with Riau, there arose a strong party hostile to themselves consisting of the Sultan's close relatives and friends.<sup>22</sup>

In Singapore, while managing the Batam Brickworks, Syed Shaykh did not allow his Islāmic zeal to cool. There was at that time an 'Arab Club, one of the places where he could expound his views and make friends.<sup>23</sup> As a result, he gathered about him a group of men who shared the same views. On 23 July 1906, the magazine *al-Imām* (The Leader) was registered in the name of Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari, the first editor. The other collaborators were Shaykh Muhammad b. Salim al-Kalali, a merchant from Aceh of about Syed Shaykh's age or

17. *The Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1906.

18. At the same time, mention is made in *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* by Song Ong Siang [Sir Ong Siang Song] that a certain Mr. Ong Sam Leong was the owner of this well-known Batam Brickworks (repr. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984) 98.

19. Buckley, C. B., *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore* (repr. Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1969) 420.

Ed. Note: *Laksa* derives from Sanskrit, meaning 100,000; in Malaya it meant 10,000.

20. *The Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1907.

21. Sultan Abdul Rahman of Riau wrote to *The Straits Times* about his deposition. His Statement appeared in its 15 February 1911 issue. It was immediately challenged by a 'Dutchman' on the following day. *The Straits Budget*, however, printed only the latter.

22. "Batavia Statement on 'The Rhio Case'", *Straits Budget*, 23 February 1911. See also Appendix A.

23. Source: Raja Muhammad 'Arif. In *The Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1902, the 'Arab Club' was mentioned. Until 1959, it had its headquarters at Serangoon Road, adjacent to the Post & Telegraph Club. Now the club appears to have been liquidated, for its building has been taken over by the Pakistan Overseas League.

a little younger; Syed Muhammad b. Akil (‘Aqil), purportedly an *‘ālim* (Muslim scholar), older than Syed Shaykh;<sup>24</sup> Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha of Singapore; Shaykh Awad b. Saidin, a wealthy merchant;<sup>25</sup> and Syed Shaykh, himself.

Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin and Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha deserve further mention for they, too, played important roles in spreading a new conception of Islām.

Shaykh Tahir was born in Sumatra in 1869.<sup>26</sup> After a rigorous Islāmic education in Makka and then at al-Azhar, and later teaching in Makka, he came to Singapore at the turn of the century and was to become one of the founders of *al-Imām*. Though comparatively modern in his religious outlook, he was not as radical and outspoken as Syed Shaykh. However, his ideas did have a political dimension. His several visits to Sumatra aroused the suspicion of the Dutch, and as a result he was once imprisoned for “anti-colonial and anti-imperialist activities”.<sup>27</sup>

According to Pandita Za’ba (Tan Sri Haji Dr. Zainal ‘Abidin b. Ahmad), Haji Abbas’ strong and independent views were more along the lines of the less bigoted *‘ulamā’* (Muslim scholars) of al-Azhar rather than those of the broad-minded and liberal Muḥammad ‘Abduh. But following Muftī Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s *fatwā* (formal legal opinion) on *ribā* (usury), it was he who brought to Malaya the controversy by declaring that Savings Bank interest was not *ribā* as prohibited by Islām.<sup>28</sup>

From the outset, the founders of *al-Imām* declared its purpose to be the fulfilment of their duty as Muslims to:

- impart knowledge to their Muslim brethren in the East;
- give advice and show the way to be a good Muslim;
- remind those who are idle, awaken those who are asleep and lead those who have lost their way.

*Al-Imām* would not publish, so it declared, any article “which violates the laws of this country and which praises or slanders any individual”.<sup>29</sup>

24. Ed. Note: See 10, n. 17: 33–8; 42–8; 66 *supra*, 280 *infra*.

25. Ed. Note: See 36, n. 85: 37–8 *supra* and 281 *infra*.

26. Ed. Note: See 76, 80–1: 97–9; 101, n. 25 *supra*, 278–9 *infra*.

27. Ed. Note: Shaykh Tahir visited Minangkabau in 1923 and again in 1927 when he was detained by the Dutch for six months, after which he never re-visited the area. See Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 33.

28. The information regarding Shaykh Tahir and Haji Abbas was supplied by the late Pandita Za’ba, former Head of Malay Studies, University of Malaya in Singapore, see Appendix C and Syed Alwi, 75, ed. n. 20 *supra*.

29. *al-Imām*, I, 1 (23 July 1906) 6.

*Al-Imām* might well be described as a radical departure in the context of the quiet Malayan Islāmic scene. Its appearance was the first consistent opposition to dogmatic and orthodox views.<sup>30</sup> From that time, this group and their followers were given the pejorative stamp of *Kaum Muda* (New Group or Young Faction) with all its innovationist, deviationist, unorthodox, even heretical implications, and Syed Shaykh was known to be the *Ketua* or *Khalifa Kaum Muda* (The Leader of the *Kaum Muda*).<sup>31</sup>

On 8 October 1907, *al-Imām* carried an advertisement announcing the establishment of a religious school called *Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyyah*. This school, it was claimed, would teach children religious knowledge, 'Arabic and other related subjects, as well as English, Malay, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Public Speaking, and Composition in 'Arabic and in English. Its teachers were to be recruited from the best in Egypt.<sup>32</sup> It was hoped that the school would prepare its students for the new social and economic environment in Malaya.

This school, situated where the present Chinese YMCA stands,<sup>33</sup> was finally opened on 4 February 1908, which coincided with the Muslim New Year, 1 Muḥarram 1326. Speeches were read in 'Arabic and Malay and appeals were made for moral and financial support.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, the school was to survive for only two years.<sup>35</sup>

Most probably due to lack of funds, *al-Imām* was forced to close down in December 1908. Meanwhile, the business of the Batam Brickworks also began to decline. Its name continued to appear in the *The Singapore and Straits Directory* until 1911, but as early as 1909 it was reported to have removed from Robinson Road back to where it started at 135 Prinsep Street.<sup>36</sup>

In Riau, the political situation became aggravated towards the end of 1910 and finally led to the deposition of the Sultan on 9 February 1911.<sup>37</sup> Syed Shaykh followed his adoptive father, Raja Ali Kelana, to

30. For a discussion of these views, see 'His Mission', 141–2 *infra*.

31. From Syed Alwi, 77 *supra*. The controversy between the *Kaum Muda* and *Kaum Tua* was carried on throughout Syed Shaykh's life.

32. *al-Imām*, II, 4 (8 October 1907) 123.

Ed. Note: The *mudir* or director, 'Uthmān Effendi Raf'at, was himself an Egyptian.

33. According to Syed Alwi, 78 *supra*.

34. *al-Imām*, II, 8 (3 April 1908) 320.

35. Ed. Note: See Syed Alwi, 78, ed. n. 28 *supra*.

36. *The Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1909. Unfortunately, the 1910 volume was not available.

37. See 3, 13 *supra*, 128–9, 271–3 *infra*.

Johor<sup>38</sup> where, perhaps from 1911, he practised as a *Sharī'a* lawyer. Syed Shaykh gave up his practice when he perceived that English law was increasingly taking precedence over the *Sharī'a* or Islāmic law.<sup>39</sup>

Syed Shaykh was to give offence to the Muftī of Johor on the occasion of the marriage of Syed Shaykh's daughter. The Muftī was to officiate but as he was late, Syed Shaykh decided to conduct the marriage himself, perfectly legal under Islāmic law. The Muftī was much affronted and complained to the Sultan of Syed Shaykh's impudence. In spite of pressure from the Sultan, Syed Shaykh refused to apologise to the Muftī, claiming he had done no wrong.<sup>40</sup> Underlying the Muftī's complaint were his traditionalist views and general hostility to the modernist approaches of Raja Ali Kelana and Syed Shaykh.

Soon thereafter, Syed Shaykh moved to Melaka where, with the support of Haji Abu Bakar b. Ahmad — Haji Bachik — he opened a religious school called Madrasah al-Hady in the *kampung* of his birth. It could be that his reputation as *Ketua Kaum Muda* had reached the religious leaders before him, for he found to his dismay that parents avoided sending their children to his school.<sup>41</sup> Undaunted, he moved on to Penang.

The Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah opened in Penang in 1916.<sup>42</sup> It was named after an 'Arab community leader, Syed Ahmad al-Mashhur, who was to become Syed Shaykh's cousin-in-law by marriage. But, faced with recurring funding problems, Syed Shaykh surrendered the management of the school to a Board of Directors.<sup>43</sup> The Madrasah al-Mashhur still exists and its syllabus now follows that set by the Malaysian Ministry of Education.

38. Ed. Note: The Johor Sultan made Raja Ali Kelana *Ketua Agama*: an important advisory post with religious powers. But the Dutch blamed him for the Riau Ruler's 'intransigence', and in 1914 Straits Settlements' Governor Sir Arthur Young, ostensibly against the Colonial Office's wishes, made his removal part of the enforced settlement of that year. (Anderson to CO 273/369 of 23 March 1911; Young to CO Telegram of 12 May 1914, and Confidential of 14 May 1914, CO 273/407.) A British General Adviser was imposed "whose advice must be asked and acted upon ...". Raja Ali Kelana died in Johor in 1927.

39. Ed. Note: See Syed Alwi, 79, ed. n. 29 *supra*.

40. This incident related by Syed Alwi was confirmed by a number of people. However, as is to be expected, it is not mentioned in official sources or newspaper reports. It is related here to illustrate how indomitable was Syed Shaykh's character.

41. Syed Alwi, 79 *supra*.

42. Rozhan b. Kuntom. "A General Survey of Muslim Religious Schools in Malaya" (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, Malay Studies Department, University of Malaya, 1957) 31. And see 79–80, ed. n. 30; 89, 96 *supra*, 151–2, 250, n. 7 *infra*.

43. See Syed Alwi, 80, ed. n. 31 *supra*.

While managing that school, Syed Shaykh was yet aware, as he was during his time at the Batam Brickworks, that he had a more important mission to fulfil: to impart knowledge to his Muslim brethren. He was extremely sensitive to what was happening around him, particularly to events in the Muslim World. He continued to read magazines and periodicals from the Middle East and to be inspired by them and aroused to action. His library, it was said, was the envy of many an *'ālim*.<sup>44</sup>

In 1921, Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn, a renowned Muslim scholar, visited Malaya. He was a lawyer turned Muslim missionary of the Lahore Aḥmadiyya<sup>45</sup> persuasion and was actively propagating Islām abroad. Because of his knowledge of English he was fairly successful in disseminating the theory and practice of Islām in Europe, and had become the Director of the Woking Mission in England. His arrival caused great excitement among the Muslims in the East, particularly among the English-educated. He toured Malaya, delivering lectures on Islām.<sup>46</sup>

It was Za'ba, Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad, then a young teacher at the Malay College in Kuala Kangsar,<sup>47</sup> who organised the visit. According to Pandita Za'ba, Syed Shaykh was an enthusiastic supporter of the reception committee to welcome Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn to Penang. But unfortunately, Syed Shaykh spoke no English and the Khwāja no

44. Syed Alwi, 78 *supra*.

45. Ed. Note: Aḥmadiyya is the name given to adherents of Mīrẓā Ghulām Aḥmad Qādiyānī. In 1900 at their request this name was entered in the official lists of the Indian Government as a separate modern Muslim sect. After the death of Mīrẓā Ghulām Aḥmad of Qādiān, Punjab, in 1908, and his son's assumption as Khalīfa in 1914, the movement split. Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn and Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī formed what became known as the Lahore group, as distinct from the Qādiyānī group. The Lahore group considered Mīrẓā as a reformer, nothing more. In London, they are based in the Woking Maṣjid. Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī's translation of the Qur'ān (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Lahore, 1920) has many new and untraditional interpretations of the Qur'ānic text.

46. Za'ba, "Teachings of Muhammad — an Islamic Missionary. Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin", *Islamic Review* (July 1921) 203–6. Also see 'His Times', 134–5 *infra* and Appendix C by Za'ba, 282–4 *infra*.

47. Za'ba was later to become an acknowledged scholar and authority on Malay language and literature. He was awarded the honoured title of *Pandita* (Savant) by a Congress of Malay Literary Bodies of Malaya held at the University in Singapore in 1956, and in 1959 the University of Malaya was to confer upon him a Doctor of Letters.

'Arabic (though he read 'Arabic), nor of course Malay, so the two were unable to engage in any discussion or even a lengthy conversation.

In 1922, Syed Shaykh published in Malay — in the Jawi script — the first part of his *al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (History of Islām). This, however, was not financially successful, and he could not complete what he had intended.<sup>48</sup> Next he tried his hand at novels: adaptations of modern 'Arabic works, some of which were themselves adaptations from French originals. His first novel, *Hikayat Faridah Hanum, atau Setia 'Ashik kepada Ma'ashok-nya* (The Story of Faridah Hanum, or Loyalty of a Lover to Her Loved One) was published in Penang in 1925–6. It was an instant success, so much so that it provided not only a medium through which to disseminate his ideas, but also a source of income.

Being now firmly established, Syed Shaykh devoted his last years to writing and publishing. In September 1926, 18 years after *al-Imām's* demise, he created *al-Ikhwān* (The Brethren) 'to impart knowledge to the Muslim brethren in the East'. Its masthead proclaimed: "Believers indeed are brothers" (Qur'ān, 49: 10). The main contributors to this monthly journal were himself, Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin and Pandita Za'ba, the former writing on religion and the latter on social and moral behaviour. Apparently times were quite different then from the days of *al-Imām*, for not only was he able to continue *al-Ikhwān*, but also to start the Jelutong Press in about 1927.

Syed Shaykh wrote profusely during this period. For his monthly *al-Ikhwān*, he translated into Malay important works on Islām. The first was *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa* (Commentary on the First Chapter of the Qur'ān) written by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, which Syed Shaykh published in 1928. Muḥammad 'Abduh's commentary on the Qur'ān, on which he had laid great importance, was revised and completed after his death by his disciple Rashīd Riḍā and initially published in *al-Manār* (The Lighthouse), the leading Egyptian modernist journal. Syed Shaykh's second effort was the continuation of his *al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*. These two works in serial form took up the greater part of *al-Ikhwān*. The remaining space was devoted to two other serials: a translation of Qāsim Amīn Bey's work *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (Emancipation of Woman) in 1930, which was given the Malay title *'Alam Perempuan* (Woman's World), and the *Cherita Rokambul* series, a popular series of French detective stories, which finally totalled seven volumes! In addition to these more or less regular features, he wrote a number of short articles on religious mal-

48. Za'ba, "Modern Developments in Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XVII, 3 (January 1940; 3<sup>rd</sup> pt. for year 1939) 152–3.

practices, social vices, and problems of education and national revival, a selection of which appear in this volume.<sup>49</sup>

Journals such as *al-Ikhwān*, no matter how controversial, had a limited circulation. Syed Shaykh was to clarify that he did not publish *al-Ikhwān* to make a profit; had that been its purpose, he would have starved long ago.<sup>50</sup>

Syed Shaykh supplied most of this material himself, for at that time there were very few Malay writers. However, the number of Malay-educated boys was gradually increasing; they fed the Malay colleges and the civil service. Thus, in *al-Ikhwān*'s third year of publication, contributions from young writers appeared. Among them were some who were to become well-known Malay writers: Harun Aminurrashid,<sup>51</sup> author of *Panglima Awang*, and Buyong Adil, co-author of *Sejarah 'Alam Melayu*.<sup>52</sup>

In September 1928, Syed Shaykh produced a weekly newspaper, *Saudara* (Brother) which from 1932 he brought out twice weekly. The purpose of *Saudara* was similar to that of *al-Ikhwān*: to bring the truth of Islām to the Muslims in the East that they might yet be saved from degradation and ignorance. On the other hand, as it was a newspaper and not a journal, it gave more space to foreign and local news as well as to political issues. In its columns, the ever-growing battle between Kaum Muda and Kaum Tua continued. As Pandita Za'ba was to write: "In the hands of its original founder and editor, Syed Shaykh al-Hady, whose death in 1934 was universally lamented, it was a powerful

---

49. Ed. Note: *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* were written in Malay in the Jawi script, as were Syed Shaykh's other writings. Until now there are only three reprinted works in romanised Malay of which we're aware: *Hikayat Puteri Nur ul-'Ain* (Singapore: Harny Press, 1957); *Faridah Hanom (sic)* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1964, 1965 and 1985) and *Agama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason), romanised and edited by his son Syed Alwi (Kota Baru: Pustaka Dian, 1965).

50. *al-Ikhwān*, V, 12 (16 August 1931) being an Epilogue to *al-Ikhwān*, 16 January 1930.

51. Za'ba, "Recent Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XIX, 1 (February 1941) 9. Harun's first novel, *Melor Kuala Lumpur* (Jasmine of Kuala Lumpur) was published in 1930.

52. *Ibid.*, 9. Ed. Note: Za'ba explains that *Sejarah 'Alam Melayu* (1925–38) was a joint effort of two Sultan Idris Training College History Masters: Abdul Hadi b. Haji Hasan and Buyong Adil who succeeded him. They wrote "an ambitious history of Malaya in relation to Malaysia and neighbouring countries". Buyong's contribution dealt with the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States. Buyong Adil, born 1907, worked in Radio Singapore, where his history series was popular with school children. He was appointed a member of the Public Service Commission. He returned to Kuala Lumpur in 1972 and worked at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. He died on 1 September 1976.

and uncompromising critic of Malay life and a strong advocate of social and religious reformation for Moslems (*sic*).<sup>53</sup> On *Saudara*'s first anniversary, in September 1929, it explained that its purpose was: "... to seek brotherhood or friendship in many communities".

Encouraged by the success of his first novel, *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*, in December 1927, Syed Shaykh launched his series *Angan-angan Kehidupan* (Life's Dreams or Aspirations of Life), with the English subtitle 'The Moral Trainer'. Storybooks were issued in monthly installments of approximately 100 pages each and sold very cheaply to subscribers. By February 1931, six books had been completed.

More and more Malay children were becoming literate and there was an increasing demand for reading material. The Government Malay Translation Bureau was too preoccupied with the preparation of textbooks and pamphlets for the medical, co-operative and other departments to devote its energy to storybooks, though it did translate a few such as *Sherlock Holmes* and *Treasure Island*. But on the whole, the supply of Malay books was far from adequate.<sup>54</sup> Novels written in Malay by writers in the Netherlands East Indies were invariably written in Dutch romanisation (rather than English romanisation) and were not available in most local bookshops.<sup>55</sup>

Against this background of inadequacy of printed materials, Syed Shaykh's projects were a great success. The most popular were romances: *Hikayat Taman Chinta Berahi* (The Garden of Love) or *Mahir Afandi dengan Iqbal Hanum*, a love-story of modern Egypt running over 600 pages, which appeared in 1928; *Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassān* (Story of Ghassān's Daughter) or *Hindun dengan Hammad* (1928-9), a tale of over 1000 pages, narrating the love of Hind, an 'Arab Christian princess, for Hammad, an 'Arab prince, at the time of Prophet Muḥammad, being an adaptation of the Lebanese Jirjī Zaidān's historical novel *Fatat Ghassan* (The Maid of [the] Ghassan[tribe]); *Hikayat Puteri Nur ul-'Ain, atau Bahaya Bercherai Talak Tiga dan Berchina Buta* (The Story of Princess Nur ul-'Ain or the Dangers of Threefold Divorce and [resorting to] China Buta) (1929), a short story of 200 pages; *Hikayat Chermin Kehidupan* (The Mirror of Life) (1929), a Turkish tale stressing the importance of chastity; and *Hikayat Pěmbělaan dalam Rahasia* (Story of a Secret Upbringing) or *Kaseh Saudara kapada (sic) Saudara-nya*

53. Za'ba, "Malay Journalism in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XIX, 2 (October 1941) 247.

54. Mills, L. A., *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942) 345.

55. Za'ba's letter, Appendix C. 286 *infra*.

(The Love of Kin) (1929–30), a work of 579 pages adapted from English by Syed Shaykh's son, Syed Alwi and edited by Syed Shaykh; and finally *Cheritera Dhu 'l-Ruhain* or 'Possessor of Two Lives' (1930–1), a tale of 540 pages with a Turkish background, adapted and expanded from the 'Arabic by Abdul Rahim Kajai.<sup>56</sup>

Besides romances, detective stories were another source of income. These were grouped under the general name of *Cherita Rokambul* (Rokambul Stories) and were published in seven volumes with titles such as *Cherita Rokambul dalam Jail dan di-Paris* (Rokambul in Jail and in Paris), *Cherita Rokambul dalam Siberia* (Rokambul in Siberia), and *Cherita Rokambul dengan Korban Hindi* (Rokambul and the Hindu Victim).<sup>57</sup> Each volume was 400–500 pages long.

Syed Shaykh's serious works, in addition to those already mentioned, included a translation of *Tafsīr Juz' 'Amma Yatasā'alūn*, Muḥammad 'Abduh's commentary on the final section of the Qur'ān.<sup>58</sup> published in 1927; an original work entitled *Kitab Ugama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason) in 1931; and a booklet called *Kitab Hadiah Kebangsaan* (The National Gift) in 1933, which contains four long articles from *al-Ikhwān*. Two of these were composed by Syed Shaykh based on Muḥammad 'Abduh's writings: "Puji Yang Sebenar Makanan Nyawa Manusia" (Real Praise is Man's Spiritual Food) and "Ash-Sharaf: Kemuliaan atau Kehormatan" (Glory or Honour)<sup>59</sup> and two are original articles by Pandita Za'ba: "Kemiskinan Orang-orang Melayu" (The Poverty of the Malays) and "Jalan Keselamatan bagi Orang-orang Melayu" (The Salvation of the Malays).<sup>60</sup>

Syed Shaykh also compiled a symposium of learned opinions on the question of *ribā* in relation to interest paid to members of co-operative societies, which was introduced and sponsored by the Government throughout Malaya from about 1924. This book was published by the Co-operative Department in 1933.<sup>61</sup>

56. Za'ba, "Modern Developments in Malay Literature", *op. cit.*, 154.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Ed. Note: A commentary on the last 37 *Sūras* of al-Qur'ān beginning with the words 'amma yatasā'alūn: "Of what ask they of one another?" (Cairo, 1904; Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927).

59. Ed. Note: See 173–180 *infra*.

60. Za'ba, "Modern Developments in Malay Literature", *op. cit.*, 154–5.

61. Winstedt, "Malaysia", *op. cit.*, 222.

Syed Shaykh died on 20 February 1934. His friend and associate, Pandita Za`ba, commented:

*With his death we have lost a fearless champion who had indefatigably concentrated all his efforts and dedicated all his life in the defence of Islam. With his death too, we have lost a veteran journalist and prolific writer.*<sup>62</sup>

### HIS TIMES

SYED Shaykh al-Hady was born on 22 November 1867. This was to be a significant time in the history of Malaya, for in that year the Straits Settlements were transferred to the Colonial Office in London and came under the direct jurisdiction of the British Government. From 1874 onwards, step by step the British established control over the whole of Malaya. Young Syed Shaykh was, of course, quite unaware of the political situation and went merrily on with his schooling until he was taken to Riau at the age of 15.<sup>63</sup>

The years he spent in Riau and Singapore — he moved to Johor Bahru in 1911 — subjected him to influences that moulded the whole course of his life. His intimate relationship with the palace of Riau made him more than a spectator to the deposition of the Sultan of Riau.<sup>64</sup> In Riau, he was educated in the full sense of the word. Indeed, Riau was so important to his development that without Riau there might not have been a Syed Shaykh of the dimensions which he attained.

Riau was the literary, social and religious centre of the Malays until the deposition of the Sultan of Riau in 1911. Its position had been sustained and enhanced primarily through the unflagging efforts of Raja Ali Haji<sup>65</sup> (c. 1809–70), who was not only a historian and a writer, but also a keen educator and a capable administrator. In 1854, he became the Hakim (Magistrate) of Riau-Lingga and made every effort to invite Muslim theologians to Pulau Penyengat. He was also responsible for the education of his relatives. Learning from the religious pundits, he in turn taught

62. *Saudara*, 24 February 1934 quoted in Nik Ahmad b. Nik Hassan. "The Malay Vernacular Press" (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, Department of History, University of Malaya in Singapore, 1958) 21, and see "The Malay Press", *JMBRAS*, XXXVI, 1 (May 1963) 55.

63. "The Terrible News", *al-Ikhwān*, II, 11 (16 July 1928).

Ed. Note: Syed Alwi, 70 *supra*, says Syed Shaykh was taken to Riau at age seven.

64. A fuller account appears on 128–9 *infra*.

65. See 2, n. 4; 4–5, n. 10, n. 11; 109–10 *supra* and 275, n. 6 *infra*.

religion to those belonging to the court circle. Thus, he was very influential in the political, religious and social life of Riau.<sup>66</sup> Though he died in about 1870, his spirit lived on among the court circles.

Raja Ali Haji's books were treasured and studied. The *Tuhfat al-Nafis*<sup>67</sup> (an epic tale of the fortunes of his Bugis ancestors in the Malay World) and the *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan sekalian Raja-rajanya* were later printed in Singapore by his descendants. His incomplete *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* (A Book of Linguistic Knowledge) was also published in 1927.<sup>68</sup> Syed Shaykh, seeing the book in Penang, immediately reviewed it in *al-Ikhwān*. He was very proud that he had read the manuscript 40 years earlier.

After the death of Raja Ali Haji, his ideas and methods were continued by Raja Ali Kelana, the Sultan of Riau's half-brother and his adviser in state affairs.<sup>69</sup> He did his utmost to restore Riau to the position and grandeur she had enjoyed before the Dutch wrested them from her. He spared no pains to make Riau rich and prosperous. When, in 1905, the Sultan was compelled to sign a treaty with the Dutch which abolished forever the office of the Yamtuan Muda or 'Under-king',<sup>70</sup> Raja Ali Kelana led a strong resistance. The Dutch feared his capability and resourcefulness. However, the Sultan was weak; Raja Ali Kelana met many obstacles and was unsuccessful in blocking Dutch expansion.

Raja Ali Kelana was Syed Shaykh al-Hady's adoptive father, as well as his teacher. He gave his wholehearted support to projects in which Syed Shaykh was involved, both *al-Imām* and the Madrasah al-Iqbal.<sup>71</sup> Years later, when Syed Shaykh read the news of a broken Sultan of Riau appearing before the Singapore court as a bankrupt, he recalled his former days in Riau and paid a warm tribute to Raja Ali Kelana, whom he called "my father and my teacher".<sup>72</sup>

66. Mohammad b. Anas, "Geographical Notes to Tuhfat al-Nafis" (unpublished academic exercise for the Malay Studies Department, University of Malaya, 1958) xii.

67. See Appendix B, n. 6 *infra*.

68. Commenting on this work in his "Modern Developments in Malay Literature", *op. cit.*, 143, Za'ba wrote, "Although the subtitle describes it as 'a Dictionary of the Malay language of Johor, Pahang, Riau, Lingga', it is an encyclopaedia of the author's general knowledge, opinions and impressions, set forth under the words he professes to define . . . . Over words of sexual import he becomes amusingly vulgar and even obscene."

69. Raja Ali Kelana was also called Raja Haji after he made his pilgrimage to Makka. In order not to confuse him with his granduncle, Raja Ali Haji, his former name will be used.

70. In Riau, the Yang Dipertuan Muda or Yamtuan Muda (Under-king) was the *de facto* ruler: the position was reserved for a Bugis leader.

71. *al-Imām*, 4 February 1908.

72. "The Terrible News", *op. cit.*

Education of members of the royal family had become quite commonplace. The womenfolk were encouraged to read and write. They wrote so beautifully that some of them were paid to copy manuscripts.<sup>73</sup> The young men's thirst for knowledge could no longer be satisfied by local education. Many went to Makka and Cairo to continue their studies. Some, including Raja Ali Kelana, sent their children to the Middle East for both religious and secular education. It was Syed Shaykh's good fortune that he was commissioned to accompany them on their journeys<sup>74</sup> and to see them settled in before returning.<sup>75</sup>

These trips gave Syed Shaykh the opportunity to have contact with the latest religious and political developments in the Middle East and to study the doctrines of modern Islām as advocated by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his famous disciple, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh.<sup>76</sup>

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838/9–1897), the product of a turbulent Muslim World, was the moving force behind the Islāmic reform movement of his time. He had the genius to analyse the causes of the general backwardness of the Muslim peoples; he realised that the challenge of Western colonialism must be met with equal strength and dynamism by the Muslims and insisted that the salvation of the Muslims lay in their own efforts. Hence, he recalled to his contemporaries the grandeur of the former Muslim empires and instilled in them a sense of pride and dignity with which to face the challenge of the West.<sup>77</sup>

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's ideological struggle led him through many Muslim lands: Afghānistān, India, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Persia, 'Irāq and Turkey. Everywhere, he left his revolutionary influence behind him. His indomitable spirit even took him to St. Petersburg, London, and Paris. Without respite and at great cost to himself, he preached the rebirth of Islām and the political awakening of the peoples of the East. To the Muslims in general, he emphasised pan-Islāmism, the Great

---

73. Interview with Raja Muhammad 'Arif.

74. The dates of these journeys are not available. It is suggested that these trips were made between the years 1890 and 1900, for after that date Syed Shaykh al-Hady might have been too preoccupied with the management of the Batam Brickworks to travel abroad.

Ed. Note: However, see "Riau ...", 7 *supra* on his 1904 journey with Raja Ali Kelana.

75. Interview with Raja Muhammad 'Arif.

76. Muḥammad 'Abduh returned to Cairo from his 1882 exile in the latter part of 1888 and died there in 1905. It has been confirmed by Syed Shaykh's son, Syed Alwi, that Syed Shaykh al-Hady did pay his respects to this famous Egyptian scholar when he visited Cairo.

77. Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, *Islam in Modern History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957) 47–51.

Brotherhood of Muslims. Yet he also kindled the fires of nationalism in the countries in which he lived, particularly Egypt and Persia.<sup>78</sup>

His ardent disciple and friend, Muḥammad 'Abduh, was an Egyptian to whose greatness even his adversaries bore witness.<sup>79</sup> He was born of peasant stock in 1849. He proved a bright scholar when young, and his father had great expectations of him. At the age of 17, 'Abduh was sent to the highest seat of Islāmic learning in Egypt and the Muslim World, the al-Azhar University. But he grew to hate the traditionalism and fanaticism of this medieval institution. He met Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in March 1871. Jamāl al-Dīn's progressive interpretation of his revered religion gave Muḥammad 'Abduh the necessary courage and determination to complete his studies.

[Towards the close of 1878, Muḥammad 'Abduh was appointed teacher of history in Dār al-'Ulūm, but in September 1879 he was dismissed and sent back to his village, while al-Afghānī was banished.] He was recalled in September 1880 and appointed one of the editors of *al-Waqā' i' al-Miṣriya* (Egyptian Events), which was the official organ of the government. Thus did he begin to put theory into practice. He believed that social reform could best be brought about from within the existing society, through training and popular education, rather than by revolutionary upheaval. He fully utilised this publication to propagate these ideas.<sup>80</sup>

Muḥammad 'Abduh had considered that Colonel Aḥmad 'Arābī's call for revolutionary upheaval in Egypt was illegal and that "if the nation were prepared to take part in the government's administration of her affairs, it would be meaningless to bring it about through a military *coup d'état*".<sup>81</sup> However, when Egypt was in danger of being subjugated by the British, Muḥammad 'Abduh reconciled his differences

---

78. Ed. Note: In 1871, al-Afghānī settled in Cairo, where some say he taught at al-Azhar University. He preached nationalist revival and liberal constitutionalist institutions. He was banished from Egypt in 1879 with no more than the clothes on his back. The Egyptian official gazette of 31 August 1879 alleged he belonged to a society aiming at the "ruin of religion and the world"!

After three years in India, he went on to London before settling in Paris. See Nikki R. Keddie's invaluable *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, 123-4.

79. Kohn, Hans. *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London: G. Routledge, 1929) 180.

80. Osman Amin, *Muḥammad 'Abduh* (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1953) 25-32. See also Adams, Charles C., *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933) 51-5.

81. Osman Amin, *op. cit.*, 38-44; quote found on 43.

with the 'Arābī movement and volunteered to serve the nation.<sup>82</sup> He maintained that love of country was sacred, for "it is in relation to their country that men are raised to dignity and greatness, or reduced to lowliness and subservience".<sup>83</sup>

Because of his association with the 'Arābī rebellion, at the end of 1882 Muḥammad 'Abduh was banished for seven years. He went first to Beirut and then to Paris. There he co-operated with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in producing *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* (The Indissoluble Bond or The Strongest Link). The periodical called for Muslim unity to resist foreign encroachment and contained so much nationalist agitation that it was banned by the British in Egypt, Sūdān, and India. Eighteen issues were published between March and October 1884, when it ceased publication as a result of British persecution.<sup>84</sup>

After this, Muḥammad 'Abduh went to Tunis and then to Beirut, where he supported himself by teaching. He was called back to Egypt in the latter part of 1888 and became a judge in the Native Courts. Feeling the need to be literate in at least one European language, he studied French, as was the fashion among Egyptians at that time. On 3 June 1899, he was made Grand Muftī of Egypt. The *fatwās* (formal legal opinions) he issued were evidence of his eagerness to use every opportunity to introduce reform. One of his famous *fatwās* stated that it was permissible for Muslims to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by Christians or Jews. The 'Transvaal Fatwā', responding to a question put by the Muslims of Transvaal in South Africa, ruled that Muslims could wear the dress of non-Muslims if exigencies so demanded. And in his *fatwā* interpreting the Islāmic prohibition against *ribā* (usury), he

---

82. Ed. Note: In 1880, Khedīve Tawfīq Pāshā submitted to joint British-French control over Egypt's finances. An anti-colonial army rebellion led by Aḥmad 'Arābī Bey forced the Khedīve to appoint a nationalist cabinet. But the British and French compelled its resignation, and in May and June of 1882 made a joint naval demonstration off Alexandria. Riots broke out in the city in June. On 11 July, after France and Italy refused to join in any intervention, the British bombarded Alexandria. Troops were then landed and the forces of national resistance were rapidly defeated.

83. Osman Amin, *op. cit.*, 30.

84. *Ibid.*, 49-56.

Ed. Note: *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* was also suppressed by the Dutch in Indonesia and could only reach Ki Haji Ahmad Dahlan of the Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta by being smuggled through Tuban, a small port in East Java. The spread of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* did not cease when the publication was terminated. New editions continued to appear from the 'Arabic presses of the East. See Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 32.

deemed it permissible for Muslims to draw interest on money deposited in banks.<sup>85</sup>

In 1892, when Khedīve ‘Abbās II, who had had a European education, came to the throne, Muḥammad ‘Abduh submitted to him a plan for reforming al-Azhar University "... for by that time, it had become a species of asylum or retreat for the aged, the indigent and the shiftless". Muḥammad ‘Abduh envisaged al-Azhar as an institution teaching not only Islāmic theology, but secular sciences as well.<sup>86</sup> However, even he could not break al-Azhar’s wall of conservatism. Thus, he devised an alternative plan to create another university as a counterpart to al-Azhar. He convinced a wealthy friend of his, Aḥmad Manshāwi Pāshā, to make an endowment of a plot of land for the site of this new university. Eventually, the People’s University, ultimately the Egyptian University, was established shortly after his death in 1905.<sup>87</sup>

Though it was Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī who challenged the Muslims, it was Muḥammad ‘Abduh who gave the intelligentsia a guide to action. He wanted to reform Islām by bringing it back to its original condition; he was convinced that knowledge and religion, properly understood, could not come into conflict at all; but reason must, after it has tested the proofs of the truth of religion, accept its dogmas.<sup>88</sup> Thus, he believed in education, in science and technology, and in the recognition of the rights of the people. His ideas deeply affected the Muslim intelligentsia in many lands.

After his death, his chief disciple, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, continued the campaign for religious reform through the newspaper *al-Manār* (The Lighthouse). Rashīd Riḍā was born in Syria. His family were Syeds, descendants of the Quraysh tribe from which Prophet Muḥammad came. After receiving an orthodox religious education he was ready to plunge into a life of mysticism when he stumbled upon a

---

85. Osman Amin, *op. cit.*, 79.

Ed. Note: "It is difficult for this generation to see how these *fuṭwā* in their day were the storm-centre of countless diatribes and slanders sparing neither the person of the Muftī nor his honor." (*Ibid.*)

86. *Ibid.*, 77–9. quote found on 77.

87. *Ibid.*, 90.

88. Ed. Note: Muḥammad ‘Abduh adopted the most rational religious concepts and held that consideration for the common good (*maṣlaḥa*) and the times should, if necessary, have preference even to the literal text (*naṣṣ*) of revelation. See Schacht, J., "Muḥammad ‘Abduh", *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit.*, 406. His two most important books were his principal theological work *Risālat al-Tauḥīd* (1897) and a defence of Islām against Christianity entitled *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrānīya ma'a 'l-'Ilm wa 'l-Madanīya* (1902). Also see "To Turn the Current of the Age," 163–71 *infra*.

few stray copies of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s agitative newspaper *al-‘Urwa al-Wuthqā*. These so changed his whole outlook that he was determined to join Jamāl al-Dīn. This being impossible in 1897 — the year of al-Afghānī’s death — he joined Muḥammad ‘Abduh instead.<sup>89</sup>

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā’s *al-Manār* appeared on 17 March 1898 and had a difficult time getting a footing. It was a weekly journal of eight pages, which in the second year was changed to a monthly. It contained commentaries on the Qur’ān, news comments, feature articles on religion and law, and reviews of books and other publications. The aims and objectives of this journal were manifold, the most important being:

- to promote social, religious and economic reform;
- to prove the suitability of Islām in the modern world;
- to remove superstitions and beliefs that do not belong to Islām;
- to encourage general education, science in particular, and
- to arouse Muslim nations to compete with other nations.<sup>90</sup>

By 1903, *al-Manār*’s circulation increased substantially, and by 1905 many Egyptian newspapers were echoing *al-Manār*’s cry for reform.<sup>91</sup> While *al-Manār* played a significant role in the modernist movement in Egypt, its influence outside Egypt was perhaps just as great. In Indonesia, for example, the Muhammadiyah movement<sup>92</sup> which began in 1912, was directly inspired by the modernist movement in Egypt. The same was true of the Kaum Muda faction in Malaya, but to a lesser extent.

Meanwhile, Syed Shaykh was travelling to and fro between Makka, Cairo and Riau, and more and more pilgrims and students returning from the Middle East were eager to see a reform movement similar to that of Egypt’s.<sup>93</sup> But the climate in the East at that time was not conducive. In the face of European colonialism, the people could only watch their brethren fall helplessly. The Bugis and the Achehnese had fought a losing battle, Acheh’s struggle spanning 1873–1903.<sup>94</sup> Acheh’s defeat was still

89. Adams, C. C., *op. cit.*, 177–9.

90. *Ibid.*, 181. *al-Imām* was a modest effort along similar lines.

91. *Ibid.*, 182.

92. Anonymous, “Muḥammadiyah”, *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit.*, 409, and Wertheim, W. F., *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1959) 210–13.

93. Snouck Hurgronje, C., *Mekka* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931) 291.

94. “Atjeh”, *Ensiklopedia Indonesia*, I (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, undated but thought to have been published in 1954) 129–30, and see “Riau ...”, 10 and n. 16 *supra*.

fresh in the memory of most people. If such courageous people could be beaten, what could a group of idealistic young men do?

Then the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) erupted, ending in a Japanese victory. Czarist Russia, one of the mightiest empires in Europe and a great military power, was vanquished with comparative ease by an Asian race, few in numbers. That a white giant could be defeated by a coloured dwarf stunned the world and revolutionised the political thinking of Asian peoples.<sup>95</sup> Japan had shown that Western supremacy was no mysterious affair; it was the result of technological progress. Japan had achieved similar technological advances without abandoning her way of life, system of government and cultural heritage.<sup>96</sup> What was to prevent other Asian countries from following her example? Japan's exhilaration was infectious. China, India, Burma and Indonesia bestirred themselves with new-found confidence.

Japan, with her symbol of the Rising Sun, gave impetus to the publication of the *al-Imām*. The editorial in its first issue contends:

Those who know the affairs of the world realise that the Europeans could not have extended their rule from West to East without the weapon of knowledge. And the Japanese, fewer than 50 million people, could never have defeated her enemies who were hundreds of millions strong if they were not in possession of the same knowledge.<sup>97</sup>

This new spirit of trying to assert one's dignity and rights not only manifested itself in *al-Imām*, but also showed itself in the increasing opposition to Dutch rule in Riau.<sup>98</sup> Not wishing to see a second Aceh War, the Dutch were anxious to crush this resistance as early as possible. In 1910, the Dutch proposed that a new treaty should be signed to supersede the 1905 Treaty. This new Treaty would have taken away all the powers of the Sultan and made him a mere figurehead.<sup>99</sup> The Sultan, of course, was reluctant, and his ministers, most of them belonging to Raja Ali Kelana's party, were indignant. But the Dutch moved quickly. On 9 February 1911, a Dutch cruiser and two gunboats from Java

---

95. Kohn, Hans, *op. cit.*, 128.

96. Brimmel, J. H., *Communism in Southeast Asia: A Political Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) 72, and see "Riau ...", 10 *supra*.

97. *al-Imām*, I, 1 (23 July 1906) 3–4. There were also some news items featuring Japan.

98. Bruyn Kops, de-, G. F., "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden", *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. D. G. Stibbe (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1919) III, 621–2. See Appendix A, 271–3 *infra* for translated excerpt in English.

99. Statement by the Sultan of Rhio (Raja Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad Yusuf — Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah —), *The Straits Times*, 15 February 1911.

anchored off Pulau Bintan. A force of soldiers landed and surrounded the Sultan's residence on Pulau Penyengat. The Sultan was away at that time. The Dutch moved so swiftly that they met no resistance from the people. As he was returning to Riau, the Sultan was informed of his deposition with a pension of 2,000 rupiah a month.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile, his grandson, a boy of ten, had been installed as Sultan solely for the purpose of signing his agreement to the Sultanate being abolished in 1913.<sup>101</sup>

Naturally, the Dutch were ready with a rationalisation for their action: they accused the Sultan of breaking his promises!<sup>102</sup> After the Sultan was deposed, they tried to persuade the inhabitants to resume their normal life. Their attempt was apparently not too successful, for it was followed by a great exodus of the Riau population to Singapore<sup>103</sup>, Johor and other parts of Malaya. *The Straits Times* at that time estimated the number of evacuees to be more than 5,000.<sup>104</sup> Raja Ali Kelana moved to Johor, where he died in about 1919.<sup>105</sup>

As *al-Imām* was essentially a Riau-sponsored venture, the events in Riau could not but affect the welfare of the journal, and perhaps it was the lack of funds which caused it to cease publication in December 1908. Only one Malay paper remained in circulation, *Utusan Melayu* (1907–21) started by the Free Press, with Mohd. Eunus b. Abdullah<sup>106</sup>

100. "Exodus to Singapore", *The Straits Times*, 11 May 1911.

101. "Statement by the Sultan of Rhio", *op. cit.*

102. Batavia Statement on "The Rhio Case", *Straits Budget*, 23 February 1911. According to Raja Muhammad 'Arif, the 'promises' were actually ignored by the ministers as they did not sign the 1905 treaty.

103. Ed. Note: See "Riau ...", 13 *supra* for a contradictory interpretation of the cause for the exodus.

104. "Exodus to Singapore", *op. cit.*

105. Interview with Raja Muhammad 'Arif.

Ed. Note: Reportedly, Raja Ali Kelana died in 1927, see "Riau ...", 68 *supra*.

106. Ed. Note: Mohd. Eunus was born in Teluk Belanga in 1876 and was educated at the Malay school there and later at Raffles Institution in Singapore. Upon completion of his studies, he worked as a clerk and was attached for a time to the Master Attendant's Office in Singapore under Captain Crawford, after which he was appointed Harbour Master and Postmaster of Muar by the Johor Government. He resigned after five years' service and returned to Singapore to join *Utusan Melayu*. At the end of 1909 he left *Utusan*, and from that year until 1922 he was engaged in various jobs including the publication of *Lembaga Melayu*. In 1922 he was appointed a Municipal Councillor, and two years later, he was given the honour of becoming the first Malay member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council. His appointment ended the three-year-old search for a qualified Malay to fill the reserved chair for the Malays in the Council. Mohd. Eunus died in 1933. (Soenarno, Radin, "Malay Nationalism", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, I, 1 (March 1960) 9–10. Also see "Demand for the Improvement ...", 184, ed. n. 8 *infra*.)

as its first editor. Though a commercial paper, its readers' columns carried some letters reflecting the views of the Malay-reading public.

The next paper similar in purpose to *al-Imām* was *Neracha* (The Scales), which appeared in 1911, founded and edited by Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, a former editor of *al-Imām*. Haji Abbas supported the Kaum Muda with a bold declaration that certain forms of interest, such as bank interest, should not be considered *ribā* (an 'increase' or usury). The controversy on *ribā* was carried on in the readers' columns of *Utusan Melayu* in 1916.<sup>107</sup> Though it had no immediate outcome, it did make the Malay-reading public think, and paved the way for the co-operative movement.<sup>108</sup>

Meanwhile, such excitement was aroused with regard to the Turco-Italian War<sup>109</sup> that *Neracha* began to appear weekly instead of three times a month in order to supply readers with the most current information. *Neracha* derived its news from Egyptian sources,<sup>110</sup> giving it a significant religious and nationalist thrust.

During the First World War, Muslims under Western rule were so affected by the Triple Entente's declaration of war on the Ottomans and the Khalīfat's subsequent call for *jihād* (Holy War) that Muslim soldiers began to show signs of resistance when they thought they would be sent to fight the Ottomans against their will. The Malay States Guides' refusal to proceed to the front in German East Africa on 6 December 1914 and the Mutiny of the Indian Sepoys in Singapore on 15 February 1915 both took place on Malayan soil,<sup>111</sup> the direct consequence of

---

107. Nik Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 16–17.

108. Ed. Note: The issue, however, did not die. As late as 20–25 November 1928 a formal debate took place at Sri Menanti, Negeri Sembilan, concerning the matter of co-operative interest. The same Haji Abbas was present to argue that such interest was not *ribā*, prohibited by Islāmic law. *Rencana Perjumpaan Agong Yang Kelima Wakil-wakil Syarikat-syarikat Bekerjasama di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu bagi Tahun 1930 di dalam Kuala Lumpur Negeri Selangor* (n.p., n.d.) cited in Safie Ibrahim, "Islamic Thought in Malaya, 1930–40", *op. cit.*, 253.

109. This war, 1911–12, ended in Italy's victory, much to the disappointment of the Muslims.

110. Nik Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 12–13.

111. Abdul Karim b. Baggo, "The Origin and Growth of the Malay States Guides" (unpublished academic exercise for the Department of History, University of Malaya, 1954) 48. See also Mosbergen, Rudolf William, "The Sepoy Rebellion (History of Singapore Mutiny)" (unpublished academic exercise for the Department of History, University of Malaya, 1954) 2, 7. As a result of their refusal of active service, the Malay States Guides were withdrawn from Singapore to Taiping, Malaya.

Ed. Note: For a discussion of the Mutiny, see "Riau ...", 18–36 *supra*.

which was the establishment by the British of the Singapore Muslim Advisory Board.<sup>112</sup>

However, the Ottoman defeat in the Turco-Italian War as well as in World War I dampened enthusiasm for Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's Pan-Islāmism with the Ottoman Khalīfa as its spiritual head. In Turkey, itself, the secular nationalist movement under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl finally led to the abolition of the Khalīfat in 1924.<sup>113</sup>

The end of the First World War not only affected Ottoman Turkey, it also saw the birth of many smaller nations in Europe and the success of the Bolsheviks in Russia. In Asia, the struggles of India, China, Burma, and Indonesia for national independence began to assume the form of mass movements. Under the impetus of nationalism, a great social upheaval was taking place. Demands for better education, better conditions of work and living, better and more opportunities in the social and economic fields, and for women's emancipation, became the order of the day.

The Malay intelligentsia in Malaya could not but feel the impact of this resurgence of Asian nationalism. The years 1920–30 saw an incessant clamour in the Malay press for improvements in education and industry. This was particularly true in the towns and cities, where the contrast between wealth and poverty was great and commercial and industrial enterprises were identified with non-Malays. Moreover, as Malay education was not then the road to advancement, the demand for English education for the Malays rose proportionately. This fact quite disconcerted a British educational administrator, who felt that an English education should not be freely given to all Malay children lest it upset the social and political stability of the country.<sup>114</sup> His views, of course, won the sympathy of the British Administration of that time.

---

112. Ed. Note: The Muslim Advisory Board had no statutory authority. It was established to provide the Colonial Government with advice concerning the general interest and welfare of the Muslim community in Singapore but also provided intelligence on the community.

113. Rustow, Dankwart A., "Politics and Islam in Turkey, 1920–1955", *Islam and the West*, ed. Frye, Richard N. (Hague: Mouton, 1957) 70–9.

Ed. Note: On moves by the Muslim *umma* to resurrect the Khalīfat, see "Riau ...", 66, n. 160 *supra*.

114. Winstedt, R. O., *Education in Malaya*, British Empire Exhibition Pamphlets, Malayan Series, ed. Wemblay (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1923) 15.

Increasing political consciousness among the town-dwelling Malays led to the formation of the Singapore Malay Union (*Kesatuan Melayu Singapura*) in 1926.<sup>115</sup> Its founder, Mohd. Eunus b. Abdullah, a prominent English-educated Malay who was appointed to the Straits Settlements Legislative Council from 1924 where he remained until his death in 1933, was Syed Shaykh's friend. Indeed, *al-Imām* had had the pleasure in 1907 of announcing the birth of *Utusan Melayu*, whose first editor was Mohd. Eunus,<sup>116</sup> and nineteen years later when *al-Ikhwān* was launched it hailed the birth of the first nationalistic society, also headed by him.<sup>117</sup>

It was now the fashion for Malays, themselves, to point out weaknesses in their society, to discuss the causes and to suggest remedies. The years between 1929 and 1934, in spite of the Great Depression, marked the most active period in Malay journalism, though inevitably many newspapers and periodicals sprang up only to disappear after one or two issues. Besides the *Warta Malaya* of Singapore (1930–41) and Syed Shaykh's *Saudara* (1928–41), there were *Edaran Zaman* (1925–); *Suara Melayu* (Jan. 1926–9 and 1932); *Dewasa* (Oct. 1931–); *Bahtra* (Jan. 1932–); and *Bumi Putra* (Jan. 1933–) in Penang; *Chahaya Malaya* (July 1927–) in Kedah; *Pengasoh* (11 July 1918–); *al-Hedayah* (June 1923–Feb. 1926); *Akhbar Putera* (July 1929–); and *Kenchana* (1930–) in Kelantan; *Majlis* (1931–41); and *Warta Negeri* (1931–) in Kuala Lumpur; *Lidah Benar* (Sept. 1929–) in Klang; *Suara Benar* (Sept. 1932–4) in Melaka; *Majallah Guru* (Nov. 1924–Dec. 1940) in Negeri Sembilan, Kuala Lumpur and Penang, respectively; *Panduan Truna* (Feb. 1930–) in Perak; and *Idaran Masa* (May 1929–) in Terengganu.<sup>118</sup>

The aims and objectives of these papers were to enhance the political consciousness of the Malays and to arouse them to act. A typical example was the *Bumi Putra* (Sons of the Soil) of Penang; its slogan reflected the spirit of the period quite faithfully:

115. Osman Hassan ed., *Berita Pergerakan Kesatuan Melayu 1926–1937* (Singapore: 1937) 5, cited by Soenarno, Radin, "Malay Nationalism", *op. cit.*, 9, n. 22; also see "Demand for the Improvement ...", 184, ed. n. 8 *infra*.

116. *al-Imām*.II. 4 (8 October 1907) 124.

117. *al-Ikhwān*, I. 1 (16 September 1926) 19.

118. Complimentary copies of these publications are in the Archives of the National (Raffles) Library in Singapore. See also Za'ba, "Malay Journalism in Malaya", *op. cit.*, 244–50.

It is not that Malays cannot progress,  
 Riches are to be found everywhere.  
 We'll labour at night, chase in the day,  
 And have faith in the new order of things.  
 We'll make good in industry and rice-planting,  
 Those with fine fingers can hold the pen.  
 We all work in the Way of Islām.  
 The most glorious religion in the world.<sup>119</sup>

In the religious sphere, *al-Ikhwān* and, later, *Saudara* devoted themselves to the cause of Kaum Muda by informing their Malay readers of reforms in other Muslim lands. The reforms of King Amānullāh Khān of Afghānistān were given full coverage from beginning to end. His tour of Europe with his wife and daughters was applauded.<sup>120</sup> That the Queen was bold enough to discard her veil and mix freely in male company made an interesting story.<sup>121</sup> Finally, the King's abdication was greatly lamented and the '*ulamā*' who caused his downfall were severely criticised.<sup>122</sup> Even Turkey, in spite of her apparent apostasy, did not fail to attract the attention of Muslims abroad by the rapid progress she had made in the fields of higher learning, women's emancipation and in establishing a nominally representative government.<sup>123</sup>

---

119. *Bumi Putra*, 5 January 1933. The original text in Malay reads :

Bukan Melayu tak boleh maju,  
 Uang di-chari di-segenap penjuru,  
 Malam bertulang siang berburu,  
 Jakan kapada peraturan bahru.  
 Pandai berusaha berchochok tanam,  
 Tangan-nya halus memegang kalam,  
 Rajin beramal se-chara Islām,  
 Agama yang mashhor seluroh 'alam.

120. *al-Ikhwān*, I, 1 (16 September 1926) 15-17; I, 2 (16 October 1926) 9-10; I, 5 (16 January 1927) 102-3; II, 5 (16 January 1928), and others.

121. *al-Ikhwān*, II, 12 (16 August 1928) 382; III, 2 (16 October 1928), and others.

122. *al-Ikhwān*, III, 6 (16 February 1929), and others.

Ed. Note: The emirate was changed to a kingdom in 1926 and radical reforms introduced. But these reforms resulted in a backlash in 1929, forcing King Amānullāh to abdicate.

123. *al-Ikhwān*, I, 3 (16 November 1926) 57-8; I, 5-7 (16 January 1927, 16 Feb. 1927, 16 March 1927) 100; 122-3; 138-9; I, 10 (16 June 1927) 198-9, and others; II, 5 (16 January 1928); II, 7-9 (16 March 1928, 16 April 1928, 16 May 1928) 220-1, 245, 281-6, and others.

The Egyptian modernist movement led by Shaykh Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, the Rector of al-Azhar from 1928–30,<sup>124</sup> Qāsim Amīn Bey, author of *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* (Emancipation of Woman),<sup>125</sup> Madame Hudā Sha'arāwī Pāshā, leader of L'Union Féministe Égyptienne (founded in 1923), and others, was described with great relish.<sup>126</sup> Later, attention gradually turned to religious and political movements in Indonesia.<sup>127</sup>

The idea of Muslim reform in Malaya, reinforced by the descriptions of reforms carried out in other countries, was particularly attractive to English-educated Malays, who saw it as a means of synthesising Western knowledge with their religious commitments. They introduced to the local Muslims such Indian reformers as Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān,<sup>128</sup> founder of the Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in May 1875 (later to become the Muslim University), Muḥammad 'Alī,<sup>129</sup> and Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn.<sup>130</sup> Muḥammad 'Alī, whose English translation of the Qur'ān is a standard translation today, was most bitterly attacked in the Malay press by conservative Muslims who castigated him as being an Aḥmadi<sup>131</sup> and therefore by implication,

124. Ed. Note: Shaykh Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī was a pupil of Muḥammad 'Abduh. Under his leadership an extensive reorganisation of al-Azhar was undertaken with a view to its greater adaptation to modern conditions in Egypt. A plan for such was promulgated in 1930 in what is known as Law No. 49, but because of the opposition encountered, Shaykh Muṣṭafā resigned from the rectorship. He was formerly Supreme Sharī'a Judge for the Sūdān, having been appointed on the recommendation of Muḥammad 'Abduh. (Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 209.)

125. Ed. Note: Qāsim Amīn was "one of a little group of men who were mutual friends and followers of Muḥammad 'Abduh ...". He was a judge in the Court of Appeal of the Native Tribunals and in addition to law, he had studied ethics, sociology and psychology. He was a "thinker rather than a doer", as adjudged by *al-Manār* (XI (1908–9) 226–9).

In his book he takes 'Abduh's position with reference to the high position of woman in Islām as fundamentally conceived. The present degradation of woman is due to national traits, particularly the spirit of oppression and tyranny perpetuated by tyrannical governments and the men, oppressed themselves, who have in turn become the oppressors of women. (Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 231–2.)

126. *al-Ikhwān*, I, 5 (16 January 1927) 97; II, 4 (16 December 1927) 103, 115–7, and others.

127. *Saudara*, I, 27 (6 April 1929) 2.

128. Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, *Modern Islām in India: A Social Analysis* (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1943) 6–23.

129. *Ibid.*, 300.

130. See 'His Life', 116–17 *supra* and Appendix C, 282–4 *infra*.

131. Smith, *Modern Islām in India*, *op. cit.*, 300.

Ed. Note: See 'His Life', 116, ed. n. 45 *supra* and Appendix C by Za'ba, 282 *infra*.

a *kāfir* or unbeliever. The person who initiated the furore was none other than Pandita Za'ba.<sup>132</sup>

In Penang, these English-educated Muslims organised themselves into the Young Muslim Union (YMU),<sup>133</sup> which was particularly active during the 1920s. Syed Shaykh's son, Syed Alwi, was on its Committee in 1922.<sup>134</sup> The YMU was largely a social and recreational organisation, though now and then a lecture would be given on such topics as 'Islam and Civilisation' or 'Modern Trends in Islam'.<sup>135</sup> Since it catered only for the interests of the English-speaking Muslims, the British Government considered the YMU a useful ally; witness the appointment of its President, Muhammad Rouse b. Chee, to the Straits Settlements Legislative Council on Mohd. Eunus b. Abdullah's death in 1933.

Finally, a word must be added about the Malay left of this period. Malaya was experiencing a kind of 'pre-nationalism' which brought together Malay middle-class intellectuals, with Islām playing a unifying role.<sup>136</sup> The appeal of radical nationalism or communism did not affect more than a few who were aware of and sympathetic to the political movements in Indonesia.<sup>137</sup>

After the failure of the 1926–7 communist-led uprising against the Dutch in West Java and West Sumatra in Indonesia,<sup>138</sup> a number of communist leaders had to leave the country. In Malaya they were given shelter by their relatives. While the uprising aroused political awareness amongst Malay college students, their ideas

---

132. See Appendix C, 282–4 *infra*.

133. *The Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1919.

134. *Ibid.*, for 1922.

135. See Za'ba, Appendix C, 281 *infra*.

136. Cf. Wertheim, *op. cit.*, 204. The term 'pre-nationalism' is borrowed from his book and is similarly defined: the Muslims saw in their Faith a strong unifying force which would transcend local patriotism and bring about national unity.

137. Soenamo, *op. cit.*, 17.

138. Ed. Note: See Schrieke, B., *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings* (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1955) pt. 1, 85–166.

influenced only a few of the more radical members of the Malay intelligentsia.<sup>139</sup>

As for Syed Shaykh, while he would have been aware of the rise of communism as a new ideology, the only reference he has made of which we're aware was when he responded to a reader's question on

139. Ed. Note: In mid-1938, Ibrahim Haji Yaacob (b. 1911), assistant editor of *Majlis*, Ishak Haji Muhammad,<sup>140</sup> and others of like mind formed the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (Young Malay Union) which "neither professed loyalty to the Sultans and the British nor spoke of non-co-operation, but worked to promote nationalist feelings and teachings among its members, whose strength lay in the lower classes ..."<sup>141</sup> KMM developed from Ikatan Pelajar SITC (Sultan Idris Training College Students' League) formed in 1930. It was strongly anti-colonial and opposed to the bourgeois-feudalist leadership of the traditional élite. It spoke of a concept of Malay reunification: *Indonesia Raya* or *Melayu Raya*. Some of its members had joined Sukarno's Partai Nasional Indonesia formed in 1927 at Bandung. In April 1941, Ibrahim Yaacob, with funds supplied by the Japanese, bought *Warta Malaya* to use for anti-British propaganda. (See Soenarno, *op. cit.*, 16-22, and Cheah Boon Kheng, "The Japanese Occupation of Malaya, 1941-45: Ibrahim Yaacob and the Struggle for Indonesia Raya", *Indonesia*, 28 (Cornell, 1979) 94.
140. Ed. Note: Ishak Haji Muhammad (Pak Sako), who was to become Chairman of the Labour Party of Malaya, was detained many times and for long periods. A well-known Malay writer, his novel *Putera Gunung Tahan* (The Prince of Mount Tahan) 1937 was a satire on the colonial British in Malaya. His second satirical novel *Anak Mat Lela Gila* (Son of the Mad Mat Lela) was published in Singapore in 1941. Having been stigmatised and living in poverty, on 29 June 1973, he was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Letters by the University of Malaya and on 29 May 1976 he was conferred the Literary Pioneer Award by the Malaysian Prime Minister! But Pak Sako never changed: he went on riding buses and yarning in roadside stalls. In the years 1972-88 he wrote for *Unusan Melayu*. Born on 19 November 1909, he died on 7 November 1991 and is buried in his hometown of Temerloh, Pahang, and may his egalitarian soul rest in peace.
141. Ed. Note: Ibrahim Yaacob, *Nusa dan Bangsa Melayu* (The Malays and their Homeland) (Djakarta: N. V. Alma'arif, 1951) 59-60. For many years Ibrahim Yaacob was not permitted even to visit Malaya; he lived in exile in Indonesia. As late as August 1973, he was refused Malaysian Government's permission to speak at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in a series of seminars on leadership in Malaysia. He died in Jakarta on 8 March 1979 and is buried in the Heroes' Cemetery at Kalibata, Indonesia. In his books, *Melihat Tanah Air* (Exploring the Motherland), I (Kota Bharu: Maṭba'a al-Ismaliyah, 1941) in Jawi; II in manuscript was seized by the colonial police when they arrested him in 1941 (see Cheah Boon Kheng, *op. cit.*, 92, n. 26); *Nusa dan Bangsa Melayu* (cited above); *Sekitar Malaya Merdeka* (Concerning Independent Malaya) (Djakarta: Kesatuan Malaya Merdeka, 1957); and under his adopted Indonesian name, Iskander Kamel Agastya, *Sedjarah dan Perjuangan di Malaya* (History and Struggle in Malaya) (Yogyakarta: Nusanantara, 1951), he gives quite a detailed account of the Malay Left in Malaya.

Wahhābīsm:<sup>142</sup> "... they have tried to accuse those of us who would seek the truth of being 'communists' ... . Such was the conduct of all the polytheist Quraysh when they found themselves unable to destroy the arguments of the Prophet, the only difference being that in those days people did not know such a term as 'communist'!"<sup>143</sup>

### HIS MISSION

#### *National Revival*

SYED Shaykh al-Hady spent most of his writer-activist life in the Straits Settlements, the buttress of British political and economic power. During his earlier years in the Batam Brickworks he had already felt, more keenly than the average Malay, the pressure of foreign enterprise and his inability to resist it. He, therefore, turned to the Muslim community as a whole for support. His trips to the Middle East, moreover, opened his eyes to the pre-nationalist movements there fanned by the flames of modernist Islām. Syed Shaykh was convinced that this reinterpretation of Islām was the solution for the Muslims in Malaya. He believed that all Muslims must be awakened to the danger of Western domination. He felt they should seek their own salvation through education and hard work, and unite in a strong Brotherhood of Muslims against foreign encroachment. This had become Syed Shaykh's most cherished ideal, to which he devoted his time and energy, and it is this commitment which provided the inspiration for the religious, social, and educational reforms he advocated.

His first appeal was made in *al-Imām* more than 90 years ago, in an article entitled "Menuntut Ketinggian akan Anak-anak Negeri" (Demand for the Improvement of the Sons of the Soil).<sup>144</sup> He began by refuting the argument that people in the East were weaker or inferior to those in the West or that it was God's will that they should suffer. For

142. Margoliouth, D. S., "Wahhābīya", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. op. cit.*, 618–21. See also 'His Mission', 139 *infra*.

143. *al-Ikhwān*, V, 10 (16 July 1931) 308.

144. *al-Imām*, 12 July 1907. 181–5 *infra*.

such was the deception which the traditional leaders and the 'ulamā' of the community had tried to perpetuate in order to continue 'squeezing the blood of the poor'. He pointed to the Chinese in Malaya as an example of a people who had, by dint of hard labour and thrift, accumulated considerable wealth which they used to build schools to educate their children in order that they might compete with other peoples in modern life. He asked whether it was right that Muslims should be less hard-working, less intelligent, less learned, and less loving to each other, while their religion tells them to excel in all of these.

Syed Shaykh had a definite dislike for foreign rule. In addition to the above article in which he referred to the surrender to the Europeans of "our dignity, our laws, our properties and our national pride",<sup>145</sup> he later wrote in *al-Ikhwān* other articles expressing the same opinion. In "Teriak Sa-benar" (The Real Cry), for example, he challenges: "if we are conscious and still possess the faculty of thought, how can we allow another people to rule over us, to be our guardian in our own beloved Motherland?"<sup>146</sup>

In "Angan-angan Berbetulan dengan Hakikat" (Daydreams which Coincide with Reality),<sup>147</sup> Syed Shaykh described how in a reverie he was borne high up into the sky. Looking down, his eyes filled with tears for he saw below him Sumatra, Java, the Philippines and Malaya all in the grip of foreign powers. More saddening still was the sight of the inhabitants: how idle and ignorant, how quarrelsome they were among themselves. Their very inability to rule was an invitation to European countries to maintain peace and order for them. Syed Shaykh concluded, "Only God can deliver us from the fate that has befallen the natives of America and Australia. Amen."<sup>148</sup>

Though the above are direct appeals, his writings and activities in a number of different spheres all indirectly pointed toward the same goal: national revival. For the purpose of this discussion, we will consider his thought in relation to the reform of religion; education; society and economy.

---

145. *Ibid.*

146. *al-Ikhwān*, 16 October 1926, 186–8 *infra*.

147. *al-Imām*, 19 September 1906, reprinted in *al-Ikhwān*, II, 7 (16 March 1928) 198–200.

148. *Ibid.*, 200.

### Religious Reforms

Syed Shaykh felt that religious reform and national revival were closely interrelated. The only way to save the Muslims from the degradation of further foreign rule and foreign economic oppression was to bring the truth of Islām to them, for Islām has never, and would never, bring about the downfall of Muslim peoples. A study of the origin and early history of Islām reveals the great significance of its advent; Islām had been a brilliant torch which led its followers to progress, fame, power, riches and glory. However, in his times Islām was being 'distorted' and 'misinterpreted' for their own selfish ends by a group of people who called themselves 'ulamā' or theologians. The weak position of contemporary Islām was due solely to their introduction of 'falsehood and nonsense' into Islām.<sup>149</sup>

Like most reformers of his time, Syed Shaykh rejected both the dogmatism and the laxity in the religion and demanded a return to the Qur'ān and the Sunna (deeds, utterances and unspoken approvals of the Prophet). Thus he supported the Wahnābī movement.<sup>150</sup> After the Wahnābīs failed to capture Makka from the Ottomans, the word 'Wahnābī' was used by conservative Muslims as a term of abuse. When the al-Su'ūdī dynasty, followers of Wahnābīsm, rose again in the first part of the twentieth century and finally captured the Holy City,<sup>151</sup> Syed Shaykh openly applauded the ideas and achievements of this movement, for which praise his opponents called him a *Wahnābī* and *Ketua Wahnābī* (Head of the Wahnābīs). Instead of being angry, Syed Shaykh had only contempt for these 'ill-informed' men.<sup>152</sup>

This insistence on going back to the Qur'ān and the Sunna is only one aspect of religious reform. In the case of the Wahnābīs and later the

149. "Ada-kah Kaum Melayu ini Dapat Melepaskan Wujud-nya daripada Fana dan Hapus?" (Can the Malays Escape Annihilation and Extinction?), *al-Ikhwān*, 16 October 1930, 213–18 *infra*.

150. Ed. Note: Islāmic community founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahnābī (1703–87). Members refer to themselves as 'unitarians' (*muwahḥidūn*) and not as Wahnābīs. They are Sunnis who follow the Ḥanbalī school of law as interpreted by Ibn Taymīya, who attacked the cult of saints in many of his writings, condemning visits to the tombs, and so on. See Margoliouth, D. S., "Wahnābīya", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op. cit.*, 618–21, and Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 103.

151. Ed. Note: In October 1924, Ibn Sa'ūd's forces occupied Makka; on 5 December 1925, they obtained possession of Madīna and, on 23 December, of Jidda. Thus, the whole of Ḥijāz was added to Ibn Sa'ūd's realm.

152. *al-Ikhwān*, V, 11 (16 July 1931) 351.

al-Manār group, once they established themselves as authorities on the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth (actions or sayings of the Prophet),<sup>153</sup> they became even more rigid and conservative than their predecessors. Syed Shaykh, though sympathetic to the Wahhābīs and the al-Manār group, was closer to Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh in spirit, for he not only condemned *taqlīd* (adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating his reasons) but upheld the torch of *ijtihād* (independent judgement, 'striving with full exertion' to form an opinion). This battle between the old school advocating *taqlīd* and the new school advocating *ijtihād* is perhaps the most important aspect of the Muslim reform movement. Muḥammad ʿAbduh had argued that religion could never enter into conflict with knowledge, and that reason would necessarily accept the dogmas of religion after testing the proofs of its truth.<sup>154</sup> Syed Shaykh was so impressed by this argument that he wrote a book titled *Kitab Ugama Islam dan ʿAkal* (Islām and Reason) in which he tried to present Muḥammad ʿAbduh's ideas more simply for Malay readers. In this book he emphasises that reason is the essence of Islām and quotes the criticisms in the Qurʾān of those who do not use their common sense. Islām, he states, advocates freedom of *i'tiqād* (belief, firm acceptance in the mind that a thing is true). It combines the needs of this world with those of the next; it does not discriminate as to race or colour; and last but not least, it advocates thrift, effort and work.<sup>155</sup>

Many aspects of prevailing religious practices were severely criticised and their authority challenged. For example, the *kenduri* (feast) given for the dead,<sup>156</sup> the observance of *Mawlid* (Prophet's birthday),<sup>157</sup> and the practice of *talkin* ('instruction of the dead' at the burial

---

153. Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 185.

154. See 'His Times', 126 *supra*.

155. Syed Shaykh al-Hady, *Kitab Ugama Islam dan ʿAkal* (Islām and Reason) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).

156. "Pahala Kemudian daripada Mati" (Reward after Death), *al-Ikhwān*, 16 December 1928, 233–4 *infra*.

157. *al-Imām*, 19 October 1906. Ed. Note: As quoted 'twenty years later' in *al-Ikhwān*, the contention was that "not a single ḥadīth of any validity that could be relied upon" had been found "to prove that even the celebration of the Mawlid is required or may be done". (National Archives SP60/D/8.) We have conferred with Prof. Madya Dr. Ibrahim Abu Bakar of the Jabatan Usuludin dan Falsafah [Philosophy and Tenets of Islām], Faculty of Islāmic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, who has confirmed that through the reign of the four Khalīfas, Mawlid al-Nabī was not celebrated.

service),<sup>158</sup> were condemned as *bid'a*<sup>159</sup> (innovation). The question of *bid'a*, itself, was heatedly debated. Some said that if a *bid'a* was beneficial (*bid'a ḥasana*) it should be retained; only an erroneous innovation (*bid'a ḍalāla*) should be discarded. Syed Shaykh, however, opposed all *bid'a*; he believed that Islām began as a simple religion and to that simplicity it must return.

Şūfism, as practised by the Malays, also came under Syed Shaykh's attack. However much he might have respected the original *taṣawwuf* (Şūfism or Islāmic mysticism),<sup>160</sup> he was strongly against the degenerated form of Şūfism which induced men and women to indulge in spiritual exercises in a *Rumah Suluk* (House of Suluk)<sup>161</sup> to the detriment of a normal and rational life. In Syed Shaykh's eyes, it was wasteful to spend one's life praying and chanting. Moreover, there were rumours that in the *Rumah Suluk* in Penang such things took place as the mixing of scantily dressed men and women while taking their ablutions and of intimacies between teachers and women or girls, which could not but arouse Syed Shaykh's fury.<sup>162</sup> His campaign against corrupt forms of Şūfism in general, and the *Rumah Suluk* in particular, nearly cost him his life.<sup>163</sup>

### *Religious Periodicals*

Religious periodicals were Syed Shaykh's most often used platform for advocating religious reform. The magazines *al-Imām* and *al-Ikhwān* are most deserving of attention. *Al-Imām* surpassed all previous

158. *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 12 (16 August 1930) 311.

159. This word came to suggest individual dissent and independence to the point of heresy, although not of actual disbelief (*kufir*). See Macdonald, D. B., "Bid'a", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op. cit.*, 62.

Ed. Note: According to Imām Shāfi'ī, and the Malays follow the Shāfi'ī School of Law, anything that is new and contradicts the Qur'ān, *sunna*, agreement or traditions (*āthār*) is a *bid'a* which leads astray. But a good innovation which does not contradict is a praiseworthy *bid'a*.

160. *al-Imām*, II, 11 (4 February 1908) 255-60.

161. *Sulūk* ('journeying') is a term used by *Şūfis* to describe the mystic's progress in the Way to God under the direction of a *Shaykh*. Here the *Şūfī* order referred to is the Ṭarīqa Naqshabandiya. See Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Şūfism as understood and practised by the Malays*, ed. Gordon, Shirle (Alijah), *op. cit.*, 66-7.

162. *al-Imām*, 4 February 1908; also see *al-Imām*, II, 2 (03 May 1908).

163. According to Syed Alwi.

Malay publications such as *Jawi Peranakan* (1876–95) and *Taman Pengetahuan* (The Garden of Knowledge) (June 1904– )<sup>164</sup> because of its singleness of purpose. It thrust aside the convention of chatting about social events and the weather<sup>165</sup> and called upon the Malays to face the realities of their situation; it broke down the wall of conservatism so that new ideas might flow into Malay society; it made the Malay-reading public<sup>166</sup> do some hard and serious thinking. In short, it marked a new stage of development in Malay journalism.<sup>167</sup> The Malay press then ceased to be only a medium of information; it also became a medium of education for *al-Imām* was not afraid to assume the role of an educator.<sup>168</sup> It carried a column for readers' questions on religion and answered them in such a way as to propagate the Kaum Muda point of view. Selected news items also served the same purpose.

Unfortunately, *al-Imām*, being didactic, could also be considered a 'dull' magazine. Twenty years later when Syed Shaykh produced *al-Ikhwān*, he held to the same purpose but modified its contents to make it more attractive to readers. *Al-Ikhwān* was a vast improvement: the paper was of better quality and the pages were illustrated with photographs. The contents were more varied; besides religious articles and news reports, there were articles of general interest such as 'Scouts', 'Co-operatives', and 'The Poverty of the Malays', and even a detective series called 'Rokambul'. In his religious articles, Syed Shaykh continued to attack what he considered distortions and misinterpretations of

---

164. Za'ba. "Malay Journalism in Malaya". *op. cit.*, 244–5.

Ed. Note: *Jawi Peranakan* refers to locally-born offspring of Malay women and South Indian Muslims. They speak Malay as their first language and are generally assimilated. The community made a significant contribution in publishing Malay-language newspapers and books.

165. Nik Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 10.

166. Ed. Note: While those literate in Malay might have constituted only 25 percent of the Malay-speaking population in the Straits Settlements and a significantly lower percentage in the Malay States, those who were literate read to others in village coffee-shops and in towns, and Malay publications did reach the Malay vernacular schools and certainly the religious schools. Pandita Za'ba wrote: "Often, of an evening, one sees at the wayside Chinese shop some lettered man, perhaps an old *guru* of the local school or perhaps the local *penghulu*, reading one or other of these papers, and a little crowd of elderly people less literate than he eagerly listening, questioning and commenting around him. Thus they learn about what is happening in the rest of the world, thereby making themselves even less and less the proverbial 'frog under the coconut shell'." Za'ba. "Malay Journalism in Malaya". *op. cit.*, 249.

167. Nik Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 10.

168. "Surat-surat Khabar", *al-Imām*, I, 5 (17 November 1906) 143–4.

Islām by the 'ulamā', urging the Malays to seek their salvation through hard work and increased knowledge. He was assisted in these exhortations by Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin, a better theologian than he, Pandita Za'ba, Muhammad Zain,<sup>169</sup> and others. Among the younger writers were Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah<sup>170</sup> and Abdul Rahim Kajai,<sup>171</sup> as well as his son, Syed Alwi.

As soon as *al-Ikhwān* could stand on its own feet, Syed Shaykh began contemplating the possibility of producing a newspaper which would appear more frequently and could therefore contain more discussion of current affairs. In creating *Saudara* (Brother), Syed Shaykh, consciously or unconsciously, was turning his attention increasingly to local and national problems not directly involving religion. He clarified that political discussions could appear in *Saudara*, whereas *al-Ikhwān* had been, and would remain, a non-political, religious magazine.<sup>172</sup> After the birth of *Saudara*, *al-Ikhwān* stopped carrying news reports.

---

169. Ed. Note: Haji Muhammad Zain b. Ayub, J. P., was primarily a translator. He published *Taraf Negeri-negeri Melayu pada sisi Undang-undang* or *The Legal Status of the Malay States* by the illustrious Roland Braddell (Ipoh: Yahya/Rahmaniah Press, 1935) which was undertaken at the request of the Sultan of Perak, as well as translations of the valuable writings of Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī: *Nabi Muḥammad* (Prophet Muḥammad, pts. 1 & 2) (Ipoh: Yahya/Persama Press, 1934) and of Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar's: *Umat Islam dan Tamadun Dunia* (The World-wide Muslim Community and International Civilisation) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927).

Haji Muhammad Zain was born in Kampung Belah Rotan, Taiping, Perak on 31 March 1897; it is not known when he died. He was a teacher for most of his life, including stints at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar and the Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak. He was a member of the prestigious Perak Council of Regency and the Perak State Council, and received the National Teacher Award in 1983 from the Penang Malay Teachers Association of which he was one of the founders in 1922.

170. Ed. Note: Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, from Chemor in Perak, studied at al-Azhar on scholarship from Madrasah al-Mashhūr and was involved in the publication of *Seruan Azhar* (between 1925–8). He was the first Malay graduate in Veterinary Science. He returned to Malaya in about 1930 and from February through December 1932 was editor of *Saudara*. When *Bumi Putra* was founded in Penang in January of 1933, he was appointed editor. In 1935, he shifted to become a co-operative officer in Perlis where his friend from al-Azhar days, Abu Bakar Ash'ari was based. Apparently, Abdul Wahab continued in the co-operative movement until 1945. His date of death is uncertain. (Information provided by Professor Mohammad Redzuan Othman.)

171. Nik Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 36. And see 93–4, ed. n. 15; 97 *supra*, and 160, n. 224 *infra*.

172. *al-Ikhwān*, II, 11 (16 July 1928) 349.

*Saudara* was not unlike *al-Ikhwān* in that the foreign news selected concentrated on events in Muslim lands. But even here a fine distinction was noticeable. Whereas *al-Ikhwān* contained news about Egypt, Afghānistān, Turkey and India, *Saudara* began to report on the religious and nationalist movements in Indonesia.<sup>173</sup>

At the national level, *Saudara* was equal to the task performed by other contemporary papers. Its interest in national and local issues, such as decentralisation, the Rulers' Conferences, educational policies, and co-operatives, was quite characteristic of the period.

*Saudara* and *al-Ikhwān* so antagonised the religious leaders in the Malay state of Kelantan by their incessant attacks on religious malpractices that at one point Kelantan considered banning their entry into that state. Instead of being cowed into submission, Syed Shaykh wrote a forceful reply, denouncing their cowardly threats and upholding the freedom of the press.<sup>174</sup>

---

173. *Saudara*, I, 20 (9 February 1929) 2; I, 27 (2 April 1929) 2.

174. "'Ulamā' di Kelantan dengan *al-Ikhwān* dan *Saudara*", *al-Ikhwān*, 16 March 1929, 198–200 *infra*.

Ed. Note: Not only *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* incurred the displeasure of the Kelantan establishment. *Akhbar Putera*, edited by Kadir Adabi (b. 1901), whose assistant editor was Asaad Shukri (b. 1905, brother of the late Datuk Mohd. Asri), first published in July 1929, incurred the wrath of the 'ulamā' when in its thirteenth issue it made a scathing attack on the morals of this group. The editor was asked to reveal the name of the writer, but refused to comply. The Majlis Ugama Islam (Council of Muslim Religion), with the consent of the British Adviser, persuaded the government to pass a ruling that no government servant might read *Akhbar Putera* or support the Putera Kelab, initiated by that same group. Kadir Adabi had been arrested once before for an article he wrote in *Edaran Zaman* (18 October 1928) which was an attack on the Kelantan administration. The Majlis Ugama Islam's action effectively destroyed *Akhbar Putera* and the club.

*Kenchana*, published in 1930, provoked the Kelantan government to pass a law requiring all editors of journals and papers to swear loyalty before the ruler! Rather than comply, *Kenchana* ceased publication. (Khoo Kay Kim, "Malay Society, 1874–1920s", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, V, 2 (September 1974) 193–4.)

Syed Shaykh, being based in Penang, part of the Straits Settlements under exclusive British control, could afford to cock-a-snook at the Kelantan authorities. His brave counterparts in Kelantan, on the contrary, were forced to fold.

### Religious Books

In addition to his periodicals, Syed Shaykh produced religious books. His first book, *al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (History of Islām), which was supposed to run to 4,000 pages,<sup>175</sup> was a financial failure, but he did not give up hope. He continued to produce religious books of the same nature at regular intervals, most of them being translations from 'Arabic of Muḥammad 'Abduh's works.<sup>176</sup> These translations were enlightening to discerning readers; those who knew no English or 'Arabic were brought into contact with rational and liberal thought which, although characteristic of the West, was now reoriented and interpreted by their own Muslim scholar who had been Muftī of Egypt.

Syed Shaykh's own contribution is a small booklet on 'Islām and Reason', *Kitab Agama Islam dan 'Akal*. This book is written with such conviction as to disarm even the most outstanding of the Muslim theologians. As Syed Shaykh could not boast of a diploma from al-Azhar University or any other Muslim institution of repute, his courage in challenging the authority of the '*ulamā*' in Malaya was striking. More surprising still is the fact that none dared to give written responses to his challenges.<sup>177</sup>

Finally, there are Syed Shaykh's articles on religious reform written for *al-Ikhwān*, and his responses to readers' questions. They make interesting reading as he chose a variety of subjects and treated them in diverse ways. A few examples follow.

In "Titi al-Širāt al-Mustaqīm" (The Right Way) he advises a questioning reader not to worry about matters such as hell or paradise. Though a Muslim is required to believe in them, he must not be unduly concerned with them unless he is blessed with revelation from God. In conclusion he says:

If you wish to discuss matters of religion, well, discuss that which our religion enjoins upon us, the commandments and their merits for the benefit of our personal, communal and national life, as well as for the life of all mankind ...<sup>178</sup>

In "Agama Islam Menyuruh Berusaha dan Bekerja" (Islām Commands Exertion and Work), Syed Shaykh quotes abundantly from

175. Winstedt, R. O., "Malaysia", *op. cit.*, 225.

176. See 'His Life', 117 *supra*.

177. According to Syed Alwi.

178. *al-Ikhwān*, III, 4 (16 December 1928).

the Qur'ān to show that 'effort and work' are demanded by Islām. His opening lines are characteristic: "To idle will affect our health and taint our soul".<sup>179</sup>

In "Apa-kah Bunyi Jerit di-dalam Masjid itu?" (What is that Shriek in the Masjid?) he ridicules a person who covers his head in the manner of a woman and reads his sermon from the pulpit in a language which he, himself, probably does not understand. He asks: did the Prophet ever deliver a Friday sermon in a language which he, himself, did not understand, and did the Prophet ever address a Friday congregation in a language which they could not comprehend?<sup>180</sup>

In "*Lebai Pondok*" (Students of the Huts) he paints a most ridiculous picture of so-called scholars who were supposed to devote themselves to the study of the teachings of Islām and yet who had, in effect, made begging their trade. They wore *kopiah ketayap* (white skull-caps)<sup>181</sup> and offered prayers at funerals and festivals in return for gifts. The practice was so prevalent that the villagers came to regard a funeral as not quite complete without the prayers of these *lebai pondok*. "Are these activities required by Islām?", asks Syed Shaykh. He appeals to the State authorities to do something about such "dangerous gatherings".<sup>182</sup>

### *Educational Reforms*

A study of Syed Shaykh's attack on the *lebai pondok* leads to his ideas on education. What is a *pondok* education? What are the alternatives to it and what kind of education did Syed Shaykh envisage for the Muslim children of Malaya?

Religious education was perhaps the only form of education available to Muslim children in Malaya before the coming of the Europeans. Munshi Abdullah, the first writer of modern Malay prose, described how he and a few other boys began their education by learning the Qur'ān under a private teacher, and how severely they were punished

179. *al-Ikhwān*, 16 June 1930, 209 *infra*.

180. *al-Ikhwān*, 16 December 1929, 204–5 *infra*.

181. *Utusan Melayu*, 28 September 1960, in a report from Alor Star stated that the pride and glory of the days of *kopiah ketayap* are fading now, for the biggest *pondok* school in Kedah, at Kuala Chempedak, has decided to adopt *songkok hitam* (a variation of the *fez*, usually black).

182. *al-Ikhwān*, 16 February 1928, 230–33 *infra*.

when they did not know their recitation. Although most boys only learned to read, he learned to write the 'Arabic script as well.<sup>183</sup>

Later religious teachers, possibly from Patani,<sup>184</sup> introduced the system of *pondok* schools,<sup>185</sup> some of which still exist today.<sup>186</sup> They are called by this name because typically students lived in a cluster of *pondoks* (huts) on the padi fields of the landlord-head of the *pondok*; often a nearby *masjid* or *surau* (prayerhouse) served as a study centre. The owner-principal was the sole teacher and director of the school, though senior students often assisted him in teaching. The essence of learning was repetition, for students were only required to learn by heart certain prescribed religious texts. There was no division of classes, nor any examinations.<sup>187</sup> A student could join the school at any time in the year for in all likelihood the teacher would repeat the same text all over again from the very beginning.<sup>188</sup> Students lived on meagre remittances from home, while the head of the school and the senior student assistants managed to live on gifts and gratuities from the villagers in return for the prayers they would offer at festivals and funerals.<sup>189</sup>

Syed Shaykh, being brought up under both the private and the *pondok* systems of education, became their severest critic, particularly of the *pondok* system. In the Middle East, he came into contact with modern 'Arabic schools, the *madrasas*. The Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyyah established in Singapore in 1908 was inspired by these

183. Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir. Munshi, "Hikayat Abdullah". *JMBRAS*, XXVIII, 3 (June 1955) 41-5.

184. Ed. Note: The Malay Muslim States referred to as Patani were forcibly incorporated into Siam and their absorption later 'legalised' via the 1909 British (colonial) agreement with Siam codifying the border between British Malaya and Siam (Thailand).

185. Rozhan b. Kuntom, *op. cit.*, 20. Ed. Note: See Khoo Kay Kim's valuable comments in "Through the Prism ..." 92, ed. n. 13 *supra*.

186. Ed. Note: The Malaysian Ministry of Education has no data specifically on *pondok* schools. At 30 June 1995 there were 141 'people's religious schools' using Malay as a medium of instruction, with 55,851 students, and 31 using 'Arabic as the medium of teaching, with 9,480 students. The bulk of the people's Malay medium religious schools, as expected, were in Kelantan (58), Kedah (31), and Perak (25). *Perangkaan Pendidikan 1995 Sekolah Menengah Agama Negeri Rakyat* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Ministry of Education, 30 June 1995).

187. Ed. Note: In the more rudimentary *pondok* schools, at the end of his stay, a student was only given an *ijāza* (certificate) that he had studied such and such book! See Gordon. Shirle (Alijah), "Pondok and Our Peasantry", *Intisari*, II, 1 (1963) 32-3 and Mat Noor b. Hashim, "A Malay Child in a Religious School". *Intisari*, II, 1, 12-13.

188. Rozhan b. Kuntom, *op. cit.*, 22.

189. *Ibid.*, 20.

examples.<sup>190</sup> It was an experiment in reconciling religious and contemporary knowledge. Unfortunately, it did not last long enough to produce

---

190. Ed. Note: Khoo Kay Kim, *op. cit.*, writes of other *madrasas*: the al-Hamīdiyya, founded in Kedah in 1906, which "... was comparable to any of the secular schools in terms of organization and structure" (185). "It was this school which for many years produced the leading '*ulamā*' in Kedah" (186). In 1924, Sekolah al-Diniyyah in Perak was founded by Shaykh al-Junid. The curriculum not only included commercial subjects, mathematics, history and English, but the pupils were taught padi-planting, and the making of sauce (*kichap*) and soup. Pupils had actually to manage provision shops! While it began with sixteen students, by 1941 it had no less than 500, and eight branches of the school were opened in various other villages in the vicinity (189).

Concerning Sekolah al-Diniyyah, to which Khoo refers, Jamilah Othman, *op. cit.*, 56, writes of it as a *madrasa* founded in 1934 (rather than 1924) by a few graduates from Madrasah al-Mashhūr in Penang, assisted by Shaykh Junid al-Tola from Tapanuli in Sumatra. "The Madrasah ... later became the centre for anti-British activities in the forties." These *madrasas* "... became training grounds" politically to awaken Muslim children.

Shaykh Junid al-Tola was born in 1897 in East Sumatra. In his late teens he came to Malaya and studied at Madrasah al-Maṣriyyah. In 1922, he married the daughter of a local '*ālim*' in Padang Rengas, Perak and settled there. In the same year he went to Cairo and studied at al-Azhar from which he graduated. Like his teacher, Mohd. Salleh Masri, he was committed to change and that economic progress could be achieved through the institution of *Waqf* (Islāmic Trust) on which al-Azhar, itself, depended. He returned to preach on its importance and he produced a booklet on it. His struggle resulted in the establishment of a number of *waqf*-supported *madrasas*. (Shaykh Junid al-Tola, *Kifiat Mengadalkan Wakaf* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Marbawī, 1929) 2–4.) While in Egypt, Shaykh Junid was influenced by Rashīd Ridā's thought. His commitment to Palestine was shown when he was actively involved in collecting donations for the cause. Although he spent most of his time in Padang Rengas, he made frequent visits to Sumatra where he died on 10 March 1948. (Siti Hanifah Ahmad, "Sheikh Junid Tola: Sumbangannya dalam Bidang Pendidikan, Ekonomi dan Politik, 1897–1948", unpublished B. A. thesis, University of Malaya, 1988/89.) Also see Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), *op. cit.*, 242, 263.

Jamilah Othman *op. cit.*, writes of Madrasah al-Maṣriyyah established at Bukit Mertajam, Province Wellesley, on 17 March 1906, by Mohd. Saleh [Salleh] b. Baki, better known as Tuan Haji Saleh Masri, who "... made efforts to introduce reforms along the lines of the Salafīyyah thinkers" (53). The school was supported by shops he opened, as well as by a stall and a restaurant (54). Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), *op. cit.*, 240, writes that the school depended on *waqaf* (trust) properties donated by local villagers through his encouragement. Mohd. Salleh Masri was born in 1875 and studied at al-Azhar from 1899 until 1905. He took the name Masri after *Miṣr*, Egypt. He died in 1971 in Makka. [*Salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, the 'pious forefathers': the motto of *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā*, published by Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh, was 'return to the ways of the forefathers': *salafīya* was the modern movement of Islāmic reform of which Rashīd Ridā was to become the intellectual leader.] Jamilah Othman also

the desired result.<sup>191</sup> Syed Shaykh tried to establish a *madrasa* in Melaka, but it was not supported. Only the Madrasah al-Mashhur in Penang fulfilled its purpose and continues until today. The *madrasa* is organised in the same manner as secular schools, but with religious content. With the exception of the more homogeneous Malay and padi-growing states of Kelantan and Kedah where some *pondoks* still enjoy a precarious existence, most religious schools are now following a standard syllabus.<sup>192</sup>

The Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah, founded in 1916 at Tek Soon Street, Penang, is one of the older and well-known *madrasas* in Malaya.<sup>193</sup> A sister school for girls was established at Lunas Road. Among the teachers at al-Mashhur was Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin, the first editor of *al-Imām*, and its outstanding pupils included Haji Abu

---

*continued from page 148*

writes of the Madrasah al-Aḥmadīya in Temoh, Perak, founded by Haji Wan Ahmad b. Wan Ngah, apparently in 1923. He was an activist, "... who advocated and propagated al-Afghani's idea of Pan-Islamism and had challenged British laws ... . He influenced students to struggle against the British colonialists and encouraged Malays to interact with other Muslims to strengthen Muslim solidarity when they went on the *hajj*" (56).

191. See 'His Life', 114 *supra* and Syed Alwi, 78, ed. n. 28 *supra*.

192. Federation of Malaya, *Report of the Committee to Consider Financial Aid to Non-Government Religious Schools* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1957) 2.

193. Ed. Note: See Syed Alwi, 79–80, ed. n. 30 *supra*.

Bakar Ash'ari,<sup>194</sup> who was to become Imām<sup>195</sup> of the Perlis State Masjid at Kangar, and Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy, who became Chairman of the

---

194. Ed. Note: Abu Bakar Ash'ari was born in Bayan Lepas, Penang in 1904. He attended the Chowrasta Malay School, the Anglo-Chinese School and then Madrasah al-Mashhūr, all in Penang. Reportedly he arrived in Cairo to study at al-Azhar in December 1925 (*Seruan Azhar*, I, p. 17). In 1930–2, he was President of Jam'iyyat al-Khayriyya al-Ṭalabīya al-Azharīya al-Jawā, the Welfare Association of Malay Students at al-Azhar. The aim of the association, formed in 1923, and of its publication *Seruan Azhar*, established in 1925, was to unite the Malays to work for their ultimate freedom, a prerequisite for progress. Those 'ulamā' who did not bother to learn about political matters were condemned as "traitors to the homeland and religion" (*Seruan Azhar*, II, 13 (October 1926) 251). It characterised colonialism as blinding the eyes and closing the minds of the people by robbing them of their freedom. In 1930, Abu Bakar, as President of Jam'iyyat al-Khayriyya went to Jerusalem to present their opinions about the defence of the Holy Places in the conflict with Zionist-Jewish settlers (*Semangat Islam*, I, 12 (1930)). Upon returning to Malaya in 1932, Abu Bakar became assistant editor of *Bahtra* and *Saudara*. Some time in the early 1930s, he was invited to Perlis by Shaykh Ahmad Mohd. Hashim of the Jawatankuasa Zakat dan Fitrah (Committee of Tithes and Alms) in order to strengthen the Kaum Muda faction which was struggling against Kaum Tua's push to have the *Shāfi'ī mazhab* legislated as the basis of Islāmic law in the state, rather than the inclusive *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Jamā'a* (People of Tradition and the Community) which reflected the thrust of Kaum Muda. Initially a teacher, Abu Bakar became the Imām Besar (Chief Imām) of the State Masjid at Kangar. On 26 March 1958, *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Jamā'a* was incorporated into the Perlis State Constitution, the only state where the *Shāfi'ī mazhab* is not prescribed. The progressive Imām, Shaykh Abu Bakar Ash'ari, friend of the editor, died on 6 April 1970. (Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), *op. cit.*, 274–5, 278; Prof. Dr. Harun Din, "Syeikh Abu Bakar al-Ashaari: Ulama Tegah dan Berani" in Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah, *Gerakan Islam di Perlis: Sejarah dan Pemikiran* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pena, 1989) 101–10. Shaykh Abu Bakar wrote *Punca Penerangan 'Aqal* (Source of Enlightenment) in 1937. He covered almost every aspect of Muslim socio-religious action. "He had a vision of the type of Muslim who should be in this world. He regarded the Qur'ānic verse: 'Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong ...' (Qur'ān, *al-Imrān*, III: 104) and the Ḥadīth. 'One who does not take care of the affairs of the Muslims is not from among them', as the broad principles of Muslim social action." "Pendahuluan" (Introduction), *Punca Penerangan 'Aqal* (Penang: al-Hudā Printing Press, 1937) cited in Safie Ibrahim, "Islamic Religious Thought in Malaya, 1930–40," *op. cit.*, 214–15.

See Bibliography for the Shaykh's other writings.

195. *Imām* commonly means 'presiding elder' and 'leader of the congregation'.

Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) in 1956 [and continued as such until his death in 1966].<sup>196</sup>

Having been brought up in the business world of a city, Syed Shaykh insisted that students be given “every kind of knowledge which will enable Muslims to equal or compete with other people in the field

---

196. Ed. Note: Dr. Burhanuddin b. Mohammad Noor — al-Helmy, a given title meaning ‘refined and gentle’ — was born in Kampung Kota Bharu, near Ipoh, Perak, in 1911. His father was of Sumatran origin. After his Malay primary education, he attended an Islāmic school in Padang Panjang, Sumatra, from 1924–6 and in 1927 Madrasah al-Mashhūr. In 1928, he studied homoeopathy and then philosophy at Aligarh University in India. “The years spent away from Malaya from 1928–37 are somewhat obscure.” In India, he was involved in anti-colonial activities. From there he went to Palestine to join the crusade against the British Balfour Declaration which recognised the right of the Jews to a national home in Palestine. This led to his arrest by the British and he spent “a number of months in jail”. Upon his release, in 1937 he returned to Singapore where he published *Taman Bahagia*, which immediately brought his second arrest and detention by the British. During the Japanese Occupation, he held a high post as Adviser on Malay customs and culture, attached to the Japanese Military Administration Headquarters at Taiping, Perak, while covertly he was engaged in anti-Japanese activities. He used his position to organise two national Islāmic conferences. When the left-wing KRIS was established in 1945, he became one of the leaders and later in 1946, Deputy President of the Malay Nationalist Party. He was also involved in the formation of MATA (Pan-Malayan Supreme Religious Council) and Hizbul-Muslimin, both in 1948. When MNP allied itself with the AMCJA (All-Malayan Council of Joint Action), he became one of the first Malay leaders to head a multi-racial political alliance. When in December 1950, the Maria Hertogh riots broke out in Singapore, he was arrested for the third time. His release was conditional on his abstention from politics.

In April 1955, he was elected Chairman of the anti-UMNO All-Malaya Malay Youth Congress held in Kuala Lumpur. In 1956, he took over the Presidency of the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) and continued as its Chairman until 1966. His involvement, he said, was conditional on the party being “genuinely and positively opposed to colonialism and truly struggling for a genuine democracy”. He was disqualified from contesting the 1964 elections on a legal technicality. In January 1965, he suffered his fourth arrest on the charge of collusion with Indonesia in its confrontation with Malaysia, which he adamantly denied. He was only released in March 1966 on medical grounds, but once again on condition of his abstention from politics. He died six months later in October 1966, at the comparatively young age of 55. (Funston, John, *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of UMNO and PAS*, op. cit., 118–19.)

In discussing his leadership of PMIP with the editor, Dr. Burhanuddin said: “if you can’t go through the door, you go through the window; if you can’t go through the window, you go through the roof”. He was of the opinion that only Islām had the power to break the political dominance of UMNO (United Malays National Organisation), the ruling party.

of life".<sup>197</sup> In 1916 that was the intention in the founding of Madrasah al-Mashhur. Many years later, in 1930, disappointed with the lack of progress of the Madrasah and encouraged by the success of English-educated Malays such as Pandita Za'ba, Mohd. Eunus, Muhammad Rouse b. Chee, and others,<sup>198</sup> Syed Shaykh suggested the establishment of an Anglo-Malay School. In this proposed school, Malay, "the language of the sons of the soil" and English, the language of the colonial rulers and the administration would be taught, sufficient to prepare Malay children for the Government School Certificate Examination.<sup>199</sup> [Religious knowledge would be taught in Malay using citations from 'Arabic sources but these, too, would be translated and clearly explained in Malay.]

This proposal failed to arouse sufficient interest, and Syed Shaykh was forced to abandon the project but not before making a scathing attack on the apathy of the Malay leaders towards providing a suitable education for their children.<sup>200</sup> When a Penang Inspector of Schools, Tuan Sollis, noting the demand by the Malay press for English education, warned that English education would not solve all the problems of the Malays, Syed Shaykh felt compelled to defend his stand. In his opinion, English education was desirable because it was the key to knowledge and consequently to progress. The dearth of leadership among the Malays he attributed to the lack of an English education for Malay children.<sup>201</sup>

That Syed Shaykh believed in the benefits of an English education for Muslim children is evidenced by the education he gave his only son.<sup>202</sup> Syed Alwi, born in 1892, attended the Malay school in Riau until he was about nine years old, when he was brought over to

197. *al-Ikhwān*, V, 2 (16 October 1930) 42.

198. See 129, n. 106, 131–2, 135 *supra*, and 184, n. 8 *infra* for more details about these men.

199. "Sekolah Anglo-Malay" (Anglo-Malay School), *al-Ikhwān*, 16 February 1930, 206–8 *infra*.

200. *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 7 (16 March 1930) 203.

201. Editorial, *al-Ikhwān*, V, 6 (16 February 1931) 167.

202. Ed. Note: In the years to which the writer refers — the early 1900s — what were the options? There was no Malay-language secondary school even in Malaya until 1958 and the first university education for Malay-stream students only opened in 1970–1. (Information from Unit Data, Malaysian Ministry of Education, 5 September 1998, ref. KP (BPPP) 14/8/5 Jld. XVI (37) and Bahagian Perhubungan Awam, University Malaya, 10 November 1998, ref. UM.C/PR3.) Thus Malay-language students either had to transfer to English-language schools or go abroad to continue their education in 'Arabic.

Singapore to attend the Kampung Glam Malay School so that he might secure an easy transfer to the Victoria Bridge School, after which he attended the Anglo-Chinese School in Johor Bahru. In 1914, he was sent to Beirut for further studies, eventually gaining admittance to the Syrian Protestant College, where English was the medium of instruction.<sup>203</sup>

While Syed Shaykh eventually decided in favour of English education, at all times he had looked for a compromise. Only when he failed to find one did he take the position that that was the only road to progress.<sup>204</sup>

### *Social Reforms*

The most important social reform to which Syed Shaykh dedicated his effort was women's emancipation. After the success of his novel *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* (The Story of Faridah Hanum),<sup>205</sup> his interest in women's rights and their role in society was demonstrated by his translation from 'Arabic of Qāsim Amīn Bey's work. He named this serial *Alam Perempuan* (Woman's World) and added many illustrations of modern women in Turkey, Egypt and other Muslim lands. Syed Shaykh discussed education for girls, women's position in the home and in the society, Muslim laws on the prohibition of free mixing between women and men, and took issue with *kelumbong* (head and face covering except for the eyes).

In an article titled "Berubah Pemeliharaan Anak-anak Perempuan itu Sangat-sangat di-Kehendaki" (Changes in the Upbringing of Girls are Urgent), Syed Shaykh stressed the necessity of developing the mind as well as the body of girls. If a woman's mind was untrained, she would be no different from female animals who possess similar reproductive

203. Returning home after the war, Syed Alwi became a teacher of English in Madrasah al-Mashhūr. His knowledge of English was also an asset in his later securing the post of Co-operative Officer in 1924. (As narrated by Syed Alwi.)  
Ed. Note: See "Through the Prism ...", 85-6, ed. n. 1 *supra*.

204. This was the attitude of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (1817-98), founder of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875 (since 1920, the Muslim University) where English was the medium of instruction in all but religious subjects. See Smith, W. C., *Modern Islām in India*, *op. cit.*, 6-43.

205. Ed. Note: Penang: al-Aminiyah Press, 1925-6, 2v.; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927-8; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Singapore: Qalam, 1950, 4v.; 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> edns., 1v. in romanised Malay and now titled *Faridah Hanom*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1964, 1965 and 1985.

abilities. What was more, the progress of a community depended largely on the progress of its womenfolk. It was, therefore, imperative that girls should be educated.<sup>206</sup>

Syed Shaykh was pleased to find that his vision was realisable. In the State of Johor was a young Malay woman named Zainun bt. Sulaiman<sup>207</sup> who had been educated in both Malay and English. She was the first Malay woman to be appointed supervisor for Malay girls' schools in Johor. In 1930, Syed Shaykh was so thrilled to learn that she was going to produce a women's magazine, *Bulan Melayu*, that he wrote a note of welcome in *al-Ikhwān* which was full of praise and emotion. The note concluded:

Women, women, women! You are the Honour of Life, the Guide to Goodness. You're the magicians who cleverly sow the seeds of progress and the splendour of life which men strive for after they have been taught its real meaning (by you).<sup>208</sup>

### Novels

Syed Shaykh's novels, produced under the general heading 'The Moral Trainer', provided another channel through which his views on social reform were propagated. Syed Shaykh's use of foreign characters in foreign lands was ideal for the purpose of introducing a new outlook and a different set of values into Malay society. But this led to contentions, unsupported by evidence, that these love-stories were little more than adaptations of Egyptian or Turkish modern romances.

In *Hikayat Faridah Hanum, atau Setia Ashek Kepada Ma'ashoknya* (The Story of Faridah Hanum, or Loyalty of a Lover to her Loved One), Faridah Hanum falls in love with Shafik Effendi, a complete stranger to her parents. She meets her beloved outside and in her garden. When her father betrothes her to her cousin, she protests by falling severely ill, and when she is finally forced to marry, she remains faithful to her love by refusing to consummate the marriage. Because of

---

206. *al-Ikhwān*, 16 October 1930, 226–8 *infra*.

207. Zainun Sulaiman later became a Member of Parliament and the principal of the Women's College, Tengku Ampuan Mariam, in Johor Bahru.

208. *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 7 (16 March 1930) 214.

Ed. Note: Zainun Sulaiman was to become President of the Association of Malay Women Teachers of Johor from its inception in 1930 and until 1949. The late Zainun Sulaiman was popularly known as Ibu Zain (Mother Zain); she was the mother of writer (Khalidah) Adibah Amin.

God's will and her determination, at last she is reunited with her beloved, who has suffered as much, if not more, for her sake. The story sounds rather commonplace today, but what a sensation it was in those days! It was bad enough to mention love; it was scandalous when an acknowledged religious reformer like Syed Shaykh described the pangs and passions of love in such vivid language. Yet the book was more than that. Faridah Hanum not only wanted to marry someone of her own choice, she also demanded that she be treated as man's equal. Into the plot are woven arguments for women's emancipation and calls for national revival and sacrifice and love for one's motherland.<sup>209</sup>

---

209. Ed. Note: Za'ba in "Modern Developments ..." writes that it depicted "incredible restraint and moral strength on the part of both lovers", and when they meet "there are discussions on the moral, social and religious outlook of liberal Islam" (*op. cit.*, 153). Virginia Matheson Hooker, "Transmission Through Practical Example: Women and Islam in 1920s Malay Fiction", *JMBRAS*, LXVII, 2 (1994) 93-118, gives an in depth study of *Faridah Hanum*. She considers this novel "... an original narrative, which combines real places, events and characters with poetic licence regarding chronology, into a fictional whole, but bases the narrative discourse and the system of moral values and social action on the teachings of the Egyptian reformers inspired by Muhd (*sic*) Abduh" (110).

"... it is the restraint and wisdom of the woman which 'saves' the couple from the 'disaster' of sexual licence. This wisdom is also portrayed as equalising the relationship between the lovers and providing the foundation for marriage as a partnership. There is a shift from the man's purely physical attraction to the woman, to his recognition of her moral qualities" (96).

"Faridah is presented in the novel as the voice and exemplification of rational Islam. Through Faridah's transition from lover to wife, the reader is presented with a series of values which expand outwardly from herself. Before marriage she demonstrates her fidelity and loyalty (*setia*), and after marriage she herself exhibits, and urges her husband to show, a sense of responsibility or duty, expressed by the term *wajib*. As well, she repeatedly states her concern for the quality *kemanusiaan* (humanism, humanitarianism). The repetition of these terms throughout the narrative denotes them as keywords and therefore key values" (98).

Faridah informs her family that she wishes to use her inheritance to establish schools for girls. Thus does Shafik come to realise that his wife "... is more than a plaything, she is a person who has the highest qualities of humanitarianism (*kemanusiaan*)" (105). Faridah stresses that "... women have the power to alter the behaviour of others so as to cause change" (107-8).

Matheson's final appraisal is that by choosing the novel as the form for transmitting Islamic principles, Syed Shaykh was a pioneer (116). The narratives are infused with the general principles of 'modernism': "what this indicates ... is an understanding of modernist views much deeper and more comprehensive than just an acquaintance with translated articles from *al-Manâr*. The ideas represented through characters in these novels have been absorbed, digested, adapted and applied, so that they take on a meaningful life in a Malay context" (117).

*Hikayat Puteri Nur ul-'Ain* (The Story of Princess Nur ul-'Ain), as indicated by its secondary title: *atau Bahaya Bercherai Talak Tiga dan Berchina Buta*,<sup>210</sup> is a story that exposes the perils of hasty divorce — threefold irrevocable *ṭalāk* — and the hypocritical institution of remarriage having gone through the legalities of marriage and divorce with another: a *China Buta* or 'Blind Chinese'. As divorce was commonplace among the Malays,<sup>211</sup> Syed Shaykh would have been fully aware of its undesirable effects on the home and society. In his eyes divorce, itself, was bad enough, but to create the institution of *china buta* was to add insult to injury. As such, he was not afraid to declare that resorting to *china buta* is tantamount to committing adultery with the permission of the *kathi*!<sup>212</sup>

### *Economic Reforms*

Syed Shaykh was extremely conscious of the urgent need to raise the economic status of Muslims in general and of Malays in particular. He often expressed the fear that by their non-participation in the economic sphere, the Muslims might be squeezed out of existence altogether.<sup>213</sup> He approached this problem in various ways. He first appealed through the commandments of the Qur'ān for a change of attitude towards life. He emphasised Islām's demand that as man has been endowed with the faculty of making effort, he should put it to full use throughout his lifetime. Indeed, he will be judged in the next world on

---

210. Originally printed in 1929 by Jelutong Press, it was reprinted in romanised Malay by the Harny Press, Singapore in 1957, and then by the Athlone Press of the University of London in 1966.

211. Firth, Rosemary, *Housekeeping Among Malay Peasants* (London: Lund, Humphries, 1943) 23–4; see also Gordon, Shirle (Alijah), "Marriage/Divorce in the eleven states of Malaya and Singapore", *Intisari*, II, 2 (1963) 23–32.

212. *Hikayat Putri Nur ul-'Ain*, *op. cit.*, 52, 55; *kathi*: a registrar of Muslim marriages and divorces, who has some judicial powers.

Ed. Note: The Islāmic prohibition of remarriage after a three-fold *ṭalāk* is meant to inhibit the pronouncement of an irrevocable divorce, to give time for reconsideration. *China Buta* is a legal device to circumvent the basic intention of the law and is reprehensible.

213. "Ada-kah Kaum Melayu ini Dapat Melepaskan Wujud-nya daripada Fana dan Hapus?" (Can the Malays Escape Annihilation and Extinction?). *al-Ikhwān*, 16 October 1930, 213–18 *infra*.

how great an effort he made in this world to carry out the commandments of God for his own and his community's welfare.<sup>214</sup>

Secondly, he gave his wholehearted support to the Government-sponsored co-operative movement. He saw in it the salvation of the Malays from further economic exploitation. His magazine and newspaper promoted this movement, and his son served as an officer in co-operative societies. When the Co-operative Credit Society was formed to release the peasants from further indebtedness, the question of *ribā* was again argued by those who advocated the orthodox view of the total prohibition of interest and those who held to Muḥammad 'Abduh's interpretation. The *fatwā* of that illustrious Muftī of Egypt was sufficient for Syed Shaykh. However, it was not easy to convince the illiterate and ill-informed peasants. Not only did Syed Shaykh give discourses on the subject a number of times,<sup>215</sup> but on behalf of the Co-operative Department, he also compiled a symposium of learned opinions as to what constitutes *ribā*, which was published in 1933.<sup>216</sup>

He, himself, wrote a booklet for the Co-operative Department stating his view that interest from co-operatives was not *ribā*. However, the manuscript was lost, possibly removed by those who strongly disagreed with him.<sup>217</sup> If this be true, its disappearance is indicative of the fear felt for Syed Shaykh's contentions.

Thirdly, Syed Shaykh tried to form clubs and societies in order to promote the spirit of mutual self-help among the Malays. In 1929, he and his friends from Jelutong, Penang, started a society for the poor called Persekutuan al-Ikhwān al-Masākīn (Association of Brothers of the Poor). As one of the founding members, he drew up the constitution for the society. Unfortunately, his efforts came to nought due to the dishonest deeds of other committee members, who abused the aims of the

---

214. "Qadā' dan Qadar". *al-Imām*, 1, 2 & 3 (21 August and 19 September 1906), reprinted in *al-Ikhwān*, 1, 3 & 4 (16 November and 16 December 1926). Ed. Note: *Qadā'*: the universal, general and eternal decree, *qadar*: the individual development or application of that in time. (Macdonald, D. B., "Kadā'", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op. cit.*, 199.)

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī wrote *al-Qadā' wa al-Qadar* (Cairo, no date), a brief treatise; see Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 12, n. 2. What was published in *al-Imām* was thought to be a Malay rendering of Muḥammad 'Abduh's work.

215. Interview with Syed Alwi.

216. Ed. Note: Winstedt, R. O., "Malaysia", *op. cit.*, 222.

217. Interview with Syed Alwi.

society for their own selfish ends. As a result, Syed Shaykh withdrew from the society and denounced it in *al-Ikhwān*.<sup>218</sup>

### HIS ROLE

SYED Shaykh al-Hady's lifetime encompassed the beginning of British rule in Malaya and political awakening among the Malays. Two important events that affected him deeply and determined his outlook and course of action were the rise of pre-nationalist movements in the Middle East and the abolition of the Riau Sultanate by the Dutch.

With the rising tide of nationalism in the Middle East emerged the two greatest modern Muslim thinkers and reformers of the nineteenth century, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, whose message and actions inspired Muslims at home and abroad. Syed Shaykh was so imbued with the pan-Islāmic and modernist spirit that he was one of the foremost among the Kaum Muda in Malaya who pleaded for religious and social reform.

The abolition of the Riau Sultanate, on the other hand, brought the bitter realisation of the inherent weakness and obsolescence of the social and economic structure of Malay society. Syed Shaykh was thus the most ardent advocate of the educational and social reform he thought would bring about radical changes in the existing structure, enabling it to compete with the West. He advocated the pursuit of knowledge, particularly in the realm of science and technology.

In his role as Muslim reformer and pioneer of Malay pre-nationalism, Syed Shaykh's greatest success was perhaps that, as the most vocal leader of the Kaum Muda, he effectively challenged the authority of the political and religious leaders in Malay society. By so doing, he brought about a cleavage through which many new ideas and new values could be introduced. Secondly, by emphasising the inherently progressive characteristics of Islām and its way of life, he gave the Malay Muslim community a sense of identity and unity. Thirdly, through his continuous attacks, appeals, and judgements, he instilled in the Malays a feeling of urgency in their search for solutions to the problems they were facing.

---

218. *al-Ikhwān*, III, 11 (16 June 1929) 321.

The solutions he offered were typical of an incipient middle class. Functioning in an urban society dominated by the values of commerce and industry, Syed Shaykh possessed the qualities as well as the sensitivities of the successful middle class. His sensitivity to the threat of foreign encroachment made him cry out for 'group solidarity' as the only alternative for survival.<sup>219</sup> Moreover, he saw in industry, knowledge and thrift, the road to salvation for his community, and earnestly begged his brethren to learn these values as quickly as possible. *Seek ye knowledge even unto China* was one of his favourite *ḥadīth*.<sup>220</sup> In addition, he advocated an English education for Muslim children and a more advanced social organisation in which women would become useful citizens and not exclusively the bearers of children.

However, because of the conflicting demands of the economic strata of society to which he belonged, the solutions he offered were often of such a contradictory nature that they became ineffective. For example, his argument against foreign rule was confusing, for in reality he was not so much against British political rule as he was against foreign economic exploitation. At times, he even praised British rule in the Straits Settlements, for it had removed the reach of despotic and degenerate rulers and brought about law and order.<sup>221</sup> In his eyes, Western domination bore out Darwin's theory of 'the survival of the fittest'.<sup>222</sup>

He thought the Chinese constituted the greatest menace in economic activities, for he found their presence everywhere. He took pains to give object lessons on Chinese thrift, industry,<sup>223</sup> solidarity, and keenness to learn, hoping to arouse the Malays from their complacency and indifference.

But as more and more Malays became educated and aware of their situation, Malay nationalism took a curious turn. The Malays became so keenly conscious of themselves as a deprived group that they not only regarded the non-Muslim Chinese and Indians with hostility, but also disassociated themselves from the non-Malay Muslims of Malaya, be they 'Arab, Indian, or 'Jawi Peranakan'.

219. For a parallel and contemporary Indonesian situation, see Wertheim. *op. cit.*, 47.

220. Sayings of Prophet Muḥammad, quoted in *al-Ikhwān*, 16 October 1930.

221. "Teriak Sa-benar" (The Real Cry), *al-Ikhwān*, I, 2 (16 October 1926) 187 *infra*.

222. "Ada-kah Kaum Melayu ini Dapat Melepaskan Wujud-nya daripada Fana dan Hapus?" (Can the Malays Escape Annihilation and Extinction?), *al-Ikhwān*, V, 2 (16 October 1930) 214 *infra*.

223. "Menuntut Ketinggian Anak-anak Negeri" (Demand for the Improvement of the Sons of the Soil), *al-Imām*, II, 1 (12 July 1907) 182-3 *infra*.

local-born Muslims of mixed Malay-Indian descent, as well as from those of mixed Malay-'Arab parentage, like Syed Shaykh, for they considered these groups had also enjoyed a superior economic position.<sup>224</sup> This movement of pure Malays against those of mixed Malay parentage and other non-Malay Muslims culminated in the birth of the first Malay-owned press in Singapore, the new *Utusan Melayu* of 1939. Not recognising this reaction as an expression of nationalism in its formative stage, Syed Shaykh, being of Malay-'Arab descent, advised his Malay brethren against such sentiments for they still needed the help of their 'Arab brothers, the most wealthy and influential group among the Malayan Muslims!<sup>225</sup>

Another interesting paradox was Syed Shaykh's attitude towards the Malay rulers. On the one hand, he attacked their greed and gross inefficiency and was glad that the British had eliminated their evil influence;<sup>226</sup> on the other hand, he elicited their support against the Chinese claim that they were as much 'sons of the soil' as the Malays, by saying that the rulers who signed the agreements with the British would never accede to such a demand.<sup>227</sup>

His attitude towards education reveals a similar dilemma. After spending so much time and immense energy contributing to the establishment of *madrasas*, he finally concluded that what the Malay Muslim children needed was an English education. Hence his proposal for an Anglo-Malay School in 1930.<sup>228</sup> When his proposal failed to gain support, Syed Shaykh could do little more than to attack the lack of a sense of responsibility in the Malay leaders. Was he not aware that his proposal for a foreign and secular education was not in harmony with the spirit of national and religious revival which he so keenly aroused?

---

224. Ed. Note: Notwithstanding their having led in multiple Malay causes for more than half a century, Abdul Rahim Kajai, who had been associated with Syed Shaykh in *Saudara*, was to term them DKA (*Darah Keturunan Arab*, of 'Arab blood descent') and DKK (*Darah Keturunan Kling*, 'Kling' being a highly pejorative characterisation of Indians).

225. *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 9 (16 May 1930) 285-6.

226. "Menuntut Ketinggian Anak-anak Negeri" (Demand for the Improvement of the Sons of the Soil), *al-Imām*, II, 1 (12 July 1907) 182 *infra*.

227. "Orang China Mengaku Semenanjung Negeri-nya dan kata-nya Bukan Negeri Melayu?!" (A Chinese Claims the Peninsula to be His Country and not that of the Malays?!), *al-Ikhwān*, V, 6 (16 February 1931) 185.

228. See 'His Mission', 152 *supra* and 206-8 *infra*.

His attitude towards the problem of women's emancipation is also characteristic of the strata of society to which he belonged. Though he declared that no nation could progress unless its womenfolk progressed,<sup>229</sup> his concept of progress for women was limited to their receiving an enlightened education. He regarded the status of women in society as secondary to men: a well-educated woman is an asset to society if she is a help to her husband and an intelligent mother for her children, as the children born of such a home would grow up to be useful citizens. However, the idea that a woman should be regarded as a distinctive *person* with an interesting, important and independent personality<sup>230</sup> may never have crossed his mind.

In conclusion, we may say that Syed Shaykh al-Hady reacted faithfully to the demands of his times, and he was committed enough to attempt to tackle the various problems of his day. From our discussion of his mission, it is obvious that religious reform took up most of his time and energy as it was "nearest his heart", to quote Pandita Za'ba.<sup>231</sup> Although Syed Shaykh was completely devoted to this cause, unfortunately he was not as learned in Muslim theology as the al-Azhar graduate Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin, or Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha who had studied in Makka,<sup>232</sup> which may have curtailed his influence. Nevertheless, Syed Shaykh possessed certain essential qualities of leadership which they lacked. Shaykh Tahir, for example, was a poor writer<sup>233</sup> and a poorer speaker; it is also said that he did not have Syed Shaykh's drive and initiative. The comparatively quiet and unorganised nature of the movement in Malaya may conceivably be attributed to the lack of a person combining Syed Shaykh's personality and Shaykh Tahir's knowledge.

---

229. "Berubah Pemeliharaan Anak-anak Perempuan itu Sangat-sangat di-Kehendaki (Changes in the Upbringing of Girls are Urgent), *al-Ikhwān*, V, 2 (16 October, 1930) 226-8 *infra*.

230. Smith, W. C., *Modern Islām in India*, *op. cit.*, 78.

231. Za'ba, "Modern Developments in Malay Literature", *op. cit.*, 156.

232. See 113, 130 & n. 108, *supra*. A detailed study of their contribution to the Kaum Muda movement in Malaya would be very valuable.

Ed. Note: Re Shaykh Tahir and Haji Abbas see Syed Alwi, 76, ed. n. 21, 75, ed. n. 20 *supra*, and Appendix C, 278-80 *infra*.

233. Nik Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 22.

Such a person might well have been the al-Afghānī or Muḥammad 'Abduh, or even the Haji Agus Salim,<sup>234</sup> of Malaya.

---

234. Ed. Note: The writer refers to Agus Salim's role in Sarekat Islam in Indonesia. Sarekat Islam was founded on 11 November 1911. It grew out of Sarekat Dagang Islam of Solo established on 16 October 1905, which was founded for two immediate reasons: the rising competition in the *batik* trade and attitude of superiority towards the Indonesians on the part of the Chinese following the success of the Chinese revolution in 1911, and the suppression suffered by these Indonesians from the nobility of Solo. The Sarekat Dagang Islam was thus organised as a fortress among the Indonesians, mostly *batik* traders, in Solo against the Chinese and the members of the nobility concerned. (*Utusan Hindia*, 21 April 1914, cited in Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, 102.)

Though Sarekat Islam was originally established by a number of Indonesian merchants, it soon acquired the character of a mass movement. As initially it concentrated on social and economic activities, despite serious misgivings among colonial Dutchmen, it gained a measure of Government recognition. The first Sarekat Islam Congress in 1916 strongly criticised the improvidence and negligence of the Indonesians. Their 1917 Congress stated that Islām commands people to exert themselves in allowed professions and strictly forbids laziness, idleness, resignation to poverty and living from the charity of others. "Religion prescribes all people to acquire knowledge and to practise the sciences." (*Sarekat Islam Congres*, 1917, 43, 120.)

During World War I and after the Russian Revolution, Sarekat Islam came under radical influence. In some parts of Sumatra this popular movement combined with feudal resistance against the Dutch, as in Jambi in 1916 when a serious revolt burst out. Sarekat Islam opposed the privileges of the feudal nobility and the power of the native officials, as well as the colonial caste system and the large Western entrepreneurs. "Islam had assumed the role of a pre-nationalism." (Wertheim, *op. cit.*, 215.)

But the enormous following of Sarekat Islam was soon to prove a threat and not simply a support to *bourgeois* Muslims. The small man's aspirations went much further than those of the urban trader, who had founded Sarekat Islam (*ibid.*, 217). There was great tension within the organisation. A radical wing wanted to take up the fight against capitalism. Opposed to this wing were elements under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto and Agus Salim which represented the ideologies prevailing among middle class Muslims who wanted to combat only 'sinful' capitalism, the colonial capitalism which exploited Indonesia for the benefit of foreign countries. This group did not want any obstacles put in the way of the formation of a class of Indonesian capitalists (*ibid.*, 218). In 1921, a schism within Sarekat Islam led to the expulsion of leftist elements and the organisation lost most of its adherents. Sarekat Islam then attempted to follow the trend of the international Pan-Islāmic movement, but this brought an inadequate response from the masses especially after the abolition of the Khalifat in 1924. In 1929 pan-Islāmism was put aside, and Sarekat Islam changed its name to Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (*ibid.*, 222).



Raja Ali Kelana ibni Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi of Riau, great-great-grandson of the legendary Bugis hero Raja Haji, half-brother of Riau Sultan Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah and adoptive father of Syed Shaykh al-Hady.



Syed Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawi, father of Syed Shaykh al-Hady, born 1837 in Kampung Hulu, Melaka and died 1895 in Riau.



(Left to right) Syed Shaykh al-Hady with Tengku Othman ibni Sultan Abdul Rahman on the occasion of their travel to Cairo at the turn of the century. On Tengku Othman's return to Riau in April 1906, he was known for his opposition to the treaty his father — the Sultan — had signed with the Dutch abolishing the Bugis position of Yamtuan Muda or Deputy Ruler.



The first batch of Riau princes chaperoned by Syed Shaykh al-Hady on their journey to Cairo to further their studies. (Left to right) Engku Hasan ibni Raja Ali Kelana; Tengku Othman (Osman), eldest son of Sultan Abdul Rahman; Engku Adam ibni Raja Ali Kelana and Raja Muhammad Said ibni Raja Ahmad, Judge of Riau-Lingga.



Haji Abu Bakar b. Ahmad (Haji Bachik) of Melaka, close friend and supporter of Syed Shaykh al-Hady's efforts to establish progressive *madrasahs*. Haji Abu Bakar died 1938 in Penang.



Syed Shaykh al-Hady and his family in the compound of their home at No. 410 Jelutong Road, Penang.



Composing room at Jelutong Press where *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* were printed: standing: Syed Shaykh al-Hady and Mohd. Tamim b. Sutan Deman, one of Syed Shaykh's friends and supporters. Sitting are the compositors.



Reception Committee Members to welcome Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn, Head of the Woking Mosque, England Mission, seated fifth from left with Syed Shaykh al-Hady on his left, taken in the compound of his Penang home; April 1921.



Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur, third wife of Syed Shaykh al-Hady and adoptive mother of Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady, whom she's holding on her lap; photograph taken in approximately 1923.



Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari, born 1869, near Bukit Tinggi, Sumatra. At the age of 12 he went to Makka where he studied for 12 years after which he took a degree in astronomy at al-Azhar University, returning to Malaya in 1899. Shaykh Tahir was a founder of *al-Imām* in 1906 and later a contributor to Syed Shaykh al-Hady's *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara*. Left: photograph taken in Singapore on 13 October 1956, thirteen days before he died; right: undated.



Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī, born Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ghadamisi, in Libya in 1892, studied and taught in Makka before coming to Malaya in 1917. Progressive '*ālim*, teacher, writer and activist, he was a primary resource for Syed Shaykh al-Hady's crusade. He returned to Makka in 1946 and died in 1974 at the age of 82. (Photograph, Kuala Lumpur, 1946.)



Syed Alwi al-Hady and Sharifah Azizah al-Mashhur on the occasion of their marriage in 1921, seated in front of Syed Shaykh al-Hady's house at 410 Jelutong Road, Penang.



Penang, 1920. (Left to right) Syed Alwi b. Syed Shaykh al-Hady; Tán Sri Haji Mohamed Noah b. Omar, later to become Speaker of Parliament, then President of the Senate, and father-in-law of two Malaysian Prime Ministers: Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Hussein Onn; Mohd. Said b. Haji Abu Bakar ('Haji Bachik'); (seated) Haji Mahmud b. Haji Abdul Manaf.



July 30, 1946 founding of Melaka division of UMNO (United Malays National Organisation). Standing (left to right): Tun Syed Nasir Ismail, Ismail Mat, 'Kazi' H. Mukti b. Abdul Hamid, Syed Alwi al-Hady and Tan Sri Haji Anuar Abdul Malik. Seated (left to right): Ahmad b. Jamal, Dato' Onn Ja'afar and Mohd. Ali.



Ribbon-cutting ceremony at the opening of MSRI's previous premises at 28N Oxley Road, Singapore. (Left to right) Syed Alwi al-Hady, G. H. Kiat, Dr. Ho Yuen and Alijah Gordon.



Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady taken in 1985, when he was Chairman of Malaysian International Merchant Bankers.

## TO TURN THE CURRENT OF THE AGE

Alijah Gordon

*I went through many unfamiliar streets for what seemed a long time. At length we came to a large building and my father told me that it was al-Azhar — a mysterious quantity. I was still to learn what that name would mean to me and had no inkling of the patterns and procedures, the workings and prospects of life within it. In bewildered apprehension I heard a strange noise at the gate, a buzzing like that of bees, the sort of noise which strikes the ear but cannot be distinguished into articulate sounds. What I heard filled me with misgiving. I saw my father take off his shoes at the gate and take them, folded, into his hand. Following suit, I went forward with him a short distance along a path which brought us into a vast court, the farther side of which was scarcely visible. It was entirely covered with matting. Its columns extended in rows, and beside each stood a tall winged chair bound to the column with an iron chain. A turbaned shaikh, like my father, sat in every chair with yellowing pages in his hand, surrounded by circles, straggling or strong, as the case might be, of students, their shoes beside them, dressed in long white, full-sleeved gowns or white galabiyahs and black cloaks, each with the same text-book in his hand as the shaikh, who read aloud and commented while the students listened in silence or engaged in debate.*

Aḥmad Amīn: *Hayānī*, Cairo, 1950, 50–1.



## TO TURN THE CURRENT OF THE AGE

*For linguistic usage does not 'grasp' truth, and even if words do come to expressive grips with reality, the way language puts things never does full justice to them as they really are essentially.*

Muḥammad 'Abduh<sup>1</sup>

**T**O say the word 'reform', 'remove the shackles of tradition', what reality can these words have for you, the reader? Can they conjure the weight of centuries of blind adherence to authority or *taqlīd*<sup>2</sup> which suppressed all original and life-giving thought in the Muslim World? Can your mind feel the constriction of the door to independent reasoning, *ijtihād*, being closed from the tenth century? Can you smell the dry dust of al-Azhar<sup>3</sup> University as it was even in 1900 and beyond? Can you visualise the pomposity of the turbaned Shaykh whose 'tall winged' chair was chained to one of al-Azhar's columns and whose mind was chained to an authority of an even older antiquity than 972, the year of al-Azhar's founding? Can you empathise with the erosion of the student's inquiring mind as he sat in one of the endless semi-circles around a Shaykh whose authority was tied to the chair that was tied to this ancient column?

---

1. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-Tauḥīd* translated by Ishāq Musa'ad and Kenneth Cragg under the title *The Theology of Unity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966) 56.

2. *Taqlīd*. 'clothing with authority': the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative without investigating his reasons. See Schacht, J., "Taqlīd", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op. cit.*, 562-4.

3. The *masjīd* was built by Jawhar al-Kātib al-Ṣiqillī, general of Abū Tamīm Ma'add, a year after the occupation of Egypt by the Fāṭimids and immediately after the founding of the new capital, al-Qāhira, or Cairo. It opened for services in 972 A. D. Al-'Azīz Nizār (976-96) made it an academy and from thence it grew.

It was as if the Shaykhs of al-Azhar existed to give living proof to the anticipation of Nabī Muḥammad:

*Verily ye shall imitate the sunan [habitual practices] of those who were before you, inch for inch, ell for ell, span for span; if they were to crawl into a lizard's hole, you would follow after them.*<sup>4</sup>

To the venerable al-Azhar University came the children of the deepest villages of Egypt and from all parts of the Muslim World. To be admitted, a candidate had to have memorised at least half of the Qur'ān and later, all of the Qur'ān; memorised, not conditional on minimal understanding. Al-Azhar was the pinnacle of all learning and was held in a respect that was transmitted from father to son. It was this awesome esteem that so filled one's being that the very floors were felt to issue forth a benediction.

The eminent Egyptian writer, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1891–1973) sensitively recorded his feeling upon entering al-Azhar in 1904 at the age of thirteen, irresistibly drawn as he says towards 'knowledge', that word of hidden meaning:

The boy paced on with his companion until he had crossed the court and mounted the shallow step which is the threshold of the Azhar itself. His heart was all modesty and humility, but his soul was filled with glory and pride. His feet stepped lightly over the worn-out mats that were laid out across the floor, leaving a bare patch here and there, as if on purpose to touch the feet that passed over them with something of the benediction attached to that holy ground.<sup>5</sup>

- 
4. *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, compiled by his son 'Abd Allāh from his lectures, 11 (Cairo, 1313 A. D.) 327; also refer to Wensinck, A. J., *op. cit.*: *al-sunan*: habitual practices, customary procedure or actions, usage sanctioned by tradition.
  5. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-Ayyām*, translated by Hilary Wayment under the title *The Stream of Days* (London: Longmans, 1948) 12–13. This, the second part of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's autobiography, is one of the masterpieces of modern 'Arabic literature. The first part in English translation is titled *An Egyptian Childhood*, transl. E. H. Paxton (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1932, reprint Heinemann Educational Books, 1981). Ṭāhā Ḥusayn revealed in 1966 that this first part of his autobiography was dictated over nine days! It was first published serially in *al-Hilāl* newspaper between December 1926 and July 1927. A third volume, entitled *Memoirs*, was first published in Beirut in 1967 and has been translated by Kenneth Cragg, under the title *A Passage to France* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

With the passage of time, this sense of benediction gave way to irritation as he was suffocated by the form rather than the content of things:

The boy sat beside the pillar, toying with the chain and listening to the sheikh on tradition ... he found nothing to criticize ... except the cascade of names which he poured forth on his listeners in giving the source and authorities for each tradition. It was always 'so-and-so tells us' or 'according to so-and-so'. The boy could not see the point of these endless chains of names or that tedious tracing of sources. He longed for the sheikh to have done with all this and come down to the tradition itself.<sup>6</sup>

Slowly irritation was aggravated into a contempt for the very Shaykhs who engaged in these sterile and 'vain debates'.<sup>7</sup>

---

*continued from page 164*

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, born on 14 November 1889 in Upper Egypt, was blinded in early childhood. Having memorised the Qur'ān at the age of nine, he was exalted by his entitlement to the epithet 'shaykh'. His father and mother, as well as his master, called him that. This short, thin, pale, and rather shabby, little blind boy was reproachful for not being given the trappings of his new found status: a turban, gown and caftan! At the age of thirteen, our little 'shaykh' entered the hallowed ground of al-Azhar which he was later to abjure. He went on to become the first graduate of Egypt's first modern university, and later the first Egyptian to become Dean of its Faculty of Arts, and later still the first Egyptian to be nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature. He called not for 'Innovation' but 'Renovation', the revitalisation of a great cultural heritage by bringing the best modes of Western thinking to bear upon it. He believed it was the duty and the power of the intellectual to reshape his society by fearless assertion of the truth as he sees it. When from March 1930 to November 1934, the government deprived him of state employment and also tried to inhibit his lecturing and journalistic activities, he nevertheless rejected an academic position in the United States where he would have been a 'spectator' and not a 'participant'. Though often out of sympathy with the government in power, he was nevertheless to become Minister of Education and was titled 'Bey' and then 'Pāshā'. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn died on 28 October 1973, days before his 84<sup>th</sup> birthday. See Pierre Cachia's 'Introduction' to the 1981 reprint of *An Egyptian Childhood*, unnumbered, and also 17.

6. *Ibid.*, 15.

7. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *op. cit.*, 56.

When a student had spent three or four years at Azhar his life split into two separate branches. One was academic, and consisted in attending lectures and passing through the various stages of the course; on this the young man was proceeding. He had begun it with passionate hopes; then his enthusiasm began to wane, and finally in disillusionment with the sheikhs and their teaching, he turned away from it in contempt.<sup>8</sup>

It is against such an atmosphere of adherence to the past, *taqlīd*, to the recital of tradition, to 'the crawling into the lizard's hole' if your father had done so, that the reform movement of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, and the attempts of our own Syed Shaykh al-Hady, must be seen. The 'Poet of the Nile', Ḥāfiḡ Ibrāhīm (1872–1932) epitomised the role of the liberationist al-Afghānī with these words: "Before his time people thought that religion was a matter of form, everything with meaning being heresy".<sup>9</sup>

While Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's primary focus was to awaken and activate a now colonised worldwide Muslim community (*umma*) to actualise its unity through political liberation, a path Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh initially followed, the Shaykh was later to direct his undivided soul's strength to the ideological liberation of Islām and therefore of the believers. Muḥammad 'Abduh boldly castigated Muslims "... whose only business with the scriptures is to finger their pages, while they preen themselves on being memorizers of their precepts and experts in their laws."<sup>10</sup> He characterised the blind reader of the Qur'ān as "... a donkey carrying books but of course getting no benefit from them for his pains, only a sore back and much panting", and he asked "Can you think of a more hapless state for any folk? What inversion."<sup>11</sup> As for the disputations of the schools of law (*mazhabs*) he considered them as "barren wrangles".<sup>12</sup> It was his experience that the larger part of the specialists in the religion "... believe and then demand proof, but only on condition that the proof shall agree with their belief. If they are confronted with what counters their belief they will have nothing to do with it ... . The way of most of them is first to dogmatise and then to lay claim to proof."<sup>13</sup>

8. Tāhā Husayn, *op. cit.*, 103.

9. *Madkūr*, 102.

10. Muḥammad 'Abduh, *op. cit.*, 153.

11. *Ibid.*, 129.

12. *Ibid.*, 28.

13. *Ibid.*, 66.

Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh wrote of the “... obscurantists who got the upper hand [in the world of Islām], destroying the remaining traces of the rational temper which had its source in the Islāmic faith. They betook themselves to devious by-paths and students of the writings of the previous generations found themselves limited to mere wrangles about words and scrutiny of methods — and that in a very few books characterised by feebleness and mediocrity.

“As a consequence a complete intellectual confusion beset the Muslims under their ignorant rulers. Ideas which had never had any place in science found sponsors who asserted things Islām had never before tolerated. Fostered by the general educational poverty, they gained ground ... . They evicted intellect from its rightful place ... . They went so far as to espouse the view of ... enmity between knowledge and faith.”<sup>14</sup> And he asserts that the Qur’ān enjoins “... rational procedure and intellectual enquiry ... . It forbids us to be slavishly credulous.”<sup>15</sup> He categorised “the disease of traditionalism” (*taqlīd*) as “a deceptive thing, and though it may be pardoned in an animal is scarcely seemly in man”.<sup>16</sup>

“Islām will have no truck with traditionalism, against which it campaigns relentlessly to break its power over men’s minds and eradicate its deep-seated influence. The underlying bases of *taqlīd* in the beliefs of the nations have been shattered by Islām ... . Islām threw its weight against the religious authorities, bringing them down from the dominance whence they uttered their commands and prohibitions.”<sup>17</sup> “Mere priority in time ... is not one of the signs of perceptive knowledge, nor yet of superior intelligence and capacity.”<sup>18</sup> Successive generations have an advantage over their forebears in that each generation knows events gone by and can study and exploit their consequences. In Islām “... the authority of reason was liberated ... from every kind of *taqlīd* enslaving it ... [Man’s] independence of will and independence of thought and opinion ...” were now to be fully his possessions.<sup>19</sup>

He categorically states of religion that it “... must not be made into a barrier, separating men’s spirits from God-given abilities ... . Rather, religion must promote ... [the] search [for truth], demanding respect for evidence and enjoining the utmost possible devotion and endeavour through all the worlds of knowledge ... . Any who assert the contrary

---

14. *Ibid.*, 38–9.

15. *Ibid.*, 39.

16. *Ibid.*, 40.

17. *Ibid.*, 126.

18. *Ibid.*, 127.

19. *Ibid.*

do not know what religion is and do despite to it which the Lord of the worlds will not forgive."<sup>20</sup>

Islām to Muḥammad 'Abduh was "... a fire of truth to descend upon the rank undergrowth of vanities strangling the works of reason, ... an eloquent cry to arouse the negligent, recover the dazed and awaken the oppressed to the fact that they were no less human than their tyrannical oppressors, their erring guides and treacherous leaders ...".<sup>21</sup>

"So man came blessedly to see himself free and honourable: his will was freed from the bonds that tied him to the will of others, whether of fellow men supposedly also an offshoot of the Divine, or of rulers and masters, or again fictitious entities to which imagination attributed powers of will, such as tombs and stones, trees and stars and the like. So man's initiative was released from the captivity to mediators, intercessors, divines, initiates, and all who claimed to be masters of 'hidden' cults and pretended to authority over the relations men have with God through their works. These 'mediators' set themselves up as disposers of salvation with the power of damnation and bliss. In sum, man's spirit found freedom from the slavery of deceivers and charlatans.

"Man came by the doctrine of Divine unity [*tawḥīd*] to serve God's purpose only. He was no longer in bondage to another. He now had the right of one free man among free men: there were no inequalities of high and low, in respect of these rights. The only distinction between men was in their deeds ...".<sup>22</sup>

As for what is incumbent of belief, "This covers the contents of the Qur'ān and a few only of the traditions, or *Sunnah*, dealing with practical things."<sup>23</sup> As for miracles: "... there is no obligation to believe in any such miracles on the part of a 'saint' since the rise of Islām".<sup>24</sup>

Having set out the liberating intrinsic concepts of Islām, the Shaykh looked at his contemporaries and their descent into reaction and warned of a turning away by rational Muslims: "Those Muslims who stand on the threshold of science see their faith as a kind of old garment in which it is embarrassing to appear among men, while those who deceive themselves that they have some pretension to be religious and orthodox believers in its doctrines regard reason as a devil and science as supposition."<sup>25</sup>

---

20. *Ibid.*, 103-4.

21. *Ibid.*, 109.

22. *Ibid.*, 125.

23. *Ibid.*, 156.

24. *Ibid.*, 158.

25. *Ibid.*, 153.

Thus did Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh, awakened from asceticism by the revolutionary call of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn, depart from the past and from his peers. And so it was that when he was forced out as Rector of al-Azhar by Khedīve ‘Abbās Ḥilmī’s denunciation of 1905, he was all but abandoned by even those students who had vied to sit at his feet. Read the words of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, then a student in that columned centre of mediaevalism:

The young man imagined that the Imam’s pupils, of whom a large number crowded every evening into the Porch of ‘Abbas [where Imām Muḥammad ‘Abduh delivered his lectures], would start a movement which would make it clear to the Khedive that the youth of the Azhar were affronted and intended to devote not only their time but also their hearts to the defence of their Rector. Nothing of the kind. The Imam left the Azhar and took a house for his work as Mufti. His students secretly sympathised with him, but kept their thoughts to themselves. A few visited him at his house at ‘Ein Shams, but the majority deserted him; and that was the conclusion of the whole affair. As for the young man, his heart was full of shame and anger and contempt for sheikhs and students alike, though he had never known the Imam nor been introduced to him.”<sup>26</sup>

As for the villagers of Egypt, Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s opinions were “dangerous and abominable” leading only to heresy. How far the Muslim folk-beliefs were from all that the Imām would hold true is epitomised by this passage from Ṭāhā Ḥusayn where he refers to his own experience:

---

26. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *op. cit.*, 104.

All these people became familiar with the boy's opinions. They knew that he disparaged most of their learning, scoffed at the miracles of the saints and disapproved of making saints and prophets intermediaries between man and God. This boy, they told each other, is a misguided heretic who wants to make us heretics too. He has been up to Cairo to sit at the feet of Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh and imbibed his dangerous and abominable opinions; and now he has come back to lead his townfolk into error and perdition.<sup>27</sup>

And when al-Ustāz al-Imām Muḥammad 'Abduh — “the resource of the despairing and the resort of the unfortunate”<sup>28</sup> — came to die on 11 July 1905 “... his death caused a great stir throughout Egypt. But Azharite circles were less affected than any by this tragic event. The Imam's pupils were sorry, and perhaps some of them shed a few tears, but after the summer vacation they returned to their studies as if the Imam had not died, or indeed had never lived, except that now and again his own special pupils spoke of him regretfully. So the young man learned by bitter experience for the first time in his short life that all the respect and adulation paid to great men and all the flattery and attention they receive are mere useless words, and that man's fidelity resolves itself in most cases into empty rhetoric. The young man's disillusion with humanity was intensified by his discovery that certain circles seized the occasion of the Imam's death to make money out of his name and exploit their acquaintance with him by writing about him either in prose or verse, and above all by publishing notices about him in newspapers and magazines. But the boy noticed something else which increased his aversion to the Azhar and his contempt for both sheikhs and students. He found that the men who mourned sincerely for the Imam did not wear turbans, but tarbooshes,<sup>29</sup> and he conceived a secret inclination towards them and a desire to make some acquaintance with their society.”<sup>30</sup>

---

27. *Ibid.*, 89–90.

28. Thus was Muḥammad 'Abduh, ‘the master and guide’, characterised by poet Ḥāfiḡ Ibrāhīm. See Adams, Charles C., *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1933, repr. 1968) 86. n. 1.

29. i.e. the lay intelligensia.

30. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *op. cit.*, 104–5.

Thus did Ṭāhā Ḥusayn traverse the path from the feeling of “benediction attached to that holy ground”<sup>31</sup> to being “... sick to death of the turban and all that it implied”.<sup>32</sup>

It is in this context of ‘the turban and all that it implied’ that the whole reform movement has to be seen, for at that point in time the turban symbolised blind bondage to the past and acceptance of all that was said by the tongue which moved in a head that was hallowed by this headgear.

If in the reading of these Selections from Syed Shaykh al-Hady — some a reverberation of Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s mind — you find the criticism modest, it will reveal to you all the more the thick stench of reaction and lethargy that was the *milieu* in which these men dared to lift their pens to ‘turn the current of the age’.<sup>33</sup> Their departures incurred fierce opposition and understandably so, for once the right to independent reasoning is acknowledged, the stranglehold of traditionalism would surely crumble. The thought was revolutionary to the times — and even into our times — and it is within one’s own cultural time-frame that one must be seen and finally judged.

He who would honour Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ‘Abduh and our very own Syed Shaykh al-Hady, must first have had his nostrils filled with that insufferable ‘holy’ dust of the past that was epitomised by al-Azhar, the fulcrum of Islām both then and now.

---

31. *Ibid.*, 13.

32. *Ibid.*, 125.

33. D. B. Macdonald’s phrase in “al-Ghazzālī”, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit.*, 111.



SYED SHAYKH: A SELECTION OF HIS WRITINGS

Selected by his son: Syed Alwi al-Hady

translated by MSRI and rendered in English by Alijah Gordon

*Sepahit-pahit mambu,  
kelatnya menjadi ubat.*

However bitter the *mambu* may be,  
its astringent qualities are useful as medicine.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. *Mambu: Millettia sericea*, a type of climbing plant the leaves of which are used as medicine.



## REAL PRAISE IS MAN'S SPIRITUAL FOOD<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE world is a book full of illustrations on life. It is a book that broadens one's outlook. If every hundred years is one page in this book, then every generation will be but a line on that page. Yet to us, every event is important in itself.

Historical knowledge of all the peoples in this changing world is of primary benefit to us. We see communities and nations rise to great fame and glory only to fall into decay, losing all trace of their former greatness and power, now to be found only in collections of old stories and in classical literature. Others have remained unknown for many years, drowned in the folds of time with no trace of their existence, suddenly to rise again to lead the world, like a brain in a human body.

Those who would scale mountains desiring the summit undoubtedly will have to endure all manner of difficulty, fatigue, as well as fear of attack by wild animals, but having reached the top they will be happy and secure, for it will be difficult for others to harm them at such great height. On the other hand, those who would remain in the valleys, not wishing to tire themselves by the climb, will be easily startled and constantly possessed by fear; they will have to guard against falling into the traps of hunters and the fangs of wild animals.

Oh God, how many people have died for the good of their country and people, and how many such earnest and devoted people have achieved their ambition? Yet there are millions who have died and perished in degradation. What manner of people are these? They are those who love and treasure the ways of animals, who do just enough work to fill their stomachs and drowse themselves to sleep.

My brethren, what I have said is nothing but the truth and a reminder to those who are endowed by God with clean minds and sound knowledge so that they might continue the journey of those men before them who have earnestly sought greatness. At times, such noble people gain

---

1. Note from *al-Ikhwān*, I, 8 (16 April 1927); I, 9 (16 May 1927): This article — "Puji yang Sa-benar Makanan Nyawa Manusia" — was published in *al-Imām*, I, 3 & 4, 19 September and 19 October 1906. 145–8, 165–8. It was written by the present editor of *al-Ikhwān*. It is reproduced with some revision; however, the original meaning is not only preserved but emphasised so that it will be a constant reminder to readers.

the object of their desire and bring happiness to their country and people who share in their glory. At other times, they die leaving behind a good name to be remembered generation after generation.

Any country which has achieved praiseworthy excellence, be it an achievement in the field of knowledge or culture or justice, will certainly produce one or two sons amongst its people who will be able to overcome something of which others are afraid. Such men shall traverse a path strewn with impediments to reach their countries and peoples to greatness and maximum achievement. This they shall realise by relying on the help of God.

What is the purpose<sup>2</sup> of he who would earnestly serve his people and mankind, surrendering his life to great works which will benefit his society, brethren and religion? Hasn't God created everything for a reason? Isn't it part of the gift of God in his creation of Man that the heart of a man will not turn towards a work requiring diligence except that he has most acutely perceived the benefit which will derive to his own essence and his community?

When a man spends his whole life in misery and suffering, when his soul at last departs from his sickly and tortured body, what cares he for the abuse heaped upon him during his journey by those of his own skin and religion? What cares he for the slander of those who would prevent him from serving his brethren and religion?

What is the purpose of he who works in earnest, endures hardship and withstands all slander and insult in the course of serving his people? He receives no pleasure; he is not even protected against sickness and suffering.

Indeed, God Almighty has planted in His creature, Man, a desire which exceeds all other desires. It is an attribute that is characteristic of Man. With this attribute Man is distinguished from all other living creatures. This attribute is Man's desire for real praise and commendation for his good work. (This is entirely a different kind of desire from that of those who fish for any compliment, whether real or false. They lie that they may be praised. They assume a most virtuous personality while their hearts are nests of wickedness. Such men are devoid of all human qualities.)

---

2. Ed. Note: The Malay says: *apa-kah yang di-kehendaki lagi*: 'What more is required (or needed)'. However, to keep the connection of thought between this question and the following, we have used 'what is the purpose'.

Real praise is food for the soul and strength for the body. The closer a man is to perfection, the further he is from all base desires. The more he tires of all forms of self-indulgence, the more he will try for permanent glory. And the more he will devote himself to those great works which will bring good to his people and lasting praise to himself. And for what reason does he do this?

Every man possesses one special and meaningful human attribute. This attribute demands of him to seek real excellence and makes him see with 'the eyes of his heart' that in this world there are two types of life: the first begins when he emerges from the womb and ends when he enters the grave; the second, the longer life, begins with the beneficial work that he does for his people, his religion, or for all mankind, and ends when he is no longer praised in the depths of the hearts of the people or in the pages of history.

The excellent soul has two abodes: one in the body of the individual; the other in the body of everyone. It enters into all living hearts and occupies a place of glory, honour, dignity and laudation.

There is no doubt that 'the longer life' and the wider abode are preferable to 'the shorter life' and the narrow abode. Hence it is only proper that any man with a true feeling of humanism should sell his better wares. God Almighty has already endowed Man with this attribute that he may strive for true perfection; God has also planted in Man the desire for praise, as well as the urge to fulfil that praise. Have we not seen, heard or read how people have written and sung praises for those who have raised their people and country from the valley of degradation to the peak of glory, renown, and greatness, and awakened their fallen people to the true path, and brought them from division to unity? Such as these have increased the total sum of human knowledge and skilfulness. In this way, they engrave their names in the depths of the hearts of their people and in the history of their nation. Their people will then erect memorials and statues to preserve their laudability from generation to generation, until the nation itself is annihilated.

When a nation repudiates the good work of one of its members or is unwilling to display it, it weakens all idealism, and the enthusiasm to work for the good of humanity will certainly decline. As soon as a person's hand and mind are prevented from doing good deeds, the decline of his nation will set in. The life of the nation will be so divided that it will be difficult to prevent its fall.

Let it be understood that every deed that God has commanded has a definite purpose. When a nation does not distinguish between good and evil, fragrance and stench, excellence and retardation, righteousness and rotteness, so that devoted service is not valued and good

deeds go unacknowledged, whereas evil is not condemned, then all the nation's leanings towards sublimity and perfection will be destroyed. In such a case, the degradation will be worse than that brought about by tyrants and the oppression of victorious enemies, for neither of these can last when the bulk of the nation acknowledges and appreciates the good work of even one or two of its members, giving them due praise. For the nation will be rewarded by the efforts made by those members to deliver it from tyranny and oppression. The nation that is devoid of appreciation for such noble efforts is as a man who suffers from the disease of old age and can only look forward to deterioration and death.

Real praise is the blessing of God upon Man. Those who seek it are men possessing the highest human qualities and greatest faith. It is natural that God in the Holy Qur'ān praises Nabī Muḥammad with the words:

وَرَفَعْنَا لَكَ ذِكْرَكَ

... and raised high the esteem (In which) thou (art held).<sup>23</sup>

Why then can we not say that real praise is Man's desire. Has not God already bestowed this on those who are entitled to receive it by saying:

وَأَمَّا بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ فَحَدِّثْ

*But the Bounty of the Lord—Rehearse and proclaim!*<sup>24</sup>

Turn our eyes to the history of mankind and we will find clear evidence of nations which have belittled good and noble actions, deprecated or slandered any beneficial act done by its members, falling into decay to disappear from this earth, for all unity among them was lost. This is not surprising, for betrayal of virtue inevitably leads to loss of greatness, happiness and peace.

3. Ed. Note: *Sūra* XCIV: 4. *The Holy Qur'ān*, translation by A. Yusuf Ali. Note all further translations of al-Qur'ān are from Yusuf Ali unless specified to the contrary. An alternative translation by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall is "And exalted thy fame?" (*The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, An Explanatory Translation*) (10th edn., New York: Mentor, 1963).

4. Ed. Note: *Sūra* XCIII:11, or "Therefor of the bounty of thy Lord be thy discourse". Pickthall.

*ash-SHARAF* : GLORY OR HONOUR<sup>1</sup>

**H**AVE we ever heard of persons who have left a good name in this world due to their medals and ranks? No! A person is remembered for his lifetime of work and knowledge that has benefited his community, leaving behind a foundation for others to continue the good work after his death. He worked hard and struggled to get back his community's rights and many other things that would continuously benefit his community and race.

Does a rational man remember Johor's Sultan Abu Bakar<sup>2</sup> [r. 1862–95] because of his fine shirts, imposing palace and various medals? No! He is remembered because of his glorious and honourable work in rescuing an Islāmic state that had fallen into a wild tiger's mouth. He founded a government for his community and descendants.

---

1. "*ash-Sharaf*: Kemuliaan atau Kehormatan", *al-Imām*, II, 8 (4 February 1908); *al-Ikhwān*, I, 12 (16 August 1927) 225–9.

2. Ed. Note: Abu Bakar of Johor, son of Temenggung Ibrahim, took office in 1862. He had been educated at a Christian mission school in Singapore and, speaking English well, he became a leading figure in Singapore society. "In his taste and habits", wrote Governor Ord, "he is an English gentleman". He made several trips abroad and was received by a number of monarchs, notably Queen Victoria and the Emperor of Japan. Abu Bakar was advised by a council, which included two Chinese, and the state was drawn up into administrative divisions. The Johor bureaucracy was built around an élite of loyal and able Malays, most descended from the old Riau-Johor nobility. These men successfully combined English notions of a 'modern' civil service with the best features of traditional Malay government. Johor so resembled a Western-style government that Ord considered Abu Bakar "the only raja in the whole peninsula or adjoining states who rules in accordance with the practice of civilized nations". But Johor was to function as no more than an economic extension of British Singapore. When Abu Bakar attempted to assert Johor's economic independence he was subjected to so much pressure that he eventually capitulated. It was Abu Bakar's skilful political manoeuvring and innovations at all levels of government that enabled Johor to retain its sovereignty. In 1868, the Riau court recognised Abu Bakar's success when it granted him the right to assume the title of Maharaja, once used by the rulers of Melaka, and in 1885 it was announced that he was henceforth to be termed Sultan. (Andaya, Barbara Watson and Leonard Y., *A History of Malaysia* (London: Macmillan, 4th edn., 1987) 152–3.)

During the late 19th century, Abu Bakar repeatedly diverted any attempts to modify the relationship between British Singapore and Johor. Realising the changes his death might bring, in 1895, two months before he died, he introduced a constitution which expressly forbade the alienation of Johor to any European power, a pointed comment on British ambitions. (*Ibid.*, 199.)

He kept his government independent during his lifetime, while many others sold their states cheaply in crowded markets.

Please examine what historians sought to know about the history of Alexander the Great; did they search to find out what shirt Alexander wore or in what house he lived? No! Their concern was with his great contributions to the world. Is he not a stupid person who would read the history of Napoleon just to learn about Napoleon's wardrobe, emeralds, diamonds and house?<sup>3</sup>

Many people in many communities were cheated by their own imaginations and dreams. They took lightly the works pertaining to their communities and countries. They sold the real honour in exchange for the false, which is a real humiliation. They imagined that they had reached a position of perfect honour. If they had given a little thought to their situation, their conscience would have awakened them to realise their mistaken endeavours. They would have known how distorted was their understanding of the meaning of glory and how the road they had followed in search of that glory had led them astray.

If they had sensed and felt the heavy burden of every affliction borne by their country and every humiliation and poverty that the coming generations would inherit, they would have refused all ranks, thrown away all medals, and then worn mourning dress and run bare-foot looking for the true glory.

That glory has a definite reality has been proclaimed by all revealed teachings and agreed upon by men of sound mind the world over. Therefore, it is not permissible for mankind to reject the definite reality of glory unless their hearts be sealed as God says:

خَتَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ وَعَلَى سَمْعِهِمْ وَ  
عَلَى أَبْصَارِهِمْ غِشَاوَةً ...<sup>4</sup>

*God hath set a seal on their hearts and on their hearing,  
and on their eyes is a veil; ...<sup>4</sup>*

Glory is an aura about a person on whom all eyes are fixed and on whom the hope of all is placed. It is the accomplishment of one who

3. Ed. Note: Alexander the Great, 356–323 B. C.; Napoleon Bonaparte, 1769–1821 A. D.

4. Ed. Note: *Sūra* II: 7, or "Allāh hath sealed their hearing and their hearts and on their eyes there is a covering". Pickthall.

has worked earnestly to improve the condition of his people, his brethren and all mankind, such as to prevent disaster from ruining his people, to uplift them from their befallen state, to demolish the wall of ignorance that surrounds them, to spur them to demand the rights that have been taken from them, to remind them of the need to restore their past glory and greatness, to awaken them from their apathy and to point the way to the improvement of their general welfare ... .

Hence, whoever does something praiseworthy is the one who has great glory and honour though he may live poorly in a hut, or have the earth as his mat, or an ant-hill for a pillow, or clothes that are tattered and torn, or wander on foot through swamps and forests, hills and mountains! For to him his garment is his work, his adornment is his excellence, and the light of his jewels is the brilliance of his efforts in the eyes of the world. He is a guide to those whose minds have strayed, he is a physician to those mentally ill, and he is a magnet to those whose hearts are untamed ... . Indeed, a man with such a quality (a truly praiseworthy quality with a glory that is everlasting) is always subject to attacks by men of lesser breed and of evil nature. They will say all manner of nasty and filthy things about him because they do not like his work which is reminiscent of the sweet smell of flowers ... . They are like the tumblebug<sup>5</sup> that, being accustomed only to evil smells, must run from perfume or perish.

... Yet as soon as such noble work has borne fruit, these very men will flock to the harvest to feed and will praise he who planted and cared for the tree, though unlike them he be poorly dressed and unadorned with jewels! Then will they repent and atone for the many great wrongs done unto him ... .

Such is the glory and greatness God has given to one who has performed something noble in his life that even after his death his light (like the rays of the rising sun which all the stars that shine cannot hide) will remain in the minds and hearts of all who would seek example from a perfect life.

---

5. Ed. Note: 'Arabic جمل *ju'al* is the dung beetle or tumblebug. The late Professor G. W. J. Drewes kindly pointed out that there is a well-known passage in Ghazālī's *Iḥvā' 'ulūmī 'd-dīn* (2nd book, 2<sup>nd</sup> faṣl) where it says: "It is not absurd that the mentioning of some of the deeper realities is harmful to some people, just as the sunlight is harmful to the eyes of the bat and the smell of roses to the tumblebug." ('Arabic: *fa-lā yab'udu an yakūna dhikr ha'q al-ḥaqā'iq muḍirr bi-ba'q al-khalq kamā yuḍirru nūr al-shams bi-abṣār al-khafāfīsh wakamā yuḍirru riḥāḥ al-ward bi' l-ju'al.*) Perhaps Syed Shaykh had this in mind when he was writing the above passage.

He will indeed die, and his body will be hidden in the folds of non-existence, but his work and spirit will remain in the hearts and the speech of all the living. He is well provided for by his Creator . . . .

## DEMAND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE SONS OF THE SOIL<sup>1</sup>

**T**HEN came to our eastern countries the Europeans from the north winds replete with the weapons to win the battle of life and equipped with knowledge of the ways and means to make profit ... . And what happened to all of us here? We were all silent. Then we surrendered to them our dignity, our laws, our properties and our national pride! We became their slaves or servants, not unlike a watchdog or a beast of burden! We contented ourselves with the remnants thrown from their dishes and with the grass that grew round their compounds! We believed most faithfully that we, the peoples of the East, were created imperfectly with less than perfect minds and vision. We held fast to this belief until there came to us the Japanese, an eastern people endowed with knowledge and crowned with national pride and victory. They worked with their knowledge to extract the natural wealth from our soil, and both the Japanese and the Europeans took their shares and later joined their knowledge and resources in all fields. How did these people look upon us?

Did we blame ourselves? No, we did not. For we had not the guts to do so. Did we think to rise? No, for we had not the will to do so. So we were obliged to shut our eyes, lower our heads, and blame God by saying, "This is the will of Allāh upon us that we can do nothing to deter or alter".

Is this true or false? By my life I say, and say it again and again, that this is the worst falsehood, the worst form of lie, and the most deceptive of all illusions. Why?

Does the Qur'ān not tell us that God has provided us with two paths, that what man earns must depend on his own effort? The Qur'ān further says that nothing will be given to a man except that for which he strives. Truly we have deceived ourselves by drinking the delicious poison of apathy, foisted upon us by our leaders, and thereby have we chosen for ourselves the diseases of deception and hypocrisy until we can do no more than cry and beg from God: Ah Allāh, we have been loyal to our *penghulus*<sup>2</sup> and our traditional leaders and they have led us astray. O God, heap upon them double the suffering that we have sustained with the greatest of Your curses! They are the heads and we are

---

1. "Menuntut Ketinggian akan Anak-anak Negeri", *al-Imām*, II, 1 (12 July 1907) 25-31.

2. Ed. Note: *penghulu*, headman.

the tails! They are the seed of all calamities and sufferings. They are the spendthrifts and the kings of the ignorant. They are the origin of all afflictions and all misfortunes. This is actually the condition of our people, and worse!

All the wealth of the land, acquired by squeezing the blood of the poor and the destitute, has been used for their own benefit in contravention of the laws of Islām, squandered away in the dishes of quasi-religious ceremonies, in glasses of liquor, in *joget* [Malay dance] and in other entertainments! Most of the money thus squandered returns to the pockets of the Europeans ... ! Do we not often see how readily some amongst us will buy goods at double the price from foreigners, particularly Europeans, which could have been bought at half the price from our own people? Ask them for, say, one-tenth of the amount wasted in this fashion as a contribution to anything for the benefit of their own people, and you will instantly find them tightening their fists!

I say this from my knowledge and experience. Theirs are the brains that have gone astray. They are the truly ignorant (*jāhil*)<sup>3</sup> in whom the feeling towards anything good is dead. Is there any remedy for this shameful malady? Or has the *'azāb* or Hell promised by Allāh as punishment for such evil deeds made them to shrink no more?

Verily, I have not lost hope in the help of the All Merciful Allāh, and neither have I lost hope in His blessing ...

Look at the Chinese, who left their country to come to Malaya. Most came with only a rolled-up mat, a pair of shorts, and a singlet. When they felt the grip of hunger, they tightened their belts. They came to our country to rid themselves of that hunger, yet in a few years what has become of them? They have become *taukeh*s [owners], landowners and millionaires, and why? Because they have worked, and worked with a determination to succeed and a spirit by no means weakened by the fact that they are strangers in our country! So, is it right and proper that we should be less than they in effort, intellect, knowledge, will, generosity, and affection amongst us, even as we, being Muslims, believe in the Qur'ān which commands the achievement of every excellence?

Indeed, the Chinese were not content with the gains thus acquired in our country. Their leaders and their wealthy men banded together to form organisations for the welfare of their own people, and they built

---

3. Ed. Note: *Jāhiliya* (*Jāhiliyya*) is the name given to the state of things which obtained in 'Arabia before the promulgation of Islām. It is a collective noun from *jāhilī*, a 'pagan' 'Arab. The usual meaning is 'time of ignorance', Islām being regarded as the period of enlightenment and knowledge. Thus the connotation of *jāhil* makes it a greater indictment than the English 'truly ignorant' can convey.

schools all over Malaya for the education of their children; theirs is the best of works. Has not the time come for Malays to follow their good example? If we have failed to act according to the commandments of our religion or to follow the example of the Europeans and that of the Japanese, can we also be so oblivious as not to act according to the example shown to us by the Chinese?

We ought to be called the descendants of Satan, as Ādam was free of such characteristics. Are the hearts of our men of wealth and rulers made of wicks limp from oil?<sup>4</sup> Have they been deprived of their *imān* [faith] in the Hereafter? Have they forgotten that we are from Allāh and to Allāh we shall return!

By the simple exercise of our common sense we could easily take a cue from the changes that have already occurred, and what is now transpiring, to conjecture as to what will be the future in this our country, our beloved Motherland. About a quarter of a century ago, the areas around High Street<sup>5</sup> and Cross Street<sup>6</sup> [in Singapore] and their environs were inhabited mostly by Malays with a sprinkling of 'Arabs, but when the land and house values increased, they were almost all driven out into areas around Tanjung Pagar and elsewhere. And no sooner did wealth and progress step into those two areas then did the Malay and Muslim residents have to retreat once again, now further away to Kallang<sup>7</sup> and other remote areas! If this pattern continues, and it most certainly will, the Malays and Muslims of this island [of Singapore] will eventually have to run to Papua

4. Ed. Note: *cholok api*, 'cloth fuse or wick steeped in oil'.

5. Ed. Note: High Street is an area of retail textile shops in Singapore.

6. Ed. Note: Cross Street is in the heart of Chinatown, Singapore.

7. Ed. Note: An area away from Singapore's city centre. Singapore's 1967/1997 population breakdown was as follows:

	PERCENTAGE	
	1967	1997
Malays	14.5	14.1
Chinese	74.4	77.3
Indians	8.1	7.3
Others	3.0	1.3 (Ceylonese, Eurasians, 'Arabs, Jews, Europeans, etc.)

Source for October 1997 figures *Singapore Snapshot: Facts at a Glance* (Singapore: Ministry of Information and the Arts).

[Irian] or to those places where the inhabitants are still naked!<sup>8</sup> Why should such misfortune befall us? There is no doubt as to the cause, it is none other than laziness and reluctance (*seگان*), the abandonment of knowledge and good works (*'amal*), the attraction by the mere skin of things, the reliance on building castles in the air and on other such non-sensical things, the refusal 'to enter a house by its door', and studying without understanding cause or reason. When requiring anything, we have thought fit to turn to the graves or to the deaf and dumb *dajjāl*<sup>9</sup> with our requests. Verily, such deeds are contrary to the biddings of the Qur'ān and the *Sharī'a* [the canon law of Islām].

Let us pause awhile, dear readers, and look around in the midst of any *kampung* [hamlet], the domain of the Muslims: when you look to the left, to the right, to the front, to the back, definitely you will see that those who sell rice to the *kampung* folks are Chinese, those who market vegetables are Chinese, those who sell fish are Chinese, those who carry water from house to house are Chinese, and those who cut and sew for the majority of the inhabitants are also Chinese!<sup>10</sup> By the looks of it, one would imagine that our religion, Islām, prohibits working hard for an honest living! Verily, this is the curse of the Almighty upon us!

---

8. Ed. Note: Syed Shaykh's apprehensions of 1907 were raised in 1926–7 when the recently formed Kesatuan Melayu Singapura, Singapore Malay Union, brought the issue to the Straits Settlements Legislative Council through Mohd. Eunus Abdullah, supported by the illustrious Tan Cheng Lock. They called on the Singapore colonial authority to set aside an area of land as a Malay *kampung*, similar to the Kuala Lumpur Kampung Baru established in 1899. Approximately 600 acres were finally purchased in 1928 and in 1929 Kampung Melayu was a reality. Their intention was to have a reserved area where Malays could go on living in the manner to which they were accustomed.

In response to MSRI's letter of 8 August 1998, and innumerable follow-up telephone calls, on 1 December the Ministry of Law of the Government of Singapore (ref. LAW 15/001/004v6) replied that they do not have any records of Malay reserve! We had sought to know the year in which the Government revoked this Malay reserve and its legal basis for doing so.

For biographical details on Mohd. Eunus, see 'His Times', 129, ed. n. 106 and 132 *supra*.

9. Ed. Note: *dajjāl*, literally false, lying, the name given to religious impostors, the anti-Christ.

10. Ed. Note: Syed Shaykh's commentary was written in 1907. In 1998 — ninety-one years later — Megawati Sukarnoputri, leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), made this troubling comment: "I fear food riots and more disturbances. Foreigners will help us with humanitarian aid, but who will distribute it? The main victims of the May riots were the ethnic Chinese, who ran the country's distribution system. Many of them left Indonesia ... ." (*Newsweek*, 22 June 1998, 58.)

Has not the desire to do something to cure such malaise ever flashed across the minds or moved the hearts of our brethren in power?

No doubt those who fondle and count their *tasbīḥs* [rosaries], or those who sell the words of the Qur'ān as amulets, or those who twist the minds of women, will condemn me vehemently and in the worst language, but I care not as long as I am appealing with the call of the Qur'ān.

---

*continued from page 184*

As if in answer to Megawati's question, the *New Straits Times* of 11 July 1998 carried a photograph of the Indonesian Red Cross Foundation and Federal Express international courier service's distribution of food donated by Singapore! Abdurrahman Wahid, head of the 30-million strong Nahdlatul Ulama gave a more devastating comment. He criticised Indonesians who claimed the departure of fellow Chinese Indonesians was a heaven-sent opportunity for Indonesians to take control of the economy. "I consider that opinion as a mere daydream. For years, I have been saying that without Chinese-Indonesian citizens ... there will not be an economy here. At the same time, I came under fire for saying that but it is still my opinion." (*Jakarta Post*, 23 June 1998.)

The same report states that while Indonesians of Chinese descent account for only four percent of the country's 202 million people, they are estimated to control 70 percent of the economy. Seventy-five year-old William Soeryadjaya, founder of Astra International and himself of Chinese descent, while calling for the return of the remaining 50,000 or so who fled during the riots, added this proviso: "They should not seclude themselves and they must conduct business fairly." (*Ibid.*)

Meanwhile President B. J. Habibie has called upon the Association of Young Indonesian Entrepreneurs (Hipmi) to take over the distribution function. Habibie asked them "... to find opportunities during the economic crisis ... ." (*New Straits Times*, 8 July 1998.)

THE REAL CRY<sup>1</sup>

**O**H brethren, how calmly we slumber on in the midst of these insurgent waves and turbulent seas, in the midst of thunder and storms that shake the mountain. Does not the sound of the waves disturb you and the storm awaken you? Do you not jump out of bed on seeing the trees and buildings shaken by the typhoon? Are we so deafened, blinded and numbed that those who advised and entertained hope for us are brought to despair?

If we are awake and conscious then we should, indeed we must, scream as if we have been thrashed with more violence than we can bear. Indeed, we should be screaming and yelling instead of laughing and applauding. Are we so void of human feeling, or have we not yet the power of thought because we are children still, or have our brains been so afflicted with disease that no other opinions and views can be processed?

For if we are conscious and still possess the faculty of thought, then how can we allow another people to rule over us, to be our guardian in our own beloved Motherland? How can we allow ourselves to be so looked after that we would be naked and die if our food, clothing, furnishings, and the necessary tools, were not provided by others? In fact, if they did not intend to fatten us that they might make use of us as they would of machines and factories, they would never have so provided for us.

Do not be deceived by the wealth and prosperity in your country for these are the result of good government by the British which has attracted European capital and opened banks to enable other people to purchase saddles to place on your backs that you may hoe and rake your very own land for their profit. And when at last you are worn out by work, you will be driven from your own land; your houses and compounds, lands and gardens will then be sold with your consent for the cheap price they will offer you.

Do not be deceived by the sight of the wealth in your country. The various buildings and the abundant produce are owned by people other than you; they were built and grown for them and not for you. And it will not be long before you will have to pay others for the very water you drink and for the very road you walk upon.

---

1. "Teriak Sa-benar", *al-Ikhwān*, I, 2 (16 October 1926) 1-4.

Do not be deceived by the glorious titles which your leaders are now enjoying and the positions they now hold, for they are the very cause of your ruin and even now they are helping the foreigners who have oppressed you and will continue to oppress you.

Leave behind those who grumble about politics and complain about politicians, but themselves know nothing of politics. What is appropriate now is for you to be grateful for the British government's intervention which has benefited you in that you have been released from the serfdom of your leaders, and you have been given laws which will not prevent you from seeking the road to progress and a better life. It is therefore time you shouldered your responsibilities on behalf of your country and people and made up your minds as to what you ought to do.

Make up your minds, look around you with discernment and know that you are the pillars and the spirit of your people and country. They only live as you live, and they will surely die if you waste your lives. You are their honour and wealth and also the cause of their suffering and humiliation.

Only when you are clear about the things I have mentioned will you begin to feel that your life has great significance. Only then will you begin to realise too that your new-found strength has been reserved for you by God when He created Man. This sense of your own humanity is what will spur you on to real fame and honour, real excellence and the perfection of such qualities as you possess within yourself. But you must have faith and realise that any honour and glory not based upon the honour and glory of your people and country is but false honour and glory to you.

He who sees himself as totally helpless to do anything to uplift his people and country is a *kāfir* [unbeliever], devoid of the gift of reason and deprived of the excellent nature of Man whom God has exalted several echelons above animals. The basest creature is he who thinks that Man is born into the world only for the purpose of pleasure and for the satisfaction of animal desires, for they must surely know that the cow eats more and the sparrow has more mates than they, even the peacock has a better attire and the horse a better carriage! And it is indeed surprising that those who entertain such ideas can go on living happily though they know well the animals have excelled over them in these matters.

Well, my brethren, among the animals too, there are some species that work hard for their society and their community, such as the ants and the bees. Can we accept the fact that our lives are worth even less than these? If the answer is no, then when will we give up our unco-operative, quarrelsome and selfish lives?

Please, my brethren, stretch out your hands to all your brothers. Unite for the survival of your country and people. Join hands and help one another for the good of your country and people. Once you have put your wealth together in any project or trade, you will certainly have put your hearts together too. Work for the welfare of your community. Surely we have suffered long from the dangers of disunity and dissension among us.

Haste, haste, haste, before the time runs out ... . Soon the others around you will have closed the doors of opportunity and blocked your way to progress. What is the use of reminders then?

Hurry up and form your chamber of commerce. Quickly build schools and educational centres for your children. Equip your children — boys and girls — with knowledge necessary for the good of your people and country. Regulate your religious conduct now that you may not continue living in lowliness and slavery.

Clever talk and participation in the politics of government or indulgence in its criticism or abuse is only a waste of time, for past experience is proof enough that it will be of no use to us.

PANDITA ZA'BA'S CRITIQUE OF 'THE REAL CRY' AND  
*al-IKHWĀN'S* RETORT

**I**N response to Syed Shaykh's 'The Real Cry', Pandita Za'ba (Tan Sri Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad) wrote a critique which Syed Shaykh printed in *al-Ikhwān* along with his rejoinder, and the reader may determine where the truth lies.<sup>1</sup>

We have received the first criticism of our essay "The Real Cry" in *al-Ikhwān*, I, 2 [16 October 1926] from our friend Za'ba, the famous writer, and we have included his criticism word for word in this issue. We feel it will be of benefit to make our views more clear and to explain our reasons to all the readers. This is what Za'ba has written:

*Most respected Ḥabīb,*<sup>2</sup>

*In the latest issue of al-Ikhwān there are a few things I disagree with, so please allow me to state my opinion.*

*Firstly, in "Teriak Sa-benar" (The Real Cry) the words enslaved by foreigners will definitely sow feelings of hatred and disloyalty towards our government. Even if we don't say anything about slavery, most people already know and feel it. So it would be better if we didn't say anything about it, as it will only give rise to anger in those who are enslaving us. Particularly now is not the right time to incite such feelings. What we should focus on (other than education, mental development, and things which would widen the knowledge of the public) is that every year our country is being flooded by hundreds of Chinese and Hindus who enter here to seek income. Even though we are poor, these Chinese and Indians are doing all the menial work in our country. Why can't we do it ourselves (everyone wants to have a higher level of work when actually they are not qualified). The Chinese work from the time they open their eyes at dawn until the middle of the night. Why can't we do the same? The Chinese go all over the place, even to remote areas, to trade and to cut wood and so forth. Why can't we?*

- 
1. Ed. Note: "Teguran dan Jawaban-nya" (The Criticisms and the Answers), *al-Ikhwān*, I, 3 (16 November 1926) 50–6, reproduced in Abdullah Hussain and Khalid Hussain, *Pandita Zaaba Dalam Kenangan* (Za'ba in Memory) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1974) 231–7.
  2. Ed. Note: *Ḥabīb*, literally beloved, dear one; term of endearment or respect common in 'Arab culture.

*These and similar things are obligatory to be said over and over again. Don't ever touch on the government, its riches and its power over us, because it will only rekindle the fire from the embers that rest in the heart of any nation that is being governed by other than its own. It's just no use.*

*There are other things, such as characteristics: being diligent, hard-working, prudent, cautious, truthful, honest, conscientious, dignified, keeping promises; valuing every second of time, and preferring to benefit the public. And hundreds of other things, all of which are generally lacking among the Malays compared to other races. These are the things that should be repeated again and again. Point them out loudly and show real examples. However, the opposite of these characteristics should not be omitted. Again, we should repeatedly show what despicable characteristics are, lead people to hate them and hope that these characteristics will be flung away from the root. Characteristics such as being wasteful, always borrowing money, stalling in paying back loans, having no dignity, no strength of character, always doing something halfway, being dependent, always asking for help, preferring to suck up to upper class people for attention and blessing, acting like head lice, being scared of royalty, selfish, liking to marry more than one (even with only just a little extra money or a little bit of knowledge!); liking to waste time, being greedy and impatient to gain immediate and big profits; and hundreds of other things that emerge from a misunderstanding of Islām, like denial of freedom of will [al-jabrīya, compulsionists], turning your back on the world until you ignore worldly achievements, always counting sins and rewards, what is permissible and what is forbidden in Islām, what is disgraceful, but not forbidden, what is commendable, but not obligatory, heaven and hell, but they never exert themselves to do good works and other important things for success, and security is always ignored. They regard those who are in front as better than those at the back (and the further behind the person is, the less civilised he is, and those who are furthest are likened to aborigines), and other things. Those who are born among the pure Malays and who grew up in that society, just like me, will know all these weaknesses that prevent us from ruling the country until we have discarded at least three-quarters of these characteristics.*

*For now, the words in "The Cry", insinuating that we don't like to be slaves of others, will turn into poison instead of an antidote, even though they are camouflaged by words of praise and thanks to the government or saying that we should not be involved in the politics of government. In my opinion that is 'tanam tebu di bibir mulut', 'planting sugarcane on the edge of the lips' [cultivating a plausible manner, concealing a false heart]. And the government knows what it really means.*

*Our fall into the hands of foreigners and our fall before the Chinese and others is because of our own fault. It is that fault that we have to rectify; don't talk about the fall, when the causes for the fall have been extirpated, we will rise again without having to discuss that we had once fallen and were enslaved by others, so work! Work!! Do work!!! It is not enough to laze about and just shout and scream.*

**Al-Ikhwān responds:** It never occurred to *al-Ikhwān* that a reputable writer like Tuan Za'ba would be confused about what was written in "The Real Cry" so as to include the [colonial] power in the group of races that were meant in that article. Because in our opinion, the admittance in "The Real Cry" that because of the great British government we are free from slavery is enough to acquit ourselves of that accusation. We certainly did not like to name the different races because all these races are not at fault. It is just the way of the world that gives leverage to those who are more knowledgeable and who exert themselves. We talked about such things to warn our lazy, careless and still sleeping people, who are still unaware that their country is nearly gone and will be owned by foreigners. But the foreigners meant here as having the riches and the power are not the English, because none of the English own big shops or rows and rows of rented houses all over our towns. If any English person is owning, it is probably Mr. Brown in Penang. But how many Malays share in these riches and power? And it is not the English who are selling salt and chillies in all parts of our villages or setting up shops to sell rice to our people, or carrying bundles of clothing right into the kitchen for our women to buy, or opening up coffee-shops in all our villages. The English are the army of God [of the universe], *Rabb al-'ālamīn*, sent here to free us from the prison of stupidity, cruelty and fierceness of our own rulers, because the English are smart, respect the rules of government, world peace and prosperity. Indeed this world is a heritage left to people who know how to take care of it:

أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِيَ الصَّالِحُونَ

...*My servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth.*<sup>3</sup>

We must take the opportunity of the justice, freedom and peace that we are experiencing now to correct ourselves until we can stand up for

---

3. Ed. Note: *Sūra XXI:105, al-Anbiyā*

ourselves, to be qualified and trusted to help the government in the administration that will in the end benefit our own people. Even to think of demanding that they take their hands off our country, not to mention actually saying and acting against the English, is to me a great sin to our nation and our society. Because the moment the English let go, other nations will come in. This is firstly because we are not ready to govern our own country. Secondly, we don't have the power to stop an enemy from coming in. If now we are under the rule of the English who eat meat, at least we would get to suck the bone, if not eat the meat. If one day we were to be ruled by a government whose people eat only vegetables and preserved fruits, we could then only suck the pip and eat the leftover hard stems. Enough of examples. As to the attitude of these people, when they are wealthy and successful in their businesses, they become conceited and look down upon us, so don't even dream that these people will one day become our rulers. This is enough to clear the vagueness in the article, as stated by Tuan Za'ba.

As for the other issues, I feel there is no need for answers because his statements are correct except for the last part where Tuan Za'ba says do not shout and scream but instead just work. This is wrong because God has decreed:

أُدْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحُكْمَةِ  
وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ  
وَجَادِلْهُمْ بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ

*Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious...<sup>4</sup>*

To plant 'sugarcane on the edge of the lips' is not the characteristic of *al-Ikhwān* because that is the subterfuge of the hypocrite. Far from *al-Ikhwān* taking on such a characteristic, even if we will be destroyed for discarding that disgusting habit, we will still do so.

*The second criticism – the statement that every honour and excellence that is not based upon the country's and nation's honour ... is false, I think is also incorrect. The basis of glory and true excellence (with no*

---

4. Ed. Note: *Sūra XVI:125, an-Nahl.*

deception) is *Islām* (religion), and not just caring for the glory of one's own country and nation. It is also about loving or caring for all races and God's creatures, especially Muslims. The West's understanding of nation and country is so narrow that they ignore the rights and the safety of other nations, as long as their own race gets glory and security. This sentiment has brought about jealousy and wars between countries, even though they are of the same religion! My people! My country! Wrong or right, it is my people! My country! To hell with other countries as long as mine is safe! If the other nations can be my slaves and be of benefit to me, so much the better. As long as my people become great. (The Malay States are only for the Malays! Java is only for the Javanese. To the Johor people, only they are superior! To the Kelantanese, Kelantan is only for Kelantanese Malays! Perak is only for Perak Malays, who cares about other people!!!) Indeed, this is the kind of sentiment that should not be planted in the minds of our people. What we want is love of a wider motherland (*ḥub al-waṭan*), that is the glory of *Islām*, even though the Muslims are Bengalis, Javanese, Indians, Chinese or others.

The glory of *Islām* encompasses all human beings and offers benefits to all. It would be a good thing, if it could be achieved, for the whole world to be converted to *Islām*. Then it would not be just our race, our country or our people. When such a feeling exists amongst humans, then only would the world experience peace. All humans would be brothers and sisters with no feeling of jealousy or superiority between them. But as long as the sentiment of my people! My people! Right or wrong! persists, when will there ever be a bond between people as is demanded by *Islām*? The sentiment of loving one's own country is honourable, as long as it does not cross the line and create hatred or ignore the rights of other people.

***Al-Ikhwān* answers:** It should be enough for me to point out our magazine's masthead to the honourable writer whom I love: *the believers are but a single brotherhood*.<sup>5</sup> As for his advice about foreigners, I found that our brothers in the Malay World, from the borders of Australia to Sham [Syria], respect each others' rights and whoever went to trade and stay in their countries. But in recent times, we found that a certain race has been feeling and acting superior to others, especially in wealth and knowledge, which has caused them to demand for a thing that is not their right to have, because it is only meant for the natives. However, because of the just government we have, which knows its

---

5. Ed. Note: *Sūra* XLIX:10, *al-Hujūrāt*.

duty is to make sure justice is carried out and to take care of and educate the natives, this demand was refused. Therefore, my opinion on establishing brotherhood between peoples is contingent on the attitude of the peoples themselves, and we will follow wherever the leader takes us, because they are smarter and know that wealth cannot abolish the rights of others, especially the natives. Regarding the disputes amongst us, let us work together to bring these to an end. God willing, our sincerity will reach the masses, if they are not already possessed by the devils who are selling religion to catch more people into their nets.<sup>6</sup>

---

6. Ed. Note: We have not included Pandita Za'ba's third criticism and *al-Ikhwān's* rejoinder as it relates to Afghānistān and not to the situation in Malaya. This is a much-edited translation made by Noor Khairiyati Mohd. Ali of MSRI.

BETWEEN *al-IKHWĀN* AND THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS<sup>1</sup>

**M**ANY may have been surprised to have read in several issues of *al-Ikhwān* strong words against the general conduct of our respected religious leaders, so strong that one or two of the state rulers, claiming to be experts on Islām and purporting to safeguard the glorious commandments of Islām, have expressed their anger with *al-Ikhwān* and have forbidden their people to read it. What is the reason?

Such a reaction has only too often come from the mouths of those who are not accustomed to hear the words of truth expressed in the name of Allāh and His Prophet. What is more, the *rajās* having grown accustomed to obeisance from the people and from the religious authorities have fallen into the habit of commanding according to their whims and fancies.

It is not the purpose of *al-Ikhwān* to gain the goodwill of anyone outside the fold of truth, and this is the reason why *al-Ikhwān* has always directed its criticism against the persons and rulings of religious leaders at large and particularly against many of them in Malaya.

The Malays are a people who possess the noblest feelings and intentions, and it can be said that they obey the instruction and guidance provided by religion as a matter of course. Now those who are in the best position to draw them to the way of truth, the straight path leading to a good communal life in this world as required by Islām, or as required by God and His Prophet, are the religious leaders who are much trusted by the majority whose social unity is lamentably weak. The majority of our religious leaders, however, have failed to fulfil the responsibility entrusted to them, except when this serves their own interest, either by affording them riches or exceptional prestige. They have betrayed the trust of the people. And it is to escape from this nonsense, claimed by the religious leaders to be the commandments of our religion, that so many educated young people have left the fold of our religion.

---

1. "Antara *al-Ikhwān* dengan Ketua-ketua Agama", *al-Ikhwān*, III, 3 (16 November 1928) 90-2.

Dear readers, are you not aware of the situation in other parts of the world today, hearing such reports as those from Turkey?<sup>2</sup>

- 
2. Ed. Note: Muṣṭafā Kemāl (1881–1938) was born in Salonika (now Greece) and attended military schools which were centres of anti-Turkish Greek and Slavic nationalism. He later graduated as staff captain from the military academy in Istanbul. Because of his activities in the secret Young Turk movement against the autocratic Ottoman Khalīfat, of which Turkey was the pivot state, he was posted to Syria, in virtual exile. There, in 1906, he founded the secret Fatherland and Freedom Society. Transferred to Salonika in 1907, he joined the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) which carried out the Young Turk revolution in July 1908. He was to fight against the Italians in Libya (1911–12) and organised the defence of the Dardanelles during the Balkan Wars (1912–13). During World War I, pitting the Triple Entente of Russia, England and France against the Ottomans, he made his military reputation at Gallipoli (1915) where he played a crucial role in repelling the invasion. In 1918, he returned to Istanbul and watched in anxiety as the victorious powers prepared to partition Anatolia (the eastern 97 percent of Turkey).

A Greek army occupied Izmir on the Anatolian coast on 15 May 1919. Muṣṭafā Kemāl set about uniting the Turkish national movement and creating an army for defence. The nationalists waged a struggle against the Ottoman Sulṭān's regime in Istanbul, which by 1920 had been discredited for acquiescing to the occupation of Istanbul and for signing the Treaty of Sèvres, which recognised Greek control over parts of Anatolia. Meanwhile in April 1920, Muṣṭafā Kemāl had set up a provisional government in Ankara. After initial setbacks, he won decisive battles against Greek forces, reoccupying Izmir in September 1922.

Having dealt with the external threat, Muṣṭafā Kemāl turned to the internal one posed by the conservative forces around the Sulṭān. The Sulṭānate was abolished on 1 November 1922, and the republic proclaimed on 29 October 1923, with Muṣṭafā Kemāl as president. He founded the People's Party in August 1923 and established a single party regime that lasted until 1945.

Muṣṭafā Kemāl created a secular state, using his great prestige and charisma to introduce a vast programme of reforms. These included abolishing the Khalīfat, which embodied the religious authority of the sulṭāns, and all other Islāmic institutions; introducing Western law codes, dress, and calendar; using the Latin alphabet; and in 1928 removing the constitutional provision naming Islām as the state religion. By 1931, the ideology of the regime, known as Kemālism or Atatürkism, was articulated and defined by six principles: republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism, and revolutionism. In 1919, Muṣṭafā Kemāl had been first among equals, but by 1926 he had eliminated all political rivals, using an alleged assassination conspiracy as the excuse. Thereafter, although he ruled as an autocrat, his regime was in fact based on an alliance of the civil and military bureaucracy, the newly developed bourgeoisie, and landowners. In 1934, the name Atatürk — Father Turk — was bestowed upon him by the Grand National Assembly as a tribute for his service in saving his people from national humiliation. Atatürk died on 10 November 1938.

By expelling the 'Uthmānli (Ottoman) dynasty, abolishing the Khalīfat and attaching all educational and scientific institutions to the Commissariat of Public Instruction, Turkey destroyed the fulcrum of Pan-Islām. The religious orders were abolished and the monasteries were closed in 1925. The laws concerning marriage, divorce and

Afghānistān,<sup>3</sup> and so on? Is it not to reject the claim of religious leaders to identify Islām with themselves that all these changes have taken place? When the needs of a modern and progressive existence contradict the desire and conduct of the religious leaders, those with common sense can but be forced to abandon our religion which has become nothing but the invention of the religious leaders. Unfortunately, in abandoning the religion, these people will also have abandoned the truth. However, by God's will, with the help of those brave enough to state the truth, they will return to the same true religion as was given by Allāh and His Prophet.

---

*continued from page 196*

inheritance were altered, and polygamy was legally proscribed. In 1928, Turkey discarded the 'Arabic script for the writing of Turkish and imposed the Latin alphabet, thereby removing another linkage with Islām and the Qur'ān.

Seventy years later the repercussions have not ceased. On 10 November 1994, Mahmut Kaçar, a post office worker, was detained in Ankara when he interrupted the annual memorial ceremony for Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. Mahmut Kaçar had approached President Süleyman Demirel and his ministers holding up the Qur'ān and saying, "I call you to the Qur'ān . . . Turn to God." On 14 February 1995, Ankara Criminal Court sentenced Mahmut Kaçar to four and a half years' imprisonment for "insulting the founder of the Republic". The sentence was upheld by the Appeal Court on 17 April 1995. Mahmut Kaçar served his sentence in Kirsehir prison. (*Amnesty*, 26, 4 (April 1996) 7.)

3. Ed. Note: Amānullāh Khān was enthroned by the Afghān nobility in 1919. Determined to remove completely his country from the British sphere of influence, he declared war on Great Britain in May of that year. The British, faced at the same time with the growing Indian liberation movement, negotiated a peace treaty recognising the sovereignty and independence of Afghānistān. In 1926, Amānullāh Khān changed his title from Emīr to King. In 1923, he inaugurated constitutional rule, the titles of the nobility were abolished, education of women was decreed, and other measures aimed at the modernisation of traditional institutions were enforced. The hostility provoked by his reforms led to a rebellion in 1929, and Amānullāh abdicated and went into exile.

KELANTAN 'ULAMĀ' MOVE TO BAN  
*al-IKHWĀN AND SAUDARA*<sup>1</sup>

WE have thus far refrained from writing on this subject for as we recall since *al-Ikhwān*'s inception we have never at any time directed an attack on the Kelantanese 'ulamā' or the Kelantan Council of Religion,<sup>2</sup> while on the other hand their publications have made a number of attempts to draw us into controversy over Turkey, simply because we were reluctant to brand the Turks as *kāfirs* [unbelievers] when it was reported that there had been changes in their government.<sup>3</sup> However, a great deal has indeed been written in *al-Ikhwān* about those who claim themselves to be scholars of Islām, because these people have failed to carry out the religious teachings in a manner in which all those who call themselves heirs of our Prophets should and instead have filled their pockets and kept themselves close to the *rajas* and to others in high positions; *wa'l-lāhu a'lam*.<sup>4</sup> Is it because of this that they are so angry?

- 
1. "'Ulamā' di Kelantan dengan *al-Ikhwān* dan *Saudara*", *al-Ikhwān*, III, 7 (16 March 1929) 215–20. Ed. Note: 'ulamā', pl. of 'ālim, see Glossary.
  2. Ed. Note: The *Majlis Ugama dan Isti'adat Melayu Kelantan* was formed on 24 December 1915 by Dato' Bentara Stia, Haji Nik Mahmud b. Ismail. It was planned with the advice of the legendary To' Kenali, Haji Muhammad Yusof b. Ahmad (1868–1933), who became one of the 12 founding members. Kelantan born To' Kenali studied at the Masjid al-Harām in Makka where "... his very poverty carried ...[him] through the depths of the sea of knowledge ...". Among his teachers was Wan Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn b. Mustafa al-Fatani (see "Riau ...", 8 *supra*). In 1908, after an absence of 22 years, To' Kenali returned to Kelantan where he was to establish *pondoks* (religious schools) of repute and where he delighted in discussing political issues of the times. He adapted his teaching to address the problems confronting Kelantan Malay society. To' Kenali was the 'principal honorary editor' of *Pengasoh*, a fortnightly founded in July 1918 (see n. 7). In January of that year, he became one of the first members of the *Meshuarat 'Ulama* (Conference of 'Ulamā'), and in 1924 he started *al-Jāmi'at al-'Asriyya* (The Contemporary Association), an Islāmic society which often discussed controversial social and intellectual questions. In contradiction to the Malay adage of letting the child die but not custom, he postulated: "Let custom die, but not religion". Upon his death in December 1933, *Pengasoh* eulogised that To' Kenali had "Returned to the Land of Eternity, casting the whole of Kelantan into darkness and sorrow". A contemporary of Syed Shaykh, given To' Kenali's progressive thrust, it was a substantial loss to the reform movement that these two were not actively allied. (See Abdullah al-Qari b. Haji Salleh, "To' Kenali: His Life & Influence" in *Kelantan: Religion, Society & Politics in a Malay State*, ed. Roff, W. R. (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974) 93–4, 98.)
  3. Ed. Note: See n. 2, 196–7 *supra*.
  4. Ed. Note: An exclamation, meaning: "And Allāh knows best".

But it does not matter. If the reports are true, let them do whatever they wish for their action can never stop *al-Ikhwān* from saying what it must, and it cannot harm *al-Ikhwān*. It will only give *al-Ikhwān* a greater opportunity, citing itself as an example, to demonstrate to its readers throughout the world how good is the conduct of those who call themselves the 'ulamā' of Islām in Kelantan, a state, which through the implementation of British justice, has just emerged from barbarism into the modern world and in which it seems there are still people who believe in the words of the religious authorities who have never opened their eyes to the dawn of modernity and freedom of thought such as we have under the protection of the three-coloured flag.<sup>5</sup> Under its patronage, the Kelantanese will receive these graces, although the fanatical and static among the Kelantanese religious scholars would hate such a change.

*Astaghfir Allāh!*<sup>6</sup> *Al-Ikhwān* is open to public scrutiny. It does not claim itself to be free from error. Should the 'ulamā' see anything in it contrary to the teachings and principles of Islām it would be their duty to correct it, to point out any mistake by argument and with evidence and not simply to condemn those outside their group, utilising the authority of the religion in which they have little faith, while shutting their eyes to the irregular practices which occur around them all the time.

However, we have always borne in mind that some of the 'ulamā' in Kelantan are better than others, because through their publication *Pengasoh*<sup>7</sup> they take the trouble every month to remind Muslims of their duty and, to the best of their ability and knowledge, to dispel the doubts of those of their brethren who are weak in matters of religion. This is one of the reasons why we have never disputed with what

---

5. Ed. Note: The British flag. Both the magazine *al-Ikhwān* and the newspaper *Saudara* were published in Penang, a British colony, and were thus beyond the sovereign reach of the Malay rulers. However, a sultān could nevertheless prevent their distribution within his state.

6. Ed. Note: "I ask God's forgiveness", an expression of exasperation.

7. Ed. Note: *Pengasoh* [The Educator], first published on 11 July 1918, was the official organ of the Kelantan *Majlis Ugama*. Its stated objective was to wake the Malays from their slumber and stir them from their lethargy. It blamed the indifference of the rulers for the weaknesses in Malay society. It was an opponent of conservatism and chastised the 'ulamā' who abused their authority. In the 1930s, *Pengasoh* spoke of independence and suggested that the Malay Archipelago should be politically unified. *Pengasoh* openly welcomed *al-Ikhwān* when it was first published in 1926. (Khoo Kay Kim, "Malay Society, 1874–1920s". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, V, 2 (September 1974) 191.)

*Pengasoh* published. We hope that even if there be any error in its contents, at least it will open the eyes of its readers to the changes in this world.

Islām is one of God's religions which in union with the progress of mankind, both in the past and in the future, is for the welfare of its believers as well as for the general benefit of mankind. It is by no means just a religion consisting of words written by those who are fallible. Yet our present-day '*ulamā*' hold those words to be sacrosanct, placing them on par with the words of God and the Prophet, and refusing any further examination or inquiry into the sources of each ruling and judgement ... even if by so refusing the whole world of Islām might crumble, the structure of its life break up, and their country be snatched away by others who follow the path of progress as exhorted by the Qur'ān.

The Honourable Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor of the Straits Settlements and the High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, as the head of the government which protects us, does not, as our '*ulamā*' think, possess the despotic characteristics of our Malay *rajās* through whose authority the '*ulamā*' have been able to instil this rotten attitude into the minds of the Malays, thereby making them respect the greatness of the scholars' turbans when these learned men come to pass judgement to ban newspapers. Nevertheless, our newspapers are published with the permission of the government, and as far as we know whatever is written is in accordance with the laws of the Government which it obeys.

Under the three-coloured flag of His Royal Highness King George V, whose rule encompasses Kelantan, it is the natural duty of the government to preserve freedom of thought and to remove all hindrance to its exercise even if those obstructions come under the cover of religion which has been the cloak of those who wish only to satisfy their satanic passions.

BELIEF IN THE 'ULAMĀ': DISPUTE BETWEEN KAUM TUA  
AND KAUM MUDA<sup>1</sup>

**M**UCH controversy has arisen on this matter, both in newspapers and public gatherings throughout the Malay World. We find on reading the writings of both parties on the subject that it turns out to be only a difference of opinion.

Kaum Tua or the Old Group or Old Faction says that whatever has been contended by the scholars, either verbally or as expressed in their books, is all true and ought to be believed, for these words would not have been uttered or written unless the authors had read and inquired into and understood all that has been stated in the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth [traditions] of Prophet Muḥammad. Therefore, just as we must believe in the Qur'ān and the words of the Prophet, so must we believe the opinions of the 'ulamā' [the theologians].

Kaum Muda or the New Group or Young Faction says that in matters of religion we should only believe in the Qur'ān and those Ḥadīth of the Prophet which are indisputable, as no man's opinion ... is sacrosanct (*ma'sūm*). Therefore, it is only the function and duty of the 'ulamā' to express and elucidate whatever is stated in the Qur'ān and by the Prophet on religious matters, as before the Prophet left the world, he had had God's assurance of the perfection of the religion.<sup>2</sup>

الْيَوْمَ اكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ  
وَأَتَمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي  
وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا<sup>ط</sup>

*This day have I perfected your religion for you,  
completed My favour upon you,  
and have chosen for you Islām as your religion.*

Thus the New Group claims that where the words of the 'ulamā' are consistent with the evidence from the Book of God and the Ḥadīth

1. "Perchayakan 'Ulamā': Pertenggaran di-antara Kaum Tua dengan Kaum Muda", *al-Ikhwān*, III, 7 (16 March 1929) 220-2; III, 12 (16 August 1929) 371-2.  
2. Ed. Note: *Sūra* V: 4. Pickthall cites this *sūra* as V: 3.

Ṣaḥīḥ<sup>3</sup> of the Prophet they should be believed without doubt, but where they express their own opinion, there will be differences among them, where some might regard a matter as *ḥalāl* or lawful while others might not. Thus it is not enjoined upon us to believe those opinions. On the contrary, it is incumbent upon us to inquire into and examine the truth. It is for this reason that Kaum Muda contends that not all the words uttered by the 'ulamā' are necessarily true and should be accepted as we accept what is written in the Qur'ān! If their words are found to be correct, then we should be grateful to them for their pains in unravelling matters of great usefulness to the Muslim community. Perhaps even the 'ulamā' *mujtahidūn*,<sup>4</sup> the Imāms Shāfi'ī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Ibn Ḥanbal and Mālik, would not have contradicted the aims and objects of the Kaum Muda for they constantly implored the people to follow the Book of Allāh and to ignore their own words if they were found to be contrary to the words of the Book or of the Prophet because they knew they, themselves, could be subject to error. Such being the case, in what way are we obliged to believe absolutely in the words of the 'ulamā'?

None of the 'ulamā' of old compelled Muslims to believe in their words and opinions for they merely undertook to illuminate the enigmas of the religion to the best of their understanding and knowledge. Those who were in complete agreement with their contentions, based upon the Words of God and of the Prophet, could then accept them, and those who did not concur could always seek interpretations of other 'ulamā' which satisfied their hearts and understanding. However, where the 'ulamā' were unanimous on the meaning of the Words of Allāh or His Messenger then, in such instance, we are obliged to believe them . . . .

---

3. Ed. Note: *Ḥadīth Ṣaḥīḥ*: *ḥadīth*: tradition, *ṣaḥīḥ*: sound, i. e. the utterly faultless tradition in whose *isnād* (chain of transmitters) there is no 'illa (weakness) and whose tendency does not contradict any generally prevalent belief.

4. Ed. Note: *Mujtahidūn*, pl. of *mujtahid*: one who exercises *ijtihād* or independent reasoning; thus those 'learned in the Muslim sciences', 'ulamā', who exercised independent reasoning.

The Qur'ān, in which we believe and which is the basis of our faith says:<sup>5</sup>

وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ  
وَمَا نَهَاكُمُ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا

*So take what the Apostle assigns to you,  
and deny yourselves that which he withholds  
from you.*

Is it therefore not proper for us to question and inquire, are the mere words of others sufficient? It would appear that to study the words of Allāh and His Prophet is to commit a wrong for it would indicate a lack of trust in the words of the 'ulamā', and thus would we have strayed beyond the pale of Islām! Who among the 'ulamā' dare say such thing, except the hawkers of religion who earn their living in the name of Islām, although Islām wishes to keep itself as far away from them as possible!

---

5. Ed. Note: *Sūra* LIX: 7.

WHAT IS THAT SHRIEK IN THE *MASJID*?<sup>1</sup>

**E**ACH Friday a great many Muslims throughout the states in this part of the world can be seen gathering in the *masjids* with an air of much earnestness. Many walk to the *masjid*, leaving their work behind and some even close down their shops. And what is to be found in the *masjid*?

In the *masjid* there is a high pulpit, and at *zohor*<sup>2</sup> after the call to prayer has been made, a man with a big turban will stand up. He usually holds a staff, and his head is covered in the same manner as required by the law of Islām of every Muslim woman when encountering members of the opposite sex, lest they make void the ablutions she has made as a prerequisite for prayer.

This 'woman' with the turban walks up to the pulpit. 'She' faces the congregation and opens a book. 'She' then reads whatever is written in the book in 'Arabic, a language which 'she', herself, most probably does not understand, let alone those listening to 'her'. Indeed, perhaps ninety-nine percent of those who listen do not understand what is being read by this 'virgin' with the turban; however they may enjoy the intoning and voice if, that is to say, 'she' has a sonorous voice and is good at singing! If one or two might understand what is read by this master with the head-cover, perhaps they wouldn't have any inclination to come and listen to the reading as they would be thoroughly bored and sick of hearing the same words that have been repeated hundreds of times over, demanding that they leave the world behind and repeatedly enlarging on matters of the dead, things which bring a shock to the heart and weaken ambition, for these few would still have every wish to exert themselves in looking after the affairs of their life on earth!

It is said, however, that this kind of practice is an injunction of Islām given by the Prophet, and as such is required by Islām on every Friday! Well may we accept the truth that assembly in the *masjid* every Friday is one of the injunctions of Islām which is of great significance. But please tell us, was there ever an occasion when the Prophet who brought Islām delivered a Friday sermon in a language which he, himself, did not understand, and was there ever an occasion when the Prophet addressed the Friday congregation in a language they could not comprehend?

1. "Apakah Bunyi Jerit di-dalam Masjid itu?", *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 4 (16 December 1929) 109-11.

2. Ed. Note: *ṣalāt al-ṣuhr*: ritual prayer at midday.

We know that Friday sermons are very useful to Muslims who gather together on that day, and it is for this reason that on Friday the *zohor* prayer is shortened from four to two *raka'at*<sup>3</sup> to allow for the sermon to be delivered. But the kinds of sermons now being delivered in the *masjids* are absolutely worthless to both readers and hearers. What is your opinion, and what should we do?

Should we just keep silent so that such turbaned 'women' will not be angry with us? Should we close our hearts to the benefits God meant us and all Muslims to gain from the Friday sermons just because we are afraid that local religious leaders and their supporters will be enraged and label us *Kaum Muda* [Young Faction] who intend to cut off their source of income and put them down in the public eye?

Please answer.

---

3. Ed. Note: *Rak'a*, a specific division of ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*). Each ritual prayer has a certain number of *rak'a*.

THE NEED FOR AN ANGLO-MALAY SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

SOME people, envious [of the progress of other communities] and having affection for their brothers and people, have established a number of 'Arabic schools in the various states of the peninsula. However, we have not seen any one of these schools make sufficient progress as to fulfil the original aims and objects of their establishment in spite of considerable expenditure in students' time and money.

Hence we feel that we cannot attempt another educational experiment without fundamentally changing all the aims and objects of the 'Arabic schools.

Therefore, by consultation and agreement let us find ways and means to set up a school in which Malay, the language of the sons of the soil of the peninsula, and English, the language of the rulers and the administration, ought to be taught.

We should revive the Malay language, regulate and reconstruct its grammar. We should teach the pupils religious knowledge in Malay using citations from 'Arabic sources to teach what is obligatory, and then those citations should in turn be translated and clearly explained in Malay.

As for English, we shall follow government regulations applicable to all who wish to establish schools, so that we can take part in the examinations set for such schools in order that our certificates will be recognised by government.

The sons of our people and brothers in the peninsula have been stirred to seek knowledge, as parents have now realised the importance of education. Nevertheless, there are many obstacles in their way:

- If a child is more than eight years old he is not allowed to join an English-language school unless he has previously been in a Malay-language school and passed Standard Four. Other than an English-language school, there is no other educational institution which appears useful to the child.
- Even if the child passes Standard Four in a Malay-language school there will still be difficulties as:
- He must not be more than 11 years of age;
- If his parents are poor, they will be unable to support him in an English-language school, especially as the fees increase year by

---

1. "Sekolah Anglo-Malay", *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 6 (16 February 1930) 189-92.

year; thus the inclination of parents to leave their children in government Malay-language schools where education is free;

- Even if the child is not overaged, has passed the highest standard in a Malay-language school, and has the means, the places in English-language schools have already been filled by children from other ethnic groups.

Thus, if we do not take the initiative and help our own children by establishing educational institutions, at least for those who are not able to get into government schools, our children will be crushed until they are annihilated, enveloped by other ethnic groups who struggle to safeguard their own children in our Motherland.

Though we propose to establish a school in which religion, Malay and English will be taught, we do not mean to lower the status of the 'Arabic schools, not at all. On the contrary, we value 'Arabic education very much indeed. However, we intend to set up an Anglo-Malay school because the 'Arabic schools with their present system do not at all serve our purpose. And to reorganise them in such a way as to fulfil our aims and objects would involve more expenditure than required for the establishment of a new Anglo-Malay school. To improve the standard of 'Arabic schools, we would need teachers trained in a Teachers Training College and not just teachers who are considered *'ālim* [learned in the Muslim sciences of traditions and canon law] as obtains at present. Since it would be extremely difficult and expensive to get qualified teachers for the 'Arabic schools, it would be better to start an Anglo-Malay school as qualified teachers who can instruct in the Malay and English languages can easily be recruited in our own country.

We earnestly hope that you, the readers, who now know our opinion on this matter, will not jump to the conclusion that this would be extremely difficult to achieve, as we have been accustomed to believe, requiring capital and assistance, both of which are impossible to find in our community.

Let us leave aside the question of money and discuss what we have proposed, whether we should set up such a school or not. Does our community require such a school or does it not? Only after we have discussed the proposal and through consultation agreed to set up such a school, should we go on to discuss the problem of finance.

Cast out the word 'impossible' which has been extirpated from the dictionary of progressive people who desire to lead a life of freedom and dignity in their own land.

When we talk of the country of the Malays we do not mean a piece of land of only ten or one hundred acres but the whole of the peninsula and all the islands around which make up the Malay Archipelago.

Whoever wishes to live in these spacious lands must first accumulate knowledge before finding a tiny piece of land, setting the four posts [for his house] and planting some lemon-grass and *lengkuas*<sup>2</sup> around it. For the other peoples, armed with the necessary knowledge, are in life's competition with one another and are enslaving the natives until they shall be completely annihilated and extinguished from the world of existence.

---

2. Ed. Note: *Lengkuas*, Greater Galangal, *Alpinia galanga*, whose rhizome provides a popular flavouring.

ISLĀM COMMANDS EXERTION AND WORK<sup>1</sup>

**I**SLĀM earnestly demands that every believer make all effort to work, for to idle will affect our health and taint our soul.

هُوَ الَّذِي جَعَلَ لَكُمْ الْأَرْضَ ذُلُولًا  
فَامْشُوا فِي مَنَاكِبِهَا  
وَكُلُوا مِنْ رِزْقِهِ<sup>ط</sup>

*It is He Who has made the earth manageable for you,  
so traverse ye through its tracts  
and enjoy of the Sustenance which He furnishes ...*<sup>2</sup>

And God further says:<sup>3</sup>

وَأَنْ لَيْسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَى<sup>و</sup>  
وَأَنَّ سَعْيَهُ سَوْفَ يُرَى

*That man can have nothing but what he strives for;  
That (the fruit of) his striving will soon come in sight;*

1. "Agama Islam Menyuruh Berusaha dan Bekerja", *al-Ikhwān*, IV, 10 (16 June 1930) 248–9.

2. Ed. Note: *Sūra* LXVII: 15.

3. Ed. Note: *Sūra* LIII: 39–40.

The Prophet said:<sup>4</sup>

No one has ever eaten better food than what he eats as a result of the labour of his hands. God's Prophet Dā'ūd used to eat from what he had worked for with his hands.<sup>5</sup>

The above are some of the values ... which Islām earnestly appeals every follower safeguard and realise for his own good in this world. But such is the misfortune of Muslims that these noble and precious sayings remain hidden like jewels in the depths, for no one has valued them and brought them forth so that their lustre would reach all *ahl al-tawhīd*.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, many who claim themselves to be the guides of our religion do nothing but prolong debates, split hairs about the way to carry out the minor ritual ablution,<sup>7</sup> give weight to those who carry out the formalities of prayer keeping to the required contemporaneity (*muqāranat*).<sup>8</sup> and revive old controversies regarding *taklid*<sup>9</sup> ... and so on.

Oh God, give to your servants, the Muslims, special *murshids* [spiritual guides] who are unafraid of anyone in matters of truth save You alone!

---

4. Ed. Note: According to *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Kitāb al-Buyū', XXXIV: 15.

5. Ed. Note: Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd. Allāh al-Khaḍīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (Niche for Lamps [to Illuminate *Ḥadīth*]) I, i-x, transl. J. Robson (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, December 1970) 592.

6. Ed. Note: *Tawhīd*: literally 'making one' or 'asserting oneness': applied theologically to the oneness of Allah in all its meanings: 'unity' intolerant of all pluralism. *Ahl*: 'people'. Thus *ahl al-tawhīd*: the people who believe in *tawhīd*, i.e. the Muslims. And see 223-4 *infra* for al-ustāz al-imām ['master and guide'] al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh's treatise on *tawhīd*.

7. Ed. Note: *Wuḍū'* (*wudhu'* in Malay): the minor ritual ablution. Essential elements according to Imām Shāfi'ī: washing the face, hands and forearms up to the elbows, rubbing one's wet hands on one's head, washing the feet, in this order, and formulating the intention (*nīya*, *niat* in Malay) of performing the ablution before commencing it.

8. Ed. Note: The late Professor G. W. J. Drewes kindly explained: *muqāranat* مقارنة is used in the *fiqh*-books, in the chapter on *ṣalāt* (*sembahyang*). It means: union, contemporaneity, that is to say: of *niyya* (*nīya*) (intention) and *takbīrat al-iḥrām*, so that while pronouncing the words *Allahu akbar* of the *takbīrat al-iḥrām*, one has clearly in mind exactly which *sembahyang* one is going to perform.

9. Ed. Note: *Taqīd* (*taklid* in Malay): 'clothing with authority' in matters of religion: the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating the reasons. The orthodox view that for centuries everyone has been bound to what has been authoritatively laid down by his predecessors, that no one may any longer consider himself qualified to give an opinion on *fiqh* (jurisprudence). The modernists, however, condemn *taqīd* and contend that it is the duty of later scholars to practise *ijtihād*, the exerting of one's self to form an opinion.

DOES ISLĀM EMPOWER ANYONE TO COMPEL OTHERS TO FOLLOW HIS BELIEF?<sup>1</sup>

**I**N Islām, God does not give even to His own Prophet the power to compel any person to embrace Islām, the religion which He sent down to His Prophet; one can but advise and persuade until the other accepts Islām through his own mind. The proof of this lies in the words of Allāh:<sup>2</sup>

لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَفَا  
قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ ٢

*Let there be no compulsion in religion:  
Truth stands out clear from Error ...*

And Allāh further says:<sup>3</sup>

وَقُلِ الْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ تَف  
فَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُؤْمِرْ  
وَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُكْفُرْ ٤

*Say: (It is) the truth from the Lord of you (all).  
Then whosoever will, let him believe,  
and whosoever will, let him disbelieve.*

1. "Ada-kah di-beri Kuasa oleh Agama Islam kepada Siapa-siapa Boleh Memaksa Sa-saorang Menurut I'tikadnya?". *al-Ikhwān*, V. 1 (16 September 1930) 27–8.  
2. Ed. Note: *Sūra* II: 256.  
3. Ed. Note: *Sūra* XVIII: 30, Pickthall.

And Allāh instructs His Prophet to say to those who refuse to accept His message:<sup>4</sup>

لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ

*Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion.*

How is it that we now hear of threats by people who would compel others to follow their beliefs and ideas to the extent of causing hurt by various means? From where do they obtain their authority? Is it from the Christian priests who had the power in Spain some ... five hundred years ago to probe into people's beliefs?<sup>5</sup>

... Oh, my brothers, in matters of religion whoever claims to be right and others wrong is duty-bound to support his claim to truth with evidence from the words of Allāh and the Prophet. Should he possess such proof of his correctness, he should proclaim this truth through speech or the written word and not cause pain to others by plotting against them in the dark for such doings are the habit of Satan, accursed by God!

---

4. Ed. Note: *Sūra* CIX: 6. Pickthall, or "To you be your Way, and to me mine", Yusuf Ali.

5. Ed. Note: A reference to the Inquisition, the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical tribunal for the suppression of 'heresy'. The Spanish Inquisition was independent of the medieval Inquisition. It was established in 1478 by King Ferdinand V and Queen Isabella with the reluctant approval of Pope Sixtus IV. From the start it was entirely controlled by the Spanish kings; the pope's only hold was in naming the inquisitor general. The popes were never reconciled to the institution, which they regarded as usurping church prerogative. It was harsher, much better organised, and far freer with the death penalty than the medieval Inquisition. The Spanish government tried to establish the Inquisition in all its dominions, but in the Spanish Netherlands the local officials failed to co-operate, and in 1510 the inquisitors were chased out of Naples, apparently with the pope's connivance. The purpose of the Spanish Inquisition was to spy out 'Moors' — Muslims — and Jews who had converted to Catholicism to save their very lives, rather than as a conversion of faith. But soon not even Catholic Spaniards could feel safe; thus St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Theresa of Ávila were investigated for heresy, and the censorship policy was such as sometimes to condemn books approved by the Holy See. The virulent Spanish Inquisition was only abolished in 1820. *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, ed. Bridgwater and Sherwood, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950) 962.

## CAN THE MALAYS ESCAPE ANNIHILATION AND EXTINCTION?

What is the defeatist disease of the present Muslim *umma* in the battlefield of life?<sup>1</sup>

**W**HATEVER their aspirations, every educated Malay and those who have been given God's guidance to take upon themselves the concerns of their beloved society, know and understand that the Malays at this time [1930] are in an unusual situation. They have not experienced anything so extraordinary since the beginning of time.

Never have the Malays known science, nor has a nationalist spirit emerged among them, nor an awareness of the benefits of a unified nation, living systematically and in peace, conducive for a progressive life. Nevertheless, were we to do an in depth study about them, we would surely know that this period is the most menacing and terrifying in the history of the Malays, for they are intimidated and threatened with annihilation and extinction.

The modern progress of the Europeans has spread to other countries, developments such as steam and electrically-powered equipment; they have ventured into all places occupied by human beings, and it has become difficult to find any land on earth where the Europeans have not penetrated. In every country where they have gained access, they have taken over every source of wealth created by God for the natives of that country, such as agriculture, industry and trade.

They have seized every chance to reap benefit for themselves and their nations. They have never ignored any opportunity or idea which would lead to the accumulation of greater profit, even if along the way they brought harm to the natives. In various ways, the Europeans have worked and striven to achieve their goal, a better worldly life for themselves. Their minds and knowledge have been the primary instruments in their acquisitions. Only if they had no other option did they use force and power, but they have never retreated.

They needed not glory or praise for what they possessed and ruled, for they already achieved this through their knowledge and inventions. The Europeans occupied India, Africa, Asia and the Malay Archipelago, because they sought profit and riches from these countries of abundant natural wealth. The value and usefulness of these resources were hardly

---

1. "Ada-kah Kaum Melayu ini Dapat Melepaskan Wujud-nya daripada Fana dan Hapus? Apakah penyakit ketewasan semua kaum Islam masa ini di-dalam medan peperangan kehidupan?", *al-Ikhwān*, V, 2 (16 October 1930) 33-42.

known to the natives, and the Europeans knew that the natives hadn't the wherewithal to exploit them.

When modern nations occupied and settled their colonies, they had to face the natives who resisted them. Even where the natives mobilised their strength against them, they were defeated and annihilated or pushed out from their lands, as happened in America and Australia.

If they found that the natives had a bit of modernisation, religion and custom, like the Malays for example, the Europeans would join them and take part in their community-welfare gatherings. However, after humouring the natives for a while, they would show their true colours by getting their hands on anything beneficial which could bring them more wealth, because these people are richer, smarter, more knowledgeable and stronger. They make progress every day, and as they progress faster towards the richness and glory of life, the natives descend further into poverty and humiliation.

Indeed, there is nothing wrong with the actions of the European nations. They are just pursuing the demands of a God-given human nature, common to all human beings, which is to demand superiority. The Qur'ān states:<sup>2</sup>

فَأَقِمْ وَجْهَكَ لِلدِّينِ حَنِيفًا  
فَطَرَتِ اللَّهُ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهِمْ  
لَا تَبْدِيلَ لِمَ خَلَقَ اللَّهُ

Which means that such is the natural instinct that God has implanted in mankind. This human nature is what the philosopher Darwin called the law of competitiveness<sup>3</sup> in the promotion of their lives, ... which God has instilled in all humans, the will to achieve progress and attain perfection.

Whoever is weak in this race for superiority, either for himself or his community, will surely lose and as is the nature of life, he will be destroyed and annihilated. Whoever is strong and dedicated to gain victory, surely God will help him to achieve success, and he will return

2. Ed. Note: *Sūra XXX: 30*: "... the nature (framed) of Allāh, in which He hath created man ... " Pickthall.

3. Ed. Note: 'The survival of the fittest'. Charles Darwin's contention in *The Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection*, which shook the world when it was first published in 1859.

*from the battlefield with fame as a man who has fulfilled his responsibility as a human being. His name will be forever etched in the history of mankind and passed down from generation to generation.*

No people can escape annihilation and extinction except by following the only path that should be taken by those who want to survive in this world. The community must equip itself for the war of survival, accumulate strength and power comparable to its enemy's power of mind and knowledge, which is the basis for all other types of power.

When an indigenous people have education comparable to that of the invaders, follow the way these intruders educate their children, venture into any industry and profession, use the same shield in the battle of life, then surely they would survive and compete with the foreigners. Probably the community could easily win over the invaders, since it is the natives who own the land and country which loves them more than the outsiders who are temporarily managing it. For centuries the natives were in control of their own lives, on their own lands, in their own country, even though they lived in difficulty; what more, once they have acquired the technological knowledge which created the great inventions of the foreigners.

Truly, this is the approach which could save the native community from annihilation and extinction, a way which is always open to us. Nothing can prevent us from following this path except the obstacles we ourselves create.

If the Malays have ambition and determination to demand a better life, protecting their people from annihilation and extinction, dedication to the work of rescuing the community from destruction and disappearance, it is obligatory for them to follow this path, discarding all negative and evil customs and degrading behaviour which can obstruct their way. The Malays must depend on themselves to correct their community. They should not waste their time in hopeless dreams and ambitions, expecting and hoping the government will do everything for them, since the government is only able to do inconsequential things. The Malays, themselves, have the ability and power to redirect their own people.

What is the benefit for each one of us if everyday we talk about the failure of the government in fulfilling its duties? Can such talk help us to do what is obligatory to save our nation?

We are at present experiencing justice, freedom and peace which historically have never been experienced by the Malays in this region. Justice, freedom and peace are indeed desired by any community in order that it may survive in this world. There can be no prosperity without them. Therefore, we should not waste time and this precious opportunity, let us hurry to grow crops on our lands, to water them in order to reap good and delicious fruits in the future.

As all farmers need to know how to care for their lands before they plant seeds in order to avoid failure, it is obligatory upon everyone who wishes to revive his community to determine the causes of the backwardness and defeat of his people in the battlefield of life. Only after we have isolated the causes will we have the clarity to eliminate them, avoiding confusion, aimlessly trying one remedy after the other.

Before we continue our discussion it is necessary to clarify one thing, apparent to every researcher who has examined and studied the affairs of the peoples of the East, which is the backwardness of the Muslims in the battlefield of life, encompassing all Muslims wherever they may be, and accordingly the causation should similarly be universal.

There are those who would postulate that the causes of Muslim backwardness are geographical and racial. However, this cannot be true, for if this were so we would surely find a vast difference in quality of life between Muslims living in Africa, mainland Asia, the Malay Archipelago, and also in Europe, for example Turkey, and elsewhere.

But in reality, we find only insignificant differences between Muslim societies, confined to personal and customary matters as can normally be found between different countries and races: thus the Turkish and Egyptian Muslims are cleaner than we, one Muslim race is more courageous than the other, and some are more true to their word. However, all Muslim nations are united in their ignorance, laziness and inferiority in the struggle for survival. Therefore, there must be only one manner of affliction sustained by all Muslim nations, and that is their acceptance of living in defeat in the battlefield of worldly life.

There is no binding force which can unite the Muslim peoples, scattered as they are over all parts of this wide world, other than their religion, Islām to which they all belong. However, some Europeans, supported by some European-educated Muslims claim that Islām itself is the primary cause of the downfall of the Muslims, for their having sunk into degradation and poverty and for their backwardness in all spheres of activity and in the battle of life.

But those scholars who really seek the truth, be they European or Muslim, who have examined and studied the history of Islām from its dawning and the previous condition of those societies, would not dare to allege that Islām in its pure form, as introduced by its Messenger, is responsible for the backwardness or downfall of the Muslims. For every scholar who knows Islām as it was when it began, be he European or one of the followers of Islām, cannot but place great importance on the coming of this religion and value its teachings which were carried out truthfully in former times. These learned scholars have been forced to acknowledge the beauty of the effect of this religion on the peoples who

embraced it. Through their learning they have clearly seen that Islām had been a brilliant torch which had lit the way to progress, that is to glory, fame, power and riches for all men in this world.

All observant scholars know that contemporary Islām has deviated from its original purpose, for many of the present rulings which Muslims now believe to be Islāmic, which they and those calling themselves teachers of Islām insist to be the principles and commandments, are in reality rulings which have been considerably polluted by non-sensical and false beliefs. These rulings have nothing whatsoever to do with the reality of the pure and holy spirit of Islām. Many of these beliefs and practices are sheer falsehood and innovation.<sup>4</sup> It is just such nonsensical ideas and falsehoods, erroneously called the teachings of Islām by the ignorant of today, which obstruct and thwart the progress of Muslims, many of whom believe and adhere to them.

No man of intelligence and knowledge can deny that present-day Islām has deviated from its original aim and purpose, mainly because the religious scholars and students of *fiqh* [jurisprudence],<sup>5</sup> with few exceptions, have manipulated this religion to suit their selfish whims and fancies to such an extent that they have made the religion a laughing stock. In view of this, it is only fit and proper that judgement be passed on such as these. Allāh says:

وَذَرِ الَّذِينَ  
اتَّخَذُوا دِينَهُمْ لَعِبًا وَلَهْوًا  
وَغَرَّتْهُمُ الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا

Which means that they have made their religion into a plaything of their desires and become so deceived by this earthly life as to

---

4. Ed. Note: The word used in Malay is *bida'a* ('Arabic: *bid'a*) which while translated as 'innovation' in English has a far more serious connotation in Islām where the word came to suggest individual dissent and independence to the point of heresy, although not of actual unbelief (*kufir*). According to the Shāfi'ī School of Law anything that is new and contradicts the Qur'ān, Sunna, Agreement or Traditions (*āthār*), is a *bid'a* which leads astray. But a good novelty which is not in contradiction to the traditional principles (*uṣūl*) of the Faith is a praiseworthy *bid'a* or innovation.

5. Ed. Note: *Fiqh*, literally 'intelligence', 'knowledge', is the name given to jurisprudence in Islām or codified canon law. In its widest sense it covers all aspects of religious, political and civil life.

chase rank and riches and indulge in falsehood in the name of religion.<sup>6</sup>

Is it not amazing to hear our religious scholars interpret the Prophet's admonishment that we, his followers, should 'seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave', that we should 'seek knowledge even unto China', and that 'all his followers should seek knowledge',<sup>7</sup> to mean that what the Prophet wanted us to study was only *fiqh* [jurisprudence], that being the only kind of knowledge which these scholars possess and of that only a smattering?

This is even more astonishing when we all know that *al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*,<sup>8</sup> sent down by God to His Prophet, contains altogether 6,666 verses, whereas the verses which deal with *fiqh* number only about 260. In other words, the rest of the knowledge contained in the remaining 6,406 verses would not be included in the Prophet's exhortation as worthy of study by his followers!

It would appear that our religious scholars know nothing other than the intricacies of *fiqh*, the 260 verses which have now been thoroughly dealt with by the students of *fiqh*. And it is for this very reason that they would now forbid anyone to say that God or the Prophet exhorted followers of Islām to seek knowledge other than that which they, themselves, have studied.

Has a greater trick been perpetrated in the name of Islām on the followers of Islām? Is it not this terrible trick, committed in the name of the Prophet, which prohibits or prevents Muslims from seeking other branches of knowledge outside of *fiqh*, that is to say all knowledge which would enable Muslims to compete with other peoples on an equal footing in order to prevent their countries and their peoples from being wiped out by foreigners who have invaded their lands?

---

6. Ed. Note: *Sūra* VI: 70. This is translated by A. Yusof Ali as: "Leave alone those who take their religion to be mere play and amusement and are deceived by the life of this world."

7. Ed. Note: For the *Hadīth* "All his followers should seek knowledge", see *Kashf al-Khafā' wa muẓīl al-illbās* (The Unveiling of Hidden Meaning to Eliminate Doubts), Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlunī al-Jarahī, ed. Aḥmad al-Qalāsh (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risāla, 1985) II, 56.

8. Ed. Note: *al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*: The Sublime Qur'ān.

## IT IS NOT ISLĀM BUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS THAT CAUSES THE DOWNFALL OF MUSLIMS<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE defeat of Muslims, both men and women, in the battle of life is not due to their religion but to the ignorance and stupidity that surrounds them as a result of the attitudes of their religious leaders.

The Messenger of God, who brought us this religion, and his companions who carried on after him, served the religion well and at that time undertook all manner of work. Based on the way of the Prophet and his companions, the later Imāms [*Khalīfas*: successors, vicegerants] concluded that our religion could only stand tall if there was enough strength and power for its safeguard.

As a result, a hundred years after the birth of Islām, its powerful flag waved over a large section of the world and the governments therein. Its sway over such a wide area was not for the purpose of compelling conversion to Islām but to uphold the freedom of the ways of Islām, as well as to benefit commerce and crafts . . . .

Two hundred years after Islām was brought to the world, it was apparent that countries which had come under Islām were prosperous and advanced. The Muslims and their leaders did not neglect any branch of knowledge. On the contrary, they not only learned but also wrote and elucidated their findings for the benefit of humanity as a whole, so much so that Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>2</sup> the famous historian, said that the 'Arabs, belonging to a race which was slow to enter the 'modern world', were pushed by the progress of Islām, which made it obligatory for everyone of its followers to compete with all other nations in various fields of knowledge.

- 
1. "Bukan Sa-kali-kali Agama Islam ini Sebab bagi Kejatuhan Kaum Islam tetapi Hanya-lah sebab Angkara Ketua-ketua Agama", *al-Ikhwān*, V, 3 (16 November 1930) 65-75.
  2. Ed. Note: Ibn Khaldūn — 'Abd al-Rahmān Abū Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn — statesman, jurist, historian and scholar, was born in Tunis on 27 May 1332 A. D. and died in Cairo on 17 March 1406 A. D. His *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena), completed November 1377 A. D., is the first volume of his *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (Book of Examples). Ibn Khaldūn served various rulers and suffered imprisonment, banishment, suspicion and jealousy; his last official post was as Grand Qādī of the Mālikī *mazhab* (school of law) in Cairo from which he was removed and reinstated five times. In his *magnum opus* he adopted a scientific method totally new to his age. He perceived man as basically an animal who needs to be governed by justice in the form of a restraining influence to keep them from devouring each other. See *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, transl. Rosenthal, Franz, ed. and abridged by Dawood, N. J. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967). Introduction by Dawood, N. J., vii-xiv.

The progressive movement of the Muslims served every branch of knowledge which could cross the mind, be seen by the eye, or be achieved by human beings. A group sought to discover the doctrine of Divine Unity; another examined human behaviour; yet a third studied astronomy; a fourth increased our knowledge in mathematics; and others expanded our understanding of geography, philosophy and ethics. Furthermore, the Muslims never took industry and commerce lightly. They built the most prestigious buildings and in large ships sailed the seas and dealt in all manner of trade.

All historians know the truth of this account that the Muslims were forever secure in that position, as stated above, with slight variations due to local differences in rate of development. But when the Tartars [Mongols] came to invade them [in 1258], the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfat was destroyed and [in 1492] Islāmic rule was expelled from Spain. Afterwards, all the new learning was taken over by Europe and the Muslims relapsed into a state of ignorance and backwardness as they were before the time of Islām.<sup>3</sup>

Thereafter, the light of knowledge was extinguished for these eastern people. As for the Muslim theologians, since then they have merely touched the surface of *'ilmu tawhīd* [the knowledge of Divine Unity] and a little language and grammar, and have abandoned all other branches of knowledge.

So wrapped in ignorance and stupidity and so covered by continual darkness are their minds that they have lost all ability to understand the true calling of their sublime religion. As a result, they now feel that they are too weak to climb the mountain of glory as required by their religion. They have thus brought the religion from the height of sublimity down to the level of their own stupidity, adding to our religion their own ignorant and silly ideas, as their fancies guide them. The result is that our religion has lost its original identity and purpose. They played with it like a fool or a stupid child and brought harm to themselves as well as to others.

Part of the inheritance from our religious theologians, [judging] from their interpretation of the law and their opinions, is that to work, to strive for worldly achievement, to enlarge our minds, and to learn how to make a living in this world, are useless and outside of the teachings of Islām. For them the highest form of beneficial knowledge is to be able to recite in 'Arabic:

---

3. Ed. Note: Surprisingly, Syed Shaykh totally ignores the period of the Ottoman Khalīfat.

*Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

They would so recite in a thousand different ways, condense the meaning of al-Qur'ān into its first chapter [*al-Fātiḥa*] and the meaning of the first chapter into the *bismillāh* [in the name of Allāh ...] and that of the *bismillāh* into fullstops and commas; they would quantify water for ablutions [a prerequisite for prayer] into a hundred variants; say the 'intention'<sup>4</sup> with an intonation so fine that one who prays would be driven crazy trying to get it right; and teach the dead in their graves how to debate with the angel-inquisitors.<sup>5</sup> In all of these, our religious theologians are experts. But if we were to ask them how any common commodity in daily use is made, what are the concerns of their own community and those of the peoples around them, who are those owning and ruling their country, where their country is situated on the map, the plight of their own country, or the purpose of Allāh in creating any particular part of their bodies and its use, they would certainly shrug their shoulders and pout their lips, as a sign of contempt for our questions.

And if we were to question them on important matters which every thinking person ought to know, such as the laws of the land, the politics of the foreign government ruling over their people, and the problem of thrift and conscientiousness amongst their own people, we would know at once the extent of their stupidity and ignorance, whether they are living in glory or in degradation, since their whole purpose in life is to exist for the mere sake of existence.

The highest ideal that our religious theologians try to sell, in order that they may hide their own ignorance, is that it is futile for man to strive

---

4. Ed. Note: *Nīya*, *niat* in Malay. 'intention'. Acts of ceremonial law, obligatory or not, are required to be preceded by a declaration by the performer that he intends to perform such an act. Without such declaration, audible or mental, the act would be *bāḥil*, juridically null and void.

5. Ed. Note: Munkar and Nakīr, the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their graves.

to earn a living and for the good of his people; to them, real faith means to abandon work and all interest in life to the *Qadā'* and *Qadar* of Allāh.<sup>6</sup>

But, in reality, some of these theologians are extremely clever at accumulating wealth by ways and means not prescribed in the *Shari'a*.<sup>7</sup> They excel in finding worldly treasures and safeguarding them; they are also experts at running after high rank and position, which they consider a real honour and greatness. As a result, there is a godown of envy and jealousy between them to the extent that it is said that no two theologians can stay in any one place.

In fact, because these religious personages desire to free themselves from the hardship of work and toil, they have depended upon the doctrine of *Qadā'* and *Qadar*. This doctrine has therefore become their shield and the best means of leading others astray. They have instilled such harmful beliefs into the minds of the common people who trust them that they now implicitly believe and follow this wrongful interpretation of *Qadā'* and *Qadar*, which limits their striving and exertion to achieve whatever has been requested of them by Islām, either for the benefit of themselves, their community, or their country.

Alas! The more pity we have for the harmful stupidity of the theologians when we realise that they have learned to read 'Arabic books and to know 'Arabic grammar and syntax well enough to comprehend everything there is to know in Islām, yet the distance between them and Islām is as great as that between heaven and earth.

---

6. Ed. Note: *Qadā'*: the universal, general and eternal decree, *qadar*: the individual development or application of that in time. (Macdonald, D. B., "Қада'". *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, op. cit., 199.)

Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh wrote two articles in *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* [The Strongest Link] on the question of Man's freedom of action as related to the power and decree of God. In "Al-Qadā' wa al-Qadar" he wrote: "... all Muslim sects believe that they have a share of free choice in their actions which they call 'acquisition' (*kasb*), and this is the basis of reward and punishment ... ." (*Tārīkh al-ustādih al-imām ash-shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh*, biography by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, V, ii (1908) 263.) In his comment on *Sūra al-'Aṣr*, he explained: "All the requirements of the Divine Law are based on the principle that a man is responsible for what he does. There would be no justice in holding a man responsible for something not within his power nor his will ... . Thus the Divine Law and the senses and consciousness agree that a man's acts are his own." ("Sūrat al-'Aṣr", *al-Manār*, VI, 589.) And further: "It is our hope that the 'Ulamā' of the present age will ... remind the commonalty of the teaching of such great men ... as al-Ghazālī and others that Divine Law requires of us activity, not inactivity and sloth under the guise of dependence on God." ("Al-Qadā' wa al-Qadar", *Tārīkh*, op. cit., 270.) All of the above are quoted in Adams, Charles C., op. cit., 152-5.

See also 'His Mission', 157, n. 214 *supra*.

7. Ed. Note: *Shari'a*: the canon law of Islām.

The late Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh, Grand Muftī of Egypt (may Allāh be satisfied with him),<sup>8</sup> in his book *Risālat al-Tauḥīd* says:

Islam requires that the able-bodied should work. Each has the right to his own gains and his own liabilities. ‘Whoever has done an atom’s weight of good will see it, and whoever has done an atom’s weight of evil will see it too.’ (Surah 99.7–8.) ‘Man will have only what he has striven for.’ (Surah 53.39.) Islam allows every man to satisfy his desires in respect of food and drink, dress and adornment. It forbids him only what is injurious to him or to those within his protection, or what occasions harm to others. And for this purpose it lays down general limits adequately to preserve the interests of humanity at large. It ensures each man in his independence of action and gives wide room for competition and endeavour, without let or hindrance saving only acknowledged rights.

Islam will have no truck with traditionalism, against which it campaigns relentlessly, to break its power over men’s minds and eradicate its deep-seated influence. The underlying bases of *taqlīd*<sup>9</sup> in the beliefs of the nations have been shattered by Islam.

In the same cause, it has alerted and aroused the powers of reason, out of long sleep. For whenever the rays of truth had penetrated, the temple custodians intervened with their jealous forebodings. ‘Sleep on, the night is pitch dark, the way is rough and the goal distant, and rest is scant and there’s poor provision for the road.’

Islam raised its voice against these unworthy whisperings and boldly declared that man was not created to be led by a bridle. He was endowed with intelligence to take his guidance with knowledge and to con the signs and tokens in the universe and in events. The proper role of teachers is to alert and to guide, directing men into the paths of study.

The friends of truth are those ‘who listen to what is said and follow its better way’ (Surah 39.18.), as the Qur’ān has it. It characterizes them as those who weigh all that is said,

8. Ed. Note: Said when referring to the departed.

9. Ed. Note: *Taqlīd*, ‘clothing with authority’, adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating his reasons; in that sense, *taqlīd* is the opposite of *ijtihād*. Schacht, J., “Taklīd”, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op. cit.*, 563.

irrespective of who the speakers are, in order to follow what they know to be good and reject what gives evidence of having neither validity nor use. Islam threw its weight against the religious authorities, bringing them down from the dominance whence they uttered their commands and prohibitions. It made them answerable to those they dominated, so that these could keep an eye on them and scrutinize their claims, according to their own judgement and lights, thus reaching conclusions based on conviction, not on conjecture and delusion.

Further, Islam encouraged men to move away from their clinging attachment to the world of their fathers and their legacies, indicting as stupid and foolish the attitude that always wants to know what the precedents say. Mere priority in time, it insisted, is not one of the signs of perceptive knowledge, nor yet of superior intelligence and capacity. Ancestor and descendant compare closely no doubt in discrimination and endowment of mind. But the latter has the advantage over his forebears in that he knows events gone by and is in a position to study and exploit their consequences as the former was not. It may be that such traceable results which men of the present generation can turn to profit will also illustrate the ill-effects of things done in earlier times and dire evils perpetrated by the men of the past. 'Say: Go through the world and see what was the fate of those who disbelieved.' (Surah 6.11.) The doors of Divine favour are not closed to the seeker: His mercy which embraces everything will never repel the suppliant.

Islam reproves the slavish imitation of the ancestors that characterizes the leaders of the religions, with their instinct to hold timidly to tradition-sanctioned ways, saying, as they do: 'Nay! We will follow what we found our fathers doing.' (Surah 31.21) and 'We found our fathers so as a people and we will stay the same as they'. (Surah 43.22.)<sup>10</sup>

---

10. Ed. Note: Originally we translated into English Syed Shaykh al-Hady's Malay rendering of Muḥammad 'Abduh which he stated was from pp. 100–2 of the *Risālat al-Tauḥīd*.

Fortunately, we have identified those pages as 126–7 in *The Theology of Unity* by Muḥammad 'Abduh, a translation of the *Risālat al-Tauḥīd* by Ishāq Musa'ad and Kenneth Cragg, which we have reproduced above with all gratitude to the translators. (Allen & Unwin, 1966.) Note: while we romanise *tawḥīd*, Cragg uses *tauḥīd*, so also with *Sūra*, Cragg *Surah*.

The above are the words of a very famous Egyptian 'ulamā'. From his words it is clear that all the knowledge taught in his time at *al-Azhar ash-Sharīf*<sup>11</sup> would be valueless and not beneficial to us unless based on a reality readily acceptable to our minds.

Indeed, we would not benefit from the doctrine of Divine Unity [*Tawhīd*]<sup>12</sup> and *fiqh* [codified canon law] if we had not understood and appreciated the other various branches of knowledge.

One might ask, is not the doctrine of *Tawhīd* the essence and the end of all knowledge? And is it not *fiqh* which regulates the relationship between God and Man?

These two types of knowledge are meant to perfect and illuminate other branches of human knowledge, like surgery lets us understand the purpose and function of each part of the body. So, also with subjects like history ..., the study of human behaviour, and so on, which improve our minds and broaden our outlook.

Is it not true that knowledge is like a tree whose various stems and branches come from one root and trunk? From the roots, it obtains all food required to feed itself and to bring forth delicious fruits for our benefit. That is what is meant by knowing the essence of every form of existence in this world.

We do not wish publicly to debate further on the subject of our own weaknesses which pervade all aspects of our lives, including even our religion, which is obvious to everyone. We are weak in religious faith because of our weak minds. The root cause of it all is that our children do not have a proper education and upbringing. If this continues, there will be no hope for our nation to achieve progress based on religion. On the contrary, we shall remain forever backward. Alternatively, our children might seek advancement outside our religion. When that time comes, they will equate our religion with backwardness and proclaim that Islām is against progress which is desired by everyone throughout the world.

This will be the alternative for us in time to come, so let us now decide what we ought to do.

---

11. Ed. Note: The 'noble' al-Azhar University in Cairo.

12. Ed. Note: On the meaning of *tawhīd*, Kenneth Cragg has this to say: "... *Tawhīd* is a causative and intense noun and never means 'unity', still less 'unitariness', as an abstract state. It is aggressive, so to speak, antiseptic: it means 'unity' intolerant of all pluralism ..." *The Theology of Unity*, *op. cit.*, 12.

CHANGES IN THE UPBRINGING OF GIRLS ARE URGENT<sup>1</sup>

**T**HOUGH many have written in newspapers, magazines and books giving guidance to the community on the need to change the manner in which boys are brought up, very few have discussed and indicated the advantages to be found in bringing up girls properly.

Since *al-Ikhwān* was first published we have written a great deal on this subject under the title *'Alam Perempuan* (Woman's World). These writings were later compiled into a volume under the same name. Nevertheless, we are glad to embark on this subject again so that matters left undiscussed may now be dealt with in the hope that these discussions will provide us with sufficient material for a second volume.

Women cannot be called perfect creatures unless the care of their bodies and minds is perfected. The care of their persons is a necessity and a duty, if we desire to maintain their health and beauty; and they should be brought up in the way boys are brought up: their bodies should be accustomed to exercise, since nothing inhabits a weak body but a weak mind ... . Balance of mind depends on the health of the body. This is the secret of why the English have been very successful compared to other nations; please read Aḥmad Faḥī Zaghlūl Pāshā's translation of *The Secret of the Advancement of the Anglo-Saxons*.<sup>2</sup> Other nations acknowledged the fact that the English were very active because they were accustomed to physical exercise, such as playing football, swimming and horseback riding. And their freedom from restrictions greatly helped in the upbringing of their children, both boys and girls. For this reason, the French and other nations began to follow in their footsteps, because they were convinced by the example of the English that what they had been doing in attending to the care of their minds was useless if not accompanied by care for their bodies.

1. "Berubah Pemeliharaan Anak-anak Perempuan itu Sangat-sangat di-Kehendaki", *al-Ikhwān*, V, 2 (16 October 1930) 43-8.

2. Ed. Note: H. A. R. Gibb remarked that of the many translators of that period, "... the one whose work was most effective in opening up new vistas to the 'Arabic world was Faḥī Pāshā Zaghlūl." (Adams, Charles C., *op. cit.*, 213 n. 4.)

Faḥī Pāshā Zaghlūl (1863-1914) was another of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh's inner circle of disciples who contributed to the literary revival, besides participating in various reform activities. He translated works that in his opinion were applicable to Egypt or needed as an incentive to reform and in his introductions, he pointed out their application. (*Ibid.*, 213.)

... The development of a woman's intellect is a necessity for if her mind is weak or inadequate, her value will diminish, which is exactly what is happening in our society. Her present function to give birth and to bring up her offspring is not unlike that of other females species in the animal kingdom; there is little difference in these functions as between human and animal females.

In fact, we males have prescribed a narrow sphere of activity for our women. We have restricted their function to that of producing children; apart from this, we expect nothing of them since we presume they are not fit to do any other kind of work! As a result, men have no desire to obtain the help of women in their professional or other work ... . The reason for this attitude is because men are unenlightened; they aren't conscious that from birth the characters and dispositions of their mothers have been implanted in them. The strong and perfect bond between men and their mothers is what we wish to highlight. We would reiterate that it would have been impossible for us to obtain proper training in conduct and discipline and to gain useful knowledge if we did not have mothers capable of preparing us for such education and how to succeed in this life.

... The structure to which every community must give special attention if it has its proper interests at heart, is the social unit called the family. For every community is a collective of numerous families. ... From one family will come many households, and in every household it is the women who are in charge and who are the ones most familiar with its activities ... . If the women, however, were to be stupid and without adequate intelligence and knowledge, they would be spurned by their own husbands and members of their households... . On the other hand, if the women as heads of their households were to possess enlightened minds and to be knowledgeable, they would be able to run their homes properly and put their households in order ... . For if each member of the extended family conducts himself properly, then the conduct of the whole community will be proper. From this we can see how women with intellect and knowledge are useful in uplifting the life of their community ... .

Actually, the progress of a community depends on a number of factors. But the most essential factor is the state of progress of the women in the community. Similarly, the fall of a community results from a number of factors. But a factor which will quickly send a community down the drain is the ignorance and stupidity of its women.

... Therefore, the care and education of our women is not as simple a matter as that of adornment, nor is it something which can afford to wait for any length of time or with any complacency, as imagined by most of our people who are now agitating for better care and education

for their sons. Indeed, the education of our women is a most pressing matter which demands immediate and earnest attention and the provision of all the usual facilities. This is our most urgent duty, for only by so doing will it be easy for us to work for the progress of our community in other directions. If we treat this problem lightly then we will surely be confronted with difficulties in all directions when attempting to achieve progress for our people.

## RESPONDING TO READERS' QUERIES

SHOULD MUSLIMS IN LUMUT STOP FRIDAY PRAYERS?<sup>1</sup>

IT is reported that the Muslims in Lumut, Tanah Merah, have ceased to perform the Friday prayers for the past few weeks because those who have attended the *masjid* on Fridays have numbered fewer than forty. According to the *fatwā* [formal legal opinion] of their 'ālim<sup>2</sup> [religious scholar], their Friday prayers would be invalid if there were not at least forty persons in the congregation; thus they have ruled that the Friday prayers should cease and be replaced by *zohor*<sup>3</sup> prayers only: *Lā hawl wa lā quwwa illā billāh al-'aẓīm*.<sup>4</sup>

These learned men should have advised and reminded those who were absent to turn up the following Friday, and they should have given this advice and warning again and again so that those concerned would gradually become aware of their fault and follow their brothers in religion to the *masjid*. They should never have told those who attended the *masjid* for Friday prayers to stop performing those prayers and thus encourage them to follow those who do not care to perform the Friday prayers, for Friday prayers are obligatory (*farḍ al-'ayn*)<sup>5</sup> and essential in Islām.

Although for the Shāfi'īs [the school of Islāmic law followed by Malays] a condition for the valid performance of Friday prayers is that the congregation consist of not fewer than forty persons [*farḍ al-kifāya*], the rulings which have come down from our Prophet, many scholars, and others, have emphatically forbidden us to stop holding the prayers in an area or region even where those who attend number fewer than forty. Those religious teachers [in Lumut] who have given such a contrary ruling had better read *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn*,<sup>6</sup> the second *juz*,<sup>7</sup> the second *ṭab'a*,<sup>8</sup> the end of page 55 and the end of page 57, and they had

- 
1. "Orang-orang Islām Berhenti daripada Sembahyang Juma'at di-Lumut, Tanah Merah", *al-Ikhwān*, I, 9 (16 May 1927) 183-4. Lumut is in the State of Perak, West Malaysia.
  2. Ed. Note: 'Ālim (pl. 'ulamā'), one who possesses the quality 'ilm, knowledge, particularly of the Muslim traditions and canon law.
  3. Ed. Note: *Ṣalāt al-zuhr*, ritual prayer at midday.
  4. Ed. Note: An exclamation in 'Arabic expressing the writer's shock or exasperation with the ruling. See ed. n. 31 *infra*.
  5. Ed. Note: *Farḍ*: strictly prescribed and obligatory: omission will be punished, execution will be rewarded. *Farḍ al-'ayn*: individual obligation binding on everyone. *Farḍ al-kifāya*: obligation dependent on there being sufficient number of Muslims to fulfil, such as *jihād*, holy war.
  6. Ed. Note: (Assistance for Seekers [after Knowledge]) by Syed Bākri Shatā.
  7. Ed. Note: *Juz*, volume.
  8. Ed. Note: *Ṭab'a*, edition.

better make an effort to read other books which deal with Ḥadīth<sup>9</sup> and the sayings of the Companions to the effect that Friday prayers would be valid if attended by four or twelve, or even more or less. The author of *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn* was the most famous of all Shāfi'ī scholars in Makka, and he would not have wasted his time and energy to put into his book something which in his opinion could not be practised in Islām. Maybe the 'ulamā'<sup>10</sup> [in Lumut] who taught this doctrine were too lazy to refer to or to read such a religious book. Thus I now quote from Syed Bākri Shaṭā, the author of *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn*:

Some of the 'Ulamā' said:

Let it be known that the Friday prayer is of great concern. It is a grand blessing bestowed by God on his servants [mankind]. It is also our [Muslims'] personal privilege granted by God as the centre of his blessings and for the purification of the sins of the [past] week. Because it was so important to our pious ancestors, they prepared themselves from early morning for the Friday prayer. Therefore, beware of underrating the importance of the Friday prayer, whether you are travelling or stationary. This prayer should be observed even if there are less than forty persons and that is by way of *taqlīd*<sup>11</sup>. God guides those whom he wishes to the right path.<sup>12</sup>

#### ARE *LEBAI PONDOK*, 'STUDENTS OF THE HUTS', SOCIALY USEFUL?<sup>13</sup>

THE Students of the Huts [*Pondok*] are a gathering or a group of Muslims who are said to be devoted entirely to the study of the teachings of Islām. There are many such groups in Province Wellesley, Kedah,<sup>14</sup> and elsewhere. Most of the boys recruited into this army

9. Ed. Note: *Ḥadīth*, tradition.

10. Ed. Note: 'Ulamā', plural of 'ālim, see n. 2.

11. Ed. Note: *Taqlīd*, see 223, ed. n. 9 *supra*.

12. Ed. Note: Translated from the original 'Arabic by Haji Mohamad Sanusi b. Haji Mahmood, former President of the Shariah Court, Singapore. Syed Bākri Shaṭā, *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1342 A. H./1923 A. D.) II, 59.

13. "Lebai Pondok", *al-Ikhwān*, II, 6 (16 February 1928) 186-90.

Ed. Note: *Lebai Pondok*: *pondok* is the Malay word for 'hut' and *lebai* is of Dravidian origin meaning a 'pious scholar'. The Malays use *lebai* for a village religious teacher.

14. Ed. Note: North Malaya (West Malaysia).

called *Lebai Pondok* are young men from the various Malay States whose ages range roughly from 15 to 30. Each young man who joins such a group is obliged to erect a hut for his own dwelling and to cook his own food, or he may share a hut with a companion who professes the same aims in life. Should you visit such a *pondok* you will see a cluster of huts built next to a large and handsome house which belongs to the teacher who instructs them. Near the teacher's house there is usually a *surau* (small prayerhouse) where the teacher conducts classes whenever he desires.

The reason these young men are called *Lebai Pondok* is because it is customary for everyone in this group to wear white skull-caps (*kopiah ketayap*) [as do the *lebai*], and they too are called to perform prayers for the dead or to attend feasts in honour of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mawlid al-Nabī*) or other celebrations and ceremonies whenever their presence is thought necessary. This practice has become so widespread that some of those living in *pondok* neighbourhoods have come to believe that prayers for the dead are not quite complete no matter how many people participate unless prayers are also offered by the *Lebai Pondok*, who on such occasions are the recipients of a special *sadakah* [voluntary alms]!<sup>15</sup>

When attending a funeral in Seberang Prai, it is indeed a strange sight to see the *Lebai Pondok* arriving in a group, not by walking but riding in a bullock cart, to offer their prayers; from a distance you can see their white heads, just like a group of egrets (*bangau*). When they arrive at the place where the dead are laid out or to the *kenduri* (feast), they never mix with other people; instead they gather among themselves while waiting for the people to prepare the dead for ceremonial prayer. Or otherwise these *Lebai Pondok* will wait with their teacher at a *masjid* where the prayers for the dead will be held. It is their custom to collect together around their teacher and to follow wherever he goes. Sometimes, having prayed for the dead and received the special *sadakah*, while on the way to the burial grounds, they meet up with another group of *Lebai Pondok* coming to offer prayers; then they would stop the procession and jointly pray again to gain yet another special *sadakah*!

Readers must not imagine that our purpose is to criticise any group of persons who would desire to seek religious knowledge, not at all. All we say is that the most fundamental tenet of our religion as laid down by our Prophet rules that we should do whatever the religion tells us

---

15. Ed. Note: *Sadakah* (*sadaqa*), voluntary alms which may be given in cash or kind.

with all diligence and with all our ability and that we should totally refrain from doing that which is forbidden to us.

Now let us examine the work and activities of these young men who are called 'Students of the Huts'. Are these activities required by Islām? Does such an assembly serve any useful purpose for the army of young men who compose it, other than enabling them to receive alms? And has any good arisen from such groups of children who have left their homes, parents and villages in order to seek religious knowledge, apart from their becoming clever at saying prayers for the dead, attending feasts (*kenduri*) and receiving alms? Or have they through this kind of association brought about any gain which is of particular or general benefit to the Muslim community or to the country in accordance with the commandments and requirements of Islām? If not, shouldn't we look into the negative effects on persons ... and to the erosion of the feeling of humanism and good morals, and [generally] into the pitfalls inherent in such associations? For it was because of these perils that God asked His Prophet Muḥammad to bring Islām to all his creatures that they would be protected against the great dangers in this life and in the next! ...

I recall several years ago, Jamaluddin b. Din Tambi, the leading singer in a wandering troupe of players [*boria*],<sup>16</sup> staging a satire on the 'Students of the Huts' in which the young players in his troupe were dressed in the same manner as the *Lebai Pondok*. He also composed a song about the *Lebai Pondok* which ran something like this:

Students of the huts, devotees of religion,  
They all follow their teacher's instruction,  
With white skull-caps and turbans geared,  
Holding their rosaries and caressing their beards.

The composer, who has since returned to the mercy of Allāh, played the role of a teacher of the 'Students of the Huts', and the performance caused a great commotion both among the students and among those deceived by the apparent devotion and work of the students. They rose up as one man in angry protest and, condemning the late composer in many strong words, claimed that he had insulted Islām.

---

16. Ed. Note: *Boria*: during Muḥarram, it was the custom, especially in Penang, for bands of serenaders in fancy dress to visit homes of prominent citizens and sing topical songs. Muḥarram is the first month of the Muslim year during which the *Shī'a* (see Glossary) commemorate the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad.

See, my brothers in Islām, to what extent the minds of our religious students have been misled by their ignorance. They did not think of the many objectionable things done by the *Lebai Pondok* in their daily lives, as was shown in the Muḥarrām stage show. Instead, in the name of love and affection for the religion, they raised a hue and cry against the performer and the players in the show!

Did our Prophet, who brought Islām to us, ever require that people wear such clothes as those worn by the 'Students of the Huts'? Or that they should behave in such a manner? Or that they should congregate in such a way as to bring a smear on the name and purpose of Islām? Or that they should wipe out the great capacity for usefulness in the human being? This practice should be regarded by every believer as something rotten and destructive to the young men who have become its recruits, and we should fight it with all our energy according to the traditions of our Prophet, as stated by the learned Shaykh al-Islām of Kedah at the beginning of his statement on the movements of the sun. Can we hope that the Shaykh al-Islām will direct his attention to these dangerous gatherings which are scattered all over his State?<sup>17</sup>

#### IS REWARD AFTER DEATH POSSIBLE?<sup>18</sup>

ON the question of the living gaining rewards for the benefit of the dead, a clear *naṣṣ*<sup>19</sup> from the Prophet states that this is *harus* [*mubāḥ*<sup>20</sup> or permissible]. But apart from prayers, we do not at all know that the

---

17. Ed. Note: While as discussed in 'His Mission', 147, n. 187 *supra* there were *pondoks* established by sincere and serious religious teachers, many others flourished which could hardly be considered as educational institutions. To understand Syed Shaykh's hostility, one needs know that at that time it was usual for no proper course of study to be followed in such a school. A boy who left the *pondok* after six or eight years was simply given an *ijāza* (certificate) to state that he had mastered such and such a work on Muslim jurisprudence (*fiqh*) or mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), etc. In the interim, he had worked the *sawahs* (irrigated rice-fields) of the religious teacher cum landlord without remuneration. The late Muffī of Terengganu, Syed Yusuf al-Zawawī, in discussion with the editor, characterised the *pondok* as "the worm of the padi" for wherever there were extensive rice-fields and a concentrated Malay population, such as in the States of Kedah and Kelantan (Malaya), there you would find the *pondok*. See Gordon, Shirle (Alijah), "Pondok & Our Peasantry", *Seed and Intisari*, II, 1 (1963) 32-3.

18. "Pahala Kemudian daripada Mati", *al-Ikhwān*, III, 4 ( 16 December 1928) 123-4.

19. Ed. Note: *Naṣṣ*, text of scripture.

20. Ed. Note: *Mubāḥ*, all acts which are neither obligatory nor forbidden, commendable nor condemned, fall within the category of 'permissible' or *mubāḥ*.

departed can receive any reward other than that arising from one of three things as mentioned in the Ḥadīth Ṣaḥīḥ<sup>21</sup> of the Prophet, namely: the good deeds they have done which were beneficial to the living; the charitable endowments and alms they bequeathed for the benefit of Muslims; and the piety of their children who would pray for them. As for the giving of feasts (*kenduri*) when those who attend may not in fact be desirous of food, or the purchase of *pahala* — reward from God — from those who would sell their prayers either for money or for other payments such as rice and curry, we have no evidence either from the Qur'ān or the authoritative Ḥadīth which would invalidate the pro-visos as set out in the Ḥadīth Ṣaḥīḥ quoted above.

If *pahala* for the benefit of the dead could be purchased with money or with rice and curry, then surely the rich would be able to buy Paradise for themselves and avoid Hell. And if such were the case, the Prophet would not have said that most of the inhabitants of Paradise were from the poor, as Imām Ghazālī relates in his book:

*I looked into paradise and I saw many  
of its inhabitants are from the poor ...*<sup>22</sup>

#### WOULD WEARING GOLD OR SILK INVALIDATE A MARRIAGE?<sup>23</sup>

IF a married couple come to realise that they or those who conducted their marriage had worn gold ornaments or silk during the wedding ceremony, should they remarry in a proper manner so as to free themselves of

- 
21. Ed. Note: *Ḥadīth Ṣaḥīḥ*: *ḥadīth*: tradition, *ṣaḥīḥ*: sound, i.e. the utterly faultless tradition in whose *isnād* (chain of transmitters) there is no *'illa* (weakness) and whose tendency does not contradict any generally prevalent belief.
  22. Ed. Note: *Iḥyā' ulūmi 'd-Dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences) V, 2408. Imām Ghazālī (d. 1111) is considered to be one of the most original thinkers of Islām.
  23. "Pengetahuan Am: Petua Wakil Imām Shāfi'ī yang Baharu", *al-Ikhwān*, III, 5 (16 January 1929)161. Footnote by Syed Alwi al-Hady: according to a report published in the newspaper *Saudara* on 12 January 1929, a learned representative of Imām Shāfi'ī in one of the Malay States actually made such a public ruling!  
Ed. Note: Shāfi'ī refers to one of the four Sunnī (Orthodox) Schools of Muslim Law which is legally prescribed in Malaya — with the exception of the State of Perlis — as the preferred basis for the issuance of *fatwā* or formal legal opinion. One may only cite another School of Law if one can demonstrate that in a particular instance to follow Imām Shāfi'ī's interpretations would clearly be against the common good or *maṣlahah*.

an adulterous relationship, ignorantly entered into prior to this discovery, or in order to terminate an association which after this discovery they must know to be wrongful? For it is now a ruling that one of the conditions for a valid marriage is that no gold ornaments shall be worn by the bridal couple or by those conducting the marriage ceremony, one of those new conditions which may have escaped the attention of previous scholars! Since this has become a condition for a valid marriage, then surely soon it will also become a condition for prayer and fasting. Watch out, those of you who wish to have legitimate offspring! We know that this matter has been brought before the Registrar in Melaka, and the *Kathi*<sup>24</sup> has stated that he was following the words of the Qur'ān!

Let the curse of God be on those who in the name of the Qur'ān indulge in falsehood and who have the effrontery to say that a marriage should be performed again or is void because those concerned in the ceremony wore articles of gold!

#### TERAWIH PRAYERS: HOW MANY RAKA'AT SHOULD BE PERFORMED?<sup>25</sup>

AS for *Terawih*<sup>26</sup> in the month of *Ramaḍān*,<sup>27</sup> the Prophet completed only eight *raka'at*<sup>28</sup> for the *Terawih* and three for the *witir*,<sup>29</sup> making eleven *raka'at* in all.

After Prophet Muḥammad, people introduced twenty *raka'at* for the *Terawih* and three *raka'at* for the *witir*, thus making a total of twenty-three *raka'at*.

This does not really matter; let there be even more *raka'at*, for the *Terawih* prayer is *ṣalāt al-laīl* — ritual prayer at night — and there is no limit to the number of night prayers.

24. Ed. Note: *Kathi*, *qāḍī*, judge.

25. "Sembahyang Terawih", *al-Ikhwān*, V, 5 (16 January 1931) 160-1.

26. Ed. Note: *Tarāwīh*, the *ṣalāts* — ritual prayers — which are performed at night during the fasting month of *Ramaḍān* (*Bulan Puasa* in Malay). Tradition says that Prophet Muḥammad held these *ṣalāts* in high esteem, with the precaution, however, that their performance should not become obligatory.

27. Ed. Note: *Ramaḍān* (*Bulan Puasa* in Malay), the Muslim fasting month, the ninth month of the 'Arabic calendar.

28. Ed. Note: *Rak'a*: a specific division of ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*).

29. Ed. Note: *Witr*: 'uneven', the rite consists in the addition of one *rak'a* to the even number of *rak'a* in the night *ṣalāt*.

But our manner of performing the *Terawih* prayer is not unlike a racehorse on the course, always in haste and breathing hard. We utter our prayers rapidly, we care not about pronunciation: like lightning do we bow and touch the mat with our foreheads in order to finish the prayer quickly with so many *raka'at*. Would it not be better if we followed the number of *raka'at* as done by the Messenger of Allāh, eight for the *Terawih* and three for the *witir*, so that we could pray slowly and properly, saying the words of the Qur'ān correctly together with the *dhikr*?<sup>30</sup> I am sure our *pahala* — reward from God — would not be less if we followed the Prophet in the matter of performing our devotional acts [*'ibādāt*].

### IS IT *SUNNAT* TO KILL WAHHĀBĪS?<sup>31</sup>

THE Backward Group have now come to the end of their resources. Firstly, because of their inability to invalidate our arguments, they have dishonestly used the power of the *rajas* and those holding high positions against us, we who logically and intelligently seek the truth in accordance with the Book of Allāh and the teachings of the Prophet. Secondly, they have tried to accuse those of us who would seek the truth of being 'communists'. Finally, they want to kill such as we should they have the power to do so!

Such was the conduct of all the polytheist Quraysh<sup>32</sup> when they found themselves unable to destroy the arguments of the Prophet, the only difference being that in those days people did not know such a term as 'communist'!

Please do not pay any attention to whatever they say or do, and do what is right.

30. Ed. Note: *Dhikr*, recitation of litanies based on the Qur'ān.

31. "Membunuh Kaum Wahhābī Sunnat?", *al-Ikhwān*, V, 10 (16 July 1931) 309. Footnote by Syed Alwi al-Hady: This article was written by my late father commenting on a report from one Musāfir ('traveller') to the effect that the religious teachers or '*ulamā'*' of the backward group (*kaum kolot*) claimed that the killing of the new group (Kaum Muda) is *Sunnat* [standard of conduct or precedent based upon Prophet Muḥammad's deeds, utterances or unspoken approvals]. *Lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa illā billāh al-'aẓīm*.

Ed. Note: "There is no power nor strength but in Allāh, the High, the Great", often invoked by Muslims when they are exasperated.

32. Ed. Note: Quraysh, the tribe from whence Prophet Muḥammad came.

وَقُلِ الْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ ت  
 فَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُؤْمِنْ  
 وَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُكْفُرْ ۗ

*Say: (It is) the truth from the Lord of you (all).  
 Then whosoever will, let him believe,  
 and whosoever will, let him disbelieve.*<sup>33</sup>

Let the one who came from Siam [and who delivered the *khuṭba* (sermon) in Taiping] return to whence he came to exercise his power under that flag to kill those who do not accept [the fruit of] his corrupt mind which has gone astray.

---

33. Ed. Note: *Sūra* XVIII: 30, Pickthall.



SYED SHAYKH'S RESOURCE:  
SHAYKH 'ABD ALLĀH MAGHRIBĪ

*Life and time no longer leave the pure and innocent alone and friendless. Their life will defend them and time will justify them. The impure can never pollute the innocent, however much they cast stones against them and loose their dogs upon them ...*

'Alī Shari'atī, *Kavir*, 282<sup>1</sup>

---

1. *Kavir*: the extensive desert that makes up almost two-thirds of the Iranian plateau. 'Alī Shari'atī, *op. cit.*, 28.



ABŪ JĀBIR 'ABD ALLĀH b. AḤMAD AL-GHADAMISĪ:  
A REFORMIST 'ULAMĀ' IN THE MALAY STATES<sup>1</sup>

Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya

THE general meaning of *iṣlāḥ* is 'to repair' something that is broken or 'to correct misconceptions' and to return it to its original state. Western society uses the term 'Reformation' to refer to the movement against the [Roman Catholic] church organised by Martin Luther, a German reformist in the 16th century. For the Muslim community, the word *iṣlāḥ* is used for the religious movement against elements of *shirk* [polytheism], *khurāfat* [superstition] and *bid'a* [innovation] and for the return to the pure teachings of Islām based on al-Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth [traditions of Prophet Muḥammad].

Among the earlier reformist figures were Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 855 A. D.), who was also well known among the *Salafīya*,<sup>2</sup> followed by Ibn Taymīya (1263–1328 A. D.)<sup>3</sup> [and his pupil] Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350 A. D.), as well as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in

- 
1. Ed. Note: There are contradictions between the two articles published in this section on Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī — whom Dr. Mahayudin refers to as Abū Jābir — which we nevertheless print in the hope that it will provoke further research. For the information from 'Arabic sources, we are indebted to Adel M. Abdulaziz from the History Department of Sebha University in Libya who is currently doing his Ph. D. in the History Department, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, while researching for a book on Maghribī. Dr. Mahayudin is a professor in the History Department, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. This article is a much edited version of a translation made by Noor Khairiyati Mohd. Ali of MSRI of "Abu Jabir Abdullah bin Ahmad al-Ghadamisi: Tokoh Ulama Islah di Tanah Melayu", a paper presented at the Kongres Sejarah Malaysia II, November 1996 at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
  2. Ed. Note: A neo-orthodox brand of Islāmic reformism originating in the late 19th century and centred on Egypt, aiming to regenerate Islām by a return to the tradition represented by the 'pious forefathers' (*al-salaf al-sāliḥ*) of the primitive faith.
  3. Ed. Note: Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya (661–728 A. H./1263–1328 A. D.) 'bowed to no authority and lifted his voice high against innovation, saint-worship, vows and pilgrimage to shrines'. See Hitti, Philip K., *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1960) 689.

the 18th century.<sup>4</sup> Their role was not just to eradicate *shirk* and *bid'a* but also the influence of Greek thought and foreign religions. The reformist movement continued to gain influence in well-known Islāmic countries such as Egypt and Syria. Eventually a Pan-Islāmic movement came into being, headed by a few famous '*ulamā*' figures such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh and Syed Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. The reformist movement spread to the Malay States in the early 20th century, brought in by Malay students who had studied in Egypt, as well as by Syed Shaykh al-Hady and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin. They introduced changes in an effort to improve the economic and educational level of Muslims and to free the *umma* — world-wide Muslim community — from the manacles of British colonialism. To succeed in their mission to change the political, economic and religious-educational systems, they invited a number of foreign '*ulamā*' to come to Malaya, especially those from the 'Arab World.

Among these figures was Shaykh Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, whose full name was Shaykh Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm<sup>5</sup> b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baskurī<sup>6</sup> al-Qairawānī al-Bā'Alawī al-Makkī al-Ghadamisī, more commonly known as 'Abd Allāh Maghribī. Shaykh Abū Jābir came from Libya; Maghribī was only affixed to his name when he studied and later taught in Makka. 'Arabs refer to the North African countries (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, [and Mauritania]), as the *Maghrib*, that is countries in the direction where the sun sets (whereas countries to the east where the sun rises are called *Mashriq*). Although Shaykh Maghribī was a significant reformist figure in the Malay region, he has received little attention from historians.

- 
4. Ed. Note: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87) founded a community commonly referred to as Wahhābīs. Their members call themselves *Muwahḥidūn*, 'unitarians', and their system (*ṭarīqa*) 'Muḥammadan' and regard themselves as Sunnīs of the Ḥanbalī School of Law as interpreted by Ibn Taymīya (d. 1328 A. D.), who strongly attacked the cult of saints. The general aim of 'Abd al-Wahhāb was to do away with all innovations (*bid'a*) later than the third century of Islām. The community recognises the authority of the four Sunnī (orthodox) *mazhabs* (schools of law) and the six books of tradition.
  5. His grandfather Ibrāhīm was a *faqīh* (scholar of jurisprudence) and the Imām of Masjid 'Imrān al-Faqīh in the city of Ghadamis.
  6. Baskurī is slang from the word 'Baskarī'. His ancestors came from the area of Baskarah in Algeria, from where they moved to Ghadamis in Libya.

Shaykh Abū Jābir was born in the city of Ghadamis<sup>7</sup> in 1892, from a family of 'ulamā'. There is no complete data about his childhood. However, according to his closest relatives, Abū Jābir al-Ghadamisī completed his Qurānic studies in one of the *kuttāb* [elementary classes for Qurānic studies] under the tutelage of Shaykh al-Faqīh Qāsim b. Aḥmad Dawī. He often prayed at the Masjid 'Imrān al-Faqīh and Masjid Yūnus, situated near his father's house in Hadur Street. Even in childhood, he would recite *qaṣīda* [an ancient form of 'Arabic poetry] in one of the *mas-jids* of Ghadamis during the nights of Ramaḍān.<sup>8</sup> Among those present at one such recitation was the district Qāḍī [judge] Shaykh 'Abd al-Mālik Afāndī<sup>9</sup> who was so fascinated by the boy's talent that he took him as his adopted son and brought him along with him wherever he went, including to the city of Ghuryan.<sup>10</sup> At that time, Abū Jābir was 11 years old.<sup>11</sup> He

7. Also called Radamis. An old Berber town, it was originally known as Saidamus. The date of its founding is unknown. It is in a valley, where once stood a civilisation, about 445 km southwest of Tripoli. (See Ismā'il Rifāt, *al-Tibyān fī Takhtī al-Buldān* (Explanation on the Geographical Position of Countries) (Cairo, 1912) 377; Ṭahir Aḥmad al-Zawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān al-Lībīyah* (A Compendium of Libyan Cities) (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Salafiya. [n. d.]) 241-2.

Ed. Note: Ghadamis (Ghadames) is southwest of Ṭarāblus (Tripoli), in Libya. It is exactly at the confluence of the borders of Libya with Tunisia and Algeria. Ghadamis was once a caravan-stop between Tripoli, Sokna in Libya, Tunisia and Sūdān and what are known today as Chad, Timbuktu in Mali, Niger, Ghana and Guinea.

8. Ed. Note: Rabī' al-Awwal rather than Ramaḍān. See Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', "Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghadamisī", *Majallat al-Buḥūth al-Tārikhiya* (Journal of Historical Researches), VI, 2 (Tripoli: Markaz Dīrāsāt Jihād al-Lībīyina ḍid al-Ghazw al-Itālī, May 1984) 432.

9. His full name is not known, but he came from Greater Syria and was in Ghadamis on 25 Muḥarram 1323 A. H./1904 A. D.

10. This information was obtained from Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Buṣayrī. According to Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghni al-Buṣayrī, "the person who made the arrangement between Abū Jābir and the Shaykh was Aḥmad Haudana who had been 'Abd al-Mālik's personal assistant. When Aḥmad Haudana wanted to leave, he recommended Abū Jābir as his replacement".

11. Based on Abū Jābir's own report, he left Ghadamis when he was 11 years old and went to Tripoli when he was 14. However, it is a fact that 'Abd al-Mālik was the Qāḍī in Ghadamis on 25 Muḥarram 1323 A. H./1904 A. D. If Abū Jābir moved to Ghuryan in the same year, he would have been 12 when he left Ghadamis as he was born in 1310 A. H./1892 A. D. Thus the period with 'Abd al-Mālik in Ghadamis and Ghuryan did not exceed a year and a few months. And it is impossible that he went to Makka in the same year. It is perhaps more accurate that he left to Makka in 1325 A. H./1906 A. D. See the late Bashīr Qāsim Yusha''s interview with the family of Abū Jābir. Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 433.

lived with his adoptive father there until he became of age (*bāligh*). He often travelled to and fro between Ghuryan and Tripoli. When he was 14 years old, together with Shaykh al-Faqīh Muḥammad Shalīd,<sup>12</sup> he went by ship to Makka to perform his *ḥajj* (pilgrimage).

After his *ḥajj*, he was sent to Ṭā'if to study at Maṣjid Ibn 'Abbās, and then back again to Makka to continue his studies at Maṣjid al-Ḥarām and successively at Maṣjid al-Sawlatīya,<sup>13</sup> where he studied under three famous '*ulamā'* figures, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Daḥmān, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Najjār<sup>14</sup> and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-Afghānī. These were the people who contributed to shaping Abū Jābir's character and who gave him the wealth of knowledge which resulted in his becoming a famous '*ulamā'*.<sup>15</sup>

After graduating from Madrasa Sawlatīya, Abū Jābir became a teacher and later a director of one of the *madrasa* in the district of al-'Aqīq, Ṭā'if.<sup>16</sup> founded by his teacher Shaykh Aḥmad al-Najjār.<sup>17</sup> When he succeeded in the special examination<sup>18</sup> [at the age of 24], he was appointed to teach in Maṣjid al-Ḥarām in 1335 A. H./1916 A. D. At the same time, he was made [assistant] director of Madrasa al-Raqīya in Makka which was founded by Sharīf Ḥusayn b. 'Alī.<sup>19</sup>

- 
12. Ed. Note: Shaykh 'Abd Allāh went to Makka through the help of Shaykh al-Faqīh Muḥammad Shalīd; he did not travel along with him. See Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 433.
  13. Ed. Note: Madrasa al-Sawlatīya, founded by Shaykh al-Hindī. See Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 434.
  14. His full name was Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ al-Najjār, a Qāḍī from Ḥijāz; born and died in Ṭā'if; he received his education at Madrasa Sawlatīya, Makka. He was also a poet and possessed knowledge in medicine, Ḥadīth and the Persian language. He was once assigned by the Ottoman government to formulate their school curriculum. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirkīlī, *al-A'lām Qamūs Tarājum li ashhar al-rījal wa al-nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-musta'ribīn wa al-mustashriqīn* (Dictionary of the Most Famous Men and Women from among the 'Arabs, 'Arabists and Orientalists) (Beirut: [n. p.], 1969) v. I, 176.
  15. This information was verified by his family, including Ḥajjī 'Abd al-Qādir Shalīd.
  16. Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 432.
  17. *Ibid.*
  18. It was reported that when Shaykh Abū Jābir was questioned by his relatives as to how he could have become a religious teacher at Maṣjid al-Ḥarām in Makka, he had answered, "I am qualified because I have the *Shahāda al-'Āliya* (Highest Certificate). Everyone who aspires to receive that certificate has to be interviewed by more than twenty Shaykhs [experts in religious studies]."  
Ed. Note: The above according to Ḥajjī 'Abd al-Qādir Shalīd; see Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 434.
  19. Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 434.

*Reformist Contribution in Malaya*

Shaykh Abū Jābir came to Malaya through the help of an 'Arab merchant from the al-Saqqaf family of Singapore. This merchant had the intention to upgrade the quality and status of the Alsagoff 'Arabic School in Singapore, and for this reason he contacted Abū Jābir. When Abū Jābir arrived in Singapore in 1918,<sup>20</sup> he was forced to sign a five-year teaching contract. However, according to Ustaz Ahmad b. Uthman Ba Junaid of Penang, one of his former students, Abū Jābir's efforts were mostly ignored by the al-Saqqaf merchant. It is for this reason that Abū Jābir decided to move to Penang where there were many schools needing 'Arabic language teachers.<sup>21</sup> Abū Jābir began teaching at Madrasah al-Mashhur,<sup>22</sup> which had been founded in 1916; there he came to know its first director, Syed Shaykh al-Hady, a well-known reformist figure in Malaya.<sup>23</sup> It was in Penang that Shaykh Abū Jābir married the daughter of a Yamanī 'Arab, [al-Yafi'ī],<sup>24</sup> which strengthened his relationship with the local Muslim community. However, due to a financial crisis in Madrasah al-Mashhur, he left [in 1920] and was replaced by Shaykh 'Abbas Bakar Rafik.<sup>25</sup>

Besides teaching, Abū Jābir also administered the Madrasa. The subjects he taught, other than the 'Arabic language, were 'Arabic literature and *fiqh* [jurisprudence] of the Shāfi'ī Mazhab [school of law]<sup>26</sup> [as well as '*ilmu balāgha* (rhetoric)]. Aside from these official responsibilities, he was active as *imām* and religious teacher at Maṣjid al-'Arab in Jalan Seang Teik, roles he fulfilled every Ramaḍān [fasting month].<sup>27</sup>

---

20. Ed. Note: Shaykh Abū Jābir ('Abd Allāh Maghribī) was director of al-Mashhūr in Penang from 1918–20; see *al-Safwah* (The Essence) (Penang: al-Mashhūr, 1994) 3. He would have had to have taught for some time at the Madrasa before being appointed director. If he had been in Singapore before coming to Penang, he would have to have arrived in Singapore earlier than 1918. And see Addendum 247.

21. Interview with Shaykh Ahmad Ba Junaid, hereafter cited as Shaykh Ahmad Bajunid, a former student who lives in Penang.

22. Ed. Note: Re Madrasah al-Mashhūr, see 79–80 *supra*.

23. Ed. Note: Their relationship of ideological co-operation was to last through to Syed Shaykh's death in 1934. See Divider preceding 109 *supra* for the eulogy 'Abd Allāh Maghribī (Shaykh Abū Jābir) delivered at Syed Shaykh's grave.

24. Interview with Shaykh Ahmad Bajunid.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Interview with a few of Shaykh Abū Jābir's former students and close friends, including Ali b. Zin b. Ahmad Hasan Aidid and Shaykh Ahmad Bajunid.

27. *al-Safwah*, *op. cit.*, 3.

### *Sending Students Abroad for Higher Studies*

Cairo was one of the famous centres for Islāmic studies at that time. In 1923, Shaykh Abū Jābir sent a group of students from Madrasah al-Mashhur for further studies at schools administered by Islāmic societies there.<sup>28</sup> The following year, another five students left for Makka. In subsequent years, more and more students were sent overseas, including to 'Irāq and India. No fewer than 150 of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Abū Jābir's students were given this opportunity. Upon their return, they were appointed to numerous important positions in Malaya. Among those who were to become significant reformist figures in Malaya were Shaykh al-Maghzi, Abdul Wahhab al-'Isami,<sup>29</sup> Yusof Na'im (from Perak) and Abu Bakar Ash'ari<sup>30</sup> (from Perlis).<sup>31</sup>

### *Increasing the Quality of Islāmic Education*

In 1928, some years after Shaykh Abū Jābir left Madrasah al-Mashhur, he was assigned to teach and subsequently to administer Madrasah al-Ildrisiyah in the western Malay State of Perak. There he worked hard to improve both the teaching method and the administrative system. He had not been there long, however, when a disagreement occurred with the Perak Royal Family, the reason being Shaykh Abū Jābir's refusal to hire one of their family members as a teacher because he considered the candidate did not have the necessary qualifications. The Royal Family was affronted, and he was accused of using religious

---

28. Ed. Note: Although the Shaykh had terminated his service at al-Mashhūr, he still helped to send students abroad by finding them sponsors and places in institutions of higher learning. (Refer n. 43.)

29. Ed. Note: Mohammad Redzuan Othman considers that this is Abdul Wahab Abdullah; see 'His Mission', 143, ed. n. 170 *supra*.

30. Interview with Shaykh Ahmad Bajunid.

31. Ed. Note: Abu Bakar Ash'ari became a significant religious figure in the north of Malaya, especially in Penang and Perlis. He brought about changes in the interpretation of religious laws based on al-Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth without being bound to any specific *mazhab*, whether Shāfi'ī, Mālikī, Hanafī or Ḥanbalī. His teaching was of the *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* ('The People of Tradition and the Community') school of thought, which was to be codified in the Perlis State Constitution. (Also see Publisher's Note, xiii and 'His Mission', 150, ed. n. 194 *supra*.)

books of *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* persuasion,<sup>32</sup> including *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* [The Path of Peace].<sup>33</sup> As a result, he was ordered to leave Perak, and he returned to Penang.

In 1929, Shaykh Abū Jābir reopened Madrasah al-Amirah Mariah, which had been closed down for a few years.<sup>34</sup> In 1930, he started his own Madrasah al-Huda al-Diniyyah li 'l-Banin wa 'l-Banat, for both male and female students. This Madrasa played an important role in abolishing many innovations which were against Islām, especially those practices carried out in the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar [respectively the first and second months of the Islāmic year], as well as on historic occasions such as Mawlid al-Nabī [the Prophet's Birthday], Isrā' and Mi'rāj [respectively the Prophet's nocturnal journey from Makka to Jerusalem and his ascension to heaven]. Unsuitable activities were replaced by religious talks and speeches recalling the history of Islām.

#### *Writings on Islām*

Shaykh Abū Jābir wrote a few books, among them *Kitāb 'Ilmu Balāgha* (Book about Rhetoric)<sup>35</sup> and *Kitāb Munīr al-Iḥām* (Book to Illuminate Comprehension), two volumes on *Sharī'a* [canon law] based on al-Qur'ān.<sup>36</sup>

32. Ed. Note: Apparently the Royal Family was concerned lest students change their affiliation from the Shāfi'ī Mazhab to *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Jamā'a*.

33. Ed. Note: Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ṣalāh al-Amīr al-Kahlānī al-Ṣana'ānī, *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* (The Path of Peace), (Cairo: Idārat al-Tiba'a al-Muniriya, 1925-6). In a letter dated 3 September 1998, the International Islamic University Malaysia, Head of the Bibliographic Access Division, responding to MSRI's letter to the Rector of 21 August, wrote that the academic staff members with speciality in Ḥadīth and Sunna "unanimously agree that the two books [also *Nayl al-Awtār* by al-Shawkānī] are considered as being indispensable references in the field of Ḥadīth in most if not all Islāmic institutions". (Ref: IIU CDD 1.4/33/1 (66).)

34. Ed. Note: According to Haji 'Abd al-Qādir Shalīd he only assisted in reopening the Madrasa: see Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 434.

35. Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 439.

Ed. Note: According to Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', *op. cit.*, 439, after he completed *Kitāb 'Ilmu Balāgha*, for reasons unknown, he destroyed it.

36. Ed. Note: Vol. I (Penang: al-Hudā Printing Press, 1936). The whereabouts of Vol. II is uncertain.

### *Abolishing Deviant Teachings*

From the time of his arrival in Penang, Shaykh Abū Jābir had to face multiple problems and challenges that hindered progress in reforming the community and spreading the *Sharī'a* [canon law], which he used all his knowledge and wisdom to overcome.<sup>37</sup> He learned that many of the Muslims there practised culturally-inherited nonsensical beliefs which were totally against the actual teachings of Islām. He tried to correct this situation through his writings and talks. Due to his diligence and sacred ambition, many of the leaders and followers of deviant teachings returned to the true teachings of Islām. Among them were those from the 'Mazhab Matahari', led by the Imām of Masjid Jelutong.<sup>38</sup> The Mazhab Matahari believed in *tanāsukh al-arwāḥ* [transmigration of the soul] and that their leader or Khalīfa had absorbed the soul of Prophet Muḥammad, thereby elevating his status to that of the Prophet. The followers were forced to give their wealth, property and cash, and even their daughters or wives to these leaders. When they realised their wrongdoing, they repented and subsequently burned all the books written by the Imām of Masjid Jelutong.<sup>39</sup>

### *Role as Activist and the Challenges*

In 1932, a dispute occurred between two groups of 'ulamā' in Balik Pulau: one led by Sa'idain and the other by Haji Hussain (Che Dol?). The dispute worsened and involved arguments between father and child, husband and wife, and among relatives. Although a number of initiatives were made to reconcile these groups, including the involvement of palace authorities and *rajas* from the Malay States, it was to no avail. However, through the blessed efforts of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Abū Jābir, the dispute ended easily.<sup>40</sup>

Then, at the end of 1933, there were widespread activities by Christian missionaries converting the Orang Asli [Original People] in the hinterland. To thwart this movement, an Islāmic missionary association

---

37. *al-Safwah, op. cit.*, 3.

38. Ed. Note: This refers to Ṭarīqa Taslīm and occurred in 1933; see *Saudara* 350, 6 (18 Oct.) 7; 351, 6 (21 Oct.) 7; 352, 6 (25 Oct.) 6.

39. Ed. Note: See Syed Alwi, 81–2 *supra* for a fuller description of that happening.

40. Ed. Note: According to Shaykh Ahmad Bajunid by telephone on 23 November 1998, the dispute centred on 'Mazhab Matahari' (Taslīm), discussed above.

was formed, Shaykh Abū Jābir being one of the founders. This effort resulted in many Orang Asli converting to Islām.<sup>41</sup>

In 1934, a writers' fraternity known as Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena came into being. Shaykh Abū Jābir was appointed one of its executive advisers,<sup>42</sup> while Tunku Abdul Rahman [later to become Prime Minister of Malaysia] was one of its members. This association has been viewed as the backbone for the subsequent formation of the Federation of Malaya.

Among the activities carried out by Sahabat Pena was to correct errors found in printed copies of al-Qur'ān distributed around the Malay States. This was a very dangerous situation for the Muslim community in the country. Following the incident, action was taken by the government to ban the buying and distribution of these Qur'ān. Most of the Qur'ān brought into the Malay States at that time were printed in India and Java. After that, warnings were given to printers not to repeat the mistake.

In 1939, Shaykh Abū Jābir called upon the religious schools to be more serious about learning *tajwīd* [art of reciting al-Qur'ān with proper pronunciation and intonation] as a preparation for the al-Qur'ān reading competition at the state religious-school level. The *Tilāwat al-Qur'ān* [al-Qur'ān recitation competition] was organised by Madrasah al-Huda al-Diniyyah every year. All expenses incurred, including prizes for the winner, were covered by the Madrasa.

In 1940, Madrasah al-Huda sent students overseas for further studies. This time they were sent to 'Irāq, sponsored by that government. The following year, others were sent to al-Azhar University in Cairo to take courses in *Sharī'a* [canon law], their expenses being covered by that University.<sup>43</sup>

---

41. Interview with Shaykh Ahmad Bajunid.

Ed. Note: Refer n. 43, 2.

42. Ed. Note: See "Through the Prism ...", 98 and ed. n. 21 and 22.

43. All information on the history of Shaykh Abū Jābir from 1919 through 1941 is based on a document written in 'Arabic composed by former Madrasah al-Mashhūr students of Shaykh Abū Jābir. It was published by Bashīr Qāsim Yusha' in his "Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghadamisi", *op. cit.*, 441-2. This document had never been studied or used in Malaya as historical material regarding *iṣlāh* figures here. The document bears four signatures. However only the name O. Alsagoff is certain, but this name is in Roman letters and appears to have been stamped on, and thus he was not necessarily one of the signatories.

Ed. Addendum to p. 243:

Syed Omar and Syed Abdul Rahman b. Taha Alsagoff were Trustees of the Wakaf of Syed Muhammad b. Ahmad Alsagoff and Administrators of the Alsagoff 'Arabic School; it is probable that they arranged for Shaykh Maghribī's appointment.

When World War II broke out and the Japanese invaded Malaya, there were tensions and disturbances in many areas. After Madrasah al-Huda al-Diniyyah was partially bombed in one of the Japanese air attacks it was closed.

### *Return to Makka*

After World War II ended, on 14 Sha'bān 1366 (25 November 1946), Shaykh Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh returned to Makka, having fulfilled his responsibilities as a missionary and religious teacher in the Malay States. Before he went back, he managed to create a printery in Penang which published religious books, including *al-Muṣḥaf al-Sulṭānī al-Ḥamīdī*.<sup>44</sup> The news about his return to Makka was publicised by the *Warta Negara* of Penang (158, 7 June 1947)<sup>45</sup> in a special article that gave detailed information about him as a tribute and appreciation for his contributions in the religious and educational fields.

After some time in Makka, in 1949 Shaykh Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh received an offer to teach at Madrasa al-Falāḥ in Bombay, India.<sup>46</sup> He was invited to do so by its founder, Muḥammad 'Alī Zaynal, a millionaire from Hijāz who had founded the Madrasa. Shaykh Abū Jābir accepted the post. However, not long after that, in 1950 he was appointed by al-Su'ūdī King 'Abd al-'Azīz as a Judge in the Sharī'a High Court in Makka. When, after seven years' service, he reached the retirement age of 65, he applied to be released but it was rejected as there was no suitable replacement. His tenure was extended until 1963 when he was 71 years old, but he continued to hold the post until his death. He died in Makka in 1395 A. H./1974 A. D. at the age of 82 and was laid to rest in the al-Ma'alah cemetery.

---

44. Ed. Note: *al-Muṣḥaf al-Sulṭānī al-Ḥamīdī* refers to an al-Qur'ān edition published by the Ottoman Khalīfat in honour of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (1876–1909). One copy of the Penang reprint (1939) was gifted to Masjid al-'Imrān in Ghadamis by Shaykh Abū Jābir when he visited there in 1964.

45. Ed. Note: The National Archives do not have this particular issue, and MSRI has been unable to locate it elsewhere.

46. The Madrasa still stands today.

SHAYKH 'ABD ALLĀH MAGHRIBĪ:  
TEACHER AND KAUM MUDA ACTIVIST<sup>1</sup>

Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab

SINCE its inception in 1914<sup>2</sup>, Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah in Penang has been visited by many well-known 'ulamā', be it from Makka al-Musharrafah ['noble Makka'] or from Egypt. From the time of its establishment it has been an important nursery for Islāmic movement activities in the Malay States. Initially, most of its teachers and students were directly or indirectly involved in the movement of Islāmic *iṣlāh* [reform] that had been spreading in the Malay States.

When he was the director of Madrasah al-Mashhur in Penang, Syed Shaykh al-Hady had written to his friend in Makka, Syed Taḥsīn al-Kaff, to invite a teacher from Makka to teach at the Madrasa.<sup>3</sup> With the help of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Najjār, Syed Taḥsīn al-Kaff managed to contact a teacher by the name of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh. In 1918, Syed Taḥsīn al-Kaff and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh sailed for Penang. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was also known as Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī b. Aḥmad.<sup>4</sup> He was born in Tripoli [Libya], and when he was seven years old,<sup>5</sup> he went to Makka to study under Shaykh Aḥmad al-Najjār. He successfully

---

1. Ed. Note: This article is an edited version of a translation made by Noor Khairiyati of MSRI of "Syed Syeikh Abdullah Maghribi: Pendidik dan Kaum Muda". *Jebat*, V, 6 (1975-6) 1-6. Dr. Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab is a professor in the History Department of Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

2. Ed. Note: Madrasah al-Mashhūr was established in 1916. See *al-Safwah* (The Essence) (Penang: al-Mashhūr, 1994) 3.

3. HCO 638/1935. Ag. Sec. High Com. to BAT, 11 Dec. 1935. Copy of Report on Shaykh Abdullah by Detective Branch, Penang.

Ed. Note: According to Bashīr Qāsim Yusha', "Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghadamisī", *Majallat al-Buḥūth al-Tārikhīya* (Journal of Historical Researches), VI, 2 (Tripoli: Markaz Dīrāsāt Jihād al-Lībīyina ḥīd al-Ghazw al-Itālī, May 1984) 435, the contact person's name was Shaykh Syed Taḥsīn al-Saqqāf.

4. Ed. Note: Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was born in Libya; Maghribī affixed to his name indicated his North African (*Maghrib*) origin.

5. Ed. Note: More likely at the age of 14; see Mahayudin, 241 n. 11 *supra*: It is documented that he was still in Libya at least to the age of 12.

completed his religious studies achieving his *Shahāda al-‘Ālimīya* [certificate] from Makka.<sup>6</sup>

In Penang, Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh resided at Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah where he taught alongside Syed Shaykh al-Hady.<sup>7</sup> In 1919, the resignation of Syed Shaykh al-Hady as the director left the position vacant, and in the same year the Madrasah Administrative Committee confirmed the appointment of Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh as the new director, and he remained as such until 1921. As a liberal ‘*ālim*, his views and opinions were compatible with the *islāh* — reformist — trend at al-Mashhur. His preference was more pronounced during the time he was in contact with the ‘*ulamā*’ of *islāh*, such as Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin.<sup>8</sup> Not to mention the subsequent activities of Syed Shaykh al-Hady who was spreading his *islāh* views through his novels and his *al-Ikhwān* magazine, which inspired Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh to be more active. While he was director of Madrasah al-Mashhur new things were introduced, be it in the syllabus or the administrative structure. For the first time, a few of its graduates were sent to Egypt to further their studies at al-Azhar University.

However, because of a dispute with the Madrasah Administrative Committee, Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh resigned.<sup>9</sup> He lived at 177 Malacca Street, Penang, where he had the opportunity to establish an association

6. Ed. Note: This would be the *Shahāda al-‘Ālimīya* — Highest Certificate — or at least the *Shahāda ‘Ilmiya*, an academic degree equivalent to a Bachelor of Arts. *Shahāda al-‘Ālimīya* only refers to the diploma conferred by the Great Masjid in Tunis or al-Azhar in Cairo.

7. Syed Shaykh al-Hady was the director from 1915 to 1921. It was said that his resignation as director was because of an argument with Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh. See HCO 638/1935. Copy of Report on Shaykh Abdullah. But in fact, his resignation was probably because he wanted to concentrate on his writings.

Ed. Note: Syed Shaykh was the director at al-Mashhūr from 1916–1918; see *al-Safwah*, *op. cit.*, 3. It is said that Syed Shaykh resigned in 1918 and was replaced by Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh, who served until 1920.

8. Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin taught at al-Mashhūr at the same time as Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh, and is said to have taught astronomy.

Ed. Note: See Syed Alwi, 76, ed. n. 21 *supra*.

9. HCO 638/1935. Copy of Report on Shaykh Abdullah. It was reported that Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh’s resignation was because of his conflict with Amin Sahib (of Chulia Street) who owed Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh RM 1,700.00. It is clear that Amin Sahib was one of the members of the Administrative Board. An oral report said that Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh’s resignation took place because the members of the Madrasah Administrative Committee failed to pay his salary. The conflict was resolved when the committee agreed to pay the RM1,000.00 owing to him.

'To Support Khalīf Sharīf Ḥusayn', known as Jam'iyat al-Khīlafa.<sup>10</sup> The association was short-lived; it was closed down in the same year. He then went to Perak and was fortunate to befriend Haji Wan Ahmad, a Malay teacher who was then teaching the Raja Muda Temerloh at Telok Anson. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh's piety and expertise in religious affairs strengthened his relationship with the Raja Muda and with Raja Harun,<sup>11</sup> who hailed from Perak. At that time, Madrasah al-Idrisiyyah which had been established by the Sultan of Perak at Bukit Chandan, Kuala Kangsar, was in need of dynamic teachers to speed up its development. In 1928, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was appointed by Sultan Iskandar Shah to head the administration of the Madrasa. The most important criteria for his appointment was not his experience as an educator, but his piety and expertise in religious affairs.

Here, where he was well known as a teacher and *islāh* figure, he hoped the *islāh* concept would take root. Under his administration, Madrasah al-Idrisiyyah developed into a famous Madrasa. Its student enrolment increased to 150, and to accommodate the increasing number of students new teachers were hired, such as Shaykh Ali Maqsuri, Abdul Razak and Muhammad Fadzil, all of whom hailed from Penang, and Muhammad Nor Faiz<sup>12</sup> who was from Perak. When we look at the composition of its academic force, who were mostly hired from Penang, especially from Madrasah al-Mashhur, it is obvious that the path taken by Madrasah al-Idrisiyyah was leading towards an *islāh* institution.

The efficiency of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh created dissatisfaction and jealousy among some of the Madrasa administrators and those from Kaum Tua, the 'Old Faction', who disagreed with the concept of *tafīq* [combining interpretations of different *mazhabs* (schools of Islāmic law)] that Shaykh 'Abd Allāh held to fight against *khurāfat* [nonsense or superstition] and *bid'a* [innovation] which were widespread at the time. Without taking into consideration the ideological differences between himself and Kaum Tua, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh gifted a book called *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* (The Path of Peace)<sup>13</sup> to one of the

10. *Ibid.* He was also said to have opened a printery in Penang called al-Hudā Press.

11. *Ibid.* It was said that through Raja Harun, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was introduced to the Sultan of Perak.

12. A former student of al-Mashhūr al-Islamiyyah in Penang, he was the editor of *Panduan*, a magazine produced at Madrasah al-Idrisiyyah in November 1934. See *Panduan*, I, 1 (20 November 1934).

13. For further details on *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* which was the source of the falling-out, see Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, *Kitāb Subul al-Salām*, 1 (Kaherah [Cairo], 1349 A. H./1930 A. D.) [and see n. 15 which gives year of publication as 1925–26].

Madrassa students who was successful in his studies.<sup>14</sup> His action was read as an effort to poison the minds of the madrasah students so they would follow Kaum Muda's — the New Faction's — religious beliefs. The influential Kaum Tua group in Kuala Kangsar stated that *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* encompasses the thoughts of all the *mazhabs* (schools of law) in Islām, and this they considered an unhealthy trend as it might lessen affiliation with the Shāfi'ī Mazhab, which was the recognised *mazhab* in Perak. The situation became worse when Shaykh 'Abd Allāh challenged anyone to prove that *talkin* ['instruction' of the dead] is *sunnat*. He was accused by the Madrasah Administrative Committee of being Kaum Muda, and as a result he was dismissed.

That development at al-Idrisiyyah in 1928 clearly shows that the concept of Kaum Muda could not take root there. Even though there were efforts to spread the *iṣlāḥ* concept among the students, as was done by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī, the effort was crushed by the Kaum Tua who were close to Sultan Iskandar Shah. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī's attitude was seen by the Kaum Tua as challenging the status quo, and a few books such as *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* (The Path of Peace) and *Nayl al-Awṭār* (Attainment of Purposes)<sup>15</sup> were banned in the Madrasah on the grounds that if they only upheld Ḥadīth [in addition to al-Qur'ān], then these were Kaum Muda religious beliefs. The situation in al-Idrisiyyah was strictly controlled by the traditional group. The Kaum Tua 'ulamā', who were always suspicious of his mission, forced him to leave the royal town.<sup>16</sup> He moved back to Penang, which he felt was more accommodating, safe and free.

- 
14. During those days, it was customary for a principal to give a present to the best student in the school. It was said that one member of the Madrasah Administrative Committee disagreed with Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī's method of choosing the best student, and that this was the real reason for the falling-out between them. Statement by Ustaz Nawawī, a teacher from Madrasah al-Idrisiyyah, on 25 February 1972.
  15. Ed. Note: Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ṣalāh al-Amīr al-Kaḥlānī al-Ṣana'ānī, *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* (The Path of Peace), (Cairo: Idārat al-Tiba'a al-Munīriyya, 1925–6); Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-Awṭār* (Attainment of Purposes), (Cairo: Maṭba'a Bulaq, 1879). In a letter dated 3 September 1998, the International Islamic University Malaysia, Head of the Bibliographic Access Division, responding to MSRI's letter to the Rector of 21 August, wrote that the academic staff members with speciality in Ḥadīth and Sunna "unanimously agree that the two books are considered as being indispensable references in the field of Ḥadīth in most if not all Islāmic institutions". (Ref: IIU CDD 1.4/33/1 (66).)
  16. He was accused by his enemies of teaching Islām according to the modernist beliefs of the Kaum Muda. In the end, the Sultan went along with the slander and gave him 24 hours' notice to quit the staff.

His zeal to spread religious knowledge did not stop there. In 1931, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh opened Madrasah al-Hadi al-Diniyyah<sup>17</sup> at Anson Road, Penang. The Madrasah was established with the intention of teaching religious studies not only to boys but also to girls on the island. It was clear from the rapid development of the Madrasa that his effort was well received by the people.

As an *'ālim* who upheld the *iṣlāḥ* concept, 'Abd Allāh issued a *fatwā* [formal legal opinion] criticising *taqlīd*<sup>18</sup> and *bid'a* [innovation] among the Malays. Although he was not a Malay, the spirit of *iṣlāḥ* that burned in his soul gave him the confidence to eradicate all aspects of deviation in Islām. Through *Saudara*, of which he was one of the editorial staff,<sup>19</sup> Shaykh 'Abd Allāh published many articles criticising the practice of *talkin* ['instruction' of the dead]<sup>20</sup> and *uṣalli* [expressing aloud one's *nīya* before commencing prayer]. He did not just write, he joined forces with Syed Shaykh al-Hady in dialogues with many religious teachers in Balik Pulau, Penang who were teaching religious doctrines very far from the essence of Islām.<sup>21</sup>

His passion to develop society surpassed everything else. Amazingly, in a celebration of Isrā' and Mi'rāj [respectively Prophet Muḥammad's nocturnal journey from Makka to Jerusalem and ascension to heaven], he openly criticised the backwardness and weaknesses of the Muslims, especially the Malays, who in his opinion had been left

17. *Saudara*, 402, 6 (25 April 1934) 7 and *Majlis* (18 February 1932) 3. The Madrasa stressed the usage of 'Arabic language in its curriculum. It was situated at two different locations: Boys' Section at 538 Jalan Datuk Keramat and the Girls' Section at 101 Jalan Seang Teik. The hostel fee was RM10/- a month. In welcoming the inception of the Madrasa, the newspaper *Majlis* wrote about Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī as a person "who is well known among the Malays for his expertise in the world of teaching the real Islām". This Madrasa is also referred to as Madrasah al-Hudā [*Saudara*, *op. cit.*].
18. Ed. Note: The adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating his reasons.
19. HCO 638/1935. Copy of Report on Shaykh Abdullah. See also *Saudara*, 447, 6 (29 September 1934) 10.
20. See "Ucapan al-Shaykh Abdullah Maghribi, diatas perkuburan al-Marhum Syed al-Hadi" (Speech of al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī at the grave of the late Syed al-Hady), *Saudara*, 386, 6 (24 February 1934) 6–7; 387, 6 (28 February 1934) 7 and 388, 6 (3 March 1934) 6. His opposition to *talkin* resulted in a disagreement with Shaykh Hussein Rafik, one of the directors of al-Mashhūr.  
Ed. Note: The name of this Shaykh is variously cited as 'Abbas Bakar Rafik; see Mahayudin, 243 *supra* and elsewhere.
21. See *Saudara* of 1933, 350, 6 (18 Oct.) 7; 351, 6 (21 Oct.) 7; 352, 6 (25 Oct.) 6.

far behind in the race of life compared to the non-Malay ethnic groups in this the Malays' own country. He criticised:<sup>22</sup>

Let us all observe who started mining the lands in the country. Who got rich from [planting] rows and rows of plantations in the country? Who cleared lands to develop estates in the country? Who can be proud of expertise in craftsmanship in the country? ... Can it be said that all or even half of this wealth is in the hands of Muslims? Absolutely not! But as a matter of fact, their religion, for hundreds, thousands of years has called upon them to unite in defending their honour, riches, life and religion so they would not diminish as time goes by, but who can do anything for a community that has moss in its ears and rust in its heart! They who will not listen nor try to understand anything and blindly follow their wild desires and lust.

He observed that many of the weaknesses in the society could be overcome if Muslims acted according to the teachings of Islām, as guided by the Prophet. Only by returning to the pure teachings of Islām and emulating the golden era of Islām could the Muslims in this country ever succeed. He further said that: "The clean and perfect development of modernisation is not the modernisation of the West which is only skin deep".<sup>23</sup> Modernisation to him must be based upon the holy teachings of Islām.

To fulfill his *iṣlāḥ* aspirations, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was also involved with his friend Syed Alwi al-Hady in Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (PASPAM)<sup>24</sup> (All-Malaya Brotherhood of Pen Friends) which was established by *Saudara*. He was appointed as executive adviser of the fraternity. His active role in PASPAM led the British to

22. See "Salinan Ucapan Shaykh Abdullah Maghribi di Madrasah al-Hadi al-Diniah: malam perhimpunan menghormati hari Maulid Nabi SAW" (A copy of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribi's speech at Madrasah al-Hādī al-Dinīya during a gathering on the night of the celebration of Mawlid al-Nabi SAW), *Saudara*, 321, 5 (8 July 1933) 7. See also, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribi, *Kisah Israk dan Mikraj* (The Story of Isrā' and Mi'rāj) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1934).

23. *Ibid.*

24. About Sahabat Pena see Arifin Ishak, "Tarikh Sahabat Pena", *Taman Paspam*, 1 (1940).

be suspicious of him.<sup>25</sup> They saw him as a radical *'ālim* who could influence the Muslim community in the Malay States. In 1935, when famine struck Madīna, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh published an article in *Saudara* calling on the Muslims in the Malay States to give financial help to their brethren in that country.<sup>26</sup> In this effort, he was aided by Syed Alwi al-Hady; T. M. Shaykh Mohamed from Seang Teik Road; Syed Salleh al-Sagoff, J. P.; Dr. Ariff; Syed Omar Mahzar,<sup>27</sup> all from Penang, and Hussein [Tunku Hussain Tunku Yahya], the Assistant District Officer of Kuala Pilah, Negeri Sembilan.<sup>28</sup> The British, who were already closely watching Shaykh 'Abd Allāh, were none too happy with this initiative.<sup>29</sup> They felt that this influential, radical *'ālim* could spark a revolt against them. The plan to collect donations for famine victims in Madīna had to be cancelled.<sup>30</sup> The British by then viewed Penang as a potential base for a Malay Islāmic political uprising because Penang had no religious institution in which they could position an officer to observe the *iṣlāḥ 'ulamā'* such as Shaykh 'Abd Allāh. After that incident, every move made by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh in Penang was shadowed by the British secret police until he had no choice but to return to Makka.<sup>31</sup>

---

25. Cf. CO 273/616, File No 50147. S. S. Police Branch Report: Report for the Year 1935, 1 June 1936. It was said in Penang he had the support of two close friends from Minangkabau, Sumatra. Shaykh Noh al-Zakir, who was born in Perak and worked in al-Hudā, and Mohd. Yunus b. Abdul Hamid, also Perak-born, working as an editor with *Saudara*.

Ed. Note: Actually, Mohd. Yunus was born in Langkat, Sumatra, see "Through the Prism ...", 93, ed. n. 14 *supra*.

26. HCO 638/1935. Copy of Report on Shaykh Abdullah. See also "Kepapaan yang bermaharaja lela di Negeri Madīna al-Musharrafā" (The widespread poverty in Madīna), *Saudara*, 514, 7 (1 June 1935). Cf. BAT 626/1935. Ag. Sec. High Com. to BAT, 11 December 1935.

27. It was said that Syed Omar Mahzar had gone to Siam to collect donations, but eventually was deported by the Siamese Government. In Perlis, it was said that donations were collected by Hakim Haji Mohamed, Wan Ahmad and Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, who was educated in Egypt.

Ed. Note: Re Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, see 'His Mission', 143, ed. n. 170 *supra*.

28. HCO 638/1935. Copy of Report on Shaykh Abdullah.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. Ed. Note: There is no evidence that Shaykh 'Abd Allāh did in fact return to Makka at that time. But if he did so, he returned again to Malaya as he is shown in a group photograph in front of the Selangor Club, Kuala Lumpur, in 1946, from which Plate 11 was taken.

Studying the role played by this Kaum Muda figure clearly shows his resourcefulness in bringing the Malays to an awareness of the importance of leadership. Though he was not a Malay, his activities and involvement in Malay society showed his empathy with the Malay people. His contributions to the educational world in Perak and Penang bear witness to his awareness of the importance of education for Muslims. As a teacher, he had already proven his credibility. Like the other *işlāḥ* figures, Syed Shaykh al-Hady and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin, who were his contemporaries, he rebuked, shook and challenged the peaceful slumber of the Islāmic situation at that time.

---

Ed. Addendum to p. 249 n. 3:

Syed Ahmad Jamal Alsagoff, in his fax to us of 26 May 1999, writes. "With respect to Taḥsīn, I confirm without doubt that it is Taḥsīn Alsagoff (al-Saqqāf) who lived in Makka in 1918. However, Taḥsīn is not strictly an Alsagoff, but was a freed slave; [he] adopted the Alsagoff family name [for] as a young Takruni he was purchased, freed and adopted as a son by Sharifah Rogayah bt. Ahmad Alsagoff".

SYED ALWI AL-HADY:  
BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE AND FAMILY TREE

*Life is conviction and struggle, and nothing more.*

‘Alī Shari‘atī<sup>1</sup>

---

1. ‘Alī Shari‘atī, *op. cit.*, 33.



## SYED ALWI AL-HADY: BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

- 15 Muḥarram 1310 A. H. (08 August 1892) Born on Pulau Penyengat, Riau, of Sharifah Sheikhun and Syed Shaykh al-Hady.
- 1893–1901 In Pulau Penyengat; attended Malay school up to Standard III.
- 1902–10 In Singapore; attended Kampung Glam Malay School and Victoria Bridge School for Standard V, Raffles Institution for Standard VI; in Johor Bahru attended Anglo-Chinese School for Standard VII.
- 1910–14 In Singapore.
- March–May 1914 Employed as personal assistant to Mr. Bush, Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department, by order of the Sultan of Johor.
- 11 May 1914 Sailed from Singapore on Japanese ship, *N. Y. K. Mishima Maru* for Beirut; stopped 24 hours at Colombo; group entertained by Ceylon Malays; disembarked at Port Said; spent week in Cairo; arrived Beirut 1 July 1914. Group of nine included seven from Johor: Mohamed Noah b. Omar from Muar, later to become Tan Sri Haji Mohamed Noah, Speaker of Parliament, then President of Senate, and father-in-law of two Malaysian Prime Ministers: Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Hussein Onn; Syed Abdul Aziz b. Muhammad al-Yahya (died in Beirut of tuberculosis); Abdullah b. Haji Taib; Mahmud b. Haji Kassim; Haji Mahmud b. Haji Abdul Manaf; Hassan b. Datuk Abdullah; Engku Ismail b. Abdul Rahman (from Johor Bahru); and Mohamed Said b. Haji Abu Bakar (son of 'Haji Bachik', Syed Shaykh's supporter from Melaka); and Syed Alwi.

- July 1914 Admitted to Kullīya ‘Othmānīya Islāmīya to study ‘Arabic and Islām; college dilapidated; with war, conditions deteriorated further; many students left and college in financial trouble; finally closed by Ottoman government as accused of producing anti-Turkish ‘Arab youth!
- 1914–17 End 1914, with help of English teacher Muṣṭaphā Khālīdī Effendi (1895–1977), later owner of Khālīdī Hospital, Beirut, group admitted to Syrian Protestant College (became American University of Beirut), on understanding fees would be paid after the war; regardless of religion, all students required to attend Church on Sundays.  
End 1916, Syed Alwi left along with Abdullah Haji Taib, Syed Ahmad b. Mohamed Alsagoff (son of the wealthy Nongcik Alsagoff of Singapore) and Hassan b. Datuk Abdullah to join Kullīya Ṣalāhīya in Jerusalem; Syed Alwi remained for only a few months for lack of money.
- 1917–18 Volunteered to serve in Medical Corps of 14<sup>th</sup> Battalion of Turkish Army in Syria (Damascus and Rīyāq); rank: 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt..
- 1919–20 Interpreter and clerk in Royal Army Service Corps of British Army in Beirut; helped Mohamed Noah, Mahmud and Mahmur to work as temporary clerks in Supply Unit; married first wife, Nabihah.
- Mid–1920 Returned to Malaya with Nabihah, Noah, Engku Ismail, Mahmur, Said and Abdullah Taib. Under order of British Army in Cairo, sent home from Suez by small minesweeper *Ban Hong Leong* to Bombay, by rail to Calcutta and then by British India boat to Penang.
- 1921 Teacher at Anglo-Chinese School in Penang; passed Normal Class examination at end of year.

- 1921 Nabihah returned to Lebanon to give birth to Syed Ahmad, who died in childhood; married second wife, Sharifah Azizah al-Mashhur ('Achik').
- 1922 Managing partner in Pawanchik Alwi & Co., and assistant manager of Maha Lakshmi/Minerva Co. Ltd.
- 1923–4 Palembang and Batavia; managed Almenoar's Dandels Hotel at Weltevreden and Raffles Hotel at Mangerai; private tuition in afternoons at Tanahabang, Batavia; served in Sekayu oilfields of Standard Oil Company of New York.
- end 1924 Returned to Penang for confinement of Sharifah Azizah.
- 1924–30 Served as first senior Malay Co-operative Officer (Taiping, Kuala Lumpur); married third wife 'Hab.' in Parit Buntar in 1926. (MSRI is unable to identify this lady whom Syed Alwi first came to know in Beirut during the years 1914–15.)
- 1930–1 Death of second wife, Sharifah Azizah al-Mashhur, leaving seven children; six-month trip with Syed Ahmad Shihab to Cairo, France and England; by mutual agreement, divorced Nabihah in Paris, who then married Syed Ahmad; returned and in 1931 married fourth wife, Sharifah Rahmah ('Embon', 'Bon'), sister of Sharifah Azizah.
- 19 Sept.–  
10 Oct. 1931 Editor of *Saudara* at Jelutong Press, Penang.
- 1931–4 Founded, managed and headed Johor Preparatory School in Johor Bahru.
- 1934 Editor-in-chief of *Warta Malaya* in Singapore; returned to Penang on death of father, 20<sup>th</sup> February, and took over the management of Jelutong Press.

- 3 Oct. 1934–  
21 July 1937      Editor-in-chief of *Saudara* and Secretary-General of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (All-Malaya Brotherhood of Pen Friends).
- 1937–8      Private tutor of English to Malay teachers in Melaka.
- 1939–40      In Johor Bahru: editor-in chief of *Lembaga* (daily) and *Lembaga Malaya* (weekly), in place of Dato' Onn Ja'afar.
- 1940–1      Johor Military Force at Keluang, Kota Tinggi and Johor Bahru: *munshi* (language teacher), quartermaster and captain adjutant; appointment arranged by Dato' Onn Ja'afar. Force disbanded just before Japanese Occupation.
- 1941–3      Organiser and Officer in Charge of Malai Sendenhan (Propaganda Department) of Japanese Military Government in Johor Bahru.
- 1943      Transferred to Penang as programme organiser in Malay section of Penang Broadcasting Station.
- mid-1943–5      Personal secretary to Marquis Y. Tokugawa, Supreme Adviser to the S. E. A. Japanese Supreme Command.
- 1945–6      Secretary-General of Pergerakan Melayu Semenanjung (Peninsula Malays' Movement) (PMM) Johor, founded in Batu Pahat by Dato' Onn Ja'afar, which Syed Alwi characterised as 'the seed of UMNO' (United Malays National Organisation).
- 1946–  
August 1951      Publicity officer of UMNO throughout Malaya; withdrew with Dato' Onn on Umno's rejection of admission of non-Malays as associate members.
- 1951–2      Technical and dialogue director for Sound Masters Corporation of New York for production of *Kampong Sentosa*, propaganda film during the Emergency, produced and filmed in Singapore.

end-1952-5	Literacy officer of Laubach Method for Malaya in the Adult Education Association.
1954	Pilgrimage to Makka.
1955-7	Editor of <i>Maju</i> , monthly magazine of RIDA (Rural and Industrial Development Authority).
Nov. 1957- July 1959	First principal of RIDA Training College, Petaling Jaya.
5 October 1959	Returned to Penang.
December 1959	Moved to Johor Bahru.
1961	Returned to Penang.
Jan. 1963- Dec. 1964	Head of Malay Studies Department of newly formed Ngee Ann College in Singapore.
1967	Second pilgrimage to Makka.
May 1967	Retired at age 74.
6 January 1970	Death in Penang at age 77; buried in Jelutong Masjid burial-grounds.

Syed Alwi's published works include:

Hady, al-, Syed Alwi, *Hikayat Pembelaan dalam Rahasia, atau Kaseh Saudara kapada (sic) Saudara-nya* (Story of a Secret Upbringing or The Love of Kin) adapted from English, ed., Syed Shaykh al-Hady (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929-30).

*Perbendaharaan Rumahtangga Bahagian Suami Isteri* (Household Finances: Share for Husband and Wife) (Penang: The Jelutong Press, 1931).

*Penerangan, Teguran dan Nasihat atas Pelayaran Naik Haji ke Tanah Suci* (Explanation, Critique and Advice on the Hajj Journey to the Holy Land) ([n. p.], 1955) in Jawi.

*Lakunan Sejarah: Tarik bin Ziad Pahlawan Islam* (Historical Play on Ṭāriq b. Zīad, Warrior for Islām) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1959).

*'Adat Resam dan 'Adat Isti'adat Melayu* (Malay Customs and Traditions), (3 edns., Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1960; 1972; 1980).

*Malay Customs and Traditions* (Singapore: Donald Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1962).

*Panduan Ibu* (Guide for Mothers) (Singapore: Donald Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1962) 2 v.

*Hang Tuah atau Pahlawan Melayu* (Singapore: Donald Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1963).

*Lakonan Hang Tuah* (Play on Hang Tuah in verse form) (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1964).

*Lakonan Hang Tuah* (Play on Hang Tuah in prose form) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).

*Pahlawan Melayu* (Malay Warrior) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).

*Adab-Tertib (Dalam Pergaulan dan Champoran): Chara Barat dan Chara Melayu* (Social Etiquette (In Social and Mixed Gatherings): Western and Malay Manners) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).

*Adab-Tertib — Perbandingan Barat dengan Melayu* (Social Etiquette — Comparison between Malay and Western [Manners]) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).

*Adab-Tertib Pergaulan Melayu* (Malay Social Etiquette) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966).

*Panduan Berucap* (Guide to Public Speaking) (Penang: Fajar, 1962; repr. Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1966).

*Panduan Ibu — Bahagian Perbidanan* (Midwifery Guide for Mothers) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).

*Perkasehan Suami Isteri — Rumahtangga* (Marital Relationship between Husband and Wife) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).

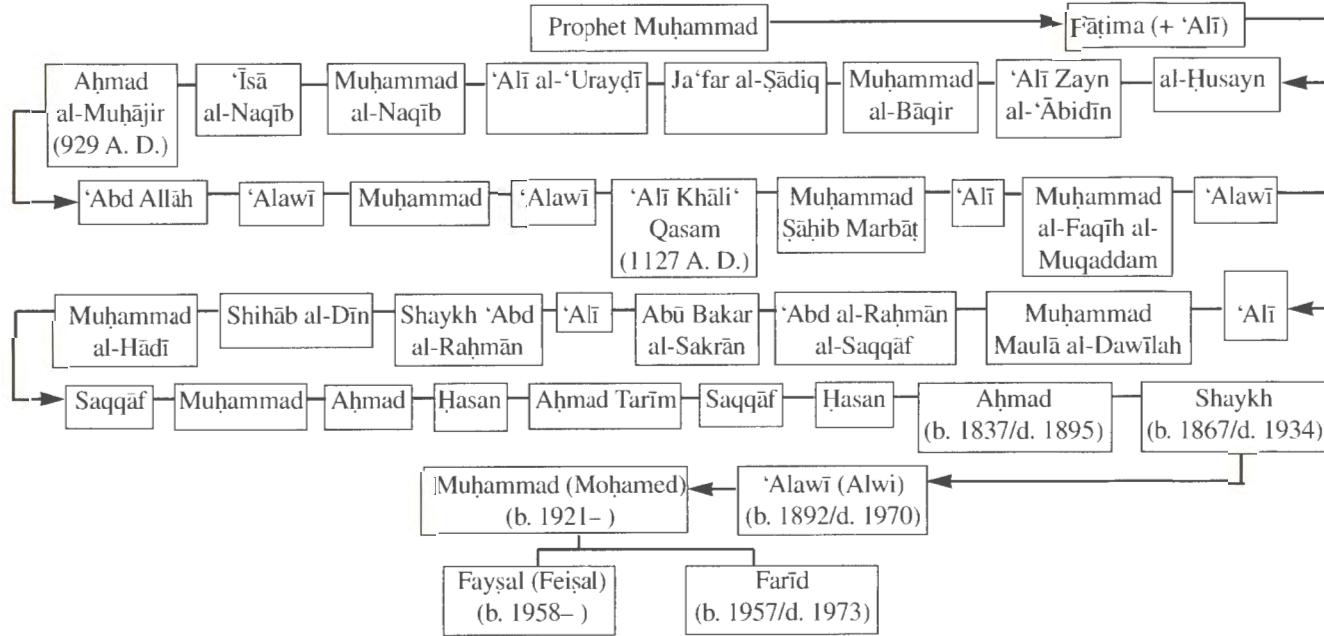
*Panduan Haji, 1954: Nasihat dan Teguran* (Guide to Hajj, 1954: Advice and Critique) (Syed Alwi al-Hady [n. d.]).

*Panduan Meshuarat — Pergaulan* (Guide to Meetings — Socialising) (Singapore: Marican & Sons [n. d.]).

Syed Alwi's Unpublished Works Include:

*Malay Social Etiquette*, transl. of *Adab-Tertib Pergaulan Melayu. Hidup Bahagia* (Better Living).

## GENEALOGY OF THE al-HĀDĪ FAMILY



Genealogy drawn by Syed Alwi al-Hadi; further researched and amended by Professor Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Founder-Director, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation, Malaysia.



ADDENDUM  
RIAU AND THE RESTORATION MOVEMENT  
Alijah Gordon

*Outside Antarctica and the Arctic, less than a fifth of the world's land surface was not under a European flag or that of a country of European settlement by 1914; and of this small fraction only Japan, Ethiopia and Siam enjoyed real autonomy.*

J. M. Roberts<sup>1</sup>

---

1. J. M. Roberts, *The Pelican History of the World* (Harmondsworth, U. K.: Pelican Books, 1984) 768.



## ADDENDUM

### *RIAU AND THE RESTORATION MOVEMENT\**

WHEN efforts were being made to solicit financial support for a restoration of the Sultanate of Riau, the greatest contributions came from among the Pulau Tujoh, where several members of the Riau-Lingga hierarchy had coconut plantations.<sup>1</sup> While in exile in Singapore, Sultan Abdul Rahman frequently petitioned the Netherlands East Indies government to have the Sultanate restored. Although he died on 28 December 1930 (in Telok Belanga, Singapore),<sup>2</sup> the cause of restoration was not diminished.

This movement became more organised before the outbreak of World War II and re-emerged in 1946 as the Djawatan Koeasa Pengoeroes Rakjat Riau (DKPRR). Both before and after the war, Singapore Chinese who hoped to obtain concessions to mine tin in Riau were among those who supported the restoration. The candidate for sultan was Tengku Ibrahim, son of Tengku Umar, Sultan Abdul Rahman's youngest son, who had been titled 'Tengku Besar' under the Sultanate. Tengku Ibrahim was then working for a Singapore tax company. After a time, however, the position of Tengku Ibrahim weakened, and he and the Chinese supporters of the DKPRR movement dropped out.<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese were heavily involved in local Riau commerce. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century as many as 10,000 Chinese had settled on Riau to grow pepper and gambier. In 1785 of the 30 vessels which arrived in Melaka from Riau, twelve or forty percent were Chinese. Visitors to Tanjung Pinang and neighbouring islands were constantly impressed by

---

\* *This Addendum should be read in conjunction with "Riau ...", 13-14 supra.*

1. Algemeen Rijksarchief Verbaal, 12 April 1913. Mailreport 481, fols. 1-6; Verbaal 21 July 1913, No. 5, Mailreport 1104, 1913; Verbaal 15 Sept. 1913, 52; Mailreport 1598, 1913 cited in Andaya, Barbara Watson. "Recreating a Vision: *Daratan* and *Kepulauan* in Historical Context", *BKI*, 153, 4 (1997) 496-9.
2. Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Netherlands, Mailreport 186 (secret), 1940; Tengku Ahmad Abu Bakar, Singkap. [n. d.], cited in Matheson, Virginia, "Strategies of Survival: The Malay Royal Line of Lingga-Riau", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, XVII, 1 (March 1986) 5, n. 2.
3. Letter from Barbara Watson Andaya dated 16 November 1998.

the commercial dominance of the Chinese and the influence they wielded in the community. By 1910, Chinese made up 58.86 percent of the population of Tanjung Pinang. By 1930, they were two-thirds of the population and in the province generally only 30 percent were locally born (compared to 79 percent of the Chinese population in Java). These patterns were exacerbated just before the Japanese occupation when another influx of Chinese occurred. Under the Riau Sultanate the Chinese did well, and it is understandable that after World War II Chinese merchants in Singapore were particularly active in raising funds to have the Sultanate restored.<sup>4</sup>

A spin-off group of the DKPRR, led by Riau people in Singapore, later formed the Persatuan Melayu Riau Sejati (Association of Pure Riau Malays) in support of the restoration, but was not taken seriously by the authorities.<sup>5</sup>

The *Singapore Free Press* of 27 July 1939, 3, quoting an article in *Lembaga*, the Johor Malay daily newspaper, wrote: "It is understood that two or three claimants to the throne have come forward, but as their line of descent has not been satisfactorily proved, their claims have been rejected. It is to be hoped that the right man will soon be found, so that the old Malay dynasty may be revived."

According to a Dutch archival document,<sup>6</sup> in 1928 there was some investigation of the different claimants for the Riau throne, although they didn't spell out the full details. The report mentions that three different lines could claim rights.

It seems the problem arose after the death of Sultan Sulaiman in 1883. According to a petition included in the 1940 file, Sultan Muhammad (1830–44) had three sons, the eldest of whom became Sultan Mahmud (deposed 1857). His daughter, Tengku Fatimah married Raja Muhammad Yusuf, the 10<sup>th</sup> (Bugis) Yamtuan Muda. Their son Tengku Abdul Rahman (d. 1930) became ruler in 1883 when Sultan Mahmud's successor, Sultan Sulaiman, died without a direct heir. Until he was old enough, his mother, Tengku Fatimah, ruled on his behalf; thus for two years Lingga had a queen until Sultan Abdul Rahman was installed.

---

4. Andaya, Barbara Watson, "Recreating a Vision ...", *op. cit.*, 496–9; 'Movements from Singapore to Restore Riau Sultanate, 1940 and 1945–6', Algemeen Nederlands Persagentschap Aneta Indisch Documentatie Dienst 1947, 18 August 1947, 358–9.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Netherlands, Mailreport 186 (secret), 1940.

The Dutch colonial authority could have chosen one of the other male descendants of Sultan Muhammad (from Sultan Mahmud or his other two sons). By selecting Tengku Abdul Rahman instead, they shifted the royal line from the 'Malay' to the 'Bugis' family. (Of course, the families had intermarried, but there was still a tendency to think of the Yamtuan Muda line as 'Bugis'.) Another Dutch report of 1914 says that this had long been a source of resentment for the Malay side, specifically the male descendants of Sultan Muhammad's other sons.

The situation was further complicated because apparently Sultan Abdul Rahman, himself, had suggested he might withdraw his claim if he could be replaced by one of his grandsons, Tengku Mahmud, son of Tengku Umar (whom Dutch sources say was the youngest son of the Sultan and a part-European woman, who had been given the title of Tengku Besar under the Sultanate).

Dutch accounts thus indicate that there was a group of Riau Malays who felt that Tengku Abdul Rahman should not have been made ruler of Riau in the first place since his 'rights' came through his mother Tengku Fatimah, as his father was descended from the Bugis Yamtuan Muda line, and because there were other male heirs.<sup>7</sup> There was therefore not unified support for Tengku Osman (Othman), even though he was Sultan Abdul Rahman's eldest son.

On 12 January 1939 a petition was presented to the Dutch Government by a certain Tengku Abdul Rahman, a claimant to the Riau throne (according to the Dutch, he was probably the inspiration behind the *Lembaga* article). He said that Sultan Sulaiman should have been succeeded by one of the other living male descendants of Sultan Muhammad and not Sultan Abdul Rahman, whose father was Bugis. This petitioner said he, himself, was descended from a son of Sultan Muhammad (d. 1844) and therefore the throne of Riau-Lingga should go to him.

---

7. The Malay rulers of Lingga claimed direct descent from Bukit Siguntang and sovereignty over all the *negeri in tanah Melayu*. The *Keringkasan Sejarah Melayu* by Tengku Mohd. Saleh (Daik/Lingga, 1930) contends that as a consequence of the infringement of the rules of succession when the deposed Sultan Mahmud's daughter, Fatimah, passed the throne to her son (Abdul Rahman, the last Sultan of Lingga whose father was the Bugis Yamtuan Muda), the kingdom of Lingga, 'the greatest in the Malay world', comes to an end. The author faces this reality, but also makes it clear that although Johor, Pahang and Selangor have survived, they only became independent sultanates because of the unlawful succession of the last sultan of Lingga. Matheson, *op. cit.*, 17.

It is clear that the existence of several claimants weakened the claims of each, and this is why the claim to the Riau-Lingga throne was not completely clear. The major reason for the lack of interest in reinstating Tengku Osman or any other individual, however, was simply that the Dutch had no wish to see the Sultanate restored since they had now taken over direct control.<sup>8</sup>

### *Historical Background*<sup>9</sup>

In 1718, the Siak leader Raja Kecik assembled a force of Minangkabau, made a surprise attack on the Johor capital and took it, the Raja Muda being killed in the fighting. Raja Kecik, who apparently claimed to be a posthumous son of the Sultan murdered in 1699, assumed the government of Johor, demoting the Sultan to Bendahara. This Bendahara withdrew from Johor to Terengganu and then to Pahang where he was killed on Raja Kecik's orders. The family of the murdered Bendahara approached their relatives at other Malay courts, and probably also the Dutch at Melaka, for aid to regain the Johor throne. They were eventually supported by a group of Bugis who succeeded in dislodging Raja Kecik. Sulaiman, son of the murdered Bendahara-Sultan, was installed as Sultan of Johor, with his court at Riau on the island of Bintan, and several of the Bugis group were repaid for their support by permanent administrative positions, including that of Yamtuan Muda, and by marriage with Sultan Sulaiman's female relatives.

The Bugis had physically to defend Bintan and other dependent territories from Siak attacks throughout the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thereafter, several decades of relative peace and prosperity followed and the second generation of the Riau court took over. Sulaiman was succeeded by a very young grandson, Mahmud, who had a Bugis Yamtuan Muda as guardian. Competition for the entrepôt and tin trade between the Dutch at Melaka and the Bugis-Malays at Riau reached a climax in the early 1780s with a Dutch blockade of the Riau harbour. When this was lifted, the reigning Bugis Yamtuan Muda, Raja Haji, joined his brother, the ruler of Selangor, in a siege of Melaka. Raja Haji was shot in an encounter with the Dutch and the Selangor and Riau forces dispersed.

---

8. Letter from Barbara Watson Andaya dated 25 November 1998.

9. The following is from Matheson, Virginia, "Strategies of Survival: The Malay Royal Line of Lingga-Riau", *op. cit.*, 9-10.

The Malay Sultan, Sulaiman, signed a contract with the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) which recognised the Company's authority in the kingdom. One of the terms of the contract stipulated that the Bugis no longer hold offices of state. The new Bugis Yamtuan Muda, Raja Ali, left Riau for the trading ports on Kalimantan's west coast and the Sultan appointed a Malay, the Engku Muda, to supervise Riau. After several years, the Sultan, Mahmud (r. 1760–1812), resented the presence of the Dutch officials and their intrusion into the affairs of his kingdom, and connived with pirates from Tempassuk (Sabah) to be rid of them. The Dutch post was attacked and only one Dutchman escaped to take the news to Melaka. Sultan Mahmud moved his court further south to Daik on the island of Lingga, and left the Engku Muda in charge of Riau. As a result of British and Dutch administrative policy in Southeast Asia during the Napoleonic War, both the British and Dutch governments restored the Johor-Riau-Lingga kingdom to Mahmud. The Bugis Yamtuan Muda returned to Riau to find Engku Muda in his place. Violence flared and peace was only made by Sultan Mahmud, who confirmed the Bugis Yamtuan Muda in his position and married the late Raja Haji's daughter, Engku Hamidah. To her, and her Bugis relatives and descendants, he gave the island of Penyengat, just offshore from Riau. The Sultan made it clear that Lingga and its dependent territories were to be considered his domain, and Riau, Penyengat and surrounding islands were to be under Bugis control.

The Malay Bendahara consolidated himself in his domain in Pahang. The Engku Muda however, refused to accept the title Temenggung which passed instead to one of his brothers. This family stayed in the Bulang-Singapore area where Raffles and Farquhar approached them about the establishment of a British settlement and the installation of a new Malay Sultan at Singapore. The opportunity for British intervention in this essentially Dutch area occurred because when Sultan Mahmud died in 1812 his eldest son, Husain, was in Pahang, celebrating his marriage to the Bendahara's daughter. Husain was already married to the Engku Muda's daughter and was thus allied with both the Temenggung and Bendahara families. A contemporary rumour recorded by the Englishman, Begbie,<sup>10</sup> accuses the then Yamtuan Muda, Ja'far, of poisoning Sultan Mahmud while his eldest son and heir was far from the court. Yamtuan Muda Ja'far was then able to proclaim the more amenable and pious younger brother,

---

10. The rumour was recorded by Begbie and noted in R. O. Winstedt, *A History of Johore 1365–1895*, MBRAS Reprints No. 6 (1979) 86.

Abdul Rahman as Sultan. Raffles and Farquhar persuaded the bypassed Husayn to be installed by the British as Sultan of Singapore.

The division of the archipelago into Dutch and British spheres of control under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 caused an irrevocable territorial split in the Johor kingdom. On the Peninsula, the Bendahara became the independent ruler of Pahang, the Temenggung moved to Johor and at the end of the century assumed the title Sultan of Johor, and the descendants of Husain renounced their claims to the Singapore sultanate, although they still own valuable land in present-day Singapore . . . .

The Malay rulers at Lingga seemed to govern their immediate area with little interference from the Bugis Yamtuan or the Dutch at Riau. The policy decisions, however, regarding trade and foreign relations were initiated by the Dutch or the Yamtuan Muda. Nothing could be done by either the Malay Sultan or the Bugis Yamtuan, without Dutch approval. This situation was particularly irksome to the young Malay Sultan, Mahmud, who reigned from 1844 to 1857 in Lingga. He left Lingga frequently, and without Dutch permission, to visit Singapore and the Malay courts of the East Coast. Once he tried to avoid naming a successor to a Yamtuan Muda, in the hope, it was suggested, that he could then claim the Yamtuan Muda's revenues as well as his own.<sup>11</sup> In 1857 the Dutch officially deposed this Sultan, and with the approval of the Bugis Yamtuan, appointed his uncle, Sulaiman, as Sultan of Lingga. Little is mentioned about his reign — 1857–1883 — perhaps because histories of the area focus for this period on Singapore and Johor where the Temenggung line was flourishing as Johor was opened for cultivation and development. Sultan Sulaiman was succeeded by Sultan Abdul Rahman who was deposed by the Dutch on 9 February 1911, who then abrogated the Sultanate, itself, in 1913.

---

11. See E. Netscher. "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1502 tot 1865", *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 35 (1870) 229.

## APPENDIX A

### *EXCERPT FROM "RIOUW EN ONDERHOORIGHEDEN"*<sup>1</sup> (Riau and Dependencies).

G. F. de Bruyn Kops, translated by kindness of D. K. Bassett

[In 1844, the Malay Sultan of Riau-Lingga, Sultan Mahmud, had tried to secure the abolition of the Yamtuan Muda or the 'under-king' institution which recognised the rights of the Bugis, but deprived him of the actual powers of government, but he failed. The destruction of this position came in 1900 at the hands of the colonial Dutch power.]

After the death of Raja Muhammad Yusuf [the Yamtuan Muda, in 1899], no successor was nominated; his younger son, Raja Ali Kelana, had previously sought to be relieved of his obligations in that capacity. Hence the Sultan, himself, was provisionally entrusted with the performance of the duties of governor or regent. He left the Malay island of Lingga, where former sultans had been established, and took up residence at the Istana of his deceased father on the Buginese island of Penyengat. By the political treaty of 1905, the office of Yamtuan Muda was abolished. [By the agreement of 1845, the Yamtuan Muda had been entrusted with the actual governance of "Lingga, Riouw en Onderhoorigheden".] The treaty of 1905 came into effect after much difficulty and after a six-year preparatory period, with the result that it appeared obsolete and in need of revision almost as soon as it came into operation. In 1909, an agreement was concluded concerning the transfer of the rents in the Pulau Tujoh Archipelago to the Netherlands-Indies government, whereby the amount to be paid to the Sultan of Riau as compensation for the assumption of these claims or rights was set at 183,000 rupiah per annum.

A revision of the contract of 1905 was already in preparation, principally because it was necessary in the interest of the financial system of Riau to settle and provide for the complete separation of the Sultan's private income and the state revenues. The revised arrangement proved abortive because of the deposition of the Sultan in 1911 and the annexation of the Sultanate by the Netherlands-Indies government in 1913.

---

1. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. Stibbe, D. G. (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 's Gravenhage/Leiden: M. Nijhoff, 1919) III, 621-2.

Sultan Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah had already incurred the displeasure of the Netherlands-Indies government on several occasions. Sensual and extravagant, he lived only for his pleasures, and such character as he showed indicated that he was weak-willed and untrustworthy. So long as his father, the Yamtuan Muda, lived, he was the man who really held the reins of government, and the person of the Sultan carried very little weight in the political scale. However, after the powers of Sultan and Yamtuan Muda were taken into one hand and Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah became the only governor, the consequences of his personal deficiencies were felt more extensively. In 1903, after some unseemly behaviour towards the Dutch Resident and after insulting the Dutch flag, the Governor-General summoned the Sultan to Batavia to do penance. The Sultan came, sought a pardon, and promised better conduct in future. The Governor-General granted the pardon, but with the warning that if he reverted to similar irregularities in future, very strong measures would be taken against him. There was little sign of an improvement in practice. The Sultan broke his contractual obligations to the Dutch repeatedly, e.g. by not showing respect to the Dutch flag. Any improvement in the internal government of the kingdom was rendered impossible by the unwillingness or inability of the Sultan to co-operate.

At Penyengat, the residence of the Sultan, an opposition party had been formed, with Raja Ali Kelana, the half-brother of the Sultan, at its head. The son and probable successor of the Sultan, the Tengku Besar, had affiliated himself to this opposition party. This influential group was averse to any interference in the affairs of Riau by the Dutch government and tried continually, by means of threats and false promises, to induce the Sultan to withdraw himself from the guidance of the government's officials. They [oppositionists] were convinced that the Netherlands government, because of a fear of foreign intervention, would not dare to take any measure encroaching upon the self-government of Riau. They succeeded finally in bringing the Sultan, who had sat for a long time between the two fires and tried to keep both parties contented with promises, wholly on the side of the opposition party. The Sultan retracted the promise he had already given to the Governor-General to reform, and drawing strength from the opposition's fallacy that the Dutch were weak, he assumed an arrogant attitude and repudiated the Dutch flag once again.

After these events, it was clearly apparent that the Sultan, despite repeated serious warnings, remained unreformed and was not willing to co-operate with the government to introduce a proper and just government into the kingdom of Riau; furthermore, the native government of

Riau had shown its disdain for the Dutch flag in an unequivocal fashion. It was time that the [Dutch] overlord relieved himself of such a vassal.

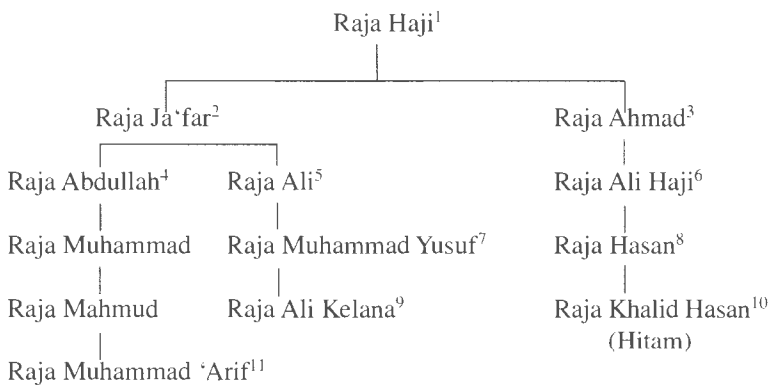
By a resolution of the Governor-General dated 3 February 1911, the Sultan and the Tengku Besar of Riau and its dependencies were deprived of their offices, and the then Resident of Riau, G. F. de Bruyn Kops, was entrusted with the execution of the resolution. Everything went forward in the best order. The Sultan and his family, together with the leaders of the opposition party, escaped to Singapore, where they still are [1919], and from whence they still seek to sow unrest and distrust among the people of Riau.

A monthly maintenance grant of 2,000 rupiah and 400 rupiah is paid to the ex-Sultan and the ex-Tengku Besar, respectively, on condition that the grant shall be abrogated as soon as the recipients show themselves in the territory of Riau. By virtue of one of the provisions of the political treaty [presumably of 1905], the Resident assumed the government of the Sultanate of Riau in the absence or default of the Sultan and the Tengku Besar. When it appeared later that the maintenance of native self-government in the Riau Archipelago was undesirable, the Sultanate was abrogated by the Government (Ind. Stb. 1913, No. 19).

## APPENDIX B

## INTERVIEW WITH RAJA HAJI MUHAMMAD 'ARIF

1. The family tree of Syed Shaykh's adoptive father, Raja Ali Kelana, from the time of Raja Haji:



1. Ed. Note: Raja Haji, also known as Raja Haji Fisabilillah, the son of a Bugis father and a Malay mother, became the fourth Yamtuan Muda in 1777. During his reign the country prospered, which led to increased competition with the Dutch. Tensions exploded in 1782 when the Dutch refused to share the booty taken from the British vessel *Betsy*, which was seized in Riau harbour. This led to a Dutch attack on Riau in 1783 and then to a blockade for almost a year. On 6 January 1784 a Dutch ship, *Welvaren* ran aground while trying to enter the harbour. A Bugis battery opened fire and hit the powder stored on the ship causing it to explode, killing hundreds of crewmen including the Vice-Governor of Melaka, A. F. Lemker. After the Dutch forces fled to Melaka, Raja Haji followed and began a siege of that Dutch stronghold which lasted six months, but ended when Raja Haji was killed in a Dutch counter-attack. His heroism is remembered and his grave on Penyengat Island is considered a *keramat* or holy site. By attempting to regain control over the Strait of Melaka, Raja Haji is portrayed as a hero who tried to wrest the vital trade links of the region from foreign domination. In May 1988, a Seminar was held in Tanjung Pinang and the papers presented were published as an official biography nominating Raja Haji Fisabilillah for *Pahlawan Nasional* status. (Raja Ali Haji ibn Ahmad, *The*

*continued on page 275*

2. Syed Shaykh al-Hady's relationship with the Royal Family of Riau:

He was the adopted son of Raja Ali Kelana. His wife was his cousin and her grandmother was one of the members of the royal family of Riau.

---

continued from page 274

*Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, *op. cit.*, 161, 169, 170, 360, 365; *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah dalam Perang Melawan Belanda (1782-1784)* (Pekanbaru: Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Riau) quoted in Barnard, Timothy P., "Local Heroes and National Consciousness: The Politics of Historiography in Riau", *BKI*, 153, 4 (1997) 518-22.

2. Ed. Note: Raja Ja'far was Yamtuan Muda from 1805 to 1831. See "Riau ...", 2-3 *supra*.
3. Ed. Note: Raja Ahmad, son of the famed Bugis hero Raja Haji, and brother of Raja Ja'far, was born 1773. He was the first prince from Riau to perform the *hajj*. Matheson & Andaya, the annotators cum translators of *The Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, *op. cit.*, 5, write that credit for the evolution of the *Tuhfat* should be shared between two men, father and son, the senior author being Raja Ahmad. He was a keen student of history and one of his poems, the *Sha'ir Perang Johor*, describes the wars between Johor and Aceh in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Johor's golden age. "It seems probable that he drew up the first draft of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* ...", however, his son, Raja Ali Haji "... brought this work to fruition ... and ... is generally accredited with authorship."
4. Ed. Note: Yamtuan Muda Raja Haji Abdullah was *murshid* (spiritual guide) of the Naqshabandiya Tariqa (*Ṣūfī* order). He died 1858.
5. Ed. Note: Raja Ali ibni Raja Ja'far became Yamtuan Muda in 1845; he died 1857.
6. Ed. Note: Raja Ali Haji ibni Raja Ahmad, c. 1809-70, was co-author of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift). See "Riau ...", 2 *supra*. The *Tuhfat* describes "... events covering nearly two centuries and encompassing the entire Malay World, it was conceived on a scale unprecedented in most traditional literature". Raja Ali Haji was born 1809 in Selangor, Malaya of a union between Raja Ahmad and a secondary wife. As his father's eldest surviving son, he accompanied him on expeditions and on the *hajj*, itself. "At the age of 32, he was even acting as joint regent and ruling Lingga for the young Sultan Mahmud (deposed 1857). ... His political influence spanned four decades, but it is as a scholar that he is most remembered." (Matheson and Andaya (1982) *op. cit.*, 5.)
7. Ed. Note: Raja Muhammad Yusuf was the 10<sup>th</sup> Yamtuan Muda from 1857 until his death in 1899.
8. Ed. Note: Raja Hasan, son of Raja Ali Haji, is thought to be the author of *Sha'ir Unggas* or *Sha'ir Burong* (Rhymed Poem of Birds), 1859, of which there are several lithographed editions. (Overbeck, H. O., "Malay Animal and Flower Shaers", *JMBRAS*, XII, 2 (August 1934) 113.
9. Syed Shaykh al-Hady's adoptive father, half brother of the deposed Sultan of Riau, Sultan Abdul Rahman Mu'azzam Shah (r. 1884-1911). See "Riau ...", 3 *supra*.
10. Ed. Note: For the efforts of Raja Hitam to achieve Japan's intervention against the colonial Dutch regime in Riau, see "Riau ...", 9-10, 14 *supra*.
11. At the time of this interview [pre-1961], Raja Muhammad 'Arif was 66 years old. He was living at Jalan Ungku Kadir, Kampung Melayu, Singapore.

3. Syed Shaykh al-Hady's early years in Riau:  
 Raja Muhammad 'Arif, being about the same age as Syed Shaykh's son Syed Alwi, could not remember Syed Shaykh's journeys back and forth between Makka, Cairo and Riau. He could remember that when Syed Shaykh was back in Riau, when he was managing the Batam Brickworks, that he and the Tengku [Besar] founded the Rushdiyyah Club where Syed Shaykh stayed late into the night expounding and arguing about the new ideas in *al-Manār*. One of the young men who loved to argue with him was Raja Hitam. Syed Shaykh was already noted for his eloquence and his forthrightness. He was not a person to give in to another's argument; he had to have the last word.  
 (Raja Muhammad 'Arif insisted that the Brickworks was solely owned by Raja Ali Kelana and that, additionally, he owned a steamship called *Kapal Karang*, used both as a passenger boat between the islands and a cargo boat for carrying the bricks from the Batam Island to Singapore and elsewhere.)
4. How Syed Shaykh al-Hady mastered Malay:  
 Syed Shaykh was accepted into the royal family and was allowed to play freely in the palace. The Riau palace was quite a literary centre at that time. Even the women, such as Raja Aishah, wrote a number of poems.  
 (Raja Muhammad 'Arif said he had collected two boxes of the literary, historical, and religious works of the time, but unfortunately they were lost during the Japanese occupation.) Syed Shaykh's capacity for learning was so great that he was truly loved by his adoptive father, who soon made him his confidential secretary. This constant writing gave Syed Shaykh a lot of practice and he became quite fluent in the Malay language.<sup>12</sup>
5. How Syed Shaykh learned Arabic:  
 In Riau at that time, there was a charitable house, 'Rumah Waqaf', where many travelling Muslims of all nationalities stayed on their way. It was here, with the scholars of that time, that Syed Shaykh learned his 'Arabic. He was a student of Haji Husain Palembangi and Haji Saleh Minangkabau who were religious officers in Riau. His 'Arabic was so good that he could debate with many 'Arabs in the 'Arab Club at Short Street, Singapore.
6. Why the Batam Brickworks closed down:  
 According to Raja Haji Muhammad 'Arif, the Batam Brickworks was doing very well; because of the profits the Brickworks brought

---

12. Ed. Note: In fact, his mother tongue!

to Raja Ali Kelana, he was able to buy a steamship, *Kapal Karang*. However, owing to some mishap (it was strongly suspected that the Dutch tried to sabotage it), the ship went aground three times and finally sank. The Batam Brickworks met with a similar misfortune. After Raja Ali installed a huge German machine for making bricks, it was discovered that the bricks cracked very easily. Having spent almost all his capital, he was then in no position to compete with the European-owned brickworks. Thus he lost both his brickworks as well as his steamship.

## APPENDIX C

*POINTS CLARIFIED BY PANDITA ZA'BA*

(Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad), written about 1959–60

- I am sorry I cannot suggest any printed sources (newspapers, official records) for information about Syed Shaykh's early education in Kuala Terengganu, simply because I know of none; if such written reference exists, it has never come my way. As for individuals, the only person I can suggest is old Tengku Chik (Raja Haji Muhammad 'Arif), proprietor of al-Ahmadiyah Press, 101 Jalan Sultan, Singapore. He was continuously ailing when I last heard of him two years ago. He may have had some early associations with Syed Shaykh as he was from the royal house of Riau. All other contemporaries of Syed Shaykh are, as far as I know, deceased.
- Regarding the dates when Syed Shaykh accompanied the royal family of Riau to Makka and the dates he visited Cairo, met Rashīd Riḍā, etc., I have not the faintest idea. Though I associated with him from 1924 till his death in 1934, he never spoke about himself or his early life.
- The first Pilgrimage Officer for the whole of Malaya appointed in 1922 or 1923, Haji Abdul Majid b. Haji Zainuddin,<sup>1</sup> was my predecessor as Malay master at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, in 1918. A Pilgrimage Officer for Singapore came much later, and for Penang later still; I cannot remember those exact dates, but it was during the Japanese occupation, after Haji Abdul Majid's death.
- Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin [Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaluddin al-Azhari], born in Kota Gedang,<sup>2</sup> Sumatra, Ramaḍān 1286 A. H./ [7 November or December] 1869 A. D., went to study in Makka as a youth and then on to Egypt. Returning to Singapore in his late twenties,<sup>3</sup> he

---

1. Ed. Note: He was liaison officer with the Federated Malay States Police Special Branch doing political intelligence work among the Malays and, at the same time, Pilgrimage Agent at Jidda!

2. Ed. Note: Shaykh Tahir's birthplace is variously cited as: Bukit Tinggi, Sumatra; Ampek Angkek, Sumatra; and Kota Tua, Bukit Tinggi, Sumatra. See Syed Alwi, 76, ed. n. 21 *supra*.

3. Ed. Note: Reportedly in 1899.

started *al-Imām* in collaboration with Syed Shaykh. Later he met Sultan Idris of Perak, married the daughter of a Sumatran Rawa family long settled in Kuala Kangsar, and had six children, four boys and two girls. Two of the elder boys were my students in Johor (1916), and the eldest later became a dancing instructor in Singapore!<sup>4</sup>

Shaykh Tahir was comparatively modern in his religious outlook, though not so radical and outspoken as Syed Shaykh. He wrote much in the newspapers advocating more and more education and was disliked by the conservative religious pundits of the Perak court for his modern views, and consequently by Sultan Iskandar, Sultan Idris' successor. He was a religious teacher in Johor Bahru until the end of 1918, short-tempered and poor in debate. From Johor he returned to Kuala Kangsar and later went to Penang to teach in the Madrasah al-Mashhur. After some time [in 1934], he joined Syed Shaykh as co-editor of *Saudara* and *al-Ikhwān*, but this was only for a few months; they disagreed about the policy of the publications.

Shaykh Tahir was my 'Arabic teacher, first in Johor in 1916–17, and then for a short period in Kuala Kangsar in 1919, before he moved to Penang. It was largely through his modern approach in teaching that my boyhood knowledge of 'Arabic was revived and became intelligible to me. As a result, I eventually secured a Diploma in Classical 'Arabic from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1949.

Shaykh Tahir returned to Sumatra several times, and on one occasion was imprisoned by the Dutch for anti-colonial activities,<sup>5</sup> after the pattern of the great philosopher-politician, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, teacher of Muḥammad 'Abduh.

Shaykh Tahir's last few years were spent in mathematical calculations, which became his hobby; fixing the times for prayers, the appearance of the new moon, and the accurate setting-out of the Muslim calendar.<sup>6</sup> [He died in Kuala Kangsar, Perak, on 26 October 1956 at the age of 87.]

- 
4. Ed. Note: One of Shaykh Tahir's sons, Tun Dato' Seri (Dr.) Haji Hamdan has been Tuan Yang Terutama (Governor) of Penang from April 1989 and continues in that capacity at writing, September 1998.
  5. Ed. Note: Apparently detained for six months in 1927 on suspicion of 'communist' activities!
  6. Ed. Note: Shaykh Tahir had taken a degree in astronomy at al-Azhar University.

- Regarding Syed Muhammad b. 'Aqil [Akil] b. Yahya,<sup>7</sup> I have only heard that he was a very learned 'Arab trader moving to and fro between Singapore and Java. He had liberal religious views and, I am told, a prodigious memory, so that after reading a book only once he was able to quote from it, citing chapter and page! I never met him, but I gather he was an older contemporary of Shaykh Tahir and Syed Shaykh when, as young men, these two published *al-Imām* in Singapore.
- I have never heard of Shaykh Muhammad b. Salim al-Kalali (or al-Kadahi?). I supposed he lived many years before I came to know Shaykh Tahir and Syed Shaykh. At any rate, he left no writing or impression that made Syed Shaykh mention him to me.
- The full name of Abbas b. Taha is Tuan Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, who was related in some way (an uncle?) to the present Chief Kathi of Singapore, Haji Ali b. Haji Muhammad Sa'id Saleh. He was one of the early batch of students from Malaya to have studied and graduated from al-Azhar University at Cairo. A man of strong and independent religious views, he was liberal, but less so than Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Ridā. He had the courage of his convictions, initiating the big controversy in the Malay papers that interest from a bank was not the *ribā* (usury) forbidden by Islām. This controversy raged off and on throughout 1913–14, if I remember correctly.<sup>8</sup> He always signed his name "Abbas b. Md. Taha", while his attackers sheltered themselves under *nom de plumes*. He wrote several works, one of which was *Risalah Penting pada Masa'alah Jilat Anjing di atas Empat Mazhab* [Important Pamphlet on the Question of being Licked by a Dog according to the Four Schools of Islāmic Law] in which he upheld the thesis that dogs are, after all, not really unclean, the first time this was heard in Malaya.<sup>9</sup> He had himself photographed in his Haji robe and turban with a dog doll at his knee! He was eventually appointed Muftī [jurisconsult] of Pahang by the debonair Sultan of Pahang and died there during the Occupation (?). He came to see me one day in Singapore towards the end of 1939 before he went to Pahang; at that time, I was Publicity Officer in the then Department of Information and Publicity, newly created following the outbreak of war in Europe.

---

7. Ed. Note: See "Riau ...", 34–5, n. 83, 37–8, 42–8, 66, n. 160 *supra*.

8. Ed. Note: See Syed Alwi, 76 *supra*.

9. Ed. Note: (Singapore: Maṭba'a al-Aḥmadiyah, 1937) also given as (Muar: Muhammadiyah Press, 1937) 115 pp.

- Shaykh Awad Sa'īdan<sup>10</sup> was another learned 'Arab merchant, much younger and less learned than Syed Muhammad b. 'Aqil and was not a Syed, but an ordinary 'Arab. He frequently wrote articles in the Malay papers on religious topics, and at one time was my opponent (in 1921–2) when I blamed the old-fashioned '*ulamā*' for the decadence of Muslims throughout the world. I never met him; I think he died before the Japanese war.
- Syed Shaykh did practise as a Sharī'a lawyer in Johor, but I only learned the duration of this from you! Nor did I know when and why he gave up the practice. Thus I am unable to confirm your information. If Syed Alwi al-Hady gave it to you, it should be correct. I suppose if any official reference to this part of Syed Shaykh's career exists at all, it must be in the Johor Government archives. I didn't know of the 'quarrel' he had with the Muftī of Johor, nor whether this, if true, was reported in the press of that time (the old *Utusan Melayu* published by the Free Press Co. and *Lembaga Melayu* published by the Malaya Tribune Co.). I doubt if even incomplete files of those old Malay papers are kept by anyone in Malaya!
- I don't think any of the *madrasas* keep proper records to be able to give you information about teachers, curriculum, or students in the past, even in the case of the Madrasah al-Mashhur of Penang. The aims and objectives of the Young Muslim Union were, to the best of my knowledge, largely social and recreational for the young educated Muslims in Penang at that time; of course, no girls joined in those days. There was little emphasis on religion, only occasional lectures by invited speakers and distinguished visitors on such topics as Islām and civilisation, modern trends in Islām, the need for modern education in Islām, Muslim youth today, etc. These were published in their annual reports. It was not an effective body as an organisation for religious reform; in fact, its activities were never really directed to that end. Tuan Haji S. M. Zainal Abidin, B.A., J.P., J.M.N., of 35 Jahudi Road, Penang, can give more information. He is a retired Headmaster of one of the feeder English schools in Penang and, prior to his retirement, was an Inspector of Malay Schools. He was a prominent member of the Muslim Union during the time Syed Shaykh was said to be one of its patrons.
- The Ahmadiyya issue was argued in the newspapers in 1919–20; the *ribā* 'hostility' in 1913–14 or perhaps 1914–15. I am not quite sure which. I have said enough about the *ribā* discussion in my comments

---

10. Ed. Note: See "Riau ...", 37–8 *supra* and Syed Alwi, 76, ed. n. 23 *supra*.

on Abbas b. Mohd. Taha. Apart from him and [Shaykh] Muhammad Fadlullah Suhaimi (father of Muhammad Taha Suhaimi, who became the Judge of the Shariah Court in Singapore), both of whom signed their names, the numerous other participants are unknown to me, as they all concealed their identities behind such pen-names as 'Shāfi'ī al-Gharīb' and 'Ḥanafī al-Gharīb'.

- As for the Aḥmadīya controversy, it was I who initiated the flare-up by asking questions in the papers regarding the then new English translation and commentary on the Qur'ān by Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī. I also asked who Mīrẓā Ghulām Aḥmad (of Qādiān) was, because Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī makes reference to him as his inspired teacher and guide.<sup>11</sup> I signed myself 'Ibn Ahmad al-Linggi' (Linggi being my old village where, as a boy, I first received religious instruction and lessons in 'Arabic). At once, a hornets' nest was aroused; every *orang 'ālim* in Malaya, particularly those of the Ḥanafī school of law from India, attacked Mīrẓā Ghulām Aḥmad and condemned him as *kāfir* [unbeliever], while Muḥammad 'Alī's Qur'ān was decried as being full of errors and sure to lead Muslims astray! Of course, I defended Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī and was supported by several others, including the late Inche (later Haji) Abdul Majid b. Zainuddin; the late Muhammad Yusof b. Sultan Maidin of Penang (brother of S. M. Zainal Abidin); S. Qudrat Shah, a Court Interpreter in Singapore; and [lawyer] Bashir A. Mallal (brother of lawyer Nazir Mallal).
- In both controversies, there was no decisive conclusion, as neither side admitted defeat or even the possibility of being wrong! But it shook up the lethargic and uncritical minds of the Muslim masses, previously accustomed to blind acceptance of what their religious teachers told them. Now many began to think for themselves.
- The three visitors between 1920–6, Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn,<sup>12</sup> Daud

11. Ed. Note: See 'His Life', 116, ed. n. 45 *supra*.

12. Ed. Note: Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn was born in Lahore, present-day Pakistan, in 1870. He passed his Bachelor of Arts in 1893, followed by the L. L. B. in 1897, and at one time served as professor of History and Economics at Islamic College, Lahore. He went to England in 1912, and in 1913 edited *The Islamic Review* and established the Muslim Mission in Woking. Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn died in 1932. See Adnan Haji Mohd. Nawang, "Za'ba dan Ajaran Khwaja Kamaluddin", in Khoo Kay Kim & Fadhil Othman (eds.), *Pendidikan Di Malaysia. Dahulu dan Sekarang* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980) 20, n. 1, quoted in Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), *op. cit.*, 315, n. 116.

Shah,<sup>13</sup> and Muhammad Hassan, had no connection with Syed Shaykh. But when Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn visited Penang in April 1921, after I had brought him (on his return from Java) to Kuala Kangsar to give a talk at the Malay College and later to see Perak Sultan Iskandar Shah, Syed Shaykh was one of the most enthusiastic organisers among the members of the reception committee. They were like-minded in ideals, but could not converse, as Syed Shaykh knew no English and Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn spoke no 'Arabic (though he did read it) and just a few words of Malay!

The Anjuman-i-[Ishā'at-i-]Islām of Singapore was founded for the purpose of reform, though not declared as such.<sup>14</sup> Its connection

- 
13. Ed. Note: Daud b. Mohd. Shah was born in Singapore in 1885. He joined the civil service of the Federated Malay States in 1903 and retired in 1932, having risen to the position of Assistant District Officer. He returned to Singapore and became an activist in the Kesatuan Melayu Singapura, of which he became president in 1937. The KMS was a movement of Malays struggling to define who they were in their own country, which they perceived as being usurped by foreigners. Daud Mohd. Shah, along with Pak Sako (Ishak Haji Muhammad), Yusuf Ishak, and others, organised the Malay-owned *Utusan Melayu*. Re Pak Sako, see 'His Times', 136, ed. n. 140 *supra*.
14. Ed. Note: Anjuman-i-[Ishā'at-i-]Islām was formed and registered in Singapore on 19 August 1921 as a branch of the Muslim Mission of Woking, following Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn's visit. He played an important role in nurturing the Khalifat cause in its embryonic stage, and his Muslim Mission in Woking was used to serve its aspirations. Even though the organisation stated it would not deal with politics, the British colonial administration was extremely suspicious of it, since some of its founding committee members, such as Bashir Ahmad (Mallal?), who was its secretary, were regarded as ardent supporters of the Khalifat movement. The association tried to canvass support from other Muslim clubs throughout Malaya under the slogan: "Unity is strength and will lead to a great brotherhood of all Muslims in Malaya". As an organ of the association, *The Muslim* was published in English in Singapore from January 1922 until 1925 and was closely analysed by the British. Although both the association and its journal were more attractive to the Indian Muslim community and only managed to enlist limited Malay support, a number of educated Malays joined, among whom was 'Zain ul-Abidin' or Pandita Za'ba. Za'ba, then a teacher at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, also subscribed to *Muhammadan*, published in Madras and regarded as anti-British. In May 1921 he was warned by the authorities to discontinue receiving. Another journal subscribed to by these Khalifat adherents was *The Muslim Standard*, an anti-British publication out of London, which the colonial authorities proscribed. Za'ba in particular, who sympathised with the movement, was also the British prime suspect being regarded as "a clever religious fanatic". He was alleged to be the moving spirit in trying to establish throughout Malaya a strong feeling for Muslim unity and Muslim Empire and of endeavouring to introduce among the younger and more educated Malays a new spirit of adverse criticism of the British colonial government. Za'ba was also

with the visit of Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn in 1921 was a signal for its opponents to propagandise that it was an Aḥmadīya organisation, thus the name 'Qādiyānī' with all its stigma [of heresy] was stamped on it.<sup>15</sup> The result was that it died in infancy. No other religious organisation in Malaya, to my knowledge, was devoted to the cause of Kaum Muda.

- I first got to know Syed Shaykh during the Christmas holidays in 1924, when I came to Kuala Lumpur from Tanjong Malim for a meeting of the Malay Literary Society, which I had founded in Kuala Lumpur when I was posted there the previous year. The meeting was called by the late Haji Abdul Majid b. Haji Zainuddin, who succeeded me as the Honorary Secretary. I stayed with my brother, Muhammad Yusof b. Ahmad,<sup>16</sup> an Inspector of Malay

---

*continued from page 283*

identified as still receiving the journal *The Muslim Standard* even after it was proscribed. Using another journal, *The Light*, as a cover, he was accused of conducting a concealed correspondence with Mohamed Kassim of Klang, who was viewed as an extreme follower of the Khalīfat movement. The Singapore branch manager of R. E. Mohamed Kassim had been warned by the Straits Settlements authorities, as had the Selangor manager by the Selangor Government. In addition to his "suspicious conduct", Za'ba was also accused of corrupting or endeavouring to corrupt the minds of some of his pupils at the Malay College! He was also found to be in communication with an ex-pupil who held an official rank in Negeri Sembilan, to whom he was imparting his anti-British views. (See Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence ..." (1994), *op. cit.*, 315-18, where he cites: Adnan Haji Mohd. Nawang, *op. cit.*, 74; Khoo Kay Kim, "Islam in Malaysia: the Pre-1941 Scenario", Paper presented in the Seminar on Islam in Malaya, Singapore, February/March 1989, 18; Braddeley to Winston Churchill, 273/516 enclosing *The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, no. 1, March 1922; and Laurence Nunns Guillemard to Duke of Devonshire, 273/518, 537/908, 537/919, enclosing *The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, no. 10, December 1922, no. 11, January 1923, and no. 18, November 1923, and also no. 15, June 1923.

These British colonial projections of Za'ba in 1921-3 are the antithesis of Za'ba as he projects himself in 1926 in his "Critique of the Real Cry", 189-91 *supra*.

15. Ed. Note: The Lahore Party organised itself as Aḥmadīya Anjuman-i-Ishā'at-i-Islām and carried out extensive missionary work in India and notably in England where their centre is at the Woking *masjid*.
16. Ed. Note: Haji Muhammad Yusof served as Inspector of Malay schools in Selangor from 1920-40 and encouraged Malay children to go to English schools. In later years, he became a member of the Federal Council. At the same time, he also served in the State Council as well as the State Executive Council of Negeri Sembilan. He was a prolific writer before World War II. Most of his essays were published in *Majlis*, *Lembaga Melayu*, *Utusan Zaman* and *Majallah Guru*. He used pseudonyms such as 'Anak Negeri', 'Jentayu', 'Melor', and 'MY'. Most of the essays were

*continued on page 285*

Schools, and Syed Alwi al-Hady, who was then a Malay Co-operative Officer and a close friend of my brother, lived next door. It happened that Syed Shaykh was, at that time, visiting his son. We met and fell into lively conversation about the backwardness of Malays and Muslims generally; we became thick friends and admirers of each other from that time. I had not known him when Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn visited Penang in 1921.

- Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s influence on Syed Shaykh was, of course, greater than Rashīd Riḍā’s. In his house at Jelutong there was a life-size portrait of Muḥammad ‘Abduh and another of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī hung on the opposite wall, but he kept no portrait of Rashīd Riḍā. I had the impression that he never cared much for the latter, as although Riḍā was a fanatical worshipper of ‘Abduh, he never reviled the opponents of ‘Abduh, an unexpected attitude for a scholar! Personally, I, too, have little admiration for Rashīd Riḍā, except for his voluminous writings and profound learning in Qur’ānic exegesis and *Hadīth*.
- I believe Syed Shaykh managed to keep his *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* going during the slump period by means of his frivolous and erotic novels which sold like hot-cakes.<sup>17</sup> He did admit to me that he wrote unholy novels just to get money to publish his more noble and serious religious books. Another thing which kept his two papers alive was the sensation created by his direct attacks on the corrupt religious leaders and unlearned ‘*ulamā*’ (and indirectly on the Sultans!).

---

*continued from page 284*

attempts to inspire Malays to involve themselves actively in politics, economics and education. The essays he wrote under ‘Anak Negeri’ give a clear picture of his deep concern with the problems faced by the Malays: “Bangsa Asing di Negeri-negeri Malaya” (Foreigners in Malaya), “Bangsa Asing Menuntut Minta Masuk Ke Dalam Jawatan Memerintah Di Tanah Melayu” (Foreigners Ask to be Included in the Government Service in the Malay States), “Tanah Melayu Akan Jadi Jajahan China Yang Ke 19” (The Malay States will be the 19<sup>th</sup> Colony of China), “Bolehkah Melayu Menangkap Peluang Ini” (Can the Malays Grab this Opportunity), all published in *Majallah Guru* between 1929 and 1930. (Khoo Kay Kim, *op. cit.*, 195–6.)

17. Ed. Note: While Za’ba now characterises Syed Shaykh’s novels as “frivolous and erotic”, in his “Modern Developments in Malay Literature”, *JMBRAS*, XVII, 3 (January 1940; 3<sup>rd</sup> pt. for year 1939), 153, he spoke of the “incredible restraint and moral strength on the part of both lovers”, and when they meet “there are discussions on the moral, social and religious outlook of liberal Islam”, which would appear to be a more balanced view. And see Virginia Matheson Hooker’s positive analysis in ‘His Mission’, 155, ed. n. 209 *supra*.

- The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesia did not affect Malaya in any way, nor do I remember seeing anything about it in any Malay paper.
- The writer you enquired about was Haji Muhammad Zain b. Haji Ayub, who was then an English teacher at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, and later at Anderson School, Ipoh, where he reached his retirement age. He is now a pensioner in Ipoh; I do not know his exact address.<sup>18</sup>
- Reading material (novels and romances in particular) was very scarce during the 1920s. Bookshops rarely sold Indonesian novels then as they do now. However, some *gurus* (teachers) did manage to buy copies and were influenced by Indonesian books.

---

18. Ed. Note: See 'His Mission', 143, ed. n. 169 *supra*.

## GLOSSARY

- 'Ahd, al- 'The Covenant Society', a secret 'Arab movement within the Ottoman army
- Ahl al-Bayt* 'People of the House': origin in strong clan sense of pre-Islāmic 'Arabs; *al-bayt* applied to ruling family of a tribe, those to whom a share of the *ṣadaqa* (q.v.) is forbidden; current orthodox view *ahl al-bayt* include the *ahl al-'abā'*: the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭima, their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, together with the wives of the Prophet; families of 'Alī include Ṭalibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim (q.v.); Imām Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa extended to include all Banū Hāshim and Imām Shāfi'ī enlarged to include the Banū Muṭṭalib as well
- Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Jamā'a* 'The People of Tradition and the Community', who refrain from deviating from dogma and practice
- Ahl al-Tawḥīd (Tauḥūd)* *ahl*: people; those who believe in *tawḥīd* (q.v.), i.e. the Muslims
- Aḥmadiya the name given to adherents of Mīrẓā Ghulām Aḥmad Qādiyānī; in 1900 at their request name was entered in official lists of the Indian Government as a separate modern Muslim sect; after death of Mīrẓā in 1908 and his son's assumption as Khalīfa in 1914, the movement split; Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn and Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī formed the distinct Lahore group which considered Mīrẓā as only a reformer; they are based in the London Woking Masjid; Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī's translation of the Qur'ān (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Lahore, 1920) has many new and untraditional interpretations
- '*akal* ('*aqal*) intelligence, reason
- 'Alawī (Bā'Alawī) Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Urayḏī b. Ja'far al-Sādiq (the great-grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb) called *al-Muhājir*, 'the Emigrant', was the legendary ancestor of the Hadramī Syeds/Sayyid (pl. Sāda); his grandsons Baṣrī, Jadīd and 'Alawī settled in Sumal, six miles from Tarīm in Hadramawt; since 1127 this town has been the centre of the Bā'Alawī family in its wider sense, i.e. the offspring of the 'Alawī mentioned above
- 'Alawīyīn plural of 'Alawī (q.v.)
- 'Alids descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb; claims made by the Shī'a (q.v.) on behalf of the 'Alids were broadly of two kinds; for the extremist Shī'a the 'Alid Imāms (q.v.) were the spiritual as well as the religious and political heirs of the Prophet, whose spiritual inspiration they retained or resumed; for the moderate Shī'a, the 'Alids were the legitimate heirs of the Prophet as heads of the *umma*, with a better claim to the succession than that of the reigning Khalīfas (q.v.) whom the Shī'a regarded as usurpers; in the early period the claims of the 'Alids were based on descent from 'Alī, the Prophet's kinsman rather than from Fāṭima, his daughter, thus claims based on kinship could be advanced on behalf of

	descendants of 'Alī by wives other than Fāṭima, and even collateral descendants of Abū Tālib; only later was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fāṭima; 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, the 4 <sup>th</sup> Khalifa, had eighteen sons (according to most works on 'Alid genealogy) and seventeen daughters; the descendants of the Prophet are now very numerous and are diffused throughout all Muslim countries; they are distinguished by the titles Syed/Sayyid/Sharīfa or Sharīf; their genealogical trees were certificated during the Ottoman Khalīfat and pretenders punished
'ālim	pl. 'ulamā'; one who possesses the quality of 'ilm, knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree; 'ilm as used herein would mean knowledge of Islāmic traditions and resultant canon law and theology
'amal	'that which is practised' and, following the usage of al-Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, 'the works'; signifies moral action
'aṣr	middle and late afternoon
<i>Astaghfir Allāh</i>	'I ask Allāh's forgiveness', an expression of exasperation
Atatürk	'Father Turk', title bestowed upon Muṣṭafā Kemāl in 1934
'azāb	Hell
<i>bahasa</i>	language: Bahasa Melayu, Malay language
<i>bāligh</i>	'grown up', 'of age'
<i>bungau</i>	one of the three egret species found in Malaysia; usually a cattle-egret
<i>Bangsawan</i>	a form of 'operatic' theatre which developed in the 1870s in Malaya and then spread to Indonesia, changing in the process both its name and, to a certain degree, its style; it also came to be known as <i>Stambul</i> and <i>Sandiwara</i> ; it consists of sung and spoken drama performed without scripts, based upon scenarios which served as skeletal guides supplying the plots and leaving much room for improvisation; other features include painted backdrops, stereotyped acting, incidental music and limited, similarly incidental dance; after <i>Mak Yong</i> and <i>Wayang Kulit</i> , <i>Bangsawan</i> is the third most important style of pre-modern theatre; owing to its use of standard Malay and its distribution throughout the Malay-speaking territories, it came closest to a 'national' Malay theatre form; in its purest form it spread to Singapore, Sumatra, and to parts of northern Kalimantan; it spawned as its offshoots several other genres, some of which continue to be active, particularly in Indonesia
Banū Hāshim	considered to be the noblest of all 'Arab families as they trace their descent in the male line to Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and for generations were the holders of the dignity of Grand Sharīf of Makka
<i>bey</i> ( <i>beğ</i> )	'lord', a Turkish title used in a number of different ways
<i>bid'a</i> ( <i>bida'a</i> )	innovation; came to suggest individual dissent and independence to the point of heresy, although not of actual unbelief ( <i>kufir</i> )
<i>bida'a ḍalāla</i>	erroneous innovation
<i>bida'a hasana</i>	beneficial innovation

- Bismillāh (Bi'ism Allāh)* *Bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm*. In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate
- Boria during Muḥarram, it was the custom, especially in Penang, for bands of serenaders in fancy dress to visit houses of prominent citizens and sing topical songs
- China Buta* 'Blind Chinese', a legal device to circumvent the prohibition of remarriage of a couple after a three-fold irrevocable *ḥalāq* (q.v.); the woman having been married and divorced from a *china buta* could then legally remarry her former husband; this legal device was denounced by Syed Shaykh as tantamount to committing adultery [*zinā'*] with the permission of the *kathi*
- cholok api* cloth fuse or wick steeped in oil
- Daeng title used in south-west Sulawesi for high or low nobility
- dajjāl* literally false, lying, the name given to religious impostors, the anti-Christ
- Datuk (Dato') title of distinction awarded by a Malay Sultan or the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (q.v.) to a man or woman; originally a general epithet of respect for a man of age and standing; also grandfather
- devşirme (dewshirme)* child levy; institution of the Ottoman Khalīfat
- dhikr* glorifying of Allāh with certain fixed phrases, repeated in a ritual order, either aloud or in the mind, with peculiar breathings and physical movements
- dhimmī (dhimma)* see *zimmī*
- du'ā'* invocation of God, supplication, prayer
- Engku (Ungku) title of high rank, prince
- eyālet* term for province in the Ottoman Khalīfat after the 16<sup>th</sup> century
- farḍ (farḍa)* strictly prescribed and obligatory; omission will be punished, execution will be rewarded; *farḍ* and *wājib* are synonyms according to the Shāfi'ī's (q.v.)
- farḍ al-'ayn (ain)* individual obligation binding on everyone
- farḍ al-kifāya*  
(*'alā al-kifāya*) obligation dependent on there being a sufficient number of Muslims to fulfil, such as *jihād* (q.v.)
- Fātiḥa, al-* 'Opener', the first *Sūra* of al-Qur'ān: it is in the form of a prayer and concludes with *amīn* (amen)
- Fātima 605/633 A. D.; daughter of Khadija and Prophet Muḥammad and the wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib
- fatwā* formal legal opinion given by a Muftī (q.v.) or canon lawyer of standing
- fatwa* see *fatwā*
- faqh* literally 'intelligence', 'knowledge', name given to jurisprudence in Islām or codified canon law; in widest sense covers all aspects of religious, political and civil life
- fitna* 'putting to the proof', discriminatory test; the idea of scandal is associated with it to such an extent that to take part in this putting to the test is a very grave fault: "... persecution is worse than slaughter" (al-Qur'ān, *Sūra* II, 191)
- ghāzī (gāzī)* Ottoman border-warrior; fighter for Islām

<i>guru</i>	teacher
Ḥabīb/Ḥabība	beloved, dear one: term of endearment or respect common in 'Arab culture
<i>Ḥadīth</i>	tradition: record of actions or sayings of Prophet Muḥammad and his companions
<i>Ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ</i>	<i>ḥadīth</i> (q.v.), <i>ṣaḥīḥ</i> : sound; the utterly faultless tradition in whose <i>isnād</i> (chain of transmitters) there is no <i>'illa</i> (weakness) and whose tendency does not contradict any generally prevalent belief
Ḥaḍramī	refers to people from Ḥaḍramawt
<i>ḥājjat</i>	wish, hope
<i>ḥajj</i>	pilgrimage to Makka
<i>ḥalāl</i>	allowed; valid or lawful
<i>Ḥanaḥī</i>	<i>Mazhab</i> . School of Law named after Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, 182 A. H./798 A. D.
<i>Ḥanbalī</i>	<i>Mazhab</i> . School of Law, founded by Ibn Ḥanbal (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal), 780/855 A. D.
<i>ḥaqq</i>	fixed, permanent, real: Name for Allāh, the absolutely real, the reality
<i>ḥarām</i>	forbidden, prohibited
<i>ḥarus (mubāḥ)</i>	permissible
Ḥijāz	Makka and Madīna
<i>ḥisāb</i>	mathematical calculation (for determining the opening of the Muslim month of Ramaḍān)
Ḥizb al-Lāmarkazīya al-Idāriyya al-'Uthmānī	'Ottoman Decentralisation Party', formed towards the end of 1912; became the best organised and most authoritative spokesman of 'Arab aspirations: Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā was one of its members
<i>ḥub al-waṭan</i>	love of Motherland
<i>'ibādāt</i>	devotional acts
ibn (b.)	son of
<i>ijāza</i>	certificate
<i>ijtihād</i>	independent reasoning, 'striving with full exertion' to form an opinion
Ikhā', al-, al-'Arabī al-'Uthmānī	'Ottoman 'Arab Fraternity'
<i>Ikhwān, al-</i>	'The Brotherhood' or 'Brethren' published by Syed Shaykh al-Hady in Penang from 16 September 1926 to 16 December 1931
<i>'ilmu ('ilm)</i>	knowledge, learning, science; see also <i>'ālim</i>
<i>imām</i>	leader of the congregational prayer; Khalīfa, as leader of the community; applied as honorific to eminent doctors of Islām, such as the founders of the <i>mazhabs</i> (q.v.); to the Shī'a, a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as the supreme ruler of the world of Islām
<i>Imām, al-</i>	'The Leader': published in Singapore from 23 July 1906 to 25 December 1908
<i>imān</i>	faith (in God)

- irshād* 'guidance': see Jam'iyat al-Islāh wa 'l-Irshād al-'Arabī
- 'isha' evening or beginning of the night; sometimes called 'atama (black night)
- islāh* 'reform': denotes orthodox reformism as emerges in doctrinal teachings of Muḥammad 'Abduh, in writings of Rashīd Riḍā and the numerous Muslim authors who are influenced by them and who also consider themselves disciples of the Salafiyya (q.v.); an individual or collective effort to define Islām solely in relation to its authentic sources (i.e. al-Qur'ān and the Sunna of Prophet Muḥammad) and an attempt to work towards a situation in which the lives of Muslims, in personal and social terms, really conform to the norms and values of Islām; *islāh* is a permanent feature in the religious and cultural history of Islām
- isnād* the 'support' for the trustworthiness of the statement; chain of transmitters
- Isrā' Prophet Muḥammad's nocturnal journey from Makka to al-Quds (Jerusalem)
- i'tiqād* belief, firm acceptance in the mind that a thing is true
- jabriyya, al-* compulsionists
- jāhil* truly ignorant; *Jāhiliyya (Jāhiliyya)* pre-Islāmic 'Arabia; collective noun from *jāhili*, a 'pagan' 'Arab; usual meaning time of ignorance
- ja'iz* permissible; see *mubāh*
- Jam'iyat al-'Arabīya al-Fatāt 'Young Arab Society', committed to outright 'Arab independence from the Ottoman Khalīfat
- Jam'iyat al-Islāh wa 'l-Irshād al-'Arabī 'Society of 'Arab Reformation and Guidance', also referred to as *Irshād*, formed in 1913 by the non-Sada/non-Syed 'Arabs in Indonesia
- Jam'iyat al-Khayriyya 'Society for the Good', established in Jakarta on 17 July 1905
- Jam'iyat al-Khayriyya al-Ṭalabīya al-Azharīya al-Jawā 'Society for the Welfare of Malay Students of al-Azhar', formed in 1923
- Jam'iyat al-Khilāfa Khalīfat Association, Penang, c. 1920
- Janissary the Janissary elite corps were the slaves of the Sulṭān, but nevertheless developed incredible power; at one stage these 12,000 men represented the best fighting force of the Khalīfat and possibly of Europe; at the closing of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were 50,000 still serving in Janissary units and about 400,000 claimed the rights and privileges belonging to members of the corps; their influence spread throughout the society and at one point they became the masters of Istanbul; when they were deliberately dispersed into provincial towns, they instituted a reign of terror which contributed to the final dissolution of the Ottoman state; they were only destroyed in 1826 after their unsuccessful revolt; thousands were killed and others banished, but most were absorbed into the general population
- Jawi* script adapted from the 'Arabic script for the writing of the Malay language with an addition of five characters to represent Malay sounds not found in 'Arabic

Jawi Peranakan	local-born Muslim of mixed Indian-Malay descent
<i>jihād</i> ( <i>gaza</i> )	effort directed towards a determined objective: upon oneself for the attainment of moral and religious perfection, or military action for the expansion or in defence of Islām, commonly termed 'Holy War': the official <i>raison d'être</i> of the Ottoman Khalīfat
<i>joget</i>	Malay dance where a man and woman dance together but without touching one another
<i>ju'al</i>	dung beetle or tumblebug
<i>kaḡā'a</i> ( <i>ebenbürtigkeit</i> )	equality of status
<i>kāfir</i>	see <i>kufr</i>
<i>Kalīma Shahāda</i>	Confession of Faith: <i>Ashhadu an lā ilāh illā 'llāh wa ashhadu anna Muḡammadan rasūl Allāh</i> , 'I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḡammad is the Messenger of God'
<i>kampung</i> ( <i>kampong</i> )	hamlet
Karbalā' (Mashhad al-Husayn)	a place of pilgrimage west of the Euphrates, on the edge of the desert in 'Irāq; on 'Ashūrā' day, 10th Muḡarram (q.v.) 61 A. H. (10 October 680 A. D.), Imām al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (see 'Alids), on the march from Makka to 'Irāq where he intended to enforce his claims to the Khalīfat, fell in the plain of Karbalā': the decapitated body of Prophet Muḡammad's grandson was interred there and it became a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Shī'īs (q.v.)
<i>kasb</i>	acquisition
<i>kathi</i> ( <i>qādī</i> )	registrar of Muslim marriages and divorces, with some judicial powers; judge
Kaum Muda	New Group or Young Faction
Kaum Tua	Old Group or Old Faction
Kelana	Bugis title of distinction, general meaning of 'knight errant'; latter part of 18 <sup>th</sup> century, title specifically applied in Riau to the chief assistant and designated successor of the Bugis Yang Dipertuan Muda (q.v.) or Yamtuan Muda
<i>kenduri</i>	feast
Kesatuan Melayu Singapura	Singapore Malay Union, formed in 1926; the first Malay organisation in Singapore with an explicit political aim
Khalīfa (Khalīf)	'successor', 'vicegerent', title of the supreme head of the Muslim community, the <i>imām</i> (q.v.) as successor or vicegerent of Prophet Muḡammad: ( <i>Khalīfat rasūl Allāh</i> ); from the reign of 'Umar, the common designation of the <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> : implies assumption of the activities and privileges exercised by Prophet Muḡammad, with the exception of the prophetic function, which ceased with him
Khalīfat	meant to embody the world-wide community of Muslims, the <i>umma</i> (q.v.), see also Khalīfa
<i>Khārijīs</i>	'seceders': <i>Khawārij</i> : 'those who went out'; members of the earliest of the religious sects of Islām
<i>khurāfat</i> ( <i>khurāfa</i> )	superstition, nonsense
<i>khutba</i>	sermon, address by the <i>khaḡīb</i> , in the Friday-service and in religious celebrations

<i>kitāb</i>	book, specifically religious book
<i>kopiah ketayap</i>	skull-caps
<i>kufr (kāfir)</i>	'concealing God's blessings', 'ungrateful to God'; unbelief; obstinate opposition; unbeliever
<i>kuttāb</i>	elementary classes for Qur'ānic studies
<i>Lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa illā billāh al-'aẓīm</i>	There is no power nor strength but in Allāh, the High, the Great
<i>laksa</i>	derives from Sanskrit meaning one hundred thousand and in Malaya meant ten thousand
<i>Lebai Pondok</i>	<i>pondok</i> (q.v.), <i>lebai</i> : 'pious scholar' (of Dravidian origin); Malay usage <i>labai</i> : village religious teacher
<i>lengkuas</i>	Greater Galangal ( <i>Alpinia galanga</i> ); its rhizome provides a popular flavouring
<i>madrasah (madrasa)</i>	name of an institution where the Islāmic sciences are studied
<i>maghrib</i>	sunset; also refers to the North African 'Arab countries
Majlis Ugama Islam	Council of Muslim Religion
<i>makrūh</i>	condemned, disliked
<i>Mālikī</i>	<i>Mazhab</i> , School of Law, called after Imām Mālik b. Anas, b. 90 or 97 A. H., d. 179 A. H./795 A. D.
<i>Manār. al-</i>	'The Lighthouse'; published in Cairo from 1898-1936 by Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, disciple of <i>al-ustāz al-imām Muḥammad 'Abduh</i> ; it ran 35v.
<i>manāsīb</i>	ruling group; belonging to the families of the Mansībs, spiritual and mental directors of local communities of Syeds/Sāda in Ḥaḍramawt
<i>mandūb</i>	commendable, recommended
Mas	Javanese title borne by those of the hereditary aristocracy who are not entitled to be styled princes
<i>mashriq</i>	place of sunrise: east
<i>masjid</i>	noun of place from <i>sajada</i> 'to prostrate oneself', hence 'place where one prostrates oneself (in worship)': mosque
<i>maṣlaḥa</i>	common good, public interest
<i>ma'ṣūm (makṣūm)</i>	inviolable, sacrosanct, infallible, sinless, impeccable
<i>Mawlid (Mawlūd) al-Nabī</i>	Prophet Muḥammad's birthday
<i>mazhab</i>	School of Islāmic Law
<i>Mejelle</i>	civil code of the Ḥanafī Mazhab (q.v.) as codified by the Ottomans
<i>millet</i>	a group of non-Muslim people considered as a legal-administrative unit by the Ottoman Khalīfat (q.v.); a home-rule policy based on religious affiliation
<i>Mi'rāj</i>	ascension of Prophet Muḥammad to Heaven
<i>mubāḥ</i>	permissible; all acts which are neither obligatory ( <i>wājib</i> ), nor forbidden ( <i>ḥarām</i> ), commendable or recommended ( <i>mandūb</i> ), nor condemned or disliked ( <i>makrūh</i> )
<i>muda</i>	young, junior
Muftī	jurisconsult; senior religious functionary in a Malay State

Mughal	an Indo-Muslim dynasty which ruled, latterly with decreasing effectiveness, from 1526–1858; the name Mughal is a variant of Mongol, stemming from the claim of descent from Jenghiz Khān made by Bābūr (b.1483–4) who founded the empire with the capture of Dihlī
<i>Muḥarran</i>	the first month of the Islāmic year during which the Shī'a (q.v.) commemorate the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad
<i>mujtahid</i>	pl. <i>mujtahidūn</i> ; one 'learned in the Muslim sciences' who exercises <i>ijtihād</i> (q.v.) or independent reasoning
<i>mukim</i>	parish; administrative subdivision of a district
Munkar and Nakīr	the two angels charged with questioning the dead in their graves
Muntadā, al-, al-Adabī	Literary Club in the Ottoman Khalīfat
<i>Muqaddima</i>	'Prolegomena', completed in November 1377 A. D., is the first volume of <i>Kitāb al-'Ibar</i> (Book of Examples) written by Ibn Khaldūn, statesman, jurist, historian, and scholar, born in Tunis on 27 May 1332 and died in Cairo on 17 March 1406
<i>muqāranat</i>	union, contemporaneity of <i>niyya</i> ( <i>nīya</i> ) (intention) and <i>takbīrat al-īhrām</i> , so that while pronouncing 'Allāhu akbar', one has clearly in mind exactly which <i>sembahyang</i> (prayer) one is going to perform
<i>murīd</i>	novice
<i>murshid</i>	literally 'one who gives right guidance', <i>rushd</i> , <i>irshād</i> ; in <i>Sūfi</i> mystical parlance, the spiritual director and initiator into an order ( <i>ṭarīqa</i> ) of a novice or <i>murīd</i> who is following the <i>Sūfi</i> path
<i>musāfir</i>	traveller
<i>nabī</i>	Prophet
<i>nasab</i>	descent
<i>nasi lemak</i>	rice boiled in coconut milk
<i>naṣṣ</i>	text of scripture
<i>nīya</i> ( <i>niat</i> )	'intention'; acts of ceremonial law, obligatory or not, are required to be preceded by a declaration that one intends to perform such an act; without which, audible or mental, the act would be <i>bāṭil</i> , juridically null and void
Orang Asli	Original People of Malaya
'Othmānlī (Osmānlī)	dynasty; existence of Ottoman Khalīfat was closely tied to the rule of this single dynasty
'Othmānlīca (Osmānlīca)	the language of administration in the Ottoman Khalīfat
<i>pahala</i>	reward from God
Pandita	savant, sage, scholar
<i>penghulu</i>	headman, usually of a group of <i>mukim</i> or parishes
<i>perempuan</i>	woman, female
<i>persatuan</i>	association, society
Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena	see Sahabat Pena
<i>persekutuan</i>	federation, union

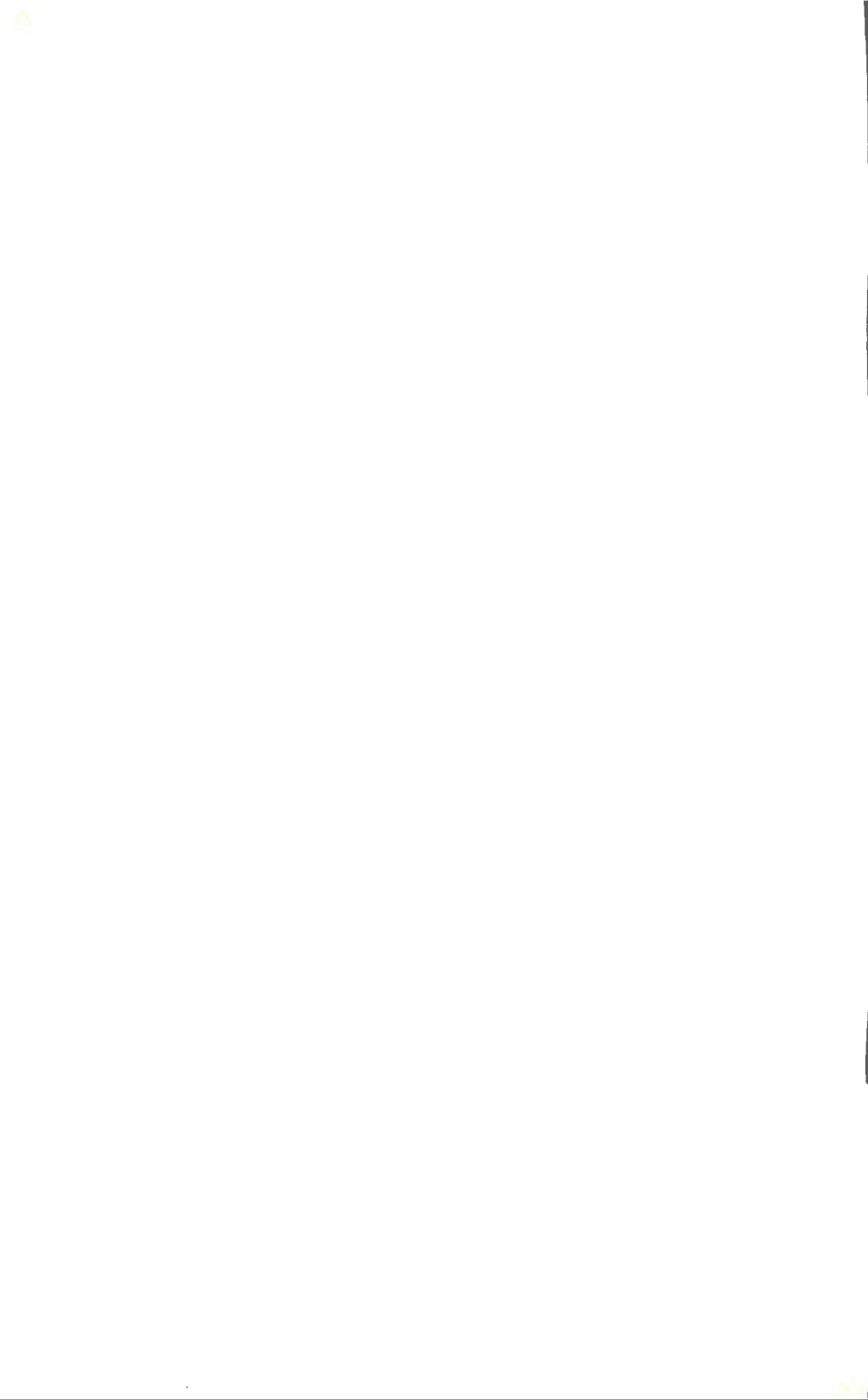
Persekutuan al-Ikhwān al-Masākīn	'Association of Brothers of the Poor' formed in Penang in 1929 by Syed Shaykh and friends
<i>pondok</i>	'hut': collection of huts where students reside at a religious school
<i>qadā' l'qadar</i>	<i>qaḍā'</i> : the universal, general and eternal decree and <i>qadar</i> the individual development or application of that in time
Qaḥṭāniya, al-	a secret society named after Qaḥṭān, one of the legendary ancestors of the 'Arab race, which hoped to turn the Ottoman Khalīfat into a dual Turco-'Arab empire, similar to the Austro-Hungarian edifice, in which the Ottoman Sulṭān would alternately wear a Turkish and an 'Arab crown
<i>qaṣīda</i>	an ancient 'Arab poetic form having, as a rule, a rigid tripartite structure with a fixed thematic sequence
Quraysh	tribe from which Prophet Muḥammad came
<i>Rabb al-'ālamīn</i>	God of the universe
<i>raja</i>	ruler, king; prince
<i>raka'at (rak'a)</i>	a specific division of ritual prayer ( <i>ṣalāt</i> )
<i>Ramaḍān</i>	Malay: <i>Bulan Puasa</i> : Muslim fasting month; ninth month of the 'Arabic calendar
<i>ribā</i>	an 'increase'; usury
<i>ronggeng</i>	Malay dance of Portuguese origin; men and women face one another in two lines; they do not touch one another; emphasis is on the steps of the dance; movement of hands and arms are restricted and of secondary importance
Rumah Waqaf	a 'house' supported by a <i>waqf</i> , endowment or charitable trust
<i>Rumi</i>	Latin script used for the writing of the Malay language
<i>rupiah</i>	Indonesian currency
<i>rushd</i>	literally goodness; the 'right way' or 'right path'
<i>ru'yu</i>	observance of the moon to determine the first and last day of Ramaḍān (fasting month)
Sāda	pl. of Syed (q.v.), Sayyid
<i>ṣadaqa (sadaqah)</i>	alms; spontaneous or voluntary alms-giving; charity
<i>Ṣafar</i>	name of the second month of the Islāmic year, also called <i>Ṣafar al-Khayr</i> or <i>Ṣafar al-Muḥaffar</i> because of its being considered unlucky
Sahabat Pena/ Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (PASPAM)	'Pen Friends', 'All-Malaya Brotherhood of Pen Friends' or of 'Comrades', formed in 1934, initially for kids, transformed into a mass organisation of young Malays across state lines; one of the largest pre-World War II Malay organisations and considered a forerunner of Malay political parties
<i>ṣaḥīḥ</i>	sound, authentic
<i>Salafīya</i>	refers to a neo-orthodox brand of Islāmic reformism, originating in the late 19 <sup>th</sup> century and centred on Egypt, aiming to regenerate Islām by a return to the tradition represented by the 'pious forefathers' ( <i>al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ</i> )
<i>ṣalāt</i>	ritual prayer
<i>ṣalāt al-lail</i>	ritual prayer at night

<i>ṣalāt al-ṣuhr</i> ( <i>zohor</i> )	ritual prayer at midday
<i>sanjaq</i> ( <i>sandzak</i> )	Ottoman provincial administrative unit, major sub-division of a <i>beylerbeylik</i> (province up to 16 <sup>th</sup> century) or <i>eyālet</i> (province after the 16 <sup>th</sup> century)
<i>Saudara</i>	'Brother', 'Friend', 'Comrade'; a newspaper published by Syed Shaykh al-Hady in Penang from 1928 which ran until some time in 1941; published twice weekly until 1932 and then thrice a week
<i>sawah</i>	irrigated rice-field
Sayyid	see Syed
<i>segan</i>	reluctance; shyness
Seri (Sri)	honorific following some titles, such as Datuk, meaning 'illustrious'
<i>Shāfi'ī</i>	<i>Mazhab</i> , School of Law founded by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, 150/204 A. H./767/820 A. D.
<i>Shahāda al-Āliya</i>	Highest Certificate
<i>sharaf</i>	nobility
<i>Sharī'a</i>	the canon law of Islām
Sharīf	pl. <i>ashrāf</i> , <i>shurafā</i> , noble, exalted; descendant of several illustrious ancestors; assumes meritorious qualities of the fathers are transmitted to their descendants
Sharīfa	female equivalent of Syed (q.v.)/Sayyid
Shaykh	honorific given to those of substantial religious learning and often assumed by non-Sāda (q.v.) Ḥaḍramīs
Shaykh al-Islām	honorific reserved for 'ulama' (q.v.) and jurists who by their <i>fatwās</i> (q.v.) had obtained fame or approval of the great body of jurists; applied to the Muftī (jurisconsult) in the Ottoman Khalīfat (q.v.)
<i>Shaytān</i>	Satan
Shī'a (Shī'īs)	general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting point of all being the recognition of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib as the legitimate Khalīfa after the death of Prophet Muḥammad; see also 'Alids
<i>shirk</i>	ascribing of partners to God; 'not letting God be God'; polytheism
<i>Ṣirāt</i> , <i>al-</i> , <i>al-Mustaqīm</i>	<i>ṣirāt</i> : 'way'; qualified by <i>mustaqīm</i> 'the/a right way', meaning the religion or the Book of Islām
<i>songkok</i>	a type of Malay cap, variation of the <i>fez</i> , which became part of nationalist attire in Malaya and Indonesia
<i>ṣūfi</i>	one who devotes himself to the mystic life
<i>sulṭa rūhīya</i>	spiritual authority
<i>sulṭān</i>	the holder of authority
<i>sulūk</i>	term used by the <i>Ṣūfis</i> to describe the mystic's progress in the way to God under the direction of a <i>murshid</i> (q.v.)
<i>Sunna</i> ( <i>Sunnat</i> )	pl. <i>Sunan</i> ; deeds, utterances and unspoken approvals of Prophet Muḥammad; standard of conduct for believers; at the instigation of Imām Shāfi'ī, the Sunna of the Prophet was

	awarded the position of the second root ( <i>aṣl</i> ) of Islāmic law, the Sharī'a, after al-Qur'ān
Sunnī	majority current of Islām
<i>sūra</i>	chapter of al-Qur'ān
<i>surau</i>	prayerhouse
Syed (Sayyid)	pl. <i>Sāda</i> : originally, chief of an 'Arabian tribe; title of honour for descendants of Prophet Muḥammad, in many ways coterminous with <i>sharīf</i>
Syria	pre-World War I, 'Syria' referred to 'Greater Syria' and included what is now Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan
<i>ta'aṣṣub</i>	fanaticism
<i>tafsīr</i>	commentary, particularly on al-Qur'ān, and the science of interpreting the Sacred Book
<i>tajwīd</i>	art of reciting al-Qur'ān with proper pronunciation and intonation
<i>ṭalāq</i> ( <i>ṭalāk</i> )	the repudiation of a wife by a husband
<i>taḥfīq</i>	combining interpretations of different <i>mazhabs</i> (schools of Islāmic law)
<i>talkīn</i> ( <i>taḥqīn</i> )	'instruction', advice to the dead at the burial service on how to reply to the angel-inquisitors
<i>tamaddun</i>	'Arabic: 'urbanisation', from the Greek for 'town'; used in Malay for 'civilisation'
<i>tanāsukh al-arwāḥ</i>	transmigration of the soul, metempsychosis; a belief widespread in India and among several sects of the Muslim World
Tan Sri	title for a person who has been awarded the Panglima Mangku Negara or Panglima Setia Mahkota by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (q.v.)
<i>taḥbīl</i>	kissing the hand of another as a sign of respect or subservience
<i>taḥlīd</i> ( <i>taklīd</i> )	'clothing with authority' in matters of religion: the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating the reasons; traditionalism
<i>tārīkh</i>	era; chronology; chronicle, historical work, history
<i>ṭarīqa</i>	'road', 'way', the mystics 'path' to the Real
Tartars	collective name applied to the peoples that overran parts of Asia and Europe under Mongol leadership in the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>taṣawwuf</i>	Ṣūfism or Muslim mysticism
<i>tasbīḥ</i>	rosary
<i>tawba</i>	repentance, penitence, contrition
<i>tawḥīd</i> ( <i>tauḥīd</i> )	literally 'making one' or 'asserting oneness'; applied theologically to the oneness of Allāh in all its meanings; 'unity' intolerant of all pluralism
Tengku (Tunku)	prince or princess, a title used from the early 18 <sup>th</sup> century instead of <i>raja</i> before the name of royalty
<i>terawīḥ</i> ( <i>tarāwīḥ</i> )	the <i>ṣalāts</i> — ritual prayers — performed at night during the fasting month of <i>Ramādān</i> ( <i>Bulan Puasa</i> in Malay); tradition

	says Prophet Muḥammad held these in high esteem, with the precaution that their performance not become obligatory
<i>tilāwat al-Qur'ān</i>	recitation of al-Qur'ān
To' (Tuk)	colloquial variant of Datuk
Tun	title for a person who has been awarded the Seri Maharaja Mangku Negara (SMN) or Seri Setia Mahkota (SSM) by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (q.v.); highest title awarded in Malaysia, although uncommonly, unlike Datuk/Dato' and its variants
Tunku	a variant of Tengku
' <i>ulamā</i> '	plural of ' <i>ālim</i> ' (q.v.), often used as the singular, i.e. an ' <i>ulamā</i> '
Umayyad (Banū Umayya)	dynasty of Khalīfs (q.v.) from 661–750 A. D.; its founder Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 661–80) represented the principal branch of Banū Umayya, descendants of the Makkan aristocracy which had fought Islām at its early stages; the Khalīfat asserted its power in the world as a nation, nevertheless the unprecedented triumph of the 'Arab movement took place under the banner of the religion of the Qur'ān, and Islām established itself as a universalist religion; under Mu'āwiya, the Khalīf ceased to be the executor or continuator of the <i>sunna</i> of Muḥammad, rather the Khalīf became the outstanding personality of the 'Arab World, the first among the tribal chiefs in military strength, family connections and influence, and individual prestige
<i>umma</i>	world-wide community of Muslims; Qur'ānic word for people, community, bringing together people of very different stocks and nations to form a higher unity, embodied in the Khalīfat
' <i>Urwa, al-, al-Wuthqā</i>	'The Firmest Bond' or the 'The Indissoluble Bond' or 'The Strongest Link', published in 1884 in Paris by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh; the main themes of the paper were hostility to British imperialism, advocacy of Islāmic unity, and interpretation of Islāmic principles to demonstrate their applicability to urgent contemporary needs
<i>uṣalli</i>	expressing aloud one's <i>nīya</i> (q.v.) before commencing prayer
'Uthmānli ('Uthmānī)	Ottoman dynasty
<i>wilāyet (wilāya)</i>	administrative district in the Ottoman Khalīfat
<i>wahdat al-wujūd</i>	'Unity of Being'; doctrine of Muḥy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (1165–1240 A. D.)
<i>Wahhābī (Wahhābīya)</i>	community founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87); members call themselves <i>Muwaḥḥidīn</i> , 'unitarians', and their system ( <i>jarīqa</i> ) 'Muḥammadan' and regard themselves as Sunnis of the Ḥanbalī School of Law as interpreted by Ibn Taymīya (d. 1328 A. D.), who strongly attacked the cult of saints; general aim of 'Abd al-Wahhāb was to do away with all innovations ( <i>bid'a</i> ) later than the third century of Islām; community recognises the authority of the four Sunnī (orthodox) <i>mazhabs</i> (Schools of Law) and the six books of tradition
<i>wājib</i>	obligatory
<i>wa 'l-lāhu a'lam</i>	an exclamation, meaning: 'And Allāh knows best'

Wan	title used in northern Malay peninsular states and Patani for descendants of important non-royal chiefs
<i>waqaf</i> ( <i>waqf</i> )	to protect a thing, to prevent it from becoming the property of a third person; trust, endowment
<i>Waqā'i</i> , <i>al-</i> , <i>al-Miṣrīya</i>	'Egyptian Events', official gazette of the Egyptian government; in 1880 under the editorship of Muḥammad 'Abduh it became a means of moulding public opinion
<i>wilāya</i>	see <i>vilāyet</i>
<i>witr</i>	'uneven': the rite consists in the addition of one <i>raka'at</i> ( <i>rak'a</i> ) (q.v.) to the even number of <i>rak'a</i> in the night <i>ṣalāt</i> (q.v.)
<i>wuḍū'</i> ( <i>wuḍhū'</i> )	the minor ritual ablution
<i>yamak</i>	auxiliary janissary (q.v.)
Yang di-Pertuan Agong	head of state, King of Malaysia; the position is held for a five-year term by each of the nine sultans on a rotational basis, the successor being determined by the Conference of Rulers
Yang Dipertuan Muda (Yamtuan Muda)	Deputy Ruler or 'Under-king', a position reserved for the Bugis in Riau
Zaydī/Zaydīya	in practice a fifth <i>maḥḥab</i> (school of law); 'the practical group of the Shī'a'; distinguished from the Ithnā 'Ashariya and the Sab'iya by the recognition of Zayd b. 'Alī, the grandson of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (see Karbalā'), who was the first to try to wrest the Khalifāt from the Umayyads (q.v.) by armed rebellion after the catastrophe at Karbalā'; the essential demand on their <i>imām</i> (q.v.) is that he be of the <i>Ahl al-Bayt</i> (q.v.) without any distinction between Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids, i.e. no succession by inheritance; the founder of the Zaydī state in Yaman (Yemen) was al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn; for centuries the Zaydīs waged war with the Ottoman Turks; the kingdom was established by Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā who in 1904 moved against the Ottomans and in November 1918 definitely occupied Ṣan'ā'; in 1962 Yaman was declared a Republic
<i>zāwīya</i>	monastery; hermitage; centres of religious and mystic life; also served as hostels for travellers in search of spiritual perfection; <i>zāwīyas</i> have exercised a direct political influence on the population in areas remote from the seat of a central government
<i>zimmi</i> ( <i>dhimmi</i> )	a non-combatant, non-Muslim population which does not embrace Islām is guaranteed life, liberty and property; <i>ahl al-dhimma</i> . 'People of the covenant or obligation' or simply <i>zimmi</i> s had temporal rights from Muslims and duties towards Muslims



## ABBREVIATIONS

AMCJA	All-Malayan Council of Joint Action, formed in December 1946
API	Angkatan Pemuda Insaf, Aware Youth Corps; <i>api</i> , fire
BAT	British Administration Terengganu
<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i> , published by the Koninklijk Instituut
CO	Colonial Office
CUP	(Ottoman) Committee of Union and Progress, which carried out the Young Turk revolution in July 1908
HCO	High Commissioner's Office
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KMM	Kesatuan Melayu Muda; Young Malays' Association, formed in 1938 and registered in Kuala Lumpur in 1940
KRIS	Kekuatan Rakyat Istimewa (Special Strength of the People), later referred to as Kesatuan Rakyat Indonesia Semenanjung (Union of Peninsular Indonesians); third interpretation, Kerajaan Ra'ayat Indonesia Semenanjung (The Government of Peninsular Indonesians), formed in May 1945
MATA	Majlis Agama Tertinggi Sa-Malaya; Pan-Malayan Supreme Religious Council; in 1948 MATA gave rise to the first political party representing Islāmic reformism, Hizbul Muslimin
MNP	Malay Nationalist Party, Partai Kebangsaan Melayu Sa-Malaya, formed in Ipoh, 17 October 1945; banned by the British in 1950
NCO	Non-commissioned Officer
PAS/PMIP	Persatuan Islam Sa-Tanah Melayu; Pan-Malayan Islamic Party/Parti Islam Se Malaysia, formed in 1951
PII	Partai Islam Indonesia, founded in 1938
PMM	Pergerakan Melayu Semenanjung; Peninsula Malays' Movement; founded after the Second World War

PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia, formed in 1927 at Bandung
TNI	<i>Tijdschrift voor Ne(d)erlandsch Indië</i> (Netherlands East Indies Journal)
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation, founded in 1946
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YMU	Young Muslim Union, active in Penang in the 1920s

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. (Abdullah) Yusuf Ali. *The Holy Qur-an: Text, Translation & Commentary* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf [n. d.]) 2v.
- A. Wahab Ali, *The Emergence of the Novel in Modern Indonesian and Malaysian Literature* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991).
- Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, *Risalah Penting pada Masa'alah Jilat Anjing di atas Empat Machab* (Important Pamphlet on the Question of being Licked by a Dog according to the Four Schools of Islāmic Law) (Singapore: al-Matba'at al-Aḥmadiya, 1937; Muar: Muḥammadi Press, 1937).
- ‘Abd Allāh Maghribī, *see* Maghribī, ‘Abd Allāh.
- Abdul Karim b. Bagoo, “The Origin and Growth of the Malay States Guides” (unpublished academic exercise, Department of History, University of Malaya, 1954).
- Abdul Rahim Kajai, *Cheritera Dhu 'l-Ruhain* (Possessor of Two Lives) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Panduan Wartawan* (Journalists' Handbook) (1941).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Pesaka Kajai, Penggal 1-4: Kumpulan Cerita-cerita Pendek Karangan Allahyarham Abdul Rahim Kajai, Pengarang Melayu Yang Terkenal* (Kajai's Heritage, pts. 1-4: Collection of Short Stories by the Famous Malay Author Abdul Rahim Kajai) (Singapore: Qalam Publishers, 1949).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Pak Lacok* (Old Man Lacok) (Singapore: Qalam Publishers, 1949).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Banyak Udang Banyak Garam* (Lots of Prawns, Lots of Salt) (Singapore: Geliga Press, 1960).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Lain Padang Lain Belalang* (Other Fields, Other Grasshoppers) (Singapore: Geliga Press, 1961).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Telatah Kajai* (Kajai's Antics) (Singapore: Qalam Publishers [n. d.]).
- Abdul Rahman al-Ahmedi, “Satu Kajian dan Perbandingan Riwayat Hidup Kadir Adabi dengan Assad Syukri” (An Analysis and Comparison of the Lifetimes of Kadir Adabi and Assad Shukri) (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Malaya, 1978).
- Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, *Tarikh Orang-orang Mesir yang Purbakala* (History of Ancient Egyptians) (Ipoh: Rahmaniah Press, 1931).

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Peliburan Hati* (Entertainment) (Ipoh: Rahmania Press, 1933).
- Abdullah al-Qari b. Haji Salleh, "To' Kenali: His Life and Influence" in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. Roff, W. R. (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974) 87-100.
- Abdullah Hussain and Khalid Hussain, *Pendita Zaaba Dalam Kenangan* (Pandita Za'ba in Memory) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1974).
- Abu Bakar Ash'ari, *Kitab Pedoman Ibadat Puasa* (Book of Guidance on Fasting) (Penang: al-Hudā Press, 1937).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Punca Penerangan 'Aqal* (The Source of Enlightenment) (1937).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Punca Peperangan Islam: Khutbah Moden Pilihan Abu Bakar al-Asy'ari* (Reason for Islāmic War: Selection of Modern Sermons by Abu Bakar Ash'ari) (Penang: Persama Press, 1949).
- Abu Bakar Hamzah, "Sheikh Tāhir Jalal 'uddīn", *Medium*, I, 1 (September 1988) 88-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *al-Imam: Its Role in Malay Society, 1906-1908* (Kuala Lumpur: Media Cendiakawan [n. d.]; repr. Pustaka Antara, 1991).
- Abu Hassan Sham, "Tariqat Naqsyabandiyah dan Peranannya dalam Kerajaan Melayu Riau sehingga Awal Abad Kedua Puluh" (The Role of Naqshabandīya Ṭarīqa in the Malay Riau Government until the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century) in *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia* (Islāmic Civilisation in Malaysia) ed. Khoo Kay Kim et al. (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980) 74-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Karya-karya yang Berunsur Agama dari Pengarang Melayu Riau sehingga Awal Abad Ke-20" (Religious Works of Malay Riau Authors until the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century) *Dewan Sastera* (December 1983) 20-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Karya-karya yang Berlatarbelakangkan Islam dari Pengarang Melayu Riau-Johor sehingga Awal Abad Kedua Puluh" (Writings on Islām by Malay Riau-Johor Authors until the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century) in *Tradisi Johor-Riau: Kertas Kerja Hari Sastera 1983* (Johor-Riau Tradition: Working Papers presented on the 1983 Literary Day) ed. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987) 245-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Pengarang-pengarang dari Kalangan Bangsawan Keturunan Bugis di Riau" (Authors from the Bugis Aristocracy of Riau) in *Cendekia Kesusasteraan Melayu Tradisional* (Luminaries of Traditional Malay Literature) ed. Siti Hawa Saleh (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987) 178-211.

- Adams, Charles C., *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh* (1933; repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1968).
- Adnan Haji Mohd. Nawang, "Za'ba dan Ajaran Khwaja Kamaluddin" (Za'ba and the Teachings of Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn) in *Pendidikan di Malaysia: Dahulu dan Sekarang* (Education in Malaysia: Then and Now) eds. Khoo Kay Kim and Fadhil Othman (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980) 70–102.
- Ahmad Ibrahim, *The Malaysian Legal System* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1995).
- Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific* (New York: Imprint Publications, 1967).
- Ali Haji ibn Ahmad, Raja, "Sha'ir Sultan Abdul Muluk" (The Rhymed Poem of Sultan Abdul Muluk) *TNI*, IX (1847: repr. Batavia, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gurindam Duabelas* (The Twelve Rhymed Advices) (1847). Dutch transl. Netscher, E., "De Twaalf Spreukgedichten", *TBG*, II (1853) 11–32.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Bustān al-Kātibīn li'l-Sibyāni al-Mut'ālimīn* (A Children's Guide to Writing) (1851). Lithographed in 1858 and used in Singapore and Johor schools.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Thamarat al-Mahammah* (The Benefits of Official Duties) (1857). Lithographed at Lingga, 1886–7.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Mukaddimah fi intizām waḥā'if al-malik khusūsan ilā mala' wa ṣuḥbān wa ikhwān. Al-riwāyah mempersembahkan hidayat ini akan jadi peringatan keHadrat al-Marhum Yangdipertuan Muda Raja Ali* (Introduction to the Systematic Arrangement of the Duties of the King especially concerning the Nobles, the Companions and Fellow Men. An account offered as a wise counsel to be a memorial to His Excellency the late Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali) (1857). Lithographed at Lingga, 1887.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan sekalian Raja-rajanya* (Genealogy of Malay and Bugis Princes) (Singapore: al-Maṭba'a al-Imām, 1911; repr. Johor Bahru by royal command, 1956).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* (Book of Linguistic Knowledge). An unfinished dictionary-like work, which reached only the first six letters although filling 466 pages (Singapore: al-Maṭba'a al-Aḥmadiya, 1927; transliteration R. Hamzah Yunus, Pekanbaru: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Nusantara, Bagian Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Melayu, 1986/87).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift). Begun by Raja Ahmad on 23 December 1865, and rewritten by his son Raja Ali Haji some

- time before 1869. A *Jawi* text was published by R. O. Winstedt, *JMBRAS*, X, 2 (1932) 1–320, and romanised by Munir b. Ali as *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965). Transl. Matheson, Virginia and Andaya, Barbara Watson (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sha'ir Sinar Gemala Mustika* (Rhymed Poem on a Precious Gem) [n. d.].
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sha'ir Siti Shiana* (Rhymed Poem on Siti Shiana) [n. d.].
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sha'ir Suluh Pegawai* (Rhymed Poem on the Enlightened Officer) [n. d.].
- Ali Kelana, Raja, *Pohon Perhimpunan* (The Gathering Tree or The Assembly Place) (Riau: al-Maṭba'a al-Riauwīya [n. d.]; repr. Pekanbaru: Bumi Pustaka, 1983).
- Allen, J. de V., "The Ancien Regime in Trengganu, 1909–1919", *JMBRAS*, XLI, 1 (July 1968) 23–53.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Kelantan Rising of 1915: Some Thoughts on the Concept of Resistance in British Malayan History", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, IX, 2 (1968) 241–57.
- Alsagoff, Syed Mohsen, *The Alsagoff Family in Malaysia A. H. 1240 (A. D. 1824) to A. H. 1382 (A. D. 1962)* (Singapore: Prof. Syed Mohsen Alsagoff, 1963).
- Amīn, Aḥmad, *Hayātī* (Cairo, 1950).
- Andaya, Barbara Watson, "From Rūm to Tokyo: The Search for Anticolonial Allies by the Rulers of Riau, 1899–1914", *Indonesia*, 24 (October 1977) 123–56.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Recreating A Vision: *Daratan* and *Kepulauan* in Historical Context" in *Riau in Transition*, eds. Chow, Cynthia and Derks, Will, *BKI*, 153, 4 (1997) 483–507.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson and Andaya, Leonard Y., *A History of Malaysia* (4<sup>th</sup> edn., London: Macmillan, 1987).
- Andaya, Barbara Watson and Matheson, Virginia, "Islamic Thought and Malay Tradition: The Writings of Raja Ali Haji of Riau (c. 1809–1870)" in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, eds. Reid, Anthony and Marr, David (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia), 1979) 108–28; 408–9.
- Anonymous, "Muḥammadiya", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 409.
- Antonius, George, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939).
- Arberry, A. J., *The Koran Interpreted* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

- Arberry, A. J. and Landau, R., *Islam Today* (London: Faber and Faber, 1943).
- Arifin Ishak, "Tarikh Sahabat Pena" (History of the Pen Friends) *Taman Paspam*, 1 (1940).
- Arnold, T. W., "Khalīfa", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 236–41.
- "Atjeh", *Ensiklopedia Indonesia* (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, undated but thought to have been published in 1954) I, 129–30.
- Attas, al-, Syed Naguib, *Some Aspects of Šūfism as Understood and Practised among the Malays*, ed. Gordon, Shirle (Alijah) (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963).
- Aziz Ahmad, "Išlāh", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edn., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990) IV, 141–71.
- Bakrī, al-, Šalāh, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Siyāsī* (Political History of Ḥaḍramawt) (Cairo: al-Maktaba wa Maṭba'ā Mušṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1956).
- Barnard, Timothy P., "Taman Penghiburan: Entertainment and the Riau Élite in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century", *JMBRAS*, LXVII, 2 (1994) 17–46.
- , "Local Heroes and National Consciousness: The Politics of Historiography in Riau" in *Riau in Transition*, eds. Chow, Cynthia and Derks, Will. *BKI*, 153, 4 (1997) 509–26.
- Bartley, W., "Singapore and the Great War" in *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, eds. Makepeace, Walter, Brooke, Gilbert E. and Braddell, Roland St. J. (London: John Murray, 1921; repr. Singapore: National Library of Singapore, 1970; repr. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991) I, 405–26.
- Berg, van den-, L. W. C., *Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1886; repr. Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1969).
- Bluhm, Jutta E., "A Preliminary Statement on the Dialogue Established between the Reform Magazine *al-Manār* and the Malayo-Indonesian World", *Indonesia Circle*, 32 (November 1983) 35–42.
- Blythe, W. L., "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XX, 1 (June 1947) 64–114.
- Bosquet, G. H., *A French View of the Netherlands Indies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).
- Brimmel, J. H., *Communism in Southeast Asia: A Political Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
- British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census* (London, 1932).

- Brown, C. C., *Malay Sayings* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951).
- Brown, Captain E. A., "An Account of the Mutiny of the 5<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry, Singapore. 15 February 1915", unpublished manuscript.
- Bruinessen, van-, Martin, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia". *Der Islam*, 67, 1 (1990) 150–79.
- Bruyn Kops, de-, G. F., "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden" (Riau and Dependencies). *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. Stibbe, D. G. (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 's Gravenhage/Leiden: M. Nijhoff, 1919) III, 605–26.
- Buckley, C. B., *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore* (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1902).
- Bujra, A. S., "Political Conflict and Stratification in Hadramaut", *Middle Eastern Studies*, III, 4 (1967).
- Bukhārī, al-, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Kitāb al-Buyu' (Istanbul: al-Maktaba al-Islāmīya, 1897) XXXIV.
- Bunce, E. T., *A Study of Moral and Religious Education in British Malaya* (Indiana: State Teachers College, 1932).
- Burhanuddin b. Mohammad Noor al-Helmy, *Asuhan Kesihatan* (Health Care) (Penang: Persama Press, 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mutu Kerajinan* (Quality of Diligence) Transl. of original English by Dick Whittington (Penang: Muhammad Ali b. Muhammad al-Rawi [Persama Press], 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Perjuangan Kita, 17 Oct. 1945 – 17 Oct. 1946* (Our Struggle, 17 Oct. 1945 – 17 Oct. 1946) (Singapore: Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya, 1946).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kursus Ugama dan Politik* (Religious and Political Course) (Singapore: Buana, 1947).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sejarah Perjuangan Kita* (The Story of Our Struggle) (Penang: United Press, 1955).
- Buyong Adil, *Sejarah 'Alam Melayu* (Malay Annals) (Kuala Lumpur: Caxton Press, 1952).
- Cheah Boon Kheng, "The Japanese Occupation of Malaya, 1941–45: Ibrahim Yaacob and the Struggle for Indonesia Raya", *Indonesia*, 28 (October 1979) 85–120.
- Chelliah, D. D., *A Short History of the Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements, 1800–1925* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1948).
- Columbia Encyclopedia*, eds. Bridgwater, William and Sherwood, Elizabeth J. (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).
- Darwin, Charles, *The Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (London, 1859).

- Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore/Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Djamour, Judith, *Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore* (London: Athlone Press, 1959).
- Dupré, F. J., "The Holy War That Failed", *The Moslem World*, VIII, 2 (April 1918) 172-7.
- Emerson, Rupert, *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (New York: Macmillan, 1937; repr. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1964).
- Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. Stibbe, D. G. (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 's Gravenhage/Leiden: M. Nijhoff, 1919).
- Fatimi, S. Q., *Islām Comes to Malaysia*, ed. Gordon, Shirle (Alijah) (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963).
- Federation of Malaya, *Report of the Committee to Consider Financial Aid to Non-Government Religious Schools* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1957).
- Firth, Raymond, *Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1946).
- Firth, Rosemary, *Housekeeping among Malay Peasants* (London: Lund, Humphries, 1943).
- Frye, R. N., *Islam and the West* (Hague: Mouton, 1957).
- Funston, John, *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of UMNO and PAS* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia), 1980).
- Gibb, H. A. R., ed., *Whither Islam? A Survey of Modern Movements in the Moslem World* (London: V. Gollancz, 1932).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).
- Gimlette, G. H. D., *A Post-script to the Record of the Indian Mutiny* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1927).
- Goldziher, I., Arendonk, van-, C. and Tritton, A. S., "Ahl al-Bayt", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edn., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986) I, 257-8.
- Gordon, Shirle (Alijah), "Pondok and Our Peasantry", *Intisari*, II, 1 (1963) 32-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Marriage/Divorce in the Eleven States of Malaya and Singapore", *Intisari*, II, 2 (1963) 23-32.
- Grunebaum, von-, G. E., *Islam: Essays on the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955).
- Gullick, J. M., *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya* (London: Athlone Press, 1958).
- Hady, al-, Syed Alwi [b. Syed Shaykh], *Hikayat Pembelaan dalam Rahasia, atau Kaseh Saudara kapada (sic) Saudara-nya* (Story

- of a Secret Upbringing or The Love of Kin) adapted from English by Syed Alwi and edited by Syed Shaykh (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929–30).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Perbendaharaan Rumah Tangga Bahagian Suami Isteri* (Household Finances: Share for Husband and Wife) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Penerangan, Teguran dan Nasihat atas Pelayaran Naik Haji ke Tanah Suci* (Explanation, Critique and Advice on the Hajj Journey to the Holy Land) ([n. p.] 1955) in Jawi.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lakonan Sejarah: Tarik bin Ziad Pahlawan Islam* (Historical Play on Tāriq b. Zīad, Warrior for Islām) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1959).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *'Adat Resam dan 'Adat Isti'adat Melayu* (Malay Customs and Traditions) (3 edns., Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1960; 1972; 1980).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Malay Customs and Traditions* (Singapore: Donald Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1962).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Panduan Ibu* (Guide for Mothers) (Singapore: Donald Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1962) 2v.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hang Tuah atau Pahlawan Melayu* (Singapore: Donald Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1963).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lakonan Hang Tuah* (Play on Hang Tuah in verse form) (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1964).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lakonan Hang Tuah* (Play on Hang Tuah in prose form) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pahlawan Melayu* (Malay Warrior) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Adab-Tertib (Dalam Pergaolan dan Champoran): Chara Barat dan Chara Melayu* (Social Etiquette (In Social and Mixed Gatherings): Western and Malay Manners) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Adab-Tertib — Perbandingan Barat dengan Melayu* (Social Etiquette — Comparison Between Malay and Western [Manners]) (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Adab-Tertib Pergaolan Melayu* (Malay Social Etiquette) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Panduan Beruchap* (Guide to Public Speaking) (Penang: Fajar, 1962; repr. Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Panduan Ibu — Bahagian Perbidanan* (Midwifery Guide for Mothers) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Perkasehan Suami Isteri — Rumahtangga* (Marital Relationship between Husband and Wife) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Panduan Haji, 1954: Nasihat dan Teguran* (Guide to Ḥajj, 1954: Advice and Critique) ([n. p.] Syed Alwi al-Hady [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Panduan Meshuarat — Pergaolan* (Guide to Meetings — Socialising) (Singapore: Marican & Sons [n. d.]).
- Syed Alwi's unpublished works include:
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Malay Social Etiquette*, transl. of *Adab-Tertib Pergaolan Melayu*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hidup Bahagia* (Better Living).
- Hady, al-, Syed Shaykh, *al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (History of Islām) (Penang: Mercantile Press, 1922).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Khuṭba Nikāḥ al-Ikhwān* (al-Ikhwān's Marriage Sermon) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tafsīr Juz' 'Amma Yatasā'alūn* (Commentary on the last thirty-seven chapters of al-Qur'ān; being an adaptation of the work of Muḥammad 'Abduh) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa* (Commentary on the first chapter of al-Qur'ān; being an adaptation of the work of Muḥammad 'Abduh) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1928).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *'Alam Perempuan* (Woman's World, based on Qāsim Amin's writings) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kitab Agama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kitab Agama Islam pada Bicara I'tiqād dan 'Ibādāt dalam Agama Islam* (An Islāmic Religious Book Concerning Belief and Devotional Acts in Islām) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).
- \_\_\_\_\_. ed., *Kitab Hadiah Kebangsaan* (The National Gift) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1933).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hadiah Kebangsaan dan Umat Melayu dengan Masharakat* (The National Gift and the Malay Community in Society) (Penang: [Syed] Shaykh [b.] Ahmad al-Hady, 1933).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Aẓīm* (Commentary on the Exalted al-Qur'ān) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pemeliharaan dan Pelajaran pada Bicara Adab dan Peraturan* ([The Influence of] Upbringing and Education on Manners and Etiquette) (Singapore: al-Maṭba'a al-Imām [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Agama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason), romanised and edited by his son Syed Alwi (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Dian, 1965).
- Published in a series under the title *Angan-angan Kehidupan* (Life's Dreams or Aspirations of Life): 'The Moral Trainer':
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hikayat Faridah Hanum, atau Setia 'Ashok kepada Ma'ashoknya* (Story of Faridah Hanum, or Loyalty of a Lover to Her

Loved One) (Penang: al-Aminiyah Press, 1925–6, 2v.; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927–8; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Singapore: Qalam, 1950, 4v.; 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> edns., 1v. in romanised Malay and now titled *Faridah Hanom*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1964, 1965, 1985).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Hikayat Taman Cinta Berahi, atau Mahir Afandi dengan Iqbal Hanum* (Story of the Garden of Love, or Mahir Afandi and Iqbal Hanum) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1928).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassan, atau Hindun dengan Hammad* (Story of Ghassan's Daughter, or Hindun and Hammad) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1928–9).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Hikayat Chermin Kehidupan* (Story of the Mirror of Life) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Hikayat Puteri Nur ul 'Ain, atau Bahaya Bercherai Talak Tiga dan Berchina Buta* (Story of Princess Nur ul-'Ain, or the Dangers of Threefold Divorce and [resorting to] China Buta [interposed marriage]) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929).

Published in a series under the title *Cherita Rokambul*:

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dalam Jail dan di-Paris* (Story of Rokambul in Jail and in Paris) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1928).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dalam Siberia* (Story of Rokambul in Siberia) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dengan Puteri Russia yang 'Ashek* (Story of Rokambul and the Infatuated Russian Princess) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul atau Peperangan di antara Kebajikan dan Kejahatan di dalam Kehidupan Manusia* (Story of Rokambul or War between Good and Evil in Human Life) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dengan Malium Kaum Nor* (Story of Rokambul and Malium from the al-Nūr Tribe) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1932).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dengan Korban Hindi* (Story of Rokambul and the Hindu Victim) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dengan Taman Penglipor Lara* (Story of Rokambul and the Entertainment World) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Cherita Rokambul dengan Perbendaharaan Hindi* (Story of Rokambul and the Hindu Treasury) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).

Haim, Sylvia G., ed., *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962).

- Hall, D. G. E., *A History of South East Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1955).
- Hamdan Hassan, "Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin: Pelopor Pemikiran Islam di Malaysia" (Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin: Pioneer of Islāmic Thought in Malaysia) *Dewan Bahasa*, XVII, 9 (September 1973) 405–19.
- Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313 A. D.) 6 v.; idem, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, 15 v. plus v. 19.
- Harun Aminurrashid, *Melor Kuala Lumpur* (Jasmine of Kuala Lumpur) (Tanjong Malim: Ahmad & Co., 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Panglima Awang* (Singapore: Pustaka Melayu, 1958; repr. Singapore: Pustaka Melayu, 1972).
- Harun Din, "Syeikh Abu Bakar al-Ashaari: Ulama Tegas dan Berani" (Shaykh Abu Bakar Ash'ari: A Courageous and Steadfast 'Ulamā') in *Gerakan Islah di Perlis: Sejarah dan Pemikiran* (Reform Movement in Perlis: History and Thought) ed. Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pena, 1989) 101–10.
- Hill, A. H., *The Hikayat Abdullah: An Annotated Translation* (The Story of Abdullah) *JMBRAS*, XXVIII, 3 (June 1955).
- Hitti, Philip K., *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1960).
- Hohenzollern, von -, Prince Franz Josef, *Emden* (London, 1928).
- Holland, W. L., ed., *Asian Nationalism and the West* (New York: Macmillan, 1953).
- Hooker, Virginia Matheson, "Transmission Through Practical Example: Women and Islam in 1920s Malay Fiction", *JMBRAS*, LXVII, 2 (December 1994) 93–118.
- and see Matheson, Virginia.
- Ḥusayn, Tāhā, *al-Ayyām* (The Days) (Cairo, v. I & II, 1929; v. III, 1973). v. I transl. Paxton, E. H. under the title *An Egyptian Childhood* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1932; repr. Heinemann Educational Books, 1981); v. II transl. Wayment, Hilary under the title *The Stream of Days* (London: Longmans, 1948); v. III transl. Cragg, Kenneth under the title *A Passage to France* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).
- Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, transl. Rosenthal, Franz, ed. and abridged by Dawood, N. J. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).
- Ibrahim b. Abu Bakar, *Islamic Modernism in Malaya: The Life and Thought of Sayid Syekh al-Hadi 1867–1934* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1994).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "al-Hādī's Political Thought", *Hamdard Islamicus*, XVIII, 1 (Spring 1995) 99–110.

- Ibrahim Nik Mahmood, "The To' Janggut Rebellion of 1915" in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. Roff, W. R. (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974) 62-86.
- Ibrahim Yaacob, *Melihat Tanah Air* (Exploring the Motherland) (Kota Bharu: al-Maṭba'a al-Islāmīya, 1941) I.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Nusa dan Bangsa Melayu* (The Malays and their Homeland) (Djakarta: N. V. Alma'arif, 1951).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sekitar Malaya Merdeka* (Concerning Independent Malaya) (Djakarta: Kesatuan Malaya Merdeka, 1957).
- and see Iskander Kamel Agastya.
- Ishak Haji Muhammad, *Putera Gunung Tahan* (The Prince of Mount Tahan) (Singapore: Geliga Press, 1937; repr. Johor Bahru: Jamaliah Press, 1938; repr. Petaling Jaya: Pustaka Budaya Agency, 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Anak Mat Lela Gila* (Son of Mad Mat Lela) (Johor Bahru: Annies Printing Works, 1940; repr. Kuala Lumpur: Federal Publications, 1961).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Bersatu-lah Sekarang* (Unite Now) (Johor Bahru: Annies Printing Works, 1946).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Pepatah Petitih* (Assorted Sayings) (Kuala Lumpur: Creative Enterprise, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Memoir Pak Sako* (Pak Sako's Memoirs) (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1997).
- Iskander Kamel Agastya (Ibrahim Yaacob), *Sedjarah dan Perdjjuangan di Malaya* (History and Struggle in Malaya) (Yogyakarta: Nusantara, 1951).
- Ismail Hussein, "Abdul Rahim Kajai", *Dewan Bahasa*, III, 12 (1959) 585-97.
- Jamilah Othman, "Sayyid Shaykh Al-Hadi — His Role in the Transformation of Muslim Societies in Peninsular Malaya and the Straits Settlements during the Latter Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Malay Studies, National University of Singapore, 1984).
- Jarahī, al-, Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlunī, *Kashf al-Khafā' wa muzīl al-illbās* (The Unveiling of Hidden Meaning to Eliminate Doubts) ed. Aḥmad al-Qalāsh (Beirut: al-Muassasa al-Risālā, 1985) II.
- Jegaraj, R. P., "A Co-operative Society in Krian" (unpublished academic exercise, Department of Economics, University of Malaya, 1956).
- Junid al-Tola, Shaykh, *Kaifiyat Mengadakan Wakaf* (Ways to Establish Endowments) (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Marbawī, 1929).

- Keddie, Nikki R., *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968; repr. 1983).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).
- Kedouri, Elie, *Afghani and Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1996).
- Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Milletts to Nations*, Research Monograph no. 39 (xeroxed) of the Centre of International Studies of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University (Princeton, 1973).
- Khoo Kay Kim, "Malay Society, 1874–1920s", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, V, 2 (September 1974) 1–198.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *The History of South-East, South and East Asia, Essays and Documents* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1977).
- Kohn, Hans, *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London: G. Routledge, 1929).
- Kroef, van der-, J. M., "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Nationalism and Politics", *Western Political Quarterly*, XI, 1 (March 1958) 33–54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Arabs in Indonesia", *Middle East Journal*, VII (1953) 300–23.
- Lee-Warner, William H., "Notes on the Hadhramaut", *Geographical Journal*, LXXVII, 3 (March 1931) 217–22.
- Lovett, Major A. C. and MacMunn, Major G. F., *The Armies of India* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911).
- Macdonald, D.B., "Bid'a", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 62.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "al-Ghazzālī", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 111–14.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Ḳaḍā'", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 199–200.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Ulamā'", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 599–600.
- Maghribī, 'Abd Allāh (Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ghadamiṣī) "Salinan Ucapan Shaykh Abdullah Maghribi di Madrasah al-Hadi al-Diniah; malam perhimpunan menghormatkan hari Maulid Nabi SAW" (A Copy of Shaykh 'Abd

- Allāh Maghribī's speech at Madrasah al-Hādī al-Dinīya during a gathering on the night of the celebration of Mawlid al-Nabī (SAW) *Saudara*, V, 321 (8 July 1933) 7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ucapan al-Shaykh Abdullah Maghribi di atas perkuburan al-Marhum Syed al-Hadi" (Speech of al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī at the grave of the late Syed [Shaykh] al-Hady) *Saudara*, VI, 386 (24 February 1934); VI, 387 (28 February 1934); VI, 388 (3 March 1934).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kisah Israk dan Mikraj* (The Story of Isrā' and Mi'rāj) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1934).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kepapaan yang bermaharaja lela di Negeri Madina al-Musharrafa" (The Widespread Poverty in Madīna) *Saudara*, VII, 514 (1 June 1935).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kitāb Munīr al-Iḥām* (Book to Illuminate Comprehension) (Penang: al-Hudā Press, 1936) v.1; whereabouts of v.2 unknown.
- Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya. "Latarbelakang Sejarah Keturunan Sayid di Malaysia" (Ancestral Lineage of the Syeds in Malaysia) in *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia* (Islāmic Civilisation in Malaysia) ed. Khoo Kay Kim et al. (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980) 60–73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Abu Jabir Abdullah bin Ahmad al-Ghadamisi: Tokoh Ulama Islah di Tanah Melayu" (Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ghadamisi: A Reformist 'Ulamā' in the Malay Peninsula) (unpublished paper delivered at the Kongres Sejarah Malaysia II, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, November 1996).
- Malcolm, Noel, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).
- Mallal, B. A., ed., *Trial of Muslim Libel Case* (Singapore: C. A. Ribeiro, 1926).
- Margoliouth, D. S., "Wahhābīya", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 618–21.
- Masalha, Nur, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882–1948* (Washington, D. C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).
- Mat Noor bin Hashim, "A Malay Child in a Religious School", *Intisari*, II, 1 (1963) 12–13.
- Matheson, Virginia, "Strategies of Survival: The Malay Royal Line of Lingga-Riau", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, XVII, 1 (March 1986) 5–36 & Appendices I & II.
- and see Hooker, Virginia Matheson.

- Maxwell, W. G., "The Singapore Mutiny", *Annual Departmental Report of the Straits Settlements* (Singapore, 1916).
- Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak, "Malay Book Publishing and Printing in Malaya and Singapore 1807-1949" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Stirling, Scotland, 1992).
- Megat M. Narruddin Yunus, "Mecca Pilgrim Traffic" (unpublished academic exercise, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, 1956).
- Merican, Marina, "Syed Shaikh Al-Hadi dan Pendapat-pendapat-nya Mengenai Kemajuan Kaum Perempuan (Syed Shaykh al-Hady and His Views on the Advancement of Women) (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, University of Malaya, 1961).
- Mills, L. A., *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "British Malaya 1824-67", *JMBRAS*, III, 2 (November 1925); repr. *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 3 (191) (1960) 1-424.
- Mitsuharu Tsukuda, *From the Nanyo* (Tokyo, 1916).
- Mohammad b. Anas, "Geographical Notes to Tuhfat al-Nafis" (unpublished academic exercise, Malay Studies Department, University of Malaya, 1958).
- Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, December 1994).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Ottoman's War with the Europeans (1912-1914): A Paradigm Shift in the Development of Malay Political Thought", *Jebat*, 23 (1995) 89-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Arab political activities and colonial reactions in Malaya before World War II" (unpublished paper, Leiden: Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 8-12 December 1997) 1-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "al-Afghani's Pan-Islamic Ideas and the Turks' Appeal: Perceptions and Influence on Malay Political Thought" (unpublished paper delivered at the International Conference on Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and the Asian Renaissance, Kuala Lumpur, 23 February 1998).
- Mohd. Saleh, Tengku, *Kerangka Sedjarah Melayu* (Summary of Malay History) (Daik/Lingga, 1930).
- Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab, "Syed Syeikh Abdullah Maghribi: Pendidik dan Kaum Muda" (Syed Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī: Teacher and Kaum Muda Activist) *Jebat*, V, 6 (1975-6) 1-6.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Sheikh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin al-Falaki: Pelopor Gerakan Islah Islamiyyah di Tanah Melayu" (Shaykh

- Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin, the Astronomer: Pioneer of the Islāmic Reform Movement in the Malay Peninsula) *Malaysia in History*, XX, 2 (December 1977) 1–11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Profil Seorang Wartawan 1920an – Mohamed Younus Abd. Hamid" (Profile of a Journalist: Mohd. Yunus Abdul Hamid) *Jebat*, 7/8 (1977–8, 1978–9) 159–66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Satu Nota Tentang Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha" (A note on Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha) *Malaysia in History*, XXI, 1 (June 1978) 1–7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gerakan Islah Islamiyyah di Tanah Melayu 1906 hingga 1948" (The Islāmic Reform Movement in the Malay Peninsula 1906 to 1948) in *Malaysia: Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunan* (Malaysia: History and Process of Development) eds. Khoo Kay Kim and Jazamuddin Baharuddin (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1979).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Malay Language Print Media in the Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1821–1941" in *National Build-up and Literary Process in South-East Asia* (Moscow: Institute of Asian and African Countries, Moscow State University and Nusantara Society, 1997) 267–81.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Religious Periodicals Published in the Straits Settlements and Malaya, 1821–1940" in *Maritime Silk Route and Islamic Culture* (Fuzhou, China: Fujian Education Publishing House, 1997) 183–94.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Story of Haji Sabar Ali by Munshi Abdullah", *MANU: Journal of the Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge and Language Learning*, 1 (1998) 158–75.
- Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab and Khazin Mohd. Tamrin, eds., *Klang 1890–1990: Sejarah dan Perkembangan* (Klang 1890–1990: History and Development) (Kuala Lumpur: Majlis Daerah dan Perbandaran Klang, 1990).
- Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab et al., *Newspapers and Periodicals in Malaysia: History and Development* (Bangi: Department of History, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1988).
- Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah. Wan, *Syeikh Ismail al Minangkabawi, penyiari thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah* (Shaykh Ismail al-Minangkabawi, the Propagator of the Ṭarīqa Naqshabandīya Khālīdīyā) (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Fatawa Tentang Binatang Hidup Dua Alam Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani* (Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani's Fatwa Concerning Amphibians) (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990).

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Syekh Ahmad al-Fatani: Sultan, Politik dan Riau" (Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani: Sultan, Politics and Riau) *Dewan Budaya* (September 1991) 51–3.
- Mohd. Yusop b. Sultan Maidin, *Boria dan Benchananya* (The Troublesomeness of the Boria) (Penang: Mercantile Press, 1922).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Kejatohan Kaum Islam dan Pergerakan Bahru* (The Downfall of the Muslim Community and the Reform Movement) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).
- Morley, J. A. E., "The Arabs and the Eastern Trade", *JMBRAS*, XXII, 1 (1949) 143–76.
- Mosbergen, Rudolf William, "The Sepoy Rebellion (The History of the Singapore Mutiny, 1915)" (unpublished academic exercise, Department of History, University of Malaya, 1954).
- Muhammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawhīd*, ('Treatise on the Unity of God', a work on theology). (1<sup>st</sup> edn., Cairo, 1315/1897; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., with notes by Muhammad Rashīd Rīḍā, 1326/1908. Further notes were added in later editions. The 5<sup>th</sup> edn., Cairo, 1346/1926–7, was carefully revised and further notes added). Transl. Ishāq Musa'ad and Cragg, Kenneth under the title *The Theology of Unity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrānīya ma'a 'l-'Ilm wa 'l-Madanīya* (Islām and Christianity and their Respective Attitudes towards Learning and Civilisation) (A series of articles first published in *al-Manār* (1901); printed separately Cairo: 1320 A. H./1902 A. D.; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., 1341 A. H./1922, 1923).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Tafsīr Juz' 'Amma* (Commentary on the last thirty-seven chapters of al-Qur'ān, *Sūras* 78–114) (First published in *al-Manār*; printed separately Cairo: 1322 A. H./1904 A. D.).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Fātiḥa* (Commentary on the first chapter of al-Qur'ān) (Cairo: 1323 A. H./1905 A. D.; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1330 A. H./1911 A. D.).
- Muhammad 'Ali, *English Translation of the Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text, Commentary and Index* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Lahore, 1920).
- Muhammad Daud, "Madrasah al-Mashoor al-Islamiyah Pulau Pinang: 1916–1969" (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1980).
- Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934; repr. Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, March 1958).
- Muhammad Said, *Genealogical Tree of the Johore Royal Families* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Office, 1923).

- Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin. Shaykh, (Mohd. Tahir Jalaluddin), *Ithāf al-murīd fī ahkām al-tajwīd* (A Gift for the Novice on the Rules of Qur'ān Recitation) (Muar: al-Jamaliyah Press, 1927).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Perisai Orang Beriman: Pengisi tentang Madzhab Orang Kadian* (The Shield of the Faithful against the Qādiyānī School) (Singapore: Setia Press, 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ini Huraian yang Membakar 'Taman Persuratan' Haji Bakar* (A Critical Analysis of the Literary Works of Haji Bakar) (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Marbawīya, 1932).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Nukhbat al-taqrīrāt fī ḥisāb al-awqāt wa-samt al-qibla bi al-lūghārūmāt* (Basic Calculations for Determining the Five Prayer Times and the Direction of the Qibla by using Logarithms) (Singapore: The Royal Press, 1937).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jadual al-logarithmat* (Table of Logarithms) ([n. p.] 1937).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pati Kiraan pada Menentukan Waktu Lima dan Hala Kiblat dengan Logaritma* (Basic Calculations for Determining the Five Prayer Times and the Direction of the Qibla by using Logarithms) (Singapore: Malaya Press, 1938).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ringkasan pada Mengenalkan Kandungan Kitab Huraian yang Utama atau Pati Kiraan pada Menentukan Waktu Lima dan Hala Kiblat dengan Logaritma* (An Introductory Summary of the Contents of the Primary Book of Basic Calculations for Determining the Five Prayer Times and the Direction of the Qibla by using Logarithms) (Singapore: Malaya Press, 1938).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tatimmat al-Irshād li al-Hā'ir fī 'ilm al-Farā'id* (Supplementary Guide to the Perplexed in the Science of Inheritance) (Singapore: al-Maṭba'a al-Muḥammadiya, 1952).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tadhkīrat muttabi' al-Sunna fī al-Radd 'alā al-Qā'il bi Sunnati rak'atayni Qabla'l-Jumu'a* (A Reminder to the Followers of the Sunna in Refuting Those Who Claim that Two Rak'a before Friday Prayer is Commendable) (Penang: al-Maṭba'a Haji Abdullah Haji Mohamad Nordin al-Rawi, 1953; Muar: al-Jamaliyah Press [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Risalah Penebas: Bidaah-bidaah di Kepala Batas* (Pamphlet on Innovations at Kepala Batas) (Penang: Persama Press, 1953; Penang: Lembaga Persediaan Majlis Muzakarah Kampung Baru [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *al-Natīja al-Jalāliya kiraan Sheikh Tahir Jalal al-Din al-Falaki al-Azhari bagi tahun 1344 Hijrah berbetulan dengan tahun 1925* (The Grand Result of Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin's Calculation that the Year 1344 A. H. is Equivalent to 1925 A. D.) (Penang: al-Khairiah Press [n. d.]).

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Hukum Melafazkan Niat dengan Lidah dan Kenyataan Fasal Talqin* (Rules for Verbalising the Intention and a Statement on Talqin (Instruction of the Dead)) (Penang: Jelutong Press [n. d.]).
- Muhammad Yunus b. Abdul Hamid, *Rahsia Kematian yang Dahshat atau Kekuasaan Permata Biru* (The Secret of a Horrible Death or the Power of the Sapphire) (Penang: Muhammad Yusuf Abdul Hamid [Jelutong Press] 1929).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Saliha Salih atau Mutiara dari Smirna* (Saliha Salih or the Pearl from Smyrna (Turkey)) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1931).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mutiara dari Benua Timur* (The Pearl from the East) (Kelang: The Trio Co., 1936).
- Muhammad Yusoff b. S. A. Rahim, "Malay Education in the Federation of Malaya, 1945–1958" (unpublished academic exercise, Department of History, University of Malaya, 1960).
- Mulia and Hidding, *Ensiklopedia Indonesia* (Bandung: Hoeve, 1954–6) 3v.
- Muṣṣhaf, al-, al-Sulṭānī al-Ḥamīdī* (al-Qur'ān published during the reign of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd) (Penang: [n. p.] 1939).
- Nathan, J. E., *The Census of British Malaya (The Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Protected Malay States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Terengganu and Brunei) 1921* (London: 1922).
- Netscher, E., "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1502 tot 1865" (The Dutch in Johor and Siak, 1502 to 1865) *Verhandeligen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 35 (1870).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Memorie van Overgave, 1870* (Memorandum on the Capitulation) (Koninklijk Instituut, Handschrift 420).
- Nieuwenhuize, C. A. O., *Aspects of Islam in Post Colonial Indonesia* (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1958).
- Nik Ahmad b. Haji Nik Hassan, *Hukum Melafaz Niyya dengan Lidah dan Kenyataan Fasal Talqin Fatwa dari Misr dan Melaka dan Keterangan Shaikh Tahir Jalal al-Din* (Rules for Verbalising the Intention [before Prayer] and a Statement on Talqin [Instruction of the Dead], a *Fatwa* from Egypt and Melaka with Clarification by Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin) (Penang: Semangat Islam [n. d.]).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Malay Vernacular Press" (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, Department of History, University of Malaya, 1958).
- Omar Farouk Shaeik Ahmad, "The Arabs in Penang", *Malaysia in History*, XXI, 2 (1978) 1–16.

- Ong Chin Boo. "A Short Study of the Malayan Depression (1929–1934)" (unpublished academic exercise, Department of History, University of Malaya, 1958).
- Osman Amin. *Muhammad 'Abduh* (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1953).
- Osman b. Hassan. *Berita Pergerakan Kesatuan Melayu 1926–1937* (News on Activities of the Malay Union 1926–1937) (Singapore: 1937).
- Overbeck, H. O.. "Malay Animal and Flower Shaers", *JMBRAS*, XII, 2 (August 1934) 108–48.
- Parkinson, C. Northcote. *A Short History of Malaya* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1954; rev. edn., Donald Moore, 1956; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., London: University of London Press, 1966).
- Penrose, Stephen. *That They May Have Life* (New York: Trustees of the American University of Beirut (AUB), 1941; repr. Beirut: AUB, 1970).
- Perangkaan Pendidikan 1995 Sekolah Menengah Agama Negeri/Rakyat* (1995 Education Statistics for State/Private Religious Secondary Schools) (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Ministry of Education, 30 June 1995).
- Pickthall, Mohammed Marmaduke. *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, An Explanatory Translation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1953; 10<sup>th</sup> edn., New York: Mentor publ. by The New American Library, 1963).
- Purcell, Victor. *The Chinese in Malaya* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948; repr. 1967).
- Putten, van der-, Jan. "Printing in Riau: Two Steps Toward Modernity" in *Riau in Transition*, eds. Chow, Cynthia and Derks, Will, *BKI*, 153, 4 (1997) 717–36.
- Rahim Osman. "Madrasah Masyhur al-Islamiyah" in *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia* (Islāmic Civilisation in Malaysia) ed. Khoo Kay Kim et al. (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980) 75–85.
- Rāziq, al-. Muṣṭafā 'Abd. al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā (The Indissoluble Bond, being a Biography of Muḥammad 'Abduh) (Cairo: 1346 A. H./1928 A. D.).
- Reid, Anthony. "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia", *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI, 2 (February 1967) 267–83.
- Ridā, Muḥammad Rashīd, ed.. *al-Manār* (1898–1936) 35 v.
- . *Tārīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh* (Biography of al-Ustāz al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh) (Cairo: al-Manār Press, 1908, 1910, 1931) 3v.

- \_\_\_\_\_, *Khilāfa, al-, aw al-imāma al-'uṣmā* (A Supreme Khalīfa or Leadership) (Cairo, 1922) transl. Laoust, Henri, under the title *Le Califat dans la Doctrine de Rasīd Riḍā* (Beyrouth [n. p.] 1938).
- Rifat, Ismā'īl, *al-Tibyān fī Takhṭīṭ al-Buldān* (Explanation on the Geographical Position of Countries) (Cairo: [n. p.] 1912).
- Roberts, J. M., *The Pelican History of the World* (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Pelican Books, 1984).
- Rozhan b. Kuntom, "A General Survey of Muslim Religious Schools in Malaya" (unpublished B. A. Hons. thesis, Malay Studies Department, University of Malaya, 1957).
- Rustow, Dankwart A., "Politics and Islam in Turkey, 1920–1955" in *Islam and the West*, ed. Frye, Richard N. (Hague: Mouton, 1957) 65–107.
- Safie Ibrahim, "Islamic Religious Thought in Malaya, 1930–40" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1987).
- Safwah, al-*, (The Essence) (Penang: Madrasah al-Mashhūr, 1994).
- Ṣana'ānī, al-, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ṣalāh al-Amīr al-Kahlānī, *Kitāb Subul al-Salām* (The Path of Peace) (Cairo: al-Idārat al-Tiba'a al-Munīriya, 1925–6).
- Sarjeant, R. B., *The Saiyids of Hadramawt* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1957).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Historians and Historiography of Hadramawt, BSOAS*, XXV (1962).
- Schacht, J., "Muḥammad 'Abduh", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*", eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 405–7.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Taklīd", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 562–4.
- Schrieke, B., "De Strijd onder de Arabieren in pers en literatuur", *Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, LVIII (1920).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings* (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1955) pt. I.
- Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah dalam Perang Melawan Belanda (1782–1784)* (History of Raja Haji's Struggle fī sabīl Allāh (in the way of God) in the War against the Dutch (1782–1784)) (Pekanbaru: Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Riau, 1989).
- Shaharil Talib, *After Its Own Image: The Trengganu Experience 1881–1941* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984).
- Shari'atī, 'Alī, *On the Sociology of Islam: Lectures by Alī Shari'atī*, transl. Algar, Hamid (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1979).

- Shaṭā, Syed Bākri, *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn* (Assistance for Seekers [after Knowledge])(Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1923) 4v.
- Shawkānī, al-, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad, *Nayl al-Awṭār* (Attainment of Purposes) (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Bulaq, 1879).
- Sheppard, Mubin, *Taman Indera, A Royal Pleasure Ground: Malay Decorative Arts and Pastimes* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- Silcock, T. H. and Abdul Aziz, Ungku, "Malayan Nationalism" in *Asian Nationalism and the West*, ed. Holland, W. L. (New York: Macmillan, 1953) 269–346.
- Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1919.
- Singapore Snapshot: Facts at a Glance* (Singapore: Ministry of Information and the Arts, 1997).
- Siti Hanifah Ahmad, "Sheikh Junid Tola: Sumbangannya dalam Bidang Pendidikan, Ekonomi dan Politik, 1897–1948" (Shaykh Junid Tola: His Contributions in the Fields of Education, Economics and Politics, 1897–1948) (unpublished B. A. thesis, University of Malaya, 1988/89).
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, *Modern Islām in India: A Social Analysis* (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1943).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Islam in Modern History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, *Mekka, I. Die Stadt und ihre Herren* (The City and its Lords); *II. Aus dem Heutigen Leben* (Sketches from Present-day Life) (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1888, 1889).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mekka in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Daily life, customs and learning; The Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago*, transl. of *Mekka*, v. 2, *Aus dem Heutigen Leben* by Monahan, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill and London: Luzac, 1931).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889–1936* (Official Recommendations of C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889–1936) eds. Gobée, E. and Adriaanse, C. ('s Gravenhage: State Historical Publications, small series 33–35, 1957–65) 3v.
- Soenarno, Radin. "Malay Nationalism 1900–1945", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, I, 1 (March, 1960) 1–28.
- Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (London: John Murray, 1923; repr. Singapore: University Malaya Press, 1967; repr. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984).

- Stoddard, T. L., *The New World of Islam* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1922).
- Stoneman, Richard, *A Traveller's History of Turkey* (New York: Interlink Books, 1993).
- Strothmann, R., "al-Zaidīya", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Gibb, H. A. R. and Kramers, J. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953) 651-3.
- Sugar, Peter F., *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, v. 5 of *A History of Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; repr. 1993).
- Talib Samat, *Syed Sheikh al-Hadi: Sasterawan Progresif Melayu* (Syed Shaykh al-Hady: Progressive Malay Writer) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992).
- Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University, March 1971).
- Thio, Eunice, "British Policy Towards Johore: From Advice to Control", *JMBRAS*, XL, 1 (1967) 1-41.
- Thomas, Lowell, *Lauterbach of the China Sea: The Escapes and Adventures of a Seagoing Falstaff* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930).
- Tibrīzī, al-, Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb, *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābīḥ* (Niche for Lamps [to Illuminate *Ḥadīth*]) transl. Robson, J. (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, December 1970) I.
- Titel Sayid djadi Urusan, Pemerintah Tjampur Tangan? Keterangan dan Penerangan Djelas Tentang Hak dan Hukum jang Njata didalam Islam* (The Title 'Syed' a Matter for Government Involvement? A Clear Statement and Explanation Concerning Rules and Rights in Islām) (Djakarta: Perserikatan al-Irshād, 1932).
- Tregonning, K., *A World History for Malayans* (London: University of London Press, 1957).
- Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, eds. Wright, A. and Cartwright, H. A. (London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., 1908).
- Wall, von de-, A. L., "Kort begrip der beteekenis van de tarikat, naar het Maleische van Sajid Oesman ibn Abdullah ibn Akil ibn Jahja, adviseur honorair voor Arabische zaken" (A Brief Idea of the significance of the *ṭarīqa*, according to the Malay text of Syed Osman ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aqīl ibn Yahyā, honorary adviser on 'Arab affairs) *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 35 (1893).

- Wembley, ed., *British Empire Exhibition Pamphlets, Malayan Series* (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1923).
- Wensinck, A. J., *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden: E. Brill, 1927).
- Wertheim, W. F., *Indonesian Society in Transition* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. edn., The Hague: van Hoeve, 1959).
- Wheeler, L. R., *The Modern Malay* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1928).
- Wilkinson, R. J., ed., *Papers on Malay Subjects*, Series 1, 17 pamphlets (Kuala Lumpur: F. M. S. Government Press, 1907–11); Series 2 (partly edited by Wilkinson), 7 pamphlets (Kuala Lumpur: F. M. S. Government Press, 1912–27).
- Winstedt, R. O., *Education in Malaya*, British Empire Exhibition Pamphlets, Malayan Series, ed. Wembley (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1923).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A History of Johore, 1365–1895*, *JMBRAS*, X (December 1932) 1–170; Reprint No. 6, *MBRAS* (1979).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A History of Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XVII, 3 (January 1940 3<sup>rd</sup> pt. for year 1939); rev. edn. under the title "A History of Classical Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XXXI, 3 (183) (June 1958).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Malaysia" in *Islam Today*, eds. Arberry, A. J. and Landau, R. (London: Faber and Faber, 1943) 211–26.
- Wyndham, H. A., *Native Education* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).
- Wynne, M. L., *Triad and Tabut* (Singapore: Government Printer, 1941).
- Yusof, Ghulam-Sarwar, *Dictionary of Traditional South-East Asian Theatre* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Yuen Choy Leng, "Expansion of Japanese Interests in Malaya, 1900–1941" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of History, University of Malaya, 1973).
- Yusha', Bashīr Qāsim, "Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghadamiṣī", *Majallat al-Buḥūth al-Tārikhīya* (Journal of Historical Researches) VI, 2 (May 1984) (Tripoli: Markaz Dīrāsāt Jihād al-Lībīyina ḍid al-Ghazw al-Itāfī).
- Za'ba (Zain al-'Abidin b. Ahmad / Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad), "Teach-ings of Muhammad – an Islamic Missionary. Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin", *Islamic Review* (June-July 1921) 203–6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Umbi Kemajuan* (The Roots of Progress) (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1932).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Modern Developments" in Winstedt, R. O., "A History of Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XVII, 3 (January 1940, 3<sup>rd</sup> pt. for year 1939) 142–62.

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Recent Malay Literature", *JMBRAS*, XIX, 1 (February 1941) 1-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Malay Journalism in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XIX, 2 (October 1941) 244-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Malay Festivals and some aspects of Malay Religious Life", *JMBRAS*, XXII, 1 (March 1949) 94-106.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Asohan Budi* (Nurture of Character) (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1957).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sejarah Ringkas Tanah Melayu* (A Brief History of the Malay Peninsula) selected and translated from R. O. Winstedt, *Malaya* (Singapore: Pustaka Melayu, 1961).
- Zaidān, Jirjī, *Fatat Ghassān* (The Maid of [the] Ghassān [Tribe]) (repr. Beirut: Dar Beirut, 1966).
- Zainon Ahmad, "The Life and Thoughts of Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of History, University Malaya, 1979).
- Zakī, Mohammad Aboulkhir (M. A. Zaki Badawi), "Modern Muslim Thought in Egypt and its Impact on Islam in Malaya" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1965).
- Zawāwī, al-, Syed 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Risālat al-fawā'id al-wāfiyat fī sharḥ ma'nā al-taḥiyat* (Treatise on the Comprehensive Benefits in Commenting on the Meaning of the Salutation) (Riau: al-Maṭba'a al-Riauwiya, 1895).
- Zawī, al-, Ṭahir Aḥmad, *Mu'jam al-Buldān al-Lībīyah* (A Compendium of Libyan Cities) (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Salafiya [n. d.]).
- Zirkīlī, al-, Khayr al-Dīn, *al-A'lām Qamūs Tarājum li ashhar al-rījal wa al-nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-musta'ribīn wa al-mustashriqīn* (Dictionary of the Most Famous Men and Women from among the 'Arabs, 'Arabists and Orientalists) (Beirut: [n. p.] 1969) I.

## ANNOTATED INDEX

**Note:** Where Muslims bear family names such as al-Hady, al-Masri and so on, their names are indexed under their family names, for instance, Hady, al-. Syed Shaykh. However, notwithstanding such names being derived from 'Arabic, no diacritical marks are added if these be Malaysian names.

- A. (Abdullah) Yusuf Ali, xii, 176n, 218n  
 'Abbās II, Khedīve, 34n, 126  
 Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, Haji, 16, 75-7, 113, 130, 161, 280, 282  
 'Abbas Bakar Rafik (Rafīe)/Hussein Rafik (?), Shaykh, 89, 243, 253n  
 'Abbās Hilmī, Khedīve, 169  
 'Abbāsids (750-1258): 44n, 48n; Khalifat, 49n, 220  
 'Abd al-'Azīz, Sū'ūdī King, *see* Ibn Sa'ūd  
 'Abd al-Hamīd, Ottoman Sultān, (1876-1909), *see under* Ottoman Khalifat  
 'Abd al-Mālik Afāndī, Shaykh, 241  
 'Abd al-Rahmān Abū Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn, *see* Ibn Khaldūn  
 'Abd Allah bin Sharīf Ḥusayn, Amīr, (1882-July 20, 1951): 55; as ruler of Transjordan (1946-51), 67n; assassination, 67n  
 Abdul Ali, Jemadar, 20  
 Abdul Gani, Raja, 5n  
 Abdul Hadi b. Haji Hasan, 118n  
 Abdul Kadir, Tengku, 5n  
 Abdul Karim b. Baggo, 130n  
 Abdul Majid, Tengku, 5n  
 Abdul Majid b. Haji Zainuddin, Haji, 103n, 278, 282, 284  
 Abdul Majid b. Sabil, 97n  
 Abdul Rahim Kajai (1894-1943), 93-4, 97, 99, 120, 143, 160n  
 Abdul Rahman, Raja, 5n  
 Abdul Rahman, Tengku/Sultan of Riau (r. 1883-1911): 68, 78n; accedes to throne (1883) and resulting contention, 266-7; and Japanese, 9-10, 13-14; bankruptcy, 3n, 122; children: *see* Othman/Osman, Tengku; Umar, Tengku, (Tengku Besar); death (1930), 265, 266; deposed by Dutch colonial power and exile in Singapore (1911), 3n, 13, 79, 112n, 114, 115n, 121, 128-9, 270, 271-3; grandsons: *see* Mahmud, Tengku; Ibrahim, Tengku; half-brother of Ali Kelana, Raja, 71; attempts to regain throne, 13-14, 265-8; succession, 266-7; treaties of 1905, 1909, 1910, *see under* Treaties between the Dutch and Riau; *see also* Riau  
 Abdul Rahman, Tunku, (1903-90), 247  
 Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, *see* Ahmadi, al-, Abdul Rahman  
 Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah, xiiin, 150n  
 Abdul Rahman ibni Sultan Mahmud Shah, Tengku, Sultan of Riau (r. 1812-), 269-70  
 Abdul Razak (of Penang), 251  
 Abdul Razak, Tun, (1922-76), 85n, 257  
 Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, 97n, 143, 244n, 255n  
 Abdul Wahhab al-'Isami, *see* 'Isami, al-, Abdul Wahhab  
 Abdul Wahid, Sergeant Major, 28, 30  
 Abdul Wahid al-Jailani, *see* Jailani, al-, Abdul Wahid  
 Abdullah, Raja Haji, *see* Abdullah ibni Raja Ja'far, Raja Haji  
 Abdullah al-Qari b. Haji Salleh, 198n  
 Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir, Munshi, 146-7  
 Abdullah b. Abdul Rahman, Dato' Haji, 12  
 Abdullah b. Haji Taib, 257, 258  
 Abdullah b. Syed Ahmad, Syed, 66n  
 Abdullah Hussain, 189n  
 Abdullah ibni Raja Ja'far, Raja Haji, Yamtuan Muda, (d. 1858), 4, 274, 275n  
 Abdurrahman Wahid, 185n  
 Ablutions, 210  
 Abu Bakar, Sultan, *see* Sultans of Johor  
 Abu Bakar, Tengku, 5n  
 Abu Bakar Ash'ari, Imam Haji, (1904-70), xiii, divider preceding 1, 143n, 149-50, 244  
 Abu Bakar b. Ahmad, *see* Bachik, Haji  
 Abu Bakar Hamzah, 78n  
 Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 798), 44n, 202; *see also* Ḥanafī *mazhab*

- Abu Hassan Sham, 111n
- Abū Jābir 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baskurī al-Qairawānī al-Bā 'Alawī al-Makkī al-Ghadamisī, Shaykh, *see* Maghribī, 'Abd Allāh
- Abū Tamīm Ma'add, 163n
- Acheen Street, Penang, 79n, 96
- Acheh/Achehnese: 7, 10n, 112, 127, 275n; and Bugis, 127; and Dutch, 7, 10
- 'Achik', *see under* Hady, al-, Syed Alwi b. Shaykh: wives
- Ādam, 183
- Adams, Charles C., 11n, 74n, 81n, 124n, 127n, 134n, 139n, 140n, 157n, 170, 226n
- 'Adan (Aden), 37, 42, 56, 65n
- 'Ādat, *see* Custom
- Adel M. Abdulaziz, 239n
- Aden, *see* 'Adan
- Adibah Amin, Khalidah, 154n
- Adnan Haji Mohd. Nawang, 282n, 284n
- Adriaanse, C., 73n
- Adult Education Association, Malaya, 261
- Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken (Adviser for Internal Affairs), Netherlands Indies, 42
- Afghānī, al-, *see* Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī
- Afghānī, al-, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn, 242
- Afghānistān/Afghāns: 51, 57–8, 64n, 66n, 123, 133, 144, 194n, 196–7; nobility, 197n
- Africa: 56, 57, 59, 213; Black, 51; Central, 59n; North, 16, 59n, 99n, 240; South, 125
- Aḡama Islam dan 'Akal* (Islām and Reason), 81, 118n
- Aḡama Islam — Soal Jawab* (Islām: Questions and Answers), 81
- Āgrā, India, 64n
- Agus Salim, Haji, (1884–1954), 162
- 'Ahd, al-, (The Covenant Society), 59–60
- Ahl al-'Abā', *see* Ahl al-Bayt
- Ahl al-Bayt ('People of the House'), 44–8
- Ahl al-Sunna ('People of Tradition'), 46
- Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Jamā'a* ('People of Tradition and the Community'), xiii, 150n, 244, 245
- Ahl al-Tawḥīd (q.v.), 210
- Ahmad, Haji Wan, 251
- Ahmad, Wan, (possibly Ahmad, Haji Wan), 255n
- Ahmad Abu Bakar, Tengku, 265n
- Aḥmad b. 'Isā (*al-Muhājir*, the Emigrant), 37n, 41n
- Ahmad b. Omar, Syed, 66n
- Ahmad b. Uthman al-Ba Junaid, Ustaz, *see* Bajunid (al-Ba Junaid), Ahmad b. Uthman
- Ahmad b. Wan Ngah, Haji Wan, 149n
- Ahmad Dahlan, Ki Haji, 125n
- Aḥmad Haudana, 241n
- Ahmad ibni Raja Haji, Raja, (b. 1773), 2, 5n, 274–5
- Ahmad Ibrahim, Tan Sri Professor Dr., (1916–99), xiiin
- Aḥmad Khān, Sir Sayyid, (1817–98), 134, 153n
- Ahmad Mohd. Hashim, 150n
- Ahmadi, al-, Abdul Rahman, 9n
- Aḥmadiyah, al-/Aḥmadiya, al-, Press, 5n, 278
- Aḥmadiya/Aḥmadi, 116, 134, 281–2, 284
- Aḥmadiya Anjuman-i-Ishā'at-i-Islām, *see* Anjuman-i-Ishā'at-i-Islām
- Aidid, Syed Ali b. Zin b. Ahmad Hasan, 243n
- Aidid, Syed Mahzar, 79n
- Aidid, Syed Omar Mahzar, 79n, 255
- Aishah, Raja, 276
- Akbar (r. 1556–1605), 64n
- Akhbar Putera* (1929–), 132, 144n
- Akil, *see* 'Aqil (Akil) b. Yahya, Syed Muhammad
- Akira Iriye, 15n
- 'Alam Perempuan (Woman's World), 81, 117, 153, 226
- 'Alawī(s)/Bā 'Alawī, pl. 'Alawiyīn, 37n, 41n, 43–8
- Albania/Albanians: 15, 51–3; soldiers, 54
- Alexander the Great (356 B. C. –323 B. C.), 178
- Alexandra Barracks, Singapore, 20, 22, 27, 30, 33
- Alexandria, Egypt, 125n
- Algar, Hamid, xin
- Algeria/Algerians, 7, 51, 59n, 240, 241n
- 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (597–660), 37n, 39, 44n, 46n
- Ali b. Haji Muhammad Sa'id Saleh, Haji, 280
- 'Alī bin Sharif Ḥusayn, King of Hijāz, 67n
- Ali Haji ibni Raja Ahmad, Raja, (c. 1809–70): 2, 4n, 5–6, 109, 121; writings, 2, 5n, 71, 110, 122, 274–5
- Ali ibni Raja Ja'far, Raja, Yamtuan Muda, (d. 1857), 269, 274–5
- Ali Kelana ibni Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadī, Raja.: 3, 5–6, 10n, 271, 272, 274–5, 276–7, plate 1; adoptive father of Syed Shaykh al-Hady, 3, 7–8, 70–3, 75, 110, 112, 114–15, 122, 123, 274; and Dutch treaty, 8, 122, 128; and *Imām*, al-, 11; and Japanese, 13–14; and Johor, 115; and Madrasah al-Iqbal, 78n; and Persekutuan Rushdiyyah, 5n, 276; and restoration of Sultanate, 14; and restoration of Yamtuan Muda, 3n, 7–8; and Sultan of Riau, 13; Batam Brickworks, 75, 95, 112,

- Ali Kelana (*cont.*)  
 276–7; children, 123, plate 4; contacts with Terengganu Sultan, 14; death, 68, 115n, 129; Ketua Agama, Johor, 14, 115n; moves to Johor, 114–15, 129; steamships, 6; *Kapal Karang*, 276, *Laurah*, 112; writings, 5n
- ‘Alī Yūsuf, Shaykh, 10n
- ‘Alids (descendants of ‘Alī b. ‘Abī Tālib), 47n
- Aligarh University (Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College; Muslim University), 134, 151n, 153n
- ‘Ālim (knowledgeable in Islāmic traditions, canon law, theology), xiv, xix, 4n, 8, 39, 73, 76, 78n, 98–9, 113, 116, 148n, 207, 229, 250, 253, 255, 282; pl. ‘*ulamā’*’ (q.v.)
- All India Khalifat Conference (1919), 66n
- All-Malaya Malay Youth Congress (1955), 151n
- Allāh, 2n, 3n, 4n, 90, 101n, 168, 181–2, 195, 197, 202–3, 210n, 211–12, 217, 221–3, 232, 234, 236–7
- Allāhu Akbar* (God is Great), 210n
- Allen, J. de V., 31, 32n
- Allies/Allied forces, *see* Triple Entente
- Alms, *see* *Sadakah/Sadaqa*
- Alor Star, Kedah, 146n
- Alp Arslan (r. 1063–73), 49n
- Alsagoff ‘Arabic School (est by Syed Omar b. Mohamed b. Omar (q.v.) in 1912), 243, 247
- Alsagoff & Co., Messrs., 33–4n
- Alsagoff family residence, Singapore, 36n
- Alsagoff (al-Saqqaf), merchant in Singapore, 243, 247n
- Alsagoff, O., 247n
- “Alsagoff, S. A.”, Syed Omar (?), 36n
- Alsagoff, Sharifah Hashimah bt. Othman, 70n
- Alsagoff, Sharifah Rogayah bt. Ahmad b. Abdul Rahman, (d. 1927), 256
- Alsagoff, Syed Abdul Rahman (Abdulrahman) b. Alwi, (d. 1840), (grandfather: Abdillah (‘Abd Allāh); Singapore Alsagoffs descend from this ‘Abdillah Branch’), 33n
- Alsagoff, Syed Abdul Rahman b. Taha, (Engku Aman) (son of Khadijah, sister of Syed Mohamed b. Ahmad Alsagoff (q.v.) and son-in-law of Syed Mohamed b. Ahmad), (17 October 1880–22 May 1955), 243, 247n
- Alsagoff, Syed Ahmad (Ahmed) b. Abdul Rahman, (Engku Jantan), (d. 27 March 1875); mother: Khadijah bt. Datuk Bandar Mahbob b. Khamis Sulaiman; wife: Sity (Siti) bt. Kra Eng Chanda Pulih (q.v.), daughter of his cousin Fatima(h) bt. Sulaiman b. Datuk Bandar Mahbob b. Khamis Sulaiman (q.v.), 33n
- Alsagoff, Syed Ahmad b. Mohamed, (05 July 1896–28 August 1965), 258
- Alsagoff, Syed Mohamed (Mahomed) b. Ahmad (Ahmed) b. Abdul Rahman (Abdulrahman), (Nongchik) (1836–03 July 1906); mother: Sity (Siti) bt. Kra Eng Chanda Pulih (q.v.), 10, 33n, 36
- Alsagoff, Syed Mohamed b. Omar, (Billy) (1889–01 Jan. 1931), 35
- Alsagoff (al-Saqqah), Syed Omar b. Mohamed b. Omar, (son of Aishah, sister of Syed Mohamed b. Ahmad Alsagoff (q.v.)) (1850–18 May 1927), 33–6, 79n, 243, 247n
- Alsagoff (al-Sagoff), Syed Salleh, J. P., 255
- Alsagoff (al-Sagoff), Syed Taha, 93n
- Alsagoff (al-Saqqāf), Syed Tahsīn, (also referred to as Kaff, al-), 249, 256n
- Altaic range, 48n
- ‘*Amal*’ (that which is practised), 184
- Amānullāh Khān (01 June 1892–25 April 1960), King of Afghānistān (1919–29), 133, 196–7n
- AMCJA (All-Malayan Council of Joint Action) (est 1946), 151n
- America, 106–7, 214
- American Board of Neurosurgery, 107
- American University of Beirut (1920–), 86n, 258; *see also* Syrian Protestant College
- Amīn, Ahmad, divider preceding 163
- Amin Sahib (of Penang), 250n
- Amīr ‘Abd Allāh, *see* ‘Abd Allāh bin Sharīf Ḥusayn, Amīr
- Amīr Faysal, *see* Faysal bin Sharīf Ḥusayn, Amīr
- ‘Ammān, 67
- Amnesty*, 197n
- Amulets, 185
- Anadolu, 49n
- Anak Mat Lela Gila* (Son of the Mad Mat Lela), 136n
- Anang, K., (Mas Abdul Hamid), 16, 17n, 38n
- Anatolia, 49n, 59, 196n
- Andaya, Barbara Watson, 1n, 2n, 3n, 5n, 11n, 14n, 177n, 265n, 266n, 268n, 275n
- Andaya, Leonard Y., 14n, 177n
- Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, 143n, 286
- “Angan-angan Berbetulan dengan Hakikat” (Daydreams which Coincide with Reality), 138

- Angan-angan Kehidupan* (Life's Dreams or Aspirations) series, 119
- Anglo-Chinese School: Johor Bahru, 153, 257; Penang, 103, 150n, 258
- Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. *see under* Treaties
- Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–23), 15; *see also* Japan: and Singapore Mutiny
- Anglo-Jewish Association. *see under* Jews
- Anglo-Malay School, proposed, 152, 160, 206–8
- Anglo-Persian Oil Company, 56
- Angullia, A. M. S. (of Singapore), 36n
- Animals, 187, 227
- Anjuman-i-Ishā'at-i-Islām (Association for the Spread of Islām), (est Singapore 1921), 283–4
- Ankara, Turkey, 59n, 196–7
- Anson Road, Penang, 253
- Antonius, George, 51, 55n, 57n, 59n, 60, 61n, 63n, 65n, 67n
- Anum, Engku Pengiran, (of Terengganu). *see* Idrus, al-, Syed Abdulkadir
- 'Aqaba, Jordan, 67
- Aqida*, 48n
- 'Aqīl, 'Alī Muḥammad b., 42
- 'Aqīl (Akīl) b. Yahya, Syed Muhammad, (Saif al-Dīn al-Yamanī) (d. 1931), 10n, 34–8, 42–8, 66n, 76–7, 113, 280, 281
- 'Aqīq, al-, district in Tā'if, Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya, 242
- 'Arab/'Arabic World: 76, 240; division, 59n, 61, 73
- 'Arab: Bureau, Cairo, 63; Chiefs, 60; Club of Singapore, 112, 276; Revolt, 36n, 37, 51n, 55–68; traders/merchants, 33n, 243
- 'Arābī Bey, Aḥmad, 124–5
- 'Arābī movement. *see* 'Arābī Bey, Aḥmad
- 'Arabīya: 33n, 36, 53, 65n, 66, 139n, 242, 255, 278n; Peninsula, 56, 60, 65n; history, 63
- 'Arabic: calendar, 235n, 279; language, xix, 72, 73, 77–9, 80n, 85n, 89, 93n, 110, 111, 114, 117, 145, 146, 147, 152, 204–5, 220, 222, 230n, 243, 253n, 258, 276, 279, 282, 283; literature, 164n, 243; schools, 89, 206–7, 243; script, 197n; *see also* *Lebai Pondok*; *Pondok* schools/teachers; Religious: schools; and separate listings under *Madrasa*/*Madrasah*
- 'Arabs: 9, 36–48, 50n, 51, 53–4, 159–60, 219, 240, 242n, 243, 280, 281; pagan, 182n; *see also* 'Arab Revolt; Singapore: 'Arabs
- Arakan, Burma, 51
- Aral Sea, 48n
- Arberry, A. J., (1905–69), xiin, 110n
- Archipelago. *see under* Pulau
- Ardahan, Turkey, 52
- Arendonk, van-, C., 44n
- Ariff, Dr., (of Penang), 255
- Arifin Ishak, 98, 254n; *see also* Sahabat Pena Armenians, 50–1
- Arnold, T. W., 39–40n, 42, 43n, 65n, 66n
- Asaad Shukri (1905–71), 144n
- Asceticism, 169
- Ash'ari, Imam Haji Abu Bakar. *see* Abu Bakar Ash'ari, Imam Haji
- 'Āshūrā' (Day of Atonement), 47
- Asia: 213; Central, 54; Minor, 49n, 60
- 'Asīr, Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya, 65n
- 'Aṣr (middle, late afternoon), 95
- Association of Malay Women Teachers of Johor, 154n
- Association of Young Indonesian Entrepreneurs (HIPMI), 185n
- Astra International, 185n
- Astronomy, 76n, 250n, 279n
- Atatürk. *see* Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk)
- Atatürkism, 196n
- Āthār (traditions), 141n, 217n
- 'Attas, al-, Syed Abu Bakar, 66n
- 'Attas, al-, Syed Hassan b. Abdullah, 38n, 66n
- Attas, al-, Syed Muhammad Naguib, 82n, 141n, 263
- 'Attās, al-, Syed 'Umar b. Sālīm, (of Padang, Sumatra), 39
- Australia: 19, 106, 193, 214; natives, 138; navy, 19
- Austria-Hungary (Austro-Hungarian Empire) (1867–1918), 7n, 52, 54, 55n, 58
- Awad (Awadh) Saidan (Saadan/Sa'aidan/Sa'idan/Saidin), Shaykh, 36n, 37–8, 76–7, 113, 280–1
- Awang, Raja, 5n
- Awrangzib (r. 1658–1707), 64n
- 'Azāb (Hell), 182, 234
- Azhar, al-: University, 16n, 74n, 105, 107, 113, 124, 126, 134n, 145, 150n, 161, divider preceding 163, 163–71, 225, 279n, 280; and Malay students, 8, 16n, 76n, 143n, 148n, 247, 250, 280; rector, 66n; schools of law, 45; Shaykh of, 45
- 'Azīz, al-, Nizār, (976–96), 163n
- Aziz Ahmad, xin, xiin
- Ba 'Alawī, al-, 37n, 40
- Bābūr (1483/4–1530), 64n
- Bachik, Haji, (Haji Abu Bakar b. Ahmad) (d. 1938), 79, 80n, 115, 257, plate 5
- Baghdād: 48–9n, 67n; Railway line. *see* Railway: Baghdād
- Baghdadi, Shaykh Hassan, 79n

- Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian–National–language). 71n, 109n
- Bahasa Melayu (Malay language), 119, 206–8
- Bahasa Bercherai Talak Tiga dan Berchina Buta*, see *Hikayat Puteri Nur ul-'Ain Bahtra* (1932–), 132, 150n
- Bairut, see Beirut
- Bajunid (al-Ba Junaid), Ahmad b. Uthman, 243, 244n, 246n, 247n
- Bakri, al-, Ṣalāh, 39n
- Balfour, A. J., (1848–1930), 63
- Balfour Declaration (1917), 63, 151n
- Bāligh* (become of age), 241–2
- Balik Pulau, Penang, 246, 253
- Balkan(s): 6–7, 52–4; Wars, 16, 54, 196n
- Ban Hong Leong*, 86n, 258
- Banda, Moluccas, Indonesia, 34n
- Bandrusi, Central Java, Indonesia, 41n
- Bandung, Indonesia, 136n
- Bangau*, see Egrets
- Bangkok, Thailand, 8
- Bangsawan/Sandiwarra/Stambul* (Malay 'operatic' theatre), 90
- Bantahan* (contentiousness), 2n
- Banū Hāshim, 44n, 53
- Banū Muṭṭalib, 44n
- Banū Umayya, 46; see also Umayyads
- Barnard, Timothy P., 5n, 275n
- Bartley, W., 18n, 19n
- Bashir A. Mallal, see Mallal, Bashir A.
- Bashir Ahmad (?), Mallal, see Mallal(?), Bashir Ahmad
- Baskarah/Baskurī/Baskarī, in Algeria, 240n
- Bassett, D. K., (1931–89), 3n, 271
- Batam Brickworks, 75, 76n, 77, 79, 95, 112, 114, 116, 123n, 137, 276–7
- Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia), 7, 9, 37, 38n, 42, 71n, 109n, 129n, 259, 272
- Batik trade (at Solo, Indonesia), 162n
- Batu Pahat, Johor, 260
- Batumi, Adjaristan, Transcaucasia, 52
- Bawazir, Shaykh Ali, 79n
- Bay of Bengal, 18
- Bayan Lepas, Penang, 150n
- Begbie, P. J., (?–1864), 269
- Beg(s)* ('lord', Turkish title), 48n
- Behn, Meyer and Co., 26
- Beirut: 62, 70, 74, 79, 85–6, 107, 111n, 125, 153, 257–9; Vilāyet of Bairut, 61
- Belgium, 20
- Bendahara, see Johor: Bendahara
- Bengalis, 26, 193
- Benghāzī, Libya, 16n, 54, 59n
- Benih* (Seed), 107n
- Benih Merdeheka*, 93n
- Benson, Mr., (of Batam Brickworks), 75
- Berber, 241n
- Betsy*, 274n
- Bid'a/Bida'a* (innovation), 77n, 141, 217n, 239–40, 245, 251, 253
- Bida'u dalāla* (erroneous innovation), 141
- Bida'a ḥasana* (beneficial innovation), 141
- Bishop of Singapore, 23
- Bismillāh (Bi'ism Allāh)* (In the Name of Allāh), 90, 221
- Blanford, Captain, 27
- Bluhm, Jutta E., 44n
- Blythe, W. L., 92n
- Board of Deputies of British Jews, see under Jews
- Bolsheviks (1917), 37, 42, 62, 131, 162n
- Bombay, India: 24, 86n, 258; Presidency, 31
- 'Bon'/Sharifah Rahmah al-Mashhur, see under Hady, al-, Syed Alwi b. Shaykh: wives
- Boon Siew ('Tan Sri Dato' Loh Boon Siew), 105
- Boria*, 232
- Borneo, 17n, 73n, 90n
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 52, 54
- Botanical Gardens, Singapore, 22
- Bourgeoisie*, 162n
- Boys, 230–3
- Braddeley, 284n
- Braddell, Datuk Sir Roland St. J., (1880–1966), 18n, 20n, 143n
- Bridgewater, William, 64n, 212n
- Brimmel, J. H., 128n
- Britain/British: 48, 106; Agent in Egypt, 55; Agent in Terengganu, 14n; Alliance with Japan, 15, 32–3; and 'Adan (Aden), 37, 42, 56, 65n; and Afghānistān, 51, 197n; and 'Arabs, 37, 55–64; and Burma, 23, 25–7, 35n, 68, 128, 131; and Egypt, 7, 35, 51, 55, 57, 63, 124–5; and Ḥaḍramawt, 37, 38n, 42; and Imperial Government of India/British Raj, 19, 20, 65n; and India, 17n, 51, 55, 57, 64n, 68; and 'Irāq, 62, 64; and Malaya, xiii, 8–9, 11, 14n, 17, 18n, 35n, 42, 66n, 68, 92–3, 109, 131, 186–8, 189–94, 199–200, 215, 255; and Mughal Empire, 64; and Ottoman Khalīfat, 17, 18–19, 27, 36, 37, 55–64, 196n; and Palestine, 60–4, 67, 68, 148n, 150n, 151n; and Riau, 71, 269; and Singapore, 68, 269; and Sūdān, 7, 51, 57; and Transjordan, 64; anti-British activities, 8, 18–32, 37, 92–3, 136n, 148–9n, 151n, 254–5, 283–4n; army in Cairo, 258; army in Lebanon, 86n; Civil Code, 79n; colonial administration/

- Britain/British (*cont.*)  
 authority/rule, xiii, 17, 21, 31, 98n, 99n, 121, 158–60, 186–7, 190–2, 199, 240, 254–5; Consul-General at Batavia, 37, 38n, 42; Empire, 31, 34–5, 37; General Adviser: of Johor, 22n, 79n, 115n; of Kelantan, 144n; of Terengganu, 14n; Government, 34; Labour Party, 48; police, 136n; police agents, 103n; Police Detective Branch, Penang, 249n; police intelligence, 17n, 37, 131n; secret police/Special Branch, 254–5; Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener, 55; *see also* Colonialism/Imperialism: British; Singapore: 'Arabs: Singapore: Mutiny (1915); Strait of Melaka: partitioning: and *under* Treaties
- Brooke, Gilbert E., 18n
- Brown, Captain E. A., 22n, 23n
- Brown, Mr., (of Penang), 191
- Bruinessen, van-, Martin, 4n, 73n
- Bruyn Kops, de-, G. F., (1890–1920), 3n, 128n, 271–3
- Buckley, C. B., 112n
- Buddhism, 35n
- Bugis: 1–5, 8, 70n, 127, 267–70, 271, 274n; *see also* Abdul Rahman, Tengku/Sultan of Riau (r. 1883–1911): Abdullah ibni Raja Ja'far, Raja Haji, Yamtuan Muda, (d. 1858); Ahmad ibni Raja Haji, Raja, (b. 1773); Ali Haji ibni Raja Ahmad, Raja, (c. 1809–70); Ali ibni Raja Ja'far, Raja, Yamtuan Muda, (d. 1857); Ali Kelana ibni Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi, Raja: Hasan ibni Raja Ali Haji, Raja: Hitam, Raja, (Khalid Hasan ibni Raja Hasan) (d. 1914); Ja'far ibni Raja Haji, Raja, 6<sup>th</sup> Yamtuan Muda (r. 1805–31); Mahmud ibni Raja Muhammad, Raja; Muhammad 'Arif ibni Raja Mahmud, Raja Haji, (Tengku Chik): Muhammad ibni Raja Abdullah, Raja: Muhammad Yusuf ibni Raja Ali, Raja, 10<sup>th</sup> Yamtuan Muda (r. 1857–99); Raja Haji Fisabilillah, 4<sup>th</sup> Yamtuan Muda (martyred 1784); Yamtuan Muda (Yang Dipertuan Muda); *see also under* Dutch: Hady, al-, Syed Shaykh; Japan: Riau
- Bujra, A. S., 37n, 38n
- Bukhārā, Sulṭān of, 7
- Bukhārī, al-, Imām Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, (810–70), 210n
- Bukit Mertajam, Province Wellesley, 148n
- Bukit Siguntang, 267n
- Bulan Melayu, 154
- Bulan Puasa, *see* Ramaḍān
- Bulang-Singapore area, 269
- Bulgaria, 16, 52, 54
- Būlin, *see* Istanbul
- Bumi Putra (1933–), 132, 3, 143n
- Burhanuddin b. Mohammad Noor (al-Helmy), Dr., (1911–69), 150–1
- Burma, 25, 35n, 68, 128, 131; *see also* Rangoon
- Bursa, Turkey, 49n
- Busayrī, al-, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Ahmad, 241n
- Busayrī, al-, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghni, 241n
- Bush, Mr., (of Public Works Dept. Johor), 257
- Bustān al-Kātibīn li'l-Sibyāni al-Mut'ālimīn (A Children's Guide to Writing), 2n
- Buyong Adil (1907–76), 118
- Byzantium/Byzantines, 49n, 51n
- Cachia, Pierre, 165n
- Cairo (al-Qāhira), Egypt, 8, 10, 11, 17, 34n, 37, 42, 60, 66n, 110, 123n, 124, 127, 148n, 150n, divider preceding 163, 163n, 170, 219n, 244–7, 257, 258, 259, 276, 278, 280
- Calcutta, India, 86n, 258
- "Can the Malays Escape Annihilation and Extinction?" ("Ada-kah Kaum Melayu ini Dapat Melepaskan Wujud-nya daripada Fana dan Hapus?"), 139, 156, 159, 213–18
- Capitalism: 162n; foreign capitalists, 52, 159, 186
- Cartwright, H. A., 34n
- Caspian Sea, 48n
- Catherine II, Tsarina of Russia (r. 1762–96), 64
- Caucasus, 57
- Cawnpore, India, 18
- Celebes (Sulawesi, Indonesia), 33n
- Central Powers, 56
- Ceylonese: in Malaya, 91–2; in Singapore, 183n
- Chad, 241n
- Chahaya Malaya (1927–), 132
- "Changes in the Upbringing of Girls are Urgent" ("Berubah Pemeliharaan Anak-anak Perempuan itu Sangat-sangat dikehendaki"), 153, 161, 226–8
- Charpays (light Indian bedsteads), 20
- Cheah Boon Kheng, 136n
- Cherita Rokambul series, 117, 120
- Cheritera Dhu 'l-Ruhain (Possessor of Two Lives), 120
- Chettiars, 96, 101
- Chik, Tengku, *see* Muhammad 'Arif ibni Raja Mahmud, Raja Haji

- Child levy. *see devşirme/devshirme*
- China. 1, 15, 68, 128, 131, 218, 285n
- China buta*. 156
- Chinese: 9, 34; in Indonesia, 39, 162n, 184–5n; in Malaya, 91–3, 138, 159, 160, 177n, 182–5, 186–8, 189–94, 207; in Riau, 265–6; in Singapore, 23, 32, 182–5, 265–6; *taukeh*s. 182, 183; YMCA, Singapore, 78, 114
- Chisti Khan, Jemadar. (Viceroy Commissioned Officer), 19–20, 23n
- Cholok api*. 183n
- Chowrasta, Penang: Malay School. 150n; market. 95
- Christian: Europe, 65; Powers, 56–7; World, 5n, 7, 9, 92, 125, 126n, 212, 239
- Christian missionaries: school in Singapore, 177n; in Malaya, 246
- Christians: Orthodox. 50, 64; Pope. 65
- Church: forcible attendance, 258
- Churchill, Winston. (1874–1965), 284n
- Clifford, Sir Hugh. (1866–1941), 200
- Clubs/Associations, 94–5
- Cocoa, 33n
- Coconut plantations, 5n, 6, 14, 33n, 265
- Cocos Islands Cable Station, 19
- Cocub (Pulau Kukup), Johor, 33–4n
- Colombo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 257
- Colonial Office, 121
- Colonialism/Imperialism: 6, 9, 15, 36, 51, 52, 54, 56–9, 62–3, 65, 67–8, 74n, 123, 127, 137–9, 150n, 162n, 177–8, 181, 199–200, 213–15, 218, 221, 240; American, 15; anti-colonial, 9, 11–12, 33, 56, 136n, 137–9, 150n, 151n, 177–8; British, 7–8, 35, 36, 51–2, 55–64, 71, 92–3, 98n, 103n, 136n, 149n, 151n, 159, 186–8, 189–94, 213–18, 240; Dutch, 1, 10, 11–12, 13, 36, 71, 111, 265–70, 273, 275n, 283–4n; Japanese, 33, 68, 181
- Columbia Encyclopedia, The*. 212n
- Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) (est 1906), 50, 53, 54, 55, 60n, 62, 63n, 196n
- Communism, 135–6, 137, 236, 279n
- Companions of the Prophet, 47, 230
- Compulsion in religion, 211–12; *see also Jabriya*
- Congress of Berlin (1878), 6, 51
- Congress of Malay Literary Bodies of Malaya (1956), 116n
- Constantine the Great (288(?)–337), 51n
- Constantinople, 10n, 51n; *see also* Istanbul
- Co-operative or Savings Bank interest. *see Ribā*
- Co-operatives: 76, 142, 144; Credit Society, 157; Department, 103, 120, 157; movement, 143n, 157; Officer, 103, 153n, 259, 285
- Copra, 13, 75n
- Court Martial/Military Court, 24–31
- Cragg, Kenneth, 163n, 164n, 224n, 225
- Crawford, Captain, 129n
- Crete, 54
- Crimea: 64; Crimean War (1853–6), 20
- Cross Street, Singapore, 183
- Crowe, Sir Eyre. (Alexander Barby Wichart), (30 July 1864–01 April 1925), Assistant Under-Secretary of State, 15
- Crusades (1096–1291), 49n
- Cult of Saints, 139n; *see also* Saints
- CUP. *see* Committee of Union and Progress
- Custom ('*Ādat*'), xiii, 198n
- Cyprus, 67
- Cyrenaica, North Africa, 16n, 59n
- Dueng Chelak (Bugis) family, 70n
- Dahmān, al-. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān, 242
- Daik, Lingga, 267, 269
- Dajjāl* (literally false), 184
- Damascus (Syria): 53, 55n, 60, 62, 258; Protocol, 60
- Dandels Hotel, Weltevreden, 259
- Dār al-'Ulūm, Cairo, Egypt, 10, 124
- Darah Keturuman Arab* (DKA) (of 'Arab descent), 160n
- Darah Keturuman Kling* (DKK) (of Indian descent), 160n
- Dardanelles, 196n
- Darwin, Charles. (1809–82), 159, 214
- Datuk Keramat Road, Penang, 81, 89, 253n
- Daud, Sheik, 36n
- Daud b. Mohd. Shah, 282–3
- Dawī, Shaykh al-Faqīh Qāsim b. Aḥmad, 241
- Dawood, N. J., 219n
- Death: instruction of the dead, *see Talkin*; reward after, *see Pahala*
- Delhi, India, 18, 65n; *see also* Dihlī
- Deliar Noer, 39n, 40n, 41n, 42n, 125n
- "Demand for the Improvement of the Sons of the Soil" ("Menuntut Ketinggian akan Anak-anak Negeri"), 137, 156–7, 158, 159, 160, 181–5
- Demirel, Süleyman, President of Turkey, 197n
- Depression, *see* Great Depression
- Devonshire, Duke of, 66n, 284n
- Devşirme/devshirme* (child levy), 6n
- Dewasa* (Oct. 1931–), 93n, 132
- Dhikr*, 4n, 236
- Dihlī, 64n; *see also* Delhi
- Divorce, 118, 119, 156, 234–5
- Djawatan Koesa Pengeroes Rakjat Riau (DKPRR) (est 1946), 265

- DKA. *see* *Darah Keturunan Arab*  
 DKK. *see* *Darah Keturunan Kling*  
 Dodecanese, 54  
 Dodge, Cleveland H., 86n  
 Dogs. *see* *Risalah Penting pada Masa'alah  
 Jilat Anjing di atas Empat Mazhab*  
 Drewes, G. W. J., (1899–1992), 179n, 210n  
*Du'ā'* (supplication), 101n  
 Dunde Khan, Subadar, 20  
 Dunn, British Consul-General at Batavia,  
 37–8, 42  
 Dupré, F. J., 58n  
 Durham, Edith, 16n  
 Dutch: -Acheh war (1873–1903), 7, 10; and  
 Indonesia (Indies), 68, 71, 125n, 135;  
 and Lingga, 270; and Penyengat, 4n,  
 111; and Riau, 1, 3n, 13–14, 79, 109,  
 112, 114, 115n, 121, 122, 128–9, 266–70,  
 271–3, 274n; and Singapore Mutiny, 21;  
 and Yamtuan Muda, 3, 7–8, 13, 122,  
 265, 267–70, 271–2; anti-Dutch feeling/  
 activities, 4–5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 112, 122,  
 272–3, 274–5, 279; Dutchmen, 162n;  
 Governor-General, 8, 12, 272–3; Parliam-  
 ent, 9; Queen, 8; Queen Wilhelmina,  
 13; Resident, 4n, 112, 272, 273; status  
 of Japanese, 9; treaty rights, 4n; *see also*  
*under* Colonialism: Treaties between the  
 Dutch and Riau
- Economic reforms, 156–8  
*Edaran Zaman* (1925–), 132, 144n  
 Education, 92, 152, 167, 206–8, 225, 226–8  
 Egrets (*bangau*), 231  
 Egypt/Egyptian: 7, 8, 10n, 11, 12, 17, 34n,  
 37, 42, 43n, 51, 56–60, 63, 66n, 73–4,  
 76, 78, 86n, 110, 114, 123–7, 134n, 144,  
 148n, 150n, divider preceding 163, 163n,  
 164–5, 169–70, 216, 219n, 225, 226n,  
 239n, 240, 244–7, 249, 250, 257, 258,  
 259, 276, 278, 280; People's University,  
 Cairo, 126; reform movement, 134, 166–  
 71; University, 126; *see also* *Manār*,  
*al-*; Muḥammad 'Abduh; Muḥammad  
 Rashīd Riḍā
- Electricity, 104  
 Ellis, Sir Evelyn C., (b. 1865; prosecutor in  
 Court Martial of Mansoor, Kassim Ismail  
 (q.v.)), 24, 27–30  
 Emancipation of women. *see* Women's  
 emancipation  
 'Embon' ('Bon')/Sharifah Rahmah al-  
 Mashhur. *see under* Hady, al-, Syed  
 Alwi b. Shaykh; wives  
*Emden* (German cruiser), 18–19  
 Emergency, 260
- Encyclopaedia of Islam*, xin, 44n  
*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*,  
 128n, 271–3  
 Engku Anum. *see* Wan Anum  
 Engku Muda of Riau, 269  
 England, 10, 20, 24, 85n, 105, 259, 284n  
 English: education/schools, 92, 94, 131,  
 152–4, 159, 160, 206, 8, 281; language,  
 35, 78, 80n, 89, 260; law, 79, 115;  
 people, 191–2, 226  
 Entente. *see* Triple Entente  
 Ertoghrl (d. 1280), 49n  
*Ertoghrl*, 10  
 Erzberger, Reichstag Deputy, 28. *see also*  
 Germany  
 Euphrates River, 'Irāq, 47n  
 Eurasians, 183n  
 Europe/European: 20, 24, 26, 31, 216, 280;  
 capital, 186; peasantry, 50; Powers, 57,  
 65; Southern, 6–7n  
 Europeans: 9, 23, 35, 56, 181–3, 213–14,  
 216; killed in Singapore Mutiny (1915),  
 23, 29, 31  
 Express Saw Mill Company, 33n
- Fadhil Othman, 282n  
 Family, 161, 226–8  
*Farḍ/Farīḍa* (obligatory): xii; *al-'ayn*, 229;  
*al-kifāya*, 229  
*Faridah Hanum/Hanom, Hikayat, see*  
*Hikayat Faridah Hanum*  
 Farquhar, Col. William, East India Company  
 Resident at Singapore (1819–), 269, 270  
 Fasting/*Puasa*. *see* Ramaḍān  
 Fatani, al-, Shaykh Wan Ahmad b.  
 Muḥammad Zayn b. Mustafa, 8, 198n  
*Fatat Ghassān* (The Maid of [the] Ghassān  
 [Tribe]), 119  
 Fatherland and Freedom Society (1906),  
 196n  
 Faṭḥpūr-Sikrī, India, 64n  
*Fāṭiḥa*, al-, (Opening chapter of al-Qur'ān),  
 221; *see also* *Tafsīr al-Fāṭiḥa*  
 Fāṭima (daughter of Prophet Muḥammad),  
 37n, 41, 44n, 53  
 Fatima(h) bt. Sulaiman b. Datuk Bandar  
 Mahbob b. Khamis Sulaiman, Hadjee,  
 (d. 1852); married Kra Eng Chanda  
 Pulih, Sultan of Goa (q.v.); mother of  
 Siti (Siti) bt. Kra Eng Chanda Pulih  
 (q.v.), 33n  
 Fatimah bt. Sultan Mahmud, Tengku, 266–7  
 Fāṭimids, dynasty (909–1171), 163n  
*Fatwā* (formal legal opinion), xii, 17, 39, 43,  
 58, 113, 125, 126n, 157, 229, 234n, 253  
 Fayṣal II, King of 'Irāq (1936–58), 67n

- Fayṣal bin Sharīf Ḥusayn. Amīr, (1885–1933):  
59, 62; as King of 'Irāq (1921–33), 67n,  
68n
- Federal Express, 185n
- Federated Malay States (FMS), 17, 32, 37,  
75n, 91n, 118n, 199n, 283n
- Federation of Malaya, formation of, 247
- Ferdinand V, King of Spain (1474–1504), 212n
- Fer.*, 146n
- Fifth Light Infantry, 18–32
- Fiqh* (jurisprudence)/*Faqīh* (scholar of  
jurisprudence), 210n, 217–18, 225,  
240n, 242n, 243
- Firth, Rosemary, 156n
- Fishing, 92
- Fitna* (discriminatory test), 2, 98n
- FMS, *see* Federated Malay States
- Food supply, 92
- Formosa, 15
- France/French; 7, 10, 17, 19, 22, 32, 51, 55n,  
57–8, 60–2, 64, 123–5, 196n, 226, 259;  
detective stories, 117; language, 125
- Free Press Co., 129, 281
- Friday; prayers, 229–33; sermon (*khutba*),  
146, 204–5, 229–30, 237
- 'Frogs under a coconut shell', 110, 142n
- Fruit-growing, 92
- Frye, Richard N., (b. 1920), 131n
- Fund-raising, 17, 34n
- Funston, John, 104n, 151n
- Gadarene swine, Biblical, 23
- Galabīyyah(s)* (Egyptian full-sleeved  
gown(s)), divider preceding 163, 165n
- Gallipoli, battle of, (1915), 196n
- Gambier, 265
- Gaunt, L. E., 28–30
- George, Lloyd, (1863–1945), 63
- George V, King, (1910–36), 200
- Gerakan Membasmi Khurafat, 73n; *see also*  
*Khurāfa*
- Germany/German(s); 19n, 20, 32, 36, 53, 57,  
58, 62, 196n, 239; East Africa, 19, 130;  
orientalists, 58; *see also Emden*;  
Erzberger; Lauterbach; Wilhelm II, Kaiser
- Ghadamis/Saidamus/Radamis (in Libya),  
240n, 241, 248n
- Ghana, 241n
- Ghazālī/Ghazzālī, al-, Imām, (1058–85), 2n,  
171n, 179n, 222n, 234
- Ghāzī*: warrior for Islām, 49n
- Ghāzī bin Fayṣal, King of 'Irāq (r. 1933–9),  
67n
- Ghurabā'* (alone; rare, uncommon), xi
- Ghuryan, Libya, 241, 242
- Ghuz and Oghuz tribes, 48n
- Gibb, H. A. R., (1895–1971), 4n, 43n, 45n,  
65n, 66n, 73n, 77n, 126n, 127n, 137n,  
139n, 141n, 157n, 163n, 171n, 222n,  
223n, 226n
- Gila babi* (epilepsy), 107n
- Gimlette, G. H. D., 18n
- Girls education/upbringing, 153, 161, 188,  
226–8, 253
- Glory, 120, 164, 177–80, 187, 213–15, 220,  
221
- Goa (Gowa) (eastern side of southern tip of  
South Sulawesi/Celebes, next to  
Makassar/Ujung Pandang, Indonesia), 33n
- Gobée, E., 73n
- Godavari River, India, 64n
- Gold, 234–5
- Goldziher, I., (1850–1921), 44n
- Gordon, Shirle (Alijah), 69, 82n, 141n, 147n,  
156n, 233n, plate 15
- Government: English School, Penang, 87;  
School Certificate Examination, 152
- Gowa, *see* Goa
- Grand Sharīf of Makka, *see* Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī,  
Sharīf of Makka, and Sharīf(s) of  
Makka pre-1909 appointment of Sharīf  
Ḥusayn
- Great Depression (1929), 96, 132
- Greater Syria, *see* Syria
- Greece/Greek(s), 7n, 16, 51, 196n, 240
- Guillemard, Laurence Nunns, (1862–1952),  
66n, 284n
- Guinea, 241n
- Gurindam Duabelas* (The Twelve Rhymed  
Advices), 2n
- Guru(s)* (Teacher(s)), 142n, 286
- Gusinje, Montenegro, 52
- H. M. S. *Cadmus*, 22
- 'Hab', *see under* Hady, al-, Syed Alwi b.  
Shaykh: wives
- Habīb/Habība* (beloved), 88, 104, 189
- Habibie, B. J., President of Indonesia, 185n
- Habshi, al-, Syed Abdul Rahman, 79n
- Hādī, al-, ila 'l-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn,  
(founder of the Zaydī state in al-Yaman),  
45n
- Ḥadrith: xin, 81, 140, 150n, 159, 164, 165,  
201–2, 218, 230, 234, 239, 242n, 244,  
245n, 252, 285; false, 37
- Ḥaḍramawt/Ḥadramī 'Arab: communities,  
37–42; 'ālim, 39
- Hady, al-, Syed Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-  
Ba 'Alawī, (1837–95): 69–70, plate 2;  
children: Hasan (1859–73), Noor (1859,  
d. infancy), Salmah (1865–71), Shaykh  
(1867–1934), 69n; Fatimah (1870, d.

- Hady, al-, Syed Ahmad (*cont.*)  
infancy), Noor (1891–1966), Hussein (1895–1968), 70n
- Hady, al-, Syed Alwi b. Shaykh. (1892–1969): xi, 69–83, 85–7, 94–8, 99n, 101–4, 105, 107, 109n, 111, 118n, 120, 135, 143, 152–3, 254, 255, 257–62, 285, plates: 8, 12, 13, 14, 15; as a source, 100n, 109n, 113n, 114n, 115n, 116n, 121n, 123n, 141n, 145n, 157n, 234n, 236n; child by Nabihah: Syed Ahmad, 86, 259; eldest child by Sharifah Azizah: Syed Mohamed (q.v.); father: Hady, al-, Syed Shaykh (q.v.); mother: Sharifah Sheikhu b. Syed Muhammad, 70n, 72, 111, 257; genealogy, 263; wives: 1<sup>st</sup>: Nabihah, 85–6, 258, 259, 2<sup>nd</sup>: Sharifah Azizah ('Achiik') al-Mashhur, 86, 103, 259, plate 12, 3<sup>rd</sup>: 'Hab' (identity unknown), 259, 4<sup>th</sup>: Sharifah Rahmah ('Embon'/'Bon') al-Mashhur, 103n, 259; *see also* Sahabat Pena
- Hady, al-, Syed Hasan b. Saqaf al-Ba 'Alawi, (grandfather of Syed Shaykh al-Hady), 69n
- Hady, al-, Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi, (1921–): 85–108, plates: 9, 16; children: Faridah (1951–), 107, Farid (1957–73), 107–8, Faisal (1958–), 107–8; genealogy, 263; wife: Ruby bt. Abdullah (d.1998), 107; *see also under* Hady, al-, Syed Alwi (father); Hady, al-, Syed Shaykh (grandfather, adoptive father)
- Hady, al-, Syed Muhammad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Ba 'Alawi, (1840–1916) (uncle of Syed Shaykh al-Hady): 70–2, 109, 111; children: Saqaf, Hasan, 70n, Sheikhu, 70n, 72, 111, 257, 'Aishah, Fatmah, Maznah, 'Aloyah, Zeinab, 70n
- Hady, al-, Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Ba 'Alawi, (1867–1934): 68, 166, 171, plates 3, 6, 7, 8; adoptive father, Ali Kelana, Raja, (q.v.); and Abbas b. Mohd. Taha, 75–7, 113; and 'Abd Allāh Maghribī, 80n, 81, 82n, 98–9, 100, 101n, divider preceding 109, 240, 243, 249, 250, 253; and Abdul Majid b. Sabil, 97n; and Abdul Rahim Kajai, 93–4, 97, 99, 143; and Abdul Wahab b. Abdullah, 97n, 143; and Afghānistān, 196–7; and 'Arab Club, 112, 276; and 'Arabic, 72, 73, 77–8, 110, 111, 146, 204–5, 222, 276; and 'Arabs, 160; and Awad Sa'aidan, Shaykh, 76, 77, 113; and Bachik, Haji, (Haji Abu Bakar b. Ahmad), 79, 80n, 115; and Batam Brickworks, 75, 77, 95, 112, 137, 276; and *bid'a*, 141; and British, xiii, xiv, 92–3, 159, 160, 186, 191–2, 199–200, 215, 240; and Chinese, 92–3, 138, 159, 160, 182–4, 191–2, 193–4, 207; and clubs/associations, 94–5; and colonialism generally/foreign rule, 11–12, 92–3, 111, 137, 138, 139, 159, 177–8, 181–2, 183, 186–8, 191–2, 193–4, 199–200, 213–15, 218, 221, 240; and communism, 136–7, 236; and Co-operative movement, 157; and crisis/demand for the improvement of the 'Sons of the Soil', 137, 156–7, 158, 181–5, 186–8, 206–8, 213–18; and cultural shows and exhibitions, 72; and divorce *see* marriage; and economic reforms, 156–8; and educational reform, 92, 3, 146–53, 153, 158, 159, 160, 206–8, 215; and English education/language, 152–3, 159, 160, 206–8; and foreign encroachment/capitalists, 159, 186; and Friday prayers, 229–30; and Gerakan Membasmi Khurafat, 73n; and glory/honour, 177–80, 187, 213, 214–15; and Great Depression, 96; and *jihād*, 140; and Indians, 92–3; and Islām, 70, 72, 73, 76, 77, 81–2, 110, 123, 137, 139–41, 143, 145, 158, 193, 195–7, 198–200, 209–10, 211–12, 216–18, 219–25, 230–3, 240; and *i'tiqād*, 140; and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghāni, xi, 74, 123, 158, 279, 285; and Japan/Japanese, 11–12, 14, 181, 183; and Johor, 79, 114–15, 121, 281; and Kaum Muda, 77, 114–15, 118, 133, 158, 201–3; and Kaum Tua, 118, 201–3; and Kelantan, 144, 198–200; and Kemālist Turkey, 196–7, 198; and *kenduri* (feast) for the dead, 140, 232, 234; and *khutba* (Friday sermon), 204–5; and Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn, 116–17, 283–4; and Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyyah, 78–9, 114; and Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah, 79–80, 89, 96, 99, 115, 149, 152, 243, 249, 250; and Malay language, 70, 110, 152, 206, 276; and Malay leaders, 152, 181–2, 187; and Malay rulers, xiii, 92–3, 160, 187, 195, 198, 200, 236, 285; and Malay scholars, 75–6, 113; and *Manār. al-./Group*, 74–5, 76, 77, 110, 117, 140, 276; and marriage/divorce, 118n, 119, 156, 234–5; and Mashhur, al-, family, 96, 102; and *Mawlid al-Nabī* (Prophet's birthday), 140; and Mohd. Eunus b. Abdullah, 132; and Mohd. Yunus b. Abdul Hamid, 93–4, 97n, 99; and Mufti of Johor, 115, 121, 281; and

Hady, al-. Syed Shaykh (*cont.*)

Muhammad 'Abduh, xi, 74, 110, 117, 120, 123, 140, 145, 158, 223–4, 285; and Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, 74, 110, 117, 278, 285; and Muhammad Saleh, Shaykh, 73; and Muhammad Salīm al-Kalali, Shaykh, 76, 112–13; and Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaluddin al-Azhari al-Falaki, 75–6, 80n, 81, 97n, 98–9, 101n, 112, 113, 117, 143; and Muhammad Zain b. Ayub, 143; and *n̄va* (intention), 221; and *pahala* (reward from God), 234; and Penang, xiii, 68, 79, 85–102, 115, 161; and *Pengasoh*, 199–200; and Persekutuan al-Ikhwān al-Masākīn (Association of Brothers of the Poor), 157–8; and Persekutuan Rushdiyyah, 5n, 111, 276; and *pondok* schools/*Lebai Pondok*, 70, 89, 91, 92n, 93, 146–7, 149, 230–3; and praise, 173–6; and pre-nationalist movement, 137, 157; and proposed Anglo-Malay School, 160, 206–8; and Pulau Penyengat, 70–3, 109, 121, 257, 276; and *Qudā'* and *Qadar*, 222; and Qāsim Amīn Bey, 117; and Raja Hitam (Khalid Hasan), 111n, 276; and religious leaders, 73, 144, 158, 185, 195–7, 217–18, 219–25, 229–30; and religious reform, xi–xiv, 73–4, 77, 90–1, 111, 139–41, 161, 256; and religious schools, 78, 79–80, 93, 96, 114, 115, 146–52, 206–7, 240, 243, 249–50; and restoration of Riau Sultanate, 14; and restoration of Riau Yamtuan Muda, 7–8; and Riau, 1, 121; and Riau royal family, 70–3, 95, 110, 121, 122, 275, 276, 278; and Riau sultanate, 3n, 158; and *ribā*, 76, 120, 157; and Rumah Waqaf, 111, 276; and science and technology, 158; and Singapore, 75, 79, 111n, 112, 183–4; and social reforms, 153–4, 158; and Šūfīsm/*Rumah Suluk*, 141; and Syed 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Šāliḥ al-Zawāwī, 73n; and Syed Ahmad al-Mashhur (Ayid Mashhur), 79; and Syed Alwī al-Hady, son, 69–83, 85–7, 94–5, 97, 98, 107, 111, 118n, 143, 152–3, 257, 259, 285; and Syed Mohamed Alwī al-Hady, Datuk Dr., grandson, 85–9, 94–5, 100–1, 102, 104–5, 107, 108; and Syed Muhammad b. 'Aqīl (Akil), 76, 77, 113; and *talkin* (instruction of the dead), 100, 140–1, 221; and *taqlīd*, 140, 166, 210; and *Tariqa* Taslīm, 81–2; and *tawḥīd*, 225; and *Terawīḥ* prayers, 235–6; and Terengganu, 14, 70–1, 109; and '*ulamā'*', 93, 138, 139, 142–3, 145, 198–200, 201–3, 217–18, 229–30, 234–5, 285; and

upbringing/education of girls, 153, 188, 226–8; and Wahhābī Movement/Ketua Wahhābī, 77, 139–40, 236–7; and women's emancipation, 131–3, 153–4, 155n, 159–61, 226–8; and Young Muslim Union, Penang, 281; and Za'ba, 69, 113, 116–19, 121, 143, 161, 189–94, 278, 284–5; attitude towards *bangsawan/ joget*, 90, 182; birth, 69, 109, 121; burial place, 70n, 83n; children: from 1<sup>st</sup> wife: Alwī (1892–1970), Ahmad (1896, d. infancy), Aishah (1897–1933), Umhāni (1898–1931), from 2<sup>nd</sup> wife: Mariam (1903–54), 72n; death, 69, 70n, 83, 100, 104, 109, 121, 259; detective stories, 117–18, 120, 142; early years in Riau, 70–4, 109–12, 121–3, 276; education, 70–3, 77, 109, 110, 121, 278; eulogy for Syed Shaykh, 99n, 100, 101n, divider preceding 109; evaluation of 158–62, 171; fasting, 90; father: Syed Ahmad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawī, 69–70; funeral, 100–1, 253n; genealogy, 263; grave, 101; house, 95–6, 99–100, 101, 104; *Ikhwān*, *al-*, 80, 93, 96, 97, 105, 117–18, 120, 133, 138, 142–3, 144, 198–200, 226, 285; *Imām*, *al-*, 11–12, 76–7, 93, 112–14, 137, 141–2, 279; Jelutong Press, 80, 96, 97, 117; leisure, 90; library, 78, 116; Madrasah al-Hady, Melaka, 79, 115, 149; Melaka, 68, 79, 115, 149; *Member Titī*, 100; nickname (Engku/Wan Anum), 5n, 71, 110; novels/novelist, 80, 96, 117, 119–20, 153, 154–6, 285; outspokenness, 111; prayers, 90; reading, 77–8, 110, 116; religious books/writings, 80–1, 109n, 117, 120, 140, 145–6; *Saudara*, 80, 93–4, 97, 98, 105, 118, 119, 133, 143–4, 285; Shari'a lawyer, 79, 95, 115, 281; smoking, 90; suffered abuse, 95; teachers, 73n, 111, 276; translations, 117, 120, 145, 153; trips to Cairo and Makkā, 73, 110, 123, 127, 137, 278; uncle: Syed Muhammad b. Hasan b. Saqaf al-Hady al-Ba'Alawī, 70, 72, 109, 111; wives: 1<sup>st</sup>: Sharifah Shcikluḥ bt. Syed Muḥammad al-Hady, 70n, 72, 111, 257, 2<sup>nd</sup>: mother of Mariam, name unknown, 72n, 3<sup>rd</sup>: Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur, 72n, 85–7, 96, 97n, 101, plate 9; writer/writings, 3n, 11–12, 80–1, 96, 117–20, 137–8, 142–3, 145–6, 153–6, 173–237, 285; *see also* novels/novelist; religious books/writings; youth leader, 72

Ḥafiz Ghulam Sarwar (1873–1954), Judge of the Singapore District Court, 143n

- Hāfiḡ, Ibrāhīm, 166  
*Hājat* (wish, hope), 101n  
 Haji, Raja. *see* Raja Haji Fisabilillah  
*Haji* (pilgrimage)/*Ḥajīs*: 6, 34n, 73, 92, 99n, 110, 149n, 242, 261, 275n, 278; pilgrimage agent, Jidda, 278; pilgrimage shaykh, 94n  
 Hakim Haji Mohamed/H. M. Hakim (?), 36n, 255n  
*Halāl* (lawful), 202  
 Hamdan b. Sheikh Tahir, Tun Dato' Seri (Dr.) Haji, (10 July 1921–), 279n  
 Hamidah bt. Raja Haji, Engku, 269  
 'Hanafi al-Gharib', 282  
 Ḥanaḡī *mazhab*, xii, 45, 79n, 244, 282; *see also* Abu Ḥanīfa  
 Ḥanbal, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, xiin, 164n  
 Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, (Ibn Ḥanbal) (780–855), xii, 164, 202, 239  
 Ḥanbalī *mazhab*, xii, 77n, 139n, 240n, 244; *see also* Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad  
 Hanoi Exposition (1903), 75n  
 Harun, Raja, (of Perak), 251  
 Harun Aminurrashid (1907–86), 118  
 Harun Din, xiiin, 150n  
*Harus/mubāḥ* (permitted), 233  
 Ḥasan, al-, b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, (grandson of Prophet Muḥammad) (624/5–669/70), 44n  
 Hasan ibni Raja Ali Haji, Raja, 72, 110, 274, 275n  
 Ḥasanids, 45n  
 Hassan b. Datuk Abdullah, 257, 258  
*Hawa nafsu* (desires), 2n  
*Hayātī*, divider preceding 163  
*Hedayah*, al-, (1923–6), 132  
 Hell, *see* *Azāb*  
 Hereafter, 105, 183  
 Heresy, 166, 169, 70, 212n, 217n, 284  
 Heroes' Cemetery, Kalibata, Indonesia, 136n  
 Herzegovina, *see* Bosnia  
 High Street, Singapore, 183  
 Hījāz, 36, 45, 53, 56, 67, 139n, 242n, 248  
*Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassan* (Story of Ghassan's Daughter), *atau Hindun dengan Hammad* (, or Hindun and Hammad), 119  
*Hikayat Chermin Kehidupan* (Story of the Mirror of Life), 119  
*Hikayat Faridah Hanum, atau Setia Ashek Kepada Mu'ashok-nya* (Story of Faridah Hanum, or Loyalty of a Lover to Her Loved One), 80n, 96, 117, 118n, 119, 153, 154–5  
*Hikayat Pembelaan dalam Rahasia* (Story of a Secret Upbringing), *atau Kaseh Saudara kapada [sic] Saudara-nya* (, or the Love of Kin), 119–20  
*Hikayat Puteri Nur ul-'Ain, atau Bahaya Bercherai Talak Tiga dan Berchina Buta* (Story of Princess Nur ul-'Ain, or The Dangers of Threefold Divorce and [resorting to] China Buta [interposed marriage]), 118n, 119, 156  
*Hikayat Taman Chinta Berahi* (Story of the Garden of Love), *atau Mahir Afandi dengan Iqbal Hanum* (, or Mahir Afandi and Iqbal Hanum), 119  
*Hilāl*, al-, (The Crescent), 164  
 Hindī, al-, Shaykh, 242n  
*Hisāb* (mathematical calculation), 90  
 Hitam, Raja, (Khalid Hasan ibni Raja Hasan, Raja): and Dutch treaty, 8; and *Imām*, al-, 11; and Japanese, 9–10, 14; and Persekutuan Rushdiyyah, 5n; and Sultan of Riau, 13; and Syed Shaykh, 111n; anti-Dutch, 4–5, 9–10, 274–5, 276; banned from Singapore, 10; death in Japan, 14; writings, 5n  
 Hitti, Philip K., (1886–1978), 239n  
 Hizb al-Lāmarkaziya al-Idāriyya al-'Uthmānī (Ottoman Decentralisation Party) (est 1912), 55n  
 Hizbul Muslimin (est 1948), 151n  
 Hogarth, David George, Commander. (of 'Arab Bureau, Cairo), (23 May 1862–06 Nov. 1927), 63  
 Hohenzollern, von-, Prince Franz Josef, 19n  
 Holy Land, 65  
 Holy Places/Cities, 53, 56–60, 66, 150n  
 Holy War, *see* *Jihād*  
 Homoeopathy, 151n  
 Hong Kong, 15, 19–21  
 Honour, *see* *Glory*  
 Hooker, Virginia Matheson, *see* Matheson (Hooker), Virginia  
 Hope Foundation, 106–7  
*Hub al-waṭan* (love of Motherland), 193  
*Hudā*, al-, (The Guidance), 41n  
 Hudā, al-, Press, 251n, 255n  
 Hudā Sha'arāwī Pāshā, 134  
 Ḥudaydah, al-, al-Yaman, 42  
 Human nature, 214  
 Husain Muadzam Shah ibni Sultan Mahmud, Raja, (1819 installed by the British as Yang di-Pertuan Singapura), 36, 269–70  
 Husain Palembangi, Haji, 73, 111, 276  
 Ḥusayn, al-, b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (grandson of Prophet Muḥammad, martyred at Karbalā', 680 A.D.), 44n, 45n, 47n, 232n

- Husayn, al-. bin Talāl. King of Jordan (1935–99), 67n
- Husayn ibn 'Alī (1853/6–1931): Sharīf of Makka, 34n, 36–7, 42, 55–68; King of Hijāz/King of the 'Arabs, 45, 61, 65, 67, 73, 242, 251; Penang committee to support, 251; *see also* 'Arab Revolt
- Husaynids, 45n
- Hussain, Hājī. (Che Dol?). of Balik Pulau, 246
- Hussain Tunku Yahya, Tunku, 255
- Hussein Onn, Tun. (1922–90), 85n, 257
- Hussein Rafik, Shaykh, *see* Abbas Bakar Rafik
- Hypocrisy, 190, 192
- Fānat al-Tālibīn* (Assistance for Seekers [after Knowledge]), 229–30
- '*Ībādāt* (devotional acts), 236
- Iblīs, 2n
- 'Ibn Ahmad al-Linggi', 282
- Ibn Ḥanbal. *see* Hanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad
- Ibn Khaldūn ('Abd al-Rahmān Abū Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn) (1332–82), 219
- Ibn Sa'ūd (King 'Abd al-'Azīz) (r.1902–53), 65–7, 139, 248
- Ibn Taymīya, Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad, (1263–1328), 77n, 139n, 239, 240n
- Ibrahim, Sultan. *see* Sultans of Johor
- Ibrahim b. Abu Bakar, 78n, 80n, 111n, 140n
- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (grandfather of Maghribī, 'Abd Allāh), 240n
- Ibrahim b. Tengku Hussein, Tengku, 35
- Ibrahim Hājī Yaacob (Iskander Kamel Agastya) (1911–79), 136n
- Ibrahim ibni Tengku Umar, Tengku, (of Riau-Lingga), 265
- Ibrahim Nik Mahmood, 32
- Ibu Zain. *see* Zainun bt. Sulaiman
- 'Id al-Fitr (festival of the breaking of the fast), 5n
- Idaran Masa* (1929–), 132
- Idaran Zaman* (1925–8), 93n, 94, 144n
- Idris, Raja, 5n
- Idris, Sultan. *see* Sultans of Perak
- Idrīsī, 65
- Idrus, al-. Syed Abdulkadir, (Engku Pengiran Anum of Terengganu), 70–1, 109n
- Ignatius, St., of Loyola (1491–1556), 212n
- Ijaza* (certificate), 147n, 233
- Ijtihād* (independent reasoning), 140, 163, 210n, 223n
- Ikatan Pelajar, Sultan Idris Training College (q.v.), 136n
- Ikhā', al-, al-'Arabī al-'Uthmānī (Ottoman 'Arab Fraternity) (c. 1908), 54, 55
- Ikhwān, al-*, (The Brethren) (1926–31), xi, 3n, 69, 80, 93, 96–7, 105, 117, 118, 120, 121n, 122, 132, 133, 134, 137n, 138, 139n, 140n, 141–4, 145, 146n, 154, 158, 159n, 160n, 189, 195, 198, 199, 226, 250, 279, 285
- '*Ilm* (knowledge), 4, 73n
- '*Ilmu* (knowledge), 12, 33, 164; *balāgha* (rhetoric), 243; *tawhīd* (Divine Unity), 220; *see also* *Risālat al-Tawhīd*; *Tawhīd Imām*, 150n, 243; Imāms, 219
- Imām, al-*, (The Leader) (1906–08): xi, 5n, 11, 12, 34, 36n, 37, 43, 69, 73n, 75n, 76–9, 93, 111, 112–14, 117, 122, 127n, 128, 130, 132, 137, 138n, 140n, 141–2, 149, 157n, 279, 280; and the Riau court, 11; closure, 79, 114, 129; editors, 16, 75n, 76–7, 112; Printing Press, 5n, 12n, 76; reprinting of *al-Manār* articles, 43
- Imāmate, *see* Khalīfat
- Imān* (faith – in God –), 183
- Important Pamphlet on the Question of Being Licked by a Dog according to the Four Schools of Islāmic Law. *see* *Risalah Penting pada Masa'alah Jilat Anjing di-atas Empat Mazhab*
- Imtiaz Ali, Colour Havildar, 20n
- Incest, 5n
- India: 1, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 86n, 128, 144, 151n, 213, 244, 247, 248, 258, 282, 283n, 284n; All India Khalīfat Conference (1919), 66n; and Britain, 51, 55, 57–9, 65n, 68, 125; and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, 123, 124n, 125; army/troops, 18, 34; liberation movement, 19, 131, 197n
- Indian Muslims: in India, 65–7; in Indian Mutiny (1857), 18; in Singapore Mutiny (1915), 18–31, 130, 283n
- Indian Ocean, 19n
- Indian Sepoys/Troops *see* Indian Muslims
- Indians: in Malaya, 91–3, 159, 189–94; in Singapore, 34–5, 183n
- Indonesia/Indonesian: 4n, 33n, 34n, 39, 41n, 42, 58, 66n, 71n, 75n, 90n, 93n, 125n, 128, 131, 135, 136n, 144, 162n, 184–5n; books/novels, 286; confrontation with Malaysia, 151n; Democratic Party, 184n; Indonesians, 162n, 185n; leftists, 162n; Red Cross, 185n; Youth Congress (1921), 71n, 109n; *see also* Sumatra
- Indonesia Circle*, 44n
- Indonesia Raya* (reunification of the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago), 136n
- Innovation, *see* *Bid'a/Bida'a*
- Inquisition, Spanish, (1478–1820), 212n
- Institut Jantung Negara, Kuala Lumpur, 106n

- Institute of Urology, Kuala Lumpur, 106n  
 Instruction of the dead, *see Talkin*  
 Interest, *see Ribā*  
*Intisari* (The Essence), 147n, 156n  
 Ipoh, Perak, 91n, 286  
*Iqbal* (organ of Indonesian Sāda (q.v.)), 42  
 'Irāq: 37n, 47n, 56, 60, 62, 64, 67, 123, 244, 247; 1958 revolution, 67n  
*Irshād, al-*, (Guidance), 11  
 Irshād/Irshādī(s)/Irshādīyīn, 37, 39–44, 45, 48  
 Isabella, Queen of Spain (1451–1504), 212  
 'Isami, al-, Abdul Wahhab, 244  
 Işfahān, Iran, 49n  
 'Ishā' (beginning of the night), 100  
 Ishak Haji Muhammad (Pak Sako) (1909–91), 136n  
 Işhāq Musa'ad, 163n, 224n  
 Iskandar, Sultan, *see* Sultans of Perak  
 Iskander Kamel Agastya, *see* Ibrahim Haji Yaacob  
*Islāh*, *see* Islāmic reform movement  
 Islām: xii–xiii, 34n, 38n, 39, 40, 46, 49–52, 58, 59n, 62, 65, 66n, 67–8, 69, 70n, 72–3, 74n, 76, 77, 79, 81–2, 83, 85n, 93, 101, 110, 123, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 146, 156, 158, 162n, 184, 190, 193, 195, 196n, 197, 198, 199–200, 203, 209–10, 211–12, 216–18, 219–25, 229–30, 230–3, 233–4, 234–5, 235–6, 236–7, 240, 245, 246, 247, 252–4, 258, 280, 281, 285n; and Japan, 10–11; and Malays, 77, 79, 134, 135; five pillars of, 110n; rebirth, 74n, 137; *see also* Islāmic; Pan-Islāmic movement; *umma*; and *under* Religious ...  
*Islām, al-, wa 'l-Naşrānīya ma'a 'l-'Ilm wa 'l-Madanīya* (Islām and Christianity and their Respective Attitudes towards Learning and Civilisation), 126n  
*Islām Bergerak* (Islām Astir), 17n, 38n  
 "Islām Commands Exertion and Work" ("Agama Islam Menyuruh Berusaha dan Bekerja"), 145, 209–10  
 "Islām in Malaya", Research Project, 69  
 Islāmic: College, Lahore, 282n; conferences, 66n, 151n; law, *see Shari'a*; Missionary Association, Penang, 246–7; movements, Indonesia, 42, 162n; reform movement, xi–xiv, 6, 73–4, 75, 77–90, 111, 123, 127, 134, 139–40, 155n, 158, 161, 166, 71, 239–40, 244–5, 247, 249–56; societies, Cairo, 244; *see also* Islām; Pan-Islāmic Movement; *Umma*  
*Islamic Review*, 282n  
 Ismail, C. D., 100  
 Ismail, Encik, (of Jelutong Press), 97  
 Ismail b. Abdul Rahman, Engku, 257, 258  
 Ismail Hussein, 94n  
 Ismā'īl Minangkabawi, Shaykh, 4n  
 Ismā'īl Rifat, 241n  
*Işnād* (chain of transmitters), 165, 234n  
 Isrā', 245, 253  
*Istana* (palace), Singapore, 35  
 Istanbul (10<sup>th</sup> C. Bülin or Stanbūlin, then Stimboli, Stambol), 6n, 8, 25, 34n, 51, 53, 54, 57, 60n, 61, 196n; *see also* Constantinople  
 Italy/Italians: 16, 34n, 49n, 51, 54, 59n, 130n, 196n, 212n; colonists in Libya, 16n  
 Ithnā 'Ashariyya, 45n  
 'I'tiqād (belief, firm acceptance), 140  
 Izmir, Turkey, 196n  
  
*Jabrīya* (compulsionists), 190  
 Ja'far, Haji, 5n  
 Ja'far ibni Raja Haji, Raja, 6<sup>th</sup> Yamtuan Muda (r. 1805–31), 2–3, 269, 274, 275n  
*Jāhil/Jāhilīya* (ignorant), 182  
 Jailani, al-, Abdul Wahid, 41  
*Jakarta Post*, 185n  
 "Jalan Keselamatan bagi Orang-orang Melayu" (The Salvation of the Malays), 120  
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838/9–97), xi, xiv, 8, 52, 74, 123–4, 125, 126, 127, 131, 148–9n, 157n, 158, 162, 166, 169, 171, 240, 279, 285; *see also* Muḥammad 'Abduh; Pan-Islāmic movement; *umma*  
 Jamaluddin b. Din Tambi, 232  
 Jambi, Sumatra, Indonesia, 162n  
*Jām'iyat, al-, al-'Asriyya* (The Contemporary Association), Kelantan (est 1924), 198n  
 Jamilah Othman, 1n, 2n, 5n, 79n, 148n  
 Jam'iyat al-'Arabīya al-Fatāt (Young 'Arab Society) (est 1911), 55n, 59  
 Jam'iyat al-Islāh wa 'l-Irshād al-'Arabī (Society of 'Arab Reformation and Guidance) (est 1913), 37  
 Jam'iyat al-Khayriyya (Society for the Good) (est Jakarta, 17 July 1905), *see* Sāda  
 Jam'iyat al-Khayriyya al-Ṭalabīya al-Azharīya al-Jawā (Society for the Welfare of Malay Students at al-Azhar) (est 1923), 150n  
 Jam'iyat al-Khilāfa (Khalīfat Association) (Penang, c. 1920), 250–1  
 Janissaries (*Yeni çeri*) (elite corps of Ottoman Sultāns), 6–7n  
 Japan/Japanese: 9, 11, 12, 34n, 68, 183, 275n; alliance with Britain, 15, 32–3; and China, 15, 68; and Formosa, 15; and *Imām, al-*, 11–12, 128; and Islām, 10–12; and Korea, 68; and Netherlands Indies,

- Japan/Japanese: (*cont.*)  
 9, 11–13; and Ottomans, 10; and Philippines, 15; and Riau, 9–15; and Singapore, 12, 32; and Singapore Mutiny (1915), 22–3, 32–3; co-prosperity myth, 68; defeat of Russian fleet (1905), 5n, 9; Emperor/Mikado, 10–11, 14, 177n; invasion of Indonesia, 68; Japanese Consul at Singapore, 13, 32; Meiji oligarchy, 9; Meiji restoration, 15; modernisation, 10, 12, 15, 33, 128; Muslim attraction to, 10–11, 33; Nanyo, 32, 33; navy, 15; Parliament of Religions (1906), 11; Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), 9, 128; training squadron, 9, 13
- Japanese in Malaya: 12, 15, 104, 181; air attacks, 99n, 248; anti-Japanese activities, 151n; funds supplied to Ibrahim Yaacob, 136n; Kondo, 12; medical practitioners, 15; military government, 260; occupation, 9n, 12n, 69, 136n, 151n, 248, 260, 266, 276, 278, 280; Planters' Association, 13; ship, 85n, 257; Supreme Command (J.S.C.), 260
- Jarahī, al-, Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlunī, 218
- Java/Javanese, 17n, 33n, 37, 135, 138, 193, 247, 266, 280
- Jawā'ib*, al-, (ed. Shidiyaq (q.v.)), 34n
- Jawatankuasa Zakat dan Fitrah, Perlis, 150n
- Jawhari, Shaykh Tantāwī, 10, 11n
- Jawi Peranakan, 142n, 159–60
- Jawi Peranakan* (1876–95), 142
- Jawi script, 118n
- Jawziyya, al-, Ibn al-Qayyim, 239
- Jelutong: Malay School, 89; Press (est 1927), 80, 96, 97–8, 109, 117, 153n, 156n, 254n, 259; Road, 81, 85, 96, 99, 102
- Jemāl Pāshā/Bāshā, Aḥmad, Minister of Marine and Commander of Ottoman 4<sup>th</sup> Army (1872–1922), 62–3, 86n
- Jenghiz Khān (1167 (?)–1227), 64n
- Jerusalem (al-Quds al-Sharif): 55n, 62, 67n, 86n, 150n, 245, 258; Sanjaq of, 61
- Jews: 50, 53, 63n, 64, 125, 151n, 183n, 212n; Anglo-Jewish Association, 63n; anti-Zionist Jews, 63n; Board of Deputies of British Jews, 63n; colonisation, 67n, 68, 150n; Jewish settlements in Palestine, 63–4, 150n; Jewish state in Palestine, 61; Zionist-Jews, 63–4, 68, 152
- Jidda, Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya, 36, 139n, 278n
- Jihād*/'Holy War', 17, 19, 22, 27, 55–64, 130
- Jihād-i Ekber*, *Fard-i 'Ayn*, 17
- Joget* (Malay dance), 90, 182
- Johnson, Lt. F. M., 18
- Johnson Pier, Singapore, 10
- Johor: 1, 12, 14n, 15, 22, 33–4n, 71, 95, 103, 104n, 114–15, 121, 154, 193, 257, 260, 261, 267n, 268, 270, 279, 281; and British, 32, 79n; and Bugis, 2; and Riau, 129; Bendahara, 268, 269, 270; General Adviser, 22n; government, 129n; Ketua Agama (religious head), 14; kingdom, 270; law, 79, 115; Military Forces, 19, 260; Mufti, 115; Preparatory School, Johor Bahru, 259; Religious Department, 12; Temenggung, 269; *see also* Sultans of Johor
- Johor Bahru, Johor, 2n, 79, 85n, 121, 257, 259, 260, 261, 279
- Johor-Riau: dialect, 71, 109; kingdom/empire, 1, 71n, 109; -Lingga kingdom, 269
- Johor Sultans, *see* Sultans of Johor
- Jordan, *see* Transjordan
- Junid al-Tola, Shaykh, (1897–1948), 148n
- Kadir Adabi (1901–44), 144n
- Kafā'a / ebenbürtigkeit* (equality of status), 39–40
- Kaff, al-, /Saqqāf, al-, /Alsagoff, Syed Taḥsīn, 249, 256n
- Kāfir* (unbeliever), 135, 187, 198, 282; *see also* *Kufr*
- Kaiser, *see* Wilhelm II
- Kalali, al-, (Kadahi?), Shaykh Muhammad b. Salim, 76, 112–13, 280
- Kalima Shahāda* (Confession of Faith), 82
- Kalimantan (Borneo), 90n
- Kallang, Singapore, 183
- Kalzum bt. Raja Ali Haji, Raja, 72, 110
- Kampung Sentosa*, 260
- Kampung(s)* (hamlet)(s), 100, 110, 184
- Kampung Baru, Kuala Lumpur, 184n
- Kampung Glam, Singapore: 35, 183; Malay School, 111n, 153, 257
- Kampung Hulu, Melaka, 69, 70, 109
- Kampung Jawa Lama, Penang, 79n
- Kampung Kota Bharu, near Ipoh, Perak, 151n
- Kampung Melayu, Singapore, 184n
- Kampung Seronok, Bayan Lepas, Penang, 82n
- Kandiah, Dr. S., 106n
- Kangar, Perlis, 150
- Kanun Kerajaan Riau* (The Canon Laws of the Riau Government), 5n, 111n
- Kapal Karang*, 75n, 276–7
- Karbālā', *see* Ḥusayn, al-, b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib
- Kars, Turkey, 52
- Kash* (acquisition), 222n
- Kaseh Saudara kepada Saudara-nya*, *see* *Hikayat Pembelaan dalam Ruhasia*

- Sity (Siti) (*cont.*)  
 in Makka). 33n; *see also* Fatima(h) bt. Sulaiman b. Datuk Bandar Mahbob b. Khamis Sulaiman. Hadjee, Sity's mother
- Sixtus IV, Pope. (1414–84). 212n
- Slav; state, 52; nationalism. 196n; *see also* Serb Revolt; Serbia
- Slavery/slaves. 3, 6n, 12, 189–91
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. (b. 1916). 123n, 134n, 153n, 161n
- Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan. (08 Feb. 1857–26 June 1936). 11, 73n, 127n
- Social reforms. 153–4, 158
- Soenarno, Radin. 129n, 132n, 135n, 136n
- Soeryadjaya, William. 185n
- Sokna, Libya. 241n
- Sollis, Tuan. 152
- Solo, Indonesia. 39, 162n
- Song Ong Siang. 112n
- Songkok hitam* (black cap, variation of *fez*). 146n
- 'Sons of the Soil'. 137, 156–7, 159–60, 181–5, 206–8
- Sound Masters Corporation of New York. 260
- Spain/Spanish: 15, 51, 212, 220; -American War (1898). 15; Inquisition (1478–1820). 212n; Netherlands. 212n
- Special Branch, FMS (q.v.). 278n
- Spices. 33–4n
- Srcenivasan, Datuk Dr. G. A.. 106n
- Sri Menanti, Negeri Sembilan. 130n
- S. S. *Edvana*. 23
- St. Petersburg, Russia. 123
- Stambol. *see* Istanbul
- Stambul*. *see* *Bangsawan*
- Stanbūlin. *see* Istanbul
- Standard Oil Company of New York. 103, 259
- Stibbe, D. G.. (1874 ?). 3n, 128n
- Stimboli. *see* Istanbul
- Stoneman, Richard. 51n
- Storrs, Sir Ronald, Oriental Secretary, British Agency, Cairo. 55
- Strait of Melaka: 21, 274n; partitioning, Dutch-British colonial control (1824). 1, 71n
- Straits Budget*. 112n, 129n
- Straits Cycle and Motor Company, Singapore. 33n
- Straits Settlements: xiii, 14n, 19, 103, 118n, 121, 137, 142n, 144n, 159, 199n; General Officer Commanding the Troops. 36; Government. 42; Legislative Council. 20n, 129n, 132, 135, 184n; Officer Administering the Government, 37; *see also* Mohd, Eunus b. Abdullah; Muhammad Rouse b. Chee
- Straits Times*, *The*. (Singapore). 10, 13, 20n, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28n, 29, 30, 31, 112n, 128n, 129
- Strothmann, R.. (1877–?), 45n
- Suara Benar* (1932–4). 132
- Suara Melayu* (1926–9, 1932). 132
- Sudān. 7, 39n, 51, 56–9, 125, 134n, 241n
- Suez: 86n, 258; Canal. 6, 56–7
- Şūfi/Şūfism (*Taşawwuf*). 4, 141, 233n; *see also* Naqshabandīya Tariqa; Tariqa Taslim
- Sugar, Peter. 6–7n, 48–9n, 50n
- Sukarno (1902–70). 136n
- Sulaiman, Sultan, (of Riau-Lingga) (r. 1857–83). 270
- Sulaiman Badrul Alam Shah, Sultan, (of Johor) (son of Bendahara-Sultan of Johor), 268, 269
- Süleymān (relative of Alp Arslan (q.v.)). 49n
- Süleymān I, Sultān. (r. 1403–11). 6n
- Sulṭa Ruhīya* (spiritual authority). 38
- Sultan: of Kelantan. 32; of Pahang. 17–18, 105; of Terengganu: Zainal Abidin III (r. 1881–1918). 12, 14, 71
- Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjung Malim, Perak. (est 1922). 118n, 136n
- Sultanate of Riau-Lingga. *see* Riau Sultanate
- Sultans of Johor: Abu Bakar b. Temenggung Ibrahim, successively: Temenggung (1862–81)/Maharaja (1868–85)/Sultan (1885–95). 177–8; Ibrahim b. Abu Bakar, Sultan (r. 1895–1959). 19, 21–2, 35, 66n, 79n, 115, 257
- Sultans of Perak: Idris Murshidul 'Adzam Shah (r. 1887–1916). 279; Raja Alang Iskandar Shah ibni Sultan Idris Murshidul 'Adzam Shah (r. 1918–38). 73, 143n, 251–2, 279, 283
- Sulūk* (journeying). 141n
- Sumatra, Indonesia. 1, 21, 71n, 76, 78n, 90n, 93n, 103, 135, 138, 148n, 151n, 162n, 255n, 259, 268, 278–9
- Summa/Summat*, pl. *Suman*, (of Prophet Muḥammad). 44, 139, 141n, 164, 168, 217n, 236, 7, 245n, 252
- Sunnī*(s) (majority current of Islām). xii, 46, 77n, 139n, 234n, 240n
- Surat, Bombay Presidency, India. 25, 31
- Surau* (prayerhouse). 70n, 147, 231
- Surgeon/surgery. 105–6
- Surkatī, Shaykh Ahmad. (1872–1943). 39, 40n
- Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya. *see* 'Arabīya
- Syeds, *see* Sāda
- Sykes, Sir Mark. (1879–1919), Assistant Secretary, British War Cabinet. 61
- Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916). 61–2

- Kathi/Qādī: 79n, 156, 219n, 235, 241; Chief Kathi of Singapore, 280
- Kaum Kolut* (Backward Group), 236n
- Kaum Muda (New Group or New Faction), 77, 114–15, 118, 127, 130, 133, 142, 150n, 158, 161n, 201–3, 205, 236n, 252, 256, 284
- Kaum Tua (Old Group or Old Faction), 78n, 89, 99, 114n, 118, 150n, 201–3, 251, 252
- Kavir* (desert), xii, divider preceding 239
- Kāzimīya/Kāzimia, 47
- Kecik/Kecil, Raja, (led Minangkabau attack on Johor and reigned as Sultan 1718–23), 268
- Kedah: 9n, 32, 98, 147n, 148n, 149, 230, 233; regent, 87
- Keddie, Nikki R., xivn, 74n, 124n
- Keddleston, Earl Curzon of, (1859–1925), 38n
- Kelana (Knight Errant), 3n
- Kelantan: 91, 92n, 144, 147n, 149, 193, 198–200; and Britain, 8–9, 31–2, 199; and Ottoman Khalifat, 8–9; and Siam, 8, 9; anti-British uprising (1915), 31–2; education, 92n; periodicals, 144, 198–200, 233n; religious schools, 70, 92n, 198n; ‘*Ulamā*’, 144, 198–200; *see also* To’ Janggut; To’ Kenali
- Kelantan Council of Religion, *see* Majlis Ugama dan Isti’adat Melayu Kelantan
- “Kelantan ‘*Ulamā*’ Move to Ban al-*Ikhwān* and *Saudara*” (“‘*Ulamā*’ di Kelantan dengan al-*Ikhwan* dan *Saudara*”), 144n, 198–200
- Keluang, Johor, 260
- Kelumbong* (head and face covering), 153
- Kemal Karpat, 50
- Kemālism, *see* Muṣṭafā Kemāl
- Kemusiaan* (humanism, humanitarianism), 155n
- “Kemiskinan Orang-orang Melayu” (The Poverty of the Malays), 120
- Kenchana* (1930–), 132, 144n
- Kenduri* (feast), 90, 140, 231, 232, 234
- Kepulauan Riau (Riau Archipelago), In Kesatuan Melayu Muda (Young Malay Union) (est 1938), 136n
- Kesatuan Melayu Singapura (KMS) (Singapore Malay Union) (est 1926), 131, 184n, 283n
- Ketua Kaum Muda (Leader of Kaum Muda), 77, 114, 115
- Ketua/Khalifa Kaum al-Manār, 77
- Ketua Wahhāhī, 139
- Khalid Hasan ibni Raja Hasan, Raja, *see* Hitam, Raja
- Khalid Hussain, 189
- Khālidi/Khālidiyya, 4n
- Khālidi, Dr. Muṣṭaphā, (1895–1977), 86n, 258, Khālidi Hospital, Beirut, 86n, 258
- Khalif(a)s: 7, 39, 42n, 43n, 46n, 47n, 52, 56, 65, 67, 140n, 219; of Naqshabandiyya *Tarīqa*, 4n; of *Tarīqa Taslim*, 81, 246
- Khalifat, *see* Ottoman Khalifat
- Khalifat: proposed ‘Arab Khalifat’, 37–8, 60
- Khalifat Conference, All India, (1919), 66n
- Khalifat movement to support/re-establish Khalifat, 18n, 38n, 66n, 283–4n
- Kharijīs* (*Khawārij*) (seceders), 42
- Khoo Kay Kim, 40n, 92n, 144n, 147n, 148n, 199n, 282n, 284n
- Khurāfat*/*Khurāfa* (superstition), 41, 73, 77, 239, 251; *see also* Gerakan Membasmi *Khurafat*
- Khutba*, *see* Friday: sermon
- Khwāja Kamal al-Dīn (1870–1932), 116–17, 134–5, 282–4, 285, plate 8
- King Edward VII College of Medicine, Singapore, 105
- King’s Own Shropshire Light Infantry, 23
- Kitab Agama Islam dan ‘Akal* (Islam and Reason), 69n, 109n, 120, 140, 145
- Kitāb al-‘Ibar* (Book of Examples), 219n
- Kitab Hadiah Kebangsaan* (The National Gift), 120
- Kitab ‘Ilmu Balaghah* (Book of Rhetoric), 245
- Kitab Munir al-Iḥām* (Book to Illuminate Comprehension), 245
- Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* (Book of Linguistic Knowledge), 2n, 122
- Kitāb Subul al-Salām* (The Path of Peace), 245, 251–2
- Kitchener, Lord H. H., (1850–1916), 55–7, 63
- Klang, Selangor, 91n, 284
- Knowles, V. D., 28
- Kohn, Hans, 124n, 128n
- Kolej Puteri Tengku Ampuan Mariam, 154n
- Kopiah ketayap* (white skull-cap), 146, 231–2
- Korea/Korean, 68
- Kosova/Kosovo, 16n, 52, 53
- Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 8, 92n
- Kota Tinggi, Johor, 260
- Kramers, J. H., (1891–1951), 4n, 43n, 45n, 65n, 66n, 73n, 77n, 126n, 127n, 137n, 139n, 141n, 157n, 163n, 171n, 222n, 223n
- KRIS (Kesatuan Rakyat Indonesia Semenanjung) (Union of Peninsular Indonesians) (est 1945), 151n
- Kuala Chempedak, Kedah, 146n
- Kuala Kangsar, Perak, 91, 252, 278, 279, 283, 284

- Kuala Lumpur: 19, 73, 91n, 103n, 106, 184n, 248n, 259; General Hospital, 106; Police Barracks, 73n
- Kuala Terengganu, Terengganu, 70, 71, 109, 278
- Kufr* (unbelief), 141n, 217n; *see also Kāfir*
- Kullīya ʿOthmāniya Islāmīya, Beirut, (1896–1914), 85n, 258
- Kullīya Ṣalāhiya, Jerusalem, 86n, 258
- Kurds, 51
- Kutāb* (elementary classes for Qurānic studies), 241
- Labour Party of Malaya (est 1955), 136n
- Lahore, Pakistan, 282n
- Lahore Party, 116, 284n
- Laksa*, 112
- Landau, Rom. (1899–?), 110n
- Latin alphabet, 196–7n
- Laubach Method, 261
- Laurah*, 112
- Lauterbach, Oberleutnant Julius, 19–21
- League of Nations (1920, dissolved April 1946), 68; *see also* Mandate
- Lebai(s)* (pious scholars), 92, 230n, 231
- Lebai Pondok* ('students of the huts'), 146, 230–3
- Lebanon/I. ebanese, 34n, 60, 64, 86, 123, 259
- Lee-Warner, Sir William, 34–5n, 37n
- Lembaga*, 260, 266, 267
- Lembaga Malaya*, 260
- Lembaga Melayu*, Singapore (1914–31), 31n, 129n, 281, 284n
- Lemker, A. F., (Vice-Governor of Melaka), 274n
- Lenгкаuas* (Greater Galangal), 208
- Libya, 16n, 17, 34n, 51, 54, 57, 59n, 99n, 196n, 239, 240, 241, 242, 248, 249; *see also* Maghribī
- Lidah Benar* (1929–), 132
- Light, The*, 284n
- Lineage. *see* *Nasab*: Sāda
- Lingga, 1, 2n, 3n, 267n, 269–70, 271, 275n
- "Lingga Riow and Dependencies", 3n
- Linggi, Negeri Sembilan, 282
- Literacy, 91, 142n, 261
- Literary Pioneer Award (1976), 136n
- London, 65, 106, 123n, 124n
- Lovett, Major A. C., 18n
- Lumut, Perak, 229–30
- Luther, Martin, (1483–1546), 239
- Ma'alāh Cemetery, Makka, 248
- Macdonald, D. B., (1863–1943), 4n, 73n, 141n, 157n, 171n, 222n
- MacMunn, Major G. F., 18n
- Madīna, Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya, 53, 66, 139n, 255
- Madina (adopted daughter of Sharifah Zainah al-Mashhur), 97
- Madras, India, 19, 283n
- Mudrasa al-Falāh, Bombay, India, 248
- Madrasa al-Rāqīya, Makka, 99n, 242
- Mudrasa Sawlatīya, Makka, 242
- Madrasah al-Ahmadīya, Pulau Penyengat, 78n
- Madrasah al-Ahmadīya, Temoh, Perak, 149n
- Madrasah al-Amirah Mariah, Penang, 245
- Madrasah al-Hadi al-Diniyyah/al-Diniya, Penang, xiii, 253, 254n
- Madrasah al-Hady, Melaka, 79, 115
- Madrasah al-Hamidiya, Kedah, 148n
- Madrasah al-Huda al-Diniyyah li 'l-Banin wa 'l-Banat, Penang, 81, 89, 99, 245, 247–8, 253n, 254n, 255n
- Madrasah al-Idrisiyyah, Perak, 99, 244–5, 251–2
- Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyyah, Singapore, 78–9, 114, 122, 147–8
- Madrasah al-Mashhur al-Islamiyyah, Penang: 79–80, 89, 96, 97n, 99, 115, 143n, 148n, 149–52, 153n, 243, 244, 247n, 249–51, 253n, 279, 281; Administrative Committee, 250, 252n
- Madrasah al-Masriyyah, Bukit Mertajam, 148n
- Madrasas*, 70, 96, 107, 147, 148n, 149, 160, 242, 281
- Maghrib* (sunset; West), 57, 95, 99n, 100, 240, 249n
- Maghribī, 'Abd Allāh, (Abū Jābir b. Aḥmad al-Ghadamisī) (1892–1974), xiii–xiv, 80n, 81–2, 89, 98–9, 100–1, divider preceding 109, 239–56, plate 11
- Maghzi, al-, Shaykh, 244
- Maha Lakshmi/Minerva Co. Ltd., 259
- Maharaja of Johor, *see* Sultans of Johor
- Mahayudin Hj, Yahaya, 82n, 239–48, 249n
- Mahdist rebellion, Sūdān (1881–98), 57
- Mahir Afandi dengan Iqbal Hanum, see Hikayat Taman Chinta Berahi*
- Mahmūd II, Ottoman Sultān (1808–39), 7n
- Mahmud b. Haji Abdul Manaf, 257, 258, plate 13
- Mahmud ibni Raja Muhammad, Raja, 274
- Mahmud ibni Sultan Muhammad, Sultan, (r. 1844–deposed 1857), 266, 270
- Mahmud ibni Tengku Umar, Tengku, 267
- Mahmud Shah, Sultan, (r. 1760–1812), 268, 269
- Mahmud, Tunku, Regent of Kedah, 87
- Mahmur b. Haji Kassim, 257, 258
- Mahmut Kaçar, 197n
- Majalah al-Islam*, 17n

- Majalat Ahkam Johore*, 79n  
*Majallah Guru* (1924–40), 132, 284n  
*Majallat al-Ahkām al-'Adliyah (Mejelle)*  
(codified Hanafi Civil Code), 79n  
*Majlis* (Council), (1931–41), 93–4n, 97, 132,  
136n, 253n, 284n  
Majlis Ugama dan Isti'adat Melayu Kelantan,  
198n  
Majlis Ugama Islam: Kelantan, 144n;  
religious councils/authorities, xiii, 93;  
Penang, 255  
*Maju* (Progressive), 261  
*Mak Yong* (Malay traditional theatre), 90n  
Makepeace, Walter, 18n  
Makka (Mecca): 4n, 5n, 6, 8, 17, 34n, 45,  
46n, 47n, 53, 63, 64n, 66, 73, 74n, 75n,  
76, 78n, 89, 92n, 94n, 98n, 99, 110, 113,  
127, 139, 161, 198n, 230, 240, 241n,  
242, 244, 245, 249–50, 255, 261, 276,  
278; Ma'alah cemetery, 248; Makkan  
families, 38n; Sharī'a High Court, 99n,  
248; *see also* Maghribi, 'Abd Allāh  
Malacca Street, Penang, 250  
Malai Sendenhan (Japanese Propaganda  
Department), 260  
Malay: Archipelago, 199n, 213, 216; books,  
119; College, Kuala Kangsar, 116, 143n,  
278, 283–4n, 286; culture, 71, 72; econ-  
omies, 156, 157; education, 89, 94, 118,  
131, 146, 152, 206–8, 256, 284–5; jour-  
nalism, 132, 142; land reservation, 184n;  
language, 70, 2, 78, 109, 110, 119, 152,  
206, 260, 276, 281, 283; literacy/reading  
public, 91, 94, 142; Literary Society,  
Kuala Lumpur (1923), 284; newspapers/  
books, 142; Peninsula. *see* Tanah Melayu;  
press, 131, 132, 134, 152, 266; society,  
142, 158; sultans/rajas/rulers, xiii, 17,  
18, 35n, 66n, 92–3, 159, 160, 187, 195,  
198–200, 236, 246, 285; traditional élite,  
136n; Translation Bureau, 119; World, 1,  
2, 3n, 71n, divider preceding 109, 193,  
201, 275n; reunification of, 136n, 199n  
Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) (est 1945),  
151n  
Malay Peninsula. *see* Tanah Melayu  
Malay States: xiii, 9n, 51, 68, 92n, divider  
preceding 109, 142n, 193, 231, 234n,  
239, 240, 244, 247, 248, 249, 255, 285n;  
Guides, 19, 22, 24–7, 29, 130; Volunteer  
Rifles, 19, 23  
Malaya. *see* Britain: Malaya  
*Malaya* (1926–8), 93n  
*Malaya Tribune/Co.*, 36n, 281  
*Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*,  
*The*, 66n, 284n  
Malays: 12, 17, 70n, 77, 91–2, 93, 94, 98, 99,  
105, 133, 143, 150n, 181–5, 186–8, 195,  
206–8, 213–18, 219–25, 230–3, 253–4,  
256, 285n; and Bugis, 2–3; and colonial-  
ists, 213–18; and Islām, 77, 79, 81, 134–  
5, 195; *see also* Islām; annihilation, 139,  
156, 159, 213–18; Ceylon Malays, 257;  
characteristics, 189–94; divorce, 156;  
English-educated, 94–5, 131, 134–5, 152,  
154, 206–8; in Singapore, 32, 34–5, 183–  
4; intelligentsia, 93, 100, 103, 131, 135–  
6; left-wing, 135–6; Malay-'Arab, 160;  
Malay-Indian, 160; nationalism, 131, 135,  
151n, 159; Patani Malays, 8–9; poverty,  
131, 142, 198n, 214, 216; 'pure' Malays,  
98, 160; urban-rural split, 131; writers,  
91, 118; *see also under* Hady, al-, Syed  
Shaykh  
Malaysia: xix, 71n; Ministry of Education,  
115, 147n  
Malaysian Sociological Research Institute,  
*see* MSRI  
Malcolm, Noel, 16n  
Mali, 241n  
Mālik b. Anas, Imām. (d. 795), 44n, 202  
Mālikī *madhhab*/School of Law, xii, 219n,  
244  
Mallal, Bashir A., (1898–1972), 282  
Mallal(?), Bashir Ahmad, 17n, 283n  
Mallal, Nazir, 282  
*Mambu (Millettia sericea)*, divider preceding  
173  
*Manār, al-*. (The Lighthouse) (1898–1936),  
10n, 11, 38–9, 42–8, 55n, 60, 74–6, 117,  
126–7, 134n, 155n, 222n, 276; *see also*  
Muhammad Rashid Riḍā  
Manār, al-, Group, 77, 110, 140  
*Manāsib* (Ḥaḍramawt ruling group), 42  
*Manchester Guardian*, 63n  
Mandate/Protectorate System, 61, 64; *see*  
*also* League of Nations  
Manshawī Pāshā, Aḥmad, 126  
Mansoor, Ali. (son of Kassim Ismail  
Mansoor), 27  
Mansoor, Ismail Kassim, (son of Kassim  
Ismail Mansoor), 25, 26, 27, 29  
Mansoor, Kassim Ismail, (hung 1915), 24–31  
Maqsurī, Shaykh Ali. (of Penang), 251  
*Mar'a, al-, al-Jadida* (The New Woman),  
81n  
Marāghī, al-. Shaykh Muhammad Muṣṭafā,  
Rector of al-Azhar 1928–30, 134  
Marāthās (of West Central India), 64n  
Margoliouth, D. S., (1858–1940), 77n, 137n,  
139n  
Maria Hertogh riots, Singapore, 1950, 151n

- Marr, David, 1n  
 Marriage: 118n, 119, 227: 'Arab women. 38–40: equality. *see* *Kafā'a*; hypergamous, 38; invalidation, 234–5  
 Martin, Lieutenant-Colonel E. V., 22  
 Mas Abdul Hamid. *see* Anang, K.  
*Masākīn* (the poor), 41  
 Masalha, Nur, 68  
 Mashhad al-Ḥusayn, 47n  
 Mashhur, al-, family/estate, 96, 102  
 Mashhur, al-, Sharifah Azizah ('Achik'), *see* *under* Hady, al-. Syed Alwi b. Shaykh: wives  
 Mashhur, al-, Sharifah Rahmah ('Embon'/'Bon'), *see* *under* Hady, al-. Syed Alwi b. Shaykh: wives  
 Mashhur, al-, Sharifah Zainah. *see* *under* Hady, al-. Syed Shaykh: wives  
 Mashhur, al-, Syed Ahmad. (Ayid Mashhur), 79, 80n, 115  
*Mashriq* (East), 240  
 Masīla, Ḥaḍramawt, 34n  
 Masjid al-'Arab, Penang, 243  
 Masjid al-Ḥarām, Makka, 99n, 198n, 242  
 Masjid al-Sawlatiyya, Makka, 242  
 Masjid ibn 'Abbās, Tā'if, 242  
 Masjid 'Imrān al-Faqīh, Ghadamis, Libya, 240n, 241, 248n  
 Masjid Jāmi'/Masjid Jelutong, Penang (built 1798): 81, 246, 261: burial-grounds, 70n, 83n  
 Masjid Jāmi', Singapore, 35, 38  
 Masjid Melayu, Penang (built 1792–6), 79n  
 Masjid Yūnus, Ghadamis, Libya, 241  
*Masjid(s)*, 70n, 147, 163n, 204–5, 229–30, 231  
*Maṣlaḥa* (common good), xii, 126n, 234n  
 Maṣrī, al-, Major 'Abd al-'Azīz, 60n  
*Ma'sūm* (sacrosanct), 201  
 Mat Noor b. Hashim, 147n  
 MATA (Majlis Agama Tertinggi Sa-Malaya; Pan-Malayan Supreme Religious Council) (est 1948), 151n  
 Matahari/Mazhab Matahari, 81–2, 246: *see* *also* *Tarīqa* *Taṣlīm*  
*Matahari Memanchar* (The Rising Sun), 12, 32, 3, 128  
 Maṭba'a al-Ahmadīya, Riau/Singapore, 5n  
 Maṭba'a al-Imām, Singapore, 2n  
 Maṭba'a, al-, al-Mir'īya al-Kā'ina, Makka, 8  
 Maṭba'a al-Riauwīya, Riau, 5n, 73n  
 Matheson (Hooker), Virginia, 1n, 2n, 5n, 80n, 155n, 265n, 267n, 268n, 275n, 285n  
 Mauritania, North Africa, 240  
*Mawlid al-Nabī* (Prophet Muḥammad's Birthday), xiiin, 140, 231, 245, 254n  
 Maxwell, General Sir John, 59n  
 Maxwell, George, Acting Colonial Secretary, 31  
 Maxwell, W. G., 22n, 23n  
*Mazhabs* (Schools of Islāmic Law), xii, 166, 240n, 244, 251–2  
 Mazharī/Mazhariyya, 4n  
 McMahon, Sir Henry, High Commissioner for Egypt and Sūdān, 60–1  
 Megawati Sukarnoputri (b.1947—), 184n  
 Meḥammed II, Sulṭān, (1444/1451), 51n  
 Meiji Restoration, *see* *under* Japan  
*Mejelle*, 79n; *see* *also* *Majallat al-Aḥkām al-'Adliyyah*  
 Melaka: 5, 33n, 68, 69–70, 71, 79, 109, 115, 149, 177n, 235, 257, 260, 265, 268–9, 274n; Dutch-controlled and Riau Bugis-Selangor attack, 5, 274; Sultanate, 71  
 Melaka Strait, *see* Strait of Melaka  
 Melayu-'Arab, 98  
 Melayu-Peranakan, 98  
*Melayu Raya* (reunification of Malay Archipelago), 136n  
*Melihat Tanah Air* (Exploring the Motherland), 136n  
*Member Titi* ('Members of the Bridge'), 100  
*Membesarkan diri* (self-aggrandisement), 2n, 3  
 Merv (ancient Turkmen city), 7  
 Meshuarat 'Ulama (Conference of 'Ulamā'), Kelantan (est 1918), 198n  
 Messenger. *see* Prophet Muḥammad  
 Middle class, 159, 162n  
 Middle East, 6, 7, 116, 123, 127, 137, 147, 148n, 158  
 Midhat Pāshā, 51  
*Millets* (Ottoman legal-administrative units), 50  
 Mills, L. A., 71n, 109n, 119n  
 Minangkabau: 1, 93n, 113n, 255n; invaders, 1, 268  
 Mining concessions: Japanese, 12; Riau, 6, 13; Terengganu, 12  
 Ministry of Law, Singapore, 184n  
 Mi'rāj, 245, 253  
 Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad (of Qādiān) (1839–1908), 116n, 282  
*Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (Niche for Lamps [to illuminate Ḥadīth]), 210n  
*Miṣr* (Egypt), 148n  
 Missionaries: Muslim, 52–3, 65, 246–7; *see* *also* *under* Christian  
 Mitsuharu Tsukuda, 32  
*Mizān, al-*, *see* *Neracha*  
 MNP. *see* Malay Nationalist Party  
 Modernisation, 254

- Mohamad Sanusi b Haji Mahmood (d. 1995), 230n
- Mohamed Kassim (of Klang), 284n
- Mohamed Kassim, R. E., Singapore, 284n
- Mohamed Noah b. Orang Kaya Omar, Tan Sri Haji, (1897–1991), 85n, 257, 258, plate 13
- Mohamed Said b. Haji Abu Bakar (Haji Bachik (q.v.)). 257, 258, plates 8, 13
- Mohamed Yusof, Serang (labour contractor), of Singapore, 36n
- Mohamed Yusoff Imam, Haji, 35
- Mohammad b. Anas, 122n
- Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 8, 10n, 16n, 17n, 18n, 31n, 35n, 36n, 37n, 66n, 73n, 79n, 93n, 143n, 148n, 150n, 244n, 282n, 284n
- Mohd. Amin b. Nayan, 97n
- Mohd. Ariff b. Haji Mohd. Shariff, 97
- Mohd. Asri, Datuk, (1923–92), 144n
- Mohd. Eunus b. Abdullah (1876–1933), 36n, 129–30, 132, 135, 152, 184n
- Mohd. Saleh, Tengku, 267n
- Mohd. Saleh [Salleh] b. Baki, 148n
- Mohd. Salleh Masri, 148n
- Mohd. Sarim Haji Mustajab, xiiin, 93n, 249–56
- Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, Wan, 4n, 8–9n
- Mohd. Yunus b. Abdul Hamid (1889–?), 93–4, 97, 99, 255
- Mongols, 49n, 64n, 220
- Montagu, Edwin Samuel, (06 Feb. 1879–15 Nov. 1924), Secretary of State for India, 63n
- Montcalm*, 22
- Montenegro, 15–16, 52
- Moors, 212n
- “Moral Trainer”, 119, 154
- Morgan, Bernard, 106n
- Morocco, 51, 57, 240
- Mosbergen, Rudolf William, 18n, 22n, 23n, 130n
- Mount Faber, Singapore, 19
- Mousquet*, 19
- MSRI (Malaysian Sociological Research Institute) (est 1959–), 69, 107n, 245n, 249n, 252n, 259; *see also Intisari*
- M. S. V. R.*, 23
- Mu’āwīya b. Abī Sufyān, Umayyad Khalifa (r. 661–80): 43; anti-Mu’āwīya, 44n
- Mu’ayyad, al-*, (Cairo), 10, 43
- Mubāh/ħarus* (permitted), 233
- Müller, von-, Captain, 19n
- Mufiri: of Egypt, xi, 74, 125, 126n, 145, 157, 169, 223; *see also* Muḥammad ‘Abduh; of Johor, 79n, 115, 121, 281; of Makka, 73n; of Pahang, 16n, 280; of Pontianak, 73n; of Terengganu, 233n; States of Malaya excluding Perlis, xii–xiii
- Mughal Empire (1526–1858), 51, 64
- Muhājir, al-, (The Emigrant) (d. 956), 37n
- Muhammad, Sultan, (Riau-Lingga), (r. 1830–44), 266–7
- Muḥammad ‘Abduh, al-ustaz al-imām Shaykh, (1849–1905), xi, 10, 38, 66n, 74, 76n, 81n, 110, 113, 117, 120, 123, 124–7, 134n, 140, 145, 148n, 157n, 158, 162, 163–71, 210n, 222n, 223–5, 226n, 240, 279, 280, 285; *see also* Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Pan-Islāmic movement; Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā; *umma*
- Muḥammad ‘Alī, Maulvi, (d. 1951), 116, 134, 143n, 282
- Muhammad Ali b. Syed Ahmad, Syed, 66n
- Muḥammad ‘Alī Zaynal, 248
- Muhammad ‘Aqil (Akil) b. Yahya, Syed, *see* ‘Aqil (Akil) b. Yahya, Syed Muhammad
- Muhammad ‘Arif ibni Raja Mahmud, Raja Haji, (Tengku Chik), 73n, 109n, 110n, 111n, 112n, 123n, 129n, 274–7, 278
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *see* Wahhāb, al-, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd
- Muhammad Daud, 80n
- Muhammad Fadhullah Suhaimi, Shaykh, (d. June 1964), 282
- Muhammad Fadzil (of Penang), 251
- Muhammad Hassan, 283
- Muhammad ibni Raja Abdullah, Raja, 5n, 274
- Muḥammad Kiamil Bey, Ottoman Consul-General, Batavia/Singapore, 7
- Muhammad Nor Faiz (of Perak), 251
- Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Shaykh, (1865–1935), xi, 10n, 11, 38–9, 42–8, 55n, 60, 66n, 74, 76n, 110, 117, 126–7, 148n, 222n, 240, 278, 280, 285; *see also* Muḥammad ‘Abduh; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Pan-Islāmic movement; *umma*
- Muhammad Rouse b. Chee, 135, 152
- Muhammad Saleh, Shaykh, 73
- Muhammad Taha b. Muḥammad Fadhullah Suhaimi, Haji, (1916–08 June 1999), 282
- Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaluddin al-Azhari al-Falaki, Shaykh, (1869–1956): xi, 75–6, 77, 80n, 81, 97n, 98–9, 101n, 112, 113, 117, 143, 149, 161, 240, 250, 256, 278–9, 280, plate 10; son: Hamdan b. Sheikh Tahir, Tun Dato’ Seri (Dr.) Haji (q.v.)
- Muhammad Yunus b. Abdul Hamid, *see* Mohd. Yunus b. Abdul Hamid
- Muhammad Yusof b. Ahmad, *see* To’ Kenali
- Muhammad Yusof b. Ahmad (Pandita Za’ba’s brother), 284–5

- Muhammad Yusof b. Sultan Maidin, 282  
 Muhammad Yusuf ibni Raja Ali. Raja, 10<sup>th</sup>  
 Yamtuan Muda (r. 1857–99), 3, 4n, 75n,  
 266, 271–2, 274–5  
 Muhammad Zain b. Haji Ayub, Haji,  
 (1897–?), 143, 286  
*Muhammadan*, 283n  
 Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, *see*  
 Aligarh University  
 Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesia (est  
 1912), 125n, 127, 286  
 Muḥarram (1<sup>st</sup> month of Islāmic year), 232n,  
 233, 245  
*Mukaddimah fi intiẓām waḡā'if al-malik*  
*khusūsan ilā mala' wa ṣuḥbān wa*  
*ikhwān. Al-riwayah mempersembahkan*  
*hidayat ini akan jadi peringatan*  
*keHadrat al-Marhum Yangdipertuan*  
*Muda Raja Ali* (Introduction to the  
 Systematic Arrangement of the Duties  
 of the King especially concerning the  
 Nobles, the Companions and Fellow  
 Men. An account offered as a wise  
 counsel to be a memorial to His Excel-  
 lency the late Yang Dipertuan Muda  
 Raja Ali), 2n  
 Mukallā, al-, Ḥaḡramawt, 37  
 Mukhtār Pāshā, Aḡmad, 34n  
 Mukim (parish), 109n  
 Munkar and Nakir (angel inquisitors), 100, 221  
*Munshi* (language teacher), 260  
 Muntadā, al-, al-Adabī (Literary Club)  
 (1912), 55n  
*Muqaddima* (Prolegomena), 219n  
*Muqāranat* (contemporaneity), 210  
 Murād III, Sultān, (1574–95), 6n  
*Murīd*(s) (novice(s)), 4n  
*Murshid*(s) (spiritual guide(s)), 4, 210, 275  
 Musāfir (traveller), 236n  
*Muṣawwar, al-*, (Portrayal) (Cairo), 66n  
*Muṣḡaf, al-, al-Sulṭānī al-Ḥamīdī*, 248  
*Muslim, The*, 283–4n  
 Muslim Advisory Board, Singapore, 131  
 Muslim attraction to Japan, *see under* Japan  
 Muslim reform movement, *see* Islāmic  
 reform movement  
*Muslim Standard, The*, 283–4n  
 Muslim World/Empire, 52, 56–8, 64–7, 74n,  
 163–4, 167  
 Muslims generally, *see under* Umma  
 Mussolini, Benito, (1883–1945), 16n  
 Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874–1908), 12  
 Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) (1880–1938), 38n,  
 66n, 67, 68, 86n, 131, 196–7n  
 Mutiny, Singapore, *see* Singapore: Mutiny;  
 Indian Mutiny  
*Muwaḡḡidūn* (Unitarians), 77n, 240n  
 Mysticism, *see* Ṣūfī/Ṣūfism  
 Nabihah, *see under* Hady, al-, Syed Alwi b.  
 Shaykh: wives  
 Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia, (est 1926), 185  
 Najaf, 'Irāq, 47  
 Najd, Sū'ūdī 'Arabīya, 65n  
 Najjār, al-, Shaykh Aḡmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b.  
 Ṣāliḡ, 242, 249  
 Nakir, *see* Munkar  
 Namazee, Mirza Mohammad Ali, 35  
 Naples, Italy, 212n  
 Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), 178  
 Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), 269  
 Naqshabandiya Tariqa: 4, 73n, 111n, 141n,  
 275n; Khālīdī branch, 4n  
*Nasab* (descent), 39  
*Nasā'ih, al-*, (Advices), 44n  
*Naṣīḡat ul-Mulūk* (Counsel for Kings), 2n  
*Naṣṣ* (text of scripture), 233  
 Nathan, J. E., 91n  
 National Archives, Kuala Lumpur, 248n  
 National Heart Institute, Kuala Lumpur, 106n  
 National (Raffles) Library, Singapore, 132n  
 National Teacher Award, 143n  
 Nationalist movement, 124, 127, 131, 136n,  
 144, 158, 160, 162n, 213, 283n; *see also*  
 'Arab Revolt; Kelantan: anti-British  
 uprising (1915); Pre-nationalism;  
 Singapore: Mutiny  
 Native courts/tribunals, Egypt, 125, 134n  
 Natives: 193, 194, 208, 213–14;  
 American/Australian, 138  
 Natuna: Anambas Archipelago, 5n; Islands,  
 75n  
 Nawawi, Ustaz, 252n  
*Nayl al-Awṡār* (Attainment of Purposes),  
 245n, 252  
 Nazir Mallal, *see* Mallal, Nazir  
 "Need for an Anglo-Malay School"  
 ("Sekolah Anglo-Malay"), 152, 206–8  
 Negeri Sembilan, 91n, 130n, 282, 284n  
*Neracha* (The Scales) / *al-Mizān* (The  
 Balance) (1911–15), 16–17, 75n, 130  
 Netherlands East Indies/Netherlands Indies:  
 8, 17, 37, 71, 119, 265, 271–3; and  
 Japan, 9–13; *see also* Dutch and *under*  
 Riau  
 Netscher, E., Resident, 5n, 270n  
 Neurosurgery, 106–7  
 New Group, New Faction, *see* Kaum Muda  
*New Straits Times*, Kuala Lumpur, 185n  
 New York, 103, 106, 259, 260  
*Newsweek*, 184n  
 Ngee Ann College, Singapore, 261

- Niat*. *see* *Nīya*
- Niger, 241n
- Nik Ahmad b. Nik Hassan, 121n, 130n, 142n, 143n, 161n
- Nik Mahmud b. Ismail, Dato' Bentara Stia, 198n
- Nīya/niat* (intention), 210n, 221, 253
- Nobel Prize, 165n
- Noer, *see* Deliar Noer
- Non-Malays/non-Muslims in Malaya/  
Singapore, 91–2, 181–5, 189–94, 207, 211–12, 213–18, 254, 260, 283n, 285n
- Non-Sāda, 36–48
- Noor Hashim, Captain, 103
- Novi Pazar, Sanjaq of, 16
- Nusa dan Bangsa Melayu* (The Malays and Their Homeland), 136n
- N. Y. K. Mishima Maru*, 85n, 257
- Omar Farouk Shaeik Ahmad, 79n
- Ong Sam Leong, 112n
- Ong Siang Song, Sir, 112n
- Onn Ja'afar, Dato', (1895–1962), 103, 104n, 260, plate 14
- Orang Asli (Original People of Malaya), 190, 246–7
- “Orang China Mengaku Semenanjung Negeri-nya, dan kata-nya Bukan Negeri Melayu?!” (A Chinese Claims the Peninsula to be His Country and not that of the Malays?!), 160
- Ord, Sir Harry St. George, (1819–85), Governor, 177n
- Orel*, 23
- Oriental peoples, 12
- Oriental Secretary, British Agency, Cairo, 55
- Orkhan b. 'Othmān (r. 1326–62), 49n
- Orthodox Christians, *see* Christians
- 'Osmān Amīn, 124n, 125, 126n
- Osman Hassan, 132n
- Osman Khan, Havildar, 26–7, 29
- Osman/Othman ibn Sultan Abdul Rahman (of Riau-Lingga), Tengku, 267–8, plates 3, 4
- 'Othmān: 49n; house of, 50
- 'Othmānīca (Osmānīca) language, 48–9
- Ottoman Decentralisation Party, 55n
- Ottoman ('Othmānī) Khalīfat: 6, 7n, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15–16, 20, 33n, 36–7, 38n, 45, 48–54, 55n, 65, 74n, 85n, 196n, 220n; and Britain, 17, 18–20, 27, 36–7; and Japan, 10; and Malays, 8–9, 17–18; and Patani Malays, 8; and Wahhābīs, 139; anti-Ottoman propaganda, 36; Chamber of Deputies, 54, 63n; Constitution (1876), 51, 53; Consul-General: Batavia, 7, Rangoon, 25–30, Singapore, 7; deposition of Sulṭān (1909), 54, 196–7; disestablishment of Sulṭānate (1922), 38n, 54, 66n, 67, 131, 196–7; Janissaries, 6–7n; professional-Ottomans, 7n, 49; Red Crescent Society, 17; Sublime Porte, 53; Sulṭāns: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (1876–1909), 7–10, 46n, 48–54, 57, 63n, 64–5, 248n, Mehmed V Reshād (1909–18), 65; *see also* 'Arab Revolt; Central Powers; Germany; *Jihād*; Muṣṭafā Kemāl; Triple Entente; Turco-Italian War; Turkey; and *under* Treaties
- Ottomanism, 54
- Overbeck, H. O., 275n
- Padang Panjang, Sumatra, 151n
- Padang Rengas, Perak, 148n
- Padi / Sawahs* (irrigated rice-fields): 233n; planting, 92
- Pahala* (reward from God), 140n, 233–4, 236
- Pahang: 91n, 105, 267n, 268; State Scholarship, 105; *see also under* Sultan
- Pahlawan Nasional* (re Raja Haji Fisabilillah), 274–5n
- Pak Sako. *see* Ishak Haji Muhammad
- Pakistan: 282n; Overseas League, 112n
- Palembang, Sumatra, Indonesia, 103, 259
- Palestine, 43, 60–4, 67, 68, 148n, 150n, 151n
- Pan-Islamic movement, 7, 43n, 52, 57, 59n, 74n, 123, 131, 137, 149n, 158, 162n, 196n, 240; *see also* *Umma*
- Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) (est 1951), 151
- Pandita (Savant), 116n
- Pandita Za'ba, *see* Za'ba
- Panduan*, 251n
- Panduan Truna* (1930–), 132
- Panglima Awang*, 118
- Panji-panji Melayu*, 3n
- Papua (Papua New Guinea/Irian), 183–4
- Paradise, 234
- Paris, France, 55n, 123–5, 259
- Parit Buntar, Perak, 259
- Parkinson, Cyril Northcote, (1909–?), 15n
- Partai Nasional Indonesia (est 1927), 136n
- Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (est 1929), 162n
- Pasir Panjang, Singapore, 25–6, 28
- Pasir Puteh, Kelantan, 32
- Patani Malay Muslims, 8–9, 147
- Pathans, 18
- Pati Achir b. Dato' Mohd. Shah, 103n
- Pawanchik Alwi & Co., 259
- Paxton, E. H., 164n
- Pekanbaru, Riau, 5n
- Pen Friends, *see* Sahabat Pena
- Penang: xiii, 19, 68, 69, 72n, 79, 80, 81, 82n, 85, 87, 88–9, 91n, 93–4n, 95, 97n, 99,

- Penang: (*cont.*)  
 106, 115, 161, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248,  
 249–52, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261:  
 Broadcasting Station, 260; Malay  
 Teachers Association, 143n
- Pengasoh* (The Educator) (July 1918–), 132,  
 198–200
- Pengerang Signal Station, Johor, 15
- Penghulu* (headman), 142n, 181
- Peninsula Malays Movement (PMM)  
 (est 1946), 104n, 260
- Penrose, Stephen, 86n
- Penyengat Island, *see under* Pulau
- Pepper, 265
- Perak: 19, 22, 27, 73, 91n, 99, 103, 130n,  
 147n, 148n, 151n, 193, 229–30, 237,  
 244–5, 251–2, 255n, 256, 259, 278,  
 279, 283, 284, 286: Council of Re-  
 gency, 143n; Royal Family, 244–5;  
 State Council, 143n; *see also* Sultans  
 of Perak
- Peranakan. *see* Melayu-Peranakan
- Pergerakan Melayu Semenanjung. *see*  
 Peninsula Malays Movement (PMM)
- Perlis: xii–xiii, 9n, 32, 150, 244, 255n; State  
 Constitution, xii–xiii, 150n, 234n, 244
- Persahabatan* (Friendship) (1936–7), 93n
- Persatuan Melayu Riau Sejati (Association of  
 Pure Riau Malays), 266
- Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena. *see* Sahabat Pena
- Persekutuan al-Ikhwān al-Masākīn (Associa-  
 tion of Brothers of the Poor), Penang  
 (est 1929), 157–8
- Persekutuan Rushdiyyah (Rushdiyyah Club),  
 Riau, 4, 5n, 111, 276
- Perserikatan Dagang Ahmadi (Ahmadi  
 Trading Company), Riau, 5n
- Perseverance Estate (about 1,000 acres in  
 Geylang Serai, Singapore), 33n
- Persia/Persians, 48n, 52, 58, 59, 66n, 123–4,  
 242n
- Persian Gulf, 55, 56, 65n
- Petaling Jaya, Selangor, 261
- Philippines, 15, 138
- Pickthall, Mohammed Marmaduke, (1875–  
 1936), 2n, 176n, 178n, 201n, 211n, 212n,  
 214n, 237n
- Picot, François, French Consul-General,  
 Beirut, 61
- Pilgrimage. *see* *Hajj*
- Pinang Agricultural Show (1901), 75n
- Pineapple industry, 33n, 91n
- Pinjaras (Muslim sect), 31
- Pirates, 269
- Plain of Estraelon, Palestine, 63n
- Plantations. *see* Rubber
- Pohon Perhimpunan* (The Gathering Tree or  
 The Assembly Place), 5n
- Pondok*: 230–1: schools/teachers, 70, 72, 89,  
 91, 92n, 93, 94, 146–7, 149, 198n,  
 230–3; *see also* *Lebai Pondok*
- Pondok Bangkak, Kelantan, 92n
- Pondok Paya, Kota Bharu, 92n
- Port Said, Egypt, 6, 257
- Portugese, 90n
- Post and Telegraph Club, Singapore, 112n
- Poverty, xiv, 216; *see also* Malays: poverty  
 “Poverty of the Malays, The”, *see*  
 “Kemiskinan Orang-orang Melayu”
- Praise, 120, 173–6, 213
- Prayers/*ṣalāt*, 90, 110n, 210n, 229–34, 235–6
- Pre-nationalism, 135, 137, 157, 158, 162n
- Prinsep Street, Singapore, 112, 114
- Prizren, Kosova, 16n
- Profit, 213
- Property, forfeiture of, 24–5
- Prophet Dā’ūd, 210
- Prophet Muḥammad (570–632): xin, xii, 39,  
 46, 53, 73, 79, 81, 110n, 119, 126, 137,  
 140, 146, 159n, 164, 176, 195, 197,  
 201–2, 210, 211–12, 216, 218, 219,  
 231–6, 239, 245, 246, 253–4; descend-  
 ants, 36–48, 53, 109
- Province Wellesley, 81, 148n, 230, 231
- Puasa*. *see* Fasting
- Public Service Commission of Singapore, 118n
- Pulau (Island)/Archipelago: Abang, 1n;  
 Batam, 1n, 75n, 276; Bintan, 1n, 129,  
 268; Brani, 19; Karimun, 1n; Kundur, 1n;  
 Mapor, 1n; Midai, 5n; Panggalap, 1n;  
 Penyengat Indra Sakti, 1–2, 3n, 4n, 70,  
 71–3, 75, 83n, 109, 111, 121, 129, 257,  
 269, 271, 272, 274n, 276; Segantang  
 Lada, 79; Sentosa, 19; Tujoh Archipelago,  
 5n, 265, 271
- Punca Penerangan ‘Aqal* (Source of Enlight-  
 enment), divider preceding 1, 150n
- Purcell, Victor, (1896–1964), 91n
- Putera Gunung Tahan* (The Prince of Mount  
 Tahan), 136n
- Putera Kelab, Kelantan (1929), 144n
- Quḍā’* (Allah’s eternal decree), 3n, 95, 157n,  
 222
- “Qadā’ dan Qadar”/“Qadā’ wa al-Qadar, 157n  
*Qadar*, 157n, 222
- Qāḍī. *see* Kathi
- Qāḍiān, Punjab, 116n
- ‘Qādiyānī’, 116n, 284
- Qāhira, al-, (Cairo), 163n
- Qaḥṭān (a legendary ancestor of the ‘Arabs),  
 55n

- Qaḥṭāniya, al-, 55n, 60n  
 Qā'im, al-, Khalīfa, (1031–75), 49n  
*Qaṣīda* (ancient 'Arabic poetic form), 241  
 Qāsim Bey Amīn (1863–1908), 81, 117, 134, 153  
 Qibla, 36  
*Qibla*, al-, 37, 64  
 Qu'ayli, al-, Ghālib b. 'Awad, Sultān of Hadramawt, 37  
 Qudrat Shah, S., 282  
 Qur'an, al-: xii, 2n, 44, 58, 73, 79, 81, 89, 91, 92, 94, 120, 127, 134, 139–40, 141n, 146, 150n, 156, 164, 165n, 166–7, 176, 178, 181–5, 191–3, 197n, 200, 201–3, 209–10, 211–12, 214, 217n, 218, 221, 223–4, 234, 235, 236–7, 239, 244, 245, 247, 252, 282; recitation (*Tilāwat al-Qur'an*), 247  
 Quraysh (tribe of Prophet Muḥammad), 38n, 126, 137, 236  
  
*Rabb al-'ālamīn* (God of the universe), 191  
 Radio Singapore, 118n  
 Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, (1781–1826), 269, 270  
 Raffles Hotel: Mangerai, 259; Singapore, 34n  
 Raffles Institution, Singapore, 129n, 257  
 Raffles Quay, Singapore, 75n  
 Railway: Baghdād, 55; Damascus-Madīna, 53  
 Raja Haji Fisabilillah (martyred 1784), 4<sup>th</sup> Yamtuan Muda, 5, 268, 269, 274–5  
 Raja Muda (Heir Apparent), 251, 268  
*Rajas*, see Malay: sultans  
 Rajput tribes, India, 18  
*Raka'at/rak'a* (division of ritual prayer), 205, 235–6  
 Ramaḍān/Bulan Puasa/Fasting month, 90, 110n, 235, 241, 243  
 Rander, Surat, Bombay Presidency, India, 25, 31  
 Rangoon, Burma, 23, 25–7  
 Rashīd Riḍā, see Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā  
 Rawa family of Sumatra, 279  
 "Real Cry, The" ("Teriak Sa-benar"), 138, 159, 186–8, 189–94, 284n  
 "Real Praise is Man's Spiritual Food" ("Puji Yang Sa-benar Makanan Nyawa Manusia"), 120, 173–6  
 Red Crescent Society, Istanbul, 17  
 Red Sea, 56, 65n  
 Reformation (Christian), see Luther, Martin  
 Reid, Anthony, (1939– ), 1n, 10n  
 Religious: authorities, xiii, 93, 144n, 198n, 255; books, 145–6; knowledge, 206; leaders, 73, 144, 158, 185, 195–7, 217–18, 219–25, 229–30, see also *ulamā'*; periodicals, 141–4; schools, 78, 79–80, 93, 96, 114, 115, 142n, 146–52, 206–7, 240, 243, 249–50; teachers, 146–7, 282  
 Reuters, 17  
 "Reward after Death" ("Pahala Kemudian daripada Mati"), 140n, 233–4  
 Riau: 1, 3n, 5n, 13, 72–3, 91, 95, 109, 121, 152; and Dutch, 1, 13, 79, 112, 128–9, 265–70, 274n; and *Imām*, al-, 11; and Japan, 9–15; Archipelago, 273; Dutch attack on (1783), 274n; exodus from, 13, 129, 273; nobility/princes, 7, 73, 123, 177n; position of women, 4n, 123; residence of Sultan, 1, 269, 271; see also Abdul Rahman, Tengku/Sultan: Bugis; Persekutuan Rushdiyyah; Riau-Lingga; Riau Sultanate; Rumah Waqaf; Treaties between the Dutch and Riau; Treaties: 1824, Anglo-Dutch; and under Hady, al-, Syed Shaykh  
 Riau-Lingga: kingdom, 1, 70, 73, 265, 268, 271; Pulau-Pulau Segantang Lada, 79; seat of government, 71; Sultanate, 73, 265–7, 271  
 Riau Sultanate: abolition (1913), 129, 158, 271, 273; annexation by Dutch (1913), 271; restoration movement, 14, 265–8; see also Abdul Rahman, Tengku/Sultan  
*Ribā* (usury), 76, 113, 120, 125–6, 130, 157, 280, 281  
 RIDA (Rural and Industrial Development Authority) (est 1950), 261  
 Ridout, Brigadier-General Dudley, 36  
 "Riouw en Onderhoorigheden" (Riau and Dependencies), 271–3  
*Risalah Penting pada Masa'alah Jilat Anjing di-atas Empat Mazhab* (Important Pamphlet on the Question of Being Licked by a Dog according to the Four Schools of Islamic Law), 280  
*Risālat al-fawā'id al-wāfiyyat fī sharḥ ma'nā al-taḥfiyat* (Treatise on the Comprehensive Benefits in Commenting on the Salutation), 5n, 73n  
*Risalat al-Tauḥīd* (The Theology of Unity), 126n, 163–71, 223; see also *Tawḥīd*  
 Rīyāq, Syria, (now Rīyāk, Lebanon), 258  
 Robert College, Istanbul, (est 1863), 86n  
 Robinson Road, Singapore, 114  
 Robson, J., 210n  
 Roff, W. R., 32n, 83n, 198n  
 Romania, 52  
 Rome, Italy, 49n  
*Ronggeng* (Malay dance), 90  
 Rosenthal, Franz, (b. 1914), 219n  
 Royal Army Service Corps of British Army, Beirut, 258

- Rozhan b. Kuntom. 115n. 147n  
 Rubber: estates. 33n. 91n. 254; Japanese-owned estates, 12–13; prices. 96; small-holders. 92. 96  
 Ruby bt. Abdullah. *see under* Hady, al-  
 Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi: wife  
 Rulers. 167–8: *see also* Malay: sultans  
 Rulers' Conferences, 144  
 Rüm, Sulṭānate of. 49n  
 Rumah Suluk. *see* Šūfi  
 Rumah Waqaf (Trust property). 111. 276  
*Rushd* (the right way). 4  
 Rusdhiyyah. *see* Persekutuan Rusdhiyyah  
 Russia/Russians: 5n. 7. 9. 10. 17. 19. 23. 32. 51. 52. 57. 58. 62. 64. 74n. 123. 128. 131. 196n; Fleet. 9. 23; Revolution. *see* Bolsheviks; Russo-Japanese War (1904–5). 9. 128; Russo-Turkish War (1877–8). 6. 74n  
 Rustow, Dankwart A.. (1924–96). 131n  
*Ru'ya* (sighting [of the moon]). 90  
 Sab'īya. 45n  
 Sāda (Syeds/Sayyids) (descendants of Prophet Muḥammad): 32n. 36–48. 109. 126; register of births. Jakarta. 40  
*Sadakah/Ṣadaqa* (voluntary alms). 44n. 46. 231–2. 233–4  
 Šadiq Bāshā. 46n  
 Šafar (2<sup>nd</sup> month of Islāmic year). 245  
 Safiah bt. Raja Ali Haji. Raja. 72. 110  
 Safie Ibrahim. 38n. 41n. 130n. 150n  
*Safwah, al-*. Penang. 243n. 246n. 249n. 250n  
 Sago plantations. 5n. 33n  
 Sahabat Pena (Pen Friends). 98. 99n. 103. 247. 254. 260  
 Sa'ida'in of Balik Pulau. Penang. 246  
 Saif al-Dīn al-Yamanī (pseudonym). 10n. 43; *and see* 'Aqil (Akil) b. Yahya. Syed Muhammad  
 Saints. 41. 139n. 168. 170. 239n. 240n  
*Salaf, al-*. *al-ṣāliḥ* (pious forefathers). 148n. 239n  
*Salafīya*. 148n. 239  
*Ṣalāt*. *see* Prayers  
 Saleh Minangkabauī, Haji. 73n. 111. 276  
 Saljūq (Turks). 49n  
 Salonika (now Greece). 54. 196n  
 "Salvation of the Malays. The" ("Jalan Keselamatan bagi Orang-orang Melayu"). 120  
 Šan'ā'. al-Yaman. 45n  
 Šana'ānī. al-. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Šulāh al-Amīr al-Kaḥlānī. 245n. 251n. 252n  
*Sandiwara*. *see* *Bangsawan*  
 Sangor, India. 18  
 Sanskrit. 112n  
 Sanūsī. al-. Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sharīf. (1873–1933). 16n. 59n  
 Sanūsī Fraternity. 59n  
 Sarekat Dagang Islam. Solo, Indonesia. (est 1905). 162n  
 Sarekat Islam. Indonesia. (est 1912). 162n  
 Satun. 100n. 183. 212  
*Saudara* (Brother) (1928–41). 3n. 70n. 80. 82. 93–4. 97–8. 99n. 100n. 105. 118–19. 132–3. 134n. 143–4. 150n. 160n. 198–200. 234n. 246n. 253–4. 259. 260. 279. 285  
*Sawahs*. *see* *Padi*  
 Sawmills. 33n  
 Saxons. 226  
 Sayyid/Syeds. *see* Sāda  
 Schacht, J.. (1902–69). 126n. 163n. 223n  
 Schrieke, B. J. O.. (1890–1945). 39n. 40n. 42. 135n  
 Schwartz, Resident. 5n  
 Science. 10. 12. 33. 78. 158. 213  
 Scott, C. P.. 63n  
 Scouts. 142  
 Seang Teik Road. Penang. 243. 253n. 255  
 Seberang Prai. Province Wellesley. 81. 231  
*Secret of the Advancement of the Anglo-Saxons. The*. 226  
 Secundar Khan, Havildar. *see* Sikandar Khan  
*Sedjarah dan Perjuangan di Malaya* (History and Struggle in Malaya). 136n  
*Segan* (reluctance). 184  
*Sejarah 'Alam Melayu* (Malay Annals). 118  
*Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah dalam Perang Melawan Belanda (1782–1784)* (History of Raja Haji's Struggle *fi sabīl* Allāh (in the way of God) in the war against the Dutch (1782–1784)). 274–5  
 Sekayu oilfield. 259  
*Sekitar Malaya Merdeka* (Concerning Independent Malaya). 136n  
 Sekolah al-Diniyyah. Perak. 148n  
 Sekolah al-Qur'ān. Penang. 79n  
*Sekolah pondok*. *see under* Pondok  
 Selangor: 91n. 261. 267n. 268. 275n. 284n; Club, Kuala Lumpur. 255n; *see also under* Melaka  
 Selby, Dr. Roy. 106–7  
 Self-aggrandisement. *see* *Membesarkan diri*  
 Selīm I. Sulṭān. (1512–20). 6n  
 Selīm III. Sulṭān. (1789–1807/8). 6n. 7n  
*Semangat Islam*. 150n  
*Sembahyang*. *see* Prayers  
 Sembob, Tengku. 75n  
 Sepoys/Mutiny (Rebellion). 18–31. 130

- Serangoon Road, Singapore, 112n  
 Serb revolt (1804), 7n  
 Serbia, 16, 52; *see also* Slav  
*Seruan A'zhar* (1925–8), 66n, 143n, 150n  
*Setia* (loyalty), 155n  
*Setia Ashek Kepada Ma'ashok-nya*, *see*  
*Hikayat Faridah Hanum, atau Setia*  
*Ashek Kepada Ma'ashok-nya*  
 Shāfi'ī, al-, Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad  
 b. Idris, (767–820), 45n, 202, 210n, 234n  
 'Shafi'ī al-Gharib', 282  
 Shāfi'ī: School of Law (*mazhab*), xii, 141n,  
 150n, 217n, 229, 243, 244, 245n, 252;  
 scholars, 230  
 Shafik Effendi, 154, 155n  
*Shahādā: al-Ālimīya*, 250; *al-Āliya* (Highest  
 Certificate), 242n, 250n  
 Shāhjahān (r. 1628–58), 64n  
*Sha'ir: Perang Johor* (describes wars between  
 Johor and Aceh in 17 C.) of Raja Ahmad  
 ibni Raja Haji, 275n; *Perjalanan Sultan*  
*Mahmud Riau-Lingga* (Rhymed Poem on  
 the Adventures of Sultan Mahmud), of  
 Raja Khalid Hasan (Raja Hitam), 5n; four  
*Sha'ir* by Raja Ali Haji ibni Ahmad:  
*Sinar Gemala Mustika* (Rhymed Poem on  
 a Precious Gem); *Siti Shiana* (Rhymed  
 Poem on Siti Shiana); *Suluh Pegawai*  
 (Rhymed Poem on the Enlightened  
 Officer); *Sultan Abdul Muluk* (Rhymed  
 Poem of Sultan Abdul Muluk), (1847),  
 2n; and *Unggas or Burong* (Rhymed  
 Poem on Birds), (1859), of Raja Hasan  
 ibni Raja Ali Haji, 275n  
 Shalīd, Haji 'Abd al-Qādir, 242n, 245n  
 Shalīd, Shaykh al-Faqīh Muḥammad, 242  
*Shams, al-, al-Mushriqa* (The Rising Sun), 12  
*Sharī'a* (canon law of Islām), 4n, 46, 48n, 52,  
 79, 95, 115, 130n, 150n, 156n, 182, 184,  
 222, 229, 245, 246, 247, 280  
 Sharī'a High Court, Makka, 99n, 248  
 Shariah Court, Singapore, 230n, 282  
 Shari'ati, 'Alī, (1933–77), xin, dividers preced-  
 ing 239, 257  
*Sharīf* (nobility), 52n  
 Sharīf(s) of Makka pre-1909 appointment of  
 Sharīf Husayn ibn 'Alī, 52–3  
 Sharīfa: of Singapore, 38; of Solo, Indonesia,  
 39–40  
 Sharma, Datuk Dr. D. C., 106n  
 Shaṭā, Syed Bākri, 229–30  
 Shawkānī, al-, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b.  
 Muḥammad, (1760–1839), 245n, 252n  
 Shaykh al-Islām: of Kedah, 233; of Ottoman  
 Khalīfat, 58; of Perak, 73  
 Shaykh(s)/Sheikh, 40n, 163–6, 170  
 Sheppard, Mubin, (1905–94), 90n  
*Sherlock Holmes*, 119  
 Sherwood, Elizabeth J., 64n, 212n  
 Shī'a (partisans of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), 43–8,  
 232n  
 Shidyāq, Ahmad Fāris, (of Lebanon)  
 (1804–87), 34n  
 Shihāb, Syed Abū Bakr b., 44, 46  
 Shihab, Syed Ahmad b., 259  
 Shihab, Syed Hasan b. Alawi b., 39n  
*Shirk* (polytheism), 82, 239–40  
*Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4n, 43n,  
 45n, 65n, 66n, 73n, 77n, 126n, 127n,  
 137n, 139n, 141n, 157n, 163n, 171n,  
 222n, 223n  
 Shrine(s), 41  
 Siak, Sumatra, Indonesia, 268  
 Siam/Siamese Government, 8–9, 14n, 147n,  
 237, 255n  
 Siberia, Southern, 48n  
 Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī, *see* Sanūsī,  
 al-, Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sharīf  
 Sikandar/Secundar Khan, Havildar, 26–7  
 Sikhs: 64n; 36<sup>th</sup> Sikhs, 22  
 Silk, 234–5  
*Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan Sekalian*  
*Raja-rajanya* (Genealogy of Malay and  
 Bugis Princes), 2n, 71–2, 110, 122  
*Sinar Zaman*, 93n  
 Singapore: 1, 2n, 4n, 6–10, 11, 12–14, 15, 17n,  
 22, 33–5, 51, 58, 66n, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79,  
 90n, 95, 99n, 105, 111n, 112, 114, 132n,  
 151n, 153n, 177n, 183–4, 243, 257, 259,  
 260, 265, 266, 276, 278, 280, 282, 283–4;  
 and Britain, 51, 68, *see also* Mutiny  
 (1915) below; 'Arab Club, 112, 276;  
 'Arabs, 33–6, 37, 38–9, 66n, 183n;  
 Bishop of, 23; Chinese, 23, 183, 184n,  
 265–6; Governor, *see* Young, Sir Arthur  
 H.; Japanese plantations, 12; Kesatuan  
 Melayu Singapura (Singapore Malay  
 Union), 131, 184n, 283n; Malays, 183–4;  
 Municipal Board, 35; Muslims, 33–6;  
 Mutiny (1915), 17n, 18–36, 58, 130;  
 sultanate, 35, 269–70; trading centre, 1;  
 Volunteer Rifles, 19; *see also* Straits  
 Settlements  
*Singapore and Straits Directory*, 112n, 114,  
 135n  
*Singapore Free Press*, 21, 260  
 Singh, Dr. Karpal, 106n  
 Sino-Japanese War (1895), 15  
 Siqillī, al-, Jawhar al-Kātib, 163n  
 Siti Hanifah Ahmad, 148n  
 Sity (Siti) bt. Kra Eng Chanda Pulih (Sultan  
 of Goa (q.v.)), Rajah(h), (d. 18 April 1891

- Syria/Sūriya: Greater Syria, 43n, 53, 55n, 56, 57, 60–1, 62, 64, 67, 123, 126, 193, 196n, 240, 241n, 258
- Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, (1866–1920), 86n, 153, 258; *see also* American University of Beirut
- Tafsīr al-Fāṭiḥa* (Commentary on the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter of al-Qurʾān), 81, 117
- Tafsīr Juzʾ ʿAmma Yatasāʾ alūn* (Commentary on the last 37 chapters of al-Qurʾān), 81, 120
- Tag, Berlin, 28
- Tāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), 164–6, 169–71
- Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari al-Falaki, Shaykh, *see* Muhammad Tahir b. Jalaluddin al-Azhari al-Falaki, Shaykh
- Tahrīr al-Marʾa* (Emancipation of Woman), 81n, 117, 134
- Tāʾif, Süʾūdī ʿArabīya, 242
- Taiping, Perak, 19, 22, 27, 103n, 130n, 143n, 151n, 237, 259
- Tāj, al-, al-muraṣṣaʿ bi-jawāhir al-Qurʾān wa al-ʿulūm* (The Crown Bedecked with the Jewels of al-Qurʾān and the Sciences), 10
- Tāj Mahal, India, 64n
- Tajwīd* (reciting al-Qurʾān with proper pronunciation and intonation), 247
- Takbīrat al-iḥrām*, 210n
- Takdīr/taqdīr* (the ‘decree’ of Allāh), 2n
- Taklīd, see Taqlīd*
- Talāk/talāq* (repudiation of wife), 156
- Talāl bin ʿAbd Allāh, King of Jordan, 67n
- Talḥīq* (combining interpretations of *mazhabs* (q.v.)), 251
- Tālībids, 44n
- Talkīn/talqīn* (instruction of the dead), 100, 140, 221, 231, 252, 253
- Taman Bahagia*, 151n
- Taman Pengetahuan* (The Garden of Knowledge) (1904–), 142
- Taman Penghiburan* (The Garden of Leisure), 5n
- Tan Cheng Lock, Sir Tun, (1883–1960), 184n
- Tanah Melayu (Malay Peninsula), 267n
- Tanahabang, Batavia (Jakarta), 259
- Tanāsukh al-arwāḥ* (transmigration of the soul), 246
- Tanglin, Singapore: 27; Detention Camp, 19
- Tanjung Malim, Perak, 284
- Tanjung Pagar, Singapore, 183
- Tanjung Pinang, Riau, 4n, 266, 274n
- Taqbīl* (kissing another’s hand), 41, 46n
- Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya, *see* Ibn Taymīya
- Taqīd* (traditionalism), xii, 140, 163, 166–7, 210, 223–4, 230, 253
- Tarāblus (Tripoli), Libya, 16n, 17, 34n, 54, 57, 59n, 241n, 242, 249
- Tarboosh (variation of *fez*), 170
- Tarīkh, al-, al-Islāmī* (The History of Islām), 81, 117, 145
- Tarīqa Muḥammadan, 240
- Tarīqa Naqshabandīya, *see* Naqshabandīya
- Tarīqa Taslīm, 81–2, 246n; *see also* Matahari
- Tartars/Muslim Tartars, 64, 220
- Taşawwuf, see* Şūfī/Şūfism
- Tasbīḥ*(s) (rosaries), 185, 232
- Taslīm, *see* Tarīqa Taslīm
- Tawfiq Pāshā, Khedive, (1852–92), 125n
- Tawḥīd* (asserting the Oneness of Allāh), 168, 210, 220, 225; *see also* *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*
- Technology, 7n, 10, 12, 33, 128, 158
- Tek Soon Street, Penang, 79
- Telok Anson, Perak, 251
- Telok Ayer Street, Singapore, 25–6
- Telok Belanga, Singapore, 72n, 265
- Tembelan Archipelago, 5n
- Temenggung of Johor, *see under* Sultans of Johor
- Tempassuk, Sabah, 269
- Tengku Ampuan Mariam, *see* Kolej Puteri Tengku Ampuan Mariam
- Tengku Besar, Tengku Umar of Riau, 265, 267, 272, 273, 276
- Terawih* (prayers), 235–6
- Terengganu, 9n, 12, 14, 32, 70–1, 72, 91n, 109, 233n, 268, 278
- Thailand, 9n; *see also* Siam
- Thamarat, al-, Mahammah* (The Benefits of Official Duties), 2n, 5n
- Theology of Unity, The, see* *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*
- Theresa, St., of Ávila, (1515–82), 212n
- Third World peoples, 9
- Thomas, Lowell, (1892–1981), 19n, 20n, 21n
- Thrace, Eastern, 54
- Thuraisingham, Datuk Dr. V., 106n
- Tibrīzī, al-, Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭīb, 210n
- Timbuktu, 241n
- Times, The*, 63n
- Tin mines/mining, 91n, 254
- Tithes, 110n
- “Titi al-Sirat al-Mustaqīm” (‘The Right Way’), 145
- Tjokroaminoto, Hadji Oemar Said, (1882–1934) (of Sarekat Islam, Indonesia), 162n
- T. M. Mohamed, Shaykh, 255
- To’ Janggut (c. 1853–hung 1915), 31–2
- To’ Kenali (1868–1933), 92n, 198n

- Tokugawa, Marquis Y., Supreme Adviser to the SEA Japanese Supreme Command, 260
- Tokyo University: 1907 establishment of Chair in Malay, 13
- Traditionalism, 167, 171: *see also* *Taqīd*; Turbans (as symbols)
- Transjordan/Jordan, 60, 64, 67n
- Transvaal Fatwā (of Muḥammad 'Abduh), 125
- 'Treason', 24–30
- Treasure Island*, 119
- Treaties: 1824, Anglo-Dutch, 1, 71, 109, 270; 1878, of San Stefano, 51; 1909, British Malaya and Siam, 14, 147n; 1913, of London, 16; 1920, of Sèvres, 196n
- Treaties between the Dutch and Riau: 1845, 3n, 271; 1857, 7; 1905, 8, 112, 128, 129n, 271; 1909, 271; 1910, proposed by the Dutch, 13, 128
- Triple Entente/Allies, Allied Forces/Entente/ (Christian, European) Powers (Russia, England and France), 55–64, 65n, 85n, 130, 196n; *see also* World War I
- Tripoli, *see* Tarāblus
- Tritton, A. S., (1881–1973), 44n
- Tsushima*, 23
- Tsushima battle (1905), 9
- Tuban, East Java, Indonesia, 125n
- Tughrilbeg (11<sup>th</sup> C.), 49n
- Tuḥfat al-Nafīs* (The Precious Gift), 2, 4, 72, 110, 122, 274–5
- Tumblebug (*ju' al*), 179
- Tunas Melayu* (The Malay Bud) (1913–15), 16, 17, 75n
- Tunis, Tunisia, 57, 125, 219n
- Tunisia, 7, 51, 57, 125, 219n, 240, 241n
- Turanian, 50; Turanianism/Pan-Turan doctrine, 54
- Turbans, 78n, divider preceding 163, 163, 165n, 170–1, 204–5, 232
- Turco-'Arab' Empire, 55n; peace, 62
- Turco-Italian War (1911–12), 16n, 34n, 59n, 130–1
- Turkey: 4, 20, 26–7, 36, 49n, 52, 59n, 66n, 68, 123, 130, 133, 144, 196, 198, 216; Kırsehir Prison, 197n; People's Party, 196n; Republic proclaimed 1923, 196–7n; *see also* Anadolu; Anatolia; Muṣṭafā Kemāl; Ottoman Khalīfat; Turkic; Turkish
- Turkic: people, 48n; tradition, 49; Turkomans, 49n; *see also* Turanian ...
- Turkish: anti-Turkish 'Arab youth, 258; Army, 258; crown, 55n; language, 53, 79n, 197n; Muslims, 59; nationality, 54; people, 48n, 50–1, 53–4, 86n; 'states', 48n
- Tusun, 'Umar Pāshā, (1872–1944), 34n
- Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, 33–4n, 75n
- '*Ulamā*' (pl. of 'ālim (q.v.)), xix, 4, 8, 66n, 73n, 82n, 89, 92–3, 99n, 113, 133, 138, 139, 142–3, 144n, 145, 148–9n, 150, 166, 198–200, 201–3, 217–18, 220–2, 225, 229–30, 234–5, 236n, 239–42, 246, 249–50, 252, 255, 281, 285; *see also* Religious; leaders
- '*Ulamā*' *mujtahidīn* ('*ulamā*' (q.v.) who exercise independent reasoning), 202
- Umar, Syed, 5n
- Umar, Tengku, *see* Tengku Besar, Tengku Umar of Riau
- Umayyad / Banū Umayya (661–750), 43, 45, 46
- Umma* (world-wide community of Muslims): xiii, 7, 17, 18, 33, 36, 43–7, 52, 64–7, 68, 86n, 166, 213, 240, 281; United Islām, 17n; *see also* Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Pan-Islāmic movement
- UMNO (United Malays National Organisation) (est 1946–): 103–4, 151n, 260; Penang, 100
- Under-king, Riau, *see* Yamtuan Muda (Yang Dipertuan Muda), Riau
- Unfederated Malay States, 118n
- Union, L'-. Féministe Égyptienne, (est 1923–), 134
- Unitarians, 139n
- United States of America, 15, 86n, 165n; *see also* America
- Universities: International Islamic University Malaysia, 245n, 252n; National University of Singapore, 116n; Sebha University, Libya, 239n; Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 136n, 239n; Universiti Malaysia Sabah, 249n; University of Malaya, 116n, 136n;
- '*Urwa, al., al-Wuṭṭāqā* (The Indissoluble Bond or The Strongest Link), 125, 127, 148n, 222n
- Uṣṣalli* (expressing one's *nīya* before prayers), 253
- Uṣūl* (traditional principles), 217n
- Usury, *see* *Ribā*
- 'Uthmān Effendī Raf' at, 78n, 114n
- 'Uthmānī (Ottoman) dynasty, 196n; *see also* Ottoman ('Othmānī) Khalīfat
- Utusan Melayu*: 1907–21, Singapore, 31n, 129–30, 132, 136n, 281; 1939–42, Singapore, 94n, 160, 283n; 1958–, Kuala Lumpur, 136n, 146n
- Utusan Zaman*, 284n

- Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) (United East India Company) (est 1602), 269
- Victoria, Queen. (1837–1901), 177n
- Victoria: Bridge School, Singapore. 11 In. 153, 257; Hall, 34
- Wahdat al-wujūd* (Unity of Being), 4n
- Wahhāb, al-, Muhammad b. 'Abd. (1703–87), 66n, 77n, 139n, 239, 240n
- Wahhābīs/Wahhābī Group: 66, 77, 139–40, 236–7, 240n; Movement, 59n, 139–40
- Wājib* (obligatory), 155n
- Wall, von de-, A. L., 4n
- Wan Anum/Engku Anum (nickname of Syed Shaykh al-Hady), 5n, 71, 110
- Waqaf* (*Waqf*) (Islāmic Trust/Endowment), 148n
- Waqā'ī*, al-, al-*Miṣrīya* (Egyptian Events), 124
- Warta Malaya* (News of Malaya), Singapore (1930–41), 94n, 132, 136n, 259
- Warta Negara*, 248
- Warta Negri* (1931–), 132
- Warta Timoer*, 93n
- Water, 92, 184
- Wayang Kulit* (Shadow Play), 90n
- Wayment, Hilary, 164n
- Weihaiwei Port, Shandong, China, 15
- Weizmann, Chaim. (1874–1952), 68n
- Weld Road, Singapore, 76
- Welvaren*, 274n
- Wensinck, A. J., (1882–1939), xin, xiin, 164n
- Wertheim, W. F., (1907–98), 127n, 135n, 159n, 162n
- “What is that Shriek in the Masjid?” (“Apakah Bunyi Jerit di-dalam Masjid itu?”), 146, 204–5
- Wilhelm II, Kaiser, (r. 1888–1918), 24
- Wilhelmina, Queen, (r. 1890–1948), 8, 13
- Wilkinson, Richard James, (1867–05 Dec. 1941), Colonial Secretary, 28, 34–5, 37
- Wilson, Woodrow, (U.S. President 1913–21), 86n
- Winstedt, Sir Richard Olaf, (1878–1967), 12n, 72n, 80n, 96n, 110n, 120n, 131n, 145n, 157n, 269n
- Witr/Witr*, 235–6
- Woking Mission, London, 116, 282n, 283n, 284n
- Wolfram, 14n
- Women(s): 226–8, 253–4; emancipation, 131–3, 153–4, 155n, 159–61, 226–8; position in Islām, 134n; wearing of veil, 4n, 153–4
- World War: One, 14n, 19, 32, 36–7, 42, 55, 57, 85–6n, 130–1, 162n, 196n, 258, *see also* Central Powers; Triple Entente; Two, 9, 68, 70n, 99n, 248, 265–6, *see also under* Japan/Japanese; Japanese in Malaya
- Wright, A., 34n
- Wudū'*/*wudhu'* (ablutions), 210n
- Yafī'ī, al-, family, of Penang, 99n, 243
- Yahyā, al-, 'Abd Allāh, 42
- Yahya, al-, Syed Abdul Aziz b. Muhammad, 257
- Yahyā, Imām, ruler of Yaman, 34n
- Yahyā, Imām al-Mutawakkil, of Yaman, 45n
- Yamaks* (auxiliary Janissaries (q.v.)), 6–7n
- Yaman (Yemen): 42, 45n, 56; Yamanī family, 99n, 243; Governor of, 34n
- Yamtuan Muda (Yang Dipertuan Muda), Riau, 1, 3, 5, 7–8, 13, 122, 266, 267–70, 271–2, 275n
- Yarborough, H. C. Cooke, 28
- Yemen, *see* Yaman
- Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 125n
- Young, Governor Sir Arthur H., (1907–79), 14, 20n, 21n, 22, 24, 32n, 37, 115n
- Young Muslim Union (YMU), Penang, 94, 135, 281
- Young Ottomans, 51
- Young Turks, *see* Committee of Union and Progress
- Yusuf, Ghulam-Sarwar, 90n
- Yuen Choy Leng, 15n, 33n
- Yusha', Bashīr Qāsim, 241n, 242n, 245n, 247n, 249n
- Yusof Na'im (from Perak), 244
- Yusuf Ishak, 283n
- Za'ba, Pandita ('Zain ul-Abidin' / Tan Sri Haji Dr. Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad) (1895–1973), xi, xix, 12n, 16n, 69, 74n, 76n, 80n, 92, 96n, 98n, 113, 116–22, 132n, 134n, 135, 142n, 143, 152, 155, 161, 189–94, 278–86
- Zaghūl Pāshā, Aḥmad Fathī, (1863–1914), 226
- Zayd b. 'Alī, 45n
- Zaidān, Jirjī, (1861–1914), 119
- Zaydī: *maḥab* (school of law), 45; state, 45n; Zaydīs, 45
- Zain, Syed, 88
- 'Zain ul-Abidin', *see* Za'ba, Pandita
- Zainal Abidin, B. A., Haji S. M. (Sutan Maidin), 281, 282, plate 8
- Zainal 'Abidin b. Ahmad, Tan Sri Haji Dr., *see* Za'ba, Pandita
- Zainal Abidin III, Sultan, *see* Sultan: of Terengganu
- Zainun bt. Sulaiman (Ibu Zain) (1903–89), 154

- Zaki, Mohammad Aboulkhir, (M. A. Zaki Badawi), 10n
- Zakir, al-, Shaykh Noh, 255n
- Zawāwī, al-, Syed 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, 5n, 34n, 73n, 78n
- Zāwawī, al-, Syed Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, 4n
- Zawawi, al-, Syed Yusuf, Mufti of Terengganu, 233n
- Zawī, al-, Tahir Aḥmad, 241n
- Zāwīyas (monasteries), 59n
- Zemchug, 19
- Zimmī/dhimmi (protected persons), 50
- Zionism, 63–4, 67n, 150n; *see also under* Jews
- Zirkālī, al-, Khayr al-Dīn, 242n
- Zohor (midday prayer), 204–5, 229

## MSRI EXPRESSES ITS GRATITUDE TO THOSE WHO GAVE

### 1997 For MSRI Kuala Lumpur

MSRI is extremely grateful to the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange (KLSE), its sixty stockbroking companies, and its former Executive Chairman Dato' Nik Mohamed Din and his very good wife Datin Zairin Nik Din for KLSE's most generous donations to MSRI given with the approval of the former Minister of Finance Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim.

We must also humbly acknowledge the on-going contributions of Lee Foundation, States of Malaya, the recently departed Tan Sri Dr. Lee Boon Chim and its Chairman Lee Seng Gee Esq.

In 1997, major fund-raising drives resulted in contributions from the list of names that follow. We must thank the Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir for his gracious patronage and the good-hearted efforts made by Datin Paduka Hajah Zaleha bt. Ismail, Minister of National Unity and Community Development, who chaired the Kuala Lumpur committee with the support of the Ministry's officers and staff. And we wish to thank MAS Chairman Tan Sri Dato' Tajuddin Ramly and Safian Md. Salleh of Group Communications: Air-Asia, Senior Vice President, Dato' Tik Mustaffa and Group Director of Communications, B. Kanesan; the Speaker of Dewan Negara, Y. B. Tan Sri Dato' Haji Mohamed bin Ya'acob; and the Datuk Bandar Kuala Lumpur, Tan Sri Datuk Kamaruzzaman bin Shariff.

Dinners were also held in four states. But it is to Sabah that we are indebted for exceptional generosity for which we thank Tuan Yang Terutama Tun Datuk Seri Panglima Haji Sakaran bin Dandai and Y. A. B. Toh Puan Datin Seri Panglima Hajah Siti Rukaiyah bt. Datuk Panglima Abdullah; Y. B. Datuk Musa Haji Aman, Director Yayasan Sabah; Y. B. Datuk Osu bin Haji Sukam; Y. B. Datuk Yong Teck Lee, former Chief Minister; Y. B. Datuk Raymond Tan Shu Kiah, Minister of Social Services; and Puan Maznah Haji Abdul Ghani, Unit Integrasi Nasional Sabah and its officers and staff.

For Selangor: Menteri Besar, Y. A. B. Dato' Dr. Haji Abu Hassan bin Omar; Y. B. Dato' Fuad Dato' Haji Hassan, Ahli Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan Negeri Selangor; and Kumpulan Darul Ehsan. For Perak: D. Y. T. M. Raja Muda Perak Raja Nazrin Shah ibni Sultan Azlan Muhibbuddin Shah; Menteri Besar, Tan Sri Dato' Seri Ramli bin Ngah Talib; Y. B. Dato' Haji Mohd. Zaim bin Haji Abu Hasan, Pengerusi Jawatan Kuasa Agama Islam, Kemajuan & Kebajikan Masyarakat Negeri Perak; Y. B. Dato' Abdul Habib bin Mansur, Setiausaha Kerajaan Negeri Perak; Yang Mulia Raja Puan Sri Dato' Noora Ashikin bt. Raja Abdullah, Yang Dipertua BAIDURI; and Datin Noor Azzah bt. Jaffar, Pengerusi PUSPANITA. For Kedah: D. Y. M. M. Tuanku Sultan and D. Y. M. M. Tuanku Sultanah; Y. A. Bhg. Puan Sri Datin Seri Nila Inangda

Manyam Keumala, Yang Dipertua Badan Amal Kebajikan Isteri-Isteri dan Ahli Dewan Negeri Kedah (BIDARA); and Datin Hajah Asma bt. Shafie, Timbalan Yang Dipertua BIDARA.

### **Generous Donors (in order of contributions)**

Denko Industrial Corporation Bhd. (Datuk Nur Azah Awin)  
 Syarikat Pembinaan Yeoh Tiong Lay Sdn. Bhd. (Tan Sri Yeoh Tiong Lay)  
 TA Securities (Datuk Tony Tiah)  
 Generasi Setia (M) Sdn. Bhd. (D. Y. T. M. Raja Muda Perak Raja Nazrin Shah ibni Sultan Azlan Muhibbuddin Shah)  
 Kumpulan Pinang Holdings (Dato' Anuar Othman)  
 Badan Perhubungan UMNO, Negeri Sabah  
 Borneo Samudera Sdn. Bhd., Sabah  
 Innoprise Corporation Sdn. Bhd., Sabah  
 Perbadanan Pembangunan Ekonomi Sabah (SEDCO)  
 The North Borneo Timbers Bhd., Sabah  
 Far Sea Sun Meditation Centre Contributors (via Alan Lam)  
 Puspanita Negeri Perak  
 Fine Expressions Sdn. Bhd. (Mohd. Daud Nordin & Fatimah Haron)  
 BIDARA: Badan Amal Kebajikan Isteri-Isteri dan Ahli Dewan Negeri Kedah  
 Telekom Malaysia (Head of Corporate Communications, Sharifah bt. Mohd. Ismail)  
 Win Min Builders Sdn. Bhd.  
 Renong Berhad  
 South Johor Securities (Dato' Danny Tan Chee Sing)  
 Telekom Malaysia, Sabah  
 Yayasan Mohamed Noah (Dr. Faridah Datuk Abdullah)  
 Amsteel Securities (M) Sdn. Bhd. (Tan Sri William Cheng)  
 BAKSIA, Sabah  
 Datuk Mohd. Sari Haji Nuar, Sabah  
 Dewan Perniagaan Bumiputera Sabah  
 Eastern & Oriental Berhad (Pengarah Eksekutif, Aloysius Cheong)  
 Y. B. Datuk Effendi Norwawi  
 Hwang-DBS Securities Sdn. Bhd. (Dato' Hwang Sing Lue)  
 Jade Sun Realty (Lim Chin Hoey)  
 Kah Peng Electrical (Tan Sri Dato' Elyas Omar)  
 Kenneison Brothers (Lim Yan Pok)  
 KFC (M) Holdings Bhd. (Dato' Mohd. Sarit bin Hj. Yusoh)  
 Lankhorst Pancabumi Contractors Sdn. Bhd. (Dato' Kamarudin Jaffar)  
 LBS Bina Holdings Sdn. Bhd.  
 UMNO Youth Johor Bahru Division (M. A. Latif Endot)  
 Magnum Corporation (Dato Lim Kim Wah)  
 Majlis Belia Malaysia (Saifuddin Abdullah)

Malaysia National Insurance (Pengerusi Korporat Komunikasi, Mohamed Salim Md. Nizar)  
 MBf Insurans Sdn. Bhd. (the late Tan Sri Loy Hean Heong)  
 MTU Services (M) Sdn. Bhd. (Haji Mahamad Fathil Dato' Mahmood)  
 Sabah Energy Corp. Sdn. Bhd.  
 Sepadan Maju Sdn. Bhd.  
 Sime Bank Bhd.  
 Sime Darby Berhad (Director of Human Resources, Datuk Othman Yusoff)  
 Seri Peri Sdn. Bhd., Sabah  
 Suria Capital Holdings Bhd., Sabah  
 World Youth Foundation (Y. B. Dato' Wira Mohd. Ali Rustam)  
 Dato' Patrick Lim Soo Kit  
 Datuk Ampong Puyon  
 Abdul Jalil Embi  
 Halim Mazmin Holdings (Dato' Halim bin Mohammad)  
 Lee Yan Lian Charitable Foundation (David Lee)  
 Limkokwing Integrated (Tan Sri Dato' Lim Kok Wing)  
 Naeila Corporation (Sharifah Dora Syed Mohammad)  
 OSK Securities Bhd. (Ong Leong Huat)  
 Abrar Group International Sdn. Bhd.  
 Ainon Muhammad  
 Datin Ropeah & Dato' Abdul Ajib Ahmad  
 Datuk Paduka Saleha Mohd. Ali  
 Formis Computer Services Sdn. Bhd. (Dato' Mah Siew Kwok)  
 H. R. M. Storey  
 Tuan Mohd. Shukri Hussin  
 Speed Dimension (M) Sdn. Bhd. (Benny Bek)  
 Urusharta Cemerlang Project Management Sdn. Bhd. (Dr. Mohd. Nor Nawawi)  
 Zainal Abidin Jamal  
 Asiatic Lumber Industries Sdn. Bhd., Sabah  
 Badan Amal dan Kebajikan Isteri-Isteri Selangor  
 Lembaga Pelabuhan-Pelabuhan Sabah  
 Innosabah Securities Sdn. Bhd., Sabah  
 Jaya Tiasa Holdings Bhd. (Chief Executive, Sandra Wong)  
 Dr. Idris Ibrahim  
 Rasma Corp. Sdn. Bhd. (Nafeesah Raja Nong Chik)  
 Cherish Childcare Centre (Asmah Isham)  
 MTD Capital Bhd. (Chairman, Dato' Dr. Nik Hussin Abdul Rahman)

### **For the purchase of premises (1973–1974)**

Brot für die Welt, Stuttgart, Federal Republic of Germany  
 Lee Foundation, States of Malaya  
 Caritas Internationalis, Rome, Italy  
 Anglican Church of Canada  
 Dutch Bishops' Lenten Appeal

### **For the purchase of transport (1974)**

New Zealand Catholic Overseas Aid and Development

### **For staffing and operating costs**

Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (1972–73)  
 Australian Catholic Relief (1973)  
 Women's World Day of Prayer, German Committee (1973, 1974, 1975)  
 Asia Fund for Human Development (1974)  
 Brot für die Welt (1974)

### **To the Institute**

H. H. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (1960; 1966)  
 Ministry of National and Rural Development, Malaysia (1971)  
 Dutch Bishops' Lenten Appeal (1969)  
 through the kindness of Dr. Graeme Jackson, W. C. C. (1970)  
 Swiss Catholic Lenten Fund (1970)

### **Malaysia**

#### *Kuala Lumpur*

the late M. M. Abdul Wahab	Dr. R. S. McCoy
National Land Finance	S. A. Majeed & Co. (M) Ltd.
Co-operative Society Ltd.	Kassim Restaurant
Datin Dr. Salmah bte.	Datuk Dr. Keshmahinder
Ismail	Singh, P. S. D., K. M. N.
Haji Yahya bin Mohammed	Dr. V. Rajaratnam
Kassim	Dr. Saw Hock Chuan
Dr. Foo Lum Choon	Shakib Gunn
the late Adam N. Haji Mohd.	the late S. M. Abdul Kareem
Ibrahim, J.P.	Dr. Lee Sui Hoong

Dato' Dr. Johan Thambu bin  
Abdul Malek  
the late Datuk Abu Bakar  
Pawanchee al-Haj  
Dato' Dr. M. A. Syed Alhady,  
P. S. D., D. P. M. J., J. M. N.,  
S. M. S., P. B. S.

Dr. S. P. Singham  
Dr. S. Lalitha  
Dr. Pius Martin  
Dr. T. T. Ooi  
J. W. Y. Eu  
Dr. Syed M. Haq

#### *Kota Bharu*

Dato' Dr. Ezanee Merican  
the late Dato' Dr. S.  
Arulampalam  
the late Dr. Haji A. Aziz  
bin Omar, M. P.

Pui Tiong Yeong, A. M. N., J. P.  
the late Abdul Gaffar Abdul  
Gani  
Dato' H. L. Wrigglesworth

#### *Kuala Terengganu*

Dr. T. Retna Raja  
Dato' Dr. Zakaria bin Salim  
Dr. Wee Tiong Wah  
Dato' Sri Dr. Kuljit Singh  
Y.A. Justice Dato' Wan Adnan  
bin Ismail

Datok Mansor bin Mohamad  
the late Tan Eng Ann  
the late Dr. M. Thillainayagam  
the late Dato' Biji Sura  
Dr. Leong Chee Fui

#### *Kuantan*

Dato' Dr. Yong Chong Chew  
the late Dato' Lim Eng  
the late Dato' Lim Chin Hui  
Dr. A. Canaganayagam  
Dr. Selvarajah Sivaguru  
Ismail Abdullah  
Dato' Dr. Johnny Liew Kooi Sen

Dr. M. Balasundram  
Simon Appaduray  
Anthony Lee Tee  
Dr. P. R. Sengupta  
Dr. A. Hamid bin H. A. Rahman  
Dr. M. L. Gupta  
Kua Beng Chuan

#### *Penang*

the late Lau Geok Swee  
the late Loh Poh Heng  
Chee Guan Cheong  
Chan Siew Teong  
the late I. K. Cheah  
Guan Joo Seng & Co.  
Chew Meng Teck  
Poay Huat & Co.  
the late Sree Makhanlal  
the late K. M. S. Sultan Alaudin

the late Cheah Phee Aik, J. P.  
H. H. Bhatt & Co.  
the late M. A. Sattar  
Dato' Kam U Tee  
Dato' Paduka Dr. Abdul  
Wahab  
Lim Kean Siew  
the late Tan Sim Hoe  
Manilal & Sons (M) Ltd.  
S. Letchumanasamy, P. J. K.

the late Haji Abu Backer,  
Barkath Stores Ltd.  
Indian Bank  
S. M. Mohd. Idris, J. P.  
the late Tan Sri Dato' Loh  
Boon Siew

*Johor Bahru*

Omar Salleh

the late M. Doraisamy  
Thevar, J. P.  
the late A. A. Alagappa  
Chettiar, J. P.  
I. K. Meek  
Dr. T. Devaraj

*Seremban*

Dr. P. R. Rahmatullah

## Singapore

MSRI will always be indebted to Lee Seng Gee Esq. and Lee Foundation without whose support MSRI might not have survived through the many lean years.

We are grateful to the Committee of the Singapore Turf Club for their past annual grants from which MSRI purchased its office equipment.

Shaw Foundation  
Dr. Ho Yuen  
the late Dato' Aw Cheng Chye  
Ameer Jumabhoy  
Adam Moledina  
the late M. Warden  
the late Senator Ko Teck Kin  
the late Ng Aik Huan  
Quek Hock Seng & Co.  
Soon Peng Yam  
Metal Box Co. of Malaysia  
Ltd.  
the late Dato' Lee Chee Shan  
the late Tan Yeok Seong  
In memory of Clarence  
Dunlop Gordon  
Tay Kheng Hong  
E. Pereira  
Richard Eu  
Sze Hai Guan & Co. Ltd.  
the late N. Karuppiah  
Dr. J. F. Lopez  
Manilal & Sons Ltd.  
Kay Mohan

the late Tan Ee Leong  
K. Ramalal & Co. (Pte) Ltd.  
H. L. Sachdev  
Hock Lee Amalgamated  
Bus Co.  
the late Quah Ooi Chim  
the late Chua Tong Chew  
Tan Hock San  
the late Chua Boon Unn  
Milton Tan  
Alfred H. K. Wong  
Ho Chak  
Lee Wah Bank Ltd.  
Chan U Seek  
Malaya Commercial Co.  
The Honourable Dr. Goh  
Keng Swee  
the late Leslie Rayner  
Dr. Norman Sherry  
R. Simmons  
Prof. Dr. Khoo Oon Teik  
Dr. A. T. S. Chong  
Benteng Ltd.  
the late Low Guan Onn

**In Support of MSRI's Kuala Lumpur Office  
1962-1972**

*Kuala Lumpur*

the late Lim Chooi Seng	C. Appa Rao
J. W. Y. Eu	S. M. Ponniah
Rothmans of Pall Mall (M) Bhd.	the late Henri Chee Yoon Heng
the late Lee Fah Sung	Prof. Dr. Wang Gung-wu
Wong Aun Phui	Robert K. C. Ho
Wong Ah Yoke	Kamaruddin Abu Bakar
Cycle & Carriage Co. (M) Ltd.	the late D. C. L. Wilson, O. B. E.
the late Tun V. T. Sambanthan	the late Ee Tiang Hong
the late Haji Mohd. Din bin Ali	Barbara Liew <i>nee</i> Woon
the late Mohd. Rasli bin Mohd. Nawi	Beda Lim
the late Austin Turnbull	the late Ng Ek Tiang
the late Jaafar Taha	Adibah Amin
R. Balakrishnan	the late Dr. Iskandar Carey
Dato' H. M. S. Ali	H. M. Collier
Y. A. M. Tunku Abdullah ibni	Abdullah Majid
al-marhum Tuanku Abdul Rahman	the late Dr. Rama Subbiah
Tengku Aziz bin Tengku	Jamalkhir Hashim
Othman	the late Dato' Abdullah bin
the late Syed Mahadzar bin Syed	Sehat
Hussein	Dato' Yu Fook Ziang

*Penang*

Lim Kean Siew

*Klang*

Soh Eng Lim

*Alor Star*

Y. A. B. Datuk Seri Datin Paduka Dr. Siti Hasmah binte Mohd. Ali

Y. A. B. Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad

*Canada*

Alice Thompson

*Channel Islands*

George Holt

*Pakistan*

the late Abdulaziz Ramzanvalli

*U. S. A.*

Jesse Shanok  
 Rev. Francis Galles  
 Gert & John Levine  
 Jennette & Walter Wittman  
 the late Dr. Gerald Resner  
 Mr. & Mrs. Corlis Lamont  
 Violet & Dr. George Lindbeck  
 Trinidad Pimental  
 A group of donors through  
 the good offices of Jesse  
 Shanok  
 Mollie & Jim Hechtman

Peter Marston  
 Women Strike For Peace  
 (Westchester Branch)  
 Mr. & Mrs. Leon Quat  
 Marcia Rabinowitz  
 Helen Drew Isenberg  
 Dr. Max & Lieselotte Wolff  
 Lois Kieffaber  
 the late Ruth McKoane  
 Elea Weis  
 Rev. Bernard R. Bonnot

### **In Support of MSRI's Publication Programme**

MSRI is ever indebted to Tan Sri Khir Johari;  
 the late Tun Hussein Onn; and Tan Sri Dato' Haji Mohamed bin Ya'acob,  
 successive Malaysian Ministers of Education  
 who were patrons of MSRI's  
 'Books for Schools' Programme  
 and  
 to those who generously gave

#### **1968**

Ajinomoto (M) Bhd.	J. J. Gerzon
Malayan Sugar Manufacturing Co. Bhd.	Esso Standard Malaya Bhd.
BP Malaysia Sdn. Bhd.	Socfin Company Berhad
Eastern Smelting Co. Ltd.	
Associated Pan Malaysia Cement Sdn. Bhd.	

#### **1973-1974**

Lee Foundation

MSRI's 'Book Gifts for Schools' campaign was under the patronage  
 of Tan Sri Khir Johari, then Minister of Education, Malaysia.

We thank those who generously gave

**1966**

Rothmans of Pall Mall (M) Bhd.	the late Tan Sri Lee Yan Lian
Esso Standard Malaya Bhd.	Bee Seng Co. Ltd.
Public Bank Bhd.	Nestles' Products Malaya Ltd.
Malayan Flour Mills Berhad	N. L. Fakes
the late Dato' Low Yat	W. K. Foster
Dunlop Malayan Industries Ltd.	the late S. E. Teh

MSRI's 'Intisari Sponsorship Programme' gave all secondary schools in Malaysia and in Singapore INTISARI (Research Journal of Wider Malaysia) as a gift from

Lee Foundation of Singapore (1965 onwards)  
Caltex Oil Malaysia Limited (1967-1969)  
Van Houten (M) Ltd. (1969-1970)

BENIH, MSRI's National Language Tabloid for secondary school students, was subsidised by Fraser and Neave (S) (Pte) Ltd. (1968-1970)

**Towards the Purchase of Premises in Singapore**

**1963**

*Singapore*

the late Dato' Lee Kong Chian	Professor Tommy Koh
Shaw Foundation	Thong Bee
Tan Sri Dr. Tan Chin Tuan	the late Dr. Wong Kin Yip
Adam Moledina	Shakib Gunn
the late Dato' Aw Cheng Chye	A good friend
the late Dato' Loke Wan Tho	the late Dr. Chan Kee Shoon
Ameer Jumabhoy	Anonymous
the late H. A. Nakhoda & the late	Chee Koon Lin
Fidahusein Tyebally	Khoo Hui Hiong
Tien Wah Press	Mathew H. Finlay and
City Book Store	friends
the late Dato' Syed Ibrahim Omar	M. Mahmood of Far East
Alsagoff	Film Distributors
Kee Yeap	Dr. Oon Chiew Seng
Dr. Ho Yuen	S. A. Majeed Brothers
In memory of Emily Gordon	the late Tan Ee Leong
Adam A. Syed Ahmad	Dr. Chee Phui Hung

*Kuala Lumpur*

J. W. Y. Eu	M. S. Ally & Co. Ltd.
the late A. A. Abdullah	the late M. M. Abdul Wahab
the late Dato' Haji	M. M. Mohamed Ebrahim & Co.
S. A. M. Ally Maricar,	the late Adam N. Haji Mohamed
P. J. K., J. P.	Ibrahim, J. P.

*Penang*

the late Haji Abu Backer	the late Haji S. Mohamed
M. S. A. Zachariah	Ismail, J. P.
S. M. Kader & Co.	the late K. A. Mohamed
S. M. Mohd. Idris, J. P.	Saleh Rawther
S. M. Mohamed Yusoff	Dawood Restaurant
Rawther & Co.	the late Haji K. P. Hussain

*Kota Bharu*

Dato' H. L. Wrigglesworth

*Ipoh*

the late M. E. M. Meera Hussain  
A. R. Noor

*New York*

Jesse Shanok

*Sydney*

Dr. Wm. Newell

*Hong Kong*

Adam Moledina

**MSRI CANNOT FORGET THOSE WHO GAVE**

To the research project

**'ISLAM IN MALAYA'**

**1957-1959**

out of which MSRI was born

*Singapore*

the late Dato' Lee Kong Chian	the late Fidahusein Tyebally
and the Lee Foundation	the late Haider A. Nakhoda
the late Nazir Mallal	S. Marican
the late Dato' Loke Wan Tho	C. Rahim & Sons
the late Francis Thomas	the late Ebrahimbhai
Adam Moledina	Gadriwalla
R. Jumabhoy & Sons (Pte) Ltd.	the late Haji Mohamed Khan
the late Dato' Syed Ibrahim	F. N. Tyebally
Omar Alsagoff	the late Moiz Jabirbhai
Asia Foundation through	the late Kadoobhai A.
the late Tun Lim Yew Hock	the late Mamajiwalla

the late K. M. Abdul Razak  
 Barkath Stores (Pte) Ltd.  
 the late Dato' David Marshall  
 the late Captain Richards  
 Singapore Rattan & Cane Mart  
 Joosabhai, S.  
 H. M. Hassanbhai  
 the late Hatim Attari

the late Abbasbhai  
 Mohamedally  
 Y. A. Saif Trust  
 A well wisher  
 Ameer Jumabhoy  
 V. K. Mohd. Hussein  
 the late Tan Sri Dato' Abdul  
 Hamid bin Haji Jumat  
 N. V. T. Shamsuddeen  
 Rawther

*Kuala Lumpur*

Tan Sri Dato' S. O. K. Ubaidullah

*Penang*

the late Heah Joo Seang  
 the late M. A. Sathar  
 the late A. K. Nagoor Pitchay  
 K. S. Mohd. Ariff

M. S. A. Zachariah  
 Shahul Hameed & Co.  
 G. A. Khumree & Co.  
 K. M. Mohd. Ghouse

*Hong Kong*

the late M. C. Rahim

the late S. F. Chagla

*Bombay*

the late Messrs. Salehbhai  
 & Tahirbhai Cumruddin

*Iraq*

the late Yaseen Gokal







Riau: The *Milieu* of Syed Shaykh's  
Formative Years & the Aspirations  
of the Subjugated *Umma*  
ALIJAH GORDON

The Life of My Father  
SYED ALWI AL-HADY

Through the Prism of a Child's Eyes ...  
DATUK DR. MOHAMED ALWI AL-HADY

His Life and Times  
LINDA TAN

To Turn the Current of the Age  
ALIJAH GORDON



# The Real Cry

Syed Shaykh: Selections of His Writings  
by his son SYED ALWI

Syed Shaykh's Resource: Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Maghribī  
MAHAYUDIN HJ. YAHAYA  
MOHD. SARIM HJ. MUSTAJAB

Syed Alwi: Biographical Outline  
& Family Tree

Addendum: Riau and the Restoration Movement  
Appendices by D. K. Basset, Raja Haji  
Muhammad 'Arif and Pandita Za'ba

ISBN 983-99866-3-5