

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

***Saudara* (1928-1941): Its Contribution to the Debate on Issues in
Malay Society and the Development of a Malay World-view**

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of
Hull

By

Wan Suhana binti Wan Sulong
B.A. (Hons), M.A.

July 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis was aided by many individuals and institutions. First and foremost, I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Clive J. Christie for his invaluable guidance and constant encouragement throughout the process of preparing this thesis until its completion. I am particularly grateful for all his comments and suggestions and his patience in reading through many drafts of this thesis. Also to Prof. Jan W. Christie for her generous input in various discussions and to other staff in the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Hull.

For materials, I benefited from the collections in National Archive of Malaysia, The British Library in London, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur, the libraries of The University of Hull, SOAS, University of Malaya and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and many individuals who contributed materials for my research. My special thanks are due to International Islamic University Malaysia for granting me study-leave and sponsorship to pursue my Ph.D. I also acknowledge the assistance of many friends who have offered their friendship and making my stay in Hull a pleasant experience to remember. In addition, my gratitude goes to all the staff at the Department of History and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia especially Prof. Dr. Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim and Dr. Mohsen Sallih who, in their capacity as the head of department, have efficiently handled all the bureaucratic matters concerning my study-leave.

Finally, my thanks go to my family especially my parents, Hajjah Khadijah Salleh and Haji Wan Sulong Ngah; indeed I am forever indebted to both of you for giving me strength with your constant encouragement and moral support.

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to contribute to the social history of Malaya, and of the Malay community within Malaya, in the all-important decade before the Second World War. The major source that it uses for this purpose is the Malay periodical *Saudara*, which was published in the Straits Settlement of Penang between 1928 and 1941. The thesis will show that, through the period of its publication, *Saudara* discussed at length within its pages the issues of Malay identity; the role of Islam, globally and within Malay society; the relationship between Malay *adat* and Islam; the role of Islamic scholars in Malay society; the question of the educational advancement of the Malays; race relations in Malaya; the establishment of the first Malay national association - Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (Brotherhood of Pen Friends); the question of the implementation of Islamic law; the status of women; and the developing world-crisis of the pre-war period, and its implications for Malaya. It will, in other words, help to illuminate the development of Malay social, political and religious thinking in a crucial period of transition in Malay society, and will strengthen the argument that Malay nationalism did not 'suddenly' emerge as a consequence of the stresses of the Second World War, but was already taking shape in the inter-war period. It will furthermore show that parts of the Malay elite, at least, had an ambiguous attitude towards the British role as 'protector' of the Malay community in Malaya, and that a 'loyalist' attitude towards Britain need not conflict with a fundamentally nationalist perspective. The thesis is an extension in depth of an area of Malay intellectual and social history that was initially opened up by W. R. Roff. Post-Roff scholarship has tended to concentrate on the earlier Malay-Islamic periodicals, and on the mainly Islamic issues raised in these periodicals. This thesis concentrates on a later Islamic periodical which had a longer run, and concerned itself with all aspects of Malay life at the time.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Objective of the Study	1
1.2. Sources	2
1.2.1. Primary Sources	2
1.2.2. Secondary Sources	2
1.3. Thesis Outline	10
1.4. Islamic Reform in General	16
1.4.1. Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1837-1897)	17
1.4.2. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905)	19
1.4.3. Islamic Reform in Indonesia	24
1.5. Islamic Reform in Malaya	29
1.5.1. Islamic Reformist Journals Prior to <i>Saudara</i>	30
1.5.1.1. <i>Al-Imam</i>	31
1.5.1.2. <i>Neracha</i>	35
1.5.1.3. <i>Al-Ikhwan</i>	38
2. SAUDARA: AN INTRODUCTION	43
3. SAUDARA AND MALAY ETHNIC ISSUES	54
3.1. Malay and non-Malay Relations	54
3.2. Malay-Indonesian Relations	64
3.3. Strengthening Malay Identity	67
3.3.1. Malay National Dress	67
3.3.2. Malay Language	69
3.4. Definition of Malay Identity	82
4. SAUDARA AND THE 'LAZY MALAY MYTH' DEBATE	96
4.1. Introduction	96
4.2. Munshi Abdullah - "Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan" (Abdullah's Travel Account to Kelantan)	97
4.3. Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Za'ba) - "The Poverty of the Malays" & "The Salvation of the Malays"	99
4.4. <i>Saudara's</i> Contribution to the Debate	102
4.5. The Continuation of the 'Lazy Malay' Debate	111
4.5.1. Brien Parkinson: "Non-Economic Factors in the Economic Retardation of the Rural Malays"	111
4.5.2. Mahathir bin Mohamad: <i>The Malay Dilemma</i>	114
5. SAUDARA AND THE FORMATION OF MALAY ASSOCIATIONS: PERSAUDARAAN SAHABAT PENA MALAYA (PASPAM) - BROTHERHOOD OF PEN FRIENDS	120
5.1. Origin and Evolution	120
5.2. The Objectives of Sahabat Pena	124
5.3. Suggestions and Achievements	127
5.4. Disputes in Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena	131

6. SAUDARA AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MALAY SOCIETY	141
6.1. Introduction	141
6.2. Women's Education	141
6.3. Hairdressing Skills	149
6.4. Progress and Modernity	152
6.5. Bandung Style of Dressing: Fashion and Modesty	159
6.6. Short Hair	166
6.7. Polygamy	167
6.8. Government Occupations	170
7. SAUDARA AND EDUCATION ISSUES	178
7.1. Introduction	178
7.2. The British and the Education of the Malays	178
7.2.1. Malay Schools	178
7.2.2. English Schools	185
7.2.3. Teacher Training	193
7.2.4. Vocational Education	195
7.2.5. Higher Education	196
7.3. <i>Saudara</i> and Issues of Education	198
7.3.1. Debates in <i>Saudara</i> on English Language Schools	198
7.3.2. Malay Schools	203
7.3.3. <i>Saudara's</i> Comments on the Question of Establishing a University in Malaya	208
7.3.4. Anglo-Malay Schools	210
7.3.5. Religious Education	212
7.3.6. <i>Saudara</i> and the Idea of Establishing a Muslim University	219
7.4. Conclusion	221
8. RELIGIOUS DEBATES IN SAUDARA	224
8.1. Introduction	224
8.2. <i>Saudara</i> and the Impact of Wahabism	224
8.3. The Debate in <i>Saudara</i> Concerning the Idea of Forming Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung (Malayan Ulama Association)	228
8.4. <i>Saudara</i> and Criticisms of <i>Khairat Mati</i>	235
8.5. Kaum Muda vs. Kaum Tua	239
8.5.1. Who are they?	239
8.5.2. <i>Saudara's</i> Criticisms of Kaum Tua	244
8.5.2.1. <i>Taqlid</i>	245
8.5.2.2. <i>Bid'ah</i> : Examples of <i>Bid'ah</i> Practices criticized by <i>Saudara</i>	247
8.5.2.2.1. <i>Talqin</i>	247
8.5.2.2.2. <i>Rubu' Akhir Safar</i>	248
8.5.2.3. Friday <i>Khutbah</i>	252
8.5.2.4. <i>Lebai Pondok</i>	253
8.5.3. Islamic Reformism and Martin Luther: A Comparison	256
8.6. Muhammadan Law for the Federated Malay States (Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu)	260
9. SAUDARA AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISLAM AND MALAY CUSTOMS (ADAT) AND CULTURE	272
9.1. Introduction	272
9.2. Malay Marriage Ceremony	272
9.3. <i>Adat Perpatih</i>	276

9.4. National Dance - <i>Ronggeng</i> : Malay Dignity and Religion	281
9.5. Pawnshop (<i>Pajak-Gadai</i>): Economic Behaviour and Islam	283
10. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES: PERSPECTIVES IN SAUDARA	289
10.1. Introduction	289
10.2. Sino-Japanese War (1931)	290
10.3. Japan and Islam	294
10.4. Italy and Abyssinia	298
10.5. Sino-Japanese War (1937)	301
10.6. Germany and the European War	305
10.6.1. European War and Related Issues in Malaya	309
10.7. Japan Forward Movement	319
10.8. Political Issues in the Islamic World	322
10.8.1. Events in Various Muslim Countries	322
10.8.2. Palestine	324
10.8.3. Turkey	324
11. CONCLUSION	328
APPENDICES	349
GLOSSARY	384
BIBLIOGRAPHY	390

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objective of the Study

This thesis is a detailed study of *Saudara*, a newspaper which was published in Malaya from September 1928 to February 1941, and was closely associated with the Islamic reform movement in Malaya. The newspaper was founded by one of the pioneers of the movement, namely, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi (see his biography in chapter 2). The thesis attempts to look at various important issues published in the newspaper: namely, ethnic issues, religious debates, women's issues, world politics, the Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena organization, education issues and the "lazy Malay myth" debate. By studying the opinions of the writers in the newspaper on these matters, it is hoped that the thesis will shed some light on the evolution of Malay thought in that period. The late 1920s and 1930s is considered to be a flourishing period in Malay journalism. It also marked the establishment of Penang as the centre for religious reform journalism, replacing Singapore, owing to the contribution of Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi (also written in shorter form, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi) through the establishment of his printing house, Jelutong Press. The earliest reformist journals, *al-Imam* and *Neracha* had been published in Singapore. Now, *Saudara* and another of al-Hadi's newspapers, *al-Ikhwān*, became part of this new establishment of reformist journalism in Penang.

1.2. Sources

1.2.1 Primary Sources

As the topic suggests, this thesis focuses on the contents of *Saudara* through the period of its existence. Thus most of the primary sources are articles from *Saudara*. These articles were contributed by various individuals, anonymous, pseudonymous, or with actual names. Apart from *Saudara*'s own articles, articles from other newspapers and journals such as *al-Imam*, *Neracha*, *al-Ikhwan*, *Warta Malaya*, *Paspam*, *Straits Echo*, *The Straits Times*, *The Malay Mail*, published at the same time, especially those reproduced in *Saudara*, were also of equal importance. Besides, published government reports on education policy and Federated Malay States Enactments were also consulted as a means of understanding the background to the issues discussed.

1.2.2. Secondary Sources

As mentioned earlier, *Saudara* was closely associated with the Islamic reform movement in Malaya. This Islamic reformist group, popularly known as Kaum Muda, has been the subject of many studies by various researchers and scholars. Among others are studies concentrating on the leaders of the movement, particular studies of nationalistic elements in the movement, and studies of social, religious and literary aspects of the movement in general.

W.R.Roff's book, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (1967) is the ground-breaking survey on the origins and growth of nationalistic feeling among the Malays in Malaya. He emphasized the particular roles of three groups: the religious reformist group, the radical Malay intelligentsia and the Western educated elites. In his discussion, Roff also

outlined the complicated nature of Malay society, and particularly the Malayo-Muslim community in Singapore, which contributed significantly to the development of Malay journalism and the Malay language. This group is vital for any discussion of Malay nationalism, especially where the question of Malay identity is concerned. Roff also discussed extensively the education system which produced these three groups, namely religious education, Malay vernacular schools and English schools. Of equal importance was the development of Malay journalism, especially in the 1930s, when it contributed significantly to the development of national and cultural self-consciousness among Malays. Moreover, Roff analyzes the various societies and organizations established by the Malays in the period before the Second World War. However, of all chapters, chapter two, entitled “Kaum Muda – Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction,” is the most important in relation to this thesis. In this chapter, Roff discusses the background to the publication of *al-Imam*, and the message it tried to convey to the people. There is also a brief account of the pioneers of the Islamic reform movement and the important personalities behind the publication of *al-Imam*, most of whom also contributed significantly towards *Saudara*. The central issue of the chapter, however, is the conflict between the reformists and Kaum Tua, which in the Malaya of that time consisted of the established religious authorities of the Malay states and the village *ulama*. This conflict was also a central issue in the early articles that appeared in *Saudara*. As for education, Roff mentions the group’s particular emphasis on the need to integrate secular and religious education. In relation to this, he discusses the *madrasah* established by this reformist group, and its significance for Malay society at that time. The chapter closes with an explanation of how Kaum Muda at a later stage became politicized, despite its initial exclusive interest in the religious and social affairs of the Malays, and how secular concerns and objectives became intertwined into the movement.

Abdul Aziz bin Mat Ton in his article in *Jernal Sejarah* (1972/73) entitled “Al-Imam Sepintas Lalu” provides a brief outline of the history of *al-Imam*, the first journal published by the Islamic reformist group in Malaya. He closely analyzes the contents of *al-Imam* and contests Roff’s conclusion that *al-Imam* was concerned more with religious and social issues than with politics. Contrary to Roff’s opinion, the author believes that, despite placing great emphasis on social and religious issues, the journal was also greatly concerned with politics.

In the mid-1970s, Mohd. Sarim Haji Mustajab wrote various articles dealing with the Islamic reform movement in Malaya. These include a series of articles regarding the pioneers of the movement, namely, Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin, Haji Abbas Taha and Sayyid Shaikh Abdullah Maghribi, entitled “Sheikh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin Al-Falaki, Pelopor Gerakan Islah Islamiyyah di Tanah Melayu,”(December 1977) “Satu Nota tentang Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha,” (June 1978) and “Syed Sheikh Abdullah Maghribi: Pendidik dan Kaum Muda,” (1975/76-1976/77) respectively. In these articles, the author discussed the lives of these founding reformers, their views, and the extent to which they influenced Malay society and the reform movement during their lifetime. Another important article written by him, which concerns the history of *Islah* (reform) movement in Malaya from 1909 until 1948, is “Gerakan Islah Islamiyyah di Tanah Melayu, 1909 hingga 1948” (1982). In this article, the author traces the origin of the movement; its development, and the conflict between the reformists and their opponents, Kaum Tua, especially during the height of the conflict between 1920 and 1930; the extent to which Kaum Muda influenced Malay society overall; and Kaum Muda’s role in inspiring nationalistic feelings among the Malays. Apart from these aspects, the author examines the continuity of the movement and its role in the

establishment of various organizations based on Islam in general and *Islah* sentiment in particular.

Abu Bakar Hamzah's MPhil thesis entitled *Al-Imam: Its Role in Malay Society 1906-1908* (1981), is a study of Kaum Muda's first journal, *al-Imam*, and its role in Malay society throughout the period of its publication from 1906 to 1908. Abu Bakar examines the history of the foundation of *al-Imam*; the contents of *al-Imam*, covering aspects of religion, education, politics and social affairs; a short biography of the guiding personalities of *al-Imam*; and the general impact of the journal on Malay society. Since *Al-Imam* is considered to be the cornerstone for the emergence of Islamic reformism in Malaya, the thesis could be said to represent an overview of the ideas and activities of the Islamic reformist movement, or Kaum Muda, in the initial stages of the movement.

Firdaus Haji Abdullah in his book entitled *Radical Malay Politics: Its Origins and Early Development* (1985) deals with the origin and development of the spirit of nationalism in Malaya, with a particular emphasis on radical nationalism. This includes the part played by the Islamic reformist group, especially the role played by religious educational institutions such as *madrasah* and *pondok* in Malaya. This book noted that the most important *madrasah* in this respect were al-Masyhur, Madrasah El-Ihya As-Syariff Gunung Semanggul (MIAGUS), Madrasah Masriah in Province Wellesley and the Madrasah al-Diniah network in Northern Perak. The first three chapters are particularly important for this thesis, since they deal with the pre-war period which is related to the period under study. In this study of the politics of radical nationalism, two groups are seen to be of particular importance; namely the religious group represented by the Islamic reformists, widely known as Kaum Muda, and the Malay-educated intellectuals, the product of the vernacular education system. With regard to the

religious group, Firdaus examines the role of *madrasah* in nurturing radical nationalism and in certain cases, their direct involvement in political activities. Firdaus notes that, “in terms of direct, explicit and distinctive political activities, either as a manifestation or a perpetuation of nationalism, Maahad El-Ihya Assyarif Gunung Semanggul (MIAGUS) became the most prominent of all madrasah” (Firdaus 1985: 26). This was due to its balanced curriculum and the encouragement of extra-curricular activities among both teachers and students, such as the weekly *majlis syarahan* (Public Talk) given by local or guest speakers, regular speech and debate competitions among the students, and periodic speech-making trips to other parts of the country. The impact of these activities was that they opened the minds of the students to their responsibilities towards the country. They promoted self-consciousness and self-assertiveness among Malay youths at the same time. As for the second group, the Malay-educated intellectuals, they were closely associated with one institution, Sultan Idris Training College (SITC) in Tanjung Malim, Perak. It was graduates of this institution who had founded an organization which was an early manifestation of radical nationalism, Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM). Firdaus also mentions the role played by Malay newspapers and journals, of which a significant number were published in the 1930s, in instilling a spirit of nationalism and awakening political consciousness among the Malay people.

Safie bin Ibrahim’s thesis entitled *Islamic Religious Thought in Malaya, 1930-40* (1987) is one of the major works concerning Malay thought which appeared at roughly the same time. However, Safie did not use *Saudara* much as a reference. His thesis is divided into chapters dealing with legal thought, theological thought, political thought, social thought and economic thought. The author draws on the opinions of many important *ulama* and intellectuals published in the books and articles written by these

people, and newspapers and journals which published continuous debates on various religious issues. What is interesting about this work is that it does not only concentrate on the opinion of religious scholars or those with a religious educational background, but also presents the views of Malay and English educated intellectuals. Among the prominent *ulama* and intellectuals mentioned in the thesis are Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, Abu Bakar Asya'ari, Abdul Wahid Al-Jailani, Abbas bin Mohd. Taha, Shaikh Abdullah al-Maghribi, Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin, Za'ba, Muhammad Fadl Allah Suhaimi and Haji Abd. al-Majid bin Zain al-Din, just to mention a few.

In discussing the question of legal thought, Safie concentrates on the conflict between reformists and traditionalists in Malaya, in other words, the Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua conflict. He analyzes their conflicting views on the questions of *ijma'*, *ijtihad* and *taqlid*, *sunnat qabliyat al-jum'a* and *ketok-ketok*. In relation to theological thought, Safie considers the views of Muslims in Malaya on the topics of *taqdir*, the *Ahmadiyya* doctrine and the *Alawi-Irsyadi* conflict, manifested in their debates on the theory of evolution. With regard to political thought, Safie concentrates on Malay nationalism, democracy and political leadership. As for social thought, his discussion revolves mainly around the question of happiness and freedom, and equality and freedom, a discussion exclusively based on the thoughts of Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi; as well as his social views, such as his outlook on life in this world, and the question of the meaning of progress, which was a common topic of discussion in Malaya at the time. The final issue addressed in the chapter is the significance of social conflict among the Arabs, namely that, between the *sayyid* and *non-sayyid*, famously referred to as *Alawi* and *Irsyadi* respectively, in the Malay Archipelago. This conflict was based on the fact that the *Sayyid*, believing themselves to be the descendants of the

Prophet, claimed a higher position in society. Finally, in economic thought, Safie discusses a balanced view of this life and the hereafter, as advocated by *ulama* such as Abu Bakr Ash'ari, and the question of *riba*, which had become significant as a result of the banking system and cooperative societies introduced by the British. Various *mudhakara* and debates were held at that time to discuss *riba* but, unfortunately, the *ulama* in Malaya had failed to give a clear-cut injunction on the issue. Also included in this chapter are discussions on trade activities among the Malays. These discussions contained criticisms of the attitudes of Malay shopkeepers, and some suggestions as to how to improve Malay business. The final subject discussed in relation to the economic aspect is *zakat* in Malay society. Based on the opinions of various writers, Safie concludes that there had been no conflict of views in Malaya on the obligation to pay *zakat*, but only on the right of the ruler (sultan) to receive it.

There are several works on Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi in the form of theses, articles and books. The fact that Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi was a prolific writer and produced a significant amount of literature, including romance, detective stories, articles on Islam in general, and ideas regarding the role of women, ample sources are provided for researchers. Among the works on Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi are the theses entitled *The Life and Times of Al-Hadi* (1961) by S.H.Tan, *Sayed Shaikh al-Hadi dan Pendapat-pendapatnya Mengenai Kemajuan Kaum Perempuan Sebagai Tersiar di dalam Majallah al-Ikhwani* (1960) by Merina Merican, *The Life, Times and Thoughts of Sayyid Shaykh Ahmad Al-Hadi* (1979) by Zainon Ahmad and *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 Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (1984) by Jamilah Othman; articles entitled "Sasterawan dan Ulama Progresif Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi" (1973) by Mahfudz A.Hasir, "Syed Sheikh Ahmad Alhadi: Reformis,

Ahli Fikir, Novelis Progresif' (1972) and Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi: Pembuka Zaman Baru dalam Bidang Novel" (1974) by Yahya Ismail, "Almarhim Sayed Shaikh Al-Hadi, Pujangga dan Pelopor Kesedaran Politik" (1958) by Abdullah Basmih; and a book entitled *Islamic Modernism in Malaya: The Life and Thought of Sayid Syekh al-Hadi, 1867-1934* by Ibrahim Abu Bakar (1994).

Ibrahim Abu Bakar, in his book referred to above, which was originally his PhD thesis, discusses Islamic modernism in Malaya as portrayed by Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi through his thoughts on such issues as Islamic ritualism, Muslim education, Women in Islam, and Politics in Islam. In relation to Islamic ritualism, Ibrahim discusses Sayyid Shaikh's views on the Islamic pillars of faith, i.e. confession of faith, prayer, alms, fasting in Ramadhan and pilgrimage. The discussion revolves around the application of these Islamic pillars in Malaya, and mostly consists of Sayyid Shaikh's criticisms of the practices which prevailed in Malaya at that time. With regard to Muslim education, Ibrahim discussed Sayyid Shaikh's emphasis on the importance of knowledge, his criticisms of *pondok* and *madrasah* education and the mystical orders and, most importantly, his suggestion for the establishment of Anglo-Malay schools - an integration of English and Malay education which would at the same time emphasize the importance of religious education. In relation to women in Islam, Ibrahim discussed Sayyid Shaikh's views regarding the role of women, especially with regard to the importance of education, based on his series of articles published in *al-Ikhwān* called *Alam Perempuan*, and novels such as *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*, *Hikayat Taman Cinta Berahi* atau *Mahir Affandi dengan Iqbal Hanum*. Apart from these writings, Ibrahim also mentioned al-Hadi's other novels such as *Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassan* atau *Hindun dengan Hamad*, *Hikayat Puteri Nurul Ain*, and *Cetra Rokambul*. In these

stories, Sayyid Shaikh portrayed the heroines as educated intellectual women who strove to fight for their rights and position in society.

Other related works are studies of modernist thought in the Muslim world, particularly those of Muhammad Abduh, and how it influenced *ulama* in the Malay world. Writings which fall under this category are two by Sidek Fadzil entitled *Ash-Shaykh Muhammad Abduh – Suatu Tinjauan Kritis Terhadap Pemikirannya dan Rumusan mengenai Pengaruhnya Dalam Masyarakat Melayu* - M.A. thesis (1977/78), *Pemikiran Barat Modern – Sikap Para Cendekiawan Muslim dengan Tumpuan di Alam Melayu*, - PhD thesis (1989), and *Modern Muslim Thought in Egypt and Its Impact on Islam in Malaya* - PhD thesis by Mohd Aboulkhir Zaki (1965).

1.3. Thesis Outline

This chapter, chapter 1 is the introduction to the thesis. It explains the topic and provides background information on the thesis. One of the important features of this chapter is a brief literature review on the existing works relating to the topic, i.e. books and theses written by various writers and scholars. Apart from that, this chapter provides a background history of Islamic reformism around the Muslim world in order to give the readers a better understanding of the period under study and its influence on the Islamic reform movement in Malaya. Also available is a brief explanation of a few reformist journals published before *Saudara* which shared some resemblances with the newspaper.

Chapter 2 is a short chapter which serves as an introduction to *Saudara* itself. This chapter discusses the nature of *Saudara* as a journal, including the publication,

circulation, subscription and the contents of the newspaper. It also gives a brief biography of most of the editors who served for *Saudara*.

Chapter 3 considers Malay ethnic issues, including the contentious issue of the backwardness of Malay society, as they were seen through the eyes of *Saudara*. Articles which outlined the reasons for the backwardness of the Malays, and the suggested remedies for this, are examined. There is also a discussion of the central theme of that period, namely ethnic relations between the Malays and the non-Malays, reflected in various issues such as the Malayan civil service, the non-Malays' loyalties to Malaya, and the demands of the non-Malays for equal rights with the Malays. Then comes the issue of Malay national identity itself, in which the chapter will outline the calls in various articles in *Saudara* for the Malays to strengthen their racial identity through the wearing of national dress, and the importance of the Malay language and the *Jawi* script. Finally, the chapter elaborates on the question of the definition of 'Malay' by looking at various articles which debated the issue of "who is actually a Malay," and the position of the Arab-Malay, *Jawi Peranakan* and Indonesian immigrants in Malay society.

Still concentrating on issues concerning the Malay people, chapter 4 discusses the debate on the "lazy Malay myth," which is a continuing issue even today. This chapter takes into consideration other literature on the debate, namely, writings by Frank Swettenham, Munshi Abdullah, Za'ba, Brien K. Parkinson and Mahathir Mohamad. Thus, it is demonstrated that the writings in *Saudara* regarding this matter were part of an ongoing and long-standing debate in Malay society. At the same time, the chapter attempts to compare and contrast the writings of various writers in *Saudara* with previous and subsequent literature on the issue.

Chapter 5 is an examination of the relationship between *Saudara* and Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (Brotherhood of Pen Friends), popularly known as Sahabat Pena or Paspam. In fact, the association was founded by this newspaper, through the efforts of a few people associated with the children's section (Halaman Kanak-kanak) in *Saudara*. This chapter is largely based on articles published in *Halaman Sahabat Pena* (Sahabat Pena Column) in *Saudara* which appeared constantly from 1934 to 1937, and occasionally thereafter until *Saudara's* publication stopped in February 1941. It concentrates on the origins and evolution of the association; its objectives; the programmes and achievements of the association; and disputes within the association.

Chapters 6 and 7 are concerned with social issues which were widely discussed in *Saudara*. In chapter 6, the thesis outlines various arising issues concerning the role of women in Malay society. It includes, among other things, the education of Malay women, which was one of the most important issues regarding women at that time. Also discussed is the relationship between women and progress, and women and modernity in general. The chapter also includes a discussion on the Bandung style of dressing, and the appropriateness of Malay women having short or 'bobbed' hair. The chapter then continues with debates over this period on the issue of polygamy. Finally, the chapter concludes with one of the heated debates in *Saudara* at the time, which was the question of whether women should work outside the house. As part of this debate, the chapter concentrates on the question of whether Malay women should compete for the occupation of clerks.

Chapter 7 considers the problem of education in Malay society at that time. Education and knowledge was a particularly important issue for *Saudara*. Throughout its period of publication, there were constant discussions on education in *Saudara*.

However, the chapter focuses mainly on the question of the education of the Malay community. The chapter begins with an outline of education in Malaya under the British. In this background account, an outline is given of the origin of Malay education, the condition of Malay education during the colonial period, Chinese schools, religious education, higher education and teacher training. In the second section, the focus is on the educational matter most frequently raised in *Saudara*, namely Malay education, English-language education, religious education, the need for a Muslim university, and the suggestion for the establishment of Anglo-Malay schools.

Chapter 8 is concerned with the religious debates in *Saudara*, which were a major theme, particularly in the early years of its publication. The chapter examines theological and practical debates concerning Islam. In the theological section, the discussions that are analyzed revolve around the impact of Wahabism; the Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua conflict, which includes a definition of these two groups; *Saudara's* criticisms of Kaum Tua on the issues of Friday *Khutbah*, *Rubu' Akhir Safar*, *talqin* and *bid'ah*; and, interestingly, a comparison made by one writer between Islamic reform throughout the Muslim world and the reformation ushered in, in the West, by Martin Luther. In relation to practical issues, the chapter will focus on various heated debates which occurred during the time in question, covering the controversies over the proposal to establish Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung made by Haji Abbas bin Mohd. Taha; the issue of *khairat mati*; and the question of the principles behind, and implementation of the Muhammadan Law Bill.

Chapter 9 elaborates on the conflict between Islamic principles on one side, and Malay culture and customs on the other, manifested in various practices in Malay

society such as *adat Perpatih*, *Ronggeng*, the Malay marriage ceremony and pawn activities.

Lastly, chapter 10 looks at various writers' views on world politics at a time of great global instability. A large volume of world news reports, and many articles from foreign newspapers were published in *Saudara*, but for the purposes of discussion and analysis in this chapter, only articles written by local writers and *Saudara* editorials are taken into consideration. One of the most important countries mentioned in the newspaper was Japan. In this chapter, particular attention is concentrated on the Sino-Japanese War of 1931 and 1937, Japan's forward movement, and a group of articles discussing the relationship between Japan and Islam. Regarding other countries, there is comment by *Saudara* on the Italy-Abyssinian conflict, and news items and comment on Muslim countries such as Turkey, Palestine, the Maghreb and Libya. In addition, towards the end of the 1930s, articles on international politics in *Saudara* and to a certain extent the editorials were increasingly dominated by comment on Germany's policy and the European war, the influence of the war on Malaya and the increasingly aggressive Japanese forward movement beyond China.

Looking at the issues discussed in this thesis, undoubtedly, some of them have been discussed in the academic literature mentioned above. W.R.Roff in his book discussed ethnic relations in Malaya at the time, the education system and Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena (PASPAM). But whereas Roff gave general accounts on these issues, the thesis focuses more on the specific issues and concerns raised in the debates in *Saudara*. For his account of PASPAM, Roff based his examination of the association mainly on "Tarikh Sahabat Pena" written by Ariffin Ishak in 1941, while the account on PASPAM in this thesis is mainly based on Halaman Sahabat Pena (Sahabat Pena Column) in

Saudara. Although there is no great difference in the end result, while Roff focused on the writing of one individual, the thesis presents the very varied opinions of a number of writers belonging to the association. Concerning women's issues, Ibrahim Abu Bakar included a discussion of this issue in his book, but he only touched upon the rights of women in general, and especially on women's education. This thesis, on the other hand, deals with a much wider range of issues relating to women; issues which affected women in their everyday lives. Safie Ibrahim, in his thesis, wrote on Islamic religious thought in general as it affected Malaya at that time, but this thesis will highlight other issues which, though mundane, were of equal importance in the everyday life of the Malay community, such as the application of Muhammadan Law, *khairat mati*, and such examples of the conflict between Islam and *adat* (tradition) as *Adat Perpatih*, *Ronggeng* and Malay marriage ceremonies. In relation to world political issues, histories of the Malay community have tended to concentrate on internal developments rather than the emergence of a modern Malay world-view. This thesis considers exactly what some Malay writers at least were writing about events at that time. Moreover, the thesis will also consider their opinions on international events which have passed into history, but were seen as vitally important at the time, such as the Sino-Japanese War of 1931 and 1937; the relationship between Japan and Islam; and the situation in the Muslim countries such as Turkey, Palestine, the Maghreb and Libya. When we look at *Saudara's* analysis of international affairs, we can see a most interesting conflict between what might be called *Saudara's* 'loyalism' to the British empire concept, and its determination on the other hand to defend and promote the interests of the Islamic world in general and the Malay community in particular. Of course, this was the perspective of a particular Islamic reformist group, not the whole Malay community. But it suggests that the development of a Malay nationalist outlook was more complex than is sometimes suggested in modern histories of Malay nationalism.

All in all, perhaps the clearest difference between this thesis and existing literature related to the topics of Islamic reform and the birth of Malay nationalism is that it is an in-depth study of a newspaper, *Saudara*, that was at the very heart of the movement for Islamic awareness and Malay cultural and social reform in the inter-war period. This thesis not only enlightens us with knowledge of the history of the newspaper per se, but also provides illuminating information on the opinions of the Malay people regarding a very wide range of issues, from international to local, which dominated Malay concerns at that time. Apart from that, the thesis will add to the existing works associated with the Islamic reform movement in Malaya. Moreover, since *Saudara* was one of the major publications at the time, it also highlights for us the evolution of general Malay thought in the period under study.

1.4. Islamic Reform in General

Islamic reformism was a widespread phenomenon in Muslim society in Southeast Asia at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was influenced by Islamic movements in the Middle East, i.e. the Pan-Islamism of Jamaluddin al-Afghani and the modernist movement of Muhammad Abduh. Of the two, however, Abduh had the stronger impact on the Muslims of Southeast Asia. Abduh's ideas covering the field of education, law, society, etc were adopted by the reformist *ulama* of this region. The spread of these ideas was facilitated by pilgrims who came back from Mecca, and more importantly, by students who went to study Islam in the Middle East and returned as *ulama* to preach in the wider society. This new batch of Muslim intellectuals with a new outlook on Islam and progress were known in Malaya and Indonesia as 'Kaum Muda' (Young Faction) as opposed to 'Kaum Tua' (Old Faction). This group basically campaigned for the reform of Muslim society by returning to the teachings of al-Quran and Sunnah, and saw in

correctly understood Islam the solution to all the problems of the contemporary Muslim world.

Before going into further detail, it is important to look at the life and thoughts of the founders of Islamic reformism and Islamic modernism throughout the Muslim world towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. A study of these two personalities will give a better picture of how they were related to and influenced the reform movement in the Malay world, particularly Malaya and Indonesia.

1.4.1. Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1837-1897)

Jamaluddin al-Afghani is considered the pioneer of Islamic reform in the Islamic world in the twentieth century. There is still confusion as to where he was born. Afghani himself and some of his chief Arab disciples claimed that he was born and brought up in Afghanistan, which would probably have included him among the Sunni, the majority branch of Islam. However, even during his lifetime, some Iranians maintained that he was born and raised in Iran, and educated in the Shi'i sect, the official state religion of Iran (Keddie 1968: 23).

Afghani was particularly well known for his concept of pan-Islamism. It was his ultimate objective to unite all the Muslim states (including Shi'i Persia) into a single caliphate, as a means of countering European interference and recreating the glory of Islam. He warned Muslims against the danger of European intervention and the need for them to resist it through unity and cooperation. On the question of unity, he stressed that this did not only mean cooperation between religious and political leaders, but more

particularly the solidarity of the *umma*, the development of a sense of communal responsibility that all members should have (Hourani 1962: 117).

Afghani spent a great part of his life defending Islamic countries under the threat of European intervention. However, to say that he concentrated only on political aspects of the threat that confronted the Islamic world would be untrue. In fact, Afghani was of the opinion that the central challenge for the Muslim world was not how to make Muslim countries strong and powerful, but rather to persuade the Muslims to truly understand their religion and live in accordance with its teaching (Hourani 1962: 113). In order to achieve this, he believed that Islam needed to be reinterpreted. Muslims should not take Islam purely as a religion, but also as a whole way of life or civilization. He stressed the importance of reason in Islam. According to Afghani, Islam encourages men to use their minds freely and develop all their capabilities, as long as it is within the boundary of its teaching (Hourani 1962: 126). This explains his opposition to *taqlid* and his advocacy of *ijtihad*.

In advocating reform, Afghani “rejected both pure Islamic traditionalism and blind imitation of the Christian West” (Keddie 1968: 3). His idea of reform was a balance between these two extremes. It was his view that Muslims could seek all the values needed to reform their societies from the Islamic tradition, and apply them according to the needs of contemporary world. They could imitate some technology and adopt some ideas from the West, but to inculcate Western values in their entirety into Muslim society would neither be desirable nor possible, because not all such values are compatible with Islamic teachings.

1.4.2. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905)

Muhammad Abduh was born in the village of Mahallat Nasr in Egypt from a peasant family respected for piety and learning. In his early years, he received his education at home, studying the Quran, reading and writing. Among the people who influenced him most was Shaykh Darwis, one of his father's uncles and a *sufi*, whom he studied with when he was young. For his formal education, Abduh went to Al-Azhar University, and among his teachers was Jamaluddin Al-Afghani. Though greatly influenced by Afghani, he proved to be a more systematic thinker and had a stronger influence on the Muslim world (Osman 1953: 1-17).

Abduh's ideas became public through a periodical called *Al-Ahram*. In 1877, he completed his studies and taught in Al-Azhar, and then went to teach at Dar-Ulum, a college for potential judges and teachers in government schools in Egypt. At the same time, he held lectures in his house. Among the books that he taught were a work on ethics by Miskawayh, an Arabic translation of Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe* and Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima*. This choice indeed reflected the nature of his interests which were ethical philosophy and the rise and fall of civilizations. Abduh also joined Afghani in the publication of *Al-Urwa Al-Wuthqa*. From 1888 until 1905, he was a judge in the 'native tribunals.' In 1899, he became the *mufti* of Egypt, who acted as the head of the whole system of religious law. With this position, he could impose reform on the religious courts and the administration of the *awqaf*. At the same time, his *fatwas* helped to reinterpret religious law in accordance with the needs of the contemporary situation. He was also appointed a member of the legislative council. He helped to found and direct the Muslim Benevolent Society which was responsible for the establishment of special schools providing poor children with practical moral

training. He carried out reforms in the organization of the ancient university of al-Azhar. European literature attracted his attention to a great extent and he established contacts with several European thinkers (Osman 1953: 74-83).

At the initial stage of putting forward his ideas, Abduh's main concern was the decline of Muslim society from within, and the need for reform. Muslims, according to Abduh, were facing problems in the modern world which had not existed during the Prophet's era. In his articles, Abduh mainly referred to Egypt, which was at that time undergoing a process of change. He was convinced that this development was for the benefit of Egypt. Nevertheless, he was conscious of the divisions in society resulting from the rapid secularization process that was taking place. In his early articles, Abduh analyzed the difficulties arising from this secularization. One of them affected the law and its relationship to society. If the nature of a society did not conform to its laws, Abduh was convinced that it was actually heading towards downfall. In Egypt at that time, the then-leader Muhammad Ali was adopting European laws. Although Abduh admired European achievements, he disagreed with this direct implementation of European law in Egypt. Laws from Europe, Abduh argued, were not laws at all because nobody understood them; therefore, nobody could respect or obey them. In other words, Abduh was saying that in order for a law to be effective, it must be truly understood and respected by the society. Thus, Egypt had become a society without laws. The ideal society, according to Abduh would be one that conformed to God's commandments and interpreted them rationally. When Islamic law was fully implemented, society would rise, and when it was neglected, society would decline (Hourani 1962: 136-7). Despite his early education, he strongly attacked mysticism, which emphasized devotion to saints and their miracles, and so tended to divert attention from God, and to place human intermediaries between God and man. Mystics taught believers to ignore their

worldly duties, and focus solely on life after death (Hourani 1962: 149-50). Another reason for the decline of the *ummah*, in Abduh's view, was the corruption of the *ulama* and political leaders. The *Ulama* had lost their capacity to judge what was essential and what was not. They tended to demand complete obedience without reasoning, in matters where reason should be exercised. These attitudes promoted the practice of *taqlid*, which was far from the teachings of true Islam. Abduh also emphasized the importance of having a just ruler in a society and criticized the khedive in Egypt, who, in his view, was only serving his own interests. At the same time, European nations were becoming stronger by developing the use of reason to build their society. Abduh was convinced that the Muslim nations could not become strong and prosperous again until they adopted the sciences of Europe, but at the same time without abandoning Islam. This would necessitate a fundamental change in the institutions of Islamic society: its legal system, its schools, and its methods of government. Muslims should reinterpret Islamic law and adapt it to modern problems. However, in his own efforts to carry out reforms, he only managed to influence matters of personal status - marriage, divorce and inheritance - which were left to the jurisdiction of *Shari'a*. There was still a secular court administering civil and criminal codes derived from European models. In 1956, even the separate religious courts were abolished, but matters of personal status were, however, dealt with by the secular courts in accordance with the *Shari'a* (Hourani 1962: 153).

Abduh also devoted a great deal of his effort to explaining what Islam really is and how it could be a basis for modern society. However, he was not willing to sacrifice Islam for everything that passed for progress. On the contrary, Islam as a basis for modern society could act as a means of restraint, determining what is good or bad. Islam, he insisted, was a religion acceptable to the human intellect and provided

solutions to modern problems. It was, therefore, a key objective of Abduh to show that Islam could be reconciled with modern thought. In doing this, he was able to reconcile certain traditional concepts of Islamic thought with the dominant ideas of modern Europe. As a result, he received open criticism from conservative *ulama*. However, in doing this, Abduh was perhaps opening Islam to the innovations of the modern world. The key to his defence of Islam was his attempt to get to the fundamentals of Islamic precepts. In order to understand Islam and to use it as the principal guidance of human life, he argued, revelation and reasoning were essential. Revelations were embodied in the form of the Quran revealed through Muhammad. Muslims must accept whatever is in the Quran, and the same went for the authentic Hadith which are validated by a continuous and sound tradition. However, in some matters where there was no clear evidence in the Quran and Hadith for the Muslims to follow, reason must be exercised. Individual *ijtihad* became essential. Abduh argued that only those who were qualified could exercise *ijtihad*, while the rest should follow any doctor of religion in whom they had faith. Although *ijma'*, the consensus of the community, was still practised in the Muslim world, Abduh argued that it could not of itself close the door of *ijtihad* (Hourani 1962: 144-7).

Therefore, according to Abduh, an ideal Muslim society would be one which implemented Islamic law and exercised reason. A true Muslim would be someone who used reason in the affairs of the world and of religion. Contrary to what the enemies of Islam said, he insisted, Islam was not against human reason; rather, it strongly encouraged it. Abduh argued that Christianity, on the other hand, was against rational inquiry and all science. There was no relationship between Christianity and modern civilization because European thinkers had abandoned their religion and relied solely on their rational inquiry. Islam, on the other hand, was rational; Muslims could therefore

acquire the sciences of the modern world without conforming to other religions or abandoning their own (Hourani 1962:148-9).

The Islamic community was in decline; thus, it must be reformed, but it could only be reformed from within. The adoption of Western institutions would not of itself bring about reform. He criticized the *Tanzimat*, pointing out that its reform programme was not done through religion but rather against it. *Wahabi* was more acceptable for him, since it attacked problems from their roots, by purifying Islam from all superstitious and mystical beliefs and practices; in other words, returning to the fundamentals of Islam (Hourani 1962: 155).

Regarding schools, there were two separate types of schools in Egypt at that time; on the one side were the old religious schools led by Al-Azhar, and on the other, European-style modern schools. There was no relationship at all between these two types of schools. This separated system produced two groups of educated classes in Egypt: a traditional group that resisted all change, and a younger generation that accepted without criticism all the changes and ideas of modern Europe. Abduh's main purpose was to bridge this gulf within Islamic society and at the same time strengthen its moral roots. This, Abduh asserted, could not be done by a return to the past or by stopping the process of change that had been begun by Muhammad Ali. The way to achieve it would be by accepting the need for change, but by doing it according to Islamic principles. He was trying, therefore, to convince urban and educated Muslims who were exposed to modern culture and experience that Islam was a valid guide to life, because he was of the opinion that this class, if exposed to secularism without any defences, would become the greatest danger to the *umma*. This group, however, could also be potential leaders of the revived *umma*. They could be the basis for a new type of *ulama* who

could teach Islam and become the foundation for modern society. But they could only be produced from a new type of religious education (Hourani 1962: 137-9).

When Abduh achieved the position of authority, he put his ideas into practice. A committee was established where he acted as chairman, to advise on reforms in Al-Azhar University. Among the attempts at change made by the committee was to replace the textbooks in use by a direct study of the great masters of Islamic thought, and the addition to the curriculum of subjects such as ethics, history and geography. These attempts, however, met with opposition from the conservative *ulama* and the *khedive*. Later on, Abduh resigned from the committee. However, his ideas of reform were carried out by the succeeding rectors of Azhar, who were largely his followers and pupils (Hourani 1962: 154-5).

It can thus be concluded that Abduh saw in Islam and modern science the solution of the problems of the Muslim world. In his opinion, Muslims should practise true Islam, which was a combination of revelation and reason. As for modern science, Abduh stressed that Islam was not against it, since it was a product of rational inquiry, as long as it did not contradict Islamic principles. In fact, Islam encouraged science and more importantly, a knowledge of science could help Muslims face the challenges of the contemporary world.

1.4.3. Islamic Reform in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the seeds of the reform movement are generally agreed to have been sown during the *Padri* movement,¹ the Southeast Asian version of the Wahabi

¹ *Padri* was the name given to a major Islamic movement in Minangkabau, Sumatra (1803-1838). There are several opinions regarding the meaning of the word '*Padri*'. The word '*Padri*' could have originated

movement². Later, in the twentieth century, Indonesian modernist Muslims formed associations such as Sarekat Islam, Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia, Persatuan Islam, Muhammadiyah, etc. Kaum Muda in Malaya and Indonesia were closely related to each other. The leaders from both countries travelled to and fro between Malaya and Indonesia. In the Middle East, in 1922, Indonesian and Malaysian students formed an association known as Al-Jami'ah al-Khairiah (The Welfare Society) with an Indonesian as president. Financially backed by a wealthy Malay student, Haji Othman Abdullah, the society published two monthly journals, *Seruan Azhar* in 1925 and *Pilehan Timur* in 1927. These two journals were banned from entering Indonesia by the Dutch, but gained free access into Malaya (Roff 1994: 88). In addition, *Al-Imam*, the first reformist magazine in Malaya, received a good response from the *ulama* in Minangkabau, Sumatra. In its second publication (1Radjab 1324H – Agustus 1906), Sjech Abdul Karim Amrullah was listed as the representative from Minangkabau. In its third publication, there was a question from Hadji Abdullah bin Ahmad, *al-Imam's* representative in Padang, on the Islamic injunction to stand up while reading *marhaban*.

from the word 'Pidari', a place in Aceh where the ulama in the old days studied Islam. It might be derived from 'Orang Pidari' (men of Pedir (Pidie)), referring to those who went on pilgrimage to Mecca by way of the Acehnese port of Pidie. Lastly, it could be associated with the word 'Paderi', derived from the word 'Father' which in the Indonesian language is 'Bapa', a title usually used to address religious people. The movement originated in 1803 with the return to Minangkabau of three pilgrims who had observed the Wahhabi conquest of Mecca. The *Padri* movement strove to turn each village in the Minangkabau area into an Islamic community as soon as possible, based on the Wahhabi system. The leaders proclaimed Jihad and advocated the purification of society from any adat not advocated by Islam. After years of struggle, they managed to cover almost the whole of the Minangkabau area. Unluckily, before their mission was completed, the Dutch launched a large-scale attack, and thus began the *Padri* War of 1821-38, in which the Dutch gained victory.

² Wahabi is a reform movement initiated by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab who was born in 1691 at al-Hautaf, Nejd in Central Arabia. Aroused by his studies and observation of unIslamic practices around him, he began his mission to proclaim the simplicity of early Islam based on the Quran and Sunnah. The movement fought against all bid'ah (innovations) in religion prevalent in the society at that time such as pilgrimage to tombs and the invocation of saints. During the peak period of the movement, its authority extended throughout Northern Arabia as far as the Euphrates. Its influence spread to India, Egypt, North Africa, Turkey and Southeast Asia. It also controlled Mecca from 1808 until it was defeated by Ali Pasha in 1817. The defeat in Mecca eventually led to the downfall of the Wahhabi dynasty. Although the movement failed politically, it successfully instilled the spirit of reform in the Muslim world.

The firm answer was that this practice did not originate from *syara'* at all (Hamka 1967: 80). The journal, therefore, was reaching an audience that was wider than peninsular Malaya.

The Kaum Muda movement in Indonesia originated from Sumatra. Among the pioneers of the movement in Sumatra were Sjech Muhammad Djamil Djambek, Sjech Muhammad Thaib bin Hadji Umar, Hadji Abdul Karim bin Sjech Muhammad Amrullah (Hadji Rasul) and Hadji Abdullah bin Hadji Ahmad. Like their counterparts in Malaya, the Kaum Muda in Sumatra also published a journal, the contents of which conveyed the same message as *al-Imam*. The journal, *al-Munir*, was published on 1st April 1911.

Al-Munir means light, or something which brings light. The journal was aimed at:

Guiding and encouraging our Malay and Muslim children towards the right path and *i'tiqad*. *Al-Munir* brought peace and harmony to all people so that the population's loyalty to the ruler could be strengthened. *Al-Munir* was like a light in the dark, guiding man from ignorance to knowledge, liberating them from all *waham*. Because of this, *Al-Munir* served as a means to counter all accusations by people who thought that our religion was against progress and was the cause of our backwardness (Hamka 1967: 96).

Among the contents of this fortnightly journal were religious questions, worldly matters, events abroad especially in the Middle East and philosophical articles i.e. about *Tauhid*. In addition, there were also translated articles from Middle Eastern journals including the Egyptian journal, *al-Manar*. These articles however, usually dealt with the events or matters concerning the Middle East. *Al-Munir* survived until 1916; thus, like *al-Imam* in Malaya, the journal was short-lived due to financial problems (Noer 1973: 39-40).

Kaum Muda in Sumatra received strong opposition from Kaum Adat and Kaum Tua. Regarding the expressions Kaum Muda and Kaum Tua, Hamka reported the explanation of Tuanku Sjech Abbas, a student of his father, Sjech Abdul Karim Amrullah, regarding how they came about: "Coincidentally our group consisted of *ulama* who were all still

young. None of us had reached 40.” For example, Hamka’s father, Tuan Rasul at that time was only around 30. In contrast, the *ulama* who defended *thariqat*, especially those in Padang, were already old, more than 40 or 50 (Hamka 1967: 96). The peak of the conflict was from 1914-1918. During this time, the Minangkabau religious world was split into two. Among the issues which Kaum Muda raised and which became a point of conflict with Kaum Tua were the recitation of *Usalli* in the beginning of *shalat*, the *hukum* of wearing European dress and certain practices in the *Sufi thariqat* which were very dominant among the *ulama* in the Minangkabau area. *Thariqat Naqsyabandiah* in particular, a main regional *Sufi thariqat*, received strong criticism from this group. They were also against the practice of *Wahsjah*, standing up when reciting *maulid nabi*, and the practice of *nikah Muhallil*. They changed the *khutbah* from the Arabic into the local language. This measure was taken since Kaum Muda believed that if a *khutbah* was read in Arabic it could not be understood by the common people and sometimes even by the *khatib* himself. Only the pillars of the *khutbah* might be read in Arabic, since it was believed that, if they were read in Arabic, they would give more benefits to Muslims (Hamka 1961: 11).

At the height of the conflict, Kaum Tua requested a *fatwa* from the Meccan *ulama* to label Kaum Muda as astray (*sesat*) and having deviated from the Shafie sect. The *fatwa* was duly issued, but it failed to stop Kaum Muda from propagating their ideas (Hamka 1961: 13).

In Sumatra, Kaum Muda established schools with a systematic administration. Among those people who contributed towards this new system of Islamic education in Sumatra were two siblings: for male education, Zainuddin Labai El-Junusyah, and for women, Rahmah El-Junusyah. Rahmah’s effort became a symbol of women’s struggle

to modernise themselves through education. Her school also became an inspiration for the Sjech of Al-Azhar university to set up a branch of Al-Azhar for women's education (Hamka 1961: 12-3).

From Sumatra, the reform movement spread to Java. This was initially attributed to the efforts of K.H.A. Dahlan, among the Indonesians and Sjech Ahmad Soorkati among the Arab community. K.H.A. Dahlan founded the Muhammadiyah association in 1912 and Sjech Ahmad Soorkati established the al-Irsyad³ association. The beliefs, teachings and thoughts of Kaum Muda were realized in an organised way through the establishment of these associations. Muhammadiyah later became the largest Islamic association throughout Indonesia. The aim of the movement was to "develop the education and the teaching of Islam and also to inculcate Islamic influence in the life of its members" (Hamka 1961: 17).

In order to achieve these aims, Muhammadiyah's members were urged to transform their Islamic *aqidah*, from belief in *khurafat* and *bid'ah* to one based on al-Quran and *Sunnah*. They were taught to strengthen their faith and cleanse themselves from *shirk*, help each other in good deeds, and try to achieve the highest level of piety (*taqwa*) in order to become true Muslims. The association required its members to study the Quran and implement it in their life and pay attention to their *ibadat*, whether those were compulsory (*wajib*) or only recommended (*sunat*).

³ Other individuals involved in the foundation of al-Irsyad were Sjech Umar Manggus, captain of the Arabs in Jakarta, Saleh bin Ubeid Abdad, Said bin Salim Masjhabi, Salim bin Umar Balfas, Abdullah Harharah and Umar bin Saleh bin Nahdi. Most of these people were traders (Noer 1973: 63).

Kaum Muda in Indonesia became a strong force which some Dutch authorities saw as challenging their power and authority. Their activities were curbed by the Dutch and many faced imprisonment, including Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin who conducted his activities freely in Malaya but was detained in prison for six months during his visits to Sumatra. Thus, comparing the Dutch and British, the latter's policy towards the Islamic movement was much more lenient and relaxed. In other words, the British in Malaya adhered more to a policy of non-interference in the religion and customs of the Malay community than did the Dutch in Indonesia.

1.5. Islamic Reform in Malaya

Kaum Muda came onto the Malayan scene in 1906 with the publication of their first journal, *al-Imam*. In the beginning, Kaum Muda's main concerns were religious issues and the socio-economic conditions of the Malays. Only in the 1930s did the movement begin to take a clearly political turn. By this time, the *madrasah* established by the reformers had become centres for emerging nationalistic activities.

Basically, as mentioned above, the ideas propagated by Kaum Muda in Malaya were very similar to those of Abduh. They called for a reformation of Malay society based on the teachings of al-Quran and Sunnah. They propagated the practice of *ijtihad* on disputed religious matters and fought against *taqlid*. Furthermore, Kaum Muda urged Malays to eradicate any innovations (*bid'ah*) in religion which were against Islamic teachings. Kaum Muda also tried to open the Malay people's minds towards progress as exemplified by the West. Islam, according to Kaum Muda, was not against progress, as long as it was in accordance with Islamic teachings. The reformists main point was that

Muslims would not be able to challenge the West until they aspired to the same level of knowledge and progress as the Western world.

In carrying out their activities, Kaum Muda came into conflict with the opposition group, Kaum Tua. In Malaya, Kaum Tua consisted of the official religious hierarchy, the traditional Malay elites and the rural *ulama*'. In the early stages, their conflict revolved around ritual, doctrinal and social issues. Later, it took on a more political dimension when Kaum Muda criticized the failings of the religious administrations of various states. As a result, many individuals who were involved in religious administration in Malaya saw Kaum Muda as a threat to their authority. The Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua antagonism was manifested in various heated debates and the publication of articles on disputed matters in various journals, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. The positive impact of this conflict was that it created a stimulating intellectual atmosphere and indirectly promoted public interest in political as well as religious issues (Firdaus 1985: 17).

Among the most important personalities associated with the early reform movement in Malaya were Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, Haji Abbas Taha, Sayyid Ahmad Khatib and Shaikh Salim al-Khalali.

1.5.1. Islamic Reformist Journals Prior to *Saudara*

Prior to the publication of *Saudara*, there were a few journals which were closely associated with the Islamic reformist movement in Malaya; namely, *al-Imam*, *Neracha* and *al-Ikhwan*.

1.5.1.1. *Al-Imam*

Al-Imam was the first journal published by Kaum Muda in Malaya. The publication began in 1906 and ended in 1908. Prior to its publication, there were already other newspapers such as *Jawi Peranakan*, *Sekola Melayu*, *Lengkongan Bulan*, *Nujumul Fajr* etc. However, during the year of its first publication in 1906, it was the only Malay periodical in publication. Thus, it attracted the full attention of Malays and Malay speaking Muslims in the region. It is suggested that the journal received substantial financial assistance from Raja Ali Ahmadi of the Riau-Lingga royal family, and Sheikh Salim al-Khalali, a rich businessman who frequently travelled to and fro between Singapore and Cheribon (Abu Bakar 1981: 27). The prominent individuals behind the publication of *al-Imam* were:

1. Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin
2. Haji Abbas Taha
3. Sayyid Shaikh b. Ahmad al-Hadi
4. Shaikh Salim al-Khalali.

The word *al-Imam* means leader. The journal was printed in *Jawi* script but its style was very much influenced by the Arabic language. The aim of the journal was “to revitalize the teachings of Islam in the region and to reintroduce the Islamic concept of life and worship free from heretical innovation and other harmful elements alien to the nature of the religion.”⁴ Its motto, as printed on the cover page, was “Majalah Pelajaran, Pengetahuan, Perkhabaran” (The Journal of Education, Knowledge and Information). Altogether there were 31 issues, with the first issue dated 23rd July 1906.

⁴ *Al-Imam*, vol. i, no. 1 (23.7.1906), p. 16 in (Abu Bakar 1981: 31).

Al-Imam was distributed free of charge to all religious schools in Malaya which were not aided by the government. Those who could not afford to pay but wished to read it were invited to contribute to its columns in return for free copies of the journal (Abu Bakar 1981: 28).

Regarding the contents, *al-Imam* explained that, "it contains Islamic History and articles that would awaken the Muslims towards progress of life in line with other nations who live and observe the law of the land. It calls on its community to abandon all the *bid'ah* (religious innovations), encourages them to acquire knowledge, and open educational institutions that would bring forth what is good for the society of the *ummah* (nation)."⁵ According to *al-Imam*, Islamic history was important since this branch of knowledge covers all sorts of events in the past that Muslims could learn from. Thus, the journal reserved some columns for the publication of series of articles on this subject (*al-Imam* i/1(1906): 10-14). Apart from that, the journal stressed the need for proper conduct among Muslims and criticized certain *adat* practised by the Malays. It also discussed several serious problems and scientific topics from various articles and books. As for Islam, *al-Imam* emphasized that "Islam is a genuine religion serving as the step onto glory and the path towards prosperity both in this contemporary world and in the hereafter."⁶

With regard to religious issues, there were articles on the Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua conflict, *ijtihad* and *bid'ah*; Sufism in Malay society, general issues regarding *ibadat* such as fasting, etc. With regard to knowledge and education, *al-Imam* repeatedly discussed the importance of knowledge. Education and knowledge, according to *al-Imam*, was the most important condition for the progress of any nation. Laziness and

⁵ *Al-Imam*, vol. ii, no. 10 (3.4.1908), p. 327 in (Abu Bakar 1981: 33).

⁶ *Al-Imam*, vol. ii, no. 10 (3.4.1908), p. 327 in (Abu Bakar 1981: 34).

reluctance to acquire knowledge would, it argued, lead to the destruction of a society, and was also the reason for Muslims' subordination to non-Muslim powers. Both religious and worldly knowledge were equally important for Muslims.⁷

In discussing the subject of progress, the journal drew the readers' attention towards the progress of foreign nations such as the Western countries⁸ and Japan. These countries, *Al-Imam* argued, were successful because of their advanced knowledge and education. *Al-Imam* praised Western schools for their ability to produce leaders for society. It believed that their attitude to acquiring knowledge was the correct one, that is, to improve themselves, unlike the Malays, who acquired knowledge solely to get a good job and make a comfortable living. Besides, they also paid great attention to the importance of studying European languages, so that this could become a means of disseminating knowledge to the nation. As a consequence of this admiration for the West, *Al-Imam* urged well-to-do parents to send their children to Europe to study the various types of knowledge available there. In particular, *Al-Imam* also regarded English education highly. Parents were encouraged to send their children to English schools and learn the English language, since it was widely used in Malaya and a lot of literature was written in it. The journal also rejected the opinion of certain parents who believed that if they sent their children to English schools, the Islamic beliefs of the children would be corrupted.

⁷ For example see the articles, "Persekutuan Kita dan Ilmu" (Our Association and Knowledge), 27.9.1908, by anonymous writer (*Al-Imam* iii/4/2(1908): 129-31) and "Pelajaran dan Berikatannya dengan Syariah yang Maha Suci" (Education and its relation with Syariah) by *Al-Imam*'s Representative in Langkat (*Al-Imam* ii/3(1907): 84-7).

⁸ One of the examples of articles discussing the progress of Western societies was entitled "Sebab Kemajuan Ahli Barat - Dan Keunduran Ahli Timur" (Reasons for the Progress of Western Societies - and the backwardness of the Eastern Societies) which quoted the words of Saleh Afandi Judat. In this article reasons for the progress of the West and the backwardness of the East were listed and compared (*Al-Imam* iii/5/2(1908): 236-9).

Al-Imam also discussed at some length the establishment of Madrasah al-Iqbal, the first *madrasah* established by the reformist group in Malaya. It explained the nature of education in the *madrasah*, and tried to counter some misunderstandings surrounding it, which were believed to have been spread by corrupt *ulama* to safeguard their own personal interests. The journal urged parents to enrol their children into the *madrasah*.⁹

Al-Imam directed some criticism at the leaders and rulers of Malay society. For example, *al-Imam* strongly condemned the Sultan of Terengganu as a despotic ruler. In contrast, the journal praised the Sultan of Johore for his excellent rule and regarded him as a good example for other Malay kings to follow. Regarding the *ulama*, *al-Imam* strongly criticized the traditional *ulama* who, it claimed, were not carrying out their responsibilities properly. The duties of the *ulama*, stressed *Al Imam*, were not confined to teaching in the mosque only, but extended beyond that. In this respect, *al-Imam* emphasized the responsibility of *ulama* to disseminate knowledge and convince people of the importance of seeking knowledge, even if this involved travelling to other countries.¹⁰

Laziness was the most dangerous disease of Malay society. *Al-Imam* stressed on many occasions the need for eliminating this tendency, which it claimed was certainly a hindrance towards Malay progress.

The journal, despite its importance was, however, short-lived. After two years in operation, its publication was terminated in 1908 due to financial problems.

⁹ For matters concerning Madrasah al-Iqbal, refer to the articles on the madrasah dated as follows: (*Al-Imam* ii/3(9.9.1907): 104), (*Al-Imam* ii/6(6.12.1907): 200), (*Al-Imam* ii/7(5.1.1908): 235), (*Al-Imam* ii/8(4.4.1908): 264-5), (*Al-Imam* ii/9(5.3.1908): 264) and (*Al-Imam* ii/12(9.6.1908): 372-5).

¹⁰ See the series of articles by an anonymous contributor entitled "Ilmu dan Ulama" (Knowledge and Religious Scholars) dated 27.9.1908 (*Al-Imam* iii/4/1(1908): 121-5), 27.10.1908 (*Al-Imam* iii/5/1(1908): 157-61), 25.11.1908 (*Al-Imam* iii/6(1908): 210-14) and 25.12.1908 (*Al-Imam* iii/7(1908): 251-2).

1.5.1.2. *Neracha*

Neracha was published in Singapore from 1911 to 1915. Throughout its period of publication, Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha was its sole editor, with K. Anang as his assistant. The journal was published three times a month for a few months and then every Wednesday starting from 1 May 1912. It consisted of 4 pages with a lot of articles taken from foreign newspapers, for example Turkish and Egyptian newspapers. As a result, when an important international event took place, i.e. the First World War, the news in *Neracha* was dominated by articles from foreign newspapers on this issue. Nevertheless other types of news such as local events, Malay problems, correspondence from readers, articles on general topics etc. were also available.

The Price and Subscription Fee of <i>Neracha</i> is as follows:	
British colonies	
1 year	3 dollars
6 months	2 dollars
Price per copy	10 cents
Dutch colonies	
1 year	5 guilders
Siamese Colonies	
1 year	5 <i>kub</i>
India	
1 year	5 <i>rupees</i>
Advertisements	1 dollar for each time it is published. 2 dollars for a month.

Table 1.1
Ref: (*Neracha* ii/30(1912): 1)

In *Neracha* there were discussions about the situation of Muslim society in Malaya and generally. For example, the newspaper discussed the reasons for the backwardness of Malay society in a series of articles entitled “Setengah Dari Galang Kemajuan” (Some Obstacles to Progress) (*Neracha* ii/38(1912): 1) (*Neracha* ii/39(1912): 1) and another article entitled “Kejatuhan Kita pada Kehidupan Dunia” (Our Downfall in this World) (*Neracha* v/165(1914): 1). *Neracha* advised the Malays to follow examples from foreign countries that had achieved progress (*Neracha* iv/142(1914): 1) (*Neracha* iv/143(1914): 1). The journal also criticized the Malays for their dependence on government employment and their reluctance to establish businesses of their own (*Neracha* iv/150(1914): 1).

The journal devoted much space in its columns to discussions of knowledge and education. Most significantly the journal recognized the importance of education for women as mentioned in the article by an anonymous writer entitled “Perempuan Wajib Jua Belajar” (Women Must Also Seek Knowledge) (*Neracha* v/182(1915): 1). Apart from that, the journal emphasized the importance of religious education, especially for children. It praised certain leaders who were brave enough to voice the need for an improvement of religious education in Malaya. *Neracha* reminded other leaders to support this demand and tried to find ways to fulfil it itself. Thus, it called on leaders to stop the habit of spending lavishly on establishing mosques, while refusing to spend a single cent on the establishment of *madrasah* (*Neracha* iii/96(1913): 1).

Regarding seeking knowledge in foreign countries, the journal advocated seeking knowledge in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries alike. It stressed that there was nothing wrong in going to non-Muslim countries like Europe, especially when the knowledge required was not offered by Muslim countries like the Hijaz and Egypt. In

order to counter the opinion that it was forbidden to seek knowledge in Europe, and the opposition to studying foreign languages, the journal added that studying in Mecca or Egypt was a very noble act, but not all branches of knowledge could be obtained from those places; thus, in that situation, going to Europe was a necessary alternative (Neracha iii/84(1913): 1). In addition, *Neracha* also emphasized the importance of learning foreign languages such as Arabic (Neracha v/180(1915): 4) and English (Neracha v/186(1915): 1).

Also discussed was the importance for Malay society of reading newspapers. On several occasions, the journal suggested to Malays that they form the habit of reading newspapers, since they provided knowledge of the wider world. It condemned the opinion of certain *ulama* who believed that reading newspapers was undesirable because of their worldly nature (Neracha iii/82(1913): 1).

As a journal associated with Islamic reform, there were constant references to Islam and its relation to Malay progress (Neracha iii/86(1913): 1), the importance of Islamic morality (Neracha iv/125(1914): 1) and the need to balance between life in this world and the hereafter (Neracha v/185(1915): 1).

In an announcement made on 14.6.1915, possibly by the editor of *Neracha*, Haji Abbas Taha, it was stated that the publication of *Neracha* had to be terminated because of financial constraints. The reason given was that many readers did not pay the subscription money whereas the journal depended greatly on this money to survive (Neracha v/190(1915): 1). Thus, just like its predecessor *al-Imam*, *Neracha* was also short-lived due to financial constraints, a problem common among privately-sponsored newspapers or journals.

1.5.1.3. *Al-Ikhwān*

Al-Ikhwān was published monthly in Penang from 16 September 1926 until December 1931. It can be considered mainly as the medium through which Sayyid Shaikh b. Ahmad al-Hadi conveyed his ideas to the Muslim community in Malaya since, throughout its period of publication, he was the sole editor of the journal.

In the introductory edition of the journal, it is mentioned that “*al-Ikhwān* is published in order to become an arena of competition for writers enabling them to give their contribution to the public by guiding them to the right path” (*al-Ikhwān* i/1/1(1926): 1).

The journal also specified its aims as follows:

- 1) Calling all Muslim brothers towards progress in life, as permitted by the freedom of press in the law of each state.
- 2) Conveying Islamic teaching, which is very beneficial to anybody who follows it.
- 3) Promoting an interest in seeking knowledge.
- 4) Providing foreign news from which people could learn lessons.
- 5) Publishing local news which benefits the public.
- 6) Bringing stories which can give lessons to people in order to achieve a good life (*al-Ikhwān* i/1/1(1926): 1).

Among the issues frequently discussed in *al-Ikhwān* was the situation of Malay society at the time. In an important series of articles, a writer by the name of Za’ba tried to analyze the worsening condition of Malay society at that time, and the reasons for the backwardness of the Malay people, and put forward ideas on how these weaknesses could be remedied.¹¹ Among other solutions, he suggested cooperation on the establishment of schools and scholarships for Malay students (*Al-Ikhwān* i/10(1927): 189). He also suggested that Malays should open businesses and compete with the Chinese (*Al-Ikhwān* i/9(1927): 171-2).

¹¹ The articles entitled “Kemiskinan Orang Melayu” and “Jalan Keselamatan Bagi Orang Melayu” were originally published in *The Malay Mail* under the titles of “The Poverty of the Malays” and “The Salvation of the Malays.” These original articles are referred to in Chapter 4.

Al-Ikhwān devoted a significant amount of its columns to discussing women's issues. This is not surprising, since Sayyid Shaikh b. Ahmad al-Hadi could be considered as the main champion for women's rights in Malay society at that time. One of the important issues in this respect was women's education. According to *al-Ikhwān*, if Malays wanted to achieve progress as a community, they had to educate their women. A series of articles appeared in the newspaper entitled "Alam Perempuan" which touched upon the issue of the education and progress of Muslim women. These articles were translated from the work of Qasim Bey (Egyptian writer, 1863-1908), entitled *Tahrir al-Imarah (Women's Freedom, 1899)*.¹² Apart from that, there were also articles about the life and status of women in other countries such as Japan, Turkey and Egypt.

On education, the journal discussed the suggestion of its editor, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, for the establishment of Anglo-Malay schools; schools, that is, which combined an education in Malay and English. The journal also discussed the education of Malay children in Malay and English schools; questions such as the number of students, teachers and schools (*Al-Ikhwān* i/3(1926): 59-60). It pointed out the bad conditions in some Malay schools, and urged the administration to take action to improve such conditions. It also suggested replacing temporary teachers with permanent ones (*Al-Ikhwān* ii/8(1928): 248-9).

The journal repeatedly reminded Malays not to go to English school just for the sake of acquiring basic skills to become clerks (*Al-Ikhwān* v/6(1931): 165). But it recognized that Malays needed to learn general Western skills in order to compete in the contemporary world (*Al-Ikhwān* v/2(1930): 37). It referred to the changing nature of education in countries such as Egypt, Sumatra and America. Education in Egypt was

¹² He also wrote *al-Mar'a al-Jadida (The New Woman, 1900)*.

regarded as particularly important. In this respect, *Al-Ikhwān* mentioned changes that had taken place in the learning system in Al-Azhar University which were in line with Islamic reformist ideas (*Al-Ikhwān* iii/5(1929): 156-7).

Al-Ikhwān emphasized that knowledge and education could improve the Malays' standard of living. By acquiring them, Malays would not be confined to occupations like fishing, farming, carpentry etc. Also included was news of students who had travelled overseas to seek Islamic knowledge. *Al-Ikhwān* highly praised their efforts, since it believed that Malay society was badly in need of a new generation of *ulama*, with a new outlook and interpretation of Islam (*Al-Ikhwān* i/1(1926): 17-18).

As a reformist magazine, certainly religious issues were of major concern for the journal. It published general articles about Islamic teachings; religious conflict in Malaya; and certain practices in Malay society such as reciting *talqin* for the dead. Lastly, it is important to note that a significant quantity of foreign news and articles about foreign countries were published in *al-Ikhwān*. In this section, for example, there was news about education in other countries, and about the politics of Muslim and non-Muslim countries alike.

Compared to other journals of the same genre, *Al-Ikhwān* bore the closest resemblance to *Saudara* in terms of its contents. Ethnic issues in particular were becoming more apparent at the time, and the fact that the later years of *al-Ikhwān*'s publication coincided with the early years of *Saudara*'s publication make the resemblance more apparent. Since the two were published by the same owner and the same printing press, Jelutong Press, certain articles were published simultaneously in both newspapers. In fact, if we were to categorize these journals and newspapers, *al-*

Imam and *Neracha* would be in one category and *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* in another. The differences between these two categories owe much to their periods of publication. Looking at the early journals, we can see that the issues covered are not so wide ranging as compared to the later ones. Moreover, the religious tones are clearly stronger in those early journals. This is due to the fact that the early twentieth century was dominated by intellectuals whose outlook was overwhelmingly religious. At this time, Malay schools were still in their infancy. On the other hand, the later journals benefited from the growth of Malay vernacular education, especially with the establishment and development of Sultan Idris Training College (SITC) as the centre for the Malay intelligentsia. Moreover, the period between 1920 and 1930 witnessed the rapid growth of Malay journalism, with the publication of 34 new vernacular newspapers and periodicals in Malaya, compared to only seven in the previous ten years. Out of these, Singapore published three, Penang eleven and the peninsular states no fewer than 20 (Roff 1994: 162). This undoubtedly stimulated an interest in reading and writing among Malays in general, not just among religious figures. Looking at the issues, there is a marked difference between the range of issues debated in the earlier and later journals. In the later journals, especially *Saudara*, ethnic issues became the central theme of the newspaper. This phenomenon is understandable, since the threats posed by non-Malays was increasing significantly, starting from the 1920s, when the British encouraged immigrants to bring their families to Malaya. The huge number of immigrants, and their remarkable achievements in the economic field, posed a major threat to the Malays as the indigenous people of the country. In *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* also, there were many more articles discussing specific Malay issues, rather than general ones. For instance, when discussing education and knowledge, *al-Imam* and *Neracha* concentrated more on the importance of seeking knowledge, rather than the specific problems of education faced by the Malays. This signifies an increasing spirit of self-consciousness and self-

awareness among Malays. Apart from that, there was a significant increase in the amount and variety of international news in the later newspapers and journals, especially *Saudara*, as compared to the early ones. Apart from articles taken from foreign newspapers, there were also editorials and articles by local writers on international issues. Perhaps this was also related to the development of Malay vernacular education, which resulted in a rise in the literacy rate among Malays, thereby enabling them to increase their awareness of events in other parts of the world through wider reading.

CHAPTER 2

SAUDARA: AN INTRODUCTION

Saudara was published from 1928 to 1941 in Penang by the Jelutong Press. “*Saudara*” is a Malay word which means “brother.” In the introductory column of the article of its first publication, it was stated that the aim of the newspaper was “calling for unity and cooperation based on the right path, strengthening Islamic brotherhood, helping each other as promoted by Islam and preaching the Quran in order to achieve worldly progress as enjoined by Islam” (*Saudara* i/1(1928): 1).

The contents of *Saudara* were itemized as follows:

- 1) An academic newspaper which contains subjects which could enrich the knowledge and perspectives of the readers.
- 2) Letters which contain the demand for progress.
- 3) World news
- 4) Local news (*Saudara* i/1(1928): 1)

No. 3 and 4 were to be extracted from *al-Ikhwān* in an improved version: thus, *al-Ikhwān* would be ‘mined’ for intellectual articles only. *Saudara* would initiate debate on local issues or “news of the Malay world.” All these debates would stay within the law and would not violate the freedom of any individual and must be truly sincere.

However, debate was to be prohibited on three matters:

- 1) Any matter which could disturb public peace.
- 2) If it affected the dignity of the government or the king.
- 3) If it only concerned certain individuals (*Saudara* i/1(1928): 1).

Apart from that, there were a lot of advertisements and stories or news, whether humorous or concerning general knowledge. Since *Saudara* was published by the same printing press and the objectives of *Saudara* were similar to *al-Ikhwān*, it was hoped that it could be a companion publication to *al-Ikhwān*. The only difference was that *al-*

Ikhwan was published once a month like a journal, whereas *Saudara* was to be more like a newspaper with large pages and, at the beginning, was published once a week, later twice and for a brief period towards the end, three times a week (*Saudara* i/1(1928): 1).

In the beginning, each time of its publication, there were around 1000 copies printed but the number increased gradually and by the second year of its publication, the number of copies printed each time was between 1500 to 1700 based on demand from readers and sales agents (*Saudara* ii/52(1929): 1). When it was first published, *Saudara* was distributed every Saturday morning and when publication was increased to twice per week it went to the readers every Wednesday and Saturday. By the mid 1930s when publication was increased again to three times per week, copies were distributed on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday.

Regarding its circulation, *Saudara* itself noted that its readership extended to people in Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes. Apart from that it was also read by Malay students in Europe, London and Egypt. It also reached Malays living in Mecca, Siam and Saigon (*Saudara* ii/52(1929): 1).

At the beginning of its publication the number of pages was only 4, then, by May 1930 it was increased to 8. The page number continued to increase into 10, 12 and 14. However, it can be said that the majority of the publications were 12 pages long. The publication of *Saudara* was rather constant with the exception of its absence for a while in mid 1937 (about one and a half months), most probably out of financial constraint.

An interesting fact about *Saudara* is that, though it was associated with the Islamic reform movement in Malaya, in many ways it certainly did not conform to the modern-day standards that would be expected of an Islamic publication. The advertisements particularly provide us with a revealing insight into the newspaper and its times. There were various advertisements which seem to be inappropriate for a newspaper based on Islamic principles, such as advertisements for record labels, cinemas, entertainment places etc (see Appendix I - Advertisements). Some of these advertisements were accompanied by 'obscene' pictures (according to Islamic standards). Thus, it is quite peculiar to see *Saudara*, which was constantly discussing Islamic moral principles, at the same time publishing these kinds of advertisements and pictures. Was it because the newspaper was desperate for income since it was privately sponsored? More significantly, such advertisements increased, and the pictures became more 'daring' towards the end of *Saudara*'s publication. This could be a reflection of the waning Islamic influence on the newspaper as the publication progressed. However, the nature of these advertisements might also be a sign that in fact *Saudara* appealed to the general Malay public at that time, not just to a group of religious individuals.

The price and subscription fee of *Saudara* was as follows:

Subscription plus postal			
British colonies	1 month	-	1 dollar
	3 months	-	3 dollars
	6 months	-	5 dollars
	1 year	-	10 dollars
	Price per copy	-	10 cents
Indonesia	3 months	-	4 guilders
	6 months	-	7.5 guilders
	1 year	-	12 guilders
Advertisement	50 cents for 1 inch space. Discount for longer advertisement.		

Table 2.1
Ref: (Saudara iv/235(1932): 1)

Throughout *Saudara*'s publication, there were a number of editors. They were:

- 1. Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid – 29.9.1928 – 23.8.1930, 1.1.1938 - 31.12.1938**

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, the first editor of *Saudara* was born in Langkat, Sumatra in 1889. His education was in Malay and Dutch. Although Muhammad Yunus never received any formal religious education, he is said to have come from a family with a strict religious upbringing which influenced his life significantly. When he was in Sumatra he had some experience working in one of the

newspapers published in Medan (Roff 1994: 165). In 1924, he migrated to Malaya and published a newspaper, *Idaran Zaman* (1925-1930) in Penang. He remained the editor of this newspaper until August 1928. Thereafter, through his good relations with Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, he was offered the post as the first editor of *Saudara* when the newspaper was first published in 1928.

2. Abdul Rahim Kajai – 30.8.1930 – 12.9.1931

Born as Abdul Rahim Haji Salim in 1894 in Selangor. Kajai is the name of the place in Sumatra where both his parents originated. Other pseudonyms used by him were *Pak Lacok* and *Wak Ketok*. Abdul Rahim went to Sekolah Melayu Setapak until standard 5 and was then sent to Mecca to learn about Islam and the Arabic language. After coming back from Mecca in 1909 he worked with a government printing press in Kuala Lumpur and then migrated to Singapore to work in the Malaya Publishing House. Later he came back to Kuala Lumpur and worked as a draughtsman in the Department of Surveys and Mapping.¹

After his father died, Abdul Rahim migrated to Mecca once again to administer his father's businesses and remained there until 1917. Once he came back to Malaya he began to show an interest in journalism and became the correspondent in Mecca for the journal *Idaran Zaman* which was then under Muhammad Yunus Abdul Hamid. He worked with *Idaran Zaman* for three years and from there began his career in the journalistic world. Apart from working with *Saudara* as assistant editor (5.8.1930 - 30.8.1930) and editor, Abdul Rahim also worked with other newspapers and magazines such as *Warta Malaya*, *Majlis* (1931 to Jan. 1935), *Warta Ahad*, *Warta Jenaka* (1936 to

¹ p.1 [Online] available at <http://members.tripod.com/~sasteramaya/KAJAI.htm> [Accessed on 27/11/2002].

1941), *Utusan Melayu* (1939 to 1942), *Perubahan Baharu* and *Berita Malai*. In most of these publications, he was the editor. As a result of his active involvement and huge influence in so many Malay newspapers and magazines at the time, Abdul Rahim was famously referred to as the 'Father of Malay Journalism.' Apart from that he was also known as the pioneer of short stories (*cerpen*) in Malay literature. Altogether, he wrote 48 short stories in his lifetime. Another major work attributed to him was the translation of 3 volumes of Arabic stories entitled *Hikayat Dzul-Ruhain*.²

Apart from Malay journalism and literature, Abdul Rahim was also involved in various Malay associations during his lifetime. He became a committee member for the Singapore Malay Association and was an important individual behind the Selangor and Pahang Malay Associations.³

3. Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi – 19.9.1931 – 10.10.1931, 3.10.1934 – 21.7.1937

Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, the son of Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi was born in Malacca in 1893. He received his early education in Malay in Riau and at the Kampung Glam School in Singapore before continuing with his English education at Victoria Bridge School where he passed standard VII in 1913. For higher education he was sent by his father to Beirut where he attended the Arabic College, Kuliah Othmaniah, and then the Syrian Protestant College. While he was there he also served in the medical corps of the Turkish army for one year and then in the British army, but left in 1919. Thereafter, he went back to Malaya where he taught in the Anglo-Chinese School, Penang and later in Madrasah al-Masyhur, also in Penang (Roff 1994: 214). In the

² p.1 [Online] available at <http://members.tripod.com/~sasteramaya/KAJAI.htm> [Accessed on 27/11/2002].

³ p.2 [Online] available at <http://members.tripod.com/~sasteramaya/KAJAI.htm> [Accessed on 27/11/2002].

journalistic world, he became the editor of *Saudara* twice (see the above dates) and owner of the Jelutong Press after the death of his father in 1934. Apart from that he was the editor of *Warta Malaya* from 1933 to February 1934 and *Lembaga Malaya* from mid-1939 to 1941.

He also contributed a great deal to the running and progress of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (Paspam) and became the association's secretary in 1934 until his resignation in 1937.

4. Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi – 17.10.1931 - 26.12.1931, 4.1.1933 – 21.2.1934

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi was born in Malacca in 1862 of a Malay mother and a Malay-Arab father. As a boy he attended a religious school in Kuala Terengganu, but only for a few years, because the method of teaching did not appeal to him. Then he went to Pulau Penyengat in Riau where he was adopted by Raja Ali Kelana bin Raja Ahmad, half brother of the Sultan and Raja Muda (Crown Prince) of Riau. Pulau Penyengat at that time was a religious learning centre, particularly due to the literary work of Raja Ali Haji bin Raja Ahmad and other members of his family. There, Sayyid Shaikh was put in charge of Rumah Wakaf, the hostel for travellers visiting the court. Thus, he had the chance to meet many distinguished *ulama* and developed his knowledge and interest in religious matters. In early 1890, he assisted in the formation of Persekutuan Rashidiyyah, a study club similar to those set up in Singapore at the same time. Occasionally, he accompanied the sons of the Sultan and Raja Muda on their travels to Mecca, Egypt and the Levant. In 1903, he travelled with Shaikh Tahir (see below) who had become his close friend. It is uncertain whether he received formal

education during his visits to Mecca and Cairo because of his brief stay and the time occupied in travelling. However, it is likely that through the influence of Shaikh Tahir, he became familiar with the reformist ideas current in the Middle-East (Roff 1994: 62-3).

In 1901 he became the agent and then manager for a company dealing with bricks established by his adopted father in Singapore. Gradually he became a prominent figure in the Malayo-Muslim community and together with other Muslim elites founded *al-Imam*. After the termination of *al-Imam*'s publication, he moved to Johore and worked as a teacher, officer and *Shari'a* lawyer. In 1918, he became the principal of Madrasah al-Masyhur al-Islamiyyah. He invited two of his reformer friends namely Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin and Shaikh Abdullah al-Maghribi, to teach in the school. In 1926 he published a monthly journal called *al-Ikhwān* (The Brethren) in Penang. This was followed by the establishment of his own printing press known as 'Jelutong Press' in the suburbs of Penang which published *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara* (Abu Bakar 1981: 203-4).

Sayyid Shaikh was an active writer during his lifetime (see Appendix III for the list of his writings). In fact, he is best remembered for his contribution to journalism and literature. In W.R.Roff's view, the most outspoken and vigorous articles published by Kaum Muda were mostly written by him (Roff 1994: 63).

5. Abdul Wahab Abdullah - 2.1.1932 - 31.12.1932

There is not much information available about Abdul Wahab Abdullah except that he graduated with a bachelor's degree from Madrasah Darul-'Ulum, Cairo. After his

resignation from the editorship of *Saudara*, he became the assistant manager of the Perlis co-operative society (*Saudara* vi/447(1934): 14).

6. Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin - 28.2.1934 - 29.9.1934

Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin was born in Kota Tua, Ampek Angkek, Bukit Tinggi in West Sumatra. His father was an *alim* in the *Padri* Movement, who had died in the course of the war against *Jahiliyyah* custom in Minangkabau society. In 1881 he was sent to Mecca to study Islam and lived with his cousin, Shaikh Ahmad Khatib, who was appointed as the *Imam* for the *Shafi'e mazhab* in *Masjidil Haram*. The latter was also a prominent religious teacher in the *Jawah* community in Mecca at that time. During his 20-year stay in Mecca, Sheikh Tahir worked as a '*Shaikhul Haj*' (pilgrimage broker) and also '*Mutawwif*' (pilgrim guide) for the Malays who performed the pilgrimage. His job as pilgrimage broker required him to travel frequently between Mecca and Malaya. It was during this time that sometimes, when he visited Malaya he brought with him religious texts/books to be sold in Penang (Mohd. Sarim 1977: 2).

In 1893, Shaikh Tahir went to further his studies in Egypt. There, he was exposed to the reform ideas of Sayyid Jamaluddin al-Afghani and Shaikh Muhammad Abduh. It was likely that he also formed a close friendship with Muhammad Abduh, the editor of *al-Manar* periodical which propagated Abduh's reformist ideas. After completing his studies, he returned to Mecca and taught astrology for two years in the holy city. During this teaching period, he took the opportunity to spread reformist ideas to his Malay students (Mohd. Sarim 1977: 2).

He came to Malaya in 1899 and settled in Kuala Kangsar, Perak. He married Aishah bt. Haji Mustafa b. Datuk Menteri. In 1900, he was appointed by the Sultan of Perak as

the examiner of *Qiblat* (direction of prayer) because of his knowledge in astronomy. He was also a member of the Council of the Chiefs and Religious Leaders. While settled in Perak, he continued his job as pilgrimage broker. This job brought him to Singapore, where, together with other religious scholars he published *al-Imam*. His other occupations included teaching in religious schools in Johore and teaching a few judges about Islamic law. Because of his reputation as a well-known *alim* in Johore, in 1911 he was asked by the Sultan of Johore to accompany him to London as the royal *Imam*. From 1918 to 1920 he became a teacher in Madrasah al-Masyhur with his close friend, Sayyid Shaikh b. Ahmad al-Hadi as its principal. After the death of al-Hadi, he returned to teach in Johore (Abu Bakar 1981: 178-9).

Shaikh Tahir had a close contact with his fellow reformist colleagues in Sumatra. He frequently travelled there, which was also his place of birth. During one of his visits to Sumatra in 1928, he was arrested by the Dutch authorities, accused of inciting the people to fight the Dutch. He was released after six months due to lack of evidence. At one time, he visited Indonesia to help build a curriculum for a Muhammadiyah school, upon invitation from a Muhammadiyah scholar, Yunus Abdul Hamid (Mohd. Sarim 1977: 4).

His ideas of reform are clearly manifested in his writings. In one of his articles entitled “*كي تتقدم أمة الملايو*” (May the Malay Nation achieve Progress), he criticized those Malays who were sometimes influenced by the unIslamic customs of the Arabs. He also advised them not to look askance at certain occupations. In another article, “*ربوع الأخير السفر*” (The Last Wednesday in the month of Safar) he opposed the Malay belief that the last Wednesday in Safar was a day of bad luck. This clearly reflected his

effort to purify Islam from any innovation or *bid'ah* which, according to him, hindered the progress of Malay society (Mohd. Sarim 1977: 5).

As an *alim* and astronomer, he published a lot of writings either about Islam in general or astronomy (see Appendix IV for the list of his writings). His writings among other things examined the weaknesses of the Malays and the misinterpretation of certain concepts in Islam which contributed to the backwardness of the Malays. His writings were published in *al-Imam*, *al-Ikhwān*, *Semangat Islam*, *Saudara*, *Bumiputera* and *Pengasuh*. His radical writings on Islamic administration in Malaya aroused conflict with the official Islamic administrations. Mainly he criticized those authorities that did not perceive the need for reform in religious administration and in the method of teaching Islam in schools. He suggested that Muslims return to the teachings of the Prophet, but at the same time viewed progress in the West with a critical mind. Islam, according to him, needed reform in accordance with the challenge of modern times. However, he warned the Muslims against the danger of accepting secularism along with Western ideas. He perceived this danger to lie in a Western education which was not balanced with Islamic teachings, especially among schoolchildren (Mohd. Sarim 1977: 11).

There is no available information about two of the later editors of *Saudara*:

7. Abdul Majid Sabil - 24.7.1937 - 29.12.1937, 4.1.1939 - 7.6.1939

8. Muhammad Amin bin Nayan - 5.8.1939 - 28.2.1941

CHAPTER 3

SAUDARA AND MALAY ETHNIC ISSUES

3.1. Malay and non-Malay Relations

When the publication of *Saudara* began in September 1928, there were already a large number of Chinese and Indian immigrants in Malaya. The relationship between the Malays, as the indigenous people of the country, and the so-called Malayans,¹ usually referred to as *bangsa dagang* (immigrant race) or *bangsa asing* (foreign race) in Malaya was already tense at the time, and worsened in the 1930s. The Chinese were brought in in large numbers by the British at the end of the 19th century to work in the tin-mines, while the Indians worked in the rubber plantations. These immigrant races, especially the Chinese, were quick to take the opportunity to develop themselves economically. The mining areas later developed into towns and big cities, and thus provided ample economic opportunities for their residents. Driven probably by the urge for survival, the Chinese seized all the opportunities to seek as much wealth as possible. They were soon involved in businesses, and opened shops and big stores. Many became successful businessmen. After a short while, a wide gap emerged between these two ethnic groups. The Malays, still living in their *kampung* (village), continued with traditional occupations, which were usually agricultural-based such as paddy-planting, farming, etc.

This gap was explained by a writer in *Saudara* in 1934 with the nickname of 'Pendita Zaman' (Genius of the Century) in his article which discussed the backwardness of the Malays in the following words:

¹ The term 'Malayan' in this thesis carries different meanings. While here it refers to the foreign races in Malaya apart from British, as commonly used during that time; in other instances it refers to anything which is related to Malaya such as Malayan population, administration, etc.

If we go to the suburb areas, we can see that there are many houses with big compounds, but to whom do these houses belong? Don't ever dream that these houses belong to the Malays. All of them belong to the Chinese. The Malay houses are the ones which look terrible, and we can see a lot of houses like this in the villages (Saudara vi/379(1934): 2).

In fact in 1920, the Malays constituted only ten percent of the urban population and this was approximately four or five percent of the total Malay population. In the following two decades, the number only rose slowly despite the policy of Malay dominance in the government offices, which were usually situated in the urban areas (Roff 1994: 253). Thus, from the material point of view, the Chinese led a far better life than the Malays. This gap created problems in terms of ethnic relations at the time. The Malays as the indigenous people of the country felt that the foreign races exploited Malayan wealth for their own interest and in some cases robbed what actually belonged to Malays, whereas non-Malays felt that they were being treated unfairly with all the special rights and privileges granted to the Malays. This already tense situation was made worse with the various demands made by the non-Malays and the various accusations by the Malays towards the non-Malays.

This suspicion and distrust towards the foreign races in Malaya was reflected in an editorial of 13.12.1933, which quoted the words of Maulana Ghulam Sarwar, a retired government official of *Jawi Peranakan* descent who said, "Who are concerned about Malaya: the Hindu labourers and Chinese who have waited until they have enough money to send to their own countries; the Sikh security guard who has exploited others until he could buy one hundred acres of land in India and bought a palace to live in; the *ceti* who has waited until the interest rate reaches one thousand percent and has asked his son to replace him?" Regarding the Chinese, Maulana Ghulam Sarwar said: "Since four years ago, thousands of Chinese all over Malaya have collected every cent that they have earned and sent them to China. How I came to know about this is by my own

means, but it is an unquestionable truth.” The Maulana added that, “now the yellow and black races have sucked everything from this country for their own benefit, they have claimed that this country is their country and have demanded equal rights...they have demanded the abolition of the indigenous people’s rights, and that the learning of Malay language be stopped” (Saudara vi/366(1933): 6).

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman, in an article in 1934, considered those non-Malays who took the responsibility of educating Malay children. According to him, the foreign races taught the Malay children, not with full dedication, but just fulfilling their obligations. When the time came they would get their income; whether the children benefited from them or not was up to the children themselves. Muhammad Amir continued by saying:

If we are aware of this situation, is it appropriate for Malay children who have graduated with Senior Cambridge and other qualifications, who are qualified to be teachers, to still compete for jobs like clerks, police inspectors, lawyers and doctors or government officers or mosquito inspectors? People who become policemen and drivers do not have patriotic feelings, and are not willing to help their own families to challenge foreign races who have always wanted to weaken our society by becoming teachers in English schools. If we consider English schools where the number of students is four or five hundred there will not be one single Malay teacher. So, the Malay children become the victims of these teachers from foreign races. Curses and beatings are common. Pity the fate of our Malay children (Saudara vi/397(1934): 1-2).

Perhaps what the writer meant here was that all those Malay children who had the opportunity to get into English schools should try their best to achieve a high performance so as to qualify them to work as teachers in English schools. This might be related to the attitude of Malays at the time who did not care much if their children failed to achieve good results in English schools. As long as they acquired the minimal requirements to be a clerk, then that was enough. In addition, the writer wanted the Malays to aim for better occupations than policemen and drivers and instead become teachers in English schools, since Malay society was really in need of them.

A writer who called himself 'Bongsu Perak' (Perak's Youngest) suggested in 1939, in a discussion about the situation of the Malay people in the villages that Malays often became victims of non-Malays. Most of the grants for their lands were in the hands of the Chinese, from whom they took food on loan or borrowed money. They were sometimes, in fact, almost continuously in debt to the Chinese (*Saudara* xi/865/2(1939): 7). In fact, it is a common scene up till the present day, though not as much as in the old days, for a village where all the residents are Malays to have a shop belonging to a Chinese. Because of their monopoly in business, the villagers totally depend on them for goods and loans with high interest.

It is interesting to note that during the 1930s there was a heightened feeling of worry among the Malays about their insecure position, so much so that many views expressed in *Saudara* were influenced by this phenomenon. For example, in an article discussing the low number of Malays in government positions, a writer who used the pseudonym 'Buai' (Swing) urged in 1939 that Malay parents send their children to English schools in order to balance the number of foreign races there. Now this had become an issue of racial competition, not simply a question of English schools being a place to gain useful knowledge for the Malays in order to compete in the contemporary world (*Saudara* xi/872(1939): 9).

This already tense relationship was made worse with the growing demands made by the non-Malays, especially the Chinese. One of these demands was for equal opportunities for non-Malays to join the Malayan Civil Service (M.C.S.). The Chinese kept questioning the British administration concerning their exclusion from the Malayan Civil Service, despite the fact that they regarded Malaya as their homeland.

One Chinese writer who wrote in a newspaper called *Majlis* dated 2.3.1938, using the title “Suara Malayan” (Malayan Voice), was quoted by ‘Ain Ali in *Saudara*. The former’s comment was as follows: “I feel sad when the government only appoints M.C.S. officers from the Malay people and the Malayan race is ignored. Why? The Malayan youth does not know how to read *Jawi*? They do not know how to speak English?” The writer added: “I think the Malayan government really should open the M.C.S. to the Chinese since the number of Chinese is greater than the Malays in this country....” Malays considered this kind of demand as a sign of ungratefulness on the part of the foreign races, as in the Malay proverb, “*beri betis nak peha*” (we give calf and they want thigh) (*Saudara* x/791/1(1938): 2).

It seems that the tense relationship between the races was also the result of the Malays’ believing that the foreign races’ loyalty was not to Malaya but to their countries of origin i.e. China and India. An editorial of 14.10.1936, which discussed a gift by the Chinese in Malaya to the government of China, best reflected the Malays’ doubts on the foreign races’ loyalty. According to the then editor, Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi, the Chinese community in Malaya argued that Malaya was their country because their ancestors had left China a few centuries back, and they had sacrificed their time, energy and money for the prosperity of Malaya. Their descendents, it was implied, were no longer interested in going back to China, because their loyalty to their original homeland had totally vanished, since they had never gone back and Malaya was their only homeland. This was the argument given by the Chinese to claim the same rights as the Malays (*Saudara* ix/654(1936): 9).

Sayyid Alwi argued, however, that this was not patriotism, but an attempt to gain dominance over Malaya:

We have no doubt that this is the attitude of those Chinese² who are trying to confiscate the administrative power of the country and all its wealth. Perhaps all of us have heard how a few months ago the Chinese in Malaya collected money to give to Marshall Chiang Kai Shek for his birthday. It is said that the present was going to be an aircraft to improve China's military strength against foreign threats. About 2 million dollars was collected from the Chinese in Malaya and has been sent to China to enable them to buy the aircraft (Saudara ix/654(1936): 9).

This action, according to Sayyid Alwi, showed how much the Chinese loved their original homeland compared to Malaya. He also conceded that every country nowadays needed a strong defence. However, he found it rather peculiar that the Chinese collected money to buy that aircraft for China, not for Malaya which they claimed as their homeland. Surely, Sayyid Alwi commented, they should give the money to King Edward to buy the aircraft to defend the British Empire, where they had obtained all their wealth and had benefited from its peace, and to the Malayan Government whose land they exploited for their own interest (Saudara ix/654(1936): 9).

In an article in 1936 discussing the status of the foreign races in Malaya, a writer with the pseudonym of 'Rakyat Melayu' (Malay Citizen) defined the foreign races in Malaya in the following words:

The definition of the foreign races is that they are immigrant races as opposed to our rulers – there is no connection between these foreign races and Malaya or the Malays. If there is any connection, it is only in so far as they are called the Chinese of Malaya or the Chinese of Banjarmasin. The same goes for the Indians and also the 'Portuguese of Malaya'.

He continued:

After Malaya and the Malay islands became known as British Malaya, Malaya and Indonesia slowly separated from each other even though both belong to the same race, religion and origins! Malaya seemed to be vulnerable. As a result, it was invaded by the foreign races who came here to take all that it has (Saudara viii/605(1936): 2).

'Rakyat Melayu' then provided evidence which showed that the foreign races were entirely alien from the Malay people:

² Here Sayyid Alwi was referring to the action of Mr Lim Ching Yan who left in the middle of the government council's meeting because the governor refused to accept his proposal to standardize the system in Malay and Chinese schools (Saudara ix/654(1936): 9).

In 1910, didn't the Chinese cut their long hair following an order from the Chinese government? What about the incident of fireworks in Malaya? Where were the Chinese loyalties during the Sino-Japanese War? After the First World War, we heard that the Indians, including Ceylonese, sang in Tamil to encourage their people to follow Mahatma Gandhi. Is there any Mahatma Gandhi in Malaya? (Saudara iii/605(1936): 2)

Saudara reflected the strong opposition of the Malay community to the assertion of non-Malays that Malaya was 'their' country. This is an issue brought up by a writer with the pseudonym 'Putra Larut' (Prince of Larut) in his article of 1939, which quoted from *Warta Malaya's* observations on demands made by the foreign races in another newspaper, the *Straits Times*. 'Putra Larut' listed these demands:

- 1) Malayan children who have been born here should be recognized as citizens of Malaya because they consider Malaya to be their homeland.
- 2) Malays should not monopolize government positions.
- 3) Malays will be in a safe position if they establish good relations with the Malayan people. If they refuse to do so, they will be in danger and isolation in the future because the numbers of the non-Malays exceeds the number of Malay people in the country.
- 4) The Malays will not be able to live if they are isolated from the Malayan races.
- 5) If they say that the Malayan races are not entitled to this country because they are immigrants, a large number of Malays are also immigrants.
- 6) The Malays must have good relations with and the same status as Malayan people.
- 7) Malay writers and associations should stop denying the rights of Malayan people (Saudara xi/865/1(1939): 3).³

'Putra Larut's' reply to these demands made the following points:

- 1) The Malayan races cannot be recognized as citizens of Malaya because they have only just recently come to Malaya. Their religion and racial identities are different from the Malays. The purpose of them coming here is solely to seek wealth and engage in business, not to settle in Malaya and not to co-operate with the Malays. However, because the Malays were still in ignorance (not lazy), they thought that these foreign people were not going to destroy the Malays. It is true that the immigrants were also working in Malaya, but only for their own interests, and to send back money to their country of origin.
- 2) The Malays have the right to demand higher occupations and government occupations because the Malays and British are the rulers of Malaya.
- 3) The Malays always have good intention towards the Malayan people but do the Malayan people genuinely return their kindness? ("*hanyalah beri betis hendakkan peha*"). However, the Malays can rest confident that they will not be isolated or suppressed as long as they are still under the protection of Great Britain.
- 4) The Malays are able to live in isolation from the non-Malays because the government of Great Britain is willing to guide and teach the Malays with a just administration.
- 5) The immigrant Malays are recognized as citizens of this country because they have the same religion and customs.

³ nb. both here and in quotations to follow, the enumeration is part of the quotation.

6) The Malayan people will never be in the same position because they have a different religion, etc. The position of the British is different because they came here upon invitation and with the permission of the Malays.

7) Malay writers and associations should not just keep quiet. On the other hand, Malayan associations should stop demanding inappropriate rights in Malaya. Furthermore, the Malay youth these days is continuously demanding the government to restrain the foreign races (*Saudara* xi/865/1(1939): 3).

Still on the issue of demands from the Malayan community, the editor, Abdul Majid Sabil wrote in an editorial of 7th January 1939 that, although the Malayan races were demanding a lot of rights, Malaya would never accept or trust the Malayan people, because Malaya is ultimately the land of the Malays. Abdul Majid pointed out that the Malay sultans and Malay people had never up till now confronted the non-Malays; they had been free to seek their wealth in Malaya. However, he reminded non-Malays that they could never get equal rights with the Malays, because the governments of their countries of origin (India and China) had never made any treaty with Malaya, unlike the British who had signed treaties with the Malay sultans (*Saudara* xi/866(1939): 6).

Abdul Majid further warned that the Malays would never forgive the actions of those Chinese who launched strikes and marched here and there demanding equal rights. He stressed that the Malay people would never be afraid of the non-Malays, no matter what the latter did. Accusing the Chinese of being an untrustworthy people, he expressed his fervent hope that Malaya would never become a second Chinese state. At the same time, he made a vow that *Saudara* would always use its pages to defend the rights of the Malay people (*Saudara* xi/866(1939): 6).

An editorial of *Saudara* dated 16.5.1936 quoted an editorial in the *Straits Echo* newspaper, dated 11 May 1936, which discussed the position of the non-Malays in Malaya. Basically, the *Straits Echo* editor, M. Saravanamuttu (see appendix II) expressed his disappointment regarding the status of the citizenship and nationality

rights of the non-Malays in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States (Saudara viii/612(1936): 9). According to him, the position of the non-Malays in the Straits Settlements was clear. Anybody who was born in the Straits was considered a British subject, unless he wanted to declare that he belonged to another nation. For those who were not British subjects, they had to submit a supporting letter to change their status from their existing nationality to British; thus obtaining all the privileges of a British subject. In order to submit this letter, the person should know how to speak English. M. Saravanamuttu urged the government to loosen this requirement and grant 'subject status' to anybody who had their wealth and belongings in Malaya regardless of whether he spoke the English language or not (Straits Echo xxxiv/109(1936): 10).

However, continued M. Saravanamuttu, the most difficult situation for the non-Malays was in the Federated Malay States. If the parents of a non-Malay were British subjects, then he would become British. All the privileges of a British subject could be claimed at the registration of birth. On the other hand, if the parents were non-British subjects, the person would then become the subject of the Malay ruler of the state where he had been born. M. Saravanamuttu criticized this system, because even though they were considered the subjects of the Malay sultan, they did not have the same rights as the Malay subjects of the ruler. Among all the sultan's subjects, only the Malays could hold government administrative positions. He continued:

Then there is the large body of non-Malay British subjects in the F.M.S. - Chinese, Indian, Ceylonese and Eurasians. What is their position? Many of them are permanently domiciled in Malaya. Ought they, as British subjects, not be entitled to full rights and privileges in a British Protected State? We do not think there is any objection to a certain measure of preference for the local Malays, but when Boyanese and Javanese, who are not British subjects but migrate hither from the adjoining Dutch islands are accorded preference over non-Malay British subjects, then there is good ground for complaint (Straits Echo xxxiv/109(1936): 10).

M. Saravanamuttu believed that it was not appropriate to close all positions in the government administrations of the Malay states to the non-Malays. All people who regarded Malaya as their home, he insisted, should be given the same rights and privileges as the Malays. Furthermore, he believed that the Malays could feel uneasy with this kind of favouritism since it could be regarded as an admission of their inferior capacities. He then concluded:

There may have been a time when such protection of their interests was necessary, but today they have shown themselves quite equal to holding their own in open competition with the other races that form the Malayan population. If this country is to proceed on its march forward to progress, peace and prosperity, it is necessary to eschew all these distinctions and barriers. The future of Malaya lies, we are convinced, in unity - in the uniting of the various races into one nation, of the various states into one country. The watch-word for all who love Malaya and have her welfare at heart is "One Country, One Nation and One Policy." (Straits Echo xxxiv/109(1936): 10)

Regarding the Indonesian Malays, the reply of Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi, editor of *Saudara*, to the editor of *Straits Echo* was as follows:

In this matter, the editor of *Straits Echo* perhaps forgets or intentionally forgets that the criterion here is ethnicity, not place of birth. The Malays from other Malay islands such as Java, Sumatra, Brunei, Bugis and others are also from the Malay ethnic group just like the Malays in these Malay states. For them, the issue is not a question of their right to hold government positions. What matters for them is that Malay rajas are their kings, the Malay people in these states are from their own race and moreover, they have the same religion, same language, and same custom and come from the same ancestors as the people here [...] This is the thing that differentiates them from the foreign races who always demand their rights in areas where they have never had any rights in this country. The Chinese and Indians have their own governments, nations and homelands. No matter where they were born, they will always be associated with their original nations. Thus, it is in those states and governments that they have rights to honours and privileges which others are not entitled to. Unless, that is, they refuse to claim that they belong to the nations and states of their origin (Saudara viii/612(1936): 9).

The same issue was discussed by a writer who used the pseudonym of 'Paman' (Uncle), who in 1934 warned the Malays against the threats from the demands of the foreign races. According to 'Paman,' the Chinese, because of their economic strength, claimed that they had been a great help to Malaya, and were thus entitled to equal rights with the Malays. In addition, he discussed the

demand of the Chinese that they should be given the right to join the police force of the country (Saudara vi/420(1934): 4).

Although the government refused to grant them that opportunity, 'Paman' was convinced that foreigners would continue to demand all the privileges specified for the Malays. He wrote:

We believe that our government will act in justice and not easily surrender to their demands and that at the present time the government are reserving privileges for the indigenous people of the country only. However, must we Malays just sit in silence and depend on our government totally? (Saudara vi/420(1934): 4)

He reminded the Malays:

The Malays must be aware of the condition of their people and what is going to happen in the future. We would like to remind them of the warning in *Warta Malaya* on 25th August that "the Malay states are in danger." What is more worrying is their (the non-Malays) interest in government positions. If they were to be given these opportunities, all the official positions from the lowest to the highest would definitely fall into foreign people's hands except for the position of *raja*. In fact, if they got the chance, even that position would be confiscated from us (Saudara vi/420(1934): 4).

'Paman' then criticized the Malays for their apathy concerning this matter. According to 'Paman,' it seemed that the Malays had surrendered everything completely to the British without questioning or ensuring that their rights would be safeguarded. Cynically, he concluded: "this shows how strong is the Malays' loyalty to their rulers" (Saudara vi/420(1934): 4). The key question raised by 'Paman' here is: could the British be trusted in the long run to keep their promise to protect Malay rights: and should the Malays not take measures to protect themselves?

3.2. Malay-Indonesian Relations

With the increasing threat of Chinese dominance in terms of numbers and economic advancement, and their growing demands for equal rights with the Malays, there was an

increasingly popular trend in the newspaper, which was a discussion of the relationship between Malaya and Indonesia. In the editorial of *Saudara* dated 5.3.1938 it was stated that:

The race of the citizens of these two states (Indonesia and Malaya), undoubtedly possess one character and one pure nationality which is called 'Malay' and one language, one custom, one racial origin and religion. They have only been separated into two sides by their government administration under two European powers, Dutch and English (*Saudara* x/780(1938): 7).

The editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid continued by suggesting that the Indonesians should be allowed to enter Malaya as a substitute for allowing a large number of Chinese and Indians into the country. However, Muhammad Yunus, referring to the Indonesians as 'our brothers', since they came from the same race and believed in the same religion, argued that they should not be made coolies in the industries owned by foreigners like other immigrants; instead, they should be allowed to open their own industries or become involved in agricultural activities (*Saudara* x/780(1938): 7). This seems to be a renewal of a previous Malay reformist campaign for a closer 'pan-Malayan' union between Malaya and Indonesia as preached by the journals *Seruan Azhar* and *Pilehan Timour*, published in 1925 and 1927 respectively. These magazines were the fruits of the endeavours of a group of Malayan and Indonesian students in Cairo (Roff 1994: 224). However, the difference is that, if the earlier group were driven by anti-colonial sentiment, the latter is more of a direct reaction to the increasing threat from the non-Malay races, especially the Chinese. Moreover, it is important to note that it is not surprising that these words came from Muhammad Yunus since he had migrated to Malaya from Langkat, Sumatra.

In the early years of the publication of *Saudara*, we can see that this suspicion, dissatisfaction and hatred were directed exclusively at the Malayan peoples. When mentioning unwanted foreign people in the country, however, an exception was always made of the British, on the grounds that the British were invited by the Malay rulers into

the country by treaty. Later, a different tune emerged, and Malay writers criticized the British for violating their treaties by not protecting and safeguarding Malay rights in the country. The British, according to the Malays, were not carrying out their responsibilities fully and this had resulted in foreign races dominating the country and slowly confiscating the rights of the Malays. As a result, the Malays felt abandoned by the British. In *Saudara's* later years, various writers stressed that Malaya was the land of the Malay people, and therefore only the Malays had the right to it, and emphasized that the British were only the protectors (*penaung*) of the land.

For example, the following words in an editorial dated 25.1.1939, described the editor's (Abdul Majid Sabil) feelings towards the British administration in Malaya during that time. Threats to the Malays, he wrote,

...do not come from our enemies only, but also from the pressure put upon the Malays by present government policy. Although the British were initially invited by the Malays to advise and guarantee the safety of the Malay states and their peoples, the policy that is being carried out in the present situation is intentionally destroying and eliminating the rights of the Malay people and the supremacy of the Malay rulers. Moreover, it clearly violates the treaties signed with the Malay rulers. This policy has already reached the stage where the Malay rulers are losing their authority, and we consider it unlawful because it now works against the interests of the Malay rajas (*Saudara xi/871(1939): 6*).

In addition, Abdul Majid Sabil also accused the British of conspiring with the Malay rulers to suppress the common Malay people of Malaya. These two groups, he asserted, worked together to manipulate Malay people's rights for their own benefit. The editor believed that the British government in Britain was not responsible for this, but that it was primarily the consequence of British officials in Malaya exceeding their authority (*Saudara xi/871(1939): 6*).

This sentiment towards the British echoed the views of another writer with the pseudonym 'Putra Larut' (Prince of Larut) who wrote earlier in the same year:

In the Malay states, affairs have in the past been regulated according to the treaties between the Sultans and the protecting power. Now, this has changed. Though

several high commissioners have tried to correct this mistaken trend, so far this has not worked. The Malay states have become like a crown colony despite the fact that these Malay states (Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan) are only protected states. The British in these states are only the advisers to the Malay Sultans, and the residents should not intervene at all in the affairs of these Malay states *except through* the Sultans of the respective states (Saudara xi/869(1939): 2).

3.3. Strengthening Malay Identity

3.3.1. Malay National Dress

We can notice also that by this period between the two world wars, as a result of what were seen as increasing threats from the non-Malays, there was a tendency among the Malay writers in *Saudara* to call for the Malays to return to their Malay and Islamic values in order to enhance their special identity as Malays as opposed to the foreign races in the country. For example, Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff in an article of 1933, which discussed traditional clothing, called on the Malays to value their traditional Malay costume and wear it more often. He also criticized those Malays who had the habit of mocking people wearing traditional clothes. As he wrote:

Malay youth have no memory – they still neglect everything that strengthens the national spirit. All this is the result of Western influence. Regarding the way to dress – they refuse to follow the Malay way of dressing (except for a few), not to mention refusing to wear the full Malay dress such as *sarong* and shirt, *songkok* or *serban* like the *pak haji*, or even *songkok* alone (bear in mind that *songkok* is the symbol of the Malay race and it is not worn by other races except for the Muslim *Benggali*) [...] they would rather wear coats, trousers, shining shoes, and hats. Even the way they talk is like Westerners (Saudara vi/370(1933): 1).

Abdul Majid also suggested that the word '*encik*' be used instead of 'Mr' when writing letters to friends, since the latter destroyed the national spirit. He criticized some of the male youths who liked to wear shorts and showed their *aurat* (Saudara vi/370(1933): 1).

As for women, Abdul Majid commented on the fact that they now had far more freedom. There had been a radical change in their attitude to the Western style of

dressing. If previously they used to despise Western clothes, this was no longer so. Even married women had been influenced by this change. Moreover, this change did not involve ways of dressing alone, but also other things such as hair fashions, etc. Many Malay women were also exposing their faces and were not covering their heads. The writer admitted that Western clothes were simpler and easier for movement, but warned that it “would attract young Malay men who have weak *iman* (faith) and spirit” (Saudara vi/370(1933): 1).

Another writer, ‘Abakin, also alluded in 1934 to the attitudes of Malays who were slowly discarding their traditional Malay way of dressing. By that time, according to the writer, fewer and fewer Malays were wearing Malay dress except for policemen in their depots. The writer suggested that Malays should wear Malay and Western clothes equally. For example, while working, the writer was of the opinion that it was advisable to wear Western clothes because it was more convenient; whereas, in official ceremonies it was more appropriate to wear Malay clothes. The same went for Fridays, as a mark of respect for this special day and to show to foreign people that Malays honoured their religion; in these circumstances, it was better for the Malays to wear Malay clothes. However, according to the writer, the surprising thing was that in Kuala Lumpur, for example, those who wore Malay clothes were likely to be ridiculed as either newlyweds or policemen. ‘Abakin expressed his astonishment at this tendency of the Malay people to reject their national characteristics. He made a comparison with other nations who continued to wear their national clothes but who were not ridiculed by people in their society (Saudara vi/384(1934): 1).

3.3.2. Malay Language

Starting from the early 1930s, *Saudara* heavily stressed that Malays should learn their language. Many articles in *Saudara* reflected its concern regarding Malays who seemed to ignore the importance of mastering their own language and the need to improve and reform that language. *Saudara* also urged the British administration to declare the Malay language as the state language or *lingua franca* on the grounds that it was spoken throughout the country.

Many articles devoted to the discussion of this issue voiced their regret regarding the attitude of Malay students who seemed to ignore the Malay language totally once they entered English schools. All the knowledge of the Malay language that they had obtained from the Malay schools was wasted because they regarded English language as superior to their own language. To counter this, several writers in *Saudara* urged parents to play their role in encouraging their children to maintain and improve their knowledge of Malay. For example, an editorial of 24.8.1932 which discussed Malay children and their use of the Malay language, suggested that parents should buy newspapers and magazines in Malay for their children to read. The editor of that time, Abdul Wahab Abdullah, hoped that, with the parents' encouragement and burgeoning children's awareness, in the near future the students who had passed Senior Cambridge would be able to master both English *and* Malay. In this way, knowledge could be transferred from English into Malay, unlike the current situation, where most of the graduates with Senior Cambridge qualifications were unable even to write in their own language (*Saudara* iv/233(1932): 5).

Many columnists in *Saudara*, however, heavily stressed the importance of learning other languages, especially English, because they saw it as a language which contained the key to modern civilization, from which the Malays could derive lessons. However, they stressed that learning other important foreign languages did not mean that the Malays could ignore their own. During this time, Malays were also reminded not to praise other languages too highly and at the same time look down upon their own, because the Malay language should not be seen as inferior compared to other languages.

In 1932, 'Teruna Sekarang' (Contemporary Bachelor), in an article about ways of improving the Malay language, insisted that the Malay language was rich in its own vocabulary. Accordingly, he argued, the Malays need not borrow too many words from the English language. Malay words, where possible, should be used as a substitute. However, if there were certain cases where the meaning could not be explained with Malay words, only then, English words should be adopted. Borrowing too much from foreign languages, the writer warned, would make the Malay language lose its vitality and, not impossibly, ultimately disappear totally (*Saudara* iv/232(1932): 1).

There was also a significant amount of discussion in *Saudara* at this time on the question of the importance of translation activity in Malay society. The people involved in these discussions believed that it was essential for the Malays to translate books and reading materials from other foreign languages in order to gain knowledge from those particular nations. Besides importing knowledge from other societies, translation would also help to enrich the Malay language with new words that would suit the particular needs of translation. This task of translation, according to the then editor of *Saudara*, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, in a discussion of the translation of books into the Malay language, was a very demanding task. Fortunately, he wrote, certain groups in Malay

society had enthusiastically taken up the challenge. The writer praised the efforts of these people, particularly the Translation Society and The Writing Office of Tanjung Malim College. Among the outstanding achievements by Tanjung Malim College had been their success in translating Shakespeare's plays into Malay. In short, according to the writer, this translation effort would benefit many diverse groups of people. For example, the masses, who did not have any knowledge of foreign languages, would be able to read materials from other societies. Moreover, the vocabulary of the Malay language would be enriched, and the translators themselves would be able to sharpen their knowledge of the Malay language (*Saudara* v/316(1933): 6).

This emphasis on the need for Malays to value their own language was made in various articles in *Saudara* in the 1930s, and was clearly the result of the challenge from the Chinese and other non-Malay communities. In 1933, a Chinese member of the Straits Legislative Council by the name of Mr. Lim Ching Yan questioned the British government in Malaya's wisdom in spending large amounts of money on providing a free education for the Malays. Malay education at that time was especially designed for the Malays, but it was also open for other non-Malay communities. However, it was very rare to find non-Malay children in any Malay schools. Lim Ching Yan also suggested that the learning of the *Jawi* script should be abolished, perceiving it as having no use to the people of Malaya in general. His suggestion was supported by the Indian editor of a newspaper called *Straits Echo*, who asserted that it was useless for the government to spend hundreds of dollars from the state's income providing free education for boys and girls in the Straits Settlements, since Malay literature would not be useful in their future life. This editorial was copied into *Saudara* on 23.9.1933 (*Saudara* v/343/2(1933): 6). For the purpose of further considering this thesis however,

we shall look at the original editorial as published in the *Straits Echo*. The editor of *Straits Echo*, M. Saravanamuttu (see Appendix II) wrote:

We are in complete agreement with Mr. Cheng Ean [Ching Yan] with regard to the utter futility of teaching Arabic characters in the Malay Vernacular Schools and think that it is time that a change was effected to make the education in these Malay Vernacular Schools of some use to the boys and girls in after life (*Straits Echo* xxxi/219(1933): 8).

He also suggested that these proposed changes should not be implemented in the Straits Settlements alone, but extended to other Malay states in Malaya, since at that time, the general use of the Malay language in Malaya outside the Malay community was very limited. In most of the Malay states, in government and business, the common language was English, with its roman characters. Although some states like Kedah wanted to implement the use of *Jawi* in their official matters, these efforts were not that successful. The editor stressed that he was not trying to denigrate the Malay language by his support for the abolition of *Jawi* script. But he asserted that it was more practical to use the widely recognized roman script which was used in the English language (*Straits Echo* xxxi/219(1933): 8).

As for Malay schools, he suggested that the learning of Malay should be done side by side with the learning of English. He gave the example of Chinese schools, where besides teaching their mother tongue, the English language was also made available. It was pointed out that in India and Ceylon the situation was also the same; both the native and English languages were taught at the same time. However, in these cases, when the teaching of the native language had reached the highest useful level, the further educational levels were conducted exclusively in the English language (*Straits Echo* xxxi/219(1933): 8)

To the Malays at that time, the *Jawi* script was closely linked to the Malay people not only in terms of their identity as Malays, but also their identity as Muslims. Thus, Mr. Lim Ching Yan's words and the article by the editor of the *Straits Echo* received a furious response from *Saudara*. A challenge towards *Jawi* was seen as a challenge to the position of Islam in the life of the Malays. This was what was stressed by the editor of *Saudara*, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi in editorial dated 23.9.1933:

The call by the editor of the *Straits Echo* as published in *Saudara* today supporting the suggestion of Lim Ching Yan to abolish the Malay language, or at least Malay/*Jawi* characters, was obviously meant to prevent the Malays from adhering to Islam, and instead to instil communist beliefs among them, as in the case of certain races supported by them, which have created a lot of trouble for the security of the Straits Settlements and the Malay states [...] As for the Malays, as long as they are able to hold to Islam, it will be impossible for the poison of communism to penetrate into their hearts, because the letters in the Malay language are the letters in which Islamic injunctions have been written, whether in Arabic or Malay. So, if we were to discard the teaching of this script for the Malay language, undoubtedly, after a while all the teachings of the Quran and Islam would disappear, and be replaced by the spirit of communism in the hearts of the people here" (*Saudara* v/343/1(1933): 6).

Sayyid Shaikh gave the example of the situation in Java in which the children there were ignorant of other characters except the Dutch-style roman script. The heavy emphasis on the teaching of the roman script had loosened the spirit of Islamic teaching associated with the *Jawi* script in the hearts of the children there. As a result, the spirit of communism had easily found its way into the youngsters, because there was no religious spirit to act as a resistant force. (In 1926 and 1927, for example, there had been communist uprisings even in strongly Islamic areas of Java and Sumatra.) This phenomenon made it more difficult for the Dutch to counter the threats of communism in Java (*Saudara* v/343/1(1933): 6).

How far the *Jawi* script could help to resist the threat of communism we do not know, but to say that *Jawi* script was important for the teaching of Islam to the Malay people back then was quite true. *Jawi*, though not the original script of the Malay

language, was nevertheless the first widely used script among the Malay people. The Quran itself was written in a script which is very similar to *Jawi*. By learning *Jawi*, the children would be more able to familiarize themselves with the Quran, the mother of all the sources of Islamic teachings. Moreover, even today, for children who know the *Jawi* script, it is certainly much easier for them to read the Quran, or learn the Arabic language in order to understand its meaning. Furthermore, all religious books written by the Malay *ulama* in earlier centuries were in *Jawi*, if not in Arabic. Thus, to abolish the teaching of *Jawi* would drive Malays, especially those who had no knowledge of Arabic, further from the absolutely indispensable sources of Islamic teachings.

Regarding the threat of communism mentioned in the above quotation, perhaps the editor of *Saudara* was responding, not only to recent events in Indonesia, but to the situation in Malaya at that time. The British in Malaya were concentrating their efforts to combat the influence of communism, which had come into Malaya through the Chinese. The Chinese community in Malaya was closely linked to contemporary political events in China. Many were ardent supporters of the 1911 revolution, especially in terms of financial contributions. After this revolution, the Kuomintang, the party of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, was established in power in 1912 and, for a while at least, ruled China. Party branches were also established in Malaya. It was under the patronage of the branches of this party that communism entered Malaya in the late 1920s through agents posing as members of this party. When in 1927 Chiang Kai Shek purged the communist elements from the ranks of the Kuomintang, the repercussions in Malaya were that the extremists from that party broke away from the central body and formed their own organization, which in 1930 became the foundation for the Chinese-dominated Communist Party of Malaya (Ratnam 1965: 12). Malaya then became a zone of competition between these two parties to gain influence within the Chinese

community. At the same time, Chinese schools and the urban areas became the battleground between them in the conflict of ideologies: the Kuomintang (KMT) stressed Chinese nationalism, as against the Chinese Communist Party, which was based on Marxist-Leninist ideas (Andaya and Andaya 1982: 225). In the 1930s, besides using schools to widen their influence, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which in 1930 became the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) in order to lure membership from other races, concentrated its efforts on trade unions and youth organizations (Ryan 1976: 262).

Communism, with its anti-religious stand, undoubtedly could have no place among the Islamic reformists in Malaya. Indeed, with the increasing threat of communism in Malaya, Islam acted as an effective weapon to prevent communist ideology from penetrating into Malay society. Since communism was the common enemy of the British and Muslims alike, by associating *Jawi* script with Islamic teachings, the editor of *Saudara* provided a strong ground for refuting the request made by Mr. Lim Ching Yan in the Straits Legislative Council Meeting.

Also responding to the words of Lim Ching Yan and the editor of *The Straits Echo*, 'Melayu Semenanjung' (Peninsula Malay) in his 1933 article attacked the Chinese and Indians, accusing them of being ungrateful immigrants who behaved as if they were the owners of the country. Some of them, the writer noted, even dared to suggest in their newspapers that the Malays should retreat to the rural areas, and their suggestion that the *Jawi* script should be abolished clearly suggested that they wanted to destroy one of the central Malay attributes as a nation. The writer warned the Chinese and Indians in the following words:

Hei you, Chinese and Hindus, you should know that Malaya belongs to the nine sultans who have great authority. Don't you forget that you are here only

menumpang mencari habuan tembolok,⁴ the issues of Malaya are none of your concern, but only the concern of the Malays and English (Saudara vi/346(1933): 9).

Another editorial dated 21.10.1933 was also a reaction by the editor to the suggestion made by Mr. Lim Ching Yan. In this article, the editor, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, quoted the words of Sir David Guillaume in the Johore State Council Meeting on 3.10.1933, which read as follows:

Malay children are required to know how to read the Quran from childhood. Thus, in Johore there are now two different types of schools, religious schools and language [Malay] schools. Because of that, I would like to ask all of you to consider combining the *Jawi* school with the religious school. Or, is it not possible for us to read the Quran using roman characters? I hope my suggestions will be considered and we will achieve a result which could make our educational matters less complicated (Saudara vi/351(1933): 6).

Sayyid Shaikh expressed his agreement with the idea of combining Malay and religious schools, regarding it as similar to the suggestion by the Sultan of Selangor, who had wanted religious teaching to be incorporated into the Sultan Idris Teachers' Training College. However, he was astonished and angry at the suggestion of replacing *Jawi* with roman characters in the teaching of the Quran. He was convinced that Sir David Guillaume had been influenced by the suggestions of Mr. Lim Ching Yan. The writer regarded this suggestion as a serious threat to the religious spirit of the Malays posed by people who, despite the fact that they themselves did not know how to read the Quran and never uttered even a word of the Quran, dared to make such a suggestion without serious examination of the matter. Sayyid Shaikh posed further important questions:

Is there any roman letter which could enable one to pronounce the *tartil* which is obligatory for anybody who recites the Quran, since it is commanded in the Quran, "and recite the Quran with *tartil*," and how should one arrange the roman characters to accomodate *qalqalah* or *hamas* characters and others which should be maintained when one recites the Quran to prevent the meaning from being changed. No doubt, however, if we give all these reasons to the champions of roman characters, they will say to us that Mustafa Kemal or the Turkish government have

⁴ A crude way of expressing an outsider who comes to a place to work.

changed the characters of their language to roman characters (*Saudara* vi/351(1933): 6).

The editor warned, however, against following blindly the changes made by Turkey.

He suggested sceptically:

If we are to follow them, is it not better for us to wait until we can see what the romanised Quran looks like? If we are not able to recite it as we recite with Arabic characters, so that the meaning is not changed, then, we can call Quranic teachers from Turkey to teach our children here....” (*Saudara* vi/351(1933): 6)

The Chinese suggestions, the editor claimed, were clearly aiming at eliminating completely the Malay language from Malaya. On the other hand, their own language was being safeguarded and nourished through the establishment of so many schools in the Malay states (*Saudara* vi/351(1933): 6).

The article interestingly leads us to ponder the nature of reform in Turkey, since *Saudara* had a considerable interest, as a periodical with an agenda of Islamic reform, in the impact of the revolution in Turkey on Islam in that country. Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Republic of Turkey came to power in 1923. Convinced that Islam was the reason for the backwardness of his society, he concentrated on eliminating Islamic elements in the country, and aimed to secularize it. He was determined to modernize Turkey on the basis of the Western model. The first step was the abolition of the Caliphate and expulsion of all Ottoman family members from Turkey. This was followed by the closure of theological schools, religious courts and the Dervish orders, prohibition of the wearing of the traditional fez, the replacement of Arabic characters with Latin in writing Turkish, and of the *ceriat (syariah)* – the Islamic law - with the Swiss Civil Code. The introduction of this Swiss Civil Code brought many changes pertaining to the status of women in Turkish society. Among them were monogamous marriage, equality between men and women as heirs, several provisions concerning

property management and consequently the right for women to vote and stand for election in local contests (Mardin 1981: 216). In place of the abolished religious schools, he established secular schools, encouraged the wearing of European dress rather than Turkish national dress, and European entertainment which involved men and women, like dance, balls and others. Thus, most of his reform programmes were clearly contrary to the stand of Islamic reformists in Malaya and all over the Muslim world at that time. The Islamic reformists always argued that, in order to be modern, one does not have to discard Islam. Like Mustafa Kemal, the reformists believed that Muslims should look to the West in order to borrow any ideas or technology which promoted progress. However, in doing that, they should not compromise Islam in any way; those aspects which were against Islamic teaching should be avoided. However, Mustafa Kemal's opinion that Islam was the source of the backwardness of his people clearly put him in a different league from those Islamic reformists who strongly believed that, in order for the Muslims to achieve progress, Western ideas and technology alone were not enough, but they would have to go back to the true teachings of Islam.

Another prominent Chinese leader who challenged the status of the Malay language was Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, a member of both the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Straits Settlements. In 1934, following his speech on the issue of educational policy in Malaya, and his advocacy of English as the basic language and the common bond of union of all the Malayan races, there was sharp increase in the number of articles in *Saudara* discussing the Malay language. By this stage, the Malays were arguing that the Malay language was the most suitable lingua franca, since it was spoken throughout Malaya. However, their opinion was strongly opposed by the non-Malays, especially by

the Chinese. In the Legislative Council meeting held in Malacca on February 12th 1934,⁵

Mr Tan Cheng Lock said:

It is true that colloquial Malay has been the common medium of intercourse not only in the Malay Peninsula but also in the whole of the Malay Archipelago for several centuries past. It is an extremely simple language which makes it serve as an easy lingua franca. But a lingua franca is not much of a bond, and even Malay as a lingua franca cannot go far beyond its proper and limited function of serving as a mere means of communication between the various nationalities resident in Malaya and the East Indies (Tan 1947: 97).

Regarding the suitability of English as a lingua franca compared to Malay, he argued that:

For strong and important reasons English should be the basic language of this country particularly in the Colony. By "basic language" I mean the language in which the mass of the people should be instructed to read and write and obtain a certain minimum standard of literacy, and which should form the principal instrument of organized education whereby each member of a new generation may acquire knowledge and be initiated into the collective social and intellectual heritage of mankind, for which purpose the English language with its glorious literature, overwhelming in its variety and wealth, is unsurpassed. English, which is already the most widely spoken language throughout the world, is likely to become universal and is also well on the way to securing universal currency in this country and in the whole of the East. In Singapore and in other towns of this country, the use of English has in recent years enormously increased at the expense of Malay, so that English does distinctly tend to become the common language of this country especially in the towns. A much-simplified form of English called "Basic English", which makes use of only 850 words, has already been proposed as an ideal universal language of the future and may prove even easier for the masses than, for instance, literary Malay (Tan 1947: 101).

To emphasize his opinion, Tan provided further reasons for his preference for English becoming the *lingua franca* in Malaya. He argued that English was an important means of imparting common ideas and a common outlook to a population, which must be British, since Malaya was a British colony. In trade schools, English was being used, not Malay. Similarly, the most organized agricultural, technical,

⁵ Excerpt from Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's speeches in this meeting were copied into *Saudara* under the title "Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan di Melaka, Bahasan Mr. Tan Cheng Lock berkenaan dengan Bahasa Basahan bagi Malaya" (Legislative Council Meeting in Malacca - Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's Debate regarding a *Lingua Franca* for Malaya). The subheadings of the excerpts were: "Tulisan Melayu Menjahanamkan Masa kepada Orang China bagi Mempelajari akandia" (The Teaching of Malay writing is a waste of time for the Chinese), "Bahasa Rumah - Bahasa Melayu ditakluki oleh Bahasa Inggeris" (Language of the house - Malay Language is being dominated by English) and "Bahasa Basahan, Mengapa dikehendaki akan Bahasa Inggeris?" (Lingua Franca, Why should it be English?) (*Saudara* vi/387(1934): 4-5).

commercial, industrial and adult education used English instead of Malay. Finally, in agricultural trades, "a knowledge of English will enable one to know and appreciate the latest and most intelligent methods and the new and scientific ideas which have been introduced into the tilling of the soil, the raising of livestock and other farming activities and planting practices in all the important branches of agriculture" (Tan 1947: 102).

Therefore, in Tan's opinion, it was only appropriate that English should be the language of the state. Thus, Tan pleaded for the British government to provide a free primary English education to the Chinese for use in general matters and businesses. Furthermore, when a Legislative Council Meeting proposed that other foreign races in Malaya should learn Malay for 2-4 years before entering English schools, this suggestion was strongly opposed by the Chinese. Mr Tan Cheng Lock in his speech opposing this suggestion argued that it was a waste of time to study the Malay language, because most of the words were borrowed from Persian, Sanskrit, etc. Moreover, he claimed, there was nothing useful in that language except for those people who wanted to learn stories from the Hindu religion, Persia, Java, or simple proverbs and rhymes, etc. In addition, the language had nothing useful for the development of business or the progress of the nation. Tan agreed that every race in Malaya should know basic Malay (*bahasa pasar*) because it was the language of inter-racial communication, but asserted that, in order to know this language there was no need for formal education in that language. It was incumbent on the Malays to learn the language because Malay was their native language but "it would be sheer and cruel waste of precious time for a Chinese or an Indian boy to spend three or four years in a Malay school to study literary Malay, which can be of no conceivable use to him in after life" (Tan 1947: 99).

In addition, Mr. Tan Cheng Lock argued that, rather than spending money on providing a free Malay education for the Chinese, they should provide a Chinese education free for all Chinese people, but if the British were not in favour of providing that, then the British should provide them with free elementary education in English.

His words below best reflect his opinion on this matter:

What is most perplexing to me and utterly beyond my comprehension is why, if the locally-born Chinese cannot be given free or state-aided elementary education in their own language, i.e. Chinese, it should be deemed fit and proper for them or beneficial for them to have that education in Malay which is not their native tongue and for which there can be no utilitarian or pragmatic sanction so far as it concerns them. Such a suggestion seems to me to be grotesque and unaccountable in the extreme and would be most difficult, if not impossible, of realisation in face of the stout and unanimous opposition to it from the people concerned. Everywhere in the world the race to be educated should have a strong voice in educational matters and direction. Being British subjects and traditionally loyal to the land of their birth, which is British territory, the Straits-born Chinese with perfect logic and justice demand they should receive elementary education at the expense of the state in the language of the Imperial Ruling power, which is also the official, commercial and common written language of the country, and which under the circumstances is the best and most useful language for them to learn at school – even in the elementary school – from the economic, educational, cultural and every other standpoint (Tan 1947: 100).

Surprisingly there was no direct reply to Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's speeches in *Saudara* despite the fact that an excerpt of the speech was published in the newspaper. There were however some passing remarks made by several authors regarding this matter. For example, Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff urged the Malays, especially the educated ones, to use Malay language in their everyday lives in order to make sure that the rumours about the English language becoming the lingua franca of the state would never become a reality. Abdul Majid suggested that Malays should use the Malay language when writing letters. The same would apply when they were ordering food in restaurants, etc. If all people took this action, gradually all people throughout Malaya would be speaking *bahasa Melayu*. The fault, Abdul Majid said, "lies with the Malays themselves. How will the people accept our language if we ourselves do not love and use it?" According to him, the problem for the Malays was that many of them looked down upon their own language and valued the English language far more. As a result, he argued, foreign

people could dare to suggest without hesitation that "our language and our *Jawi* script be abolished and English be recognized as the 'lingua franca'" (Saudara vi/404(1934): 1-2).

3.4. Definition of Malay Identity

In the early 1930s a series of articles regarding the definition of Malay identity appeared in *Saudara*. Before going further into the debate regarding this issue, I believe it is essential to look at the realities of Malay society then. In trying to define who a Malay is, three groups of people will always emerge into the picture. In addition to the indigenous Malays, there are the Malays who migrated from Indonesia, and the mixed-race Malays from Arab or Indian descent. Thus, before further discussion, it is important to look at the origin of these groups in Malaya and how they became a significant part of Malay society.

Mass Indonesian migration not based on trade can be traced back to the 1870s, after the opening of the Western States. However, there were already some Malays originally from Indonesia settled in both Selangor and Perak. The early groups were predominantly Sumatrans, perhaps due to the easy accessibility to Malaya via the ports of Penang, Malacca and others on the West Coast, and to their marked similarity with the Peninsular in terms of culture and even family ties. By the 1890s however, the Javanese followed, initially to work as contract labour rather than as settlers. Their number increased with the boom in the rubber industry. Singapore became the exchange points for the Javanese indenture system, where labourers were recruited to carry out various kinds of jobs, from clearing forests to domestic services (Roff 1964: 78-9).

Apart from economic factors, Indonesian migration also resulted from the desire to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. Under Dutch colonial rule, pilgrimage to Mecca was for Indonesian Muslims very much restricted, since the Dutch were afraid of its influence on the returning *hajis*. Among the restrictions imposed upon the people in order to discourage them from performing the pilgrimage was a means test before departure and an examination upon return. Thus, the easiest way to avoid these regulations was to travel via Singapore, where the British were less strict in their regulations. Indonesians who wanted to perform this pilgrimage usually stayed in Singapore for a few years to save money for expenses, and many of them stayed permanently upon their return, or stayed for a time to pay off passage debts incurred in Mecca. Some who failed to achieve their original aim settled permanently in Singapore (Roff 1964: 79-80).

Those of Arab origin in Malaya were largely from the Hadhramaut, and had come for the purposes of trade. According to Roff:

It is impossible from the available figures to say how many of the locally-born "Malay-Arabs" were themselves descendents of mixed parents, but there is no doubt that a fair proportion of Malaya's Arab community had only a nominal claim to that title. Possession of an Arabic honorific (usually Sayyid or Shaykh) did not necessarily mean more than a rather tenuous Arab descent nor any personal acquaintance with peninsular Arabia. It did, however, denote membership of the "Arab" community, with all the advantages of respect, prestige, favour, and influence that this status conferred (Roff 1964: 81).

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century these Arabs tended to monopolize the inter-island sailing trade, especially in *batik* and other cloth products, and also in other products like tobacco, brassware, honey, dates etc. They played an important role in the Muslim community and became active in charitable and social welfare work, helped to build mosques and hospitals, donated land for burial grounds, and sponsored large public gatherings during religious festivals (Roff 1964: 82).

Another group, the Indian Muslims or the *Jawi Peranakan*, also played an important role in the Malay community. Today, the majority of this group of people can still be found in Penang. The *Jawi Peranakan* are the locally born offspring of unions between Malay women and South Indian (chiefly Malabari) Muslim traders, merchants and settlers who migrated to Malaya in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Although they retained some of the South Indian customs and modes of life, they were rapidly assimilated into Malay society. The *Jawi Peranakan* had a reputation for intelligence and language ability, were usually employed by the British as clerks, translators and interpreters. Many also acted as *Munshi* or Malay teachers to the European community, particularly those in government. Many of them were also among the first school teachers in the Straits Settlements. Most importantly, Malay journalism, like book publication in Malay, owes its origin largely to them. In 1876, they published a weekly newspaper in Malay called *Jawi Peranakan* (1876-1895) and continued to make a significant contribution to Malay journalism. They were involved in all aspects of publication such as printing, editing and also contributing articles, "often writing as Malays and identifying themselves with Malay interests" (Roff 1964: 86-7).

The fact that these three groups were so much intertwined with the Malay society made it difficult to differentiate them from the Malays. However, including these people as Malay people, especially in the case of the migrant Malays from Indonesia, to some extent put the Malays in Malaya in a difficult situation. They were always being used as excuses for the non-Malays to demand more rights for themselves in Malaya. Thus, the task of correctly defining Malay identity was indeed very complicated.

The threat from the foreign races, the need to safeguard their privileges, and the establishment of various associations in the Malay community, prompted the Malays to

search for a true definition of who was actually a Malay. The debate in *Saudara* in 1932 was initiated as a response to the writings of the editor of another newspaper, *Majlis* (Abdul Rahim Kajai) who listed the basic characteristics of a Malay as follows:

- 1) born in Malaya
- 2) Muslim
- 3) Speaking the Malay language
- 4) Wearing Malay clothes
- 5) Practising Malay customs
- 6) Having the attitudes and natural courtesy of the Malay people
- 7) A subject of the Malay sultan
- 8) Does not have any other loyalty except to the Malay sultan.

A writer with the pseudonym of 'Melayu Jati' (Pure Malay) analyzed this definition in an article in *Saudara* in 1932, and tried to assess whether the definition above was suitable and applicable in defining a Malay. Firstly, regarding the suggestion that anybody who was born in Malaya could be considered as a Malay, the writer argued that this would trap the Malays into having to accept non-Malays born in Malaya as Malays. This would not be fair to the Malay people as a whole including those beyond Malaya. Then he added:

The Malay nation is not the smallest in terms of numbers, so we should not add to our number people who do not belong to us. If somebody is going to be called a Malay, at least one of his parents should be a Malay. Moreover, what is to be the status of those Malays who were born in places outside Malaya or in one of the Malay islands? (*Saudara* iv/170(1932): 1)

Concerning Islam, 'Melayu Jati' (Pure Malay) insisted that religion should not be used to identify race. If religion was used as a definition of a Malay, the number of Malays would increase very fast. 'Melayu Jati' asked: "Then, where are we going to find the country to accommodate all these people? Although in Islam men are free to live wherever they like, how could we follow the current trend where each country is allocated for a particular race?" 'Melayu Jati' added:

How should we consider Muslims from other races who are totally different from us Malays? What about those people in Java, Sumatra and the Philippines who are Malays but not Muslims? What will happen to them? Most definitely, other races would not accept them. (*Saudara* iv/170(1932): 1)

'Melayu Jati' stressed that, while it was a good suggestion to include anybody who spoke Malay in the definition of a Malay, the problem was that there were many other different languages spoken in the Malay Archipelago and many of the people who speak those languages did not know how to speak Malay even though they were of Malay racial origin. "And if we want to limit ourselves to the Malay language alone, then we would face another problem, because in the Malay language nowadays, there are a lot of foreign words." (Saudara iv/170(1932): 1)

The writer was of the opinion that it was difficult to determine whether someone was a Malay just because he or she was wearing Malay clothes. This was due to the fact that ways of dressing always followed a general trend. "The dress worn by the Malays nowadays is not completely an authentic Malay style of dressing, and changes are still going on. Moreover, if we still insist on traditional dress being one of the characters of a Malay, we will automatically have to exclude government officials in the government sectors." A similar point could be made about following the Malay custom and having a Malay attitude toward courtesy, since these were changing from time to time. 'Melayu Jati' asked: "So what will happen when a Malay is no longer practising Malay *adat*? Is he still called a Malay?" (Saudara iv/170(1932): 1)

'Melayu Jati' believed that being the subject of a Malay raja was not a sufficient definition of Malay identity. "What about when there are no more Malay *rajas*; and, most importantly, what about the people in the Straits Settlements who do not have a *raja*? Are they to be excluded from the Malay nation?" (Saudara iv/170(1932): 1)

Another anonymous writer joined the debate with a discussion about mixed marriages, which commonly took place between Malays and other races. These

marriages which took place between Malays and Muslims from other races, usually Arabs and Indians, produced offspring usually referred to as '*peranakan*'. They had become a part of the Malay community and blended well into it. According to the writer:

at the time when the Malay people want to establish Malay national associations, it is important that they have a clear definition of who is a Malay. Thus, in the *peranakan* case, are we going to reject them?...if we decided to exclude them, it means that we are penalizing the actions of our ancestors which have been going on since 400 years ago... (Saudara iv/173(1932): 1)

A writer with the pseudonym of 'Penugal Melayu' (Malay Dibbler), in a discussion about the definition of a Malay made the following interesting point:

There is no nation in this world that does not have a definition of its own. As for the Malays, once they become Muslims, they have thereby discarded the precise definition of Malay, and become blended with each other on the basis of Islam for so long that it becomes difficult for them to define who a Malay is (Saudara iv/175(1932): 1).

In fact what the above writer wrote is true about the Malay people even now. It is often difficult to differentiate between the Islamic and Malay identities, so much so that one who converts to Islam is described as having "masuk Melayu."

The editor of *Saudara* at the time, Abdul Wahab Abdullah, contributed to this debate with an editorial on 16.1.1932 in which he wrote:

If we examine other nations such as the French, Germans etc., and how their nations were created, we would surely come across the fact that their nations were built up by various elements which mixed together. Thus, nowadays nobody would dare to say that the French or British nations were free from the blood of other races apart from pure English and French blood (Saudara iv/172(1932): 5).

What is the meaning behind the words of Abdul Wahab Abdullah? In a subtle way, is he trying to convince the Malays to accept mixed-race Malays by Arab and Indian intermarriages with Malay women into the Malay community? At this time there was a large group of these people especially in Penang and Singapore. The fact that many

important individuals in *Saudara* belonged to this group of people might well explain the tendency of his writing. Even the founder of *Saudara*, Sayyid Shaikh b. Ahmad al-Hadi, was from Arab descent.

The debate on the definition of a Malay appeared again in *Saudara* towards the end of the 1930s. It was probably a response to the debate on Malay definition raised by *Utusan Melayu* under the editorship of Abdul Rahim Kajai. The debate revolved around the issue of the definition of a Malay (*takrif Melayu*) in Kesatuan Melayu Singapura and the issue of the establishment of a new Malay association, the Straits Settlement Malay Association. The definition of a Malay as far as Kesatuan Melayu Singapura was concerned was as follows: this association was open to all Malays whose patriarchal lineage originated from Malaya, or from Malay islands such as Java, Celebes, Bawean, Sumatra, Borneo, etc. who have become British subjects under the protectorate; this association was also open to any foreign woman who was married to or a widow of people belonging to the membership of Kesatuan Melayu; but any adult woman who was married, divorced from or a widow of any non-Malay was not included in this association (*Utusan Melayu* i/56(1939): 8). Thus, looking at the first clause, it is clear that the definition automatically discarded mixed-blood Malays from Arab and Indian descent.

It is clear from the disapproving comments of various contributors to *Saudara* that Abdul Rahim supported the rigid definition of Malay identity as outlined by Kesatuan Melayu Singapura, stressing the requirement of pure Malay blood, and thus discarding mixed-race Malays from inter-marriage between Indians and Arabs with local Malay women from being considered as Malays. As for the establishment of the Straits Settlement Malay Association, Abdul Rahim, in various editorials of *Utusan Melayu*,

accused the association of using Malay words in the name of the association despite the fact that its members were not pure Malays, since it was known that most of the members were of Arab and Indian descent. The point for Abdul Rahim was that Islam could never be equivalent to 'Malay.' Abdul Rahim accordingly suggested that the name should be changed to 'Straits Settlement British Muslim Association.' The fact that there was already a Muslim Association in Singapore, Kesatuan Melayu Singapura (KMS), which had been established in 1926, made him suspicious that the purpose of the establishment of this association was to compete with KMS and to weaken the latter. Apart from that, Abdul Rahim was suspicious that this association was trying to compete for the place allocated for the Malay representative in the Legislative Council, since the government usually chose this representative from the KMS.

It is interesting to note how Abdul Rahim changed his definition from a broad one (as suggested in *Saudara* in 1932 - see above) while he was the editor of *Majlis* (published between 1931-1941) in 1932, to a very rigid one by the end of the 1930s. Perhaps, Abdul Rahim's opinion was in line with the general mood of the Malays towards the mixed-race Malays or so-called *peranakan* Malays at that time. A conflict between Malays and Arabs in Singapore on the issue of landownership was escalating at that time. After holding the prominent position in the Malay society for so long, the Arab-Malays had begun to be resented by Malays, who accused them of arrogance and trying to manipulate the Malay community for their own benefit. The situation was made worse by the fact that the 1930s was a period of the dominance of the concept 'racial purity', which was primarily championed by Hitler, and which influenced many countries throughout the world. From various writings in *Saudara* it can be deduced that its contributors resented this effort made by various Malay associations to redefine Malay identity. It is important to note that many of their resentments were directed

towards Abdul Rahim Kajai himself, who insulted the *peranakan* with the terms DKK (Darah Keturunan Keling) and DKA (Darah Keturunan Arab) when referring to them. As a periodical published in Penang where there were many *peranakan* Malays, it is clear that many articles in *Saudara* regarding this issue opposed the rigid definition of a Malay, or, in other words, promoted the inclusion of *peranakan* Malays in the definition. However, this does not mean that they were willing to accept all other Muslims in Malayan society at that time as Malays.

This stand is best reflected in an editorial of 8.7.1939 where the editor (no editor's name can be discovered for this date)⁶, discussed the definition of a Malay put forward by two Malay associations in Singapore, the Singapore Malay Association (Kesatuan Melayu Singapura - KMS) and the Straits Settlements Singapore Malay Association (SSSMA). The editor criticized the definition made by the SSSMA, which defined a Malay as 'anybody who was born in Malaya and a Muslim,' on the grounds that this definition was recognized by the government. In response to this definition, the editor wrote:

Indeed, we feel it really strange that every Muslim born in Malaya is to be considered as a Malay: Why? Does Islam mean Malay? Impossible, since Islam is a religion whereas Malay is a race. Religion can be changed but not race. Who would recognize a grasshopper as an eagle? Malays have to be careful with Muslims from among foreign races who are trying to mix with and thus eliminate the Malay race. Let's consider. If both parents were Arabs but the child was born here, can we consider such a child Malay? Of course not...This is a pity, because if the SSSMA had used the definition of *peranakan takrif* which means that one of the parents is a Malay, we could not oppose that. But to use the *takrif* [definition] of Islam to determine whether one is a Malay, makes us wonder about the level of thinking of the SSSMA's leadership (*Saudara* xi/917(1939): 6).

Apart from Malay associations in Singapore, the most frequently mentioned association in *Saudara* which was trying to find a definition of Malay identity was the Perak Malay Association. The Association believed that the *peranakan* Malays had

⁶ Between 7.6.1939 and 5.8.1939, there was no editor's name stated on the cover page of *Saudara*. The only written was: "Published and Printed by Aminuddin Kamis."

dominated pure Malays for too long, and they now started to question the involvement of *peranakan* Malays in government. One of the officials mentioned in this respect was Tengku Menteri, who was believed to be of Indian descent.

Defending the *peranakan* Malays, the editor, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan wrote in 1940:

Why do I say that the attitude of the people who are obsessed by the issue of *takrif* have hurt the mixed-blood people? If we consider carefully, the mixed-race Malays from Arab and Indian descent have never once created trouble for people who claim to be pure Malays. Instead we can see hundreds of charity works done by these people for the sake of all Muslims in Malaya, men or women. So, why should these good acts be considered treacherous? So, *Melayu Raya* people should think about these issues more carefully (Saudara xiii/1061(1940): 10)

The editor suggested that since many Malays had risen to prominence by this time, and Malays were slowly standing on their own feet, they had gradually forgotten the contribution of this *peranakan* group towards their forefathers, even to the extent of branding them as treacherous people and dangerous to the pure Malays of *Melayu Raya*. The writer stressed that it was because of the Indians, Arabs and Chinese that Malaya had become a civilized society. Thus, the editor reminded the Malays not to be influenced by one or two promoters of *takrif* to the extent that they become ungrateful (Saudara xiii/1061(1940): 10).

In trying to refute the words of those who were making a narrow definition of Malay identity, a regular contributor on the issue, 'Ratuman'⁷, stressed in 1940 that many kings who had ruled the kingdoms in the Malay Archipelago originated from Arabia or India. For example, 'Ratuman' pointed to the Acehnese ruler, Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain, under whose rule Aceh had become a very prosperous kingdom and had

⁷ It is not clear what this pseudonym means. Literally, perhaps, it is a combination of two words; Malay (*Ratu* - beauty queen) and English (man). Possibly this name was inspired by the writer's discussion of a beauty pageant which was planned to be held in Penang. Through his many articles, the writer strongly opposed such beauty contests, on the grounds that it was totally against Islamic teachings, and a degradation to women's dignity.

even extended to the Malay Archipelago. The Javanese kings too, had their origin in Arabs or *sayyid*. The raja of Perlis had Arab blood. 'Ratuman' stressed that if the promoters of *takrif* were willing to study the genealogy of the kings of the Malay Archipelago, they would surely loosen their definition of a Malay. The genealogy of Perak showed that Sultan Ismail was from Arab descent and his father Sayyid Hitam had had a lot of children in Pahang, Johor, Perak and Eastern Sumatra (Saudara xiii/1062(1940): 17).

Wak Sati, in his article concerning this issue in 1940, gave an Islamic argument concerning the *takrif* movement in Malaya. He tried to show the negative influence of *takrif* on Muslims. For example, Islam permitted its followers to give any wealth that they have to anybody they like. However, according to Wak Sati, people influenced by *takrif* had a different opinion; that non-Malays were not entitled to inherit from Malays, even though both were Muslims. Thus, if a person wanted to bequeath his wealth to his adopted child, for example a Chinese or an Indian, he could not do so. This stance, according to Wak Sati, was clearly against Islamic teachings. He wrote:

Actually anything that the promoters of *takrif* want to do, nobody would object if they genuinely honoured Islamic teachings. However we believe that if they were really to consider, honour religion, and look at Islamic rules as obligatory rules to be followed, they would not dare to differentiate between people from the same religion. Unfortunately, they have promulgated constitutions of associations without considering their Islamic basis, just like the non-believers, and have humiliated their fellow Muslim brothers with the crudest of words: people who do not belong to their *takrif* and people who were desperate to be considered as Malays despite the fact that they would never become so. Are these the people that we can depend on to improve the nation and society, especially given their accusation that people from Arab and Indian descent are only using Malay as tools for their own benefit? (Saudara xiii/1072(1940): 3).

Wak Sati was of the opinion that the best way to cure this *takrif* disease from spreading was by eliminating the concept of *takrif* in the associations so that all Muslims could work together for the general welfare. If not, Wak Sati stressed that the people who were rejected from the *takrif* group would build their own associations to challenge the

takrif group, who were treating them like the Germans treated the Jews (Saudara xiii/1073(1940): 18).

There were several reasons why writers in *Saudara* constantly opposed the *takrif* movement at that time. The most obvious one was that *takrif* would lead to disunity among the Malays. Furthermore it was against those Islamic teachings that enjoined the spirit of brotherhood among its followers. They gave evidence in support of this position from the Quran and the hadith. 'Anak Tanjung Penaga' (Tanjung Penaga's Offspring), for example, referred to one hadith from Prophet Muhammad s.a.w., who had said:

Not from us anybody who preached '*assabiyyah* and not from us people who fought for '*assabiyyah* and not from us anybody who died because of '*assabiyyah* (a '*hadith hasan*' narrated by Abu Daud from Saidina Jabir bin Mut'im) (Saudara xiv/1082(1941): 3).

As mentioned earlier, the 1930s decade was dominated by Hitler's concept of 'racial purity', and this concept influenced many nations throughout the world. In Malaya, it became clear that this idea could become a threat to the aspiration to Malay unity. It is important to note in this context that the promoters of a precise definition of a Malay identity at this time only wanted to exclude mixed-blood Malays from Arab and Indian marriages with Malays, but not the migrants from the Malay Archipelago including the Javanese, Minangkabau, Sundanese, etc. They considered them to belong to the Malay race. However, by recognizing ethnic groups coming from Indonesia as Malays, they put themselves in a peculiar situation, since many of these were non-Muslims, for example the Hindus of Bali. Thus, it became a core argument of the anti-*takrif* elements that this willingness to accept people who were not Muslims as Malay brothers was an insult to their fellow Muslim brothers who had long been part of their community.

Consequently, a few writers criticized the racial purists and asserted that people from Indonesia, especially the Javanese who were already present in large numbers in Malaya at that time, were not Malays. For example, 'Ratuman' (see above) wrote that the Javanese would never consider themselves as Malays. They regarded themselves rather as Indonesians since, if one compared the Malay and the Javanese population, the number of Malays was far smaller. So, 'Ratuman' asked, why would the Javanese wish to identify with a much smaller ethnic group? (*Saudara* xiii/1068(1940): 3).

One of the most interesting articles published in *Saudara* on this issue was by 'Ratuman,' in which the writer associated the '*takrif Melayu*' movement with Nazism. 'Ratuman' compared the situation in Malaya with Germany and criticized the promoters of *takrif* in the following words:

The same goes with the '*takrif Melayu*' *Shaikhs*, they have their own Goering and Goebbels and their newspapers. We don't have to mention here that their behaviour has tainted the Malay national spirit. They have insulted the *Peranakan Melayu* with titles like *DKA* and *DKK* and a lot of others. If they were to be in power in Malaya as are the Nazis in Germany now, those Malays who did not fit their definitions may face a fate like that of the Jews in Germany, but Allah Taala would always look after His slaves. The British are still here in Malaya, and they are very tolerant and care a great deal about their subjects. However, we are puzzled why the '*takrif Melayu*' groups want to follow the German Nazis' footsteps. Is it not dangerous for them? (*Saudara* xiii/1071/1(1940): 3)

'Ratuman' also stressed that even the Malay aristocrats and the sultans disagreed with the '*takrif Melayu*' movement because it could cause a split among a people of the same race and religion (*Saudara* xiii/1071/1(1940): 3).

Thus, looking at the issue of the definition of Malay identity perhaps gives us an idea of Malay insecurity at this time. Their initial anger and resentment and sense of weakness even affected their attitude to mixed-race Malays, even though this group had worked for Malay society for so long. Thus, ethnicity overcame Islam in their definition of true Malay identity. Also in this respect, we can clearly see the importance of the concept of *Melayu Raya* (Greater Malay) as is evident in the number of articles

addressing this issue. This is not at all surprising, since this period witnessed the emergence of Malay intellectuals who were the product of a Malay vernacular education that slowly replaced the religious groups who had been in the forefront of the Malay struggle towards progress up to that time. These Malay intellectuals, inspired by the nationalist movement in Indonesia, aspired to the union of the people throughout the Malay Archipelago in one nation to be known as *Melayu Raya*. This idea is similar to Sukarno's vision of *Indonesia Raya*. The only difference was that Sukarno's was based more on a political vision, while the *Melayu Raya* advocates were thinking more in terms of ethnic solidarity. The emergence of Malay associations, extensively discussed in articles in *Saudara*, showed that the Malays were starting to organize themselves and the spirit of Malay nationalism was getting stronger at the time. Malay nationalism and a Malay national vision was already taking shape, long before the formation of UMNO in 1946. This point has already been noted by, among others, W.R.Roff. But the sometimes fierce debates in *Saudara* enable us to see in detail the evolution of nationalist thinking in the period before the Second World War.

CHAPTER 4

SAUDARA AND THE 'LAZY MALAY MYTH' DEBATE

4.1. Introduction

The 'lazy Malay myth' has created a continuous debate inside and outside Malay society. As a newspaper which fought for the survival and progress of the Malays, undoubtedly *Saudara*, through its abundance of articles discussing the weaknesses of Malay society, and suggestions as to how to remedy these weaknesses, would inevitably become part of the ongoing debate on this issue.

One of the earliest British officials who wrote about the Malays was Frank Swettenham in his book *About Perak*, in which he described the Malay character as follows:

He is courageous and trustworthy in the discharge of an undertaking; but he is extravagant, fond of borrowing money, and very slow in repaying it. He is a good talker, speaks in parables, quotes proverbs and wise saws, and is very fond of a good joke. He takes an interest in the affairs of his neighbours and is consequently a gossip. He is a Muhammadan and a fatalist, but he is also very superstitious. He never drinks intoxicants, he is rarely an opium smoker. But he is fond of gambling, cock-fighting and kindred sports. He is by nature a sportsman, catches and tames elephants, is a skilful fisherman, and thoroughly at home in a boat. Above all things he is conservative to a degree, is proud and fond of his country and his people, venerates his ancient customs and traditions, fears his rajas and has a proper respect for constituted authority – while he looks askance on all innovations and will resist sudden introductions. But if they have time to examine them carefully and they are not thrust upon him, he is willing to be convinced of their advantage. At the same time he is a good imitative learner, and, when he has energy and ambition enough for the task, makes a good mechanic.

He concluded, however:

He is, however, lazy to a degree, is without method or order of any kind, knows no regularity even in the hours of his meals, and considers time as of no importance. His house is untidy, even dirty, but he bathes twice a day and is very fond of personal adornment in the shape of smart clothes (Swettenham 1893: 46).

4.2. Munshi Abdullah - (Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan) (Abdullah's Travel Account to Kelantan)

Apart from a few British officials who wrote comments about the character of the Malays, as seen above, perhaps the earliest comment on this question made by local people was that of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, famously known as Munshi Abdullah through his book entitled *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*¹ (Abdullah's Travel Account).

Munshi Abdullah in his account of his travel to Kelantan in 1838 wrote about the condition of people in the Eastern Malay states. On his way to this state, he stopped at Pahang and Terengganu. In his account, he basically condemned many Malay *adat* and practices, and the general bad habits of the Malay people. Regarding the Malays of Pahang he wrote:

Thus I see that the state of Pahang is like an orchard, without markets or shops, no path to walk through, except in the Chinese villages where there is a path of about 50 yards (*depa*). Unfortunately, from what I see, the land in Pahang is wasted and has become like a forest because the people there are lazy (*malas*) and indolent (*lalai*). If any seed or tree is planted, it will grow because all the trees there are very fertile. As for the people, out of a hundred, only ten are working, while others are just sitting around, in poverty and a bad condition, carrying with them four or five types of weapons, all day long. Furthermore, many of them are obsessed by their appearance, wearing good clothes but refusing to earn their living. Thus, when they saw that I was coming, all of them surrounded me as if seeing something miraculous. I believed that most of them consume opium, and they look thin and pale (Abdullah 1960: 30).

In Abdullah's opinion, many people refused to work because they were calculating, "What is the use of being hardworking? If we got a little bit of food and money, the aristocrats (*orang besar*) would desire them and confiscate everything" (Abdullah 1960:

¹ This writing contains the story of Munshi Abdullah's travels to two places; one to Kelantan, a Malay State and second, to Judah an Arab state. As the title suggests, only his account to Kelantan is relevant to the subject discussed since it contained his relatively detailed observation on the life and condition of the Malay people in Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan. What is apparent from his description was that the Malays were living in a poor condition under the Malay rajahs. In his account Abdullah also praised the British administration excessively and openly criticized the Malay rajahs and repeatedly condemned Malay *adat*.

42-3). In other words, Abdullah believed that the people were lazy and poverty-stricken all their lives because of the tyranny of the government. He was convinced that there was no other reason apart from that. From his words it could be implied that Abdullah was of the opinion that the Malays were not naturally lazy but only because, in their desperate situation, it was rational for them to be lazy.

In Terengganu, Abdullah saw the same condition. He described the people as living like slaves. They were still practising their stultifying *adat*. They were, furthermore, not brave enough to discard this *adat* even if they had wanted to do so. Abdullah wrote:

From what I saw the people there are all living in poverty, and seemed to be lazy and indolent all day. At the corner of the streets there are princes' and raja's slaves, and their clothes [that of the ordinary people] are not good, full of dirt, and so are their bodies. Nevertheless, everybody wears four or five pieces of *campak buang*, a *keris* and a *chenangkas*: thus, their work consists in carrying [all these weapons] and walking here and there. On the other hand the women work, opening shops or becoming hawkers to earn a living; but the men are all lazy, they only eat and sleep and mend their weapons. This is the work of the people in that state. From what I see the land there is very good for crops and rearing animals for a living. Indeed it is too good. Thus, if this kind of land were available in other states, the people of those states would become rich (Abdullah 1960: 53).

Abdullah gave this opinion on the situation:

The reason for this situation is because of an irresponsible raja who does not rule his country properly. Because of this, the people have become victims. In the people's minds, they might be thinking that it is better for them to be poor, as in the proverb "*kais pagi makan pagi, kais petang makan petang*."² If there are people who have big farms or orchards, definitely the raja will find a way to take or borrow it from them. If it was not given to the raja, then all those possessions would simply be taken by force. If the people put up a fight to defend their possessions, all their family members would be killed and fined. That is the reason why there are not so many people in Terengganu, outsiders are afraid to come here, and so are the traders. The news about this tyrant ruler has spread to other states (Abdullah 1960: 53-4).

The root of the problem in that state, Abdullah believed, was because of the lack of education on the royal family's part when they were small. Abdullah wrote: "instead of acquiring knowledge to become good rulers, the Malay kings are normally busy with

² Translated literally as the earnings of the morning are for the morning's meal, and the earnings for the evening are for the evening meal. It means that an income is just sufficient for basic needs. No savings or luxury in life.

entertainments like cock fighting, gambling and opium.” Abdullah put the blame on the parents for not educating their children. As long as the rajas did not change their attitude, the tradition would continue (Abdullah 1960: 55-6).

In Kelantan, Abdullah’s opinion was confirmed in his conversations with a few men who said:

I work all day for the raja, but they do not give me any food for me or my family: I still have to find it myself. If the raja wants my boats, crops or animals, he will just take them without paying. Moreover, if he likes anything that I have, even my daughters, he will just take them away from me; this could not be prevented; if I were to be still determined to stop this or refuse to give them away, he would order people to stab me to death (Abdullah 1960: 101-2).

4.3. Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Za’ba) – (Kemiskinan Orang Melayu & Jalan Keselamatan bagi Orang Melayu)

Za’ba, a celebrated Malay literary genius, wrote two articles in the 1920s discussing the critical situation of Malay society and the way to solve Malay problems. Two articles with the titles of “The Poverty of the Malays” (Kemiskinan Orang Melayu) and “The Salvation of the Malays” (Jalan Keselamatan bagi Orang Melayu), were published originally in *The Malay Mail* newspaper in English in December 1923, but later were translated into Malay and published in a series in *al-Ikhwān* magazine in 1927.

If Munshi Abdullah put the blame on the Malay rajas for the appalling behaviour of the Malays, Za’ba in the article “The Poverty of the Malays” laid out several reasons for the negative characteristics of the Malays and the backwardness of their society. He used the word “poverty” to describe the situation of the Malays at that time. He wrote:

The Malays as a whole are a particularly poor people. Poverty is their most outstanding characteristic and their greatest handicap in the race of progress. Poor in money, poor in spirit, poor in education, poor in intellectual equipment and moral qualities, they cannot be otherwise but left behind in the march of nations. The word ‘poverty’ as applied to them does not merely mean destitution of wealth

or riches. It means terribly more. The poverty of the Malays is an all-round poverty. It envelopes them on every side. That they are poor people in money matters goes without saying. But what is more distressing is the fact that they are also poor in all other equipments which can lead to success and greatness (The Malay Mail lxxv/8114(1923): 8).

Two important reasons listed by Za'ba for this poverty were: because they were not following the teachings of Islam, and because of the *adat* inherited before the coming of the British, when the Malay people lived in tyranny, suffering and suppression under the Malay rajas. This situation had bred unfavourable characters in the Malays (The Malay Mail lxxv/8114(1923): 8).

However, another important reason according to Za'ba, was the lack of necessary knowledge among the Malays. This deficiency had left the Malays unequipped to deal with the lively working environment created by the foreigners around them (The Malay Mail lxxv/8114(1923): 8).

One characteristic, according to Za'ba, which was striking among the Malays was their tendency to depend on others, and their refusal to stand on their own two feet. At that time, the Malays tended to leave everything on the shoulders of the government. They were not bothered to help themselves, except in the case of those things which were immediate necessities, like food and clothing. According to Za'ba, the perfect life for the Malays was:

To sit idle, at their own door-steps or at the neighbours', with nothing doing, with plenty to eat and drink, and with all the time available for "chit-chat" and idle gossip, and satisfying their animal appetites all the year round. Nay, figuratively speaking, "even their food they want others to put into their mouth." In all their ways, they show themselves decrepits, imbeciles, children or infants in swaddling clothes. Thus they place themselves for ever in the position of dependents and slaves (The Malay Mail lxxv/8114(1923): 8).

Za'ba regarded education as the most important cure for all the problems of the Malays. In "Jalan Keselamatan bagi Orang Melayu," he wrote:

The salvation of the Malays, economically as well as morally, is to be found only in one way, and that is remedying their intellectual poverty - the poverty of knowledge - by means of the right sort of education...The reading of literature, the imbibing of new ideas, knowledge of the world acquired from geography and history, etc., will do much to expand one's mental horizon and transform one's character; and as it is for the individual so it is for the nation (The Malay Mail lxxv/8131(1923): 8).

Thus, Za'ba called on all Malays to cooperate in order to provide education for Malay children. He stressed that Malays must not ask everything from the government. They have to show their ability first, and apart from that, prove that they were able to stand on their own two feet. The intellectuals ought to come forward to teach others with the knowledge that they possessed while the rich ought to contribute their wealth and money for the benefit of the society (The Malay Mail lxxv/8132(1923): 8).

Apart from this, Za'ba urged Malays to inculcate the spirit of co-operation, establish scholarship for Malay children, form societies such as literary societies, acquire the necessary skills in life and join the cooperative societies (The Malay Mail lxxv/8132(1923): 8).

Like Abdullah, Za'ba also directed some harsh criticisms at those people who were regarded as leaders of Malay society. About these people he wrote the following:

What a sad spectacle to see those who ought to lead among us care only for their own comforts, never troubling even to understand the import of "public spirit." As for Malay clubs, no doubt, we have well-nigh hundreds of them - "clubs" and *persekutuan* - all over Malaya. But, alas! How little co-operation! Beyond "harmless" games of cards and dominoes, or whole-day-long gossips on idle subjects, or at best, occasional tennis and the universal football, each and all of these clubs simply go to sleep, to wake up one fine morning when it is necessary to embellish the premises and prepare some high-sounding piece of address to welcome the visit of some important personage or celebrate some grand occasion. That is the highest achievement of the Malay associations and their "public welfare"! What are the other things that they knew? Nothing. If there is anything, it is a matter of finding 'rewards' (*pahala*) such as *berzanji* and *marhaban* during the night, singing the *Qasidah* songs, inviting conservative religious teachers to teach *kitab jawi*, endlessly discussing Islamic injunctions - questions which are a bad influence on the mind and no longer suitable for contemporary needs. When are they going to reach the subjects which are the core of Islamic teachings like *Ilm Tafsir*, *Ilm al-Hadith*, *Ilm al-Tasyrikh*, *Ilm al-Tarikh*, if they keep learning the same thing from youth to old age? (The Malay Mail lxxv/8132(1923): 8)

Za'ba used rather harsh words in his criticisms. Aware that he might receive a furious response from his readers or be labelled a traitor by Malays for exposing the weaknesses of his own people, he justified his remarks with the following words:

The writer of these lines is a Malay, a full-blooded Malay - not of the town or mixed breed - but of the true *kampong* stock, not one born with a silver spoon in his mouth, but one who has passed through all the stages of life lived by the illiterate and poverty-stricken Malays - and therefore has a claim to speak on the subject with some authority (The Malay Mail lxxv/8114(1923): 8).

4.4. *Saudara's* Contribution to the Debate

In *Saudara*, there were a significant number of articles, either discussing the lazy attitude of Malay people in particular, or discussing the reasons for the weaknesses of Malay society in general. Looking at the articles in *Saudara*, we can clearly see two conflicting aspects of these articles. On the one side there is the article which bluntly criticizes Malays for their lazy attitude, openly refers to them as lazy people, and repeatedly urges them to eradicate this attitude along with other bad habits in order to achieve progress. The other type consists of articles that express disagreement with the term lazy (*malas*) in referring to Malays, justifying this attitude in them and putting the blame on others, and trying to defend them from this disgrace.

Describing the issue of laziness among the Malays, Yahya Rualwi in his discussion of the progress of the Malay people, wrote:

The reason why the Malays are not able to obtain progress is because of their laziness and not being highly educated, and because they do not possess a broad vision of humanity and national feelings. Thus, the biggest danger which hinders the Malay's progress is that Malay students keep hunting for government jobs without having the ambition to establish their own industries like starting businesses, or getting involved in agriculture. Even the children of large farm owners who possess capital to open their own farms are not willing to do so; instead, they too are still waiting for government jobs. Obviously, if nobody likes to work with the government, who is going to take care of the country? What this writer means is that, let 25 percent work in the government, while 75 percent work on their own (Saudara vi/374(1934): 2).

The editor, Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin in an untitled editorial of 7.3.1934, discussed the impact the attitude of laziness among the Malay people. He wrote:

In our society all works such as gardening, mining, constructing roads, repairing and building the bridges, and carpentry; all are done by foreign races (Chinese and Indians) and even the defence of the country is also in their hands. Clearly, we destroy the future preparation of our people by saying to our children, "indeed this job is of a lower degree (*'aib tercela*) and dishonourable and not fit for you." [...] But is there any other bigger humiliation than continuously asking other people for everything, and a bigger danger than the disease of laziness? (Saudara vi/389(1934): 6)

In this respect, Shaikh Tahir was worried that, once every field of work was monopolized by foreigners, not only would the Malays be far behind in all walks of life, but they would also be in a lower position than those people because the culture of dependency would still be embedded in the Malays. He was also worried that if the Malays continued with their attitude of laziness, dependency etc., the non-Malay claims for rights in the country would become stronger because of their enormous contribution to the development of Malaya. In fact this is the argument that was brought up by the prominent Straits-Chinese leader, Tan Cheng Lock, who in demanding equal rights for the non-Malays, always reminded the British of the huge contribution of the non-Malays towards the progress of Malaya.

The above quotation also condemned the attitude of Malay people who were selective in their choice of work. Some work was considered demeaning, and thus not suitable for them, the masters of the land. In contrast, the Chinese and Indians, driven by their need for survival in a foreign country, the necessity to find security in a new land, and coming from the previous harsh conditions of their original homeland, were willing to carry out any kind of job as long as it brought them money. Thus, all the 'demeaning' work was being monopolized by immigrants.

The same issue was brought up by Muhammad Amir al-Uthman in an article of 1934 which was a response to the call made by Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff for the Malays to acquire as many skills as possible to establish their own industries. In this article Muhammad Amir described the attitude of Malay youths in the following words:

If we went to the town centres, we can see many Malay youths sitting around without doing anything. When being asked why, they reply: "We cannot get a job nowadays, work is very limited." The truth is, there are plenty of jobs, but they are embarrassed to do certain jobs such as the Chinese do, for example, making baskets or becoming hawkers in towns. However, they do not feel ashamed asking for one or two cents or some rice from their friends. In the words of one trader who has travelled through Malaya: "the indigenous people of this country are lazy because the weather is hot and the land is fertile, whatever is planted will grow and become food for the people. If the situation was like in England and Siberia, only then they would become hardworking people" (Saudara vi/395(1934): 4).

Another writer with the pseudonym 'Pen', in a discussion of the quality of Malay people's work, illustrated how the work ethic of the Malays reflected the habit of laziness inside them in the following way:

If a carpenter goes to build a house, he only comes at nine, and then he will not start immediately: he will drink tea first, smoke cigarettes or "*makan sireh*" (chewing betel leaves). If there is more than one worker, they will chat for a while before starting work. The end product is usually not satisfactory (Saudara vi/372(1934): 8).

It is important to note that, as in the previous writings noted already, the articles in *Saudara* did not place the blame solely on the Malays for the lazy attitude which was claimed to be so evident among them at that time. They strongly criticized the Malay leaders, sultans and aristocrats, not forgetting the *ulama* and intellectuals, for not carrying their responsibilities successfully in their society.

This criticism of the sultans and aristocrats in Malay society is illustrated by an editorial of 13.4.1934, in which the editor, Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin, was defending the Islamic belief of *Qadha'* and *Qadar* in the Malay society. He reminded the Malays that believing in *Qadha'* and *Qadar* must not prevent them from working hard or doing beneficial acts. According to him, Muslims in the Malay region were in a backward

condition, not because of their belief in *Qadha'* and *Qadar*, but because they were ignorant of the true teachings of Islam, and always depended on the intelligence and scholarship of foreign teachers, and placed their trust in people who made religion, as he put it, their "shop" (*kedai*). Unfortunately, these false *ulama*, after they had extracted from the people as much reward as they could get, left those poor people with unnecessary and irrelevant teachings (*Saudara* vi/399(1934): 6).

What Shaikh Tahir was trying to argue here was that the slothful attitude to work among the Malays was not because of the belief in *Qadha* and *Qadar*, as was claimed by many people. It was a wrong understanding of this belief that had led the people to hold the view that there was no point in working if everything was already destined by God, as stated in the Malay proverb, "*rezeki secupak tak akan jadi segantang.*"³ Shaikh Tahir accordingly made a call to the Malays in the following words:

Thus, it is absolutely vital for us to put all our effort and work to find a cure for all our ills, so that we can unite and protect ourselves from the condemnation of outsiders and try to find a way to mend the rifts in our society. We need to remind our rajas, aristocrats and the rich in our society to carry out their duties to their society. It is as a result of the weaknesses of our leaders and their failure to carry out their duties, that our society has degenerated and is accused of so many flaws. Our rajas are busy indulging themselves with all the luxuries that they have, the aristocrats let this happen, and the rich are busy adding to their wealth. They are not willing to spend some time to think about their own people. There is no honour for any raja in the eyes of other nations, if his people are not honoured themselves (*Tiada kemegahan segala raja-raja di sisi bangsa lain jika tiada kemegahan pada umatnya*) (*Saudara* vi/399(1934): 6).

In the discussion of the weaknesses of the Malay society which had resulted from a psychologically-inherited attitude of laziness, religious leaders also came under heavy criticism in various articles in *Saudara*. For example, in 1936, an anonymous writer in

³ The belief that everything is destined by God and man has absolutely no power over it. In terms of one's earning, once it is destined that a person would get a certain amount, no matter how hard he works the amount would never be increased.

his discussion of the Malays' progress, which was also a response to the opinion of

Encik Mustafa al-Bakri⁴ (see Appendix II), put forward this explanation:

Every human being has a feeling of laziness inside him or her. Unfortunately, in our society, this habit has been nourished by certain religious leaders in our society in the past, who have taught the Islamic *syari'at* without teaching the advantages of this world; instead, they have frightened the people by saying that *rezeki yang secupak takkan jadi segantang* – this world is a paradise for the *kafir* etc. – and all these teachings have become a poison discouraging them from work in this world and, because of such teachers, our society has been endowed with the title of lazy (Saudara viii/644(1936): 3).

Since Islam played such a vital role in Malay society, some writers cited examples from Islamic history as to how the people in the old days, strong and pious Muslims though they were, and devoted to all Islamic teachings and practices, did not discard worldly matters from their lives. Haji Mahmud Arif Abdul Qadir al-Natali, in his discussion in 1936 about the worthwhile types of occupations done by man, wrote about the Muslims of the past as follows:

Thus, there was no prophet or pious community in the past who just sat or stood around without doing anything to earn their living, and they would never depend on other people's wealth or money. This is because becoming an *alim* means that a person has to work to carry out all Allah's duties. One of the duties is to work and do anything that he can to find prosperity in this world. This is what Allah says in *al-Quran* (Saudara viii/639(1936): 2): *But seek through the means which Allah has given you the home of the Hereafter, nor forget your portion in this world: but do good as Allah has been good to you and seek not (occasions for) mischief in the land: for Allah loves not those who do mischief* (al-Qasas (28): 77) (my own translation).

With regard to this, some articles in *Saudara* strongly criticized some religious leaders in Malay society who refused to do any other work and did not have any profession or skills other than teaching religion to people. One such article (in 1933) was by 'Matba' (follower), in which the writer explained the backwardness of the Malay society in the following way:

Because they [the Malays] are not adhering to true Islamic teachings, and because the *ulama* and intellectuals are using their knowledge just to earn a living; thus, because they have been dominated by their lust for gain and have become servants

⁴ This article was based on the writer's conversation with Encik Mustafa al-Bakri who at that time was the Assistant District Officer of the district of Ulu Selangor.

of their own greediness so that true Islamic fellowship has been dissolved. Hence, our enemies have easily seized their opportunities in this situation (Saudara vi/367(1933): 2).

The Malay community's high regard for religion led many parents to send their sons to religious schools. Unfortunately, these children would only get to learn religious knowledge without any other skills which could be used to earn a living. This was the anxiety expressed by a writer who signed his name as 'Yang Mencuba Berfikir' (Somebody Who Tries to Think), in an article of 1934, discussing the failure of the Muslims in general and the Malays in particular to grasp the true teachings of Islam. In his article, the writer expressed his concern that, as time progressed, the country would be filled with *ulama* who were reluctant to find any work except chanting *wirid*, adding their recommended (*sunat*) prayers etc., while waiting for *sadaqah* from their neighbours, or the money from the *zakat fitrah* or from the *fidyah* for prayer and fasting.

The writer then exhorted the Malay community:

Study Islamic history and follow the example of the *Khulafa ar-Rasyidin*⁵, who, apart from carrying out their responsibilities for the Muslim *ummah*, did the work of making *songkok*, showing thereby that Islamic knowledge itself is not for selling or buying. Those who study religion should not use it as a way to earn a living, or think that they cannot do any other work as a source of income, or that other people who do not specialize in religion are not qualified at all to teach religion (Saudara vi/391(1934): 1-2).

Given the fact that the *ulama* had a strong influence on Malay society, the writer felt it was important to convince the people that it was wrong to just sit and teach Islam and then expect people's donations to give them a living. In this respect, the writer was trying to improve Malay society by creating awareness by first exhorting the *ulama* and at the same time discouraging ordinary people from following in their footsteps. Teaching religion was and is in fact a very honourable act, but just doing that and depending on it solely to earn a living reflected perhaps a tendency to look for an easy

⁵ The term referring to the four Caliphs after Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. They were Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali.

way to support one's life, and thereby helped to promote a culture of dependency in the society. Influential as they were, the writer was worried that the behaviour of *ulama* would easily encourage others to follow their example. Moreover, the writer was trying to warn Malays against creating the concept of a priesthood in Islam, where the right to preach religion would only be in the hands of certain people.

As mentioned earlier, not all articles in *Saudara* were solely criticisms of the Malays for their negative attitudes, or attempts to argue that these attitudes were the cause of their backwardness. Some of the articles tried to defend the Malay community, and explain why those attributes were so markedly present in Malay society. In an article of 1932 which looked at the ongoing debate as to whether the Malays were truly lazy people, an anonymous writer laid out several reasons as to why the Malays were always being labelled as lazy. To some extent, the writer agreed that the attributes of laziness did exist in Malay society, but he believed that it was not fair to blame the Malays totally on this issue. He gave the following reasons why the Malays were always being referred to as lazy:

The Malays have never experienced sufferings and hardships in their life, and they live in a prosperous country where, as long as they are able to put in some effort, it will be enough, and there will always be some food available. Thus, the Malays have become pampered in their own country and have become just like rich children whose parents provide everything for them (*Saudara* iv/224(1932): 6).

However, the writer stressed that the Malays were beginning to change over time. Their behaviour now, for example, was different compared to the time when the rubber price was high. Malays were beginning to build their own industries in the villages and in the government services, and were no longer selective in choosing jobs. Malay shops existed everywhere although the number was still small compared to other races. Even among the street fruit hawkers, the writer added, there were already Malays. The Malays no longer felt embarrassed to go from one village to another on their bicycles,

selling goods, even though they had previously considered this work as not suitable for them, and it was thus monopolized by the Chinese. When the fruit season came, the villages would always be filled with Chinese buying fruit to be resold, demanding unreasonable prices. The writer believed that the Malays had now become aware of the realities of life. Soon, Malaya would no longer be a gold mine for foreigners. The writer made an appeal to the Malay community with the following words:

O my Malay brothers – remove altogether the title '*malas*' stuck on us by the foreign races. From now on, let us take back all the occupations which are in the hands of other races. The Chinese can plant vegetables to feed whole towns, so why can't we? (*Saudara* iv/224(1932): 6)

And:

Work like the Chinese. The Chinese who rear chickens can have hundreds of them without disrupting their other jobs. In addition, the Malays should replace Chinese hawkers in the villages who have tasted all the benefits until some of them have become '*taukeh besar*.' This is because the Chinese are not embarrassed to do all sorts of jobs. Now, we too must not feel embarrassed. Do it today; later, there will be others who will follow. Before now, when rubber was still expensive, no Malays applied to be a peon or porter in the railway stations because these jobs were carried out by the Hindus. Now, as these jobs are no longer strange in the eyes of Malays because many Malays are doing these jobs. Don't ever say that we "cannot get any job." There are lots of occupations like farming, planting vegetables, selling fish, fishing, selling ice-cream, making bags and baskets and...just choose what is good for us (*Saudara* iv/224(1932): 6).

Another writer with the pseudonym 'Putra Larut' (Prince of Larut) addresses a common theme of many articles in *Saudara* at that time, which was the racial tension between the foreign and indigenous people of Malaya, and, in an article of 1939, related the issue of laziness among the Malays to the success of foreigners in Malaya. However, at the same time, 'Putra Larut' brought the readers' attention to the way that Malay aristocrats and sultans would explain the behaviour of the Malay community to the government by themselves using the concept of the "lazy Malay" (*Melayu malas*). In the opinion of the writer, this would have the effect of downgrading the Malays in the eyes of the government, and thus, lessen their chances of dominating government positions. If Malay sultans and aristocrats kept reminding the government that the Malays were lazy people, the writer argued, the government would lose their trust in the

Malay people and put their trust instead on the non-Malays. If this happened, the government would choose people to fill government positions on the exclusive basis of their qualifications, regardless of whether candidates were foreigners or indigenous people (Saudara xi/875(1939): 2).

‘Putra Larut’ squarely put the blame for “Malay laziness” on the non-Malay races:

The factor which leads to the Malays’ failure these days is not because they are lazy (*malas*), but because of the pressure from foreign races who have filled this country uncontrollably. Their life here is marked by a feeling of envy towards the indigenous people, and they aspire to seize the various rights of the Malays. Moreover, all kinds of occupations in the Malay states have come into their hands. As a result, the Malays have become weak in their own country, while on the other hand, we are constantly being told about the contribution of the foreigners to Malaya (Saudara xi/875(1939): 2).

The writer also asserted that many Malay youths were unwilling to work in offices where foreigners were the bosses, since they were afraid of being discriminated against, since most of the high level positions would be in the hands of non-Malays. Consequently, many Malay youths become unemployed. It was on the basis of this that the Malay aristocrats and kings were accusing their people of being lazy (Saudara xi/875(1939): 2).

From this article, we can trace emerging sentiments of ‘anti-sultanism’ as well as ‘anti-foreignism’. In fact *Saudara* was rather upfront in its criticism of the Malay sultans despite the fact it was, and is, not common in the Malay community to openly criticize their sultans and ‘*orang besar*.’ The reasons lies perhaps in the fact that *Saudara* was published in Penang, where there was no royal family as the head of state. In addition, perhaps because many important individuals contributing to *Saudara* were *mixed-race* Malays, their attitude towards Malay royalty would be different from pure Malay people.

4.5. The Continuation of the 'Lazy Malay' Debate

The 'lazy Malay' debate did not by any means die with *Saudara* at the beginning of the Second World War. Although the Malay community had other preoccupations in the independence period, the issue of Malay backwardness and cultural conservatism re-emerged as an issue in the heated inter-ethnic debates of the 1960s. It is interesting to note in this respect continuity of argument from the *Saudara* debate to the arguments and explanations of the post-independence period. These more recent discussions on the issue of the 'lazy Malay myth' are best represented by the work of such writers as Brien Parkinson in his 1967 article, "Non-Economic factors in the Economic Retardation of the Rural Malays" and Mahathir Muhammad in his 1970 book, *The Malay Dilemma*.

4.5.1. Brien Parkinson: "Non-economic factors in the Economic Retardation of the Rural Malays" (1967)

Parkinson's work is an attempt to examine the reasons for the backwardness of rural Malay society, putting aside economic factors. His work focuses on the attitudes and beliefs of the Malays, which he regarded as the root cause for the rural Malays' stagnation.

One reason that Parkinson believed contributed to the slow progress of the rural Malays was their attitude to change. He argued that it was not that the Malays rejected change altogether, but they would only accept it if change did not affect their life in a major way. For example, to take the case of Malay fishermen in the coastal areas of Kelantan and Terengganu, they were happy enough to use nets and boats in their fishing activities, but were reluctant to change, for example, from coastal fishing to deep sea

fishing, because it would take them away from home for a long time. In other words, it would mean a major change in their style of living. On the other hand, Parkinson argued that the Chinese were more open to change, if they saw that these changes would bring a lot of benefits to them (Parkinson 1967: 35).

There is also a clear indication, according to Parkinson, that the Malays were people who greatly valued security. This would explain why the Malays, even since the British period, were very concerned to get into the government occupations. This was because these occupations would ensure that by the end of the month, there would always be something for the family, although these occupations might not yield a lot of money compared to other occupations (Parkinson 1967: 39).

Like *Saudara*, Parkinson also brought up the key issue of Malay fatalism. According to Parkinson, in Malay society, *rezeki* or livelihood was closely linked to their concept of fate. They would easily give up after receiving setbacks, saying that they have been fated to be unlucky and that it was the will of God. This, according to Parkinson, would hinder Malay economic progress, since those who held to this fatalistic view would say that they were unlikely to be successful because everything has been destined for them (Parkinson 1967: 40).

Parkinson also alluded to the belief in a Messiah or *Mahdi* among the Malays. They believed that such a person would bring a golden age for Muslims. This belief made them wait passively for change to come, rather than putting in an effort to make it happen. In short, "there is a tendency to adopt an attitude of resignation rather than of innovation" (Parkinson 1967: 40-1).

With respect to family values, Parkinson criticized the way the Malays brought up their children, which made a huge impact on the children when they became adult. He agreed with the opinion of M.G. Swift and Judith Djamour that there was a tendency among Malay parents to tolerate or even encourage indulgence in the upbringing of their young children. As a result, they would grow ignorant of the importance of relating reward to effort, and this would become apparent in their economic attitudes in their later lives (Parkinson 1967: 41-2).

The desire to succeed seemed to be largely absent among rural Malays. According to Parkinson, 'success' had a different meaning for rural Malays and Chinese. For the Malays, success meant, "doing what their forebears would have approved and practised, but doing it as well as they can." On the other hand, for the Chinese it would mean things which could improve their economic condition, even if this involved some fundamental change or innovation. Malays, like other people, desired wealth and economic success, but not to the extent of sacrificing their traditions and the traditional occupations of their forefathers (Parkinson 1967: 42).

Finally, Parkinson listed the positive attributes possessed by the Chinese which were lacking among the Malays and explained their economic failure. Most importantly, the Chinese were very skilful in handling their money. According to Parkinson, their financial skills rested above all on three key characteristics of the community in which they were raised: "the respectability of the pursuit of riches, relative immunity of the surplus of wealth from confiscation by political superiors, and the legitimacy of careful and interested dealings between neighbours and even close kinsmen." This aspect is also closely related to the basis of economic development in the Western sense; thus, this is one of the reasons why the Chinese could adapt themselves successfully to

British-inspired economic development. On the other hand, the Malays reacted to the British-inspired capitalism in a passive way, and generally isolated themselves from it (Parkinson 1967: 45-6).

In conclusion, Parkinson argued that the most important issue at the heart of the problem was a conflict of values: “a conflict that is between the values of rural Malays and the values required for capitalism.” It is not to say that the Malay values are irrational, but, if they remained true to their values, Parkinson was convinced that it would take a long time for their society to achieve much-desired economic advancement (Parkinson 1967: 46).

4.5.2. Mahathir bin Mohamad: *The Malay Dilemma* (1970)

Mahathir's book, *The Malay Dilemma* also addressed in depth the question of the negative attitudes of Malays which he saw as a crucial factor which hindered their progress.

In the book, Mahathir suggested that it was unfair for the Malays to blame others entirely for their backwardness. All Malays, from the upper ranks to the ordinary people in the society, he argued, did not take the necessary steps to stop other races' domination in the economic field. For example, Mahathir explained, Malays are always ready to use new products, but they are not so eager to learn new skills. They are also not keen on competition: once the Chinese had intruded on their fields of economic activity, they quickly gave up after their customers turned to the Chinese. Mahathir wrote: “the desire to keep up is not there. An extreme lassitude has descended on the

Malays which seems to indicate that they are just not good enough for anything.”

(Mahathir 1970: 57-8)

As in the case of *Saudara* in the 1930s, Mahathir also directs strong criticism at the Malay rulers and leaders in his book. For example, when discussing the absence of Malays from so many fields of economic activity apart from agriculture and government occupations, Mahathir not only associates this with the apathy of the Malay people, but also the apathy of their leaders. In other words the Malays have potential in fields other than agriculture and government, but it is not developed, largely because of the failure of Malay leaders to promote Malay participation in these areas. To make things worse, Mahathir wrote:

Malay leaders imply that Malays are not suited for business and skilled work. They are agriculturists. Money does not mean the same thing to them as it does to the Chinese. They do not have the wish or the capacity for hard work. And above all they cannot change (Mahathir 1970: 58).

According to Mahathir, “Islam is the greatest single influence on Malay values, concepts and ethical codes.” For the Malays to achieve progress, Mahathir stressed that Islam must be upheld and further propagated. However, it is not Islam itself that affects the life of the Malays but local contemporary interpretations. If, therefore there was any negative effect of Islam on the Malays, it was not the teaching of Islam itself which should be blamed, but rather these cultural Malay interpretations. Furthermore, there still remained many elements from the older religion of the Malays and animism, and these have been incorporated into the values of Islam in Malaysia (Mahathir 1970: 155-57).

There is an evident similarity between Mahathir’s ideas and articles in *Saudara* mentioned previously in this chapter. In the same way that Mahathir had brought up the issue of the interpretation of Islam as a main cause for Malay weakness, an anonymous

writer in his response to Mustafa al-Bakri, had criticized in *Saudara* in 1936 those religious leaders who gave a wrong interpretation of Islamic teachings to the people. This point is indeed very important since *ulama*, then and now, command a huge following in Malay society.

Another important aspect which affected the Malay spirit to work hard was the impact of fatalism on their lives. Mahathir wrote:

This fatalism is very much in evidence everywhere and greatly affects the whole concept of Malay values. It makes acceptance of everything, whether good or bad, possible, with unprotesting tolerance and resignation. It does not encourage any great effort to change. It does not encourage resistance and certainly it does not engender a rebellious spirit. If an attempt is made at all to do anything, failure is accepted with resignation. This whole philosophy is contained in the Malay axiom – “*Rezeki sa-chupak tak akan jadi sa-gantang*,” or “One’s lot of a quart will never become a gallon.” In other words fate decides all and to strive to better one’s lot is useless unless fate wills such betterment (Mahathir 1970: 158).

The Malays, according to Mahathir, did not value time. In rural areas life was considered as a preparation for the hereafter. This attitude made the Malays regard the struggle in this world less important, because a better life is waiting for them in the hereafter. There was no use in working hard for the betterment of life in this world since it is not permanent. This could also be regarded as a fatalistic attitude. Disregard for time could be seen in the way that many people did little except sit in *kedai kopi* talking and sipping coffee. When a meeting was held, no one ever arrived on time, and there was a tendency for such meetings to be inconclusive. In addition, when a *kenduri* was held, the invitation was for an indefinite time (Mahathir 1970: 163).

Looking at all the discussions above, undoubtedly there are a lot of similarities in the arguments brought up by the writers. It is important to note that there is still a significant amount of contemporary concern with this issue, particularly attempts to analyze the reasons for the weaknesses of Malay society over a long period and until

now as compared to the Chinese. In essence, the core question remains the same: Why is it that even now the Chinese still hold the largest share in the economic activity of the country? Due to space limitations, a discussion of all these writings cannot be included here. Nevertheless, on the basis of the discussion above we could compare these different positions, and what we can notice is that the scope of the issue has become wider with time. Munshi Abdullah, living in a period when there was an absence of major threats from foreign races, centred his discussion on the failure of the Malay sultans and aristocrats to carry out their responsibilities in Malay society, which he perceived to be the main cause for all the negative traits in Malay society. Thus, his comparison was between Malay and British values, and he continuously highlighted the latter's rationality. He presented an open and harsh criticism of the Malay sultans and *adat* in his writing. It is rather surprising to see how Abdullah could openly criticize Malay royalty, something considered unimaginable during that time. But maybe the explanation partially lies in the fact that Abdullah himself was not a Malay, but was from Arab and Tamil descent. And the fact that he came from Singapore, and was a British subject, as he repeatedly mentioned, might explain why he dared to make such criticism. Although Abdullah mentioned Islam, he did not elaborate on the relation between religion and culture in Malay behaviour.

In the twenties, the threats from foreigners had become more apparent, and their domination in the economic field was growing tremendously. Thus, Za'ba's articles were written in the light of this perceived competition between the Malays and other foreign races. Malay poverty was compared to other races, especially the Chinese in Malaya at that time. Za'ba also addressed the question of Islam in his writing, and this was quite an important theme in his writings.

Saudara, which was published in a period of growing economic difficulty in Malaya, also analyzed Malay problems in the light of the success of other foreign races, especially the Chinese. The articles ranged from criticism of the Malay community and their leaders, *ulama* and intellectuals, to criticism of the foreign races and the British. As a newspaper which was published in Penang, it was possible to strongly criticize the Malay sultans. There was no threat of closure because there was no Malay sultanate in the state. But in addition to this range of criticism, a newspaper that was driven by a concern for Islamic reform did not neglect the Islamic dimensions of the issue.

The most common problem brought up by the general debate on the issue has been the failure of Malay leadership and the impact of fatalism on Malay attitudes. However some of the earlier arguments cannot be applied to the contemporary situation. The Malays are no longer so fatalistic in their outlook and the leaders nowadays are a lot different from earlier times. The Malay sultans have lost much of their power, and have a very minimum say in the administration of their states. Thus, because of their diminishing role, their attitudes are no longer a determinant of the society's outlook or advancement. But the issue of the role of Islam continues to be a matter for debate, for instance the question of looking at Islam as a solution to achieve prosperity in this world *and* the hereafter. In the 1980s, with the beginning of Islamic resurgence, people are becoming more interested in the teachings of Islam and many issues are seen in the light of Islamic teachings. Thus, it is questionable if the majority of Malays, remain fatalistic in the way that they used to.

Thus, the "lazy Malay myth" debate is a continuous issue. For a long time, it has captured the attention of many people, especially in trying to understand the underlying nature of the Malay people, and to find an answer as to whether it really is their attitudes

which put them at a disadvantage in the economic field, or whether other aspects need to be investigated. *Saudara*, certainly provided an interesting insight into the debate since it heavily emphasized an Islamic perspective as compared with the other literatures discussed here. But, since many writers contributed to the debate, the articles were very diverse in nature and provided many different perspectives on the issue.

CHAPTER 5

SAUDARA AND THE FORMATION OF MALAY ASSOCIATIONS: PERSAUDARAAN SAHABAT PENA MALAYA (PASPAM) - BROTHERHOOD OF PEN FRIENDS

5.1. Origin and Evolution

Discussions about the establishment of Sahabat Pena Club emerged in *Saudara* when Ariffin Ishak (see Appendix II) brought up this issue in his article entitled "Sahabat Pena," (Pen Friends), 17.1.1934. Ariffin felt that the establishment of such a club would be a tribute to his brother, Ibrahim bin Ishak, the editor of *Halaman Kanak-kanak* (Children's Column) who had recently died. It is believed that Ibrahim had been discussing establishing a club with other writers of *Halaman Kanak-kanak* of *Saudara*, especially one by the name of Daud Qasim from Singapore. Through his correspondence, Daud Qasim explained that the club could be modelled on one in operation in England, of which he himself was a member (*Saudara* vi/376(1934): 11).

Ariffin's article was responded to by Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff, who believed that this club could give a great deal of benefit to schoolchildren, not only because it gave children a chance to establish friendships with other children all over Malaya, but also because it would teach them to correspond through letter writing. It would also give them the chance to learn about life in other places apart from their own (*Saudara* vi/381(1934): 8)

In another article with the same title, Ariffin suggested that the society should be called "Persekutuan Sahabat Pena Halaman *Saudara*" with the editor of *Halaman Kanak-kanak* as its president. The fee should be 12 cents a year. The president would

keep the members' addresses so that he could distribute addresses among members who may like to correspond with one another (*Saudara* vi/392(1934): 4). In the end, the name 'Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya' was adopted, and the association was also popularly known by its short name Sahabat Pena or its abbreviation, Paspam.¹

This club was initially intended for children; thus, in the beginning, all discussion about it appeared in the children's section of *Saudara*. As mentioned above, its primary purpose was to encourage children to get to know each other through correspondence, and thus inculcate in them the habit of writing. Ariffin requested the editor of *Saudara* to open a section of *Halaman Kanak-kanak* especially for this club, which was granted immediately by Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, the owner of *Saudara* at the time. Each member of this association was also given a membership badge. This badge was designed by H.A. Rahman, a Sahabat Pena member from Kelantan.

However, after a while, it became apparent that most of the letters sent to the column were from adults. This was the explanation given by the editor of *Halaman Kanak-Kanak*, Muhammad al-Khatib, when he announced a change of name of the column from *Halaman Kanak-kanak*, which had been used for two years, to *Halaman Sahabat Pena* (also known as *Halaman Paspam*). It was also mentioned that, since *Saudara* had added two pages more to its publication, the editor and owner, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi had agreed to provide two pages of his newspaper for *Halaman Sahabat Pena* and removed the page previously reserved for *Halaman Kanak-kanak*. With this change of name of their main medium of interaction, Sahabat Pena, contrary to original intentions, became an association not for children but adults (*Saudara* vi/442(1934): 8).

¹ nb. The name Sahabat Pena and Paspam are used interchangeably in this thesis.

The two pages of *Halaman Sahabat Pena* allocated in *Saudara* appeared constantly in the newspaper from 1934 until mid 1937. After that, *Saudara*'s publication stopped for just over a month; when it resumed, the column appeared as usual until the editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, announced the withdrawal of *Saudara* as Paspam's official sponsor in April 1938. The column did appear again in August 1939, but not as constantly as before. A typical *Halaman Sahabat Pena* number would include an editorial, agendas of certain meetings, some reports about the association in general or news from certain branches. In the beginning, it also published a list of names of new members. Apart from that, there was for a while a column for learning the English language in *Halaman Sahabat Pena* written by the president of Paspam at the time, S.M. Zainal Abidin (see Appendix II). Some of the articles published were not related at all to the association, but were just articles on general topics. When asked about the inclusion of these articles in *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, the editor explained that the reason for their inclusion was because Sahabat Pena members had written them.

Since Sahabat Pena's membership was open to all men and women alike, there were a lot of writers calling for women to participate actively in *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in *Saudara*. With the participation of women came the question of whether correspondence should be exclusively between the same sex or otherwise. The writers in *Saudara* were unanimously of the opinion that it should be strictly between the same sex. For example, the editor of *Halaman Kanak-kanak* who later became the editor of *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, Muhammad al-Khatib, wrote:

For Sahabat Pena, the correspondence of men should be with men and women with women. They should not correspond with each other, because, if they do, the reputation of Sahabat Pena would be tarnished. Why is this so? If a man could write to a woman who is not his *muhrim* without her consent, can you imagine how the public will condemn our club? And what shame it would bring to our newspaper! So, what do you think, Pak Dolah and Pak Pandir?² (*Saudara* vi/410/2(1934): 8).

² Both were regular writers in *Halaman Kanak-Kanak* and considered as elderly figures who were often sought for advice.

This was not the only reason why writers believed that correspondence in the club should be strictly separated between men and women. A regular contributor to *Halaman Kanak-kanak's* column, Daud Qasim, argued that this separation was important since men and women discussed different topics. For example, women would be more inclined to discuss embroidery, sewing etc. (*Saudara* vi/419(1934): 8).

On 22 December, 1935, the first annual general meeting of Paspam endorsed the Constitution for the association (see Appendix VI). Among other things, the constitution outlined the aims of Paspam, membership requirements, the composition of the committee and the method of administration of the associations, activities etc. It is important to note also that, with this constitution, membership of Paspam was restricted to anybody above the age of 16.

At the early stage of its establishment, Sahabat Pena was received with suspicion by certain groups of people. There were accusations that Sahabat Pena was a secret society and even communist-oriented. As expected, the writers in *Halaman Sahabat Pena* adamantly denied this claim in their writings. One of these was a writer with the pseudonym 'Belia Sekarang' (Contemporary Youth). According to 'Belia Sekarang,' Sahabat Pena would become the pioneer for the establishment of other such associations in Malaya after a while. Similar associations of Perak and Selangor Malays would soon emerge in Malaya. However, the unfortunate thing, according to 'Belia Sekarang,' was that just because the members of Sahabat Pena wore badges, certain people had labelled the association as a secret society. He posed the following question:

Why don't they label other associations like The Teddy Tail League or The Rupert League, etc. (of which thousands of badges can be seen on members' chests) as secret societies or communists as well? What is the difference between these associations and ours? Their aim is similar to ours, which is to make correspondence between friends from different states easier. The only difference is that their membership is open to all races, whereas ours is only open to writers and readers of *Saudara* (*Saudara* vi/443(1934): 8).

'Belia Sekarang' believed that there was no other motive behind this accusation apart from a feeling of envy towards the establishment of Sahabat Pena (Saudara vi/443(1934): 8).

Despite these tribulations, Sahabat Pena membership doubled in a short time. Members came from Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Indonesia. Once in a while, *Halaman Sahabat Pena* published news from these branches outside of Malaya. By 1938, *Saudara* announced that the association's membership was more than 10,000.

5.2. The Objectives of Sahabat Pena

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, a former editor of *Saudara* (he became editor again in 1938) through a series of articles in 1935 provided a detailed explanation for the purpose of Sahabat Pena's establishment. As was announced in the first annual general meeting of *Saudara*, the objectives of Sahabat Pena's establishment were as follows:

- 1) To establish an association which encouraged its members to get to know each other and establish a proper contact between them so that a strong friendship could be established.
- 2) To encourage writing and reading in the Malay language among its members.
- 3) To uphold, spread and strengthen the history, customs and language of the Malays.
- 4) To establish a library for its members' use (Saudara vii/483(1935): 7).

Regarding the establishing of contact among members, this concept of brotherhood was seen to be in line with Islamic teachings. A strong brotherhood among its members, Muhammad Yunus argued, could become a foundation for peace and harmony in society as a whole. Friendship does not always last long, and the aim of the club was

therefore to maintain a continuous and proper contact among people whose friendship had already been established (Saudara vii/483(1935): 7).

Regarding the second objective, Muhammad Yunus hoped that Sahabat Pena could promote people's interest in reading and writing in the Malay language. Through this it was hoped that they would develop a feeling of love towards their language, and an urge to improve it. Those writings which should be encouraged were the ones which were concerned with the acquisition of knowledge, and some topics, Muhammad Yunus argued, were more important than others i.e. Islam, business, agriculture, sailing, handicraft etc., since there was not much written information available on these topics. It was hoped that by inculcating an enthusiasm for reading and writing, members would gain knowledge and use it for the progress of the whole society (Saudara vii/483(1935): 7).

In relation to the third aim of Sahabat Pena's establishment, Muhammad Yunus argued that Malay history had up till now been very murky and narrow. He therefore called for the Malay people to increase their awareness of Malay history, since he believed that no nation in this world could become strong unless it had a strong sense of history, custom and language. He mentioned the illogical facts surrounding the origins of Malaya, and expressed his regret on the issue in the following terms:

Why is that Malaya does not have a proper national history which we can tell to anybody who wants to know about it? We should thank Mr. Winstedt for his efforts to write the history of Malaya, and the same goes for the principal and some teachers at Sultan Idris Training College. They are trying very hard to establish the history of Malaya. However, we Malays who are always thinking about the progress of our people and country should not leave everything entirely for other people to do so. Thus, that is why one of Sahabat Pena's objectives is to promote this effort. Even if we Malays cannot achieve much we should give support and encouragement to any newspaper which is working towards achieving this aim (Saudara vii/484(1935): 10).

On the issue of Malay custom, Muhammad Yunus argued that the situation was almost the same. There was no uniformity of Malay customs in matters such as *kenduri*, weddings etc. Every state followed different ways. According to him, this should not happen since the Malays were from one race and had one religion. Thus, Muhammad Yunus believed that it was important for Sahabat Pena to work to unify and strengthen Malay customs as a way to achieve a feeling of oneness among people from the different states of Malaya (Saudara vii/484(1935): 10).

Regarding the Malay language, Muhammad Yunus saw Malay as “a crop which is not being tended.” The Malay language had remained static over a long period of time, it was conservative in nature, and no positive changes had taken place. Although some changes had been made, instead of making Malay language easier, they had actually complicated the language even more. Muhammad Yunus also mentioned the suggestion of Sir Cecil Clementi that the Malay language be made the lingua franca, an idea that had been opposed by the non-Malays. Accordingly, he urged the Malays to come forward to support this proposal and try to make it a reality (Saudara vii/484(1935): 10).

About the establishment of a library, Muhammad Yunus regarded this as a valuable suggestion. In a library there should be a lot of knowledge and history of different nations in this world. Understanding of the successes of other communities, he argued, would serve as a very important example to the Malays in order to achieve progress. He reminded the Malays that these communities had undergone renaissance and development after they had carefully compared the historical experiences of their nations and that of other nations, whether through new or old literature. Comparing the *Europeans with the Malays*, he wrote:

Only after the Europeans had examined Roman and Chinese civilizations were they able to establish their own civilization. Once they had been established, many great writers emerged from their societies. However, as for we Malays, who among

our writers can we boast of as a great writer? Is it Munsyi Abdullah...who else? Or si Luncai, Abu Nawas or Pak Janggut?³ (*Saudara* vii/486(1935 Part III): 9)

5.3. Suggestions and Achievements

Going back to the question of the establishment of a library for *Sahabat Pena*, this suggestion first appeared in *Halaman Kanak-Kanak* in an article by the editor of that section, Muhammad al-Khatib. He suggested that all the money that the club had at that time should be used to buy storybooks and history books and be placed in *Saudara's* office at Jelutong Press, Penang, for the members to borrow. All those members who wanted to borrow books from the library should pay 50 cents for postal services. Muhammad al-Khatib preferred the establishment of such a library, rather than the idea of organizing a writing competition and using the spare money to buy presents for the winners (*Saudara* vi/432(1934): 8). A reading room was accordingly established in the office of the Jelutong Press, and soon other reading rooms followed in various Paspam branches throughout Malaya.

Another significant suggestion which attracted the attention of many writers in *Halaman Sahabat Pena* was the idea of establishing a *Pena Hotel*. This suggestion was brought up by a *Sahabat Pena* member from Selangor who called himself 'Selangor 508.' The writer suggested that three combinations of hotels and restaurants should be built in Malaya, i.e. in Penang, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur. These *Pena* hotels would be owned by *Sahabat Pena* and would be of great help to those members who were on a visit to these three cities. The writer realized that this project would be a very difficult task and would involve huge expense. Thus, he suggested that this proposal be carried

³ Si Luncai and Abu Nawas are characters from Malay folklore, while 'Pak Janggut' (A Bearded Man) possibly referred to a regular columnist of *Saudara* who used this pseudonym.

out through a cooperative method by selling shares to the members (Saudara vii/494(1935): 4).

This suggestion received a mixed reaction from the writers in *Halaman Sahabat Pena*. The editor of the column, Muhammad al-Khatib, had some reservations regarding the suggestion. In an article expressing his views on the issue, Muhammad al-Khatib voiced his doubts regarding the success of this proposal, since it would depend entirely on those members of Sahabat Pena who visited those three cities. He wrote:

If people do not come to visit, then, what will happen? To depend on the support of those members who live around those cities would be rather irrational. Furthermore, it would be difficult for this hotel to compete with those established by the foreign races. The foreign races can do anything to make their businesses prosper; for example, they can hire waitresses in order to attract customers to their restaurants, and use many other unlawful ways which are against our religion (Saudara vii/497(1935): 8).

Instead of establishing a hotel, the writer preferred an idea to establish a shop selling groceries, as had been suggested by Encik Ariffin Ishak. He stressed that it was important that this shop be established in a village area so that it could help the villagers in that area, because in such places the Malays usually depended totally on Chinese shopkeepers for their everyday needs. It was a common scene in Malaya at that time where, in a village full of Malays, there would often be one shop owned by a Chinese. Since the Chinese monopolized business in the village, they consequently had the power to control prices etc. If Sahabat Pena managed to establish a Malay shop, Muhammad al-Khatib believed that it would profit Malays significantly and ensure that "Malays' money returns to the Malays" (*Wang Melayu Pulang ke Melayu*). Furthermore, the expenses involved would be a lot less compared to establishing a hotel (Saudara vii/497(1935): 8).

There was also a suggestion to establish Paspam's own printing press. This suggestion was brought up by Hamidun, a committee member of the Selangor branch. In an article entitled "Langkahan Paspam yang ketiga," (Paspam's Third Movement), 30.9.1936, Hamidun suggested a way to fulfil Paspam's third aim, which was to establish a printing press. This printing press should, he wrote, be owned, supported and run by the members of Paspam. He then mentioned the negotiations which were being carried out with the owner of Jelutong Press, Tuan Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi. According to Hamidun, Sayyid Alwi had agreed to make Jelutong Press a co-operative company (Limited Company). The shares for the company would be sold to the members and every member should buy at least one portion of shares (*Saudara* viii/651/1(1936):13). This suggestion received a positive response from the writers in *Saudara*.

The negotiation failed, however, and the printing press never materialized. In fact, the failure of these negotiations led to serious repercussions for the relationship between *Saudara* and Paspam Selangor under the leadership of Hamidun, and gradually shook the stability of the association as a whole. This matter will be discussed later in the chapter.

Articles in *Saudara* also frequently mentioned certain branches of Sahabat Pena which were involved in business. The most popular of these was Paspam Beranang in Selangor which opened several shops and expanded its business activities into the town of Kuala Pilah in Negeri Sembilan.⁴ Thus, taking this achievement into consideration, apart from literary and social activities, the association also successfully involved itself

⁴For example the article entitled "Paspam di sisi Orang-orang Melayu," (Paspam to the Malay People), by 'Al-Haqir Al-Faqir' (The Humble The Needy), *Saudara* 5.8.1936, p. 2, mentioned Paspam Beranang's achievements in business.

in the economic field. Also mentioned in *Saudara* was the establishment of “pena stores” and “pena restaurants,” but no details were given about them, whether they were established by the branches of the association, or by individuals who were members of the Sahabat Pena.⁵ Nevertheless, to a certain extent, it reflected the popularity of Sahabat Pena at the time, since people wanted to associate their businesses with its name.

Culturally, Sahabat Pena managed to organize several activities and undertook some important initiatives. It promoted an annual writing and translation competition in order to encourage people’s interest in the Malay language. In 1938, it managed to publish its own magazine called *Paspam* (see Appendix VII). The first issue was published on 15th June, 1938. A typical issue of *Paspam* consisted of 20 pages and contained the minutes of meetings and current news of various Sahabat Pena branches, branches accounts, list of new branches’ members, editorials, articles about the Malay Language, articles that won the Sahabat Pena writing competition, speeches delivered by Sahabat Pena leaders in the association meetings, advertisements and occasionally general articles contributed by Sahabat Pena members. The first editor of this magazine was Ariffin Ishak. At the end of the same year, the Sahabat Pena committee established the Language Council in Johore Bahru, which then drafted a plan to publish books on Malay history and customs and a Malay dictionary to regularize Malay spelling and to invent new words from the English language which would be suitable for Malay usage. The council’s first achievement came in 1940 in the form of the first of a series intended to be published annually called *Taman Paspam* (Paspam’s Garden), which among other things included “Tarikh Paspam” (The History of Paspam) (Roff 1994: 221).

⁵ For further reference, please refer to the article entitled, “Paspam dan Perusahaan,” (Paspam and Industries), by an anonymous writer, *Saudara* 2.11.1935, p.10.

5.4. Disputes in Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena

Halaman Sahabat Pena of Saudara dated 7.4.1937 published an article by Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi in which he announced his resignation as the secretary of Paspam. The reason given for his resignation was that his responsibilities as the editor of *Saudara* and the owner of the Jelutong Press demanded his full energies and time (*Saudara* ix/701(1937): 8). In his position as secretary, Sayyid Alwi had indeed made a significant contribution to Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena. He gave undivided support for the establishment and running of the association. As the owner of the Jelutong Press, he provided two pages of *Saudara* for *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, and could be considered as one of the pioneers of the association. During his period of office as the secretary of Paspam, Sayyid Alwi had also made a trip to visit Sahabat Pena branches throughout Malaya. Reports of his travels were frequently published in *Saudara*.

In an editorial addressing the leaders of Paspam in 1937, Sayyid Alwi made the following remarks based on his visit to Paspam branches throughout Malaya.

- 1) Among Paspam members, which number around 7,000 at the moment, I believe not more than 20 percent are people from urban areas; the others are village (*kampung*) people. Thus, I hope the committee will take into consideration the differences between these two groups of people in their running of Paspam. Do not implement things which could present difficulties to the majority of members.
- 2) Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena has managed to clear itself of accusations from outsiders, but the association has to be careful with disputes among its own members as a result of feelings of greediness, envy etc. signs of which are beginning to appear in Paspam.
- 3) The committee has to strengthen itself and work for the welfare of the association and its members, and not for the interest of the committee itself, or certain members of the association.
- 4) The grand committee of Paspam must always keep an eye on the various Paspam branches throughout Malaya so that they do not freely make their own decisions, since this will lead to instability and disunity in the association.
- 5) Full attention must always be given to Paspam's reading rooms to avoid any misuse of these rooms (*Saudara* xii/702(1937): 9).

Indeed, Sayyid Alwi's reminders were relevant because at about the same time internal disputes began to emerge within the association. It started with his own

resignation as Paspam's secretary, which resulted in the need to amend article 15 of the Sahabat Pena charter which stated that "the editor of *Saudara* will automatically be the secretary and treasurer" (see Appendix VI). It was agreed that the Selangor branch of Paspam should be given the responsibility to establish a small committee to examine and *make suggestions* regarding an amendment to the law. However, the Selangor branch, under the leadership of Hamidun bin Mohd. Hashim, acted beyond its authority by calling representatives from all over Malaya to discuss the amendment and obtained their agreement for a newly proposed law for Paspam. They then demanded that the headquarters at Penang accept the new law, based on the argument that it had been agreed by the representatives of Paspam throughout Malaya, and threatened to withdraw from the association if the grand committee refused to accept the newly-proposed law.

Thus, in 1937, four years after the establishment of Paspam, this issue of internal disputes dominated the articles of *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in *Saudara*. One of these articles concerning this dispute was by Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi. According to him, the conflict was the result of Paspam Selangor's desire to place the headquarters in Kuala Lumpur instead of Penang, and this explained their refusal to recognize the new grand committee of Paspam. Commenting on Paspam Selangor's preference, he wrote:

I am not saying that the headquarters of Paspam should be fixed in Penang, but I would disagree if it is moved just for the sake of one person, one group, or for the sake of specific interests, since Paspam's aim is to work for the welfare of the whole Malay people. Thus, if the time has come for Paspam's headquarter to be moved to another place, then that place should be the most suitable for everyone in Malaya. By saying this, I would like to stress here without fear or favour, that there is no other place in the whole of Malaya which should become the headquarters other than Johore, since there is no other Malay state in which Malay language and customs are so nearly pure. Thus, if the time has indeed come for the headquarters to be moved, it is to Johore not Selangor that it should be moved (*Saudara* ix/719(1937): 8).

A 1938 article by Hashim Muhammad - 'Sahabat Pena 50' - discussed a recent decision made by the Selangor committee, in which they threatened to withdraw their

branch from Paspam if the grand committee refused to accept the new law that they had promulgated for the association. He was of the opinion that everyone had to consider this new law carefully, since many believed that this law was trying to eliminate all Paspam's associations with *Saudara* (Saudara x/763/1(1938): 8)

At the peak of the controversy, the issue was temporarily resolved when the grand committee of Sahabat Pena reached a decision to ban the Selangor branch membership from Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya.

In the continuing dispute, many writers defended *Saudara's* contribution to Paspam, and urged the committee not to simply discard Paspam's connection with the newspaper. One such article was by an anonymous writer who reminded Paspam's members to consider *Saudara's* contribution to Paspam from its inception up till then. The writer mentioned the two pages given to Paspam for *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in every publication, which, if it had been allocated to advertisements, would certainly have given around 120-150 *ringgit* a month to *Saudara*. Apart from this, *Saudara* also provided free access to dozens of local and foreign newspapers, which, if had had to be bought by Paspam, would have cost at least 30-40 *ringgit* a month to the association. Apart from this, *Saudara* paid half of the rent for the Paspam headquarters office despite the fact that *Saudara* itself was not using it (Saudara x/763/2(1938): 8).

Actually, the relationship between *Saudara* and Paspam began to loosen after *Saudara* ceased publication for a while in 1937. There is no clear existing evidence why the publication stopped, but from various articles, it could be deduced that the main problem involved was financial. A few writers indeed expressed their disappointment that during this difficult period, Paspam's members did nothing to help *Saudara*, despite

Saudara's contribution to the establishment and running of the association. But luckily, with the effort of two men, Encik Aminuddin Kamis and Tuan Haji Muhammad Sutan Muhammad Saad, the publication resumed, and accordingly, *Halaman Sahabat Pena* continued in *Saudara*. It is important to mention that during the period when *Saudara* did not appear, *Halaman Paspam* was published temporarily in two newspapers, *Majlis* in Kuala Lumpur, and *Warta Perak* in Perak. After publication resumed, *Warta Perak* handed back *Halaman Sahabat Pena* to *Saudara*; *Majlis*, however, continued publishing the column. To make matters worse, the title of that column was changed from *Halaman Sahabat Pena Sementara* (temporary) to *Halaman Sahabat Pena Malaya*. Thus, there was a conflict between the two newspapers. Many writers commented on this issue in *Saudara*, and understandably, most supported *Saudara* and criticized *Majlis* for the latter's inconsiderate action. It was believed that the action to continue publishing *Halaman Paspam* in *Majlis* was backed by Hamidun, the Vice President of Paspam Selangor.

In a *Saudara* editorial of 29.1.1938, the editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, revealed that articles which had appeared in *Majlis* had become a source of conflict among Paspam's members. He then criticized the newspaper in the following words:

Majlis should not blind the people's eyes. The truth is that *Majlis* wanted many Paspam members to become readers and subscribers to their newspaper. And indeed, if Sahabat Pena's members subscribe to their newspaper in order to read Paspam's corner, then *Majlis*'s subscription will increase tremendously. Although what they are doing is wrong, and just for the sake of making money, they are willing to establish a relationship with somebody who is not related to them at all (Saudara x/770(1938): 7).

In other words, the editor was pointing out that *Majlis* had played no role in the establishment of Sahabat Pena. As mentioned earlier, the establishment of Sahabat Pena had been through the effort of *Saudara*, and *Saudara* had strongly supported the running of the association. So, if there was any newspaper which was the most qualified

to publish *Halaman Paspam* or *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, it should be *Saudara*. *Warta Malaya*, another Malay newspaper of that time, also repeatedly criticized *Majlis* in its various articles. Some of these articles were re-published in *Saudara*.⁶

Still on the issue of *Majlis*'s action, 'Pen Straits,' pointed out that the newspaper's action was strongly supported by Hamidun of Paspam Selangor because he was one of the shareholders of *Majlis*. In their efforts to attract Sahabat Pena members to buy the newspaper, *Majlis* had introduced a discount for the members. This action was seen as a way to compete with *Saudara* for readers, especially from among the Sahabat Pena members (*Saudara* x/773(1938): 8).

The editor of *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in *Saudara* outlined several reasons for the sour relationship between *Saudara* and Selangor General Committee which had led to the latter supporting the publication of *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in *Majlis*. According to the editor, it began when Hamidun, in his efforts to establish a printing press for Paspam, had his sights on the Jelutong Press in Penang, which published *Saudara*. At that time, the Jelutong Press was owned by Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, but the negotiation with Sayyid Alwi had failed. Almost at the same time, there was the suggestion of establishing a separate *Paspam* magazine by Hamidun, clearly as a means of dissociating Paspam from *Saudara* (*Saudara* x/779(1938): 8).

⁶ For example the articles "Akhbar-akhbar Melayu menegaskan haknya yang halal. *Warta Malaya* menjadi jarum bagi mencantumkan perasaan bekerja bersama-sama di antara journalist di atas penanggungannya yang serupa" (*Warta Malaya* becomes a needle which joins together the cooperative spirit between Journalists in their Tasks), *Saudara* 26.1.38, p.2, and "Teguran *Warta Malaya* yang Berharga, *Majlis* Suratkhbar yang besar itu patut mengenal akan haknya atau bukan. Jangan Memamah Pisang yang Berkubuk" (*Warta Malaya*'s Valuable Reminder, a prominent newspaper like *Majlis* ought to know between right and wrong, Do not just eat "pisang yang berkubuk"), *Saudara* 2.2.38, p.2, published *Warta Malaya*'s editorials in them. The editor of *Warta Malaya* at this time was Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. At the end of both articles there were comments by *Saudara*, most probably made by the editor of *Saudara* at the time, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid.

Steadily, the relationship between *Saudara* and Paspam worsened, until finally, in an editorial of 20.4.1938, the editor, Muhammad Yunus Abdul Hamid, announced the end of *Saudara's* relationship with *Halaman Sahabat Pena*. Thus, starting from 23rd of April 1938, *Saudara* ceased to become the voice of Paspam. The editor then reminded Paspam's secretaries in every branch and all members not to send any news or articles about Paspam to his newspaper anymore. Giving his reason for *Saudara's* withdrawal from becoming Paspam's official supporter, the editor wrote:

Perhaps some readers would like to know the reason for our withdrawal from becoming Paspam's official voice. In short, we can say that this was because we strongly believed that Paspam would never achieve its aim even if we gave an amount of time ten times longer than we have already given (*Saudara* x/793/2(1938): 7).

During the absence of *Halaman Sahabat Pena* from *Saudara*, Muhammad Ariffin Ishak, one of Paspam's pioneers, had argued that Paspam ought to be closely associated with a newspaper. He stressed that the development of Paspam up till then was because of its association with one newspaper, in which there were columns which were reserved especially for Paspam. Thus, this newspaper had become the best propaganda for the association (*Saudara* xii/945(1939): 8).

Although by that time Paspam's magazine was already available, Ariffin argued, it would not be the same as with a newspaper, since the magazine was only published twice a month. If they wanted to satisfy everybody by publishing general news and articles, the magazine, which only had 40 pages, would not be able to cover everything. Furthermore, since the magazine was only published twice a month, some of the news inside would already be outdated. Thus, Ariffin believed that Paspam's propaganda should be concentrated in one newspaper only, while the magazine should be filled with a summary of *Halaman Sahabat Pena* or *Halaman Paspam* in the respective newspaper

in addition to all the excellent articles and views of its members (*Saudara* xii/945(1939): 8).

Thus, Ariffin clearly supported *Saudara's* role as the official voice of Paspam. His undivided support for *Saudara* is understandable, since he was among the pioneers of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena in *Halaman Kanak-kanak* in *Saudara*. And perhaps he realized that a newspaper like *Saudara* would be more effective than *Majalah Paspam* in encouraging people who had not yet become members to join the association, since the newspaper would be read by members and non-members of Paspam alike, whereas the scope of readers for *Majalah Paspam* was rather limited since its distribution was among members only.

After more than a year's interval, however, *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, appeared again in *Saudara* in August 1939, but, through the articles in there, we can trace the disintegration of Paspam. A conflict arose between various branches with Paspam's headquarters in Penang. By 1940, *Halaman Sahabat Pena* did not emerge as frequently as before in *Saudara* and, most importantly, the majority of the articles were about Paspam Perak. It seemed that Paspam Perak had become very strong at that time, perhaps because it was strongly backed by the Sultan of Perak.

With reference to Paspam Perak, Haji Muhammad, Chief Secretary of Paspam Perak, reminded Paspam's members that the fee for the year 1940 should be paid to Perak's treasurer, since, according to a committee meeting and a general meeting of the Perak branch, there was strong opposition to the fee being paid to the headquarters in Penang. Apart from that, the article also announced the decision to create a new badge exclusively for Paspam Perak. This badge was described as a little bit smaller than the

old one with the word "Cawangan Perak" (Perak Branch) written on it and the colours of Perak's flag printed on the badge. The price for the badge was 25 cents which was actually for postal expenses (Saudara xii/1012(1940): 15).

This action of Paspam Perak clearly reflected the determination of Perak's state branch to dissociate itself from the headquarters in Penang. This view was enhanced by another article from Paspam Perak's president, Tuan Haji Muhammad Zain bin Haji Ayub. In that article, he explained the reason why Paspam branches throughout Malaya opposed the headquarters in Penang. He wrote:

...indeed all Paspam's members and Malays resent the attitude of Paspam's members in Penang, because the branch in Penang has acted like a dictator without considering other people's views, from its establishment up till now (Saudara xiii/1043(1940): 7).

He continued:

All Paspam members in Malaya did however, respect the headquarters in Penang, and were willing to accept Penang as Paspam's headquarters and acknowledge Penang's contribution to Paspam's foundation. Until today, we have never denied that Penang was still Paspam's headquarters. However, we have developed great doubt about a mother who doesn't know her status, doesn't safeguard her dignity from all misdeeds, and doesn't fulfil her responsibilities as a mother towards her children, so that eventually all the characteristics of a mother have disappeared. So, why should we be astonished when all her children have turned away from her and tried to find their own way? (Saudara xiii/1043(1940): 7)

Muhammad Zain also warned Paspam Penang not to confuse members all over Malaya by asking them to send a 50 cent fee to Penang. According to him, the fee then should be 1 *ringgit* annually and should be paid to the treasurer of each state branch, and furthermore, that anybody who paid this fee would receive a free Paspam magazine. He was of the opinion that Paspam Perak's magazine was a lot better than the previous one published by the headquarters, and that the publication appeared more regularly, in the middle of each month (Saudara xiii/1043(1940): 7).

The rift with the headquarters was enhanced with a proposed amended law for Paspam presented by the Perlis branch. In nearly every article of the law, all mention of the headquarters was erased and replaced by “state branch committee.”⁷ Looking at the articles in *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, it is unclear what were the reasons for this dispute. However, Roff has suggested that it was based on tension between the *Jawi Peranakan* and Malay-Arab leaders in Penang and the more pure-Malay branches. The former group, known for their intellectualism and leadership in Malay society, created a feeling of unease among the Malays, and left the latter feeling inadequate and robbed of their right to Malay leadership. Not only that, these so-called DKA and DKK groups (the name given to them by Abdul Rahim Kajai, a celebrated Malay journalist of the time) were regarded as generally arrogant because of their knowledge and urban status (Roff 1994: 220). Maybe that was why, in one of the passages referred to above, the writer described the people at Paspam’s headquarters as “dictators.”

Until the end of *Saudara*’s publication in February 1941, *Halaman Sahabat Pena* still appeared in *Saudara* but only occasionally, and the articles were mainly about branch news. To a certain extent, this reflected the failing condition of the association at the time. The association survived until after the war, but it only played a small role henceforth in Malay literary and cultural life.

Thus, Sahabat Pena, the first truly national movement of the Malays, managed to stay strong only for a few years. Rocked by internal disputes, the association’s foundations began to crumble, so that just before the Second World War, it had evolved into a number of small scattered and independent societies throughout Malaya; at least this is the picture portrayed through *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in *Saudara*. In terms of its

⁷ For details refer to the proposed law under the title “Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Cawangan Negeri Perlis Cadangan Pindaan-pindaan Tubuh Undang-undang Paspam,” *Saudara*, 31.1.1941, pp. 8-9 and 4.2.1941,

achievements, the association marked the beginning of a Malay national movement, reflecting a surge of sentiment towards Malay unity in the states. But its failure was due to a contrary sentiment of state loyalty, a spirit which was embedded in the Malay people until it was gradually challenged by the introduction of the Malayan Union plan by the British in 1946, which propelled them to unite in order to fight its implementation. In terms of membership, the association achievement was commendable, with more than 10,000 members four years after its establishment. Looking at the news about the association in *Halaman Sahabat Pena* in *Saudara*, their activities were mainly cultural, along with an interest also in improving the Malay economy. After looking at *Halaman Sahabat Pena* and examining the articles concerning the activities and achievements of the society, a conclusion can be made that Sahabat Pena was not a politically-motivated association; instead it should mainly be seen as a cultural association, since its main interest was related to improving the Malay language and heritage.⁸ Their interest in the economy was motivated by the challenge from Chinese economic dominance in Malaya at that time, a common concern which can be found in all Malay newspapers at the time. However, it is important to stress that Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena was indeed significant in strengthening the spirit of Malay nationalism with its emphasis on the importance of the Malay language and customs, and the need for the Malays to value them. Moreover, as the first Malay national association, it undoubtedly paved the way for the establishment of other national associations, whether political or otherwise.

pp. 6-9.

⁸ This fact is enhanced by its first magazine, *Paspam*, where most of the articles published were concerning Malay language.

CHAPTER 6

SAUDARA AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MALAY SOCIETY

6.1. Introduction

In the hands of female youth lies the future of our society and through their efforts the saying of the Prophet will be materialized. (“Women are parts of men’s bodies”). From their wisdom and endeavour will eventually come progress for the nation and country. From the smiles of these girls will come the light which will enlighten the life of their nation (*Saudara* viii/610(1936): 4).

The above quotation is from an article in *Saudara* in 1936 entitled “Seruan Kepada Anak-anak Perempuan Muda” (A Call towards Female Youth). This article was an exposition of the position of women in society as perceived by the writer, and was a view that was common among Islamic reformists in Malaya. These articles gave a new insight into the role of women and their rights in society. *Saudara* itself allocated certain columns, known as *Taman Isteri* (Wife’s Garden) dedicated to discussing the affairs of women in Malaya in particular and in the world in general. In these columns, female and male writers expressed their ideas on issues such as education, family affairs, foreign and local news regarding women, and other matters which were considered important in order to promote progress among Malay women.

6.2. Women’s Education

The most striking issue in *Saudara* and the one which I believe is the most important is their emphasis on women’s education. Education for Malay women, as in many other countries worldwide at that time, was not widely accepted in society. For the majority of Malay girls who were prevented from going to school, the only type of education that they received was learning how to read the Quran, which was considered obligatory for every Muslim child.

In 1936 a writer by the name of Aminah, in an article concerning women's education, in which she also referred to the opinion of another writer, Miss Maimun, discussed some of the ridiculous notions in Malay society which prevented parents from sending their daughters to school. Many Malays believed that it was pointless to educate their daughters since when they grew up their place would only be in the kitchen. As the Malay proverb put it, "*Setinggi manapun pelajaran perempuan, akhirnya ke ceruk dapur juga*" (no matter how high is the education of a woman, in the end their place will always be in the kitchen). Since education had traditionally been associated with occupations, they saw no use in wasting money and time sending girls to school. Another factor was that they were not in favour of women going out freely from the house. Some parents were also afraid that once girls knew how to read and write, they would learn how to write letters to boys. Regarding this attitude, the writer, whom I assume is a woman from the name, expressed her astonishment in the following words: "It looks as if they don't want to accept that women also have the ability to think and differentiate between good and bad. Do they think that just because they know how to read and write that they will do bad deeds? Strange, strange" (Saudara viii/602/1936: 4).

There were particular concerns regarding English schools. Some people were worried about the influence of Christianity on their daughters. Some were also afraid that their daughters would fall in love with non-Muslim schoolmates, so that, when the time for marriage came, they would not give their consent to their parents' choice of husband, because they had already made their own choice and would even be willing to change religion because of it. The writer remarked that the attitude of those people who took this view did not want "women to have opinions of their own. They like women to be solely "ministers of the kitchen" who do not think for themselves, but merely nod at whatever words are said to them" (Saudara viii/602(1936): 4).

Regarding the nature of education for women, Aminah expressed her agreement with the words of another writer, Miss Maimun, who wrote: "If a woman is not educated, she will not be able to administer her household properly because of her ignorance."

Aminah wrote:

O you women, if you want to be perfect mothers or ministers of the household, then it is obligatory for you to possess some education so that you will know how to be a mother to your children, and so that you can administer your household and cook the food perfectly and become the first teacher to your child. If you don't possess knowledge, it is not impossible that your children will not have sound moral attitudes (*Saudara* viii/602(1936): 4).

These words give us an idea of the type of education which was considered to be useful for women in the Malay society at that time. Looking at the articles in *Saudara* elsewhere, it is clear that they heavily emphasized the importance of education for women; but at the same time, they defined a desirable type of education for women as that related to their role in the house, as mother, wife and manager of household affairs. Thus, the types of education advocated by most writers in newspapers were those of a "feminine" nature such as skills in sewing, embroidery and cookery. There were, however, professions for women outside the household advocated by several writers in the newspapers, such as nursing and teaching. This was certainly a common theme in relation to the education of women in various articles in *Saudara* during this period.

A writer with the pseudonym of 'Asal Tho'ifi' (Honey of Tho'if) further clarified this theme in 1934 and discussed how one should value the progress of women in society. The writer asserted:

All calls towards progress which involve a free mixing between men and women should be avoided. Don't ever think that what happens in Turkey and Egypt, where women go out freely on the street like European women, is in line with Islamic teachings. All behaviour which does not follow Islamic injunctions will never succeed. Consider: what is the use for Malay society if there is a woman flying an aeroplane like Amy Johnson, for instance? Or what is the use to Malay society if there is a Malay woman who becomes a lawyer? [...] If women are able to do men's jobs it does not necessarily mean progress. All that we get is a lack of opportunities for men to get these jobs. Among the problems faced by Westerners is

that their women have taken men's jobs, such as becoming clerks in offices (Saudara vi/396(1934): 9).

The writer disagreed with the view that women do not have to look after the welfare of the household. He argued that, while providing for the family was the responsibility of men, household duties should be in the hands of women. Only when both sexes were clear about their particular responsibilities could the foundations for establishing progress for women be established. In other words, the writer wanted to emphasize that, since women should not have to carry out men's duties, it was therefore important for women to seek knowledge which was related to the maintenance of the household, such as the management of domestic arrangements, sewing and embroidery, cookery, child-care and general aspects of marital life (Saudara vi/396(1934): 9).

'Asal Tho'ifi' accepted that all these kinds of knowledge could be obtained without going to school, but argued that if they were taught in school they could become the basis of a 'national movement.' Perhaps what the writer meant was that if every girl was encouraged to learn these skills in school instead of at home, then society as a whole would accept the need to send their daughters to school. Although there already existed schools that taught sewing, embroidery etc., the writer argued that they had simply become places to train to compete for teaching jobs, not for training women to become perfect wives. Then, as today, knowledge of household matters was not considered as highly as other forms of knowledge. For example, if a girl passed with flying colours in the Senior Cambridge examination, she was more likely to receive praise than if she excelled in embroidery. As a consequence, many Malay girls who graduated from English schools did not know anything about cooking or other domestic skills. All they knew about would be reading literature. The writer contended, however, that the main

objective of the education of women should be to increase their knowledge of household matters. The writer summarized his views in the following words:

A woman's knowledge is not complete without education; this education will not be complete if it makes them forget that they are women; and a nation's progress will not be complete if the women's education is not complete (Saudara vi/396(1934): 9).

The writer in this article directed attention to the situation of women in countries such as Turkey, Egypt and Europe. Turkey was an important case, since it was a Muslim country which at the time was undergoing a massive reform under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, which involved among other things the liberation of women. But the question was: To what extent should Islamic reformists in Malaya take inspiration from Turkey?

Under his reform programme, Ataturk had liberated women in Turkish society from all religious and traditional restrictions. He believed that women should be given the natural rights of which they had been deprived both in the family and the society as a whole. He urged women to play their part in the development of the Turkish nation and society. His view regarding the proper role for women in society was clearly shown in a speech he gave during his tours around the country, in which he said:

If a social organism contents itself with the acquisition of present-day skills by only one of the sexes, that organism will be more than half weak. The lack of success of our social organism derives from our neglect of women and our omissions in their respect. Men have come into the world to live for as long as they are destined to. Life means activity. It follows that if one member of the social organism is inactive, while the other is active, that social organism becomes paralysed. The age demands among other things that our women should rise to a higher level in every respect. This is why our women will also become scholars and scientists and will pass through all the stages of education through which men pass. In social life men and women will march together, helping and supporting each other (Igdemir et al. 1963: 164).

Women, Ataturk believed, should join men not only in work but also in their amusements, so he organized balls and dancing which encouraged free mixing between

men and women. Apart from that, he was also convinced that the veil should be removed from women's clothing. In a speech in Inebolu on 27th August 1925 he said:

During my journey, I saw not only in the villages, but also in small towns and even in cities that our women folk are closely covering their faces and their eyes. My fellow-men, this is a little the result of our selfishness. Our women folk are, like us, intelligent and reasonable human beings. Provided we inculcate in them the rules of ethical conduct and our sacred values, provided we explain to them our national morals and equip their minds with enlightened and pure ideals, there is no reason for excessive selfishness. Let them show their faces to the world and let them use their eyes to take a close look at the world. There is nothing to be frightened of in this (Igdemir et al. 1963: 165).

His reforms regarding the status of women continued with the introduction of the Turkish Civil Code in 1926, which granted civil rights to women and was followed by a new Municipal Law which allowed Turkish women to vote and to stand for election in Municipal Elections. Consequently, on 5th December 1934, Turkish women were granted the supreme civic right of electing and being elected Deputies (Igdemir et al. 1963: 165-6).

We can clearly see here a huge difference between the ideas of Mustafa Kemal and those of the writers in *Saudara* regarding the role of women. If Mustafa Kemal envisaged the women in his society working hand in hand with men in building their society by becoming scholars and scientists, the writers in *Saudara*, although they believed that women did have an equally important position in society, confined this role to household matters. Mustafa Kemal, a secular leader, resorted to unIslamic measures to emphasize the liberation of women in Turkish society; for example, by the removal of the veil from women and the encouragement of Western forms of entertainment such as balls and dancing. These kinds of changes were opposed by various writers in *Saudara*, who consistently reminded Malay women that in trying to achieve progress, they should neither forget Islamic teachings nor their cultural roots.

For example, in a 1934 article discussing the changing position of women in society at that time, Hafsa, a regular contributor on women's issues from Perak wrote:

Why are you women so eager to follow all the changes in our society taking place at this time, despite the fact that these changes are not necessarily desirable? Some of them are even against Islamic law. This change has happened because of one reason – the lack of a true Islamic education and an unwillingness to fight our desires which are evil, because many of these changes which are being adopted are against the *syara*' (Saudara vi/401(1934): 8).

In another criticism of current attitudes, there were also calls in *Saudara* for women to give help to other women in society. Again, Hafsa, in an article later in 1934, discussing to what extent Malay women had utilized the publication of the newspaper, urged women to contribute their ideas, since many Malay women had at this stage received an education, whether in English or Malay schools. Sadly, she said, none of them seemed to be willing to share their knowledge with other women in society. For example, none of them wanted to write useful books on sewing, embroidery, etc. which were essential for other women. She criticized women for their lack of initiative in this respect. The only thing that interested them, she complained, was following current trends and whatever the West had to offer. Among the unnecessary changes, she claimed, that they had adopted were: showing their faces and wearing bobbed hair (*berambut tokong*); she concluded that they might conceivably end by 'becoming naked' (Saudara vi/410/1(1934): 8).

This effort to improve the position and attitudes of women in society would not have been complete if it had not been accompanied by an attempt to correct the standard view of the status of women. This is what was attempted by an anonymous writer in his article of 1936, which took quotations from a novel called *Hikayat Setia Asyik kepada Mahsyuknya* or *Shafiq Afandi dengan Faridah Hanum*, by Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, in order to challenge the opinions of some men in society who looked down upon women. In this novel, Sayyid Shaikh, who could be considered as a champion of

women's rights, used the characters in the novel to put forward his ideas regarding the emancipation of women. For example, the anonymous writer quoted what the main character, Faridah Hanum, states in the novel:

We are not content with the attitudes of those men in society who believe that we women are not useful for our society or country, except as their horses for them to ride upon, their cooks, or their cleaners; because we are also human beings just like men. God has given us minds to learn anything that men learn, and we have never been prohibited from acquiring any knowledge just because we are lacking in one of the characteristics that men have (Saudara viii/608(1936): 4).

However, Faridah Hanum does accept in the novel that men are raised in the Quran to a level one step above women. She is probably referring here to surah al-Baqarah, verse 228, which reads: "*But men have a degree over women...*" This verse, it should be noted, actually refers to the economic position of men, since in the family situation the responsibility for maintaining the family economically fell on men's shoulders. These differences in the economic position of men and women therefore make men's responsibilities and liabilities a little greater than those of women. This verse is closely related to verse 34, surah an-Nisa', in which Allah says:

Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard.

Sayyid Shaikh's main female characters in his novel accepted, therefore, that in a family, the man should be considered the leader; thus the wife is required to obey him as long as he did not order her to do anything which was against Islamic teachings.

However, the writer (of the article) warned that:

The obedience of women to their husbands makes men who are narrow-minded and stubborn become arrogant because they believe that their position is like a master who owns a slave whom he can trade anytime he likes; whereas God is so just that when He lowered the status of women in relation to men, He was just freeing them from a few responsibilities which He had made obligatory for men to fulfil..." (Saudara viii/608(1936): 4).

The writer stressed that women's differently defined status did not mean that women were prohibited from acquiring all the knowledge that men could acquire. The writer challenged his readers with the following argument:

Who, among knowledgeable people, would dare to say that educated women are not bringing any benefit to his people, nation and country? *Allahumma*, except those religious people with big turbans who use the religious books written by their teachers or ancestors containing nonsense rather than the *Kitabullah* (Quran) and the Prophet's sayings (Saudara viii/608(1936): 4).

Probably the preference for women staying at home and being concerned only with household matters was influenced by those Quranic verses that referred to men as providers for the family. Moreover, throughout the history of the Malay community, men have been considered as the heads of the family, and maintainers of the family. Though in many agricultural activities like paddy plantation women played equally important role as men, they usually worked among their family members only. Thus, to allow women to go into the workforce and mix with men was probably unimaginable for Malay men at that time. As a newspaper with an Islamic reformist bias, *Saudara*, in most of its articles on women's issues, also held to the same principle.

However, in contemporary Malay society, the situation had become very different from old times. Now women had become actively involved in various work sectors and, in most cases in the new generation, had become equally important sources of income for the family. Despite these changes, there were still some cultural expectations of women; for example, they should know how to cook.

6.3. Hairdressing Skills

In some cases, we can see a difference of outlook between female and male writers. There seems to have been more flexibility on the part of the women writers on certain

issues, as compared to their male counterparts. One obvious example was regarding the proposal for Malay women to acquire hairdressing skills. In an article in 1936 discussing whether or not a Malay girl should acquire hairdressing skills, a writer who called herself 'Makcik Muda Pahang' (A Young Auntie from Pahang) foresaw that in the future, following the changes that were taking place in society, many women would have to work outside the home. In this case, the occupation of hairdresser could be an alternative to jobs like teachers and nurses. At the same time, there was a trend in the community at that time to have 'bobbed hair' or short hair, in contrast to the traditional practice for Malay women to keep their hair long and cover it with a long scarf known in Malay as '*selendang*'. 'Makcik Muda Pahang' argued that, "The habit of keeping long hair, as Malay women are doing these days, is neither prohibited nor advocated by our religion, Islam" (Saudara viii/632(1936): 4).

'Makcik Muda Pahang' urged Malay women to grab the opportunity to acquire hairdressing skills as a way to earn a living. Furthermore, in the light of ethnic economic competition in Malaya, she argued that by possessing such skills, the girls would ensure that "the Malay's money goes into Malay pockets" (Saudara viii/632(1936): 4).

Aminah Abdul Jalal, another female contributor to the *Taman Isteri* column, in an article in 1936 with the same title as above, said that she totally agreed with the suggestion that women should be taught hairdressing skills, since she considered it to be one of the permissible (*halal*) occupations for Malay women. However she challenged men with these words: "We should ask men, why do they keep quiet in this matter and sit without doing anything? Is it not they who should begin this occupation from now on? And don't they feel ashamed if women are the ones who pioneer this occupation?"

(Saudara viii/636/1(1936): 4) What the writer meant here is that Malay men should make the effort to learn hairdressing skills for men. Once they had obtained these skills, they should set up hairdressing businesses. There were undoubtedly already barbers among Malays at that time, but what the writer was trying to argue was that men should acquire professional knowledge and establish proper hairdressing businesses.

Al-Haqir (The Humble) Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latif, a male contributor to *Taman Isteri*'s column, however, expressed in the same year a different view on the issue. Still holding to the view that women's role should be confined within the household, Abdul Majid refuted the idea that hairdressing skills could be a source of income for women. Although he did not object to Malay women being taught hairdressing skills, Abdul Majid objected to women becoming hairdressers in the hairdressing salons in the town centres like Chinese or Japanese women, no matter how profitable the profession. He reasoned:

Our religion and Malay customs have many restrictions, and these restrictions should not be amended; if we still want to amend them, then, we would inevitably become like people from other nations and religions. We would be destroyed by the amendments we make (Saudara viii/636/2(1936): 4).

Nevertheless, teaching women hairdressing skills, Abdul Majid argued, could benefit the family economically. Even though a woman who possessed such skills could not become a professional hairdresser, she could still utilize her skills at home. For example, a woman who was not married could utilize her skills on her brothers and sisters, and a married woman on her children and even her husband. This meant that the money would not go to the foreign races and, more importantly, it would remain in the house (Saudara viii/636/2(1936): 4).

Abdul Majid also expressed his prejudice against women having short hair. He wrote, “[...] about cutting the hair of other people’s daughters or wives, please don’t do it, because women should keep their hair long” (*Saudara* viii/636/2(1936): 4). He offered no explanation for this opinion, however, and no religious justification.

6.4. Progress and Modernity

One of the most important issues which dominated the debates concerning women during this period was the definition of what was ‘modern.’ Modernity was more controversial for women than men, because what was termed modern, based on European style, involved a radical change in the life of Malay women in Malay society. In styles of dressing, for example, traditional Malay attire covered the whole of a woman’s body, including her head. However, with the influence of modernism, Malay women adopted European dresses which were short and sleeveless, the head cover was discarded and the hair became short. For men, however, even if they wore European clothes like suits, it was not contrary to the Islamic dress code, unless they wore shorts.

But women were demanding more freedom; some of them demanded the right to join the work force and this necessitated a total departure from their seclusion in the house. All these were contrary to Malay custom, and, to some extent, Islam. In many instances, Malay culture and Islam did go hand in hand, although it is doubtful whether most women could themselves distinguish between true Islamic regulations and the customs and restrictions imposed on them by society. As a newspaper with an Islamic reformist bias, *Saudara* was clear about the concept of modernity that it was trying to promote; thus, the articles which dealt with this issue exhibited a common direction in their definition of modernity.

In an article discussing the influence of European modernity on Malay women, a writer who used the pseudonym 'Dayang Taman' (Garden Maid) wrote:

From my observation, the influence of European modernity is very strong at the moment among women, compared to a few years back. Although the number of women who are involved in these changes could be considered small, in a few years time the number will increase as significantly as in Turkey and Egypt. I am not denying that there are several things which it is very useful for the Malay women to follow, but I feel worried about many unsuitable trends that we have followed, since our nation and religion are different from European nations and their religion, who have brought about that modernity which we now eagerly imitate (Saudara ix/659/1(1936): 4).

According to 'Dayang Taman', the strongest influence of European modernity on Malay women was 'freedom' (*kebebasan*); the idea was a strong temptation because Malay women had long been secluded in their homes. But, it was argued, once they were granted this freedom, they seemed to forget all the proper restrictions and limitations that should be observed. 'Dayang Taman' argued, however, that if the Malays are able correctly to utilize this freedom, "they will fulfil the responsibilities as the best creatures on this earth whom Allah referred to in al-Quran, Surah at-Tin: 4: *"Indeed We have created man in the best of moulds"* (Saudara ix/659/1(1936): 4).

'Dayang Taman' further pursued her point in the following way: "'Free' (*bebas*): the women in Europe are 'free' but so too are the *Jakun* and *Sakai*¹ women in the jungle. Thus, it doesn't mean that everything which is free is modern; rather, everything that is modern possesses freedom. Freedom is not the sole requirement of modernity but only one of many requirements of modernity." Thus, 'Dayang Taman' was convinced that Malay women should not emphasize this aspect more than any of the aspects of modernity. The first requirement of modernity, she argued, was a proper education. However, in Malaya at that time it was difficult to even find five out of one thousand women who were educated. "Thus, is it appropriate that we hold to the European

¹ Jakun and Sakai are two of the many aboriginal groups in Malaya.

modernity by imitating their freedom but ignoring the first and foremost requirement?"

(Saudara ix/659/1(1936): 4)

'Dayang Taman' continued by reminding the Malay people in general that:

We as a Malay nation have our own character and also our religion which is our guidance in our life. Our national spirit and religion encourage us to be civilized people but not to sacrifice our nation and transgress religious boundaries. We are encouraged to imitate the civilized nations to achieve progress: but we must not just follow our desires. We are endowed with both intelligence (*aqal*) and desire (*syahwat*) by God. The angels were given only intelligence (*aqal*) and animals have only desire (*syahwat*). Thus, if we could overcome the temptation of our desire with our intelligence, then, we will become more honourable than the angels, and if our intelligence is defeated by our desire, then we will sink lower than the animals (Saudara ix/659/1(1936): 4).

Finally 'Dayang Taman' concluded her words as follows:

Our women are encouraged to be modern so long as they fulfil the first and foremost requirement, which is education, and Malay women should possess freedom so long as that freedom is within the boundaries laid down by Islam, the religion which freed women from slavery and granted them freedom according to the nature of their existence (Saudara ix/659/1(1936): 4).

'Dayang Taman''s views on this matter were supported by a writer who called herself 'Miss Pulau Pinang', in her discussion in the same year about the true concept of modernity. She said that Malay women's general concept of modernity was just a false imitation from the streets and cinemas. Such women, she wrote, called themselves modern, but they did not have any education and they did not even know how to read or write. She then warned Malay women:

Don't ever think of having the same freedom as men because it would be useless for you. Women of foreign nations have expressed their modernity by doing the same activities as men, for example by becoming active in sport, mixing freely with men, wearing short sleeveless dresses, and demanding jobs in offices as clerks or secretaries (Saudara ix/663(1936): 4).

She then continued:

The modernity which is condemned by sensible people these days is the false modernity which results from blind imitation. Such as the notion that going out without '*berkelumbung*', or covering the head, is modern. That mixing around with men is modern; going to the cinema alone is modern; this is modern and that is modern; let yourself think for a while, what and how actually is true modernity? (Saudara ix/663(1936): 4)

These writers' concern about the influence of modernism led them to discuss matters which we may now consider petty things, but which were obviously not so to them, considering how grave they perceived the threat of modernism to Malay society to be at that time. For example, in an article concerning modernity and Malay women, by 'Anak Perca Barat' (Son of the West Perca), the writer criticized Malay women who liked to use canned food. This habit, the writer emphasized, would make them too lazy to cook. The writer was clearly worried that women might abandon their traditional role in the kitchen. Furthermore, there was the fact that canned food was not as healthy as fresh food. The writer did not want to see Malay women simply becoming victims of modernism, imitating something without knowing how to evaluate its advantages and drawbacks (Saudara viii/646(1936): 4).

In the broader sense, what this writer (and others) was concerned about was the fact that the Malay community made use of the technological advances of the modern world without understanding its mechanisms. As this writer put it:

If I am not mistaken, the Malays' way of life will eventually become like the life of people in modern European society. Unfortunately our condition is worse. When we eat canned food, not only are our women too lazy to cook, but we do not know even a single thing about how to produce that canned food. The only thing that we know about is spending money from our pockets – what will happen when that pocket becomes empty? (Saudara viii/646(1936): 4)

The same author, in another article dated 16.9.1936, mentioned the increasing number of Malay women involved in the entertainment business, for example by becoming dancers or entertainers in nightclubs. The writer suggested that, "this is the influence of modernity, the result of an incomplete education. So, are we going to allow our daughters to chase after modernity? Are we just going to ignore what is happening? The Malays will be destroyed because of the influence of modernity - curses on us for only educating our children half way" (Saudara viii/647/1(1936): 2-3).

In an article of 1936, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi presents us on the other hand with a different perspective on this issue of imitating Europe. According to him, Malay society could be regarded as a nation which has always been very good at imitating foreign nations. He gave the example of those Malay children who easily learnt foreign languages like English, Arabic, or Chinese, to the extent that such children could not only speak in that language nearly fluently, but imitated their slang too. According to Sayyid Alwi, Malays like to imitate Europe and the West, particularly in areas like speech, dress and behaviour. He believed that it was acceptable for any less advanced nation to imitate advanced ones, but only on condition that they were aware of the limitations. In his opinion, although Western society was civilized and progressive, and a good example for other people like the Malays to follow, it was important for the Malays to be selective in their imitation, since Western culture, nature, lifestyle and religion were different from theirs. Hence, they ought to make sure that the aspects they chose to imitate would not go against their nature, national interest or religious teachings, apart from being genuinely beneficial. He further reminded the Malays not to be tricked into imitating the West in the name of progress, since Westerners themselves admitted that some of the changes taking place were dangerous to their national interests. In this respect, the most important thing, according to Sayyid Alwi, was, for the Malays to use their minds and not be driven by desire in deciding what they should or should not imitate (Saudara viii/651/2(1936): 22).

Sayyid Alwi expressed his disappointment at the way in which certain Malays who had received an English education then directly imitated the behaviour of Western people. These changes were not confined to men, but had also spread among women. For example, when they spoke Malay, they liked to include English words as if there was no Malay word to cover the meaning. Moreover, Sayyid Alwi was not happy with

the fact that they used “I and you” as pronouns when talking in Malay. This was not done by English-educated people only, but also by those who were ignorant of the English language. He considered this as a threat to the Malay national identity (Saudara viii/651/2(1936): 22).

Furthermore, Sayyid Alwi noted that many Malay students refused to write in Malay and even felt embarrassed to carry Malay books after graduating from English schools. Moreover, some Malays who did not know the English language, bought English newspapers, just to show off to others. In short, according to Sayyid Alwi, the most important thing that should be considered in the imitation of European civilization is the benefit of any particular imitation. Sayyid Alwi advised his audience always to ask this question: “If it is beneficial to me; is it beneficial to my nation?” Finally, he quoted the words of a certain Dr. Khalid Sheldrick who had said, “*Hubaya, hubaya*, you Malays, you should protect yourself from being so westernized that you forget your nation and religion” (Saudara viii/651/2(1936): 22).

Still dealing with the issue of modernity, and particularly the issue of the relationship between modernity and the role of woman, Hashim bin Umar in 1936 particularly blamed the Chinese for spreading the influence of modernity in Malaya. He warned that the Malay’s traditional courteous and perfect way of living was facing threats from the general trend of modernity. For example, in restaurants owned by the Chinese, the owner usually had female ‘*pelayan*’ or waitresses. Moreover, cinemas were now showing women exposing their bodies, and in the Chinese cinemas in particular, the actresses were almost naked. Maybe in a short while, he went on, people would even see complete nudity in cinemas as a result of following this trend of modernity. Furthermore, Hashim wrote:

Our youths love dancing because the women wear clothes which expose their backs. After this, it would not be impossible for them to become naked altogether. When this happens, East and West will have become intermixed and the West will dominate. So, is our nation doomed, because we do not have the heart to display our young women in restaurants, or, if we want to make a film without indecency, it will not sell? In this situation we have to help the businesses of our own people. We have to train our children to love their nation and country. If we are united, these changes will not destroy our nation, so long as we protect our '*adat resam*' and language (Saudara viii/626(1936): 3).

On the other hand, 'Anak Perca Barat' put the main responsibility for the spread of the influence of European modernity, especially over the question of women's freedom, on men. The writer asserted:

Malay women nowadays are being influenced strongly by freedom movements in other nations, especially European nations. Although they are doing this willingly, in my opinion the fault lies with our men folk. The reason for my saying this is; it is our fathers who have given their daughters the freedom that they desired. They have sent their daughters to English schools, and allowed them to go to cinemas and other entertainment centres at night – and I know that some Malay husbands have granted freedom to their wives to go here and there, designing various fashions for their wives' clothes as if their wives' beauty is not exclusively for them but also to be shown off to other men! *Astaghfirullah* (Saudara viii/642/1(1936): 4).

This writer also blamed tailors for changes in women's fashions, because they were the ones who "make the dress shorter, use thin materials etc." (Saudara viii/642/1(1936): 4)

In encouraging people to look to the West, it seemed as if Islamic reformism in Malaya had also encouraged the threat of unwanted elements from the West creeping into Malay society. This was illustrated particularly in the case of the changing role of and status of women. Modernism was very much associated with the West and this generally meant Europe. The problem lay in the fact that people were trying to associate themselves with everything which reflected European characteristics, because this would include them in the league of modern people or people who had achieved progress, as opposed to backward or conservative people. However, those Malays who contributed to *Saudara* valued Malay custom, culture and religion and in this respect probably reflected general Malay feeling at the time. Looking at these articles as a whole, the writers in *Saudara* who tried to combat those elements of modernism that

they viewed as dangerous to the Malay community, always argued against them on the basis that they conflicted with the Malay culture and religion. In this respect, therefore, it is clear that they not only championed Islam, but were also prepared to uphold Malay culture and *adat*. But, it is important to note here that the *adat* values invoked were ones which did not conflict with Islamic teachings.

6.5. Bandung Style of Dressing: Fashion and Modesty

Among the issues which became a topic of heated debate among the writers in *Saudara* in the mid of 1930s was Malay women's style of dressing. In this debate, not only Western influences came under attack, but also introductions from a neighbouring region which was usually considered part of the Malay world, namely Indonesia. The most popular style of dress for women in Malaya at that time had become the 'Bandung' style. It is a two piece dress; the top consists of a short, tight fitting, long sleeved blouse coming just below the waist, while the bottom part is a tight fitting sarong known as *batik lepas* which is not sewn and is worn in such a way that it creates a split at the front, which becomes visible when the woman walks (see Appendix IX). Many of the Malay women who wore this outfit at that time also discarded a part of their usual clothing, the headcover or *kain kelumbung*, formerly regarded as a must for all Malay women.

This new woman's fashion received mixed reactions from the writers in *Saudara*. Many were against this style of clothing, but equally as many tried to defend the use of this dress for contemporary women in Malaya.

This debate began in 1935 with an article by 'Semangat Masa'² (Spirit of Time) who wrote:

The Malay women's style of dressing nowadays has changed from the style of previous times [...] In the big cities nowadays there is only one style of clothing which has become a favourite among women, the Bandung style, which is tight fitting and short so that it clearly reveals the shape of the women's bottoms. They [the women] purposely try to find high-heeled sandals so that the movements of the body will be enhanced when they are walking. A few of them refuse to cover their heads. Has their shyness and femininity disappeared? (Saudara vii/525(1935): 9)

'Semangat Masa' conceded that some people tried to defend this style by saying that the clothing was very economical, since it used less material, and it looked neater and smarter. The writer, however, rejected this defence and suggested that the only intention that women had in wearing such clothes was to attract the attention of men. He also claimed that these clothes made women look disreputable. He complained:

Is it not possible for women to change their dress to something more suitable so that they can protect their reputation and save them from the temptations of attracting men's desire which is very dangerous to their social life? Or at least to differentiate themselves from the dress of *sundal-sundal* (whores) who wander around and mix freely in entertainment centres at night? (Saudara vii/525(1935): 9)

'Semangat Masa' continued this argument in another later article urging Malay women not to keep imitating others but made their own efforts to create their own fashions. He wrote:

Let the Bandung style be for Bandung. This is Semenanjung Tanah Melayu! Can't our women in *Semenanjung* create their own *Semenanjung* way of dressing? Are they so stupid (*buta perut*)? Don't they feel ashamed? I am not saying that I don't like the Malay women to look beautiful, on the contrary, I like to see it [...] but it must create a good impression among foreign people whom we are facing everyday. Furthermore, the dress must protect their honour as women, and at the same time, protect male youths who are full of desire and lust (Saudara vii/535(1935): 9).

² It is stated in one of the articles in *Saudara* dated 21.9.1935 that 'Semangat Masa' was in fact the editor of *Pengasoh*, a journal published by Majlis Ugama Islam dan Isti'adat Melayu (Council of Muslim Religion and Malay Custom) Kelantan. This journal was published from 11 July 1918 - 23 December 1937. Among the editors listed by W.R. Roff were: Haji Mohd. b. Haji Mohd. Said (Dato' Bentara Jaya), Hassan b. Haji Omar, Abdul Kadir b. Ahmad (Abdul Kadir Adabi), Haji Wan Mahmud b. Haji Wan Daud and Mohd. Adnan b. Mohd. Ariffin (Roff 1972: 34).

'Semangat Masa''s objections to the Bandung style of dressing for Malay women was supported by a few other writers. For example, Ahmad Abu Bakar al-Mas'udi Langkawi wrote in 1935:

Fashions of dressing have indeed changed and some of these new styles are against Islamic teachings. Thus, if we imitate and follow them, we are doing something against Islam, isn't it so? If so, we alone will have to bear the blame. Allah has made clear in the Quran the rules concerning Muslim women's dressing [...] (Saudara vii/546(1935): 11)

He added:

Every country has its own fashion; China's fashion is according to the Chinese way; Indian fashion is according to the Hindu way; and Bandung has fashion according to the Bandung style. They do not imitate our Malay way, isn't it so? All those nations love and honour their own particular styles and they don't adopt our Malay style (Saudara vii/546(1935): 11).

Another writer with the same opinion in 1935 was 'Maktua Perak' (An Old Woman from Perak) who pointed out in her article that the Bandung style of Malaya did not in any case follow exactly that of its place of origin. In the first place, the dress in Bandung was longer than those of Malaya. Furthermore, the headcover (*kain kelumbung*) was being ignored particularly in Malaya. It had been replaced by a small scarf around 18-20 inches square, used to cover the shoulders, or tied around the neck.

She addressed women readers in the following terms:

I don't intend to prevent Malay women from wearing any clothing which is good for their health and according to their liking. However, we have to consider the issue rationally. Does this change or imitation transgress our religious boundaries? Do the clothes of this age completely follow religious regulations? If we want to change fashions, are such changes in accordance with religious rules? So, so long as we think before we take action, *Insyah Allah*, we will be safe. In my opinion, the style of dressing today is a product of our time and *adat* and not based on our religion at all. If it were based on our religion, such changes would break religious injunctions and prohibitions (Saudara vii/547(1935): 11).

'Maktua Perak' urged women to take their example from the way that a well-known Egyptian woman at that time by the name of Huda Hanum Sya'rawi was dressed. Not only did she cover her body properly, but the way she wore the headcover should be followed by Malay women because the hair was fully covered (Saudara vii/547(1935):

11). Maktua was clearly worried because many Malay women who wore the *selendang* or *kelumbung* exposed some of their hair at the forehead.

Those, however, who refuted the ideas originally expressed by 'Semangat Masa' argued that the Bandung style of clothing was a progressive change in the life of Malay women. Looking at these latter articles as a whole, it seems that many of them were written out of anger or resentment towards certain harsh words used by 'Semangat Masa', such as comparing those who wore such clothes to whores.

For example, a writer with a pseudonym based on the Arabic letters, 'ز. د. ش' (Zai.Dal.Shim.) refuted the opinion of 'Semangat Masa' concerning the Bandung style of dressing in the following words:

The reason why women wear the clothes that Tuan 'Semangat Masa' mentioned is not for the purpose of adorning themselves or to show themselves off to others. I hope Tuan 'Semangat Masa' does not misunderstand. Our purpose is to clean ourselves up and look smarter. So, is this against Islamic injunctions as Tuan 'Semangat Masa' argues? In this progressive age, it is necessary for Malay women to know how to look after themselves and their household affairs. Moreover, men nowadays also want to find a wife who is clever and fashionable. If Tuan 'Semangat Masa' disagrees with the type of dress that women wear nowadays, why not design new clothes for them? (Saudara vii/541(1935: 11))

The writer then posed a crucial question, perhaps to defend Malay women in general:

What is the purpose of some men nowadays shaving their moustaches and beards? What is the purpose of them cutting their hair; what is the purpose of their wearing shorts or neckties; and why are so many of them reluctant to wear the national dress? And, and, and; is progress hindered with the wearing of national costumes? (Saudara vii/541(1935: 11))

'Makcik Muda Pahang' (Young Lady of Pahang), in her response to an article by Ahmad Abu Bakar al-Mas'udi Langkawi argued in 1935 that the Quranic verse used by Ahmad Abu Bakar could not be taken as evidence to support the prohibition on women wearing the current style of clothing, since, "just like women's clothing before, Malay

women's dress nowadays does not expose the *aurat* of women: only the fashion has changed" (Saudara vii/548(1935): 13).

Finally, an editorial of 2.10.1935 was dedicated to closing this long debate in *Saudara* regarding the Bandung style of dressing among Malay women. In it, the editor, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, drew his own conclusions regarding the issue. According to him, there was nothing wrong with the Bandung style of dressing, because it covered the *aurat*. He wrote:

The dress is enough to cover the *aurat*, as the *Syara'* demands. It is made up of three pieces; one is the sarong which is used to cover the *aurat* from belly button to ankle, then the top which covers from chest to waist, and the other is the *kelumbung* which is used to cover the head and neck, exposing only the face. It is the *kain kelumbung* which allows the clothes to transgress the *syara'*, because it is not being used properly. It should be used to cover the head and neck when women go out of the house and taken off when they enter a house where there are women or men who will not nullify their *wudhu'* (ablution).³ But many women nowadays use the *selendang* just as an accessory, either wearing it just on the shoulder, or tying it around the neck. The head, however, is then still exposed. The same goes for the dress; sometimes the materials used are so flimsy that the *aurat* which is supposed to be covered can clearly be seen. This is clearly against the *syara'*, but the mistakes lies in the people who wear it, not the Bandung style itself (Saudara viii/549(1935): 9).

Turning from religious to ethnic-cultural considerations, Sayyid Alwi also refuted the idea that the Bandung style of dressing was a foreign style, because Bandung is situated in Java, a part of the Malay archipelago, so it could not be said that it was an imitation of a foreign race. Sayyid Alwi concluded his discussion by making the following points:

- 1) The Bandung outfit is enough to cover the *aurat* as demanded by *syara'*
- 2) The outfit should not be considered a foreign nation's outfit.

³ In other words, the men that a woman could not marry. The Arabic term for this is '*muhrim.*' In al-Quran surah an-Nur: verse 31, it is stated: *and say to the believing women that they should lower their eyes and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (ordinarily) appears thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male attendants free of sexual desires. Or small children who have no carnal knowledge of women; and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments. And O ye Believers! Turn ye all together towards Allah in repentance that ye may be successful.*

3) The outfit is not the professional outfit of whores (*sundal*)

4) At the present time, the Bandung style of clothing is considered the best and smartest among Malay youths (*Saudara* viii/549(1935): 9).

It is rather surprising that the editor of *Saudara*, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, did not discuss the fact that the Bandung style of clothing was very tight fitting, and thus did not fulfil completely the requirements of covering the *aurat* in Islam. It is true that the outfit covers the whole of a woman's body but it is very tight fitting, and thus clearly reveals the woman's body shape. Although he discussed the issue of women's clothes in relation to *syara'*, he failed to bring up this issue as had other writers who had opposed this style of clothing. It seems clear that Sayyid Alwi was not against Malay women wearing this style of clothing as long as they fulfilled the minimum requirements of *syara'* by wearing a headcover.

Interestingly, just by looking into this issue of female styles of clothing, we can see how questions of Islam, Malay nationalism confined to Malaya, and the concept of 'Melayu Raya' were related to each other. In all of these articles, the issue of Islam was invariably brought up. Those who opposed the Bandung style claimed that the outfit did not fulfil the rules and regulations concerning *aurat* in Islam, while those who were in favour of it claimed that it met the religious requirements concerning the *aurat*. The latter furthermore claimed it was a sign of change in a progressive Malay society, and that this too was in accordance with Islam, which was a religion that always advocated progress.

In the writings of 'Semangat Masa' we can detect the assertion of a 'Malayan' nationalism when he claims: "We do not want to make Semenanjung (the Malay Peninsula) to include the West or Bandung, or other places, but would rather make Semenanjung (Malaya) as *se*Semenanjung (Malayan) as possible. If we are to remain as

imitators only, then we will forever stay in the last position.” His ‘Semenanjung’ or ‘Malayan’ nationalism is also apparent when he exclaims: “the Bandung style of dressing, let it be for Bandung, this is Semenanjung! Are the women here not able to design their clothes according to the Semenanjung way? Are they so stupid? Don’t they feel ashamed?” ‘Semangat Masa’ was trying to instil a sense of pride in the specific identity of the Malays in Malaya. His point was that people’s attire reflected the character of a nation. He was worried that, by wearing the Bandung style, Malays would assimilate their identity into that of the people of Indonesia as a whole, and thus lose their identity as Semenanjung Malays. ‘Semangat Masa’ wanted the Malays of Malaya to assert their own national characteristics. Moreover, imitation would always put the imitator in an inferior position compared to the person or nation that is being imitated. By imitating Bandung, it appeared that Malayan people were naturally inferior, not only because they were not creative enough to develop a style of their own, but also because they were showing by their willingness to discard their own style of clothing, that they were not holding firmly to their identity as a Malayan nation. On the other hand, the writers who supported the Bandung style had a different opinion. The writings of Sayyid Alwi for example, clearly reflected a broader notion of Malay identity. His opinion as mentioned above, that the Bandung outfit was a Malay outfit because Bandung was in Java, and Java was a part of the Malay Archipelago, was a clear assertion of the ‘Melayu Raya’ spirit. Thus, he saw nothing ‘anti-national’ in Malay imitations of the Bandung style. This tendency to identify the Malays with the larger part of Malay Archipelago could be considered as a hallmark of Islamic reformism in Malaya in the period from the beginning of the twentieth century to the outbreak of the Second World War.

6.6. Short Hair

There was also a debate as to whether women should wear their hair long or short. The controversy over this issue in *Saudara* was initiated by Muhammad Ariffin Ishak in a 1936 article concerning women and the advantages of short hair. He bravely suggested that women should follow the trend of cutting their hair short. This suggestion, according to Muhammad Ariffin, was not made just for the sake of following the current trend, but because the writer saw a lot of advantages in women having short hair. If people said that having short hair would lead women to discard their *kelumbung* (headcover), Muhammad Ariffin argued that this was irrelevant, since there were many women with long hair who were not wearing *kelumbung*. Furthermore, he argued that it would be more economical, since, once women had short hair, there would be no need for them to have accessories like *cok sanggul* (hair pin) on their heads (*Saudara* ix/672(1936): 4).

Another reason given by Muhammad Ariffin for having short hair was hygiene. “It will be easier for women to tidy themselves; once they wake up from sleep they just have to brush their teeth, not having to bother about cleaning their hair” (*Saudara* ix/672(1936): 4).

His suggestions were supported by ‘س . ع’ (‘Ain.Sin.) whose article was a response to an article in *Warta Jenaka* dated 11.1.1937. In this latter article (*Warta Jenaka*), it could be inferred that Rokiah Shamsuddin, a female writer, had disagreed with the suggestion of Muhammad Ariffin Ishak that women should wear their hair short. In this article, ‘س . ع’ presented a few points to refute Rokiah’s ideas. Among other points, ‘س . ع’ argued:

Let us direct our attention to *menokongkan rambut* (cutting the hair short), a change in our traditions which is not against Islam. Where is the violation of our *adat*? (Except for those people who like to stick with *adat resam*, ignorance, which most people despise greatly nowadays...If women have short hair but cover the *aurat*, what is wrong with that? Please give evidence to show that it is against religion as well as *adat resam*. Just because women do not put up their hair in a bun does not mean that the *kain kelumbung* will disappear (Saudara ix/681(1937): 4).

‘ع . س’ added:

When you write about the gates or doors to heaven, perhaps you have only learned from the *tuk alim tembolok* [*ulama* who teach to fulfil their own interests]; perhaps you don't really understand about the heaven and hell mentioned in the Quran. It is better for you to refrain from condemning others and learn again from the true *ulama* who teach for the sake of Allah and work because of their love for the nation (Saudara ix/681(1937): 4).

In this issue of whether women should or should not have short hair, we can see a conflict between people who wanted to preserve Malay tradition intact and people who were willing to abandon that tradition in order to adopt changes which they perceived could bring long-term good to the society. Also, we can see that some Malays were being criticized by the more educated Islamic modernists because they could not differentiate between religious injunctions and the traditions inherited by them from generation to generation. In this respect, the blame was put on less educated and traditionalist *ulama* who misled the people. We can also see how what at first seem to be trivial and everyday issues were part of a much wider debate about Malay identity and progress, and the role of Islam in that process of change.

6.7. Polygamy

Another controversial issue which became a favourite topic for discussion in *Saudara*, particularly in *Taman Isteri*, was polygamy. So, what did this discussion reflect? By raising this issue, were the writers trying to promote the elimination of a practice which has often been claimed as unfair to women?

In his article concerning polygamy in 1937, Saifuzzaman looked at the common practice in Malay society where rich men usually have two or more wives. He wrote:

Is the purpose of having more than one wife to fulfil desire? If this is so, as I think, then I would like to point out that our desire (*hawa nafsu*) will never be satisfied even though the sky and earth is given to it [...] Or is the purpose of having more than one wife because we want to admire beauty? If that is the reason, no matter how beautiful a woman is, there will never be gold, honey or diamonds in her. Furthermore, beauty will never last. Once she's old and we've become tired of her, she will become ugly in our eyes (Saudara ix/713(1937): 4).

The writer reminded men that it was vital to be *adil* (just) in polygamy. However, the fact was that it was difficult to find even one man in a hundred who could do justice to his wives when he was practising polygamy. This did not only involve justice in terms of material provision, but also in terms of feelings and sexual needs (Saudara ix/713(1937): 4).

However, the writer outlined those factors which would justify polygamy, as follows:

If we think that having more than one wife is to follow the *sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w., that way of thinking is wrong. Why is it only in this matter that we follow the Prophet s.a.w., but not in other matters such as *ibadah* etc.? [Polygamy should not be practised] with the exception of these reasons: Firstly, if our first or second wife cannot bear children, so that we get married again to have children; Secondly, if we feel sympathy for neglected women; or thirdly, because we want to improve the relationship between two feuding families where, hopefully through marriage, the gap between the two families can be breached (Saudara ix/713(1937): 4).

The writer then exhorted men in the following words: "O you men of my nation, we should ask ourselves if polygamy is really necessary, or because of *muslihat*? Please do not marry more than one, because it will lead us to destruction" (Saudara ix/713(1937): 4).

The 'destruction' that the writer meant here was related to the fact that many women were (and are) not willing to share their husbands with other women. Most wives in polygamous marriages did not have good relations with each other. The problem

became worse when the men themselves failed to treat them equally. As a result, certain women, the writer warned, would try to use black magic to win their husband's favour. Another reason was that the dispute between the wives could spread to their families, thus affecting the spirit of brotherhood enjoined by Islam (Saudara ix/713(1937): 4). Thus Saifuzzaman discussed a practice sanctioned by Islam on the basis of clear Islamic principles.

Shamsuddin Salleh, in his article concerning polygamy in the same year, commented on a proposal made by the Dutch East Indies government to prevent Muslims from having more than one wife. One of the women from an association in Betawi, who called herself "Isteri Sedar" (The Enlightened Wife) by the name of Nyonya Suwarni, had urged the government in Indonesia to declare children from a second wife illegitimate. She had further requested the government to prohibit any government officials from divorcing their first wives, no matter what the reasons were. Shamsuddin Salleh firmly disagreed with this demand, since it was clearly against Islamic teachings as stated in the Quran (Saudara ix/730/1(1937): 4).

Expressing his anger at these proposals above, Shamsuddin added: "It seems women nowadays want to dominate men, since, if men are prohibited from divorcing their wives, then they will feel free to roam around like the women in the city of Betawi who go back home at 3 a.m. with other men. What's more, if a law which made divorce extremely difficult was carried out, they would not feel afraid to do anything, because they would know that they could not be divorced without going to court." If the Indonesian government banned polygamy, Shamsuddin argued, then they would in effect be promoting polyandry through the adultery which would then be committed by women (Saudara ix/730/1(1937): 4).

'Pak Janggut' also condemned this proposal in his regular column, saying that the Dutch action of trying to ban polygamy was like the proverb, "*Macam Belanda Minta Tanah,*" adding: "If today they want to discard Allah's injunctions regarding polygamy, what's it going to be tomorrow?" (*Saudara* ix/730/2(1937): 4)

These are only a few examples of the arguments concerning polygamy. Considering the writings as a whole, none of the writers in the newspaper proposed the total abolition of this practice in Malay society, not least because the practice itself is permissible in Islam, as stated in Surah an-Nisa': 3: "*marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one, or that which your right hands possess. That will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing injustice.*" However, the writers were against the motives of some men who practised polygamy just to satisfy their lust and also to get a younger or more beautiful wife. Many men also failed to treat the wives equally after marriage, and this created instability in the family and the mistreatment of the women concerned. So, this is a classic example of how Islam became a determinant as to the extent to which those people who were labelled as Islamic reformists were willing to go to liberate women from any practice or tradition in their society.

6.8. Government Occupations

In the early 1930s in *Saudara*, there was a debate as to whether it was appropriate for women to work in government or business offices, mainly as clerks. From various articles published in *Saudara* regarding this issue, it could be inferred that many people in Malay society were against women working outside the home. The reasons given were various in nature. Many were against women mixing freely with men; and

working in offices, particularly where there would be men from other races, would expose women to this unwanted situation, which the writers considered as against Islamic injunctions. Some were afraid that once women had their own jobs they would refuse to get married, believing that marriage would place them under the power of men; while having children would be out of the question. One writer also pointed out that, although unmarried women could contribute to a family's financial situation by working, parents were often too embarrassed to take money from their daughters. Some of the writers were also afraid that by letting women work, it would look as if Malay men were not able to provide for their families. Below are some of the opinions of the writers as stated in *Saudara*.

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman initiated a debate in 1932 as to whether women should join men in working in government offices or business centres, in an article which attempted to analyze the reasons for Malay women's reluctance to join the government workforce. His article was actually related to a demand made at that time by the railway administration in Malaya for staff from among Asiatic women. Such women would be placed under the accounting department of the company, and would undergo training under experienced European women. The writer considered this as a golden opportunity for indigenous (*Bumiputra*) women, especially those who had just completed school or who were in Standard VI. However, to his astonishment, until then, no Malay women had applied for these positions, but women of other races like Eurasian, Chinese and Indian women had done so. Thus, he wrote:

The job that I am referring to is just about using pen and paper as in school, and also having to think just a little. This job has just been promoted in Malaya. So what is so difficult? Even when we want to eat we have to use our hands and think which dishes that we want to choose. Or, is it because you feel embarrassed to look at men's faces, especially Malay men, because you are tied to religious rules which say that women should not mix with men? Does religion prevent us from working to earn our living and heading towards progress? However, do you feel embarrassed looking at the faces of men from various races in the cinema; do you feel embarrassed, tying the headcover around your neck, wearing the short dress

exposing the shape of your bottom, smoking at the window, or riding a motorbike with men? (Saudara v/262(1932): 1)

Muhammad Amir stressed that all the 'religious' reasons given for not allowing women to work were just innovation (*bid'ah*). If the Malays truly wanted to follow the fashions, then it was the 'fashion of progress' that they should follow. Moreover, some parents, according to the writer, were afraid to let their daughters go out to work because they did not want their daughters to have too much freedom and go everywhere without company. They were also worried that once their daughters had their own income they would want to choose their own husbands and only be interested in looking beautiful all the time. Muhammad Amir concluded his article by admitting that mixing between men and women could lead to bad consequences, but once it had become a norm in society, people would become familiar with it. Furthermore, it was ultimately up to the individual whether he or she wanted to do good or bad deeds (Saudara v/262(1932): 1).

Many writers responded to this debate and naturally there were negative and positive reactions to this proposal. 'Teruna Sekarang' in his article concerning the issue, clearly opposed the suggestion that women should work in government offices as an alternative to becoming teachers, nurses or even doctors. He wrote:

The occupations that Malay men can do, for example like becoming clerks, policemen, firemen, and officers in government offices, leave men to do them. Undoubtedly we will feel upset if our Malay women become clerks and are seen everywhere in the offices and business centres or at the train and cruise ticket counters (Saudara v/265(1932): 7).

In this same debate, 'Teruna Sekarang' cited examples from countries which had opened jobs, usually done by men, to women. It is not clear which countries he was referring to, but he asserted that these countries faced the problem of male unemployment because jobs previously done by males had been taken over by women.

Many working women also, he suggested, became uninterested in getting married and having children. In some families, the women would go out to work while the men, unable to find any job, stayed at home and looked after the children and carried out the household chores. Most working women, he added, did not know how to cook. He concluded by saying:

Is there no other advantage in having an English education other than becoming a clerk? O you women in our society...let us be civilized (*bertamadun*) not modern (*bermoden*)!! (Saudara v/265(1932): 7)

Umar Mustapha Cemur joined the debate in an article which was a response to Muhammad Amir's call for writers to contribute their opinions on the issue. He criticized the railway administration for requesting women to work in its offices. He argued that if the government was truly concerned for the welfare of the indigenous people, it would be much more logical for the government to open these occupations to the many unemployed Malay men who were, in this period of high unemployment caused by the global depression of 1929-30, still wandering around looking for jobs. He reminded women that, for the sake of their own dignity, there was no need for them to push into the area of men's work, and there was no reason to envy foreign women who were taking these jobs. He advised them to carry out work which suited their nature, like managing the household and looking after their children. He particularly stressed that the most important task for educated women was to take care of the welfare and education of their children (Saudara v/267(1932): 6).

Hafsah, a female contributor to this debate, also opposed the idea that Malay women should take up government positions. She stressed that the responsibilities of a Malay woman were different from those of a man. A woman had the responsibility to become the keeper, manager and queen of the household. Secondly, women were the most important teachers, trainers and leaders of children before children started school. It was

also a woman's responsibility to become a close companion to her husband so that the husband would not find other entertainment outside the house. Hafsa was particularly worried that once women went out to work, they would not have enough time for the house, especially for the husband, and this would tempt men to find what they needed outside the house. Moreover, if there were many Malay women working in the offices, it would become easier for men to fulfil their illicit desires. Thus, Hafsa was worried that once a woman went out to work, it would affect the stability of her family and her marriage. Furthermore she added another strongly Islamic argument:

Once women leave their responsibilities in the house, and go out to earn a living together with men, then, who is going to do all the household jobs which are so important for men in their marital life? Thus, it is a loss for the *ummah* when men and women are not observing the responsibilities allocated for each of them according to the differences in their natures (Saudara v/270(1933): 8).

A writer under the pseudonym of 'ش. ي. Perak' (Ya. Shim. Perak) in an article of 1933 supported the argument that the differences between men and women should give them different responsibilities. The writer argued that if women went on demanding that they be given the same responsibilities as men, they would only be imposing unnecessary burdens on themselves. 'ش. ي.' stressed that, for the sake of women's safety and dignity, only light clerical jobs and occupations like teaching and nursing were suitable for women. Regarding other types of occupations, the writer wrote:

Occupations such as engineers, immigration officers, soldiers, post masters, station masters, ticket collectors, *syahbandar* and others are considered rough jobs and are not suitable for Muslim women, although they have been carried out perfectly well by Western women. It is clear that the weaknesses and stupidity of these women have caused them to undertake these unnecessary burdens. Insincere men will undoubtedly praise women for doing these jobs, since it will in fact decrease their burdens and responsibilities in Islam, where it is compulsory for them to provide for their women. Women who do not appreciate the special advantages given to them, boast of the fact that they are helping their men folk and sometimes say: "Who says that women cannot do these jobs?" (Saudara v/279/1(1933): 7)

To those people who complained that it was a waste of time for women to obtain higher education if they did not have the opportunity to take up the same kind of work as men, and to those who accused men of tyranny for denying women the same status, 'ش. ي.'

emphasized that men did not want to burden women with hard and rough work. He stressed that higher education was not simply for obtaining government positions, but it was for the sake of appreciating God's creation, and as a guidance in this world to distinguish between good and bad (*Saudara* v/279/1(1933): 7)

Significantly, at the end of the article, the editor of *Saudara*, Abdul Wahab Abdullah expressed his agreement with the ideas of 'ي . ش . ي'.

'Teruna Sekarang' (Contemporary Bachelor) condemned those women who said that they wanted to work because they wanted to follow in the footsteps of their fellow Indonesian women. He wrote:

How many of the women here have handicraft skills like those Indonesian women who use these skills as a source of income? How many are willing to be like Cik Rahmah Junusiyah⁴ who works hard for the education of other women in her society? Our women are so eager to work in offices and their men encourage them to do so. However, the work that women from other races can do, we are not able to do. These women want to take those jobs with which men are more familiar, despite the fact that so many men are waiting for those job opportunities (*Saudara* v/288(1933): 1-2).

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman further extended his arguments through 1933 on this issue in several articles. It seems that his urge for women to get involved in the government sector was because of the challenge from the foreign races and the need to compete with them in every matter. It could be said that his argument was based on ethnic rather than religious considerations. He wrote:

[...] it is enough that the foreign races managed to steal our patrimony from our ancestors because our ancestors were not educated like we are nowadays. Now we have to show that if the men can move forward to claim their rights, why not women as well? Let us together head towards progress, and not feel shy, so that in the future we can eliminate all the foreign races from our country. Even our just ruler [the British protectorate] is trying to prevent foreign people from entering

⁴ Cik Rahmah Junusiyah was a Sumatran woman who promoted education for the women in her society. Belonging to the so-called Kaum Muda in Sumatra, she initiated the establishment of a modern religious school for the women there. She worked together with her brother, Zainuddin Labai Junusi, who was responsible for male education along the same lines. Around this time, *Saudara* reported her visit to Madrasah Hadi Diniyah in Penang.

Malaya, so why not show our gratefulness by working hard? (*Saudara* v/275(1933): 9)

A sense of envy and competition with the foreign races could also be seen in an article by 'Anak Teruna' (A Bachelor) in which the writer gave the example of the Chinese community where the wife usually helped with the husband's work, for example when they set up a shop. On the other hand, she argued, the sad thing was that for the Malay family, although the business was small, they had to hire a worker; either because the wife was too shy to go outside the house, or because the husband did not allow her to meet people, but made her stay in the kitchen (*Saudara* v/279/2(1933): 7).

Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff came up with a suggestion to create job opportunities for women. According to Abdul Majid, unmarried women or widows usually depended on their family or parents to support them. He argued that it would be good if there were work places exclusively for such women. The best option would be in handicraft industries. He wrote:

Our intention in suggesting that women get involved in work does not mean that men are not capable of providing food etc. for such women, only that such women themselves do not like their parents or relatives having to provide for them when they are capable of doing that for themselves. This plan leaves out married women, whose responsibilities in the house are more than enough for them to fulfil (*Saudara* v/282(1933): 5).

From the debate, we can reach a conclusion that there were conflicting attitudes among the writers in *Saudara* regarding women working outside the home. Many of the writers, while opposing women working in the government sector, encouraged them to work as teachers and nurses, considering these occupations as the most important for the well-being of other women and children in particular and society in general. These occupations, moreover, were considered suitable to the soft nature of women. Those who encouraged women to work outside the home considered this action as a step

forward in the life of Malay women. However, for this group of writers, it is unclear whether they also encouraged women to do the so-called 'male' jobs such as engineers, immigration officers, post-masters etc. However, the main occupation which created controversy was when women grabbed the opportunity to become office clerks. Once again we can see in this issue signs of racial, as well as gender, tension and competition. For example, Muhammad Amir's article was written as a response to the demand made by the rail administration for female staff. The fact that no Malay women had applied for these jobs prompted him to call through his articles for Malay women to do so, and at the same time he initiated a debate on the issue. The racial competition at that time made him want to prove that Malay women were as good as women from other races. Besides, he also considered this occupation as a sign of Malay women's progress.

CHAPTER 7

SAUDARA AND EDUCATION ISSUES

7.1. Introduction

Under the British administration, education in Malaya was developed according to ethnicity. There were three separate vernacular school systems for the three main races i.e. Malay, Chinese and Indian, a fact that contributed to the communal division in the society. However, there were also educational institutions which were open to all and provided an opportunity for racial integration. English educational, vocational, technical and higher institutions accepted people from all ethnic groups. This chapter will discuss the background to these vernacular school systems, especially the Malay schools, the English schools, and other types of schools and educational institutions. Once this educational background has been established, it will then consider the debates on various educational issues which took place in the pages of *Saudara*.

7.2. The British and the Education of the Malays

7.2.1. Malay Schools

Great importance was attached to the establishment and running of Malay vernacular schools, which were considered to be vitally important by the British administration in Malaya. Many British scholars in particular in the Malayan administration believed that it was their duty to provide a proper vernacular education for the indigenous people of the country.

Before the introduction of secular Malay education by the British, education for Malay boys meant learning to recite the Quran. They were taught by religious scholars

(referred to as *Imams* and *Khatibs* by the British) in the village. The study of the Quran meant merely learning to recite the Quran, without understanding the meaning of it. The establishment of Malay vernacular schools was based on these Quranic Schools. One commentator has described the condition of these Quranic schools in the following words:

The old Malay Koran Schools were often residential. Boys were sent to live in the house of some renowned teacher, and the parents supplied them each with a sleeping mat and pillow, a cooking pot and a sack of rice. In the intervals between lessons, of which there were three daily, each lasting an hour, they helped the master in his housework and in looking after his rice-fields and orchards. They were taught to repeat correctly the Arabic formulae, with which every lesson began and ended, and to read mechanically the Koran and the principal prayers in Arabic after studying the Arabic alphabet. Good manners in speech and conduct were especially inculcated in them. Malay girls also were taught something of the Koran, though they were not expected to attain the same standard of proficiency as boys. In some cases, after learning to read the Koran in Arabic, they were taught a little Malay (Chelliah 1947: 35).

Chelliah thinks that the first recorded formal instruction beyond Quranic instruction given to the Malays in Malaya was in the Penang Free School premises in 1821, and in the Singapore Free School in 1834.

In 1871, A.W. Skinner of the Malayan administration came up with the idea of establishing a Malay school based on the existing Quran classes. He wrote as follows:

I would aim at opening village schools of an entirely vernacular character in as many places as possible. Fortunately, the foundation of such schools is already prepared; for the boys who now assemble in most of the villages to read the Koran will be the pupils, the *Hadjee* or *Khatib* who teaches them would be the master, and the mosque or other reading place outside, will serve for the school room (Chang 1973: 12).

The British administration took up Skinner's suggestion and introduced a system whereby the students studied Malay in the morning, and the Quran in the afternoon. The British funded the morning lessons only, while the parents paid for the Quranic lessons. The Malays' response towards such schools in the beginning was indifferent, mainly because they saw no benefit in going to school, since they would only go into their

traditional occupations once finishing school. Before the introduction of combined Malay and Quran schools, many were sceptical about schools in general when they did not teach religious lessons. The religious teachers opposed the opening of such mixed-purpose schools because they looked upon them as a challenge to their religious authorities and a threat to their vested interests (Chang 1973: 12). Thus, in the early establishment of such schools, enrolment was rare and imposed on the people.

The subjects taught in these Malay schools were the 'Three Rs.' Later, the classical texts of Malay literature such as *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Abdullah* were introduced into the curriculum. After a while, an interesting development also took place when the teaching of Quranic lessons was abolished in Malay schools, because many of the officials in the administration no longer saw Quranic lessons as an inducement for the Malays to enrol in the Malay schools. With this measure, the Malay schools became totally secular in nature (Chang 1973: 14).

The Malay schools undoubtedly recruited Malays for traditional occupations. Carpentry, basketry as well as farming were the main subjects taught. This was in line with British educational policy regarding the Malays; which was clearly summarized in the words of Sir George Maxwell: "The aim of the government is not to turn out a few well-educated youths, nor yet numbers of well-educated boys; rather, it is to improve the bulk of the people and to make the son of the fisherman or peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been, and a man whose education will enable him to understand how his own lot in life fits in with the scheme of life around him" (Wong and Gwee 1980: 2).

This intention was further emphasized in the words of Mr. Ernest Birch, the British Resident of Selangor in his Annual Report of 1893, when commenting on vernacular education:

Vernacular education is in my opinion useful in so far as it makes the Malay regular and cleanly in his habits, but where it exalts boys, as it often does, above the calling of their fathers, who for the most part will remain small agriculturists or fishermen, it does more harm than good (Chang 1973: 9).

Most of the Malay schools were situated in rural areas because Malays were concentrated there. The status of these Malay schools was very low; the teachers had no qualifications at all, facilities were poor and they were conservative in their curriculum. Two officials, however, R.J.Wilkinson and R.O.Windstedt, carried out reforms in the Malay vernacular schools.

The main obstacle to the success of Malay vernacular education came from the parents themselves. The Malays seemed indifferent towards the educational needs of their children because they were in favour of their children seeking employment at an early age. Even if they were in favour of their children going to school, they did not force their children to attend school. In order to solve the problem of poor attendance among children in school, the British administration had to impose fines on parents who failed to keep their children in school. Thus, in 1881, "in order to ensure as far as possible pupils remaining longer at school, the parents and guardians of all the applicants for admissions were required to enter into an agreement with a money penalty in the event of withdrawal of pupils without sufficient reason within three years from the date of admission" (Chelliah 1947: 74).

It is rather disappointing that the Malays had to be threatened with penalties in order to get them to school. Malay indifference however, did not stop the British determination to provide a vernacular education for them. They saw it as their responsibility, as a colonial power, to provide education for the indigenous population of the country, so that their position would not be overshadowed by the foreign races who were fast taking advantage from either their own vernacular education or the government schools and educational institutions.

The Malay education system underwent several important changes after R.J. Wilkinson was appointed as Federal Inspector in 1903. The most significant reform that he made was the introduction of a new roman script, known as *Rumi*, to replace the old Arabic script or *Jawi*. Among the advantages of using the roman script for the Malay language was that it became easier to teach, and it “enabled the publications by the government to maintain a consistency and uniformity for the whole Federated Malay States where there were important differences in regional dialects between the northern part of the peninsula (due perhaps to Thai influence) and the southern part where the Minangkabau and Javanese influence was very marked” (Chang 1973: 13).

Wilkinson’s efforts were continued by another officer, R.O. Winstedt. In 1916, he introduced some changes after holding the post of Assistant Director of Education in the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements. Among his recommendations were that “drawing became a compulsory subject. Gardening and basketry including mat-making and netting were added to the curriculum for the boys’ school, and sewing, cooking and basketry to that of the girls. A pass in at least one of these subjects was required for a leaving certificate. It was not intended that the Malay vernacular schools should deliberately supply vocational training. But the general trend of education to be

provided was meant, while giving a sound grounding in the three R's, to foster an interest in agriculture and the business of the kampongs or villages" (Chang 1973: 14).

Through Winstedt's efforts, a new teacher's training college, an amalgamation of two colleges at Matang and Malacca, was established in Tanjung Malim, named after the Sultan of Perak as the Sultan Idris Training College. Training in this college involved a three-year full time residential course and an additional one-year for a specially selected few. A Translation Bureau for the purpose of translating official documents and preparing textbooks was set up and became a central part of the college. Another important achievement was the appointment of a Lady Supervisor for the Malay Girls' School in 1921 and the opening of a training college for women teachers in Malacca in 1935. These two measures helped to accelerate the development of education for the Malay girls who, for so many years, had been in a constant fight against the prejudices of parents who were afraid that sending their girls to schools would lead them "to learn to read love letters from boys – or even worse, to write such letters themselves" (Chang 1973: 14).

Looking at the number of Malays' enrolment in Malay schools, the British effort to promote Malay education can be considered as successful. The chart below shows that by 1942, Malay schools received the highest enrolment compared to the Chinese, Indian and English schools.

Enrolment of Pupils in December, 1941	
Schools	Number
English	32,382
Malay	122,199
Chinese	83,200
Indian	25,573

Table 7.1
Ref: (Chang 1973: 15)

The quality of the Malay schools, however, remained poor compared to English schools. The facilities were very limited and the teachers, especially in the rural areas, were still mostly untrained. Secondary education was unavailable. Those who aspired to become teachers had to continue for another two years to qualify for entry into the Teachers Training College. Those who wished to obtain an English education would have to enrol in an English school from the first year or transfer after completing four years in a Malay vernacular school. Besides that, they were not accepted after the age of eleven. However, enrolment of Malays into English schools was small, mainly because parents were not able to send their children to these schools, since all of them were situated in towns (Chang 1973: 13-4).

In conclusion, Malay education evolved through various stages: from Quran classes into combined Quran and Malay classes, and subsequently, into a system totally secular in nature. The curriculum was designed in such a way as to train the Malays in the areas that were familiar to them: agriculture and handicraft. Thus, Malay education before 1942 clearly was not an instrument of change for the Malays and it provided very limited opportunities for economic and social advancement (Chang 1973: 16). This has been one of the factors usually cited for the backwardness of the Malays up until now.

As mentioned earlier, apart from Malay schools, there were also facilities for vernacular education for the other main races, i.e. Chinese and Indians. However, before the introduction of this vernacular education, the Chinese had established quite a systematic system of education for themselves, an achievement which was frequently praised by the British. As for the Indians, not only did they maximize the opportunities to send their children to English schools, but they also established vernacular and so-called estate schools for their children. These latter were the estate schools established as a result of the introduction of the Labour Code in 1912 in the Federated Malay States, which required “an employer in any place of employment where ten or more children of any race between the ages of seven and fourteen years, being dependants of labourers in such employment, reside, to construct...and maintain at his own expense a school for such children...” (Wong and Gwee 1980: 4) Like the Malay schools, the quality of these vernacular schools was poor, and in the early stages, they were strongly influenced by their original homelands, i.e. China and India; for instance, books and teachers were imported from there.

7.2.2. English Schools

The pioneers of English education in Malaya, just like in most other British possessions, were the various missionary bodies, charitable organizations and public-spirited individuals.

Prior to the establishment of English schools in Malaya, there was a heated debate among British officials whether it was appropriate to provide an English education for all the Malays. Those who were against the idea stressed that providing an English education would only create a class of native people who were dissatisfied with their

traditional role, believing that after obtaining such an education, manual labour would be beneath them. They also feared a repetition in Malaya of the situation in India where riots took place because people were dissatisfied with the fact that, after graduating from an English school, they were unable to get jobs in government institutions. Among the important British officials in Malaya who belonged to this group was Frank Swettenham. The officials in this group believed that it was important for the British to provide vernacular education for the native people. On the other hand, those who supported the idea of providing an English education were in line with the general trend in Britain at that time and earlier in the nineteenth century, when personalities like Wilberforce believed that the British government should carry out their duty in educating the masses broadly.

Despite opposition from some officials, the administration in Malaya was not prevented from establishing English schools when the need arose. One objective of the British was to educate native people to serve in the lower ranks of government administration, i.e. clerical positions. The government also paid special attention to providing English education for the sons of the aristocrats and royal families, in order to create a group who would become future reliable allies of the British. The establishment of the Royal Malay College of Kuala Kangsar clearly served British interests in this respect.

The vernacular schools, particularly Malay and Indian schools, could be found mainly in the rural areas, while English schools were set up in the urban centres of Penang, Malacca and Singapore, where day-to-day trades and businesses were carried out. The siting of these schools was largely dependent on geographic and economic considerations. The curriculum also reflected the economic trend of that period. The

early history of the period showed that the main purpose of education, especially English education, was to teach children reading and writing as well as arithmetic with a view to obtaining just sufficient knowledge to secure them gainful employment in the development of the modern sector of the economy. H.R. Cheeseman, in 1954, noted that English education “was in the first place purely vocational, to provide clerks for the merchants” (Wong and Gwee 1980: 6).

The prospect of government positions as clerks lured the Malay parents to send their children to English schools. Thus, as soon as the children were qualified enough to be clerks, many of them were pulled out of school by their parents. It is important to note that there was still prejudice in Malay society, which saw English schools as an agent for Christianization. British policy in the 1870s and throughout its administration, however, was very protective of the Islamic religion, and thus Christian missionary enterprises were allowed only in non-Muslim areas. This restriction, however, isolated Malays from the missionary-style school which was an important type of English school in Malaya (Wong and Gwee 1980: 4).

Most Malays saw education simply as a way to earn a living, as stated in the Annual Report on Education in the Straits Settlements of 1937:

For a long time the demand from the English schools for clerks was greater than the supply, and a Cambridge Certificate or the Standard VII Certificate was a commercial asset, ensuring a competency in adult life. Today, the supply is greater than the demand. With the spread of English education, knowledge of that language will cease to be an ‘open sesame’ to fortune or even to livelihood, and one of the gravest problems today is to devise for the coming generation, types of instruction fitting the young of Malaya for such careers as the country offers. There can be no doubt that the bulk of the inhabitants must turn to agriculture and other industries. Any ideal of education not adjusted to local wants must lead to economic dislocation and social unrest.¹

¹ *Straits Settlements Annual Report on Education for 1937*, p. 158 in (Wong and Gwee 1980: 8).

However, despite this prejudice, the demand for English schools from the parents was overwhelming. The fact that English education was a factor for upward economic status was the main stimulant to demand. However, since British education policy at that time was that the majority of the population ought to turn to agriculture and other industries, the provision of English education was therefore restricted.

English schools were divided into 1) the 'Free' schools and 2) the grant-in-aid schools. The first 'Free' school was the Penang Free School established in October, 1816, founded by Reverend R.S. Hutchings. His plans included an English section, a vernacular section and a girls' department – all within the same school organization (Wong and Gwee 1980: 4).

Hutchings outlined his scheme for this school in the following words:

First, that the school may be open to the reception of all children of this island, of every description, whose parents or friends are willing to submit them to the rule of the Institution. Second, that it will be the first object of the Institution to provide for the education of such children as would otherwise be bred up in idleness and consequent vice, and without any means of obtaining instruction either in useful learning or any manual employment, and to implant in them the early habits of industry, order and good conduct. Third, that such parents as are capable of supporting the expense of the education of their children shall be called upon for payment of such small demands as may be thought proper to be required. Fourth, that any part or all of the children may be instructed in reading and writing English and in the common rules of Arithmetic. Fifth, that great care be taken that the prejudice of parents to the Christian religion be not by any means violated (Wong and Gwee 1980: 4).

The other type of English school was in the main established and maintained by missionary and charitable societies, principally, the London Missionary Society, the American Methodist Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission. These schools were open to children of all races and creeds. Their aim was to provide a general education and a better standard of moral life based on the tenets of Christianity. They also provided a useful element of competition in the educational system. It was through this

type of school that various Christian missionaries were able to contact almost every racial group in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, and to spread their religious influence (Wong and Tiang 1971: 15-16).

Although the government policy was *laissez faire*, the mission schools were never entirely free to do as they wished. The British authorities supported them when it suited their purpose and placed restrictions on them when this seemed necessary in the light of their own aims. Colonial governments were always sensitive to indigenous religious traditions. This accounts for the fact that though religious instruction was given in all the English schools, which were run by the Christian missions, it was accepted that “no child shall be compelled to be present when such religious instruction is given, nor may any child be refused admission to a Grant-in-aid school on grounds of religious belief” (Wong and Gwee 1980: 5).

An important fact to ponder is that missionary bodies had done an excellent job in providing English education for the population. Their utmost contribution was in the education of the girls. As Chelliah put it, “While missionary bodies have done so much for boys’ schools, they have done almost everything for female education. A few years ago there was no demand for the education of girls: that the attitude of parents has changed is due among other causes to the work of the Convents and other Missionary Schools” (Chelliah 1947: 85). In fact, the government share in the education of the girls in English was in comparison very small.

There was little differentiation in the curricula between boys and girls schools; in the highest and final year of their schooling, which was at the end of their twelfth and eleventh years in school respectively, both of them sat for the Cambridge School

Certificate examination and were offered the same subjects. However, all girls learned sewing and, to increasing numbers, music and domestic science were taught in the girls' schools. As for extra-mural activities, girls were just as active as their brothers in debates, dramatics and school journeys, and they had their athletic meetings, played hockey and badminton, joined the guides and in every way were prepared to take an active part in the life around them (Ho 1952: 71).

As co-education was not the policy of the Malayan Government, there existed separate schools for boys and girls. Nevertheless, in places where there were no girls' schools, the girls were admitted into boys' schools. In 1947, in Malaya, there were as many as 2014 girls attending boys' schools (Ho 1952: 70-1).

There was only one residential school. This was the Malay college in Kuala Kangsar established by the Government in 1905 exclusively for Malays, largely through the effort of R.J.Wilkinson. The original aim was to prepare Malays of high birth for administration and other appointments requiring a sound knowledge of English, but it was later modified to admit the sons of commoners as well (Chang 1973: 23).

The English schools in general developed very much along the lines of schools in England. The complete course extended over eleven years divided into three departments. The primary department comprised the primary classes of Primary I and II and Standard I; the middle department consisted of Standards II to V; and the secondary department extended from Standards VI to the School Certificate Class. Most mission schools provided the complete school course of eleven years. The majority of secondary schools were government controlled and drew their intake from government primary schools (Chang 1973: 23).

The curriculum was highly academic as pupils were prepared to sit the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination. The syllabus had a strong English flavour as is evidenced, for example, by the kind of history pupils were required to learn:

For standards One and Two: 'Twenty biographies or important events in English History from the landing of the Romans to Henry VII.' For Standards III and IV: 'Thirty Biographies or Important Events in English History from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1487.' For Standards Five to Seven, the pupils had to study 'the most important persons and events from the Tudor to the Hanoverian period with special reference to the acquisition of colonies and dependencies of England, with dates.' This was subsequently altered to include the history of the British Empire from 1492 to 1784 (Chang 1973: 24).

Enrolment in British-run schools was low compared to the Malay and Chinese schools (see table below), but not because of a lack in demand. Rather, it had more to do with the British restrictive policy in providing English education to the population:

Number of Pupils in the Different Categories of Schools in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, 1937			
Schools	Number of boys	Number of Girls	Total
Malay	68,905	21,351	90,436
Chinese	63,338	22,951	86,289
Indian	14,866	7,775	22,641
English(Govt & aided)	30,317	13,654	43,971
English(Private)	10,260	3,384	13,644
Total	187,686	69,295	256,981

Table 7.2
Ref: (Chang 1973: 24)

However, the highest enrolment according to ethnic groups was from the Chinese community, perhaps because the majority of them resided in urban areas and had more

stable economic positions. The table below shows the number of enrolments in English schools in 1935 according to race:

Pupils in Government and Aided English School by Race in the Federated Malay States, 1935.	
Race	Number
European and Eurasians	994
Malays	2,540
Chinese	7,169
Indians	4,507
Others	235
Total	15,395

Table 7.3
Ref: (Chang 1973: 16)

In fact, as far as Malaya was concerned, before 1942 the British government had no intention of providing an English education for the whole school-going population. This policy was clearly explained by Frank Swettenham when he declared:

The one danger to be guarded against is to teach English indiscriminately. It could not be well taught except in a few schools and I do not think that it is at all advisable to attempt to give to the children of an agricultural population an indifferent knowledge of a language that to all but the very few would only unfit them for the duties of life and make them discontented with anything like manual labour. At present, the large majority of Malay boys and girls have little or no opportunity of learning their own language, and if the Government undertakes to teach them this, the Koran, and something about figures and Geography (especially of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago), this knowledge and the habits of industry and punctuality and obedience that they will gain by regular attendance at school, will be of material advantage to them and assist them to earn a livelihood in any vocation, while they will be likely to prove better citizens and more useful to the community than if imbued with a smattering of English ideas which they would find could not be realized (Chang 1973: 25).

What Britain feared was the example of India, where B.A.s and 'failed B.A.s' had helped to create a basis for educated political discontent.

7.2.3. Teacher Training

Just like the school system, teacher training in Malaya developed along different lines according to the special needs that the candidates were being prepared to meet.

For the Malays, in the initial stage when the government was just starting to organize Malay vernacular education in the second half of the nineteenth century, teachers were largely recruited from among the *hajees* who were experienced in teaching the Quran in the villages. However, when the demand for teachers increased as Malay education expanded, the government had to consider establishing a training institution to meet this demand. Thus, in 1878 the Malay High School in Singapore was converted into a training college for Malay teachers in 1878. In 1901, another college was started in Malacca by R.J. Wilkinson (Wong and Gwee 1980: 5). However, the first properly designed training college for Malay teachers was the Sultan Idris Training College in Tanjung Malim, established in 1922. This was followed by a training college especially for Malay Women Teachers in Malacca in 1935. Just like the Malay schools, the curriculum in the male training college had a strong agricultural bias, whereas the college for females in Malacca concentrated more on domestic science and life at home, due to the fact that, "as many, perhaps, as 95 percent of Malay girls leave school to stay at home and later to marry and make a home of their own." In addition to the teachers produced by these colleges, the administration had to introduce a three-year part-time training programme for candidates who failed to qualify for full-time training, in order to meet the extra demand in Malay vernacular schools (Chang 1973: 35).

The teachers for Chinese schools before 1920 were largely imported from China, simply because the local Chinese could not compete with the Normal and University-trained teachers from the homeland. After 1920 the government took the initiative to provide grants to urban secondary Chinese schools so that they could give training to aspiring teachers in their schools (Chang 1973: 35) However, the output was inadequate because of the very small number of pupils at the higher levels from which candidates for teachers could be drawn. Thus, Chinese schools continued to look for teachers from China (Ho 1952: 81).

In the initial stage of its establishment, teachers for Indian vernacular education were recruited from India. However, just before World War II, a three-year-week-end training course was introduced in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. These teachers were trained only for primary education (Wong and Gwee 1980: 5).

As for English schools, when they were first started, the teachers and headmasters in the schools were generally-speaking men who had no special training or experience which would fit them for their work. This was in contrast to Roman Catholic Institutions where the schools were as a rule, "conducted and superintended by highly educated and talented men belonging to the Order of Christian Brothers, an order well-known to carry the art of teaching to its highest perfection" (Chelliah 1947:126). In 1907, however, the government started Normal classes which trained teachers for primary and lower secondary schools. Raffles College, which was established in 1928, also became a source of recruitment for secondary school teachers. In addition, expatriate teachers were recruited from Britain, while teachers for mission schools came from various countries i.e. America, France, Germany and Italy (Chang 1973: 36).

7.2.4. Vocational Education

The promotion of vocational education was slow before 1942. This situation happened not because of a lack of demand, but because the government was not certain that there was sufficient need for the skills that would be provided by graduates of this kind of school. In the eyes of the government, "the pool of trade skills provided by the immigrant Chinese was considered enough to meet local demand and most of the Malays were apparently quite happy to remain as farmers and fishermen. The majority of Indians were in plantations that required no formal training of skills. In the early days attempts were made by a few individuals to promote industrial education, but their efforts proved abortive" (Chang 1973: 31).

Thus, it was only in 1918 that positive recommendations were made regarding vocational education. The Lemon Committee, appointed by the High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States to examine and report on the best methods of providing technical and industrial education in Malaya, suggested the following:

- i) The provision of trade schools open to children of all nationalities who could follow instruction in Malay,
- ii) The establishment of a technical school in Kuala Lumpur to give training in English in such subjects as mechanical and electrical engineering, surveying, elementary civil engineering,
- iii) The opening of an agricultural school also near Kuala Lumpur in addition to a school in the vernacular and a class in English for subordinates of the Forest Department,
- iv) The necessity of improving the pay of technical posts in order to render them as attractive as the clerical service (Chang 1973: 32).

These recommendations led the way towards the establishment of various vocational institutions such as agricultural, technical and trade schools.

The Agricultural College was established in 1931 in Serdang. It offered a one year course in Malay for the training of government subordinates, and a two-year course in English for the training of junior officers, or employees of the Rubber Research Institute

either as rubber instructors or in a few cases as laboratory assistants (Chang 1973: 32). Students from Malay primary schools joined the one-year course and those with a Cambridge School Certificate joined the two-year course (Loh 1975: 112).

The Technical School which was established in 1906 was reopened in 1918. This school provided in-service courses to apprentices employed by the Railways, the Public Works Department and the Survey Department (Loh 1975: 111).

The Federal Trade School was established in Kuala Lumpur in 1926 with the purpose of providing full-time three-year courses to train mechanics, fitters, machine workers and other similar technicians. Regarding enrolment into the school, Winstedt wrote:

Although the school is open to pupils of all nationalities, Malays are given first consideration, the original intention being to provide training for, and to open up a career to, those town Malays who up to the present have had nothing more to look forward to than an existence spent as a peon or a messenger (Loh 1975: 111-2).

7.2.5. Higher Education

Higher education was represented in Malaya before 1942 by two institutions located in Singapore, i.e. King Edward College of Medicine founded in 1905 and Raffles College, the college of arts and science, established in 1928. The medium of instruction at both colleges was English. The entrance requirement was a pass in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examination with 'credits' in English and three other subjects (Chang 1973: 36).

In 1939, the MacLean Report, which had considered the issue of Higher Education in Malaya, was published. In that report, the committee, chaired by W.H. MacLean,

suggested the amalgamation of Raffles College and King Edward College of Medicine into a university. During their investigation, the committee had visited all the important centres and educational institutions in Malaya and had sought the opinions of influential members of the different communities. From their interviews, they found out that the Chinese and Indians were very enthusiastic about the idea but, surprisingly, many Malays, especially in the Federated Malay States were not so welcoming in their response. The Europeans, on the other hand, though they did not oppose the idea, were of the opinion that the time was not yet right for the establishment of a university (Wong and Gwee 1980: 142-3). Nothing came out of the report as a result of the Second World War, but around the same time also, the debate regarding the establishment of a university appeared in *Saudara*. The University of Malaya was not finally established until after the Second World War, in 1949.

In conclusion, the British administration established various types of schools in Malaya. Thus, opportunities were wide open for the Malays in terms of education, but due to certain reasons and limitations, they were not able to utilize them. Economic restrictions, indifference and ignorance were among the factors which hindered their advancement in education. However, it would be unfair to blame the Malays totally for this, for in the education which was freely accessible to them i.e. the Malay vernacular education, the system provided by the British did little to develop their intellects and promote social advancement. Nevertheless, to a certain extent, it did improve their skills in the fields already familiar to them, i.e. agriculture and handicrafts.

7.3. *Saudara* and Issues of Education

A huge number of articles in *Saudara* discussed education. To some extent, this reflected the attitude of the Islamic reformists in general, who strongly emphasized the importance of education as a means towards Malay progress. These articles in *Saudara* dealt with such issues as the importance of education; Malay children in Malay and English schools; religious knowledge and education; women's education and so on. Through their writings, they criticized the system, made suggestions and continuously reminded the Malays of the importance of seeking knowledge.

7.3.1. Debates in *Saudara* on English-Language Schools

Contributors to *Saudara* put a high priority on English education. They regarded an English education as a means for Malays to master the English language, and thereby to acquire knowledge from other civilizations. By mastering the language, they argued, the Malays would not only be able to read books from that language but also to translate these books into Malay. Accordingly, they strongly encouraged Malays to send their children to English schools.

Among the issues which attracted the attention of writers in *Saudara* most regarding Malay children and English schools was the requirement imposed on Malays that they should stay at least four years in a Malay school before enrolling in an English school. In 1930, an anonymous writer brought up the issue of the limited places available for Malay students who had just finished Malay school and wanted to enter an English school. The writer gave the example of Penang, where every year about 600 students enrolled in English schools, but only 100 students were Malays, whereas the other 500

came from foreign races, i.e. Chinese and Indians who, unlike the Malays, could enter English schools directly. The writer urged the government to provide more places for the Malays in English schools. He argued that the condition was not so desperate for the Chinese since English was taught in their vernacular schools, and the same could be said for the Indians who had established a few English schools for their people. In addition, the Anglo-Chinese and French schools were widely open to the Chinese and Indians, since they were religiously based. As for the Malays, the writer argued, they had to depend totally on the government English schools, since most parents were suspicious of any religiously based English schools (*Saudara* iii/110/1(1930): 1).

In an article concerning English education outlined in the *Education Report of 1932*, an anonymous writer discussed this issue in *Saudara* in 1933. The article noted that any Malay student who entered English school after completing Malay school was required to stay in the transition class for about 2 years before enrolling in the normal Standard IV or sometimes Standard V of the English school. This was considered a waste of time for Malays, who would be disadvantaged compared to non-Malays, who could enter English school directly and at a very young age. This late entrance resulted in some Malays dropping out even before finishing school, either because their parents considered them to be too old for school and wanted them to help in earning money for the family, or because they considered it was time for their children to be married (*Saudara* vi/361(1933): 4).

Furthermore, the curriculum in English schools was far better than in Malay schools. Some of the subjects taught in the Malay school were also available in the English school. For example, in an editorial discussing complaints made by some educated Malay children in July 1933, the editor, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, expressed the view that

some of the subjects taught in Malay schools, for example, P.E., Mathematics and Moral Education were a duplication of effort because they were also being taught in English schools. Even the Malay language was taught in those schools and had become one of the subjects in the Junior and Senior Cambridge examinations. Thus, the writer urged parents not to waste their children's schooling period by keeping them in Malay schools for too long (Saudara v/327(1933): 6).

Malays' enrolment in English schools was lower than that of other races, despite the fact that they were the majority population of Malaya. This was due to the fact that most Malays resided in the rural areas, practising their inherited agricultural activities. On the other hand, most of the Chinese were in the urban areas doing business, a situation which prevails until today. The fact that most of the English schools were situated in the town centres made it difficult for Malays to send their children there. Furthermore, the cost of education in English schools was far higher than that of Malay vernacular schools or any other vernacular education. Since the Malays' economic position in general was not strong, not many of them were able to send their children to expensive schools. Those Malay children who were in English schools were usually those who received scholarships from the government or were selected because of their excellent academic performance. The highest enrolment in English schools was from among the Chinese. Thus, many parents whose children had shown great potential for further education in English schools were not able to send their children there because they simply could not afford it. The situation became worse during the recession period in the 1930s when the British administration decided to increase the fees for English schools. This issue was widely debated in the newspapers in Malaya, especially in the Malay newspapers including *Saudara*.

One such example was the editorial of 22.7.1933, in which Sayyid Shaikh expressed his concern regarding this increment of fee in the English schools. He was convinced that this development would have a bad impact on Malays. As the indigenous people of Malaya, the editor argued, the Malays deserved better treatment than any other race. He was of the opinion that the government should provide a free English education to all Malays (Saudara v/325(1933): 6).

Another writer, in an article of the same year about the connection between education and occupations, suggested that the increase of fees in the English schools was not because the government was not able to cover expenses as a result of the depression, but had more to do with the fact that the government wanted to cut the number of Malays enrolled in English schools, which had shown a tremendous increase from year to year. In fact, the writer believed that the government was afraid that the increase in English school graduates would increase the supply of Malay clerks in the job market. If these graduates could not get the jobs they desired, a feeling of dissatisfaction towards the British administration would grow. The British were afraid this phenomenon could lead to unrest, such as had occurred in India (Saudara v/334(1933): 3).

However, the most important issue regarding English schools and the Malays was the attitude of those Malays who went to English schools just to become clerks. In an editorial of 28.9.1932, the editor, Abdul Wahab Abdullah, strongly criticized Malays for their tendency to send their children to English schools, not for the sake of getting a good education, but rather as an investment, so that their children would become clerks and earn a better living for themselves and their families. As a result, whenever a child passed the Junior or Senior Cambridge examination, but failed to find a job as a clerk

and applied for other jobs like policeman or postman, he would face problems with his parents. Abdul Wahab urged Malays to acquire as much knowledge as possible and not stop after reaching the minimum qualification required to become a clerk. Furthermore, he warned Malays that the government would not be able to provide clerical positions for all Malays who wanted to be clerks, if the supply was more than the demand. Thus, he encouraged Malays to find alternative ways to earn a living. They should use other skills that they learned in school, for example, drawing, handicraft etc. In other words, Abdul Wahab favoured the Malays working on their own, doing business and building up their own industries, no matter how small. He reminded the Malays not to depend on others totally, because any nation that always depended on others would not be successful. It is important to note here that, even though the Malayan Civil Service was allocated exclusively for the Malays, it could not cover the number of Malays who wanted to be clerks (Saudara v/243/2(1932: 6). In the 1930s in particular, there were many Malays who passed the Junior or Senior Cambridge examinations but failed to get jobs as clerks. Two factors might have contributed to this; firstly, many industries were closed due to the economic recession, and secondly, there was an excess of demand over supply.

There were also many articles devoted to discussions of the performance of Malays in English schools. Most of them commented on the poor performance of Malays compared to other races. For example, in describing Malay children's performance in the Penang Free School, an anonymous writer wrote in 1932:

In Penang Free School for example, only two Malays are in the Scholarship Class, only one has become a prefect and none have become assistant to the scout teacher or the group leader. Even the Malay Cadets are led by a Chinese (Saudara v/243/1(1932): 3).

In dealing with the Malay community's difficulties in education, especially in the English schools, the editor, Abdul Wahab Abdullah, called for the establishment of a committee to think about the assistance that should be given to poor children. From the article, it is clear that, because of the recession, many Malay children stopped school, because their parents were not able to pay the expenses incurred by their education (Saudara iv/211(1932): 6).

7.3.2. Malay Schools

The lack of facilities in Malay schools was the focus of the editorial of 20.10.1928, in which the editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, mentioned that many Malay schools were lacking in qualified teachers. Sometimes, there might be 200 students, but only two or three qualified teachers in a school. Though a few senior students who were going to be teachers were given responsibility to take certain classes, nevertheless, they could not be considered proper teachers, since they did not have the proper teacher training experience (Saudara i/4(1928): 3).

In an editorial regarding Malay children's education in Malay schools, the editor, Abdul Rahim Kajai commented in 1931 on the growing debate about the introduction of English into Malay schools. At that time, there were two types of writing lessons in the Malay schools, *Jawi* (Arabic script) and *Rumi* (Roman script). The hours dedicated to the learning of *Rumi* were almost equal to those spent on the learning of *Jawi*. Abdul Rahim suggested, therefore, that the time devoted to learning *Rumi* should be replaced by the teaching of English, so that students could learn two things at once; since, while they were learning English, they would at the same time be learning to write in the roman script (Saudara iii/127/1(1931): 5).

Responding to the objection that children might not be able to handle learning two languages at the same time, Abdul Rahim suggested that the English language should not be taught at Standards I and II, since these children were still too small. Nevertheless, there would be no excuse not to teach the language at the higher standards. Furthermore, if English was started from Standard III, it would be much easier for pupils to follow the lessons, since they would have been learning *Rumi* for the past two years (Saudara iii/127/1(1931): 5).

However, introducing the English language as a subject in Malay schools would undoubtedly increase the number of teachers needed in the schools. Thus, Abdul Rahim suggested that the government should recruit Malay students who had passed Senior and Junior Cambridge as English teachers, since so many of them could not find any other suitable jobs at this time (Saudara iii/127/1(1931): 5).

The education authorities introduced the teaching of the English language into Malay schools in the same year (1931). The purpose of these English language lessons, taught in afternoon sessions, was to prepare Malay students who were going to enrol in English schools after they had completed their Malay education. Since it was considered solely as a preparation for English schools, the authorities imposed the regulation that any Standard IV students who exceeded the age of 11, and were therefore unlikely to proceed to English schools, were not allowed to join the classes. Some said that the real reason was to prevent the classes from getting too crowded.

In an editorial of 23.1.1932, the editor, Abdul Wahab Abdullah, discussed the teaching of English language in Malay schools. The article alluded to the fact that the teaching of English language, which had begun in the previous year, was to be

continued. In this context, he reminded the authorities of the importance of segregation of classes between the new students and those students who had undergone the learning of the English language in the previous year (Saudara iv/174(1932): 5). He continued his assessment in another editorial, where he criticized the regulation that students in Standard IV whose age exceeded 11 years were not to be allowed to join the afternoon English classes in the Malay school, on the grounds that they were not going to enrol in an English school (Saudara iv/176/1(1932): 5).

Actually, such children were still allowed to enrol in English schools, but were not entitled to any subsidies. Realizing the condition of Malay society at that time, Abdul Wahab knew that only a few parents could afford to send their children to English schools if they had to cover all the expenses on their own. So, Abdul Wahab urged the authorities to give equal opportunities to all students in Standard IV, regardless of age, to study the language, so that those who failed to enrol into English schools would at least not be too far behind their friends in English schools in their knowledge of English. At the same time, he questioned the rationality of denying English lessons to children after the age of 11 in order to avoid crowded classrooms, since even in those schools where the classes were not full, the children were still not allowed to join. A little bit of English knowledge, Abdul Wahab argued, would be important to Malay students once they completed Malay school and started work as postmen, policemen and peons. He stressed that if the authorities were determined to continue with this restriction and deny these children the opportunity to attend English lessons, it would be a great loss for them (Saudara iv/176(1932): 5).

In an editorial of 19.12.1931, the editor, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, also referred to this rule whereby any Malay student who passed Standard IV in the Malay

school, but whose age exceeded 11 years, was not allowed to enrol into English schools. It seemed that in fact there were many Malay students who passed their Standard IV when their age exceeded 11 years. The editor questioned how this could happen, since there was already a regulation which said that parents could be fined if they refused to send their children to school once they had reached the age of six years. Given this situation, Sayyid Shaikh blamed the authorities for not implementing the rules in the latter area, while at the same time insisting on strictly maintaining the rules relating to learning English. He argued that, if the students were expected to reach Standard IV before turning 11, then the authority should make sure that parents followed the regulations, meaning that the authority ought to fine any parents or guardians who breached the rules. Here, he particularly blamed the headmasters in the villages (*kampung*) who, he was certain, were aware of many children who should have entered school but were still wandering around doing nothing. If they neglected their duty, then, according to Sayyid Shaikh, it was surely not fair to hold strictly to the regulation which said that children older than 11 years could not enter English schools (*Saudara* iv/166(1931): 5).

In the later years of *Saudara*, in an editorial of 3.4.1937, the editor, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, commented adversely on the quality of Malay education in the Malay schools. He urged the educational authorities to upgrade the status of Malay education, making it equal to that in English schools. He believed that the highest level of education in Malay schools then was equal to Standard IV or V in English schools. Not surprisingly, any Malay child who passed the Malay school would only be suitable for occupations such as trainee teachers, Malay writers and office boys. Sayyid Alwi pointed out that many Malays could not find a job once they finished school, so they usually went back

to their villages and did nothing, because their level of knowledge was not enough to help them in seizing job opportunities (Saudara ix/700(1937): 9).

He therefore called on the educational authorities to upgrade the status of Malay education so that the highest grade would be equal to Standard IX in English schools. If they did this, the writer argued, students who had finished Standard IV in a Malay school but were unable to enrol into an English school would have the chance to continue their studies in a Malay school. Thus, the education that they received would be at par with that received by their friends in English schools. Sayyid Alwi justified his position as follows:

We believe that no matter high a person's knowledge in other languages, if he is ignorant or shallow in his own, he will never be seen as a clever person (Saudara ix/700(1937): 9).

Sayyid Alwi continued his suggestions regarding the upgrading of the status of Malay schools in an editorial dated 21.4.1937. He gave recommendations as to how the Malay curriculum could be upgraded to Standard IX as practised in English schools then. Firstly, Sayyid Alwi suggested that the Malay curriculum should be simplified so that the curriculum that was now spread over four or five years could be compressed into three years. This would enable students who had finished Standard III, and would like to continue in English schools, to be able to do so. From Standard IV to Standard IX in Malay schools, the system should be based on the English school system. Two subjects should be made compulsory: the English language and Islamic knowledge. Islamic knowledge should begin at Standard IV or V, and English should be started at Standard VI or VII (Saudara ix/705(1937): 9).

Sayyid Alwi admitted the possibility of difficulties in getting suitable textbooks in Malay. However, he believed that the translation bureau of Tanjung Malim College

could solve this problem by translating the relevant English books into Malay. As for the necessary teachers, these could be obtained from Tanjung Malim Training College and the Female Training College in Malacca. Apart from these, Malay youths who had an English education, but had qualified to become teachers in the Malay language could also be hired (*Saudara* ix/705(1937): 9).

7.3.3. *Saudara's* Comments on the Question of Establishing a University in Malaya

Towards the end of the 1930s a proposal was made for the establishment of a university in Malaya (see above). *Saudara*, as a newspaper which saw itself as representing the interests of Malay society at that time, also engaged in the debate regarding the appropriateness of the establishment of such an institution. However, it is obvious that most of the writers' opinions reflected the tense ethnic relations of that time. Most of the articles questioned whether such an institution could benefit the Malays or otherwise. They agreed that the idea was undoubtedly an excellent one in terms of completing the educational process of the people as a whole, but the economic conditions of the Malay community at that time forced them to have some reservations regarding the idea. For example, in a 1939 article which discussed the small number of Malays holding government positions, 'Buai' (Swing) argued that the establishment of such a higher institution in Malaya would only benefit non-Malays, because most Malays at that time were so economically weak. Those who went to English schools mostly received scholarships from the government. If they did not, the parents had to struggle to maintain them in school. Thus, to send the children to a university would, for the vast majority of Malays, be out of the question. Gradually this institution would be filled by the non-Malay races. This already had become apparent in academic institutions such as Raffles College, Serdang Agricultural College and Singapore

Medical College, where the majority of the students were non-Malays or as they were called in *Saudara*, 'Malayans' (*Saudara* xi/872(1939): 9).

One writer in *Saudara* in 1939 also accused the 'Malayans', especially the Chinese, of having a 'hidden agenda' in supporting the proposal for the establishment of a university. In an article about the establishment of a university in Malaya, this anonymous contributor pointed out that the establishment of such an institution would involve a huge amount of money. Thus, government funds alone would not be enough; they would have to plead for public donations as well. In this situation, the writer was convinced that the Chinese, who had a strong financial background, would take this opportunity to donate as much as possible in order to win British hearts. In return, it would be easier for them to demand in return the same rights as the Malays and indigenous people of the country. The Malays on the other hand, were weak economically; even to support themselves, they had to struggle financially. Therefore, to expect a large donation from them would be impossible (*Saudara* xi/873/2(1939): 9).

In addition, Mukhtar Ismail India,² in his article of the same year regarding this issue, expressed his worry that once there was a university in Malaya, the eligibility criteria for government officers would be raised. When there were many highly qualified people, the British would be more inclined to hire such people rather than the less educated ones. Thus, Malayan government occupations would gradually be filled with non-Malays, because these races enjoyed more stable economic conditions and could better afford to enrol their children into a university (*Saudara* xi/873/1(1939): 2).

² The word 'India' here indicated that the writer studied in India.

7.3.4. Anglo-Malay Schools

Considering the difficulties facing Malays in enrolling into English schools, because of the age factor and stiff competition with other races, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi came up in 1929 with a suggestion to establish 'Anglo-Malay' or 'English-Malay' Schools. These schools were seen as an alternative kind of private school for Malays, apart from Arabic schools, which he considered had as yet to reach the aim of their establishment. His suggestion was published in the editorial of 28.12.1929. In this article, Sayyid Shaikh urged Malays to shift their attention and effort to establishing schools which integrated the teaching of Malay, the language of the indigenous people of Malaya, and English, the language of government. Sayyid Shaikh suggested that in these proposed schools, the teaching of the Malay language should be organized properly, and all religious teachings should be taught in Malay, meaning that they should be translated from Arabic sources into Malay. As for English, teaching in these schools should follow government rules and regulations so that students could sit for examinations, just like in other schools recognized by the government (Saudara ii/65/1(1929): 3).

These schools were seen by Sayyid Shaikh as a solution to all the following obstacles faced by Muslims in entering English schools:

1. If a child was more than 8 years old, then he would not be able to enter an English school directly without enrolling in a Malay school until he had passed Standard IV.
2. Children who passed Standard IV could face other obstacles: a) if they were more than 11 years old. b) if their parents were unable to support them to study in English schools because of the high expenses in those schools. Thus, the parents were always hoping that they would be able to send their children to a free government school.
3. Even those children who completed Malay school with good results, and were under 11 years old, and their parents were willing to pay for their schooling, still faced difficulties getting places in those schools, because the schools were often filled by children from foreign races (Saudara ii/65/1(1929): 3).

Sayyid Shaikh emphasized that these schools were not intended to undermine the importance of the many Arabic schools established by various individuals in Malaya at that time. The reason for his suggesting the establishment of these schools mentioned above was because he believed that, so far, the private Arabic schools had failed to achieve the aim of their establishment. In order for Arabic schools to achieve their aims, Sayyid Shaikh emphasized that huge expenditure was needed, much more than that which would be required to establish Anglo-Malay Schools. One obvious difficulty for Arabic schools was to find religious teachers who were qualified and had proper teacher training. In other words, Sayyid Shaikh was implying that the main reason for the Arab schools' failure to meet the aim of their establishment was because of the weaknesses of the teachers. There were many people who were considered religious in Malaya at the time but they did not necessarily make good religious teachers. On the other hand, qualified Malay and English teachers were relatively easier to find among the people in Malaya (*Saudara* ii/65/1(1929): 3).

Sayyid Shaikh then urged the people of Malaya to debate on this issue.

The editor of *Saudara* at the time, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, expressed his support for the establishment of such schools but felt disappointed that the suggestion was received coldly by Malay leaders and intellectuals. In an editorial discussing such schools, Muhammad Yunus mentioned that similar kinds of school had been established by the Chinese, which were known as Anglo-Chinese schools. Such schools were originally built through Chinese co-operative effort, but later received assistance from the government (*Saudara* ii/66/1(1930): 3).

Muhammad Yunus praised this action and called for Malay sultans and leaders, especially associations concerned about the progress of Malay education, to consider this suggestion seriously. Malay-English schools, established by the Malays themselves, he argued, would be a lot better than the existing English schools, since Islamic education could also be included in the curriculum to ensure that the children would be having a balance between spiritual and secular education (Saudara ii/66/1(1930): 3).

Muhammad Yunus continued his discussion on Anglo-Malay schools in his editorial of 7.6.1930. In this article, he was responding to an article written in *Majalah Guru* by a writer with the pseudonym, 'Anak Negeri' (Son of the State). It seems that in his article, 'Anak Negeri' had disagreed with and ridiculed Sayyid Shaikh's suggestion for establishing this kind of school. In answering the accusation that this school would only increase the number of people who aspired to become clerks, Muhammad Yunus defended himself thus:

Mr 'Anak Negeri' should not be worried, we do not want everybody who goes to school to qualify to become a clerk or *makan gaji* (work with the government), especially those who go to schools that have been established by their own people. However, education is as important in starting one's own business, not only for the *taukeh* or high status people, but also for *tukang cangkul*, *tukang kereta*, *tukang airbatu*, *tukang bertanam sayur* etc., as it is for those working in offices. Who else should establish such a school for them, if not people from their own race? (Saudara ii/87(1930): 3)

7.3.5. Religious Education

Articles about religious education can be found mostly in the early years of *Saudara's* publication. These articles ranged from the issue of the inadequacy of traditional religious education, to religious lessons in Malay schools and some suggestions as to how to improve the existing system. Also included were criticisms of the traditional religious teachers, and news about the establishment of new *madrasah*

and the activities of the existing *madrasah*, especially those run by individuals belonging to the Islamic reform movement. Various writers contributed articles on the issue, but among the most prominent contributors were the editors of *Saudara* themselves.

In an editorial in 1930 discussing religious education for Malay children, the then editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, brought up the issue of the inadequacy of the existing system in providing religious education for Malays. Muhammad Yunus was referring to the quality of religious education carried out in *pondok*, *madrasah* and *surau* throughout Malaya. Most importantly, he expressed his disappointment that this religious education had not undergone any changes for a long period of time. He believed that the present system only taught Malay children the following:

1. How to read the Quran smoothly in various styles i.e. *sikah* or *rukbi*;
2. To qualify to become *imam* and read the long verses from the Quran;
3. To be expert in conducting prayers for the dead and reciting *talqin* at the graveside;
4. To be expert in handling the *berkhatam* ceremony and leading the *ratib*, and to memorize the *berzanji*, *marhaban* and other religious chants and also the 20 attributes of Allah (*sifat 20*) (Saudara ii/83(1930): 3).

Muhammad Yunus expressed his disappointment that so many children spent years learning under the religious teachers (*gurus*) whom they considered as *mursyid* (pious), and therefore worthy of respect. He considered this activity a waste of time, since the students would only acquire a superficial knowledge of Islam. He argued: "If this time had been used to study other branches of knowledge, most probably they would by now have become doctors or lawyers in the state court, and not have become a lawyer for Allah by transmitting other people's prayers" (Saudara ii/83(1930): 3).

So, why was it that children could not obtain the necessary religious knowledge, after so many years studying? Muhammad Yunus attributed this failure to a lack of

knowledge among the teachers. They only mastered the basic teachings of Islam, for example issues such as the different classifications of water (*hukum air*), from year to year. He was convinced that if only teachers possessed a higher level of Islamic knowledge, there would be no barrier to the children themselves gaining a higher level of religious knowledge. The teachers' closed attitude also prevented them from adapting to change and made them sceptical towards anything new; this was reflected in the attitude of some religious teachers who prevented their pupils from reading newspapers or magazines (Saudara ii/83(1930): 3).

The current level of religious education was also regarded as a barrier to Malay Muslims fighting negative influences on their beliefs. For example, Abdul Rahim Kajai, in an editorial of 1930 discussing whether or not Malay children needed religious education, expressed his worries regarding the current inadequacy of religious education. However, he concentrated his discussion more on the religious teachings presently available in Malay schools during afternoon sessions. He praised the government effort to introduce these classes, but at the same time was sceptical of their effectiveness, since the syllabus had not undergone any changes in a 15-year period (Saudara iii/110/2(1930): 3).

He argued that, because of this kind of teaching, the children did not truly understand the Islamic injunctions; they only learned how to read the Quran and memorize by heart the pillars of prayer, faith etc., without true understanding and conviction. As a result of this deficiency in religious education, Malay children, he argued, were easily exposed to negative influences on their belief. One of the clear threats was the Christian influence, which was especially strong in English schools, where the study of the Bible was one of the subjects for Junior and Senior Cambridge certificates. However, the more important

danger, Abdul Rahim suggested, would come from inside the minds of those children who were English-educated. He was not worried about graduates from the Malay schools, since after completing their education, they would go back to the same social circles, and mix with religious people who strongly held to the view that “all religions other than Islam are misguided (*sesat*).” However, in the case of English-educated children, he was deeply concerned that after obtaining an education a little bit more advanced than that of their forefathers, the children would begin to look down on their own religion, Islam, regarding it as a hindrance towards progress, outdated and so on. Abdul Rahim stressed that these were real dangers as long as Islam appeared to be a religion concerned only with miming the Quran, memorizing the pillars of faith etc. If there was no improvement in the existing system, he argued, Malay children would easily become westernized and their opinions about Islam would become the same as those of Christians (*Saudara* iii/110/2(1930): 3).

Apart from criticisms, the writers in *Saudara* came up with some suggestions as to how to improve the quality of religious education in Malaya. For example, an article by ‘.م.ا’ (Alif. Mim.), discussed in 1931 the state of religious education in one of the Malay states, Negeri Sembilan. The writer pointed to the continuation of the old method of teaching in Malay schools in terms of reading the Quran and learning the pillars of Islam, the foundations of faith etc. However, his main worry in fact was that, since religious classes were held in the afternoon, many students who lived far away from school skipped these lessons (*Saudara* iv/159(1931): 7).

But then he did make the following suggestions as to how to improve religious lessons in Malay schools:

1. Stop completely the teaching of Quranic recitation. This responsibility should be handed to the parents, who could either teach the children themselves at night or

send them to other people's houses. Thus, in religious classes there would be only two subjects: the teaching of *Tauhid*, (the unity of God) and the teaching of *ibadat* (prayer, fasting, etc.).

2. There would be no need for children in Standards I and II to attend these religious classes, since they were still small, but such classes should be for Standards III, IV and V.

3. If there were too many children in the school, then a school should work with another school so that the number of children could be divided between two religious teachers.

4. To avoid high absenteeism among children who lived far away from school, the religious classes should be shifted from afternoon to morning sessions and shortened to 1 1/2 hours i.e. 11.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. This would make sure that Malay children who passed Standard V of Malay School and then went on to English school at the age of 10 or 11 were sufficiently equipped with religious knowledge (*Saudara* iv/159(1931): 7).

The writer then suggested that the religious authorities should pay more attention to re-structuring the syllabus of religious lessons and the methods of teaching them. According to the writer, this instruction should be simple, clear and acceptable to children's minds. In addition, the textbooks should be made the property of the religious department and made available free to the children (*Saudara* iv/159(1931): 7).

Apart from this article, *Saudara* also published an article by a writer under the pseudonym 'Anak Negeri' (Son of the State), which first appeared in *Majalah Guru*. He criticized the current syllabus in the religious classes in Malay schools, and offered some suggestions as to the appropriate way to teach religious subjects to the children. His article concerning the methods of religious teaching in Malay schools was serialized in *Saudara* in 1933. In the first place, 'Anak Negeri' suggested that students should be classified according to their standards and age. They should not all be put into one class, as was the practice at that time. Furthermore, he believed that it would be a lot better if a timetable were made so that different classes were taught on different days, to avoid repetition, and so that the teachers would be able to teach according to the level of the children's understanding based on their age. He also stressed that teachers had to be aware of the children's level of thinking and thereby know the right approach to teaching them. They should make an attempt to simplify and make understandable the

complex aspects of religious teaching. Apart from these recommendations, 'Anak Negeri' emphasized the importance of practical teaching instead of rote learning. For example, when teaching about the pillars of prayer, the teacher should show pupils those pillars through practical demonstrations (Saudara v/300(1933): 9).

Then 'Anak Negeri' suggested:

If the system of learning religious subjects is not amended in Malay schools, that is, teaching without a proper timetable and without considering the child's level of thinking, I believe that the present afternoon religious school will have no effect and bring no benefit to the children. The children will continue making a lot of noise, reading and memorizing in the classroom, just like children playing in the pond, without really understanding what they are saying. If so, teachers of religion in Malay schools will always remain a subject of mockery among the people, since they are ignorant of the right way to teach children (Saudara v/300(1933): 9).

In order to obtain truly qualified religious teachers, 'Anak Negeri' suggested that the teachers who were going to teach religious subjects should be given an appropriate teacher training course in colleges like Tanjung Malim College (Saudara v/299(1933): 9).

In 1939, through the efforts of Persekutuan Seruan Islam SeMalaya in Singapore, the education department of the Straits Settlements agreed to include religious teaching as a part of the daily syllabus in the curriculum of Malay schools. Religious instruction in Malay schools had begun in the Colony in June 1930; it was first introduced in three Malay schools, with nine teachers, for one hour every Saturday, and the total enrolment was a thousand. The expenses were covered by funds and contributions from Muslims. Nevertheless, this level of instruction was considered insufficient. Thus, efforts were continually made to urge the government to include religious instruction in the daily syllabus of the Malay schools, and as consequence the agreement mentioned above was reached (Yegar 1979: 240).

As a newspaper with an Islamic reformist bias, *Saudara* welcomed this step positively. The editorial of 4.11.1939 discussed a debate regarding this issue which had been held by Kesatuan Melayu Singapura (Singapore Malay Association), which had reached the following conclusions:

1. The age of children in Malay schools from 6-12 years old, made it difficult for them truly to understand the teachings of Islam.
2. The highest age of children in Malay schools was not more than 12. Therefore they had not yet reached puberty. Therefore it was not compulsory (*wajib*) yet for them to learn religious matters.
3. The subjects and skills taught in Malay schools were more than enough. Besides learning to read, write and count, they were also taught basket-making, book binding, farming and carpentry. Girls were taught embroidery, knitting, sewing, cooking etc. Apart from that, there were school activities like Scouts, Girl Guides etc. In other words, there was no time for the children to learn new subjects.
4. If religious education was going to be introduced as a new subject in Malay schools, then the children would have to learn Arabic; and this would be an additional burden on the children.
5. The Malay children could learn about religion at home, religious schools or *madrrasah* which are available everywhere (Saudara xii/948(1939): 4).

Thus, the conclusion of the debate held by Kesatuan Melayu Singapura was that it was inappropriate to introduce Islamic education in schools in the Straits Settlements at that time.

In reply to the above points raised by the debate, the editor of *Saudara*, Muhammad

Amin bin Nayan, responded thus in the same editorial:

1. It is important to introduce Islamic subjects in the curriculum of Malay schools in the Straits Settlements and throughout Malaya, since Islam is the religion of the Malay people, and the purpose of establishing these schools, apart from making children literate, is to inculcate in them a high sense of morality.
2. To achieve this aim, Islamic teachings should be included in the curriculum.
3. The line of reasoning which says that the children are too young, and, since they haven't reached puberty, it is not compulsory for them to learn Islamic knowledge, is unacceptable. If the ages from 6 to 12 are said to be too young to learn about Islam, the same could be said about other subjects.

In other words, the editor stressed that if other subjects could be grasped by the children, it was impossible to say that they could not accept Islamic teachings and the basic teachings of *fardhu ain* in Islam. He added:

4. If the participants in the Kesatuan Melayu Singapura debate thought that the existing subjects in the curriculum were more than enough for Malay children, then why not just drop some of the irrelevant or less important subjects and replace them with Islamic subjects? (Saudara xii/948(1939): 4).

Therefore, this article reflected a major difference of opinion over the importance of religious education between *Saudara* and Kesatuan Melayu Singapura. It demonstrated the fact that, though *Saudara* supported the reform and modernization of Malay society, they were not prepared to do this at the expense of fundamental Islamic values.

7.3.6. *Saudara* and the idea of Establishing a Muslim University

In 1933, there appeared in *Saudara* a suggestion for the establishment of a Muslim university in the Malay Archipelago. This suggestion was made by Abdul Wahab Khan, Director of the Islamic Mission in Patani, Siam (Thailand) in an article published in *Saudara* during that year. Discussing the backwardness of the Muslims in the Malay Archipelago, Abdul Wahab attributed this condition to a lack of modern education and the corruption of Islamic beliefs by unnecessary links with non-Islamic beliefs (*Saudara* v/291(1933): 1).

Abdul Wahab gave the example of Japan, where, according to him, a systematic education system had pushed Japan far ahead of other countries in the Far East. Japan, he pointed out was filled with universities, vocational schools and industrial schools etc. People in the Malay region, however, depended on overseas universities in Egypt or in other Arab countries. Unfortunately, the disadvantage of these universities was that they only provided knowledge of religion, but not of the practicalities of life; in other words, they did not provide students with the skills needed to earn a living (*Saudara* v/291(1933): 1).

In part two of the articles, Abdul Wahab stressed that the idea of a Muslim university could become a reality if the sultans, rajas and aristocrats in the countries of the Malay

Archipelago played their part. Apart from them, he called on Muslim intellectuals and the graduates of al-Azhar University in Egypt and other Arab universities to be the pioneers in establishing this university. He urged them to establish an International Far East Muslim Association for the purpose of establishing such a university. Then, government assistance, including money, could be sought to carry out the plan (*Saudara* v/293(1933): 1).

Interestingly, Abdul Wahab's suggestion failed to generate much response from contributors to *Saudara*. Nevertheless, there was one article by 'Teruna Sekarang' (Contemporary Bachelor) which was clearly a response to the suggestion made by Abdul Wahab. In this article, 'Teruna Sekarang' agreed that the idea of establishing a Muslim university was indeed an excellent one. He praised Abdul Wahab for putting forward this idea, but at the same time voiced his scepticism whether such an idea could be carried out successfully. One problem that could be anticipated in establishing this university would be the problem of finding qualified teachers. 'Teruna Sekarang' believed that it would be difficult to find such qualified religious teachers in the Malay region to teach in such a higher institution. The situation was made much more difficult because of the prevailing situation of the time, where there were so many *ulama* or religious teachers who, he pointed out, misled people with corrupt forms of Islamic teachings. Such teachers treated religious education simply as a commercial opportunity (*Saudara* v/302(1933): 7).

In this unfavourable context, 'Teruna Sekarang' argued that the time had not yet come for the establishment of a Muslim university in Malaya. What was more immediately important, according to 'Teruna Sekarang', was to inculcate the true teachings of Islam, and the best way to do this was through religious classes in the

Malay schools, as explained by 'Anak Negeri' in an article in *Majalah Guru*, which was then re-printed in *Saudara*. What 'Teruna Sekarang' meant was the teaching of religion by inculcating the practical aspects of it. Once religious knowledge was strong in children's hearts then, he suggested, these children would not be easily influenced by any other negative elements in their lives. When Malay children were generally well versed in true Islamic teachings, then the idea of a Muslim university in the Far East could become a reality (*Saudara* v/302(1933): 7).

7.4. Conclusion

The coverage of education in *Saudara* reflected the importance of education to the Malays in Malaya at that time. The many contributors did not just throw criticisms at the education system but also made many valuable suggestions. However, it is difficult to know the extent to which these suggestions and criticisms were taken seriously by the educational authorities. Nevertheless, these writings demonstrate a concern for the welfare of Malay children at the time. It is important to note that, as usual, it is difficult to separate the issue of ethnic competition from the strictly educational concerns brought up by the writers in *Saudara*. The criticisms of the various rules regarding the enrolment of children from Malay to English schools can be seen as seeking to defend Malays from a system which was regarded as unfair to them, while giving too many privileges to the non-Malays. Regarding religious education, the message is clear that the writers refused to stick to the old methods of learning and the old contents of Islamic instruction. Like many other aspects of Malay life, the writers believed, religious education in Malaya also needed reform. The existing system, the writers argued, was no longer suitable to prepare children for the challenges of the contemporary world. For this reason, they criticized the majority of the religious leaders

in Malaya at that time for holding to the conservative method of teaching and failing to make necessary changes to the syllabus of religious education and teachings. If the articles in *Saudara* could be used as an indicator of Malays' opinions on university education for the Malay people, then what we can say is they were not yet ready for such a higher level of education, whether religious or secular. However, the difference is that, if higher *religious* education was seen as an impractical suggestion because of the various obstacles associated with realizing this ambition, the plan of a secular university was distrusted, since it would increase the threat of non-Malay domination over higher education, and might give non-Malays even greater advantages than they had already. Taking as an example 'Teruna Sekarang's view on the question of a Muslim University, it is clear that he was not confident of the ability of the *ulama* in Malaya to carry out the task. Indeed, the constant criticisms of the *ulama* in *Saudara* perhaps could convince us that his pessimism was not unfounded. Furthermore, the establishment of a university would require large financial backing, so that, unless it received support from Malay sultans and religious authorities, it would have been almost impossible to achieve it.

Throughout this period, we can clearly see an emphasis on the importance of English education. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the status conferred by an English education was much higher than that of a Malay education. Another reason was possibly to compete with the Chinese and Indian children, who were present in larger numbers in the English schools. The English language was also seen as a gateway to knowledge from other civilizations. However, this does not mean that the writers were not in favour of Malay education; but possibly because Malay was the native language of the Malay people in everyday use, they did not see the point of staying too long in Malay schools. This position was reflected in the discussion of the suggestion to

establish Anglo-Malay schools that would have given equal importance to both languages. Unfortunately, this suggestion, excellent though it seemed, never came to fruition, because of the lack of financial backing and a body of influential people who really wanted to strive towards its fulfilment. Moreover, perhaps because the suggestion came from Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, one of the most radical figures in the Islamic reformist movement, who was particularly forthright in his criticisms of the religious establishment, it would have been almost impossible to gain support and backing from the latter, whose support would have been crucial for such an ambitious endeavour.

CHAPTER 8

RELIGIOUS DEBATES IN *SAUDARA*

8.1. Introduction

Apart from the question of religion and education, a wide range of other religious issues was discussed in *Saudara*. Among them were the issues of the impact of Wahabism, the Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua conflict, Islamic associations and debates on Muhammadan Law.

8.2. *Saudara* and the Impact of Wahabism

In a series of articles in *Saudara* in the years 1929-1930, entitled "Bukti Pekerjaan Kerajaan Islám" (The Evidence of an Islamic State's Deeds) by 'Arab Sumatra', the steps carried out by the new Saudi government to strengthen Islamic teachings in what had become Saudi Arabia were discussed. The name 'Sumatra' referred to the place where the writer resided, and 'Arab' most probably indicates that the writer was of Arab descent. Although the writer was Sumatran, the issue discussed here is closely related to a similar heated debate taking place in other parts of the Malay world at that time. In his articles, 'Arab Sumatra' not only explained Saudi government actions, but also took the opportunity to criticize indirectly various aspects of the Malay community's attitudes and behaviour at that time; and the people who came under most heavy criticism were the *ulama* or religious teachers.

One example was in connection with the Saudi government's ban on smoking cigars (*cerut*) and tobacco. According to the regulations there, government officials warned the people against smoking, and those who disobeyed were to be punished. By contrast, the

writer pointed out, in Malaya, although warnings were issued to the people, it was difficult to find even one *alim* who did not enjoy smoking cigarettes or tobacco (Saudara ii/65/2(1929): 4).

A similar unfavourable comparison was made when the writer explained the restrictions implemented by the Saudi government to prevent men and women from mixing on occasions such as wedding ceremonies and funerals. The writer observed that in the Malay world, the situation was quite the contrary; for example, at wedding ceremonies, it was the *ulama* themselves who would lead the “*upacara menepung tawar*” (Saudara ii/66/2(1930): 4).

Some of the measures taken by the Saudi government were quite extreme, but nevertheless, the writer expressed agreement with them. For example, the writer seemed to approve the Saudi government regulation which made it compulsory for men to wear a beard in the name of *syara*. If a barber disobeyed this regulation, his permit would be cancelled and his premises closed. This action was rather extreme, because Islam does not compel its followers to keep their moustaches and beards; it is just a recommendation (*sunat*) (Saudara ii/65/2(1929): 4).

However, it is difficult to determine whether the writer fully understood Islamic injunctions on this matter, or whether, as a fervent Islamic reformer, he just wanted to use the actions of the Saudi government to challenge the opinions and behaviour of the conservative *ulama* in the Malay world.

Tuan Muhammad Yusuf S.M.,¹ in a series of articles, elaborated on the reasons for the downfall of the Muslim *ummah* and the history and impact of the *Wahabi* movement. One of the reasons for the downfall of the Muslim *ummah*, argued Muhammad Yusuf, was *sufism*. He asserted that *sufism* encourages people to ignore all worldly matters, and that this promotes laziness and results in humiliation through dependence on other people's wealth and effort (*Saudara* iii/107/2(1930): 6). Other criticisms he raised were that the *sufis* believed that their teachers were saints (*wali*) and that their time was accordingly spent on chanting *zikir* or condemning wealthy people. One of the most corrupting aspects of *sufi* teachers was their claim to have the power to save their followers from hellfire. *Sufis* also saw their teacher and spiritual leader as the medium between themselves and God (*Saudara* iii/108(1930): 6). Among other things, the Wahabi movement challenged the influence of Sufism.

Another factor which led to the downfall of the Muslim *ummah*, in Muhammad Yusuf's view, was the belief in the coming of the *Mahdi* or Prophet Isa a.s. towards the end of life in this world. According to Muhammad Yusuf, this belief in the coming of the *Mahdi* originated from the *Shi'ite* sect; however, there was not, he pointed out, even one verse in Quran which mentioned the matter. Muhammad Yusuf gave the following opinion on this belief:

Because of this belief, the Muslims have become weak, and reluctant to work to improve the welfare of their states. However, lately Muslims, especially in Turkey, Egypt and Persia, no longer hope for the *Mahdi* or *al-Masih* to come and take care of their states, because each of them has their own *Mahdi*! Al-Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha for the Turks; al-Marhum Saad Zaghlul Pasha for Egypt; Amanullah Khan for Persia; and Abdul Aziz bin Saud for Arabia...but the father of all the *Mahdi* is al-Ghazi Mustafa Kemal a.s.: he has emerged at a time when the strength of Islam had vanished completely in this world (*Saudara* iii/110/3(1930): 6)

¹ It was stated in *Saudara* in 1940 that Tuan Muhammad Yusuf S.M. was the president of Persatuan Melayu Pulau Pinang (Penang Malay Association).

In the last part of the article, Muhammad Yusuf discussed the history of the Wahabi movement and its teachings, which were, he suggested, similar to what the Islamic reformists were fighting for in Malaya. Among the rules introduced by the Wahabi now that they ruled Arabia was that no people should be permitted to perform *hajj* unless they followed all the rules and regulations according to the Wahabi sect. The teachings of the Wahabi sect, which originated from the legal school of Muhammad ibn Hanbal or *Hanbali*, were derived from the Quran and authentic Hadith only. All *bid'ah* and *taqlid* were banned, as was dependency on the *ulama* or weak hadiths. The Wahabis held that all people who were of sound mind and knowledgeable could exercise their own *ijtihad*, and monopoly of religious knowledge in the hands of *ulama* was prohibited. People were warned against using religion as a way to earn a living and told that the work of interpreting the Quran was not in the hands of certain people only. There could be no medium in doing *ibadah*, and ordinary people should therefore not depend on others to carry out their *ibadah*. Excessive praise and respect for teachers were also prohibited. The Wahabis were also very much against the worshipping of the graves of saints and religious people, as practised by Sufis in particular. Those who did so were to be considered infidels (Saudara iii/112(1930): 6).

The Wahabi's teachings and strict rules were particularly disliked by conservative *ulama*, and various kinds of accusations had been made against them in the previous century. They had been labelled throughout the Islamic world as misguided people, and their teachings had been condemned as false. As a result of this increasing alarm, the Sultan of Turkey had sent his army to quash the Wahabi movement in Arabia, but was defeated. Then in 1811, he enlisted Muhammad Ali Pasha and his army from Egypt to fight the Wahabis. Various battles took place until the year 1818, when the Wahabis were completely defeated and their leader, Amir Abdullah, was assassinated (Saudara

iii/112(1930): 6). In subsequent decades, it should be noted; there was a continuing hostility between the 'orthodox' *ulama* of Mecca and the Hijaz, and the 'heretical' views of Wahabism, whose base was in Najd, in Central Arabia.

Summing up the teachings of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and its impact on Malaya, Muhammad Yusuf concluded:

The accusations made by the Meccan *ulama* against the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab have spread all over the world. The enmity between the *Najd* and the *Hijaz* groups remains until today. The Arabs ruined the name of Wahabi because of their national interest at the time. But what has this conflict between the people there to do with us, the Muslims outside of Arabia? For our part, we are obliged to accept all those teachings which are better and more complete and, moreover, in accordance with Islamic teachings. Do not be fooled by those stupid Arabs in Mecca. The teaching established by al-Malik Abdul Aziz today is the best and the purest Islamic teaching, and most in accordance with the teachings of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. Thus, all the accusations made by the Arab Meccans should be scrutinized beforehand. Do not just simply follow other people (*Saudara* iii/112(1930): 6).

8.3. The Debate in *Saudara* concerning the Idea of Forming Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung (Malayan Ulama Association)

In the 1930s the tendency to organize themselves into clubs and associations increased significantly in the Malay community. With respect to religion, this trend was reflected in the suggestion for the establishment of a Malayan Ulama Association (Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung) and the strengthening of the already existing Persatuan Khairat Mati. This period witnessed a wide rift between the religious establishment, popularly known as Kaum Tua, and a new group of Muslim intellectuals known as Kaum Muda. They had different opinions concerning religious issues, and their arguments were reflected in various writings in the newspapers at this time. *Saudara*, a newspaper in the Islamic reformist mainstream, undoubtedly tended to defend the new generation in its writings. At the same time, however, the newspaper

aspired for unity between these two groups so that the *ulama* could carry out their responsibilities for the welfare of all Malays effectively.

It was because of this rift between the conservative *ulama* and the new generation of Muslim intellectuals, that the suggestion came for the establishment of a Malayan Ulama Association. One of the most prominent individuals in the history of Islamic reformism in Malaya, Abbas bin Mohd. Taha, became an ardent supporter for the establishment of such an association. In his article entitled "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung," 13.6.1936, he commented on various proposals made by writers in the newspaper on this issue. Abbas outlined the objectives of this proposed association as follows:

To save society from ignorance and backwardness, to shower it with knowledge and lead it to progress, to save it from practising unlawful *adat* and *khurafat*, to enable it to follow the true teachings of Islam and the right path in life... to strengthen the spirit of love and brotherhood in society. It should absolutely not be to defend one group against another (Saudara viii/620(1936): 3).

There had already been initiatives to carry out such a proposal in Singapore. He urged the *ulama* to respond positively to this call. Regarding the disputes and differences among the *ulama* at that time, Abbas gave his opinion in the following terms:

Disputes and differences within Islam have resulted in the creation of various sects (*mazahib*). Many of these sects have disappeared. Nevertheless, some remain until today. However, all the four main sects are from *ahl-sunnah wal-jamaah*. And, no one sect (*mazhab*) has priority over another according to the Islamic *syariat*. And there is no hadith which mentions the differences between the four *imams* [Imam Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali and Shafie]. All these sects follow the truth, and thus can be followed by Muslims (Saudara viii/620(1936): 3).

Abbas argued that there had always been room for disagreement and differences in Islam. However, practices which were clearly shown to have been implemented during the Prophet's time must be followed by all Muslims without question. Where there were

various differences in the mode of implementing those practices, however, Muslims are allowed to choose which one appeals most to them. However, Abbas advised the Muslim community to choose an alternative which would not cause divisions in society. Moreover, Abbas advised people not to oppose anybody for having different opinions on those issues where differences are allowed (Saudara viii/620(1936): 3).

Lastly, perhaps to show some kind of support and respect for the opinions of the conservative *ulama*, Abbas wrote:

Regarding the closure of the door to *ijtihad*, the *ulama*'s opinion on this matter is a rational judgement. It is closed in order to prevent Muslims from misusing the opportunity and too easily claiming themselves *mujtahid*. If the door were open, and everybody was permitted to voice any opinion freely, and claim that whatever they said was an injunction from God and the Prophet s.a.w., this would clearly be unacceptable (Saudara viii/620(1936): 3).

In other words, Abbas was saying that the opinion of those *ulama* who claimed the closure of the door of *ijtihad* was not really unfounded. In fact, the situation envisaged by Abbas in the above quote is exactly what some *ulama* were worried about when they took the stand of closing the door to *ijtihad*; insufficient understanding of Islam would lead to people to believe that everybody had the freedom to practise *Ijtihad*.

Another writer by the name of Pak Haji Abdu Ansamad, in an article of the same year, perceived the objectives of establishing a Malayan Ulama Association as follows:

This *ulama* association (*persekutuan ulama*) which is going to be established is not for making people slaves or to encourage people to perform actions for the sake of the hereafter only, or to perform prayers and fasting. No, the aim of its establishment is solely to educate the Malays towards progress in all matters relating to religion and this world and also to strengthen the spirit of brotherhood and *rabitah* between Muslims which had been created by Prophet Muhammad s.a.w [...] And the person who made the suggestion was not aiming to serve his own interests (Saudara viii/637/1(1936): 2).

Abbas's writings received a negative response from a writer with the pseudonym 'Muhibbul Watan' (Lover of the Nation). Taking into account the wide rift between the

ulama in Malay society, the writer took a pessimistic view regarding the suggestion. He believed that it would be impossible to get an agreement on this kind of association from the *ulama* in Malaya. Basically, he was saying that Abbas's plan was too idealistic. If Abbas believed that one of the aims of this *ulama* association would be to bring Malay people to a foremost position in Malaya, the writer argued, this was absolutely at odds with the teachings of many *ulama*, who always urged their followers to seek happiness in the hereafter and have no concern for the affairs of this world. If the objective was to encourage the *ulama* to write books on *fiqh* and *usuluddin*, the writer argued, he saw no use in adding to the already huge numbers of existing books on these subjects. Even if there were *ulama* who were willing to write these new books, the conservative *ulama* would prevent their students or followers from reading them, believing that they would mislead the people, since the contents would be 'corrupt.' Finally, conflict among the *ulama* in Malaya was so prevalent at that time that the writer concluded: "if there is no enmity between one another, then they are not *ulama*." (Saudara viii/622(1936): 2).

'Muhibbul Watan' continued his discussion on this issue in another article, where he suggested that, prior to the establishment of a Malayan Ulama Association, an *ulama* association should be established in every state first, from which every state should send representatives to form a Malayan Ulama Association. Any *fatwa* made by such a Malayan Ulama Association should then be followed by the sultans, *syekhul Islam*, *mufti* and *qadhi* of Malaya. In short, the president of the *ulama* association would be the *Sheikhul Islam*, while the sultan and *mufti* in each state would only act as committee members. However, repeating his pessimism about the success of such an association, he wrote:

We could not hope for any work to be carried out by people who believe that the door to *ijtihad* is already closed, refer to *fiqh* books only, dislike reading newspapers and do not have the courage to learn or revise their lessons without the

presence of a teacher. They do not know how to appreciate the knowledge of other people and always rely on fate for everything. This kind of people are not qualified at all to be the leaders of their community. The task of the *ulama* has already been fixed, and that is to recite prayers, conduct marriage ceremonies and read *talqin* (Saudara viii/627(1936): 5).

In other words, 'Muhibbul Watan's pessimism was based on the attitude of the so-called conservative *ulama* at the time. The fact that many of these *ulama* had great power and influence in the administration of religious affairs in Malaya, along with the sultans and aristocrats (*pembesar-pembesar negeri*) would make it difficult for the proposed Malayan Ulama Association to play its role in the society effectively. Moreover, the way of thinking of the older generation of religious leaders was clearly so different from that of the new batch of Malay *ulama*, that unified opinion and efforts would be highly unlikely.

There were many interesting contributions to *Saudara* which reflected the difficulty of establishing such an association in Malaya. As-Shaikh Ibrahim al-Hadi, for example, raised the question of whether such an association would be exclusively for pure Malay *ulama*, or whether it would include all *ulama* in Malaya, regardless of ethnicity? This question was indeed very relevant, since *ulama* from among the Arab and *Jawi Peranakan* community held very important positions in Malay society and had been actively involved in religious activities in Malaya. They contributed significantly to charitable organizations, education and journalism. However, with the increasing spirit of Malay nationalism in Malaya at that time, the ethnic issue could no longer be ignored. Interestingly, the writer suggested that Arabic should be used by the *ulama* association, since it was the language of Islam, and therefore that all the *fatwas* should be written in Arabic first, and only after that should they be translated into other languages (Saudara viii/631(1936): 2).

Pursuing the question of membership, the writer asked whether the *lebai-lebai kampung*² and all Quranic teachers who did not know Arabic would be accepted, or only those *ulama* who had graduated from Mecca with a knowledge of the Arabic language. The same applied to *mazahib*; would all the *ulama* from any *mazhab* be accepted, or only those from among the dominant Shafie *mazhab*? Regarding the *kitab*, how old should be the *kitab* that were going to be used? (Saudara viii/631(1936): 2).

Finally on 12.8.1936, after a series of debates on the issue, the editor, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi expressed his opinion on this projected *ulama* association. He believed that Malay society was in dire need of such an *ulama* association, because of the disputes in various matters concerning religion, resulting from the absence of understanding and unity among those people who claimed to be, or were referred to, as *ulama*. Sayyid Alwi expressed his support for the suggestion, but had some reservations about its chances of success, for the following reasons:

- 1) There is no measurement to examine the level of piety of a person – thus it will be difficult to label a person an *alim* or otherwise, which will be the most important criterion for acceptance for membership of this association.
- 2) It is very uncommon to find two *ulama* who have the same opinion at the present time – this is mainly because of the Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua antagonism.
- 3) There exist various groups among the *ulama* today who have deviated from the *mazhab* of *ahl-sunnah wal-jamaah*.
- 4) There are among *ulama* those who are greedy for honour and status (*pangkat*).
- 5) There are among our *ulama* those who do not like to receive criticism from others.
- 6) Many of our *ulama* are afraid to argue or debate.
- 7) A large number of our *ulama* are not ready to work for the welfare of society (Saudara viii/637/2(1936): 9).

Sayyid Alwi suggested that, in order to establish a national *ulama* association, associations at the state level should be established first. However, prior to that, those in authority will have to find a way of determining whether a person is an *ulama* or otherwise. Only after all these detailed preparations had been made, could all the state

² Religious people who hold important positions in a village and are highly respected by the villagers. Usually they did not have formal education, but might have spent some time studying in a *pondok*.

associations be united, with Kuala Lumpur as its headquarters, because of its central location (*Saudara* viii/637/2(1936): 9).

Sayyid Alwi advised Haji Abbas bin Mohd Taha and all his followers first to concentrate on the already existing Singaporean Ulama Council (*Majlis Ulama Singapura*)³ so that it could become an example to other *ulama* associations which were going to be established in other states. Only then should these state associations be combined to form a Malayan Ulama Association (*Saudara* viii/637/2(1936): 9). Sayyid Alwi was again emphasizing that state *ulama* associations should be strengthened first, before forming a national *ulama* association, so as to guarantee a strong foundation for the latter (*Saudara* viii/637/2(1936): 9).

Looking at the religious establishment in Malaya at that time, some writers' reservations regarding the success of the creation of a nation-wide association were quite reasonable. An example of the difficulties in creating a unified religious establishment is illustrated by a *Saudara* editorial of 7.10.1936, dealing with the situation of the Muslims of Singapore. Singapore was at that time an important state for Malays, and for Islam in Malaya in general, because so many *ulama*, intellectuals and wealthy Muslims resided there. In another editorial, Sayyid Alwi outlined the problems which affected the unity of Muslims in Singapore, which originated from divisions within an umbrella organization, the Singaporean Islamic Association (*Persekutuan Islam Singapura*). The dispute was between the Singaporean Ulama Council, which was a branch of the Singaporean Islamic Association, and the Islamic Board (*Lembaga Islam*), which had been established by former members of Singaporean Islamic

³ Details about the establishment of *Majlis Ulama Singapore* can be found in the editorial of *Saudara*, 29.7.1936, p. 9, in which the editor provided his analysis and comments on the constitution of the newly established association and expressed his hope that the association would "eliminate the disputes between

Association. Ironically, the Singaporean Islamic Association, which had been established in order to unite Muslims, had ended up doing exactly the opposite. It was suggested by *Saudara* that these disputes between these two associations were petty, and could have been resolved without splitting into separate associations (*Saudara* ix/652(1936): 9).

It was probably because of this situation that Sayyid Alwi suggested to the people who were so keen on the establishment of Malayan Ulama Association that they should work at creating Muslim unity at the state level first. If it was so difficult to unite the *ulama* in one state, would it not be much more complicated to unite the *ulama* from the whole country?

8.4. *Saudara* and Criticisms of *Khairat Mati*

In the mid 1930s, with the increasing numbers of clubs and associations established in Malaya, an interesting concept of association called *khairat⁴ mati* was initiated among the Malays. Soon, various clubs or associations based on this concept were established throughout Malaya. Basically a *khairat mati* was a welfare organization designed to help the members in the event of the death of a member or his family. The funding for the organization came from a fee contributed by members, usually 10 to 30 cents monthly. When a death took place, an amount of money, about \$10 to \$30, was given by the organization to pay for the funeral. However, the association's policy was quite strange, since the money given had to be paid back by the recipient. These

the same race and religion especially between our *ulama* which has hindered the progress of our nation and indeed humiliated us in the eyes of foreign nations and religions."

⁴ The word *khairat* originates from the Arabic word *khair* which means righteous. Thus, the word *khairat* means a righteous deed or the deed of a righteous person. Charity (*sadaqah*) is among the righteous deeds in Islam. In his article, Hamidun argued that the name *khairat* was a misnomer since those who gave to this association were hoping that the money they gave would be returned to them, and the people who

societies might have been modelled on the 'friendly societies' founded in England around the same time, especially in the poor areas. They were co-operative in nature and the purpose was to help the people to bury the dead in their families.

Discussions of these *khairat mati* in *Saudara* was dominated by a writer called Hamidun. His writings on the issue were published in a series with the title of "Khairat Mati." Another contributor was the editor of *Saudara* himself, who, like Hamidun, had a negative view of such organizations.

Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, in an editorial concerning the issue in 1936, stressed that these associations had a more negative than beneficial impact on society. For example, the allocation of money on this basis, he argued, was against the concept of assistance and charity (*sadaqah*), because members were from both rich and poor, and assistance was given to anybody, regardless of their economic status. Many of the members were in practice well-to-do people. He therefore asserted that the money given could not be considered as charity. Furthermore, the allocation of the fund was not carried out with justice. Finally, according to Sayyid Alwi, the most important thing was that this kind of organization would bring disunity among its members because the villagers (*orang-orang kampung*) would tend to isolate the non-members. For example, when a non-member died, the members of this organization would not pay a visit as a mark of respect. Furthermore, Sayyid Alwi was of the opinion that this organization would give the impression to other races that the Malays were so poor and weak that they had to establish such welfare organizations to take care of the dead, despite the fact that until then it had never happened in Malay society that a person died and the body was not buried properly (*Saudara* viii/650(1936): 9).

received the money had to pay back the money they borrowed from the organization, so the role of the organization was not charitable.

The main contributor on the issue, Hamidun, in a long article, made many criticisms of this type of organization. He revealed that some who had been members of such organizations had complained that they did not receive the promised help. Like the editor of *Saudara*, Hamidun was also of the opinion that the organization created disunity among Malays. As he put it:

This organization which exists in various states nowadays has resulted in a big *fitnah* and social boycott of those people who declined to become members. The members of this association would not pay a visit when a non-member died, and they did not participate to bury the dead. If the *kenduri* was held, half of the food would have to be thrown away because the members of the organization did not attend. This is a disaster since it destroys the spirit of brotherhood enjoined by Islam (*Saudara* ix/655(1936): 4).

In addition, Hamidun considered this concept of *khairat mati* as a humiliation for the dead, because it gave the suggestion that the person could not afford his own burial and was willing for his body to be buried with borrowed money, which would have to be returned. There was also the question of who precisely was going to pay back the money. Hamidun reminded Malays:

There is no humiliation greater than that, when one dies, his relatives go here and there looking for the committee of the organization asking for some money to buy *kain kafan* to bury the lying body. Is this an honour? An honour to the society and nation? Sometimes relatives have borrowed money with the promise that it would be paid back by this *syarikat mati*, *khairat mati*, this club and that club. O Allah, please enlighten the hearts of my people so that they will feel the humiliation imposed on them (*Saudara* ix/655(1936): 4).

Continuing his article, he quoted verses from the Quran⁵ to show that *khairat mati* as widely practised then could not be considered as charity (*sadaqah*). Based on this evidence, *khairat mati*, Hamidun argued, was not enjoined by religion, and whoever paid in money should not regard it as an act of charity (*Saudara* ix/656(1936): 3).

⁵ *Those who spend their wealth in the cause of Allah, and follow not up their gifts with reminders of their generosity or with injury, -for them the reward is with their Lord: On them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.*(2: 262)

Kind words and forgiveness are better than charity followed by injury. Allah is Free of all wants, and He is most Forbearing.(2: 263)

O ye who believe! cancel not your charity by reminders of your generosity or by injury...(2: 264)

He then listed various other practices observed by the Malays when death took place, which were actually not compulsory, such as *talqin*, *fidyah sembahyang*, *fidyah puasa*, *fidyah haji*, *upahan sembahyang mayat* and others. Islam, Hamidun argued, only demands a few basic things to be carried out when death took place and this is considered as an obligation on all Muslims to their dead brothers. It did not involve large amounts of money to the extent that an organization such as *khairat mati* needed to be established (Saudara ix/656(1936): 3).

In any case, many such organizations in Malaya were becoming weak because they were not built on strong financial foundations. Some of them were undergoing financial crises and Hamidun revealed the fact that one *khairat mati* society, which could not raise enough funds, had even resorted to unlawful measures such as selling lottery tickets (Saudara ix/656(1936): 3).

Hamidun concluded by suggesting that there was also an element of basic injustice in these *khairat mati*:

Those who die first, will reap the fruit of their contributions, but those who live on will never know when their money will be returned to them. This is almost the same as life insurance or a lottery. Thus, it is not surprising that some organizers are selling lottery tickets to fund their organizations [...] these *syarikat mati* will destroy proper Muslim preparations for death. When they know that somebody is going to manage all the affairs of their funeral, they will spend all their money. Moreover, when a death takes place and the promised money cannot be obtained, people will argue about the fees they have paid (Saudara ix/659/2(1936): 5).

Though in itself a relatively minor issue, the debate about *khairat mati* shows the link in the minds of *Saudara*'s contributors between the need to reform Malay customs, the need to return to Islamic purity and simplicity, and the need to protect the dignity and status of the Malay community.

8.5. Kaum Muda vs Kaum Tua

8.5.1. Who are they?

Literally the word Kaum Muda means “young faction” while Kaum Tua means “old faction.” In Malaya at that time, Kaum Muda was represented by the people with an Islamic reformist tendency, while the opposite group, Kaum Tua was represented by the sultans, aristocrats (*orang-orang besar*) and traditional or conservative *ulama*. Most of the debates regarding the difference between Kaum Muda and Kaum Tua can be found in the early years of *Saudara*'s publication, i.e. 1928 and 1929. Judging by the number of articles on this issue, it could be said that either the conflict between the two groups was particularly intense at this time, or the newspaper was conforming to its Islamic nature more strictly in the beginning as compared to its later editions. As a Muslim reformist newspaper, most of the articles represented the ideas of Kaum Muda. Thus, most of the articles were criticisms of Kaum Tua's practices and beliefs, most probably with the objective of making the readers aware that they had been following a corrupt form of Islamic teaching for a long time.

In 1929 a contributor with the name of Abham gave a definition of Kaum Muda as follows:

People who are regarded as Kaum Muda are not necessarily people who are young in age – not young people who are wearing beautiful clothes – nor the people who are wearing ties, but only those whose direction is progress – they know how to use their intellect – they realize that all the nations in this world have carried out their responsibilities and that the Malays have been left behind in all aspects of life; these are the people known as Kaum Muda. No matter if someone is already 100 years old, if he holds to this belief then he is one of the Kaum Muda. On the other hand, even if a person is young, and knows other languages like English, Arabic, Persian and German, but ignores all the things mentioned above, then he does not belong to Kaum Muda, but is one of the Kaum Kuda (horse), who does not realize that his people have been exploited by foreign people and all the revenues of his land are monopolized by other races. So what things are left to them? Just the name with the Malay title, *Tanah Melayu*, *bumi Melayu* etc. but everything else has been swept away by the Chinese, Indians and other foreign races (*Saudara* i/42(1929): 4).

Abham believed that the people were indifferent to their worsening condition because of the influence of the teachings of *tuan guru*, *tuan sheikh*, *tuk alim* and *pak lebai* in *pondok* and *madrasah*. They taught the people to hate this world by emphasizing that this world is the place for non-Muslims – “*rezeki secupak takkan jadi segantang.*” They promoted fatalism among the people and taught them to be patient, practising *zikir* such as reciting the *Qulhuallah* (Surah al-Ikhlās) with the *tasbih* and giving extensively to charity. Such religious teachers preached that these were the main obligations for Muslims indicated by al-Quran. The writer believed that if the Muslims were taught these ideas for another ten years, eventually all their land and belongings would fall into the hands of other races (Saudara i/42(1929): 4). Abham clearly linked Islamic reform to the self-strengthening of the Malay people.

In the same year, Abdul Wahab al-Falfalaani, provided a thorough explanation in *Saudara* for the terms used for these two groups, and how they became popular. According to him, the term ‘*kaum muda*’ originated from Turkey about fifty years previously (1880s) when a group of intellectuals aimed to carry out reforms in Turkey and at the same time revive the strength of Turkey, which was then under the weak administration of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In 1908, they managed to install Muhammad Rashid as leader, but before the First World War, the old group managed to seize power again and Turkey once again remained in backwardness until the emergence of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He managed to obtain all the land taken from Turkey during the war, and build Turkey to be a strong country. This, the writer viewed as an outstanding achievement, since elsewhere there was no Muslim land that was truly under independent Muslim control. They had either been colonized by other powers outright, or had signed some kind of agreement with them (Saudara i/15(1929): 4).

Abdul Wahab criticized the teachings of Kaum Tua as the main cause of Muslim degradation. Their constant claim was that “this world is only a prison for the Muslims,” and all the honour of this world belonged to non-Muslims. All their teachings were based on this concept. Consequently, according to Abdul Wahab, the Muslims had become slaves to other foreign races. For centuries, the Muslim kings had just sat in idleness, looking at the progress of other people, hoping that the *khalifah* would help them in their difficulties, and waiting for the coming of the *mahdi*. But now, Abdul Wahab insisted, the long-awaited *mahdi* had indeed come and set the Muslims on the right path, the path which had been abandoned by the conservative *ulama*. Accordingly, Muslims in other countries had taken Mustafa Kemal as their example. They had risen up in opposition to the Kaum Tua, who had always wanted to bring the Muslims to destruction and stuck to their *iktikad* – “this world is a prison for the Muslims” (Saudara i/15(1929): 4).

Among the objectives of Kaum Muda, Abdul Wahab wrote, was to place a key emphasis on education, especially secular education. At the same time, they promoted the eradication of *bid'ah* in Muslim society, which they saw as a hindrance to the people's progress. Moreover, they wanted to free society from the tyranny of their sultans and Kaum Tua, and to concentrate on religious aspects, to correct all the wrong understanding of religion which had led to the downfall of Islam (Saudara i/15(1929): 4).

In India, Abdul Wahab wrote, the Kaum Muda movement had been initiated by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who had collected money from the rich in his community and established a higher educational institution called Aligarh College. Unfortunately, he had been accused by the old faction of *ulama* in his country of being misguided, and

they had reported him to the Meccan *ulama* who later proclaimed him a heretic (*murtad*). Sayyid Ahmad Khan had written several *kitab* to correct the understanding of the *ulama* at that time. He had also written *tafsir al-Quran* in Urdu. His writings were used by the Kaum Muda in India and had been translated into English (Saudara i/15(1929): 4).

Regarding Kaum Muda in Malaya, Abdul Wahab continued, the origin of this group had been 20 years previously, when a group of Muslims had published *al-Imam* in Singapore, which had been a translation of the periodical *al-Manar*, and other writings by Shaikh Muhammad Abduh, whose ideas had been greatly influenced by Jamaluddin al-Afghani. At that time, there had been no wide interest in new forms of knowledge and freedom of thought in Malay society. Thus, it had created a shock among the Kaum Tua in Malaya, to the extent that some did not even dare to touch the *al-Imam* journal. From the beginning of 1914, the new influences spread by the ideas of *al-Imam* had been strengthened with the publication of *al-Islam* by Khwaja Kamaluddin, since the contents of this magazine were much the same as those of *al-Imam*. Furthermore, the Muslims were now able to assess the correctness of the teachings of these two magazines, since the publication of *tafsir al-Quran* by Al-Fadhil al-Alim Maulai Muhammad Ali. In other words, they were able to judge for themselves whether these two magazines taught the true teachings of Islam based on Al-Quran or otherwise. Moreover, this *tafsir* helped the Muslims to derive many lessons from the Quran. In subsequent years, the number of Malay journals and newspapers had increased, and many had an Islamic content. Consequently, the people of Malaya could now feel the fruits of freedom of thought, and were enabled to differentiate for themselves between true Islamic teachings and false ones. Abdul Wahab therefore warned Kaum Tua: "Do not jump into the arena without enough weapons. If you are only depending on *kitab*

Jawi, you will lose.” The followers of Kaum Muda, Abdul Wahab stated, had increased significantly because many intellectuals agreed with their teachings (Saudara i/15(1929): 4).

In this article, Abdul Wahab then alluded to a *kitab* entitled the “book of history,” in which it was stated that, at the end of this world, the Muslims were going to be divided into 78 branches (*firkah*). Abdul Wahab asserted that it was Kaum Tua who were dividing the Muslims and it was Kaum Muda who were trying to unite them. Kaum Muda existed in every *mazhab*, and all of them would unite, because they had left the misguided teachings of Kaum Tua and returned to the Quran as their guidance, since it contained all the Islamic teachings. Thus, “all of them who are going to unite, we should name them ahl-Quran. And all the Kaum Tua who are still divided and at enmity with each other, we should name them *ahl-Kitab* because many of them have abandoned the teachings of Quran for so long, and rely solely on their *kitab*. Thus, the rise of Kaum Muda is very significant. If they can eliminate all the *ahl-kitab* (Kaum Tua) in every *mazhab*, they can unite.” (Saudara i/15(1929): 4).

Abdul Wahab was convinced that, once this was achieved, there would not be any more division among Muslims; all the 73 *mazhab* would unite and become the “*mazhab* of the Quran.” According to the writer, positive signs regarding the influence of Kaum Muda could be seen in Turkey, Afghanistan, Syria, Persia, Najd, Iraq, Egypt, Lahore (India), Sumatra, Java and Malaya. All of them were united in their religious stance, upholding al-Quran as their guidance, and were trying to strengthen the spirit of brotherhood among themselves. They tried to learn from each other’s example, to eliminate all corrupt practices, and were willing to take what was good from others, even from the Jews, Zoroastrians and Christians. The writer posed this question:

If other religions can imitate us, why can't we imitate them? If we study from history, the progress of the Muslims in the old days was because they were willing to learn from other nations such as Yunan [Chinese], Persia and Rome. All of them were Zoroastrians (*Majusi*) at that time. What we got from our Prophet was just the Quran, everything else we had to find ourselves, and our Prophet said, "seek knowledge even to China." Nowadays, however, there are no longer so many sources of knowledge in the East. Thus we have to follow the example of our Imam Mahdi al-Ghazi Mustafa Kemal *alaihissalam*, who has just arisen and has sought knowledge from the West (*Saudara* i/15(1929): 4).

In this article, we can observe the excessive praise given to Mustafa Kemal Pasha from Turkey. Abdul Wahab even regarded him as the *mahdi* or saviour of the Islamic world. This is clearly different from the attitude of most Muslim scholars nowadays, who strongly condemn his reform movement. However, what the writer clearly admired was Mustafa Kemal's ability to unite and build Turkey to be an independent country with a strong spirit of nationalism after the disastrous outcome for Turkey of the First World War. Looking at the situation prevailing in those days, when most of the Muslim countries were under the subjugation of other powers, it is not surprising that Mustafa Kemal was seen first and foremost as a champion of the Islamic world. In a period when nationalism ruled the spirit of the people, Mustafa Kemal showed how a modern, progressive, ardent nationalist like himself could build a strong foundation for a country.

8.5.2. *Saudara's* Criticisms of Kaum Tua

Below are elaborations of *Saudara's* criticisms of Kaum Tua covering the issue of *taqlid*, *talqin*, *Rubu' Akhir Safar* and *Friday Khutbah*.

8.5.2.1. *Taqlid*

Taqlid became the central issue in the criticisms of Kaum Muda against the *ulama* of Kaum Tua. In an article entitled “At-Taqlid, Talqin dan Talfazu binniat,” 19.7.30, by an anonymous writer, the meaning of *taqlid* is explained as follows:

- 1) Literally it means; i) putting something on the neck i.e. *marjan* ii) appointing somebody by giving a mandate to him iii) wearing the sword’s strap iv) giving a task, iv) following without thinking.
- 2) Terminologically it means i) accepting other people’s words without asking evidence for it, ii) a belief (*iktikad*) which is considered the truth without the provision of any evidence (Saudara ii/93(1930): 7).

In other words, it means accepting blindly what one does not understand. Thus, one crucial aspect which is missing in the practice of *taqlid* is the inquiry of evidence.

Apart from this and other articles, the debate over and explanation of *taqlid* were provided by a series of articles in 1929 entitled “Masalah Taqlid,” (The Problem of Taqlid) by Abdul Latif Hamidi. In the first part of an article dated 28.9.1929, Abdul Latif brought the readers attention to the verse which is commonly cited by *ulama* Kaum Tua in order to support their stand on *taqlid*. The verse reads as follows: “...*If ye realize this not, ask of those who possess the Message*” (an-Nahl: 43). Abdul Latif argued that this verse has nothing to do with *taqlid*. As was confirmed by the opinion of the majority of *mufassirin*, this verse was directed to non-Muslims during the time of the Prophet, who claimed that Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. was not human. The whole verse is as follows: “*And before thee We sent none but men, to whom We granted inspiration: If ye realize this not, ask of those who possess the Message* (an-Nahl: 43).” But the people who practised *taqlid* took a portion of this verse as evidence to show that *taqlid* was enjoined by Allah. In the second part of the article, the writer argued that, even if the verse carries a general meaning of the need to ask knowledgeable people when one does not know something, the highest sources of knowledge are still the

Quran and Sunnah. So, when one asks a religious person or an *ulama* regarding any Islamic injunction, they always have to inquire whether it comes from the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet s.a.w or otherwise. In other words, they should enquire about the evidence for such an injunction. Once a person has made this kind of inquiry, they cannot be considered to be practising *taqlid buta* (blind imitation) (Saudara ii/52/2(1929): 3).

Abdul Latif saw *Taqlid* as a hindrance to the progress of the Malay community. As he wrote in Part V of the article, dated 26.10.1929:

Keep yourself away, O my Muslim people, from *taqlid*. This *taqlid* will always close your eyes to the beauty of this world and the importance of knowledge. It also ties your feet from going into the field of progress in this world and the hereafter, until you and your race will drown in the valley of ignorance and stupidity (Saudara ii/56(1929): 3).

Thus, what the writer emphasized here was that people should have inquisitive minds, and must always make the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet s.a.w., not *ulama*, the source of the Islamic injunctions that they should follow. In a period when *bid'ah* practices were widely upheld in Malay society, this was considered a necessary corrective to the many innovations to religion promoted by the Malay *ulama* at that time, despite the fact that there was clear evidence that they were not mentioned in the Quran, and were not practised by the Prophet s.a.w. To make matters worse, some of the beliefs (*iktikad*) accompanying these religious practices were nonsensical and stupid. The underlying problem lay in the fact that there were so many Malays who were uneducated and ignorant of religious teaching in general at that time. This condition made them rely totally on *ulama* as an authority on Islamic teachings. As a result, many corrupted *ulama* took this opportunity to strengthen their influence and gain benefit from the ignorance of such people. By promoting an inquisitive spirit in the people, the writer was trying to inculcate a wider interest in genuine religious learning, and at the same time encourage them to develop a critical way of thinking.

8.5.2.2. *Bid'ah*: Examples of *Bid'ah* Practices Criticized by *Saudara*

8.5.2.2.1. *Talqin*

*Talqin*⁶ is the recitation made by a religious figure over the grave of a dead person during a funeral service. According to Islamic teachings, once a person died, he would face questioning by angels called *Munkar* and *Nakir* regarding his faith. *Talqin* is considered as a form of instruction to the dead as to how to answer such questions by the angels at the grave. Many writers in *Saudara* argued that this practice is just a *bid'ah* (innovation) in Islam, and, furthermore, pointed out it was not practised by the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. An article entitled "Masalah Talqin," (The Problem of Talqin) 14.6.1930, refuted the belief of certain people that *talqin* could deter the angels who were going to question the dead person. The writer also addressed another disputed issue concerning *talqin*, which was whether or not the dead could hear the voice of living people. The writer dismissed this whole debate, and pointed out that divine judgement depended solely on the conduct and faith of the person who had died (Saudara ii/88(1930): 7).

In another article of 1930 entitled "علماء القبور يدافعون عن التلقين" (Ulama of the Grave Support Talqin) the writer brought up the issue of the Arabic language and the question of its use in the reading of *talqin* in Malay society. The *talqin* are recited in Arabic; but, he argued, there was no reason to believe that, if a person who did not understand Arabic had died, they would automatically gain the gift of understanding

⁶ Below is a translation of an example of one of the readings in *talqin*:

"O servant of God, and child of a female servant of God."

"O son of such an one, remember the faith you professed on earth to the very last; this is your witness that there is no deity but God, and that Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection from the dead are real; that there will be a Day of Judgment; and say: 'I confess that God is my Lord, Islam my religion, Muhammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) my Prophet, the Qur'an my guide, the Ka'bah my Qiblah, and that Muslims are my brethren.' O God, keep him (the deceased) firm in his faith, and widen his grave, and

Arabic. So, instructing a dead person who does not understand Arabic through *talqin* would be useless. Thus, concluded the writer, it would be more advisable for people to channel their energies in a more beneficial way, i.e. to teach non-Muslims about Islam, rather than teaching dead people (Saudara iii/115(1930): 1).

Another anonymous writer in an article of 1930, which refuted the accusation by certain *ulama* who said that Kaum Muda were misguided people and that they were trying to misguide others, pointed out the fact that *talqin* was not practised by the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. The writer argued that if *talqin* was permissible, surely Prophet Muhammad s.a.w would have practised it. Thus, according to the writer, if Kaum Muda were considered misguided on this question, then the Prophet s.a.w was also misguided, since Kaum Muda were basing their views on the teachings of Prophet s.a.w, as had been narrated by Ibn Mas'ud. Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. said:

O Ibn Mas'ud, I am dying. If after my death you saw many divisions in religion, at that time hold true to my *sunnah* and the *sunnah* of the *khalifah* after me (narrated by Ibn Mas'ud) (Saudara ii/91/2(1930): 8).

8.5.2.2 *Rubu' Akhir Safar*

The term '*Rubu' Akhir Safar*' mentioned in *Saudara* referred to the last Wednesday in the month of Safar, the second month in the Islamic/*Hijri* calendar, and beliefs associated with this day. Malays believed that this day was a day of bad luck, a day when all diseases and disasters (*musibah*) would be inflicted on people. There were two kinds of reaction to this belief: one group would stay at home and try their best to avoid going out, afraid that they might be confronted with dangers (*bahaya*); and another group would go to rivers, the sea or orchards to wash away the bad luck. The main

make his examination (by Munkir and Nakir) easy, and exalt him and have mercy on him, O Thou most Merciful!" (Hughes 1935: 627)

defense against this bad luck, it was noted in *Saudara*, was a piece of paper or leaf, inscribed by religious men with some Quranic verse or hadith, and then soaked in the water at home for those who were afraid to go out, or in the river or sea for those joining the festival of 'mandi (bath) Safar.' This was based on the notion that all the calamities would come from water, since it was the source of various kinds of diseases.

Writers in *Saudara* condemned this practice strongly and regarded it as nonsense (*karut*). In an editorial entitled "Rubu' Akhir Safar," (The Last Wednesday in the Month of Safar) of 6.6.1934, the editor, Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin questioned the origins and the rationality of this superstition:

Who knows the origin of this belief? And it cannot be justified with *aqal* either, because foreign races who live in the same country as us and under the same sky never concern themselves about this "Rubu' Akhir Safar." They just face it like any other day (*Saudara* vi/414(1934): 6).

Shaikh Tahir pursued this point, that if calamities (*bala*) really happened during this day, and in order to prevent it people had to perform *mandi safar*, then there would be a lot of calamities for the foreign races because they carried on with their usual activities, unlike the Muslims, who left their work in order to perform 'mandi safar' and thus drive away such calamities. So, the editor asked: "Is the *bala* for this day specifically for Muslims alone? (*Saudara* vi/414(1934): 6)

The most famous festival of 'mandi safar' was celebrated in Malacca, especially at Tanjung Besar. People from both sexes and all walks of life, and from regions beyond Malacca, would go to the beach accompanied by the sound of traditional musical instruments, and they would dance around a hut built specifically for the occasion. Women would dance, sing, and recite *pantun*, and had the opportunity to dress up and mix with men. It was, in fact, seen as a time when men could look for a future wife.

Not surprisingly, this Malaccan festival of '*mandi safar*' was subjected to fierce criticism in *Saudara*, particularly in two anonymous articles in July 1930 (*Saudara* ii/93/2(1930): 8) and (*Saudara* ii/94(1930): 6). For this writer, the festival revealed the backwardness of Malay society at that time. The Malay community wasted a considerable amount of money preparing for this festival which could have been used for better purposes, while local religious leaders exploited the ignorance of that community by selling scraps of paper inscribed with "meaningless characters and false hadith" (*Saudara* ii/94(1930): 6). If people really wanted to avoid the threat of disease, he argued, they would be far better occupied cleaning their houses and drains, and sweeping their gardens. He concluded:

Are we still willing to waste our money in this month of Safar just to follow the fatwa of *datuk alim* who are teaching us without asking us to think? Follow, if you want to go backwards: reject, if you desire progress. Believe me, learning from *tuk guru* who say that *taqlid* is obligatory (*wajib*) will never lead us to fulfilment as promoted by Islam (*Saudara* ii/94(1930): 6).

At that time, there was a high degree of "ethnic consciousness" among the Malay elites. They were most anxious that the Malay community should not be considered inferior to foreign races, and tried to discard any practice which could be seen as backward, so that foreigners would not look down upon them. It was at the same time typical of the writings in *Saudara*, that the writers were also anxious to defend Islam from being indicted as the key reason for the backwardness of the Malays. In line with this attitude, an article entitled "Mandi Safar," 9.8.1930, published an extract from the *Malacca Guardian*, in which a non-Muslim writer had asserted that *mandi safar* was part of Islamic practice. The anonymous writer countered:

So let us ask, from where have they got the knowledge that *mandi safar* is an Islamic belief? First and foremost, we must realize that the non-Muslims have a very low opinion of us, undoubtedly because of our own ignorance and carelessness (*Saudara* ii/96(1930): 4).

Like the above writer, the editor, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi through his editorial entitled “Turun Bala di Akhir Rubu’ Bulan Safar,” (The Imposition of Bala on the Last Wednesday in the Month of Safar) 17.6.1933, directed his criticism at those *ulama* who encouraged this sort of practice. He wrote:

What really confuses us is those people who advance themselves as advocates of religion, but who believe that this one day is full of calamities. Thus, their belief is just the same as the belief of ordinary people and most women in Malay society. And it is accompanied by the belief that mango and banana leaves written on with verses by *pak lebai*, and sold cheaply, will really prevent calamities from falling on those people who use them (Saudara v/315(1933): 6).

Religious leaders, in other words, used their spiritual authority to reinforce ignorant customs practised by ordinary Malays. Not only religious leaders, argued *Saudara*, but also top administrators help to reinforce superstitious Malay practices. An editorial of 24.6.1933 directed its criticism at the Straits government, which had created a school holiday for the festival of Mandi Safar. The editor, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, asked the following questions:

Is there any significant event in Malay history in this last Wednesday of Safar month that should be remembered by children in order to promote their nationalistic spirit etc.? Or is there any important event in Islam on this date that Muslims should honour and remember in order to strengthen their religious belief? (Saudara v/317(1933): 6)

He continued:

We are living in a modern era; we should therefore train our children to have a modern way of thinking and belief. If the educational authorities just go along with these old beliefs (*iktikad*) and celebrations, which are clearly against religion and a modern way of thinking, in whom should we put our trust? (Saudara v/317(1933): 6).

It seemed as if the government itself was putting obstacles in the way of the project of modernizing Malay society and enabling it to meet the challenge of the modern world.

8.5.2.3 Friday *Khutbah*

Friday *khutbah* is the sermon given by the *imam* or *khatib* before performing the Friday prayer. In Islam, it is obligatory upon every male to perform Friday prayer every week. The *khutbah* which accompanies the prayer is considered very important to the audience as a weekly reminder and a means to address current issues and problems. In *Saudara*, most of the articles discussing the Friday *khutbah* were provided by a writer under the pseudonym 'Arab Sumatra,' who was a regular contributor on religious issues for *Saudara*. His series of articles, under the general title of "Kefardhuan *Khutbah* bagi Umat Islam," discussed the question of Friday *khutbah* in the Malay world, the so-called *Umat Jawi*.

From the articles, it seems clear that the common practice at that time was that the *khatib* copied the *khutbah* from Arabic sources and delivered them to the people in Arabic (*Saudara* i/29(1929): 3). The writer regarded this as nonsensical, since very few people could understand Arabic. Moreover, the *khutbah* in Arab countries would deal with their own country's problems; certainly, the problems and remedies to them would be different. Furthermore, some of the *khutbah* taken from Arabic sources were written hundreds of years ago; hence, they were no longer suitable. 'Arab Sumatra' argued that the position of *khutbah* in Islam was very important, to the extent that Allah had said that if anybody missed a single word in the *khutbah*, he would lose the reward of the Friday prayer. The implication here was that the people should really concentrate and listen to the *khutbah*, but, since most people could not understand its contents, they could not be blamed totally if they did not pay attention to it (*Saudara* i/30/2(1929): 3). In relation to this, in another article entitled "Muslihat Sembahyang Jumaat bagi

Pergunaan Ahli-ahli Perniagaan yang Beriman,” (The Advantages of Friday Prayer for Faithful Traders), 30.1.1932, ‘Arab Sumatra’ wrote:

If the *khatib* who read the Arabic *khutbah* every Friday does not even understand what he is reading, how much less the people who listen to him? Most of them feel sleepy while waiting for the *khutbah* to finish. Definitely, none of the *ma'mum* could benefit from the *khutbah* (Saudara iv/176/2(1932): 6).

Then, he condemned the *ulama* in the following words:

In our region, the Friday *khutbah*, which is so important for giving reminders to the people every seven days, has become an opportunity for the *khatib-khatib* to get a salary every month, priority in the *khenduri arwah*, or reciting *talqin* at graves. As for the people whom they are supposed to remind, all they get is sleepiness (Saudara iv/176/2(1932): 6).

The failure of Friday *khutbah* to be a reminder for Muslims, Arab Sumatra argued, had led to the degradation of the Malay society. Adultery, gambling, cock fighting, bull fighting and alcohol consumption had become common in Malay society. Many aristocrats had become addicted to gambling and neglected the religious affairs of the states. Although Arab Sumatra doubted whether there were many *ulama* who could write *khutbah* by themselves either in Arabic or Malay, he urged those *ulama* who could, to write a *khutbah* which would touch the heart of the people, develop them and make them aware of the danger caused by foreigners who were slowly taking away Malay rights (Saudara iv/176/2(1932): 6). Once again, we can see a link in *Saudara* is made between religious ignorance and racial weakness.

8.5.2.4. *Lebai Pondok*

One group from among the Kaum Tua who were subjected to very strong criticism by the writers in *Saudara* were the *lebai pondok*, the name that *Saudara* gave to the students of *pondok* schools. These criticisms were mostly presented in a series of articles entitled “Contoh Fikiran Lebai Pondok” (Examples of the Thinking of the Lebai Pondok) by an anonymous writer in the course of 1929. Criticisms mainly revolved

around the issue of the *lebai pondoks'* dependence on charity (*sadaqah*) for a livelihood, and some *khurafat* which they were practising.

In one of these articles, the anonymous writer discussed some of the *khurafat* practices carried out by the *lebai pondok* in relation to burial rituals. One of them was selling a kind of charm called the "*azimat bekal mati*." This charm was placed in coffins, in the belief that it would save a dead person from torture in the grave. Some of them depended on *fidyah puasa* and *fidyah sembahyang*, while others were paid to read *Surah al-Ikhlās*⁷ to be sent to the dead, as an assistance (*shafaat*) to him or her (*Saudara* i/30(1929): 1).

In this article, the writer also clarified who was genuinely entitled to receive charity (*sadaqah*). Those who are prohibited from receiving charity are rich people: 'rich' being defined as people who have food for morning and evening meals. The writer argued that even though the students in *pondok* schools did not have morning and evening food provided for them, charity was prohibited for them, since they had the physical capability to work (*Saudara* i/30(1929): 1).

Revealing once again *Saudara's* consciousness of the relationship between Islamic reform and racial self-strengthening, the writer warned:

Think, all of you readers! The Chinese and Indians who migrated to this country, they do not have relatives and do not possess any land, but none of them goes without food, except for monks and *waisu* in the temples. What is more you, *pondok* students, who seek knowledge and obey Allah, definitely you are the ones among Muslims who should give *zakat*, not becoming the receivers of *sadaqah* or *zakat fitrah* (*Saudara* i/30(1929): 1).

Regarding charity (*sadaqah*) being taken by the *lebai pondok*, the writer added:

⁷ Surah al-Ikhlās (Purity of Faith) - Chapter 112 of the Quran. The translation of that *surah* is as follows: 1. Say: He is Allah, The One; 2. Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; 3. He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; 4. And there is none like unto Him. This *surah*, short as it is, is considered as one third of the Quran.

Earning a living through charity is not the best way, and it does not come from Islam. However, it seems that this is the way most favoured by *lebai pondok*, to the extent that they are willing to leave their villages and occupations to go to a *pondok*, apparently to seek knowledge of Allah; but, in fact, the intention is the opposite (Saudara i/30(1929): 1).

These *pondok* students, according to the writer, were the ones who would always depend on charity when they returned to their *kampung*, as a reward for teaching religion. The writer strongly asserted the position that nobody should teach Islam with the intention of getting any kind of worldly reward. He gave the example of the Prophet s.a.w. who never accepted anything in return for teaching Islam. In addition, the writer strongly condemned the practice of selling Quranic verses, especially *Surah al-Ikhlās*, with the guarantee that the reward would go to the dead. He stressed that Quranic verses were not for sale (Saudara i/30(1929): 1).

In another article, the writer refuted the opinion of some people who said that *lebai pondok* were qualified to receive charity (*sadaqah*) because they were destitute (*fuqara'*). On the contrary, the writer believed that *lebai pondok* could not be considered as *fuqara'*, even though they were seeking knowledge. According to the writer, those who should be considered *fuqara'* were Muslims who obeyed Allah, but were physically disabled or businessmen who have suffered bankruptcy to the extent that there was no other way for them to earn a living. Emphasizing his concern about this issue, the writer concluded:

What is happening to our *lebai pondok*? They are still young, have fresh minds and are physically healthy, possess land and have inherited some wealth from their parents. They could establish big farms and become rich. *They are potential leaders who could lead people towards progress*. Thus, they are the ones who are qualified to give charity (*sadaqah*), not to receive it or *zakat fitrah* (Saudara i/36(1929): 1). (Emphasis added)

8.5.3. Islamic Reformism and Martin Luther: A Comparison

In an article entitled “Bagaimana Martin Luther Memecahkan Kekuasaan Ulama-ulama Kristian,” (How Martin Luther Broke the Power of the Christian Priests) 30.8.1930, a contributor to *Saudara*, Muhammad Yusuf S.M., discussed the reforms carried out by Martin Luther in Germany and his conflict with other religious leaders during his lifetime, and compared Luther’s role with that of the Islamic reformers. Muhammad Yusuf elaborated on the situation during Luther’s time, when ordinary people did not have direct access to the Bible, but had to depend on the teachings of their religious leaders and were not allowed to question anything which was being taught to them. Even for Luther himself, the chance to read the whole Bible only came after he became a priest in 1505. A common practice among the Catholic priests at that time, which Luther strongly opposed was the selling of “Indulgences.” They propagated the idea that if anybody bought such a document, all his or her sins would be forgiven by God. In 1517, the Pope’s representative from Rome came to Germany to sell these Indulgences. These letters were in fact being sold around Europe, and the kings in European countries usually assisted in selling them, regarding the action as a noble act with a high reward. Clearly opposed to this practice and the belief behind it, Luther publicly denounced such practices, urging ordinary people not to be lured into buying these letters, and reminding them that it is God alone who has the power to forgive people’s sins. He also wrote a letter to the local ruler, asking him not to buy such letters, and publicized 95 reasons to show why anybody who bought such letters was misguided, and had fallen prey to those priests who sold them. His statement was pinned onto church walls (*Saudara* ii/99(1930): 1).

Through his study of the history of Christianity, Luther had discovered that priests in former centuries had made irrelevant additions to the teachings of Christianity; for example, belief in magical powers (*keramat*) and priests being intermediaries between God and man. He wrote pamphlets regarding religion, and letters to prominent priests all over Germany, asking them to discard all these innovations created by previous religious leaders (Saudara ii/99(1930): 1).

In 1520, Luther wrote a letter to the civil authorities in Germany urging them to denounce the power of Rome. He questioned the way that the states sent large sums annually to Rome. He asked:

Is it appropriate that such an amount of money be taken from the poor and sent out of the country for the advantage of the Pope and religious institutions in Italy? If we cut our ties with Rome, are we not the ones who'll gain profit? - We'll be free from irrelevant religious innovations, and save a lot of money too (Saudara ii/99(1930): 1).

According to the article by Muhammad Yusuf, people's support for Luther was overwhelming. They began to demand the government not to let the church interfere in the running of the state. Luther's radical ideas undoubtedly received much opposition from the religious leaders. At the Pope's request, the German princes called Luther to attend a gathering with Catholic leaders. After a heated debate and threats of the death penalty from these leaders, miraculously Luther's life was spared. He then wrote several books about his new religious sect and translated the Bible from Latin into German. Before that, nobody had dared to translate the Bible, since it was considered a grave sin to do so (Saudara ii/99(1930): 1).

Muhammad Yusuf followed this historical summary by drawing the following interesting comparison:

Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab, who was born in Arabia 200 years ago can be considered as Martin Luther for the people of Arabia, Shaikh Muhammad Abduh for the people of Egypt, and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan for the people of India.

“So,” he concluded, “who is going to be Martin Luther for the Muslim people in Malaya? (*Saudara* ii/99(1930): 1)

In this unusual article, Muhammad Yusuf emphasized a number of aspects in his discussion of the life and religious reformation carried out by Luther. At the centre of his article was the issue of the relationship between Luther and the religious leaders during his time. Luther represented the new thoughts in the reformation of Christianity, as opposed to the existing religious leaders who were against any tendency towards religious reformation. In the article, it was clear that Muhammad Yusuf was trying to show to the readers that the situation during Luther’s time was no different from that in Malaya at that time. The Islamic reformist group, popularly known as Kaum Muda, were facing opposition from conservative *ulama* and the religious establishment, labelled as Kaum Tua, in their attempts to carry out reform. In fact in *Saudara*, most of the articles regarding the Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua conflict can be found around the same time this article was published. Thus, this article was written in light of the heightened conflict in Malaya at the time. In the article, the religious leaders during Luther’s time were portrayed as greedy and selfish, and always taking advantage of the ordinary people. This is in fact how many articles in *Saudara* portrayed the conservative *ulama* in Malaya. Of equal importance was also Muhammad Yusuf’s discussion of Luther’s efforts to eradicate all the innovations which had been added to the original Christian message. This was another similarity with the situation in Malaya, where in *Saudara* various writers urged the people to eradicate all innovations in religion, usually referred to as *bid’ah*. Most importantly, Muhammad Yusuf emphasized Luther’s effort in eradicating the concept of intermediaries between God and man, and his objection to total dependence on the teachings of religious leaders. People were encouraged to read

the Bible themselves, and to achieve this aim he translated the Bible into German. Similarly, the people who belonged to the Islamic reformist group in Malaya strongly opposed the conservative *ulama* who taught the concept of *taqlid* (blind imitation) to the common people. They also encouraged the people directly to study the Quran, since it is the ultimate source of Islamic teachings, and welcomed the writing of *tafsir Quran* in Malay for that purpose.

Thus, Muhammad Yusuf saw the Islamic reform movement in Malaya and all over the world as similar to Martin Luther's reform of Christianity. Indeed, this is very true, since so many aspects raised by Luther had a striking similarity with the Islamic reform movement in various countries. It is interesting to note also that in both cases, the reform movement resulted in the flourishing of the concept of secularism. In the case of Lutheranism, a challenge to the power of the church eventually became a challenge to religious power in general over the state. In the case of the Islamic reform movement, the urge that Muslims should accept so many Western influences resulted in an imbalance between the religious and worldly concerns. Faced between the two choices, worldly matters tended to have a greater appeal. However, focusing solely on the Islamic reform movement in Malaya, a difference could be seen when compared to Martin Luther's reformation. Despite its ultimate effect, Luther's reformation was purely religious in intention, meaning that he was not aiming to change the society at large. What he was interested in was mainly change in the way religion was practised. On the other hand, analysis of the articles in *Saudara* leads to the conclusion that perhaps the main aim of religious reformers in Malaya was not solely to reform the practice of religion itself, but to reform the society into a modern and progressive one; and a new outlook on Islam was only one of the means to achieve that aim.

8.6. Muhammadan Law for the Federated Malay States (Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu)

In April 1938, a discussion of Muhammadan Law appeared in *Saudara*. This law was proposed for the Federated Malay States, namely, Selangor, Perak, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan and was actually an amendment to "The Muhammadan Laws Enactment, 1904" (see Appendix X) with some new offences defined and some changes to the punishment of certain offences. The bill, which was drafted after a conference of high Islamic officials in the Federated Malay States, caused a heated debate in the newspapers in Malaya, whether English or Malay. Most of them were opposed to the implementation of this law, for various reasons. Despite the opposition, the bill was passed simultaneously in the states of Pahang, Negeri Sembilan, Selangor and Perak.⁸ By way of example, the Muhammadan Law as enacted in the state of Selangor can be seen in Appendix XI for reference.

It is important to note that most of the explanations of the law came from editorials of another newspaper by the name of *Warta Malaya*, which were then reprinted into *Saudara*.⁹ Apart from explaining the law, the editor of *Warta Malaya* also gave his own opinions regarding the new law, including some strong criticisms. Apart from him, another significant contributor to the issue of this so-called Muhammadan Law or Islamic Law for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States was the editor of *Saudara* himself, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid.

⁸ See "State of Pahang Enactment No. 6 of 1937," "State of Negri Sembilan Order in Council No. 1 of 1938," and "State of Perak Enactment No. 5 of 1939."

⁹ The 7 editorials of *Warta Malaya* were reprinted into *Saudara* dated 6.4.1938, 9.4.1938, 13.4.1938, 16.4.1938, 20.4.1938, 23.4.1938 and 27.4.1938.

Looking at general newspaper comment at the time, it can be seen that many newspapers in Malaya then, whether run by Muslims or non-Muslims,¹⁰ disagreed with the implementation of the law. In the second part of a series of articles discussing the law, the editor of *Warta Malaya*, Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff, also expressed his objections to the provisions of the law. He believed that the proposed Muhammadan Law looked like a mockery of Islam, and was going to be introduced by force without considering the opinion of the public. He was opposed to the law being called an Islamic law because it was different from the law revealed by Allah to Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. He was convinced that the introduction of this law would not upgrade Islamic practices among the people in the Federated Malay States. On the other hand, he said he would be totally in favour of true Islamic law being implemented in Malaya (*Warta Malaya* ix/73(1938): 9).

Sayyid Hussein boldly called for Muslims not to support the implementation of this law, although it would mean that they would have to disobey the sultan. He argued that the nature of the law was rather confusing: to say that it was an Islamic law would be impossible; but at the same time, there *were* many Islamic elements in it (*Warta Malaya* ix/73(1938): 9).

He believed that the ordinary public in the Federated Malay States disagreed with the implementation of the law. The only people who really wanted the law to be carried out were people who were greedy for power. The writer contemplated:

¹⁰ For example, in the editorial of *The Straits Times*, Singapore entitled "Go to Mosque or Go to Prison", 23.3.1938, the editor expressed his astonishment regarding the punishment of certain offences in the proposed bill, especially in relation to adultery, where he considered the punishment to be "medieval" in nature. The fact that adultery was considered as a criminal offence, the editor argued, was clearly a restriction of personal liberty in the age of European liberalism. Lastly, he emphasized that "the British and administration in the Protectorates, together with the State Councils and the civil courts, cannot be asked to enforce religious practices and morality upon the Malays unless it is certain that such compulsion is accepted as right and natural by the Malays themselves" (p. 10).

To rule a country is impossible for them. To become a chief of justice in a court, they are not qualified. To demonstrate that they have the power to grant land to the people or even to show that they are powerful, they have no chance; thus, they implement the Muhammadan Law. Even though no Malay has stood up and objected to this law, this is not evidence to say that the Malays are willing to accept the law. It is the attitude of the Malays to be quiet, but actually they do have sound minds (Warta Malaya ix/73(1938): 9).

On the question of Friday Prayer (Appendix XI , regulation 3), Sayyid Hussein saw this as a burden on the people. He posed the question:

If the intention is to strengthen Islamic practices among the people, then, why does it only concern Friday prayer? The obligatory prayers for every Muslim are 5 times a day, 34 times per week including 1 Friday prayer. Thus, why does the authority only emphasize this one time consisting of two *raka'at*? (Warta Malaya ix/74(1938): 9).

He further argued that, though prayer is considered a pillar of religion, religion would not be strong if people concentrated on Friday Prayer only, especially if this time of prayer was only performed to avoid being fined by the *penghulu*. The editor also believed that some *penghulu* would misuse the power given to them to take revenge against those that they disliked; whereas the people they favoured would be free from any action if they broke this law (Warta Malaya ix/74(1938): 9).

Sayyid Hussein also objected to the idea that people had to stay to listen to the talk given by the *imam* or *ulama* (also Appendix XI, regulation 3). This regulation, the writer argued, was contrary to the Quranic verse which stated that, after performing prayer, Muslims should go out to work to earn their living. Some of the *makmum* were even more knowledgeable than the *imam* or the *ulama* who presented the talk. Moreover, some of the matters being raised were rather mundane, but still, people would have to listen to avoid the five *ringgit* fine (Warta Malaya ix/74(1938): 9).

Regarding people who eloped (Appendix XI, regulation 7), he argued that, in this modern age, there would be many couples who would like to choose their own partners

without the consent of their *wali*. The writer considered it to be unjust to deny this right, and urged the authorities to open the way for such couples to marry legitimately (Warta Malaya ix/75(1938): 9).

Interestingly, Sayyid Hussein observed that couples who wanted to marry partners based on their own choice were the educated ones, especially English educated youths. They were usually lacking in religious education. The editor expressed his worry that once brought to the court, they would deny that they were Muslims just to get away from the law which was applicable only to Muslims. Faced with so many restrictions, it was not even impossible, according to Sayyid Hussein, that these couples would turn to the church, and let themselves be baptized and married in the Christian way. The editor was convinced that if this law were to be implemented, this phenomenon would occur (Warta Malaya ix/75(1938): 9). Indeed, he repeatedly expressed his worries regarding the greater influence of Christian missionaries which would result from the introduction of the Muhammadan law. He was afraid that some ignorant people would be willing to proclaim themselves as Christians just in order to be free from the law. How successful Christian missionary activity was in Malaya at that time is difficult to determine, but Sayyid Hussein was convinced that this law would make its task easier.

As to the question of adultery (Appendix XI, regulation 9), he argued that the proposed law was totally against true Islamic law. What was considered adultery (*zina*) by this law was only committing adultery with married women, while in Islam, this was not the whole meaning. In Islam, the punishment for adultery for married people was stoning to death, and for unmarried people, 100 lashes. Furthermore, in Islam, in order for a person to be convicted of adultery, four witnesses had to be produced (Warta Malaya ix/76(1938): 11).

On the issue of teaching Islam and printing and publishing religious books (Appendix XI, regulations 12 and 14), Sayyid Hussein believed that this law would not benefit the public, but only grant unnecessary power to the people who had been given the status of religious leaders. With this new power, they would easily be able to accuse any *alim* or *kitab* of deviating from the *mazhab* of *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*. The editor compared the situation in the Federated Malay States with that in the Straits Settlements, pointing out that, although there was no such law in the Straits Settlements, people had not turned away from *mazhab* of *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* and in fact, it was stronger there than in the Federated Malay States (Warta Malaya ix/77(1938): 9).

Sayyid Hussein expressed his disappointment in the following words:

What a narrow scope Islam in the Federated Malay States has. People cannot teach Islam without a 'letter of approval' (*surat tauliah*) except in their own home, whereas Christians are free to print Christian books and open Christian schools which teach Christian teachings. They are free to distribute Christian books in any language and free to give speeches, not only in church but also on the street and in the villages, even under the house of *Tuan Qadhi*. And some of them [Christian books] deny the authenticity of Prophet Muhammad's teachings [...] (Warta Malaya ix/77(1938): 9).

He then attacked the religious authorities with these words:

Selling a *kitab* which is not endorsed by the Muhammadan Law officials is prohibited, but selling beer is not. Thus, all the Muslims with sound minds feel astonished that this law should be considered an Islamic law (Warta Malaya ix/77(1938): 9).

This is not a new issue since the Muhammadan Law of 1904 (see Appendix X) also mentioned the need for a 'teaching certificate' (letter of approval/*surat tauliah*) for anybody to teach Islam. Only that, for the present bill, not only teaching is denied for those who did not have a teaching certificate but publishing any religious books also needed permission from the religious authority. In fact earlier in *Saudara* in 1930, the editor then, Abdul Rahim Kajai made some comments about the 1904 regulation. In his editorial discussing important events in various Islamic countries, Abdul Rahim took

the opportunity to discuss Islamic understanding in Malaya. He claimed that the understanding of Islam among ordinary people was limited, because people who wished to propagate the true teachings of Islam faced many obstacles from what the reformists called 'masters' (*macan*) of *taqlid*, who were always scrutinizing their actions. If they saw that a person's teaching was not in line with what they believed in, then that person would be prevented from teaching, simply by being refused a 'teaching certificate.' This 'teaching certificate' was a way of controlling the teaching of Islam in Malaya exercised by the religious establishment, headed by the Sultan, aristocrats and the conservative *ulama* or the so-called Kaum Tua. Abdul Rahim, however, did not advocate *ulama* pretending to agree with *taqlid* just for the sake of getting the 'teaching certificate'. He said that doing this would indicate fear of the religious people in power, and this would only make them bolder in their actions. Abdul Rahim suggested:

Thus, we call upon those who have the courage to preach Allah's teachings to say that *talqin* is *bid'ah*, so that we can then determine whether the 'teaching certificate' can only be obtained by saying that *talqin* is recommended (*sunat*) by Islam. The question is, is the 'teaching certificate' for those teachers who believe in *talfazu binniat* and *talqin* only? (Saudara iii/107/1(1930): 5).

"If that is true," he concluded:

there is no point in us pretending that we agree with *taqlid* and lying by saying that *talqin* is recommended, just for the sake of keeping the 'teaching certificate'. It is better for us to ignore the 'teaching certificate' but not to cease to demand the freedom to teach the Quran, like the freedom that has been given to those priests who preach Christianity in this Peninsular Malaya, even in states which have placed restrictions on the teaching of Islam through the 'teaching certificate' (Saudara iii/107/1(1930): 5).

Certainly both Sayyid Hussein and Abdul Rahim's opposition to this regulation is understandable since as people belonging to Kaum Muda they knew that Kaum Muda *ulama* were the ones who would be deprived most of teaching religion freely since they constantly and often openly criticized the conservative *ulama* and religious authorities in Malaya at the time.

The editor of *Saudara* discussed this law in several editorial articles of the newspaper with the title “Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu.” In the editorial of 13.4.1938, the editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, criticized the article which dealt with Friday Prayer (Appendix XI, regulation 3). He disagreed with the government for paying too much attention to this issue, while other pillars of Islam were not mentioned. As he wrote:

Only the laws regarding Friday prayer and fasting are mentioned. The obligation on religious tax (*zakat fitrah*) and pilgrimage (*hajj*) have not been mentioned, despite the fact that these are also obligatory upon all Muslims who fulfil the necessary requirements. Is it because they know that the people who have to pay religious tax and perform pilgrimage are from among the rich and aristocrats (*orang besar*)? (*Saudara* x/791/3(1938): 5).

Muhammad Yunus also saw no benefit in *forcing* the people to do *ibadah*, pointing out that it was a grave sin if *ibadah* was done out of fear of human beings, and thus, not sincerely because of Allah. In this respect, Muhammad Yunus was referring to the condition in regulation 3 regarding Friday Prayer, where people could avoid being fined if they obtained permission from the mosque officials to be absent from the prayer and/or the talk. This demonstrated that, with the consent of only one official, people could free themselves from an obligation enjoined by Allah (*Saudara* x/791/3(1938): 5). In short, Muhammad Yunus was making the point that religious observance had to be a matter of conscience, not law.

Muhammad Yunus continued his discussion of this law in his editorial of 16.4.1938, in which he commented on Quranic education for Muslim children in Malaya (see Appendix XI, regulation 4-6). He alluded to the practice in Malaya at that time, an issue that had worried *Saudara* for a long time, where children were taught to read the Quran without understanding a single word that they read. He wrote:

Let us look into ourselves. How much can any of us derive benefit from and understand the teachings from the Quran, which we consider as the main source of our religion? (*Saudara* x/792/2(1938): 7)

He further argued that many people who did not practise Islamic teachings had learnt or knew how to recite the Quran; this clearly suggested that they did not understand anything that they read. Thus, the present form of Quranic teaching could be considered as a mockery to Allah's injunctions. They read the Quran but they did not practise it; why? Because the Quranic teaching at the time was completely deficient; it only encouraged children to read and recite the Quran, without gaining any understanding of its contents (Saudara x/792/2(1938): 7).

In another editorial dated 27.4.1938, Muhammad Yunus expressed his agreement with the opinion of the editor of *Warta Malaya* that the law was not in accordance with the true Islamic law as enjoined by Allah and the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w., because it was against clear injunctions mentioned in the Quran and Hadith of the Prophet s.a.w. The editor gave as an example of punishment for adultery. According to the law stated in the Quran, married people who committed adultery had to be stoned to death. He gave the example of a woman during the period of Prophet s.a.w. who admitted that she had committed adultery which had resulted in the birth of an illegitimate child. This woman voluntarily came to the Prophet s.a.w., confessed her act and asked the Prophet s.a.w. to carry out the punishment for adultery according to Islamic law (Saudara x/795/2(1938): 7).

Muhammad Yunus argued that the woman was willing to confess her misdeed and underwent the punishment wholeheartedly, because she truly understood the Islamic teachings and was aware that she would face punishment on the day of judgement, if she were to escape worldly punishment. Thus, she surrendered herself with the hope that she could clear herself of all her sin. On the other hand, Muslims of today, the editor argued, were not afraid of punishment for this crime, and the editor was

convinced that the reason was because many Islamic teachings were still not truly understood by the Muslims of Malaya. He was convinced that adultery would not be prevented, even if the punishment were carried out, because the people were still ignorant of the true basis of the law. Such people would still commit the crime repeatedly, even after being caught and punished, and even to the extent of being infected by dangerous sexual diseases. The most important thing, Muhammad Yunus reasoned, was to give people sufficient Islamic knowledge so that they would know the punishments in the teachings of the Quran and *Sunnah* of Prophet s.a.w., of which the truth could not be disputed. Thus, the only way to convince them was through Islamic teachings conveyed by genuine *ulama* based on the teachings of Quran, Hadith and Islamic history, but not by people who claimed to be religious teachers, or by religious leaders who only knew how to teach the *kitab-kitab perukunan*, *bersuci*, prayers for *kenduri*, etiquette in front of teachers, or the Islamic injunctions on charity (*sadaqah*), etc. (Saudara x/795/2(1938): 7).

The editor was convinced that if Muslims had an accurate knowledge of injunctions and prohibitions from Allah, there would be nothing which could prevent them from obeying Allah. Once again, he was appealing to conscience based on true knowledge, as against a state law based on a defective understanding of Islamic law. They then would not allow themselves to be forced to accept any other law which was either stricter, or more lenient, than the injunctions laid down by Islamic teachings. Regarding the religious authorities, the editor reminded them that it was their responsibility to educate people before implementing the law, otherwise they would be held responsible in front of Allah for punishing ignorant people (Saudara x/795/2(1938): 7).

Another editorial on the issue dated 4.5.1938, interestingly brought up the issue of ethnicity in relation to this issue. In the case of adultery, one of the possible punishments of the proposed law was imprisonment. The editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, argued that this punishment would be a disadvantage to Malays in relation to other ethnic groups, because once anybody had been in prison, a criminal record would be attached to him, and thus, the door towards government employment would be closed for him. Once Malays could not fill these positions, Muhammad Yunus argued, they would go to non-Muslims or foreign races. The foreign races would be in an advantageous position here because they were not subjected to this law, though their social life was full of acts of adultery and similar behaviour. The temptation to commit adultery was furthermore, he argued, greater among the English-educated Malays, and they were the ones who were most qualified for the position of clerk. The fact that this group lacked an Islamic education was the largest contributing factor for them becoming involved in such immoral activity. Thus, once again, the writer demanded that the religious authorities put all their efforts into providing people with sufficient religious knowledge; otherwise, the Malays would once again be placed in a disadvantageous position in relation to foreign races (*Saudara* x/797(1938): 7). This is another strong evidence that ethnic competition dominated the Malayan scene at that time, to the extent that even religious issues could not escape its influence.

Looking overall at the arguments brought up by the editors of *Saudara* and *Warta Malaya*, they were not against introducing some kind of law for Muslims, but they felt strongly that any such law must be the true Islamic law; for example, in the case of adultery for married people, the punishment should be stoning to death. What both editors disapproved of was a law that had been invented by human beings, since this would corrupt the purity of Islamic teachings. Perhaps they were also worried that this

phenomenon would lead to a misuse of power by the religious authorities, since they could impose their own law on the people and force the latter to abide by it. In fact, the editors' worries were not unfounded, since the law did plan to give a lot of power to the religious authorities to exercise their influence on the laity. Furthermore, since they were antagonists to the existing religious authorities in Malaya, this law would place many restrictions on the so-called Kaum Muda or the Islamic reformists in Malaya, especially with regard to the issue of teaching Islam and the publication and printing of *kitab*. Since many people who belonged to the Islamic reformist group were considered "misguided," the control upon them would be tightened with the implementation of this law.

Their opposition to a law which was created by man confirmed the religious reformist core of their thought, which was totally against any innovation in religion; instead, they believed Islamic injunctions should be derived directly from the Quran. Both the editors of *Saudara* and *Warta Malaya* were clear on their stand that this law could not be considered as an Islamic law because it was contrary to the law revealed in the Quran and practised by Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. Both also supported the idea of implementing true Islamic law, *provided that* the masses were given enough knowledge of all aspects of Islamic teachings in general and Islamic law in particular, so that the government would not be guilty of passing sentences on ignorant people. Perhaps because he felt helpless in dealing with the religious authority in Malaya which seemed to completely ignore differing opinions, Sayyid Hussein, in his last article on the law, expressed his disappointment and feeling of dissatisfaction towards the British. He wrote in an editorial reproduced in *Saudara*:

The British government action in passing this law in the country they rule is clearly against normal British justice and fairness. The British government will not be able to run away from public accusations that they have become a tool to destroy Islamic teachings. This law is not an Islamic law, but a modification of the Quranic injunctions, which is a grave sin to Allah. Perhaps the British felt that they could

escape by saying that they have no authority to interfere in the religious affairs of the Malay states, as stated in treaties, but becoming a tool to support the implementation of the law could also be considered as an act of interference, and a disturbance of the freedom of religion. Furthermore, the British are considered as advisers to the Malay sultans, and it is not right for an adviser to advise something which could destroy and degrade Islam (Warta Malaya ix/78(1938): 9) (Saudara x/795/1(1938): 3)

Thus, this issue of the Muhammadan Law of 1938 highlighted the tense relationship between the people who were referred to as Kaum Muda, or the Islamic reformists, and the religious establishment or Kaum Tua who were responsible for administering religious affairs in the Malay states. It is also an illustration of Islamic reformist thinking, which held fast to the teachings of Quran and *Sunnah*. No hint of liberalism is found in their outlook on this issue, since they supported the implementation of the true Islamic criminal law (*hudud*). However, it is important to note also here that what they stressed most was the need for the authorities to carry out the task of educating the masses with Islamic teachings to prevent the people from committing unlawful acts, and, even if they committed those acts, they should be able to have a full awareness that what they did was wrong. Thus, their support for the implementation of Islamic criminal law was not very convincing, since it was very vague about the actual means of implementing the law effectively, and indeed, sometimes it seems that they were just using the arguments concerning Islamic purity to put the supporters of the law in the wrong in religious terms, and thus prevent the so-called Muhammadan law from being implemented in Malaya.

CHAPTER 9

SAUDARA AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISLAM AND MALAY CUSTOMS (*ADAT*) AND CULTURE

9.1. Introduction

In the beginning of the 1930s, the issue of *adat* came up in *Saudara*. The two most significant subjects of the related articles were the *adat* concerning the marriage ceremony in Malaya as a whole, and *Adat Perpatih* in Negeri Sembilan, specifically in the district of Kuala Pilah. In addition, at around the same time, there was a heated debate about pawnshop activities, a common practice in the Malay society at the time.

9.2. Malay Marriage Ceremony

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, in an article of 1930 looking at Malay marriage ceremonies, started a wide debate concerning this issue. In his article, Sayyid Shaikh expressed his disappointment at the fact that such an honourable act in Islam as marriage had become a huge burden for Malays, especially for the *wali* and the relatives of the bride. This happened, not because of the requirements of Islam, but because people were observing the *adat* of previous generations (*datuk-nenek*) (*Saudara* iii/111(1930): 1).

In fact what Sayyid Shaikh was saying is very true since, in Islam, marriage is a very simple and easy thing. The expenses are not large, even the obligatory *maskahwin* (bridal gift) is not much, if people really want to follow the Islamic way. However, things were made complicated by *adat*; thus, Malay marriage ceremonies had become elaborate occasions involving huge expense and effort.

Sayyid Shaikh knew that it was not very difficult for rich people to fulfil the requirements of this *adat*, but the problem was for middle class and poor people; in order to follow *adat* in the same way as *datuk-datuk* and rich people (*orang kaya*), some of them had to borrow money from others, and even to mortgage their properties and land. So, Sayyid Shaikh urged rich people to make the first move towards change, so that the poor people would follow. In relation to this, Sayyid Shaikh praised the examples shown by the Sultans of Johore and Kedah, who held simple ceremonies in celebrating the marriage of their children (Saudara iii/111(1930): 1).

In advocating changes to the Malay *adat* concerning marriage, Sayyid Shaikh believed that the key to the desired changes lay in the hands of Malay women. However, as long as the women were still uneducated, he was convinced that it would be difficult to achieve this objective. Nevertheless he urged: "O you intelligent readers, is there a way for us to change this dangerous *adat* while waiting for the women folk to be educated?" (Saudara iii/111(1930): 1)

Sayyid Shaikh also criticized strongly all the inconveniences that the bride and groom had to go through, especially the bride, who really seemed to be undergoing torture during the preparations for marriage. She would be given all sorts of accessories to be worn, until it was difficult for her to move. Sayyid Shaikh particularly criticized the Malaccan *adat*, which had a very elaborate way of dressing up the bride. He wrote:

O my brothers, what is this? What kind of *adat* is this which we still have to follow to the extent that we have to endure such difficulties and losses? Is it not appropriate that we exchange this dangerous *adat* for a better one which is easier for us to follow, so that we will not have to spend excessively and torture our daughters as though they were not human (Saudara iii/111(1930): 1)

In another article regarding the Malay marriage ceremony, an anonymous writer praised those Malay youths who were brave enough to discard some aspects of *adat*.

The writer was worried, however, that among the foreign *adat* with regard to marriage that could easily creep into Malay society would be the “honeymoon.” This was because youth at that time was slowly becoming westernized. Furthermore, once women realized that the honeymoon was originally a Western practice, the writer was convinced that 90 percent of them would agree to it as a way to boost their pride. However, the writer was convinced that the practice of honeymoon would not be a desirable change, since “we only want changes which would encourage thriftiness and simplicity” (Saudara iii/114/1(1930): 1).

Like Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, the writer was also of the opinion that the key to changes in *adat* were women. However, he did not put the responsibility on women totally; instead, he put the blame on those men who prevented their women from getting an education, and let them remain in ignorance under the pretext of ‘religion’. Many men, whether ordinary folk or respected *ulama*, regarded the purpose of women’s creation as just to become slaves to fulfil men’s desires (Saudara iii/114/1(1930): 1).

In an article discussing the changes which were being suggested in the Malay marriage ceremony, an anonymous writer recommended a kind of marriage ceremony that could be introduced. Referring to R.O.Winstedt’s book, *British Malaya*, the writer pointed out that most Malay *adat* concerning marriage ceremonies were taken from Hindu *adat*, since before accepting Islam, the Malays were Hindus. Thus, the writer urged the Malays to discard all those “borrowed” *adat*, because times had changed, and they were living in an age of progress, not ignorance (Saudara iii/114/2(1930): 7).

The debate appeared again in 1934, a few years later, with an article by ‘Pen’ who criticized various *adat* in the Malay marriage ceremony. Firstly, he criticized the

practice of “*cukai pintu*,” or “door tax”. According to this *adat*, when the groom came to the bride’s house, he had to pay a certain amount of money to the *tuk tukang* before entering. The *tuk tukang* from both sides would bargain with each other about the amount and it would take some time before the groom’s convoy was let into the house. ‘Pen’ considered this *adat* as nonsense, because it looked as if the groom’s family had to pay everything, and the bride’s family did not pay anything to the *tuk tukang* (Saudara vi/ 385(1934): 1).

Another *adat* which he considered wasteful was the “*bersanding*.” Even weeks before a marriage ceremony took place, people would build a *pelamin* for the “*upacara bersanding*.” This *pelamin* usually cost a lot of money. ‘Pen’ argued that all this money and effort was pointless, since the *bersanding* event would take only ten minutes. After that the *pelamin* would not be used anymore. ‘Pen’ voiced his astonishment in the following terms:

From where is the origin of “*bersanding*” which our people imitate and which looks like something so obligatory (*wajib*) that it cannot be abolished? The bride and groom become like idols (*berhala*), and they have to do everything ordered by the *tuk tukang*. And why is the wife whom he has married according to *syara*’ being exhibited in front of other people, and being teased during the *upacara berinai*? Can it really be that this is obligatory to the *adat* and permissible by *syara*?.... (Saudara vi/385(1934): 1)

This article was followed by another article in the same year with almost the same title written by ‘Semangat Masa’ (Spirit of Time) who highlighted the issue of excessive spending on marriage ceremonies among the Malays. Apart from that, he considered the fashion to change the old marriage *adat* in various places, where traditional costumes for the bride and groom were being substituted by Western or Turkish attires. Regarding this change, he wrote:

We wanted to change something bad to good because we realized how ridiculous our marriage costumes were, which make people look like *tok pekong* (idols); because of this, we have changed to Western and Turkish ways. However, instead

of looking better, we now look uglier in the eyes of other people, so that foreign people now laugh and look at us in astonishment... (Saudara vi/390(1934): 1)

One could say that, even in this minor issue, Islamic reformists were making the point that change for the Malay community should not mean mere imitation, but a purification of the foundations of their own civilizational values.

“Semangat Masa” also brought up the issue of borrowing jewellery to be worn by the bride during the ceremony. Whenever the “*upacara persandingan*” was going to take place, the parents or relatives of the bride would go to the neighbours and other people in the village to borrow jewellery. ‘Semangat Masa’ considered this practice as nonsense and embarrassing, since the owners of the jewellery then would come and watch their own jewellery being exhibited by the bride. Another consequence of this borrowing (*pinjam meminjam*) habit was that sometimes the jewellery was lost or the ownership was mixed up. It could happen also that some of the jewellery could end up in the pawnshop (Saudara vi/390(1934): 1).

Looking at the Malay community as it was at that time, ‘Semangat Masa’ said that it would be difficult for *kampung* people to change this habit of spending excessively during the marriage ceremony. Although some of the rich people and Malay leaders had already set good examples by holding simple ceremonies, it seemed that this would not be enough to convince the *kampung* people to follow them (Saudara vi/390(1934): 1).

9.3. *Adat Perpatih*

The discussion of *adat Perpatih* was the subject of a series of articles by a writer with the pseudonym, “al-Shab al-Fallahi” (Youth of Success) in the year 1930.

According to the writer, there were still many conservative *adat* maintained in Negeri Sembilan, especially in the district of Kuala Pilah. These *adat* originated from the Hindu-Buddhist religions. They were related to marriage (*nikah kahwin*), morality, inheritance, *kenduri*, death and other *khurafat* beliefs like feeding ghosts, *berniat*, *bernazar* at a big rock or at the grave of certain dead people, *tawar jampi pelesit polong*, *ketika tenung*, etc. All these could be considered as blind imitations of beliefs held by people in the past. There were no books or rules about these *adat*, but, some people memorized certain phrases related to them. Unfortunately, according to the writer, many did not understand what these *adat* really meant. Since there was no concrete source for the *adat*, people were easily led into disputes. The strong position of *adat* in Negeri Sembilan created a conflict between *kaum adat* and *kaum agama*, and *kaum adat* was still very influential at that time, which created difficulties in solving local disputes (Saudara iii/114/3(1930): 8).

Among the aspects of *adat Perpatih* discussed in the above article was the relationship between *orang semenda* and *tempat semenda*. An *Orang Semenda* is a man who marries a woman and goes to live in the *tempat semenda* (the wife's house/family). The concept of *tempat semenda* comes from Minangkabau society, and it could be considered as a kind of matrilineal family council comprising male family members on the mother's side. They have the final say in everything and are the decision-makers in all affairs regarding the family. Every decision ought to be unanimous; if one disagrees, then the others will disagree. For example, in a marriage proposal, the power to accept or reject any proposal lies in their hands, not the parents'. Since *adat Perpatih* is a matrilineal system, an *orang semenda* has no power in the *tempat semenda*, and he is considered as a lodger in his wife's house. He has to abide by all the orders and rules of the *tempat semenda*, even regarding his own son; while he is small, the boy is under his

authority, but once he reaches puberty, while in his mother's house, he has authority over his father. Thus, the *tempat semenda* exercised complete authority over *orang semenda*. Although the people in it might be thieves, liars, of low morality, ignorant, stupid, etc., they had to be respected and obeyed (Saudara iii/119(1931): 8).

'Al-Shab al-Fallahi' criticized this *adat* as follows:

O you readers! Look how this *adat* has deviated from Islamic teachings. This writer believes that this *adat* did not exist originally (in the period of Datuk Perpatih and Datuk Ketemenggungan) and is not in accordance with Islamic teachings. But if we say this to them, they answer: How can it not have been there in the old time? If it had not been there, it would not be here today: *dianjak layu dicabut mati*;¹ *hidup dikandung adat, mati dikandung tanah*.² People who only refer to *syara'* are the *muallaf* (Saudara iii/119(1931): 8).

Regarding the marriage *adat*, as mentioned earlier, the decision to accept or reject any proposal for a girl belonged to the *tempat semenda*. For the groom, all matters related to the marriage would be handled by his parents. They would prepare the *mas kahwin* (dowry) and *wang kepala emas*, but, if there was a son-in-law in the family (*orang semenda*), then, the responsibility would fall on him (Saudara iii/120(1931): 8).

In order to make sure that they had chosen the right date for the marriage ceremony, *tempat semenda* used the service of a *datuk pawang*, and even before they accepted the proposal they would ask the *pawang* about the compatibility of the couple because they believed that this compatibility (*rasi*) was the most important aspect which would determine the couple's harmonious life together and also other aspects like *murah rezeki* (prosperity), lasting companionship, bearing many children, etc (Saudara iii/120(1931): 8).

¹ Translated literally as "if moved it'll become weak, if removed altogether it'll die."

² Translated literally as "During our life we are surrounded by *adat*, and when we're dead, we are surrounded by the soil."

These are some examples of the *adat Perpatih* referred to by the writer in his articles. But, there are in fact other aspects of *adat Perpatih*, not mentioned by him, which are clearly against Islamic teachings. The most obvious example would be the prohibition of marriage between people of the same *suku*, i.e. the children of two sisters could not marry each other under the matrilineal system, because they would belong to the same *suku*.

The editor of *Saudara*, Abdul Rahim Kajai, made some comments on the issue of *adat* in his editorial of 4.4.1931. According to him, one reason for the destruction of a nation is when it blindly follows the *adat* of their older generations (*datuk-nenek*) without asking whether these *adat* have any benefit; they continue to practice them just because their ancestors practised them. The editor emphasized that people in the past may have had their own reasons for practising these *adat*, but that does not mean that they should apply for the generations that follow, because times and situations change (Saudara iii/129(1931): 5).

However, the editor did not reject *adat* altogether. As he wrote:

We must take all the *adat* and rules from previous generations and imitate those practices which are beneficial and agreeable to our lives and acceptable to our mind and *syara*'. However, we must not become slaves to those *adat*, so that we become like someone who gets clothes that are too small for him, so he tries to lose weight by not eating in order to fit into these clothes, rather than adjusting the clothes to fit him (Saudara iii/129(1931): 5).

In other words, the editor was saying that people must not accept *adat* blindly and do everything to fit into the rules and regulations of *adat*. Instead, the *adat* must be modified and reinvented in order to fit an individual's life and the situation of society. According to the editor, the Malays at that time were in awe of other people's success, but instead of competing with them, they were holding rigidly to *adat*, looking to the

adat for assistance; unfortunately, this reaction moved them further and further away from progress.

The discussions of *adat* in *Saudara* highlighted several important issues. Undoubtedly the relationship between *adat* and Islamic teachings was the main theme in the writers' discussion. However, of equal importance were the writers' efforts to relate the issue of *adat* to the issue of reasoning. They tried to convince people to use their reasoning in dealing with *adat*, to reject *adat* which were of no benefit, and at the same time to accept those *adat* which were beneficial. This was a rational approach since, with the development of a better education system and Malay journalism, the Malay people's way of thinking had also improved and developed. The writers were aware that Malays were more exposed to new ideas and experiences; thus, they were able to reason well. Another important issue was the writers' bias towards simplicity and thriftiness. Thriftiness was a trait which was lacking in Malay society, and, through this discussion of *adat*, these writers were trying to inculcate this habit among the Malays. It is also significant that, in advocating change, the writers were at the same time urging people not to adopt other people's customs, i.e. Western customs. This was a burning issue at the time, since the Malays, facing challenges from the foreign races, were trying their best to uphold their identity in order to maintain their pride and dignity. Thus, we can see from these articles that the writers were trying to correct and eradicate all the undesirable aspects of Malay society, including useless *adat*, so that the status of the Malays would be elevated in the eyes of other foreign races. Lastly, as can often be seen in various articles in *Saudara*, the writers strongly emphasized the role of religious leaders, aristocrats and the rich people in providing good examples for the ordinary people to follow.

9.4. National Dance - *Ronggeng*: Malay Dignity and Religion

Ronggeng, a form of Malay national dance, was discussed in *Saudara* by a writer who used the pseudonym 'al-Haqir' (The Humble) in a two-part article in 1931. *Ronggeng* is a fast moving dance accompanied by musical instruments, violin, *rebana* and *gong*. The dance is performed by both men and women. At that time, *ronggeng* was very popular at marriage ceremonies, especially among the Chinese. Travelling *ronggeng* groups went to houses where feasts (*kenduri*) were being held, and they would offer their services, and would be paid in return. They particularly liked to visit Chinese households, because they were more prosperous, so they paid the groups better. Malays and Indians also hired such dancers, but since they could not pay as much, it was less common to have such groups performing in their houses. In addition, this *ronggeng* dance was also famous in clubs and cabarets. During a marriage ceremony, the dancing event would start at night. Malay girls known as *putri ronggeng* (*ronggeng* princesses) would dance on a stage temporarily built for the occasion, and after a while would be joined by their partners. Later, the audience would be invited to dance with these girls. In this article, the writer criticized the *ronggeng* dance because it involved physical contact between men and women. Furthermore, in order to keep awake until late at night and prevent exhaustion, the dancers usually drank alcoholic drinks. Worst of all, according to the writer, was the fact that some of the Chinese guests would hire the women for pleasure after the dance. Expressing his disapproval, he wrote:

So, *ronggeng* is another type of prostitution too. In fact, this is a mother of prostitution, which could spread to other areas. O my brothers, have you seen other races providing this kind of entertainment? If it is so good, why don't they imitate it? Except for Western people, it is not their [other foreign races'] custom for men and women to dance together. However, Europeans do not let people from other races join them. Then, why is it that my people let other races from different religions dance with them? What a stupid and humiliating practice my people have adopted (*Saudara* iii/127/2(1931): 6).

The writer also expressed his disappointment that the religious leaders were not making any comments on this issue, as they had done with other traditional entertainment such as *boria*.³ *Boria* is a traditional cultural entertainment where a group of men sing and dance together, with one of them as the lead singer, although nowadays, there are also female *boria* performers. Comparing *boria* with *ronggeng*, the writer saw *ronggeng* as having a much more dangerous impact. Both of them were considered degrading to the Malays, but *boria* members at that time were only men, while the main performers in *ronggeng* were women, and the free mixing between the *ronggeng* girls and the people who hired them could lead to adultery (*zina*) and produce illegitimate children (Saudara iii/127/2(1931): 6).

Then, in the second part of these articles, the writer specifically addressed those people who were managing *ronggeng* groups, and in particular the male members of such groups:

O you *ronggeng* members, why are you humiliating people from your own race? Is it appropriate that you bring women from your own race to dance with foreign people (*kafir*) – and then you leave them; this will downgrade their dignity (*maruah*) and nation; is there any other work that you can do? In my opinion, if you say that there is no other work that you can do, then, why is it that foreign races can? They do farming, labour, business, high or low level official positions, until they are successful; is that not Allah's bounty because of their efforts and cooperation? They are always united in whatever they do, and now, they are aiming to rule our

³ Pertaining to *boria*, at that time it seems that the *ulama* in Malaya had expressed their stand on this issue. For example the article mentioned a pamphlet entitled "Boria dan Bencananya" (Boria and its Wrath) written by Muhammad Yusuf bin Sultan Maidin in 1922. Another *alim*, al-Marhum Tuan Sheikh Zakaria bin Umar Bashir had given a *fatwa* that *boria* is unlawful in Islam. Previous to these two, Al-Marhum Tuan Sheikh Daud bin Tamim and Tuan Haji Mustafa bin Haji Ismail were the two *kadhis* who had produced the "yellow letter" (surat kuning) in 1889 concerning *boria*.

In the editorial section of *Saudara* dated 25.3.1936 entitled "Permainan Boria dan Perasaan Kaum kita Am," (Boria and the General Opinion of Our People) the editor, Syed Alwi al-Hadi quoted the opinion of a writer with a pseudonym of "Common Sense" about *boria*. According to him, the performance of *boria* should be stopped based on the following reasons; Firstly, *boria* was not from Malay origin; it was an entertainment which brought no benefit, and furthermore it was not in accordance with Islamic teachings. Secondly, the people who were performing *boria* were like beggars, going from one house to another. If beggars used Quranic verses as capital to get what they want, the *boria* players use praises and songs to obtain donation from people. This practice clearly degrades the person and his nation as a whole. Thirdly, *boria* encouraged an attitude of hypocrisy among the players, as they would try to praise as highly as possible to gain a lot of money. For the host, the higher the praises were, the more money he or she gave. Finally, "Common Sense" refuted the opinion that *boria* could improve the Malay Language since it could train the Malays to construct poems and *syair* impromptu. Although this was true, the writer argued that the quality of their art was appalling (Saudara viii/597(1936): 9).

country; possibly this country will become theirs in the future if we ignore the necessary things and are envious of each other's success. Thus, we have to eliminate all these things completely so that there will not be anything that our children could follow or imitate. May all of you realize and always remember (Saudara iii/128(1931): 6).

He called for the Malay people in authority to take action so that *ronggeng* men and women would be brought to justice and *ronggeng* be eliminated altogether, just as the government were doing with prostitution in the country. He then called on *ronggeng* dancers in the following words:

O my brothers, if all of you would like to serve your nation, it is not enough that you only assist in matters pertaining to marriage and death; you should be working to try to eliminate all things which could degrade the status of Malays so that they will not be in a humiliating position in front of other races (Saudara iii/128(1931): 6).

In criticizing *ronggeng*, we can see that the writer was to an extent looking at it from an Islamic perspective, but much more in terms of its impact on the status of the Malays in the eyes of foreign races. The fact that foreigners were directly involved in this matter increased the writer's resentment of this national dance. Perhaps another main reason was because it involved women, members of society whose morality is strongly associated with the dignity of a nation. Furthermore, as in the case of *adat*, the writers urged Malays in authority and religious leaders to exert their efforts for the eradication of this national dance.

9.5. Pawnshop (*Pajak-Gadai*): Economic Behaviour and Islam

The subject of pawnshops (*pajak-gadai*) was raised in *Saudara* in 1931. It seems that pawning activity was prevalent in Malaya at that time, when Malaya was suffering from the effects of the global depression. It was noted in the articles that most of the people who went to pawn their possessions were Malays, but all the pawnshops that existed in

Malaya at that time were owned by non-Malays. So, what were the reasons for the absolute monopoly of the Chinese in this field? The article entitled "Pajak Gadai di Negeri Selat dan Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu," (Pawnshops in the Straits Settlements and The Federated Malay States), 25.7.1931, explained this in the following way:

Muslims are prohibited from taking interest when they borrow money. As a result, those who have money are not brave enough to hold their fellow brother's property and take interest from it, but not many are so generous as to lend money freely without gaining some sort of interest. On the other hand, other races of other religions, especially the Chinese, are used to lending money to their friends and relatives and taking a small amount of interest, which is a lot less than the interest in the pawnshops. As a result, people who want to borrow money usually go to their friends and relatives first, rather than going to the pawnshops. Thus, the Malays have become the largest customers of the pawnshops (Saudara iii/145(1931): 1).

With the economy in Malaya still struggling, out of the depression, people resorted to pawning their possessions when they were short of money. But it was clear that the pawnshop owners were also taking advantage of this difficult time by fixing a low price on valuable goods to gain a lot of profit. Thus, this action attracted the attention of the writers in *Saudara* to defend the welfare of the people. They suggested that, since so many people were depending on pawnshops, it would be best if the government itself took over this whole area of economic activity. Thus, in the same article as above, the anonymous writer made this suggestion:

Since we are now aware of the importance of pawnshops, and our people, Malays and other Muslims, are largely involved in these pawnshops whose control is being monopolized by Chinese, is it not important that we request the government urgently, and all our leaders in the States Council meetings of the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements, that these respected people scrutinize this matter for the sake of the children of this country and their people, so that they will be saved from the tricks (*tipu-daya*) of those people who are running these businesses at the moment (Saudara iii/145(1931): 1).

In this respect, the writer was not only referring to the fact that the pawnshop owners at that time were reluctant to fix reasonable prices for goods, but also to other aspects of the pawn-broking business in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States.

According to government law, shop owners could auction any item if it was not redeemed in three months. However, the shop owners usually kept items for up to 7 or 8 months before they were auctioned. The reason for this was because they wanted to increase the amount of monthly interest on these items, so that a larger amount from the auction price would go to them. The law in the Straits Settlements provided that if the goods were pawned for a price of 10 *ringgit* or less, then they should not be auctioned. If the stipulated time had passed and yet they were still not redeemed, then they would become the property of the shop owner. Even if the value of the item was 100 *ringgit* or more in reality, the rules still applied. If the item was pawned for more than 10 *ringgit*, then it should be auctioned first. If it was not sold, the owner of the item still had the right to it. This meant that he could still claim the item by paying the amount of the pawn and the interest incurred. For any auctioned item, the pawnshop owner was only entitled to the amount of the pawn money and its interest. After the commission for the auctioneer was deducted, the remainder should go to the owner of the item. If the owner did not claim it after four months, it would become the property of the pawnshop owner (Saudara iii/145(1931): 1).

However, according to the writer, the rules in the Federated Malay States were a lot less favourable to a borrower than in the Straits Settlements. If, after 6 months, a pawned good was not redeemed by the owner, it would become the property of the shop owner. There was no auction for pawned goods in the Federated Malay States. The system was seen as oppressive for the people who pawned their goods. To make matters worse, writers in *Saudara* argued there were not so many Malays who really understood the rules, especially referring to the fact that, in the Straits Settlements, they were entitled to a share from the money obtained from the auction of their goods. The problems lay in the letter given to customers when they pawned their goods. This letter

was written in Chinese, and the announcement of the auction might not reach the customers, since it was usually printed in Chinese and English newspapers, despite the fact that 95 percent of the people who used to pawn their goods were Malays (Saudara iii/145(1931): 1).

Feeling dissatisfied with these rules and the way pawnshop businesses were run in Malaya at that time, a contributor by the name of Islamuddin called in 1931 for the members of the Legislative bodies in Malaya to hold a meeting in order to ask the government to take over this business. The profit from this trade could be used to assist the people of the country in education and other important matters. If the government disagreed, the writer suggested that the following rules should be introduced:

1) All rules regarding the pawn transaction in the letter of agreement should be written in the Roman script so that would be understood by all races, and people would be free from the tricks of the Chinese - for instance when goods should have been kept for 5 months, they would say 6 months, etc. It is difficult for us to question those agreements, since the letters are written in Chinese. Indeed, the writing is often so bad that even other Chinese cannot understand it. Thus, their trick is obvious. The victims are those people who do not pay much attention to their transaction agreement. For these people, pawning goods is like throwing them down the drain (Saudara iii/151(1931): 6).

2) For all goods which cost 1000 *ringgit*, 500 *ringgit*, 100 *ringgit* and 50 *ringgit*, when they are pawned, the government should introduce a law so that one week before the time expires, the shop owner should send a registered letter to the owner of the item informing him about the auction. The expenses incurred in sending this letter could be deducted from the auction money. If there is no response, then the shop owner could auction the goods. This auction should be publicized like a land auction, so that the public would be fully aware of the occasion. The government should appoint one or two officials to estimate the price of the goods. When all the necessary payments have been made, the balance should be sent to the owner. If the owner does not claim it, then it is up to the government how to spend that money (Saudara iii/151(1931): 6).

The writer particularly condemned the practice in the Federated Malay States where the customer did not have any share in the goods once the stipulated time had ended. On the other hand, according to the writer, the rules in the Protected States were more favourable in some respects, since people were given about 8 months to redeem their goods. The writer then called on the Penang Malay Association, which was known for

its influence on government policy, to cooperate with the Singapore Malay Association to bring up this issue (Saudara iii/151(1931): 6).

Another anonymous writer gave another reason why the pawnshop business should be handled by the government. The writer, possibly the editor himself wrote:

If we estimate the number of pawnshops in Malaya, altogether it could be around 100, and in each pawnshop there are three clerks or staff. Thus, in total there are 300 staff in them. Definitely the government would take [staff] from our educated youths, not from foreign people, because Malay youths are also capable of doing this job perfectly well under the supervision of their English bosses, once the pawnshop business is in government hands. Even if people may lose their pawned goods because they are unable to redeem them, they would feel satisfied because the profit would go to the government (Saudara iii/140(1931): 1).

In other words, the writer was saying that the goods would become government's property, and in return, the government would use them for the benefit of the country. He argued that the need was greater than ever at that time, since there were so many Malays who were without jobs.

In relation to the issue of pawnshops, the main concern the writers brought up was the oppressive and unfair treatment of Malays by the Chinese pawnshop owners. As always, the issue of ethnic rivalry was reflected in their writings. As a solution to this, the writers suggested that the pawnshop business, which was then monopolized by the Chinese, should be taken over by the government. It is interesting to see how the writers in this particular case changed their normal attitude relating to the Chinese monopoly over certain businesses. Instead of urging the Malays to get involved and compete with the Chinese, as they usually did, the writers turned to the government for support. The reason for this was that the pawn business, as carried out in Malaya at that time, was unlawful in Islam, since it involved interest (*riba*).⁴ As a newspaper with an Islamic

⁴ *Riba* (interest or usury) promoted heated debates in Malaya during this period. For example, in 1928 a formal debate was held on November 20-25, 1928 at Sri Menanti Negri Sembilan concerning the matter of cooperative society interest. Among the participants were Haji Abbas bin Mohd. Taha, al-Haji Darwan, a religious teacher of Sri Menanti, and Fakeh Lutan, a religious teacher from Kuala Pilah. It was followed

reformist bias, the writers could not encourage the Malays to indulge in such unlawful activity. It is very significant that their advice did not point to the Islamic prohibition on such business, and they did not simply call on Malays to stop pawning their goods. The answer may lie in the fact that the Malay community was in such a desperate situation as a consequence of the great depression that pawn activity had become part and parcel of their lives. This is an obvious case where concern for Islamic values took second place to *Saudara's* concern for the protection, welfare and advancement of the Malay community.

by another *mudhakara* in 1932 in Malacca which among other things discussed the *riba* incurred when borrowing money from moneylenders and pawnshops and depositing money in a bank. With regard to borrowing money from pawnshops, it was not considered *riba*, but nevertheless it was seen as *haram*. In fact there were mixed opinions among the *ulama* regarding this issue in Malaya at the time, some considered it as *riba* while others not, nevertheless, they agreed that pawn activities as practised in Malaya at that time was *haram* (Safie 1987: 254).

CHAPTER 10

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES: PERSPECTIVES IN *SAUDARA*

10.1. Introduction

International news in *Saudara*, especially regarding world politics, can be found in the foreign news section, editorial comments and often in long articles analyzing events. The amount of news depended on the events happening at that time. For example, we can clearly see that when Sino-Japanese war was taking place, the foreign news section was mostly devoted to news of this event. However, it is noticeable that events in some countries attracted the attention of *Saudara* more than others. For example, there were a significant number of articles on countries like Japan, Europe and some Muslim states like Turkey, Arabia and neighbouring countries like Indonesia and Siam. The difficulty in discussing the attitudes of *Saudara*'s contributors to world events, however, lies in assessing clearly the opinions of the Malays themselves on global issues of the time. This is because many of the articles, especially the ones in long series, were written by foreign writers. The articles were either re-prints of lectures given by them, or writings taken from newspapers from outside the country. It is difficult to say whether these articles, whether neutral, positive or negative on any particular international issue, represented the general views of the Malay people in Malaya at that time, because *Saudara* did not provide any comment on these writings. However, we can certainly rely in this respect on those editorials of *Saudara* that, on many occasions, provided analysis and comments on the current events of the world. *Saudara*'s reprinting of foreign articles also represented an important attempt to broaden its Malay readers' international awareness; an attempt, in other words, to help develop a modern Malay world-view.

10.2. Sino-Japanese War (1931)

News about Japan was a natural choice since the country was emerging as a major power in the world at that time, and had become an inspiration to other countries in the east to challenge Western dominance in the contemporary world. At that time also, there was a tense relationship between China and Japan, resulting from Japan's aspiration to dominate China. Japan had started to gain importance in the world arena after she defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, followed by the occupation of Manchuria, which was later named Manchukuo, in 1931. In 1937 another Sino-Japanese War broke out as a consequence of Japan's ambition to achieve complete dominance over the whole of China. During the conflict between these countries, the columns in the foreign news section were mostly dedicated to discussing this issue.

The Sino-Japanese war of 1931 was a result of long-term Japanese aspirations in China, which the Japanese saw as the key source of raw materials that they desperately needed for manufacturing. From this came the aspiration to create a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, seen as a coalition of China and Japan under the latter's leadership, and the willingness to resort to war if China refused to accept this idea.

Manchuria, the area in which the war between the two powers took place in 1931, was a strategic area because of its fertile soil, valuable forests and a large amount of mineral resources. The southern ports were strategic for controlling the northern part of China Proper as well as Manchuria. Legally, the area belonged to China. The main population consisted of Chinese, due to intensive immigration in the twentieth century. After the assassination of Chang Tso-lin, the governor of Manchuria, in 1928, his son, Chang Hsue Liang, filled his place. Contrary to Japanese expectations, Chang Hsue

Liang demonstrated a certain courage and determination to unite Manchuria under his administration, and then pledged his allegiance to the Nanking government. With a desperate economic situation at home, coupled with an urgent need for control in that area, the Japanese army seized the opportunity to initiate war after a small explosion erupted on the Manchurian railway (Spence 1990: 390).

Subsequently, Japan gained control in Manchuria and brought the ex-emperor, Pu-yi, to become the 'chief executive' of the state of Manchukuo, the name of their newly-created state, which meant "land of the Manchus," but was basically a puppet government under Japanese influence. The international response followed with the assignment by the League of Nations of the British statesman, Lord Lytton, to examine the situation in Manchuria. The result was the Lytton Report, which rejected the concept of Manchukuo as an independent state. This stance was later endorsed by the League of Nations. Dissatisfied with the League's decision, Japan withdrew its membership from the League of Nations (Spence 1990: 392-4).

The battle continued until the Chinese armies opted for peace at the end of May 1933. The Chinese signed a humiliating truce in the coastal town of Tangu (Spence 1990: 395). This was the background to the Sino-Japanese War which started in 1931. *Saudara* followed developments in the war by reporting the news in the foreign news section. Unfortunately, there are not many articles by local writers or editors which analyzed these events. Nevertheless, below are some of their views as published in *Saudara* during the period of conflict; the 'slant' of these articles may well reflect the views of *Saudara* itself.

One of them was an article printed in 1931 by an anonymous writer, who discussed the Sino-Japanese conflict and its impact on the world in general and the East in particular. In this article, the writer seemed to put the blame on China for initiating the conflict because of their long-lasting boycott on Japanese goods, ignoring the fact that China took such measures because the country was aware of Japan's continuous interest since the First World War in extending their control over Chinese areas. It was generally accepted that the boycott was carried out by the people in general, not officially by the government; but the writer was convinced that, given the Chinese people's attitude of strong loyalty towards their leaders, these Chinese leaders would easily have been able to take action to stop this boycott if they had really wanted to. He asserted that the boycott had caused so much pain and difficulty for Japan that they had had to utilize their military prowess to take their revenge against China. The writer believed that this conflict could lead to another major world war, because China was a primary market for European goods. Certainly, those countries would not let this market be destroyed or monopolized by Japan (Saudara iv/158/1(1931): 1).

In an editorial of the same date, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi, like the previous writer, emphasized that Japan had started this war because of anti-Japanese activity and the boycotting of Japanese goods by the Chinese, which had caused a huge economic loss to Japan over a long period of time. To make matters worse, added Sayyid Shaikh, the Chinese government up to that time had refused to admit that this boycott was being carried out with their consent. But, on the other hand, Sayyid Shaikh also expressed his shock that Japan was going to withdraw from the League; since, with her withdrawal, Japan would no longer be obliged to accept any decisions made by the League (Saudara iv/158/2(1931): 5).

In a subsequent editorial concerning the conflict between these countries, Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi outlined two actions that the League of Nations could impose on Japan: military action or joint sanctions by all members of the league. However, he was convinced that if either of these actions was carried out, war would erupt, since no matter how strongly the powers in the League would put pressure upon Japan, it would be impossible for all the powers to unite against Japan. This was because their relations were still on fragile ground after the world war; a sincere peace settlement still had not taken place between European countries, not to mention between them and Asian countries. At the same time, Sayyid Shaikh believed that Japan would not have the courage to fight the European military powers or endure sanctions if the country felt that she was alone in facing the European powers (*Saudara* iv/162(1931): 5). In other words, Sayyid Shaikh was suggesting that, since relations between the European countries were still on a loose ground, there would be those among them who would be on Japan's side, and thus give Japan some kind of support to carry on fulfilling their objectives and interests.

Sayyid Shaikh's antagonism towards the Chinese became manifest in the words he used when he predicted the action that the League would take:

According to the telegraph that we have received and the news from the League's meeting on 16th November, the League's wisdom in handling the matter is just what we expected. It would have been impossible for them to be ready to destroy the world just for the sake of protecting or caring for the Chinese people, who are widely known for their aggressiveness, which has destroyed the peace of their own country, and the peace of all the countries that they have settled in [...] and last night a telegraph announced that United States would not join the coalition if the countries in the League decided to impose sanctions on Japan (*Saudara* iv/162(1931): 5).

Looking back at the issue of Sino-Japanese War of 1931, there was not much comment or analysis by the writers in *Saudara*. Most of the news on the events was mere day-to-day reporting on the development of the conflict. However, what is clear

from the issues raised by *Saudara* was that they blamed the Chinese for initiating this conflict since, according to them, Japan's action was just a reaction to the continued Chinese boycott on their goods; they ignored the fact that the Chinese were doing this to check Japanese aspirations on their country. Since the economy was one key to the strength of the Japanese Empire at that time, it was only logical that the Chinese should resort to boycotting Japanese goods in order to weaken Japanese influence on their country. The writers did not show any sympathy towards China as the oppressed nation. Rather, the tone of their writings on the Chinese was rather harsh. It is difficult to imagine that the writers in *Saudara* were not aware of the truth, because they seemed to be well informed about world news at this time. However, most probably this stand was influenced by their antagonism towards and tense relationship with the Chinese in Malaya. Having been in a bitter relationship with the Chinese, definitely the writers would not want to show their support to the Chinese people by writing in favour of them.

10.3. Japan and Islam

In 1934 an interesting question, the relationship between Islam and Japan, emerged in *Saudara*. The editorial of 6.10.1934 discussed this particular issue. The editor at the time, Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi, mentioned a stated opinion of professors and religious leaders in Japan who had apparently said, "There is no teaching or religion which suits Eastern and Japanese civilizations except Islam." It was also reported that Japan had recognized Islam as an official religion of the state (*Saudara* vii/449(1934): 7).

Further evidence, Sayyid Alwi wrote, of Japan's interest in Islam was as follows:

- 1) the enrolment of 500 Arab men into a Tokyo High School
- 2) the news that a Muslim by the name of As-Shaikh Muhammad As-Saqaf had been appointed as Japanese consul to Saudi Arabia (*Saudara* vii/449(1934): 7).

Furthermore, an Islamic association had also been established in Japan, as well as a printing office to print the Quran and other religious books. The association was also planning to establish a *madrasah* which had been agreed to by the Japanese government (*Saudara* vii/467/1(1934): 4).¹ This unusual action taken by Japan had encouraged Encik S.M. Zainal Abidin, acting President of PASPAM, to analyze the matter in a lecture, which was then copied into *Saudara*. S.M. Zainal Abidin pointed out that Japan was one of the major powers in the world at that time, besides Britain and America. It was to be expected that these three states would compete with each other to control the world. Furthermore, the emergence of Japan had increased the worries of America and Britain. Thus, in order to improve the balance of her power against these two major powers, S.M. Zainal Abidin argued that Japan was trying to establish good relations with the Muslim countries, especially those in Western Asia such as Turkestan, Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Arabia and Turkey. However because of the long distance between Japan and these countries, Japan had to find a common ground to link its country with these peoples. By recognizing Islam and showing favour towards this religion, Japan was hoping to draw these peoples closer to it. These were the reasons why Japan seemed to encourage the spread of Islam in the country and had established good relations with Muslim countries. As a means of doing this, Japan had also agreed to teach these Islamic countries some skills needed by them, had helped in building mosques, and had brought Muslims in to study in higher institutions in Japan (*Saudara* vii/467/2(1934): 10).

¹The title of the article: "Islam di dalam Negeri Jepun Permulaan Mencetak al-Quran dan Mengembangkannya dari *Al-Balagh*" (Islam in Japan, the Beginning of Printing the Quran and Its Distribution from *al-Balagh*). *Al-Balagh* is an Egyptian newspaper.

More speculatively, S.M. Zainal Abidin argued that Japan also intended to attract more Japanese people to convert to Islam. Perhaps, he suggested, Japan was hoping that if many Japanese people became Muslims, then it would be easier to unite with Muslims in China and Russia, and thus extend Japanese influence to these countries because of the strong concept of brotherhood among Muslims. Thus, the actions taken by Japan, he concluded, was part of Japan's attempt to obtain the status of 'policemen' of the world. However, the writer did not seem to object at all to this non-religious motive since he wrote: "Let us pray that the thing, which we thought impossible 20 years ago, will become a reality and progress well" (*Saudara* vii/467/2(1934): 10).

Saudara's editorial of 12.12.1934 was also on the same theme as the above lecture. Here, the editor, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi interestingly suggested the reasons why Japan had taken the action of declaring Islam as an official religion of the state, despite the fact that the majority of her population were non-Muslims. He gave the following reasons:

In this world there is no nation which has such a vast consumer market as the Muslim nations, because of their lack of major industries and skills to produce the necessary goods. Perhaps because of this or other reasons, then, it is important to establish good relations with the Muslims, and one of the ways is through religious ties, because the concept of brotherhood is very much stressed in Islam (*Saudara* vii/468(1934): 6).

In other words, Sayyid Alwi was saying that Japan's favour to Islam may have been motivated by economic considerations. An alliance with the Islamic world would be profitable for Japan's economy because the latter would provide a huge market for Japanese goods. By acknowledging Islam, Japan knew that it could establish a strong tie with the Muslims based on the concept of brotherhood and love. Perhaps Japan had learnt this lesson from her relationship with China; although China had provided a huge market for Japan, because the relationship between them was so fragile, Japanese goods, cheap and easily available as they were, were often boycotted by the Chinese. Sayyid Alwi believed that an alliance between Islam and Japan was a coalition of the East

which could become “a permanent light to enlighten the whole world” (*Saudara* vii/468(1934): 6).

Thus, the relationship between Japan and Islam was seen as a very important issue, because it represented a coalition between the once great power in history, Islam, and the emerging Asian political and economic power at that time, Japan. We can see that this coalition was viewed positively by the writers in *Saudara* at the time, although they were obviously aware that Japan had its own national interests to pursue; perhaps they were less concerned about these motives because, living as they did in a period of Western dominance and colonialism, they perceived this coalition as a necessary counter-balance to Western power. Although the editors of *Saudara* probably overestimated the importance of Islam in Japanese eyes, their views did reflect growing pan-Asian sentiment at the time, which generally tended to favour Japan rather than China. As the events of the Second World War were later to show, Japan was fully aware of the need to win over Islam in order to exploit anti-colonial feeling and create an anti-White front.

Besides the issue of Islam in Japan, another popular theme in the news about Japan concerned that country's relations with China. For example, the editorial of 2.3.1935, discussed the improved relations between these two countries. Here, the editor, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi noted that since China had become a republic, and after the death of Sun Yat-Sen, there had been a continuous struggle between the two countries, whether in politics, economics or boycotting products. However, recently, it had seemed that the relations between these two countries were showing signs of improvement. China was beginning to be aware of Japanese strength and was attempting to make a peace

agreement with Japan. Sayyid Alwi expressed his hope for this new development in the following words:

If the relationship is successful, can we hope that the union between 600 million 'yellow' people could promote the Eastern market by buying and processing resources from other countries which are not available in their own countries? (Saudara vii/490(1935): 7)

In other words, it was hoped that good relations between China and Japan would have a positive impact on the economy of the East. Japan, with its booming economy, was expected to help other countries by importing raw materials for industries in Japan. Moreover, if Japan had good relations with China, it was hoped that the latter would no longer boycott Japanese goods, thereby guaranteeing a stable market for Japanese products, and maintaining the prosperity of the Eastern economy.

10.4. Italy and Abyssinia

News about the conflict between Abyssinia and Italy began to emerge in *Saudara* in early 1935. This was the build up to the real conflict which took place in October 1935 when Italy attacked Abyssinia and eventually made the country her colony. The news in *Saudara* about the issue could be found in the foreign news section, which contained current news about the conflict, analysis by the editor, and also long articles assessing the situation and providing a brief history of Abyssinia. Whether there was any special reason for the newspaper to devote such a significant amount of its columns to discussing this issue is difficult to tell. Perhaps they were just following the development of major events in the world and trying to keep the readers up to date with the world news. Interestingly, compared to other world events taking place during the period of *Saudara's* publication, the Italy-Abyssinian conflict occupied the most editorial columns of the newspaper. Again, it is difficult to determine the reasons for this special attention. Muslims, however, have a historical tie with Abyssinia. In the

early history of Islam in Mecca, the followers of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. migrated to Abyssinia in 615 A.D., five years after the prophethood, to protect themselves from torture and execution by the Quraisy. There, they received protection from the Christian King of Abyssinia, Negus, who, despite differences in faith treated them with respect and honour. This is considered the first migration by the Muslims prior to the more significant event of *hijrah* of the Prophet to Medina in 622 A.D.

Italian designs on Abyssinia went back to the 19th century, when Italy conquered the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland on the Red Sea as footholds for a conquest of the vast Ethiopian hinterland. However, the first encounter with the Abyssinian army resulted in the Italian defeat at Adoa. Thus, the recent conflict was the renewal of Italy's aspirations in the region.

Not surprisingly, *Saudara* had a particular interest in the Asian dimension to this conflict. In a series of articles in *Saudara* entitled "Politik Itali dan Jajahannya, Betapa Maknanya bagi Seluruh Negeri Eropah, Apakah Sebabnya Jepun Digemari oleh Habshi?" (Italian Politics and Her Colonies, Its Impact on the Whole of Europe, Why is Japan Favoured by the Abyssinians?), by an anonymous writer, the analysis made by a Dutch writer regarding Italy's interest in Abyssinia was quoted. The Dutch writer wrote:

Italy's efforts to conquer Abyssinia resulted in the wars of 1895 and 1896, in which the Italian army was severely defeated by Abyssinian forces in Adoa. Because of that, Italy's ambition to spread their colony was temporarily halted. This defeat was considered a severe blow to the Italians as a developed nation, since some Italians believed that the right to empire was a legacy from their ancestors (*Saudara* vii/476(1935): p11).

As time went by, the urge to get a colony increased among Italians, driven by the fact that the British, French and Dutch, all already had large colonial areas. Their

ownership of a colony like Somaliland did not mean much to the Italians, because the region was not so profitable (*Saudara* vii/476(1935): 11).

In the hope that Italy would be satisfied when she had her own colonial region, the major colonial powers in Europe did nothing when Italy seized Tripoli from Turkey before the First World War. As a result of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1922, Turkey finally had to surrender Tripoli to Italy after her defeat in the First World War. Thus, the conflict with Abyssinia was the result of Italy's continued attempt to widen her influence in the world and compete with other European powers for colonies (*Saudara* vii/476(1935): 11).

The writer also mentioned that Abyssinia at that time had a very close relationship with Japan. It is unclear from the article whether Abyssinia had agreed to allocate a vast amount of land for a Japanese company to plant cotton, or the country had promised to export cotton to Japan. In any case, this reflected a cordial diplomatic relationship with Japan. Abyssinia therefore turned to Japan as an ally because the country realized that European nations were turning a blind eye towards Italian threats to the country (*Saudara* vii/479(1935): 4).

The editor of *Saudara*, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, commented on the issue in several editorials in the newspaper. In the first editorial on this issue, Sayyid Alwi wrote that Italy was preparing its army for a full-scale confrontation in East Africa. This included the enlistment of a huge number of Italian youths into the army. However, interestingly, from a Muslim perspective, it was also reported that 300 Arabs from Yemen had signed up to fight for Italy against Abyssinia (*Saudara* vii/488(1935): 7).

On the fate of Abyssinia, he wrote:

What is going to happen to the Abyssinians? The Abyssinian government has enjoyed independence for 1500 years. When Rome was in its golden age, the Abyssinian kingdom was also in glory [...] During the early prophethood in Mecca about 1300 years ago, the Habshi kingdom was regarded by the Prophet and his followers as one of the just and tolerant kingdoms; proven by the fact that the king of the country, Najashi [Negus], had given his protection to the Muslims who had fled Mecca to save themselves from the torture and persecution of the non-Muslim Quraisy (Saudara vii/488(1935): 7).

Although *Saudara's* coverage of the Abyssinian war was mainly a straightforward coverage of the news, we can see hints of its particular interest in the Asian and Muslim perspective. *Saudara's* sympathy for the Abyssinians clearly reflected a natural anti-colonial sentiment, backed by the memory of Abyssinia's special role in the history of Islam.

10.5. Sino-Japanese War (1937)

In 1936, news about the conflict between China and Japan re-emerged in *Saudara*. By this time Japan, which had dominated Manchukuo, was trying to extend her influence to other parts of China, strongly driven by the urge to find raw materials for Japan's booming industries and, at the same time, conquer the huge Chinese market for Japanese goods. In the ensuing Sino-Japanese War which took place in 1937, China received support from Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States and Britain feared that Japan would monopolize the enormous Chinese market, and both powers were also worried about Japanese aspirations towards the Philippines, Hawaii, French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, Australia and even India. They were afraid that Japan would organize China for a common attack on Europe, although the possibility of Japan carrying out that action at that time was rather remote. Russia was in constant conflict with Japan over the Outer Mongolia region. Russia was afraid that

Japan would attack Siberia and the fact that Russo-Japanese confrontations were frequently taking place at the border increased the tensions between the two countries. Russia was worried that Japan might conquer Mongolia and then proceed to establish a united government in northern China, thereby monopolizing its economy.

The *Saudara* editorial of 15.1.1936, which mainly discussed the Italy-Abyssinian conflict but also mentioned the situation in the Far East, suggested that the expansion of Japanese power was based on its claim that:

Japan is responsible as the protector and benefactor or the guardian of the East. Thus, all the countries which are connected to Japan politically and diplomatically and near to her, or would feel the impact of its policy, should prepare themselves thoroughly to face a great danger (*Saudara* viii/578(1936): 9).

While the Sino-Japanese war was taking place, editorials in *Saudara* on several occasions analyzed the situation of the war. One such was the editorial of 12.2.1938, in which the editor, Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid, reported that China was strongly resisting Japan and the country's army was fighting with tremendous zeal and courage. About Japan, Muhammad Yunus wrote:

Can we say that weakness now is becoming apparent on the Japanese side? Nobody could ever say that, because, if we want to compare the losses of life on the Japanese side, it has not yet reached ten percent of those on the Chinese side. Although Japan has expended a significant amount of money in this war, it must not be forgotten that the North China district which has been under her dominance, as is the area now in Central China, is inhabited by millions of people from whom Japan could take all the natural resources and build up her economy (*Saudara* x/774(1938): 7)

“This,” he added:

...is where our worries lie: when the new government, which is a military government, is established in Japan, the war in the Far East is going to continue endlessly, since neither party will want to give in to the other to attain peace [...] Thus the news that the countries in the League of Nations have agreed to work out a peace agreement between the two countries is our only hope that the war could be halted and the relations between the two countries would be restored (*Saudara* x/774(1938): 7).

Muhammad Yunus was clearly worried that this new phase of the Sino-Japanese war could de-stabilize the whole Asian region. As war was progressing between Japan and China in the Far East, *Saudara* reported in 1938 on the anti-Japanese demonstration which happened in Singapore on the night of January the tenth, when Chinese and Indians shouted anti-Japanese slogans and carried anti-Japanese banners. The demonstrators were protesting against the Japanese invasion of China and calling for other nations to unite to fight Japan. Among the slogans noted by *Saudara* were: "Let all the nations strive together to eliminate the mad dog of the Far East;" and, "All nations who love peace, let us together fight Japan's army which has attacked China." (*Saudara* viii/766(1938): 4) Naturally, the Chinese in Malaya would show their support for their land of origin, China. However, the consequence that they had to pay was that during the Japanese occupation of Malaya, the Chinese always became the targets of mistreatment and torture by the Japanese army.

Looking at the news regarding the Sino-Japanese War in *Saudara*, it seems that the editors of *Saudara*, although worried about the de-stabilizing of the region, remained neutral in their observations on the conflict between these two countries. On many occasions, the editors were just explaining the situation of the conflict and giving reasons behind the events. Nevertheless, it was clear that they hoped the conflict would not be prolonged and that the two countries could reach an agreement as early as possible.

However, looking at the writings in *Saudara*, especially the editorials, it is interesting to note that the editor and a few other writers in the newspaper did not seem to be as worried about the growing influence and power of Japan as that of Germany, as will be explained in the following section. They seem to have been much more

concerned that the British would be defeated by the Germans. Was this because at that time Britain was confronting Germany in Europe, and they perceived an immediate need to rally the support of people in Malaya for the British, since they were afraid that, if the British were defeated, all their colonies in Asia would fall into the hands of Germany, whereas the Japanese danger towards Malaya was not so apparent at that time? Or, was it because, since Japan was an emerging Asian power and they belonged to the Asian group themselves, they saw the possibility of Malaya being ruled by Japan less objectionable than being ruled by Germany, another European power? This would be in line with the increasing Pan-Asian spirit among Asian countries at that time.

While from 1936 on, there was a concern expressed in *Saudara* at the general impact of Japanese expansion in East Asia, this did not mean that *Saudara*'s editors were not intensely suspicious of the anti-Japanese activities of the Chinese community in Malaya itself. This was reflected in the editorial of 29.8.1936, which discussed the dramatic increase in the influx of Japanese goods into Malaya. It was mentioned that a Chinese businessman by the name of Taukeh Teh Lian Teik had urged the government to establish a committee to look into the matter. However, from the article, it could be implied that the government had promised to consider the matter seriously, but saw no immediate need to establish a committee as proposed. The editor, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, affirming his agreement with the government's action, wrote the following:

In our opinion, the government's reply to Taukeh Teh Lian Teik is in accordance with the nature of the British administration which is based on complete justice. Surely the government will not take any drastic action, meaning that the government will not establish a committee to investigate the matter unless the government is absolutely certain that there is something to investigate. Should it be that, just because one race's trade is successful, it should be investigated? If the answer is yes, then we should say that the progress of the Chinese and *ceti's* businesses in Malaya are more worthy of investigation (*Saudara* viii/642/2(1936): 9).

Defending the import of Japanese goods, Sayyid Alwi continued:

About Japanese goods, it is difficult to contain them because the Japanese aim their goods for poor people, who are the majority in every country, and we know that the

success of any type of goods depends on the amount of people consuming them. We know that the poor and rich buyers in Malaya are in the proportion of 1000 to 1, meaning that for every one thousand poor consumers there is one rich consumer [...] We truly believe that people like to buy Japanese goods only because they are cheap. Furthermore, they are easily available and sold in huge amounts. Many European and even Chinese companies have had to increase Japanese goods and reduce their own country's goods. We have even heard that some European countries have stopped importing European goods altogether and have completely replaced them with Japanese goods (*Saudara* viii/642/2(1936): 9).

This editorial shows that Sayyid Alwi was not worried about the threat of Japanese goods in Malaya. If the editor were truly concerned about the emergence of Japan in the world political and economic arena, surely he would have agreed with the *Taukeh's* suggestion to establish a committee to monitor the dominance of Japanese goods in Malaya's market. On the other hand, he, to some extent, was also defending the suitability of Japanese goods for the Malayan market. At the same time, it is equally difficult also to say with certainty whether the editor's view was truly based on his conviction that he saw no threats in Japan's increasing economic strength, or whether it was a reflection of resentment of Chinese success in the trading sector in Malaya.

10.6. Germany and the European War

As 1940 was approaching, the news in *Saudara* was dominated by the issue of Hitler's expansion of German power and his conflict with other European countries, i.e. Britain and France.

But as early as 1936, Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi had tried to explain in an editorial of 8.2.1936 the reasons for Germany's forward movement. According to him, Germany had always been a country with a strong military power. However, after its defeat in the First World War, Germany had lost many of its colonies, which had been divided between the victorious nations. Then, under the leadership of Hitler, Germany had

begun to build up its military power once again, and aimed to establish a “Greater Germany.” Moreover, Germany knew that it had an ally in the East, Japan, who at that moment was spreading its political and economic influence in the East and Central Asia. Meanwhile, its ally in the West was Italy, who at that time was engaged in a military confrontation with Abyssinia in order to colonize that country (*Saudara* viii/585(1936): 9). In other words, Germany formed part of an alliance of nations that were trying to expand their global power.

On many occasions, writers in *Saudara* expressed harsh criticism of Germany’s actions in Europe. One example was the article by ‘Wakil Kita Yang Khas’ (Our Special Representative), 14.1.1939, where the writer wrote about Germany’s policy in the following words:

The German government is not based on justice but only on greediness and inhumanity. One after another area has been included in her empire and she has continued to demand more – and they were given to her. *Diberi betis nakkak peha!* In the end the world will be destroyed! Is this world going to follow whatever Hitler demands? (*Saudara* xi/868(1939): 2)

What is apparent during this time is that the editor of *Saudara* and a few other writers were trying to convince the people in Malaya of the need to give full support to Britain and their allies in their confrontation and, by September 1939, war against Germany. Despite Malay resentment towards the British, reflected in their writings, which contained criticism towards the British for not safeguarding the rights of the Malays as the indigenous people of Malaya, it was clear that the writers preferred by far that Malaya should be under the British than under the Germans.

One such writing was a speech made in December 1939 by Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi, which was then copied into *Saudara*, listing the reasons why the people of Malaya should support the British totally in the war against Germany. According to him, it was

only logical for the people in Malaya to support the British because Malaya was a part of the British Empire. In order for the empire to be strong, all its components ought to give their undivided support. Furthermore, Britain had joined the war not for her national glory but to defend the empire in particular and the world in general. Thus, Sayyid Alwi emphasized that it was only fair for the people in Malaya to support the British, because they were on the defending side as opposed to the Germans who were the intruders or attackers. He also mentioned that the British had done much good for Malaya. All the development at that time was the result of what the British administration in Malaya had done over one hundred years, whereas they did not know yet what the German administration would be like if Malaya were to be ruled by the Germans. Moreover, the Germans were famous for their tyranny and brutality. Thus, Sayyid Alwi argued, it was vitally important that the people in Malaya give full support to the British, so that German expansionism could be checked. In addition, Sayyid Alwi pointed out that the British were tolerant towards Islam and Malay customs. The British administration, he said, "gives full freedom to the Malays to administer the religion and customs of the states." Finally, Sayyid Alwi pointed to the fact that, in Islam, it was compulsory for all Muslims to obey their ruler, whether he is a Muslim or not, as long as he rules with justice (*Saudara* xii/962(1939): 7).

The editor of *Saudara* at the time, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan, also held the same opinion, as is reflected in his editorial of 6.9.1939, in which he wrote:

If the war does take place, we hope that all those people who live under the British flag will give all the help that they can, and face the news with calmness and understanding that the government has done its best to save the world from war following the action of one person [Hitler]. Now the time has come to respond to the aggression with force. All of us should understand that the war which our protector is getting involved in is not because of arrogance or greediness on its part, but just to maintain the safety of the world and defend all its possessions [...] We believe that, at this time, all races who live under the protection of Great Britain should be ready to accept even the immediate implementation of a conscription law (*Saudara* xi/931(1939): 6).

The war in Europe created worries in Malaya over many issues. In his editorial of 23.9.1939, Muhammad Amin urged Malays to suggest to the British and Malay rulers that they establish food industries in Malaya as a preparation for a long war. This, he argued, would not only guarantee the food supply in Malaya, but would also create job opportunities for many unemployed people. He also advised the government to consider the suggestion made by Persatuan Melayu Selangor to increase the number of Malay recruits in the Malayan Army. This, according to Muhammad Amin, would reduce the costs incurred in paying salaries for foreign soldiers from among Europeans or Punjabis. Their salary, he pointed out, was quite a burden for Malaya, despite the fact that the people of Malaya themselves could be recruited. In addition, this could provide occupations for many unemployed people. He saw this issue, not simply in the short-term, but as one having long-term significance for the British Empire. As he put it:

The matters that we are discussing above are not only important in this emergency (*darurat*) period. In fact this is among the aspects that should not be ignored by any administrator that wants this country to be relieved of a burden which it is not within its capabilities to shoulder. Besides, the implementation of this suggestion could put Malaya in the same league as other British colonies like India and Australia (*Saudara xi/936(1939): 6*).

Also of interest to *Saudara* was Turkey's stand in the current conflict in Europe. In the editorial of 1.11.1939, Muhammad Amin mentioned the possibility of Turkey joining the alliance between Britain and France in facing the Germans. With Turkey's inclusion into the alliance, he wrote:

The Muslim kingdoms around the Mediterranean Sea and North Africa will feel that they also should follow Turkey's example, because Turkey is the oldest and largest Muslim country (*Saudara xii/947(1939): 6*)

In the end, this alliance did not take place, and Turkey remained neutral through the war. But the editorial did show that Turkey still commanded a significant influence over the Muslim countries at that time.

Looking at the writings in *Saudara* regarding Germany and the war in Europe, it is worth noting that the writers were more forthright in their criticism and condemnation of Hitler's actions as compared to Japan's aggression in China. This might be due to the fact that, as a British colony, Hitler's action hit them directly, since Britain was at war with Germany in Europe. Furthermore, by this time, news about Germany's persecution of the Jews and Hitler's dictatorship in Germany was widespread. Thus, Germany was viewed as a brutal regime compared to the more tolerant British administration. Like many political commentators at that time, even those who were anti-colonial, it was assumed that the defeat of Britain would directly lead to Germany taking over the British Empire. Malays therefore, would not have a choice between colonial rule and independence, but between two colonial masters.

10.6.1. European War and Related Issues in Malaya

By the 1940s the war and British-German conflict had become the dominant issue in *Saudara*. Many matters were seen in the light of that conflict and its effect upon Malaya. This was due to the heightened conflict in Europe which saw the Germans extending their influence to many other countries. By mid-1940, Germany had annexed Poland, Belgium, Holland and France. With the French surrender, the British had lost their most important ally in fighting the Germans.

This unexpected surrender by the French undoubtedly caught the attention of the writers in *Saudara*. As loyal supporters of the British Empire, the writers in *Saudara* immediately condemned the French policy under Marshall Petain,² labelling him as a

² Henri Philippe Petain was a French Marshall born in 1856. Petain was strongly rightwing and was believed to be involved in the fascist 'cagoulard' conspiracy in 1936. In 1939 he became French

coward and traitor. In an article about the French-Germany Peace Agreement, an anonymous writer considered the French decision to be a betrayal of the British. The writer also argued that the action taken by General Petain was against the wishes of his own people. The article mentioned protest from the overseas French; for example, the French community in Singapore had sent a telegram of petition, and those in Syria had vowed to continue fighting the Germans. The writer, however, was convinced that the British would stand firm in their fight with Germany despite losing such an important ally (Saudara xii/1015/1(1940): 5).

The editor of the time, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan, in his editorial on this issue, expressed the view that Petain's action brought shame on his own nation, which was famous for its courage and fighting spirit manifested throughout history in such important figures as Napoleon Bonaparte. In his article, the writer praised the British extravagantly for their courage to fight the Germans, regardless of whatever was taking place at the time. He wrote:

On the other hand, Great Britain chose to ignore everything which is taking place, for example in Holland, Belgium and France, meaning that the British are the only people in the world who truly keep to their promise and belief in their own selves. Allah saves the Government of Great Britain (Saudara xii/1015/2(1940): 10).

There was also a series of articles by 'Ratuman' who considered the colonial policies of various powers such as Siam, Japan, the Netherlands, Britain and America. He tried to explain the nature of their administration in their colonies. When discussing Japan, the writer noted the brutality of the Japanese administration in Korea. He quoted the words of a writer called Dr. Abdur Rifai who said, "The worst of all in governing their colonies is Japan." (Saudara xiii/1045(1940): 3) Then, the writer explained what the

ambassador to Spain. In 1940 he joined the war cabinet as vice premier, but the 85 year old became a tool of the pro-facist group and in June 1940 surrendered to the Germans. By courtesy of Hitler he was made "chief of the French State" and adopted a dictatorial system and abolished the republican constitution.

Japanese did in Korea. Besides Japan, the articles also condemned other powers like the Dutch, for their actions in Indonesia (Saudara xiii/1047(1940): 3 & 18) and also Siam, particularly for their policy with regard to the Patani Malays in Southern Thailand (Saudara xiii/1046/1(1940): 3 & 5).

In contrast, however, the writer highly praised American policy in the Philippines. He stressed that the Philippines had gained many advantages under the American administration (Saudara xiii/1048(1940): 3). Finally, the writer concluded the discussion with a survey of British administration in their colonies, particularly in India and Malaya. The writer defended the British reluctance to give independence to India, and, regarding Malaya, praised the British for bringing many good things to the Malay states (Saudara xiii/1051/1(1940): 3)

Another series of articles which was a lecture³ by Shaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim elaborated on the history of Germany from the First World War until then. The articles pointed out all the tricks and conspiracies resorted to by Germany in order to subdue other states. For example, Shaikh Ahmad in his speech, pointed out the tactic used by Hitler, who kept on claiming that he was not interested in other countries after invading one state, but continued to do so, and benefited from the lack of preparation of such states for invasion. As a result, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Holland and Belgium had come under Nazi rule (Saudara xiv/1079(1941): 17). Shaikh Ahmad also dealt with Hitler's brutal treatment towards the German Jews, which caused them to flee to so many other countries. Furthermore, he accused Germany of instigating the Arab-Jewish conflict in the Middle East and other neighbouring Arab countries, in order to

³ This lecture was delivered on 4th January, 1941 in Kangar, Perlis in front of 500 people. Among the people in the audience were Tuan Sayyid Hamzah - a member of State Council, government's advisor, other State Council's members, village headmen (*penghulu-penghulu*), religious leaders, Malay school teachers and people from various races (Saudara xiv/1079(1941): 17).

get them involved in the war. For Muslims, according to Shaikh Ahmad, the Germans must be seen as their greatest enemy, because of their abandonment of the Turks in the First World War (Saudara xiv/1085(1941): 18). Finally, Shaikh Ahmad predicted that Germany would not be able to continue long in the war because of economic constraints and the weaknesses of its main ally, Italy, who could not even seize a small country like Greece. He was convinced that victory would be on the British side, and it would happen very soon (Saudara xiv/1086/2(1941): 13).

These articles probably reflected the mood of the Malays in Malaya at that time. It was clear that at least some Malays were afraid that a German victory in Europe would give them the power to rule Malaya. Their extravagant praise towards the British and harsh condemnation of Germans and those who supported them reflected a desperate bid to convince the people in Malaya to give undivided support to the British. Later studies have suggested that Hitler was not so interested in new colonies, but was just looking for nearby countries to make up the 'Greater Germany,' and find more living space for German people. This might be true, because, when Holland fell into the hands of Germany, the status of the Dutch East Indies remained unchanged. Nevertheless, looking at Germany's treatment towards the Jews, it is not surprising that the people in Malaya were so anxious about Hitler's possible victory in Europe.

The editorial of 29.10.1940, which discussed the conflict in Europe and its impact on small states, brought up the issue of Islamic brotherhood in order to convince people to support the British. The editor, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan wrote:

The Greek-Italy conflict will undoubtedly involve the Turkish government and, with that, Germany and Italy will become the greatest enemies for us, the Muslims, all over the world. Thus, what must we do? Not only as British subjects but also as Muslims. [...] as Muslims who are not being affected by the 'nationalism' disease, it is compulsory upon us, as British Muslims to be ready to face our responsibilities (Saudara xiii/1051/2(1940): 10).

He added another observation on the lessons of the war:

We should also remember that attitudes of arrogance and envy towards each other and a refusal to unite are the biggest mistakes now which have caused one after another of the Balkan states who have been affected by the 'mad nationalism' (*gila-gila kebangsaan*) disease to fall into the hands of the Nazis and Facists (*Saudara* xiii/1051/2(1940): 10).

In relation to the issue of unity, but on a smaller scale, Kapten Nur Muhammad Hashim, a member of the Straits Legislative Council and also a regular columnist in *Saudara*, emphasized the need for a spirit of 'Malaya' in facing the critical situation. He claimed:

This is not the time for thoughts of different districts and states in Malaya. I dare say that the obedient men and women in Malaya are fed up with the envious feeling among people from different states or districts. They want the spirit of 'Malaya', since it will make us stand stronger (*Saudara* xiii/1046/2(1940): 8)

The editor of *Saudara*, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan, responded to this article in his editorial of 17.10.1940. From what he wrote, it can be seen that some people had viewed Kapten Hashim's suggestion as a move towards dictatorship in Malaya. It seemed that by promoting this spirit of 'Malaya,' he was downgrading the role of the sultans in Malaya and suggesting that all the administration of Malaya should be put into the hands of the British – and thus advocating a move towards a dictatorial regime. In the wake of Hitler's German dictatorship and Mussolini's Italy, it is understandable that some people should have such a feeling. Muhammad Amin explained that this was not what Kapten Hashim wanted, but rather that he was trying to convince the Malay states to stand together in this difficult time, so that the position of Malaya would be stronger, unless they wanted to surrender to the Germans like Belgium, Holland and Romania (*Saudara* xiii/1046/3(1940): 10).

The crisis also led writers in *Saudara* to offer many suggestions in order to help Britain win the war. In an editorial of 28.12.1940, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan

attempted to convince the government to accept the suggestion of introducing a 'war lottery' as soon as possible. In his opinion, a war lottery would be the fastest way for the government to accumulate a large fund to defend Malaya. At this particular time, Britain had to defend herself against invasion from Germany, and was involved in military action in Greece and North Africa. The writer was worried because there were so many areas that the British had to cover; thus, if Malaya was threatened, would it have enough resources to defend herself? (*Saudara* xiii/1075(1940): 10).

It is worth mentioning that, as a way of raising revenue, it had been announced that the government was going to introduce income tax in Malaya. The government, therefore, seemed to prefer this means of raising money, rather than the other option of a war lottery. Among the arguments given against a war lottery was that this would encourage the habit of gambling among the people. This was an argument that was supported by higher officials in the government and police departments (*Saudara* xiv/1080(1941): 3).

An anonymous writer in *Saudara* in 1941 was disappointed that the government rejected the suggestion of a lottery altogether and preferred income tax. The writer spelled out his views on this issue in the following words:

Frankly we can say that the government's decision to choose an income tax is not a wise decision at this time, even if they say that they want to save Malaya from the gambling habit. We would say that government's action to avoid a war lottery will not enable us to win the war. Even though we were to do a lot of holy deeds, it would be meaningless, just as the prayers of a person would not be enough if the stomach was gripped with hunger [...] Thus, once again, we would like to bring people's attention to the question of a war lottery. Even though the practice is sinful, we believe that the advantage would be greater than our being colonized by German Nazis. Think about it!!! (*Saudara* xiv/1080(1941): 3).

Looking at the writings of these two writers, it is very surprising and strange to see that *Saudara*, an Islamic reformist newspaper, could advocate such ideas. If it had been

the work of one writer alone, perhaps it would not be so surprising; but the editor of the newspaper himself also strongly supported the idea. This is considered a very moderate and lenient way of Islamic thinking. It is a well-known fact that a lottery is a type of gambling, and al-Quran makes clear its position. The following verses from the Quran describe the position of gambling in Islam:

They ask thee concerning gambling, say: "In them is great sin, and some profit, for men; But the sin is greater than the profit." They ask thee how much they are to spend; Say: "What is beyond your needs." Thus, doth Allah make clear to you His signs: in order that ye may consider... (al-Baqarah: verse 219)

O ye who believe! Intoxicants and gambling, sacrificing to stones, and (divination by) arrows, are an abomination, - of Satan's handiwork: Eschew such (abomination) that ye may prosper. (al-Maidah: verse 90)

Saudara's preference was for a lottery because income tax would take longer to carry out, since it would need proper arrangements such as assessments, etc. and most probably would take a year to be implemented. Furthermore, they believed that it could burden a lot of people at a difficult time. Does this reflect a moderate interpretation of Islam, something of which *Kaum Tua* always accused *Kaum Muda*, or is it an indication of what Roff was referring to in his book? According to Roff, "the term *Kaum Muda*, though it never wholly lost its connotation of challenge to traditional religious authority, came more and more to take on a purely secular meaning." He quoted the words of the Sultan of Perak who, in 1940, spoke of Malay society as divided into three distinct groups: *Kaum Tua*, *Kaum Muda* and *Orang Muda-muda*. The Sultan said: "Those who come under the first category devote their time mostly to the spiritual side of life; those under the second category to the material side of life, while the third may be said to waver between the two" (Roff 1994: 90).

Gambling is a serious issue in Islam; thus, it is not easy to ignore the Islamic injunction about it just to suit a particular situation. Furthermore, there were many other

ways that money could have been raised instead of through gambling, such as a war fund, taxation etc. A War fund or '*derma perang*' was already being launched at that time, and it seems that most of the large contributors were Chinese businessmen. Even the editor, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan, in an editorial which explained the Malays' willingness to work together with the government for the defence of Malaya, and agreed that such a fund would be the biggest contribution that the Malays could offer, openly admitted that because of the Malays' poverty, they could not contribute as much financially as other races. Thus, in the light of the continuing racial competition in Malaya at that time, perhaps the writers in *Saudara* saw in the lottery an equal opportunity, and a cheaper way for the Malay community to make their contribution financially (*Saudara* xiv/1087(1941): 10).

Apart from that, by the beginning of the 1940s, the pressure for Malaya to have its own army was increasing tremendously. In articles concerning this issue, it was suggested that Malaya should establish its own 'local defence corps' or '*Pasukan Mahaliyyah*.' The army that these writers wanted was different from the volunteer group that already existed in Malaya at that time. An anonymous writer, in his 1941 article about the Malays and Malayan defence, pointed out that the volunteers were a real army who could be sent to carry out attacks or to defend any town in Malaya. On the other hand, a local defence corps or *mahaliyyah* group would be different in the sense that it would be more local in nature; they would not be expected to launch attacks or defend a town; instead, their roles would be confined to defending their districts or villages, while the main army or the volunteer group faced the enemy. In other words, they would be supplements to the volunteers or the main body of the army, enabling the latter to concentrate on launching attacks or pursuing the enemy. Nevertheless, the writer suggested that such a *mahaliyyah* organization should know

how to handle rifles, combat, shooting down planes, etc. They would not be expected to carry rifles all the time, except during a war (Saudara xiv/1081(1941): 3).

Such a *Mahaliyyah* group would be a way for the Malay community to prove that it was worthy of something, a fact mentioned repeatedly by the articles in *Saudara*. Thus, racial competition was reflected everywhere, even when it came to the defence of the state, and this was one of the motives behind the Malays putting so much emphasis on establishing a local defence corps. Indeed, this 1941 article suggested that the government should only consider allowing the Malays to join such a group at that time, because the inclusion of other foreign races, (and here he meant the Chinese), would create suspicions among neighbouring countries, since China and Japan were still fighting each other in the Far East (Saudara xiv/1081(1941): 10).

The racial competition and tension involved in the 'militia' question is evident in the editorial of 4.2.1941. In this, the editor, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan, discussed a suggestion made by a Chinese newspaper, *The Union Times*, which suggested that the Chinese community should establish a Chinese army to help the British to defend Malaya if the latter should be threatened. Muhammad Amin expressed his regret that the Malays were still keeping quiet on this issue, and voiced his worries about the implications if foreign races were to carry out this idea earlier than the Malays:

Indeed, if a citizen of one country knows his responsibility towards his country he would think about this matter thoroughly, before the opportunity is grabbed by other people. If that happens, then we will keep grumbling that the government are not giving us the priority as the indigenous people of the country [...] What are we Malays going to say if the government agrees with the suggestion by *The Union Times*! Then, many of our newspapers will protest – but is it enough that we just make a protest – yet we ignore the most important thing? (Saudara xiv/1086/1(1941): 10)

In short we can say that, as always, there was a strong element of racial competition underlying this issue. From various writings on the issue, it was clear that the Malays

felt that the responsibility for defending the country lay heavily upon them as the indigenous people of the country. Perhaps they thought that if anything happened to Malaya, they would have no other places to go, unlike the Chinese and Indians, who would always be welcomed in their lands of origin. Furthermore, a local defence corps would be a way for the Malays to prove that they were worth something, to show that they had an important share in Malaya, as a counterweight to the Chinese who contributed significantly in the economic sector of the country. Thus, the writers believed that the Malays should grab this opportunity in order to elevate their status in the light of competition with the foreign races in Malaya.

Other important themes can be seen in this discussion in *Saudara* of the Malay community's role in the growing world crisis. First, it shows the extent to which *Saudara* reflected a point of view that was nationalist and loyalist at the same time. *Saudara* always sought to promote the 'self-strengthening' of the Malays; at the same time, it was conscious of the threat to Malay interests that the turbulence of the crisis of the 1930s and 1940s posed. It was in this context that *Saudara* emphasized the Malay community's necessary dependence on what was seen as the power of the British Empire. In fact, the Japanese invasion of Malaya in December 1941 showed that the British Empire was far weaker than *Saudara* had supposed.

The discussion also shows the extent to which *Saudara* allowed Islamic injunctions to take second place to pragmatic necessity when it was felt that the vital interests of the Malay community were involved. Thus, *Saudara* advocated a Malayan lottery to give the Malays a direct stake in the war effort. It should also be noted that *Saudara's* interest in a Malaya-wide lottery, and a Malaya-wide defence corps manned by Malays,

reflected a growing awareness of the need for building Malay unity across State boundaries.

10.7. Japan Forward Movement

One interesting development in this period concerns the general attitude of the writers towards Japan. Before the 1940s, their attitude towards the Japanese invasion of China could be considered as indifference. It is difficult to find statements which expressed their condemnation of Japanese aggression in China or which showed worries about Japan's threat to the Southeast Asian region. However, in the 1940s, there was a striking contrast in the nature of the writings in *Saudara* towards Japan. They began to see Japan as an imminent threat to Malaya and were aware of Japan's southward movement. In the editorial of 17.12.1940, the editor, Muhammad Amin bin Nayan, responded to the suggestion made by various Dutch newspapers that the coalition between Britain and Holland in Europe should be extended to their colonies in the Malay Archipelago, i.e. Malaya and Indonesia. Agreeing to the suggestion, Muhammad Amin commented:

This suggestion should be carried out as soon as possible and it would be better if Thailand, China and America are invited to join the coalition. Because all these countries should not neglect the developments taking place in the Pacific, which are going to take place whether the European war ends or continues. Especially now the government which has power in the Far East (i.e. Japan) has repeatedly expressed its intentions and ambitions, which are not new, and it aspires to become the 'big master' of the whole Pacific, which includes the Malay Archipelago, starting from Segenting Kra to Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, including the Papuan Islands, Borneo and the Philippines. We are convinced that all the above countries are aware of this situation (*Saudara* xiii/1071/2(1940): 10).

Muhammad Amin was convinced that there was an imminent danger to Malaya, whose fate would be determined by the result of the Italy-Greece and Italy-Britain confrontations in the Middle East. If Italy succeeded in both confrontations,

undoubtedly their Far Eastern ally would begin their movement against Southeast Asia.

He continued:

If the suggestion by the Dutch newspapers is carried out urgently by our government, we could at least halt the ambition and intention of one of the 'three evil brothers'. In fact, the success of the coalition would create a big worry among the mad people in Europe at this time (Saudara xiii/1071/2(1940): 10).

In an article about Japan's forward movement and its relationship to developments in Europe, a writer with a pseudonym 'Anak Tanjung Penaga' (Tanjung Penaga's Offspring) discussed the coalition between Germany, Italy and Japan. The writer believed that this coalition had been formed because Germany wanted to destroy the British Empire. 'Anak Tanjung Penaga' wrote:

Thus, with this intention, it has chosen a few allies whom it believes could help it to initiate chaos all along the British Empire, starting from the Middle East right to the Far East under the pretence of the anti-Communist pact. However, its true colours have been revealed when Hitler repeatedly tried to win the favour of the Soviet Union, which is now sharing with Germany the colony of Poland (Saudara xiv/1088(1941): 3).

According to the 'Anak Tanjung Penaga', Japan was just waiting for Hitler's action in the Middle East and Suez Canal to launch their assault to destroy the British foothold in the Far East and Malaya. The only thing that slowed it down was its conflict with China, but the writer predicted that the much-dreaded war would happen soon. As though comforting the people of Malaya, however, 'Anak Tanjung Penaga' argued:

Although they are going to fulfil their agreement with the Nazis, we should not feel afraid except that we have to be ready with our neighbour on the other side of the Malacca Straits. In fact the move made by General Wavell in the Middle East to crush the Italians is heading towards a victorious ending. When Italy is defeated in Africa, whatever is going to happen to us in Malaya and Indonesia, we should not feel afraid, because definitely our government will be able to face it as long as we are united and stand firmly behind our protector (Saudara xiv/1088(1941): 3).

And, he added:

We can definitely rely on American and Australian assistance. In fact, in these coming few months, the people in Malaya are going to see the end of that government in the Far East, just as has happened to Italy, if they are still determined to become the toy of Hitler, the mad dog from Prussia (Saudara xiv/1088(1941): 14).

Thus, from this discussion, we can safely say that the attitude of the Malays, as represented by various writings in *Saudara*, towards Japan, was clearer at this time than in the previous decade. It is clear that they were worried about Japan's imminent southward movement. They preferred the British rather than Japan to rule their country and rested their hopes on the former to protect them against the latter. The question that comes to mind is: why is it only at this time that we have a clear picture of their attitude towards Japan? Is it because Japan's aspiration towards this region was becoming clearer at this time?⁴ Does it lie in the fact that Germany's aggression in Europe was increasing, and, being a member of the anti-Comintern pact, Japan was considered as a German ally which would try to destroy the British Empire in the Far East, including Malaya? If Japan had moved alone, would the reaction have been the same? Although the writers' words in describing Japan's actions were not as harsh as those they used for describing the Germans, nevertheless, it is clear that they considered Japan as one of the greatest enemies and threats to Malaya and the British Empire as a whole at that time. Finally, if we take this attitude as evidence of the opinion of an important sector of the Malay elite, then, it would not be accurate to say that the Malays, if they had the choice, preferred Japan rather than the British to rule them. Their attitude at this time, however, depended a lot on their perception of the strength of the British Empire.

⁴ After the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern agreement by Japan, Baron Hiranuma, the head of the Japanese government, the leader who was pledged to these policies, resigned and was replaced by a more moderate leader, General Abe. After that he was succeeded by General Yonai, also moderate in view, who declared that Japan would find a settlement with China and remain neutral in the European war. However, with the collapse of France in June 1940, and the replacement of Yonai with Prince Konoye, Japan's foreign policy also shifted from being moderate to a renewed radicalization. Anti-British tendencies became so strong that Britain was forced to close the Burma Road to China for three months. At the same time, Japan's interest in French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies became stronger and more visible.

10.8. Political Issues in the Islamic World

There were several important issues relating to the Islamic world, which attracted the attention of writers in *Saudara*. Their focus on the affairs of Muslims worldwide reflected, to a certain extent, the spirit of pan-Islamism of many Muslims in Malaya at that time, particularly those associated with the Islamic reformist group.

10.8.1. Events in Various Muslim Countries

The editorial of 25.10.1930 discussed in brief various events which were taking place in the Muslim world at that time. Among other developments, the editor, Abdul Rahim Kajai, pointed to the fact that the communist government of the Soviet Union was actively trying to destroy Islam and Christianity in that country by destroying mosques and churches, or by converting them into pubs or casinos. Another event which caught *Saudara's* attention in this issue was the policy of France in North Africa, which, it was said, was trying to force 70 million Muslims in the Maghreb⁵ to convert to Christianity by destroying their culture and society. The editor expressed his anger in the following words:

[...] this writer cannot express enough anger as a pure Muslim of the east at the treatment by the French government of Muslims, which is considered very cruel. Ironically, this is at the same time they [the French] are putting forward proposals for promoting world peace and European unity, as has been demonstrated by Mr. Briand, the French leader, who has been propagating world peace, the prevention of war and the spirit of brotherhood among people all over the world. What is amazing is that from the same person came those seeds of hatred which have caused enmity and chaos among the people in this world (*Saudara* iii/107(1930): 5).

⁵ Since 1912 Maghreb or Morocco had been divided between Spanish and French zones, and in 1923 a neutral zone governed by an international body was added to the area. Almost the whole of Morocco belonged to the French zone. All the three zones were ruled by the sultan, theoretically, but in practice it was France, Spain and the international body which did the real administration. In the case of the French zone, real power lay in the hands of the French Resident General, who maintained garrisons throughout the country.

Abdul Rahim believed that this issue of French repression in the Maghreb could lead to a religious war between Muslims and Christians. He then called on Malay Muslims in Malaya to rise up and help their fellow brothers in the Maghreb in the following words:

O all you Malay Muslims, ponder and listen to the cry of our Muslim brothers in the Maghreb, the result of the action of the French, who do not seem to desire peace. All of you must realize and move together and fly the Islamic flag with your energy and wealth so that the Muslims will be safe from the threat of other religions that want to destroy and eliminate Islam (Saudara iii/107(1930): 5).

The writer believed that the French were doing this because they were afraid of the power of Islam, since they (the French) saw that Islam was emerging as a world power at that time. Thus, they tried to suppress it before it became strong, as had happened before in history (Saudara iii/107(1930): 5).

In 1931, Abdul Rahim Kajai also discussed the situation of the Muslims in Tripoli under Mussolini. Here, Abdul Rahim was commenting on the report by another newspaper, *Warta Malaya*, that the Italian leader had allowed his people to treat the citizens of that country however they liked. Among their atrocities were killing women and elderly people, and also raping many Muslim women. In this editorial, Abdul Rahim compared the Italian and British governments as colonial powers. He praised the British government, which always resorted to diplomacy rather than aggression in facing popular uprisings in their colonies, citing the example of the recent 'round-table' meeting with Gandhi. Referring to British reactions towards demonstrations in Egypt and India, Abdul Rahim wrote:

Do the British have the power to crush the demonstrators in Egypt and India if they wanted to? They actually have, and they can do it quickly and easily. However, they have refused to do so, not because they are afraid or weak, but only because of their policy and the strong spirit of humanity among their leaders to strengthen and improve their administration so that the people under their rule would love and obey them (Saudara iii/135(1931): 5).

10.8.2. Palestine

Saudara's concern for the Islamic *ummah* or the spirit of Pan-Islamism is particularly reflected in the debate over Palestine, which is discussed on several occasions in the newspaper. In one article about the issue by 'Wakil Kita yang Khas' (Our Special Representative), the writer commented on the situation in Palestine⁶ as follows:

The unrest in Palestine is still going on; the British and the Jews are co-operating with each other to fight the Arabs who are being labelled as traitors. However, even the ordinary Arab people have also become the victims of torture. Is this a just action? It is inappropriate to enlist Jews to fight Arabs because both are equal parties to the feud. This action will increase the anger of the Arabs. We really hope that this action is stopped. It's as if all the non-Malay races in Malaya were brought together to fight the Malays! What would happen? So, please think with a wise mind because it is impossible that all the intellectuals in Europe have '*otak udang*.'!
(*Saudara* xi/868(1939): 2)

The writer then called on all the Muslims throughout the world to be aware, and defend the Arabs in Palestine from the oppression of outsiders (*kafir*) (*Saudara* xi/868(1939): 2). Clearly, there were limits to *Saudara's* approval of Britain's colonial policies, particularly when they led to the unjust oppression of fellow Muslims.

10.8.3. Turkey

It is understandable that Turkey should attract the attention at this time of the newspaper, since it was undergoing reform under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic and modern Turkey. The news included

⁶ After the First World War, Palestine, which had previously been under Turkey, was placed under the British administration under a League Mandate incorporating the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which had promised "the establishment in Palestine of a national Home for the Jewish people," and was opened to Jewish immigration. The Arabs protested against this action because they claimed that the British, through the MacMahon correspondence, had promised to include Palestine in the coming Arab State. However, the British claimed that Palestine was an exempted area. Jewish immigration was permitted under annual quotas. Since then several Arab revolts had taken place. However, with the persecution of Jews in Germany, Jewish immigration to Palestine increased drastically. This caused the Arab revolt of 1936, which is referred to in the article.

opinion about the reforms in Turkey, the progress of those reforms, and also the history of Turkey. The opinions reported were both from other countries and from within Malaya.

The history of Turkey is a part of the history of Islam. The golden era of the Ottoman Empire was considered the golden period of Islam. In fact, the Ottoman Sultans, until the year 1922, assumed the title of *khalifah*, the leader of the whole Islamic world. Thus, it is not surprising that *Saudara*, a newspaper with a religious tone, published articles about the history of Turkey. Also published were a significant number of articles discussing the reforms taking place in Turkey at that time. However, it is difficult to make a thorough analysis of specifically Malay opinion on the reforms made by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, since most of the long and detailed articles on this topic were taken from foreign magazines and newspapers written by foreign writers.

An anonymous writer, in an article about Turkey in 1934, explained the new changes which were taking place in Turkey at that time in a neutral way, without giving any opinion whether the changes were good or bad. Among other things, this article discussed the restrictions in Turkey on the newspapers' publication of certain types of news; the medical examination which was made compulsory for men so that they would always be ready if something happened to the country which required them to fight; and a large section on the efforts of the government to combat illiteracy in the country. The measure taken by Turkey which attracted the greatest attention of the writer was the tremendous increase in the establishment of schools and the introduction of night schools for adults. Education in Turkey, it was noted, was available for boys and girls alike. However, the girls had extra lessons on household subjects. Education was fully sponsored by the government. The Turkish government also recruited foreign teachers

on condition that they would only stay in Turkey while their services were needed (Saudara vi/445(1934): 3).

A series of articles in 1935 by Amir Shakib Arslan, however, who was apparently a renowned scholar of Islam, expressed harsh criticism against the reform carried out by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. He wrote:

All the *ummat* who do not have blind eyes can see that Turkish politics at the present time is based on a policy to change Islam from all its principles and to snatch it from its original roots. Since 10 years ago until recently, the *Kamaliah* [regime of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk] is making changes which have amended the Islamic *syariat*. The changes have been getting bigger by the day until what is happening now (Saudara vii/516(1935: 5).

On the other hand, another article, under the by-line of As-Shaikh Bajunid Afandi, provided a very different perspective on the reform in Turkey. Originally from Java, Shaikh Bajunid was a rich man of Arab descent who had travelled to several Islamic and Western countries. This article was his lecture (*khutbah*) given upon his arrival in Palembang, Sumatra. In this *khutbah*, he gave a very positive opinion on the changes happening in Turkey and refuted all the negative arguments raised by many people against the reforms made by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Among other things he said:

The Arabic alphabet is still being used. However, because not all Turkish people know the Arabic alphabet and language, the Quran, which it is compulsory for all Muslims to know how to read, is written in a script understood by people. Can this be considered as evidence to say that they hate the Quran? [...] all people under the age of 40 are required to learn the roman characters. Thus, the romanized Quran will be very useful to these people. All of them will be able to read the Quran and take good lessons from it. Moreover, it is accompanied with a commentary in their own language (Saudara vii/520(1935): 3).

This opinion is clearly different from that of the editor of *Saudara*. In an editorial of 1933 referred to in an earlier chapter, we can see how the editor, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi, opposed the writing of the Quran in the roman script, because the roman script could not represent the Arabic letters accurately, since they did not

coincide exactly, and, when read by people who did not understand Arabic well, could change the meaning of the words completely (Saudara vi/351(1933): 6).

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

Saudara, the longest serving newspaper of its kind, survived for about 13 years. This is a considerable achievement considering it was privately sponsored by various individuals. *Saudara*, which emerged through the efforts of a prolific writer and a renowned Islamic reformist in Malaya, Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad Al-Hadi, had a content that was rich in various issues, ranging from what were considered important to more trivial ones. As a newspaper associated with the Islamic reform movement in Malaya, the Islamic theme is continuously present throughout its publication, though this influence gradually waned as publication progressed. Nevertheless, compared to another major Malay newspaper at the time, *Warta Malaya*, which was also founded by an Arab-Malay, Sayyid Hussein bin Ali Al-Sagoff, there was more Islamic content in *Saudara*. This Islamic influence was totally understandable, since the prominent people behind the publication of *Saudara* were mostly from an Islamic educational background. For example, most of the editors received some kind of religious education at some point in their lives. However, the waning influence of the Islamic element in the newspaper was perhaps a reflection of the decreasing influence of Islamic reformism in Malaya itself, replaced as it was by the spirit of radical nationalism pioneered by the Malay intelligentsia. The late 1930s saw the emergence of new Malay leaders in the form of Kesatuan Melayu Muda and personalities like Ibrahim Yaacob, Ishak Haji Muhammad, Burhanuddin Helmi and Ahmad Boestamam, who were known more as 'Melayu muda', from their radical Malay nationalist standpoint, rather than as 'kaum muda' associated with Islamic reformism. Moreover, it was not *Saudara* or *Warta Malaya* which became their platform for propaganda; rather, it was the more 'pure' Malay ethnic newspaper, *Utusan Melayu*, newly established in 1939, which won the hearts and souls of the so-called 'pure' Malay readership. In fact, when *Utusan Melayu*

started publication in 1939, a few Malay journalists from *Warta Malaya*, including the former editor of *Saudara*, Abdul Rahim Kajai, moved to *Utusan Melayu* on the grounds that the newspaper was solely owned and staffed by Malays. In fact we can see this conflict over the question of Malay identity if we examine the articles of *Utusan Melayu* and *Saudara* in 1939 and 1940. While the former repeatedly stressed the importance of *pure* Malay blood in determining Malay identity, the latter, by the end of the 1930s repeatedly condemned those Malays who emphasized this issue and called on all Malays to put Islamic brotherhood above all else in strengthening Malay society. Interestingly the issue of the definition of Malay identity in *Saudara* also revealed the dilemma faced by the contributors to *Saudara* with regard to the status of people from Indonesia. At first, with the growing threat of the foreign races to the Malay community in Malaya, they repeatedly argued that the people from Indonesia were the same as the Malays in Malaya; but by the end of the 1930s, when the issue of Malay definition (*takrif*) had become a heated debate in Malaya, and the concept of 'Melayu jati' or 'pure' Malay identity was promoted, they began to argue otherwise. As a newspaper published in Penang, a centre for *peranakan* Malays, the contributors to *Saudara* used the question of the status of immigrant Indonesian ethnic groups to defend their own position in Malay society. These conflicting viewpoints, as illustrated by the contributors to *Saudara*, indeed reflected the on-going dilemma for Malays in determining the question of "who is actually a Malay."

Islam in *Saudara* was seen as a solution to many problems in Malay society. Many writers in it wrote that the Malay community would achieve progress if it followed the rules and regulations laid down by Islam, though sometimes their explanations were rather vague. Apart from this, *Saudara* continuously exhorted the Malay people to purify Islam from all innovations (*bid'ah*) which were deemed useless and irrational.

Many writers believed that Malay society remained stagnant because it had succumbed in the past to various innovations in religion. The writers particularly blamed the conservative Malay *ulama* for distorting the teachings of Islam.

The issue of ethnicity was another equally important theme of the publication. The words 'Malay' and 'progress' appear as often as the word 'Islam' through the whole period of *Saudara's* publication. In fact, as a major theme in the articles, ethnic issues outnumbered Islam. Apart from articles concerning Malay society per se, there was a constant on-going discussion of the threat posed by foreign races as a result of the latter's growing dominance, especially in the field of economics, and the way that this dominance contributed to a feeling of insecurity among Malays over their own position in the country.

As a result of this challenge from other ethnic groups, many articles in *Saudara* clearly tried to instil a sense of pride in being a Malay among the Malay community. Thus, *Saudara* constantly urged Malays to strengthen their Malay identity, for example by upholding the Malay language and maintaining the Malay style of dressing. Moreover, their emphasis on the need to safeguard Islamic rules and regulations was a means of strengthening their Islamic *identity* as well as their faith, thus differentiating them from those foreign races that were of a different religion.

It is obviously difficult to determine the exact ethnicity of *Saudara's* writers and readers, since many of the writers were anonymous. However, from the available information on a number of contributors, we can say that they were mixed in origin: some came from a pure Malay background, some had Indonesian origins, while others were *peranakan* Malays. Published as it was in the complex multi-ethnic society of

Penang, and pioneered by a Malay-Arab, if the rigid definition of Malay were to be applied, *Saudara* clearly could not be considered a 'pure' Malay newspaper like *Utusan Melayu*. Nevertheless, if the loose definition of Malay is accepted, it was very much a Malay newspaper which used the Malay language with the *Jawi* script, and it was backed by people who had at least a hint of Malay blood in them, and believed that they were Malays, and aimed at giving their services for the betterment of Malay society. Though associated with Islamic reformism, in fact it might be more appropriate to call *Saudara* a 'Malay' rather than an 'Islamic' newspaper. However, to say that the newspaper represented the thoughts and aspirations of Malay people in general at that time would be misleading, not least because during the period of its publication most Malays were still illiterate. Perhaps it is safer to say that the ideas and thoughts in *Saudara* represented a group of intellectuals and members of the Malay elite, who at the beginning were dominated by those who had had a religious education, but were later joined by the products of the new Malay and English education system.

Though *Saudara* was published in the Straits Settlements, the issues discussed in it were not solely seen according to a Straits perspective. It can be said that its perspective truly spanned the Straits and the Federated Malay States, and even – though to a lesser extent – the Unfederated Malay States. For instance, when it was discussing government policy regarding certain matters (such as education), they were usually seen in the light of policy affecting both the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. There were also articles concerning the Unfederated Malay States, but not as many as those concerning the other parts of peninsular Malaya.

Saudara also stressed the need for unity among the Malay people as a counterweight to the foreign races in Malaya. The writers continually emphasized that the Malays

would only be powerful if they were united and cooperated with each other. In this context they always emphasized the Islamic teaching about Muslim brotherhood as a means of bolstering their campaign for Malay unity. Unfortunately, the evidence in *Saudara* shows that 'state feeling' was stronger than 'national feeling' in Malaya at the time. The best example is the failure of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena (Brotherhood of Pen Friends) to sustain itself as a powerful national organization a few years after its establishment. The same goes for the failure of the suggestion for the creation of a Persatuan Ulama Semenanjung (Malayan Ulama Association) which would have helped to create a Malaya-wide Islamic organization.

Regarding *Saudara's* attitude towards the British, the newspaper can be considered as loyal to the British administration in Malaya. Though the paper was associated with Islamic reformism, there was no reference to British as '*kafir*' rulers etc. In fact, they were always defending the British presence in the country as legal, since it was based on treaties signed with the sultans, ignoring the question of how the British managed to get the sultans to sign those treaties. The British were consistently regarded as the protector of the Malays in Malaya. However, this does not necessarily mean that their administration and policies were not subject to criticism. There was an increase in the regularity and intensity of such criticisms as the publication of *Saudara* progressed. These were mainly related to the increase in the threat from foreign races, especially the Chinese, in terms of their growing domination over economic activity, and their constant demands for the same rights and privileges as the Malays in Malaya. But, given the fact that such criticism concentrated on the fact that the British had failed to live up to their role as protector of the Malay community, and that *Saudara* did not campaign for independence from the British, does this mean that the Malay contributors in *Saudara* were not nationalists? To understand their position, perhaps we first of all

must not judge them according to the contemporary perspective on nationalism. Their constant reference to the plight of Malays and attention to issues of Malay welfare is clearly a proof of their commitment and feeling of love towards the Malay nation and country. If they did not show a harsh attitude towards the British, this does not mean that they did not have nationalist instincts. Rather, the answer might lie in the condition of Malay society at that time. As a newspaper that examined the ills and weaknesses of Malay society, they recognized the seriousness of the problems facing the Malays in the inter-war period. Ultimately, given the enormous challenges that faced the Malay community, and the low level of its political, social and economic development at the time, they were not confident that the Malays were ready yet to stand on their own amidst the increasing threats from the foreign races in Malaya. And, as mentioned previously, at that time there were very few examples of small countries, even in Europe, being able to stand on their own without the protection of a major power. But the articles in *Saudara* do show that Malay opposition to British rule did not begin with the introduction of the Malayan Union in 1946. Articles in *Saudara* show that the Malay community had been continuously voicing their feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction for a long time before. Perhaps the difference was in the strength of this opposition and criticism, since it clearly escalated as time progressed until it reached its peak with the introduction of the Malayan Union in 1946.

Looking at international issues through *Saudara*, we can say that the Malay world-view was becoming all-encompassing by this time. They were clearly well informed and the issues discussed were up-to-date. They paid equal attention to news in Muslim and non-Muslim countries alike. However, there were not many articles which contained comment or analysis made by Malays themselves on this world news. The reason for this is difficult to assess. There was obviously a clear bias in their comments

and analysis regarding events; but this bias was mainly influenced by the impact of these events on Malaya itself.

The question of Turkey was particularly important since it gave a unique and unusual insight into the thoughts of the contributors to *Saudara*. There were many references to Turkey in *Saudara*. Turkey, the most independent Muslim country in that period, was undergoing fundamental reform under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Thus, there were constant comparisons being made by writers when they were discussing various heated issues relating to Malaya itself. There were clearly very differing opinions about Turkey and Mustafa Kemal in *Saudara*. While some writers praised him highly for his achievement in building a strong foundation for Turkey, equally as many condemned him for his policy of eliminating Islamic influence in that country. While Mustafa Kemal's emphasis on the national interest led him totally to reject Islam as a basis for the modernization of his country, the contributors to *Saudara* attempted to balance the goals of modernization and Islamic reform. However, in doing so, conflict often arose, as is shown in many articles in *Saudara*. It is, however, not uncommon to find that the contributors to *Saudara* promoted ethnic interest above Islam when faced with this dilemma. Thus, the contributors' conflicting opinions on Mustafa Kemal to a certain extent reflected their own conflict in trying to balance Islamic and ethnic interests in the process of striving towards the progress of Malay society.

Thus, after a thorough study of *Saudara*, one of the major Malay newspapers of its time, we can see that the newspaper was tirelessly trying to create an awareness among Malays of their situation and plight. Apart from discussing the problems the Malays faced, there were many articles which provided suggestions as to how to improve Malay society at the time. Although there seems to be more exhortation than specific

suggestions for change on the part of the writers in *Saudara*, the constant appearance of articles discussing Malay problems nevertheless reflected the commitment of these Malays to improving the life of their people.

Though this thesis has concentrated on the issues regarding the Malays in Malaya, it is important to emphasize that some of the contributors to *Saudara* did look at these issues in a wider perspective. More often than any other regions, the contributors examined the common problems faced by the Muslims in Malaya and Indonesia. This is understandable, since there is a strong tie between these communities; this is especially so between those ethnic groups in Sumatra and the Malays in Malaya because they share the same religion, ethnicity and culture. However, though the term "Malay" could be applied to other Muslim communities in the Indonesian archipelago, it is clear that *Saudara's* concern was mostly with the Malays of Malaya. This is due to the fact that a division of the region between the Dutch and the British and the existence of a huge number of immigrants in Malaya had created a different scenario and problems in both areas. Thus, when discussing the common problems between Malaya and Sumatra or with other parts of Indonesia, rather than using the term "Malays," the contributors to *Saudara* usually applied the term "*umat Jawi*."

In addition, when discussing certain issues, the contributors sometimes refer to the problems common to the Muslim world as a whole. In fact, if we study the literature of the Muslim world of the time, there is a close resemblance in the themes discussed and the solutions proposed to the problems faced by Muslims as a whole. To give some examples, in Indonesia in the 1930s, journals like *Pujangga Baru* and *Panji Pustaka* extensively discussed national identity and its relationship to the development of the Indonesian language. In India, the most famous Muslim thinker of this time,

Muhammad Iqbal (1875-1938), put forward his ideas on the issue of self-identity for the Muslim community, Muslim progress, the importance of moral values, the necessity of *Ijtihad*, and the teaching of Islam as a dynamic world-view. In addition, as mentioned earlier, in Turkey, the revolution based on the views and policies of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk covered areas like women, education, and language. Thus, it must be emphasized that the debates in *Saudara* constitute part of a worldwide concern at the plight of the Muslim *ummah* at this time.

The relevance of the debates in *Saudara* by no means stopped at the beginning of the 1940s. They are in fact ongoing issues which have survived through several decades to the present. These debates, which were also common in other journals and newspapers in Malaya at the time, laid the foundation for many significant developments and events in Malaysian history at a later period.

The debate over the relative importance of the Malay and English languages continues to the present day. In 1956, based on the recommendation of the Razak Report on education, Malay was made the official medium of instruction in schools and higher institutions. The main aim of this action was to unite the various ethnic groups in Malaya through a common language; and in this respect, Malay was considered the most suitable medium. In essence, with this policy, the status of Malay gained in importance at the expense of the English language. Nevertheless, English never lost its significance, and even now it is still a compulsory subject in schools and universities, and is widely used in Malaysian society. Recently the issue of the importance of the English language captured the headlines once again. The present government has stressed the need for Malaysian children to learn the English language in this period of globalization and in an era of science and technology. As a result, the government has

enforced the compulsory use of English as a medium of instruction in the teaching of Science and Mathematics in schools nation-wide.

Before the implementation of this policy, there were many arguments put forward by leaders, linguists and intellectuals discussing the advantages and disadvantages of this action. Apart from worries that Malay children, especially in the rural areas, who have the greatest problems with English, would not be able to cope with these changes, there are some prominent Malay representatives who are worried about the impact of this policy on the long-term credibility of the Malay language as a medium for disseminating knowledge. Dr Awang Sariyan and Kamal Shukri Abdullah Sani from the Malaysian Linguistic Society, in a working paper entitled “Kesan Penggunaan Bahasa Inggeris Dalam Pengajaran Sains dan Matematik di Institusi Pendidikan Di Malaysia” (The Impact of the Usage of English in the Teaching of Science and Mathematics in Educational Institutions in Malaysia) presented in *Kongres Bahasa dan Persuratan Melayu Keenam* (The Sixth Congress on Malay Language and Literature), 2003, at Tanjung Malim, Perak, expressed their concern that this step taken by the government would downgrade the status of Malay as a language for the understanding of science and technology in the education system in Malaysia. In their view it would fundamentally jeopardize the efforts of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka to promote Malay as a language of modern knowledge, including science and technology, by developing 80,000 terms and publishing 200,000 books on various subjects. Both acknowledged the need to improve mastery of foreign languages such as English in order to achieve the aim of the country of becoming a developed nation; but they did not believe that the decision taken by the government was the right one. Rather they argued that in order to improve the general mastery of English, the methods of teaching the language should be improved, since the current methods were clearly not achieving the desired objectives.

Apart from that, they suggested an increase in the hours of learning English. They concluded that so far the Malay language had shown commendable adaptability in its development as a language of science and technology, and, therefore, what was required was continuous commitment, confidence and effort from all people involved. Meanwhile Persatuan Penulis Nasional Malaysia - PENA (The Association of Malaysian National Writers) was also of the opinion that this action would undermine the development of the language itself. In view of the situation in Malaysia at the present time, they argued that the position of the Malay language should be a matter of immediate concern. Taking the attitude of the Malay community as an example, it has become apparent that more importance is being given to mastering English rather than Malay. People will be respected more if they can converse well in English rather than Malay. Since everybody now tries to include English words when they speak Malay, their spoken language has been badly affected; it has become an unruly mixture of both languages. Hence, rather than improving their skill in both languages, increasingly there are problems of proficiency in Malay and English. Obviously the weakening of the Malay language would affect the Malays more than any other race in Malaysia, since, though it is the national language of the country, it is also the central part of Malay cultural heritage and is closely associated with their ethnic identity as Malays.

As for the position of the *Jawi* script of the Malay language, it seems that, with the Razak Report on education in 1956 which made Malay the medium of instruction in schools and higher education throughout Malaya, *Jawi* had to cede its primary status to the roman script, or *Rumi* as it is known in Malay. This is because once Malay was made a medium of instruction in the education system, every ethnic group in Malaya had to learn the language. Compared to *Jawi*, *Rumi* was easier and more familiar to children from other ethnic groups. The loss of *Jawi* also signified the long-term victory

of the nationalists over the Islamic reformists in the Malay community, since the former were more inclined to favour *Rumi* rather than *Jawi*.

One other important factor in the *Jawi/Rumi* debate was the influence of historical events in Indonesia. Indonesians at this time were also facing the issue of the role of a national language (*bahasa kebangsaan*) in uniting a population far more diverse in culture and language than Malaya. Since Malay had been the lingua franca in the Indonesian Archipelago for centuries, it was considered the most suitable to become the national language of the country. On 28th October 1928 at the Second Congress of Indonesian Youth in Jakarta, the Youth of Indonesia swore an oath that they belonged to One Nation, the Indonesian nation, had One mother-country Indonesia, and One language, the Indonesian language. Significantly, it was at this Congress that the term “Malay” was replaced by “Indonesian” to describe the language. One of the most significant consequences of this declaration was the creation in 1933 of a very important magazine, *Pujangga Baru*, edited by Amir Hamzah, Armijn Pane and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana. Its aim was to promote the new national language and its literature. This development in Indonesia had a significant influence on Malaya, not least because the new Indonesian language, recognized as *bahasa kebangsaan* (national language), was written in roman script, since this was the most accessible script to the various ethnic groups in Indonesia. Since there was a close relationship between the nationalists in Indonesia and Malaya, the Indonesian experience had a significant impact on the position of the *Jawi* script in Malaya. Slowly but persistently *Rumi* took over from *Jawi* in the writing of the Malay language in Malaya. The fact that Malay was seen as an agent for the unification of the ethnic groups of Malaya made the position of the roman script even stronger. Nevertheless, *Jawi* was still taught in schools, but clearly its usage was rather limited. Even today there is one daily Malay newspaper, *Utusan Melayu*, and

a weekly newspaper, *Utusan Zaman*, which are published in the *Jawi* script and are still popular with the older generations.

Interestingly, recently there has been a revival of the debate on the importance of *Jawi* among the Malays. A manifestation of this renewed interest was the establishment of Persatuan Pencinta Tulisan *Jawi* (PENJAWIM) in 1996. This society was the result of the actions of an Ad-Hoc Committee of a seminar on the *Jawi* script at Jabatan Kemajuan Islam (JAKIM) (1986), and also of three national seminars held in Terengganu (1984), Masjid Negara (1991) and Universiti Utara Malaysia (1993). The membership of this Association at present is 1,078. This society has signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with JAKIM and the University of Malaya on 31st March 1998 to promote research in information technology to be used in developing the Malay language, especially *Jawi*, worldwide. Apart from that, the Faculty of Computer Science and Information Technology of the University of Malaya has succeeded in building up a server to develop programmes known as *Jawi* Digital and *Jawi* Software.

The most recent example which shows the relentless effort to revive the importance of *Jawi* was the *Seminar Tulisan *Jawi* Dunia Melayu 2003* (Seminar on *Jawi* in the Malay World) in Malacca from 1st - 3rd October 2003. This seminar was attended by 700 participants from Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, South Africa, Brunei, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Laos and Vietnam. The aims of this seminar were: to establish cooperation in the use of the *Jawi* script and Malay world calligraphy, and standardize the script throughout the Malay Archipelago. Apart from that, it aimed to preserve the *Jawi* script, and make it a medium of communication in the printing and electronic media. Among the resolutions of the seminar, it was urged that the government amend

the Akta Bahasa Kebangsaan 1963/1967 (National Language Act 1963/1967)¹ so that the position of *Jawi* would have equal status to *Rumi* as one of the official scripts of the Malay language. This is in fact in line with the opinion of many intellectuals in Malaysia, who are hoping for a revival of *Jawi*; after so many years of being marginalized, many children of the new generation have lost the skill to read and write in *Jawi*. In his opening speech at the seminar, the Deputy Minister of Education, Datuk Abdul Aziz Shamsuddin, stressed that the revival of *Jawi* should begin in the education system itself where the emphasis on learning *Jawi* should be given in the first six months of the first year in primary school. So far, according to Jabatan Pendidikan Islam and Moral (JAPIM), Ministry of Education, the performance of students in learning *Jawi* in schools is satisfactory but still not up to the desired level.

Evidently the revival of interest in *Jawi* is closely associated with the phenomenon of Islamic resurgence in Malaysia at present. As mentioned earlier, since there is a close similarity between the *Jawi* and Arabic scripts, the learning of *Jawi* helps in the learning of the Quran, and in the reading of many old Malay *kitab*. At the same time, the issue of *Jawi* as part of the Malay heritage is always there, as part of their identity as Malays and Muslims. Moreover, the learning of the script will help a new generation of Malays to study various old manuscripts and learn the history of their own people.

Since *Saudara*, much has changed on the question of the role of women in Malay society. The obvious difference between the *Saudara* period and the present is the tremendous increase in the number of women working in various economic sectors and their enrolment in higher educational institutions (recent statistics show that women make up 65% of the university and college population in Malaysia). More interestingly,

¹ In this act it is stated, "The script for national language is *Rumi* on the condition that the language does not prevent the use of a Malay script which is known as *Jawi*."

it is not uncommon these days to see Malay women becoming the main breadwinners of the family. Women's involvement in agricultural activities, however, remains as important as ever. Thus, apart from looking after household affairs, they are also equal contributors in the economy of the family. Though generally there have been many changes in the role and status of women in Malay society since *Saudara's* publication, some cultural expectations placed on Malay women remain: for example, though many of them are equally important contributors in the economy of the family, the management of household affairs is still primarily in their hands.

In the 1930s, ethnic issues, especially concerning the threat from more economically advanced immigrant communities and the rights of the Malays as the indigenous people of Malaya, were commonly debated in the journals and newspapers published at the time. The tense relationship between Malays and non-Malays, especially the Chinese, continued to be a problem until it erupted into a major racial clash on 13 May 1969. The immediate cause of this tragedy was the election result. In this election, the Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Gerakan, whose members were mostly Chinese, achieved an encouraging result because of the declining performance of the governing national alliance parties. To celebrate their achievement, DAP and Gerakan organized street parades which were immediately responded to by United Malays National Organization (UMNO) members with similar parades. Racial slogans were chanted by both groups and soon it erupted into riots in which many people were killed or injured. However, this election was only the immediate cause of the tragedy. By that time, ethnic tension was already deeply rooted in Malaysia. In the 1930s, as mentioned earlier, it was fuelled by endless debates on ethnic issues, as has been illustrated in the case of *Saudara*. The emergency period saw fighting between the communists, mostly comprising Chinese, and the army, the majority of which was Malay. Then a few years before the 13th May

1969 tragedy, Lee Kuan Yew incited anti-Chinese and anti-Malay sentiment through his proclaimed concept of "Malaysia for the Malaysians." The tension provoked by him led to the secession of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965. Apart from the above, there were other small incidents with racial motives which were largely suppressed by the government. The underlying reason for this tense relationship between these constituent ethnic groups was clearly the existing 'divide and rule' policy based on economic segregation, where the Malays were concentrated in the rural areas as farmers and fishermen; the Chinese resided in the urban and mining areas working as traders, shopkeepers and miners; and the Indians mainly worked in the estates as labourers, though some were also urban-based shopkeepers, traders and money-lenders. This segregation widened the gap between these ethnic groups and increased their suspicions towards each other. To make things worse, the separate education system for each community separated them even further.

After the 1969 incident, the government introduced the Dasar Ekonomi Baru (DEB) (New Economic Policy) which aimed at: 1) eradicating poverty regardless of ethnicity; and 2) restructuring the society so that economic function was not coincident with ethnic identity. In this policy, many incentives were given to the Malays as the indigenous people of the country, since they were much more economically backward than others; among other things, they were encouraged by various legal and other measures to increase their involvement in trade and industry. Government efforts through the Malaysia Plans undoubtedly achieved some success in improving the overall economic position and status of the Malays. However, despite this, there is still much room for improvement. Until today, the Chinese still dominate large sectors of the domestic economy; although the Malays enjoy political dominance, there is still the feeling of insecurity resulting from their continuing weaker economic position. The

government of Malaysia is assiduous in safeguarding the harmonious relationships between ethnic groups since there are still many underlying issues which, if provoked, could cause a resurgence of active ethnic conflict. Thus, today in Malaysia, open debates on ethnic issues which we have seen in *Saudara* are simply not permitted by law.

However, academic debates concerning the “lazy Malay myth” did not by any means stop with Mahathir’s book (which concluded the discussion in Chapter 4). Apart from the literature referred to in chapter 4, other significant work by contemporary writers contributed to the discussion. William Wilder in his article in *Modern Asian Studies* (vol. II, no. 2, 1968), “Islam, Other Factors and Malay Backwardness: Comments on an Argument” responded to Brien Parkinson’s view on the non-economic factors which, he proposed, had led to the economic retardation of the rural Malays. Basically in his article, Wilder refuted the argument put forward by Parkinson. Later this issue turned into a ‘literary war’ when Parkinson defended his stand in his response in the same journal (vol. II, no. 3, 1968), entitled “The Economic Retardation of the Malays - A Rejoinder.” Other prominent contributions to the debate are two books by Syed Hussein Alatas, entitled *Modernization and Social Change* (1972) and *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (1977). In his *Modernization and Social Change*, Syed Hussein described the impact of occupational preferences, the structure and organization of Malay sultanates, and the impact of British colonialism in Malaya on patterns of social and cultural change in the Malay community. His other book, *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, can be seen as an effort to rectify misunderstanding about Malay character and attitudes. Syed Hussein discussed the image of Malays presented by various European writers from Tome Pires in the 16th century to various colonial officials of the British administration in Malaya in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For comparative

purposes, he also included the colonial portrayal of other ethnic groups such as the Filipinos and Javanese, arguing that the position and perspectives of the indigenous population had been profoundly affected by colonial policy and practice in the context of Western capitalism, and that it was problematical to argue that native populations were inherently indolent and lazy. Another important book is by Tham Seong Chee entitled *Malays and Modernization: A Sociological Interpretation* (1977), which concentrates on the economic modernization of the Malays. Among other things Tham discussed the influence of education, the Malay elites, religious reform and the structure of ideology on the modernization of the Malays. And finally, even today, in the post-colonial era, discussion continues on the question of how to improve the cultural and economic attitudes of the Malays in relation to those of the Chinese. For example, the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad has repeatedly reminded the Malays that political power alone is not enough, and that what they actually need is a cultural revolution, a revolution in attitude and ways of thinking in order for them to compete on equal terms with the other populations in Malaysia.

The end of the 1970s witnessed the phenomenon of a worldwide Islamic resurgence, which directly affected Malaysia. There was a renewal of interest in studying and examining the principles of Islam and applying these principles in order to solve the problems facing the Muslim community worldwide. In Malaysia the impact of this Islamic resurgence was most obvious on the university campuses, where various Islamic organizations such as the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM), the Pan-Malaysia Islamic Party (PAS), Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) and Darul Arqam were very active in promoting Islamic activities especially in the creation of Islamic circles (*usrah* or *halaqah*) for its members. There was fierce competition among these Islamic organizations in recruiting their membership among university students. In addition, at

governmental level, the Islamic banking system was introduced and an Islamic university, the International Islamic University of Malaysia, which emphasized the integration of religious and other branches of knowledge, was established in 1983. Indeed, the legacy of Islamic resurgence can clearly be seen in Malaysia, and it is continuing to strengthen with time. Nowadays, the most obvious manifestation of this phenomenon can be seen in the tremendous increase in the number of women wearing headcovers (*hijab*) in Malaysia. Nowadays, many parents are also more inclined to send their children to religious schools rather than to ordinary secular schools. With this has come a problem, since there are now too many graduates in religious education, whereas what is really needed in this era of science and technology is more students in the science-stream. Thus, there are continuous reminders by the government that people should try to balance religious and other forms of knowledge. This issue has also become important at the international level. In a period when the reputation of Islam and of the Muslim *ummah* has been tarnished by the taint of backwardness, Muslim leaders all over the world are urging Muslims to return to the true teachings of Islam.. However, with the heightening of interest in Islam, some Muslims have tended to give more priority to performing *ibadah khususiyyah* rather than striving for the improvement of their life in this world; an orientation that *Saudara* criticized some seventy years ago. The same criticism has been put forward by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, in a speech at the opening of the tenth session of the Islamic Summit Conference at the Putrajaya Convention Centre on 16th October, 2003. He questioned this persistent attitude among Muslims, and said:

Some believe that poverty is Islamic, sufferings and being oppressed are Islamic. This world is not for us. Ours are the joys of heaven in the afterlife. All that we have to do is to perform certain rituals, wear certain garments and put up a certain appearance.

Politically, in Malaysia at present, there is a heated conflict between UMNO and PAS. The former, which is the dominant party in the ruling national front, Barisan

8.5.2.2. *Bid'ah*: Examples of *Bid'ah* Practices Criticized by *Saudara*

8.5.2.2.1. *Talqin*

*Talqin*⁶ is the recitation made by a religious figure over the grave of a dead person during a funeral service. According to Islamic teachings, once a person died, he would face questioning by angels called *Munkar* and *Nakir* regarding his faith. *Talqin* is considered as a form of instruction to the dead as to how to answer such questions by the angels at the grave. Many writers in *Saudara* argued that this practice is just a *bid'ah* (innovation) in Islam, and, furthermore, pointed out it was not practised by the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. An article entitled "Masalah Talqin," (The Problem of Talqin) 14.6.1930, refuted the belief of certain people that *talqin* could deter the angels who were going to question the dead person. The writer also addressed another disputed issue concerning *talqin*, which was whether or not the dead could hear the voice of living people. The writer dismissed this whole debate, and pointed out that divine judgement depended solely on the conduct and faith of the person who had died (Saudara ii/88(1930): 7).

In another article of 1930 entitled "علماء القبور يدافعون عن التلقين" (Ulama of the Grave Support Talqin) the writer brought up the issue of the Arabic language and the question of its use in the reading of *talqin* in Malay society. The *talqin* are recited in Arabic; but, he argued, there was no reason to believe that, if a person who did not understand Arabic had died, they would automatically gain the gift of understanding

⁶ Below is a translation of an example of one of the readings in *talqin*:

"O servant of God, and child of a female servant of God."

"O son of such an one, remember the faith you professed on earth to the very last; this is your witness that there is no deity but God, and that Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection from the dead are real; that there will be a Day of Judgment; and say: 'I confess that God is my Lord, Islam my religion, Muhammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) my Prophet, the Qur'an my guide, the Ka'bah my Qiblah, and that Muslims are my brethren.' O God, keep him (the deceased) firm in his faith, and widen his grave, and

privileges. At present, the debate on the question “who is a Malay” is not as intense as before. In contrast to the *Saudara* period, today there seems to be a general acceptance that people belonging to Indonesian ethnic groups who are resident in and are citizens of Malaysia are Malays, especially given the innumerable intermarriages between them and the local Malays

Thus, comparing the issues debated in *Saudara* with the current issues dominating the media in Malaysia, the continuity is very evident. Since the *Saudara* period, Malay society has undergone significant change and development; but many of the issues raised and debated in *Saudara* continue to have a salience in Malay society in the context of the Malaysian nation state and the development of a consciousness of nationhood and national unity. After more than half a century, in my opinion, the main factors which have contributed to the continuing relevance of these debates are: the continuing dominance of the Chinese in the economy of the country, the problems surrounding the identity of the Malays and what constitutes ‘Malayness’ and the phenomenon of Islamic resurgence, which parallels Islamic reformism and the significant impact which it had on Malay society during the *Saudara* period.

سازمان تبلیغات اسلامی - دفتر تهران - خیابان ولیعصر - پلاک ۱۰۰ - طبقه اول - شماره ۱۰۰

پ. پ. پ. ۵۰
۱۰

سازمان تبلیغات اسلامی

آغاز: روز چهارشنبه ۱۳۱۷ خورشیدی
تعداد صفحات: ۱۰
تعداد جلدات: ۱۰

آغاز: روز چهارشنبه ۱۳۱۷ خورشیدی
تعداد صفحات: ۱۰
تعداد جلدات: ۱۰

آغاز: روز چهارشنبه ۱۳۱۷ خورشیدی
تعداد صفحات: ۱۰
تعداد جلدات: ۱۰

۱۳۱۷ خورشیدی - ۲۰ شهریور ۱۹۲۸ - شماره ۱

سازمان تبلیغات اسلامی

فصل اول - کلیات

این سازمان را بنیادین و اساسی در تمام امور تبلیغاتی و فرهنگی کشور تشکیل می‌دهد. هدف اصلی آن تبلیغ اسلام و ترویج فرهنگ اسلامی است. این سازمان در تمام استان‌ها و شهرستان‌ها دارای شعبات است. این سازمان با همکاری و مساعدت کلیه دستگاه‌های دولتی و خصوصی فعالیت می‌کند. این سازمان در جهت ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم کوشش می‌کند. این سازمان در جهت ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم کوشش می‌کند. این سازمان در جهت ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم کوشش می‌کند.

فصل دوم - اهداف و مأموریت‌ها

این سازمان دارای اهداف و مأموریت‌های زیر است: ۱- ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم. ۲- ترویج علم و دانش در بین مردم. ۳- ترویج اخلاق و تعالی در بین مردم. ۴- ترویج سلامت و بهداشت در بین مردم. ۵- ترویج ورزش و تفریح در بین مردم. ۶- ترویج هنر و ادب در بین مردم. ۷- ترویج اقتصاد و صنعت در بین مردم. ۸- ترویج کشاورزی و دامپروری در بین مردم. ۹- ترویج صنایع دستی و هنرهای سنتی در بین مردم. ۱۰- ترویج زبان و ادبیات فارسی در بین مردم. ۱۱- ترویج زبان و ادبیات عربی در بین مردم. ۱۲- ترویج زبان و ادبیات انگلیسی در بین مردم. ۱۳- ترویج زبان و ادبیات روسی در بین مردم. ۱۴- ترویج زبان و ادبیات فرانسوی در بین مردم. ۱۵- ترویج زبان و ادبیات آلمانی در بین مردم. ۱۶- ترویج زبان و ادبیات ایتالیایی در بین مردم. ۱۷- ترویج زبان و ادبیات اسپانیایی در بین مردم. ۱۸- ترویج زبان و ادبیات پرتغالی در بین مردم. ۱۹- ترویج زبان و ادبیات یونانی در بین مردم. ۲۰- ترویج زبان و ادبیات رومی در بین مردم.

فصل سوم - ساختار و سازماندهی

این سازمان دارای ساختار و سازماندهی زیر است: ۱- هیئت مدیره: مسئولیت کلیه امور را بر عهده دارد. ۲- مدیرعامل: مسئولیت اجرایی کلیه امور را بر عهده دارد. ۳- معاونان: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۴- رؤسای ادارات: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۵- کارکنان: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۶- شعبات: در تمام استان‌ها و شهرستان‌ها فعالیت می‌کنند. ۷- مراکز: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۸- مدارس: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۹- کلاس‌ها: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۰- کارگاه‌ها: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۱- نمایشگاه‌ها: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۲- تئاترها: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۳- کنفرانس‌ها: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۴- سمینارها: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۵- کارگاه‌های تخصصی: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۶- کارگاه‌های آموزشی: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۷- کارگاه‌های پژوهشی: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۸- کارگاه‌های فرهنگی: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۱۹- کارگاه‌های ورزشی: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند. ۲۰- کارگاه‌های تفریحی: در زمینه‌های مختلف فعالیت می‌کنند.

فصل چهارم - منابع و بودجه

این سازمان دارای منابع و بودجه زیر است: ۱- کمک‌های دولتی: از طرف دولت و دستگاه‌های دولتی. ۲- کمک‌های خصوصی: از طرف اشخاص و شرکت‌ها. ۳- کمک‌های خیریه: از طرف خیرین و نهادهای خیریه. ۴- کمک‌های مردمی: از طرف مردم و دانشجویان. ۵- کمک‌های بین‌المللی: از طرف کشورهای دیگر. ۶- کمک‌های اموالی: از طرف اموال وقفی و وقف‌های دیگر. ۷- کمک‌های خدماتی: از طرف خدمات دولتی و خصوصی. ۸- کمک‌های فنی: از طرف متخصصان و مهندسان. ۹- کمک‌های علمی: از طرف محققان و دانشمندان. ۱۰- کمک‌های فرهنگی: از طرف نویسندگان و هنرمندان. ۱۱- کمک‌های ورزشی: از طرف ورزشکاران و مربیان. ۱۲- کمک‌های تفریحی: از طرف تفریح‌گردانان و هنرمندان. ۱۳- کمک‌های اقتصادی: از طرف اقتصاددانان و مدیران. ۱۴- کمک‌های اجتماعی: از طرف فعالان اجتماعی و مدافعان حقوق مردم. ۱۵- کمک‌های سیاسی: از طرف سیاستمداران و فعالان سیاسی. ۱۶- کمک‌های فرهنگی: از طرف نویسندگان و هنرمندان. ۱۷- کمک‌های ورزشی: از طرف ورزشکاران و مربیان. ۱۸- کمک‌های تفریحی: از طرف تفریح‌گردانان و هنرمندان. ۱۹- کمک‌های اقتصادی: از طرف اقتصاددانان و مدیران. ۲۰- کمک‌های اجتماعی: از طرف فعالان اجتماعی و مدافعان حقوق مردم.

فصل پنجم - نتیجه‌گیری

این سازمان با انجام دادن کارهای خود در جهت ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم کوشش می‌کند. این سازمان در جهت ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم کوشش می‌کند. این سازمان در جهت ترویج اسلام و فرهنگ اسلامی در بین مردم کوشش می‌کند.

فقهبران علوم

اصل كيدين اينن انور پريان
سنگرم نيت ۲ سرات ايت اداه دهن
اسل انر سب كيدين اوله بن ساداتي دي.

برله جرك اينن ايت دواه جايه سفره
كدام انر كولا بن درنسنك دمام او باينه
ايرل اي داسرتكن كدام جاير سي بن جهانت

سكل فراتون انور پريان
اينك نياده اي انر كيدن دان سوس سلاكي
اي بلوم بن فالتن انور پريان كيدن فراتون بن حن

باكي مرگ بن سبكتن كيدن با ادايت نياده
رگت اي كيدن دلم فركاتون عام مك جادينه
اي اوزغ نياحه كران بن دواحن پيران تلادن

ذبي جلولونوخ فرس
355 جلولونوخ رودا نولونوخ
شماره ۱۰۰۰۰ سرون ساتوروك جرينا سر ۱۰۰
مرك مرگ برنگان دهندي ندهان ۵۰ ۵۰

THE JILUTONG PRESS, FINANG
350
مرك مرگ برنگان دهندي ندهان ۵۰ ۵۰
مرك مرگ برنگان دهندي ندهان ۵۰ ۵۰

ODEON AIR-CONDITIONED

یڈا اشکالی دغن فنجاران سواران یڈا فربوات اواہ کمٹنی دوپستن ایلپتربک دان اسارت هوا بشجوق.

آندائغ دغن مسکرا کفنگرغ اپن

ہاری اپن نوکل 3 - 6:15 دان 9:30 مالم

GAY GAUCHOS! SULTRY SENORITAS!



سبت دان احد 4 کالی ملین

نوکل 11:30 فاکي - 3 فئم - 5:15 انٹم دان 9:30 مالم

نمبر کٹنی فون س بفتورہ دغن 4 بین 2 بقتربس مسکني ددائغ فغون اپن



ایانہ سمانت ۲ مہتر مسکن سمانت ۲
برتر بقا یڈا کنالی لیا کیت ۲ ددالم
فر کرفسکن فرس اتوان دغن نسام
دکماهران برلوان (Primo) ۲
کجیان بولبروسلما برماہن دبندر
ابن ہولہ دکناکن سمانت موابسکن
ہانی بقتربوقنی کفد کیت فد مالم
آبت وار فون ہوان سوردہ سنواان تانی
اشکوغ فترہ سمن .

کماوان عادت اورغ نوا ۲ کیت دغن
الاجران کونون بشجوق مقسا انق ۲
دان منچکہ کماوان ۲ بکیت مہلیہ
جودہ دغن کسوکاان ۲ تانی مرک
سندیری .

سلاہن آبت کیت دغنی تبق ۲
فرکشان یڈا کوناکن اولہ انجی ۲
بختیار اندری ددالم ای برجا کف ۲
دانس فغون آبت سبول ۲ سمانت ۲
دکوناکن کلیمہ ۲ بقا نمبری لایہ
جوا کفد سمانت مہشکینکن فراسان
قوم دان بقسا کیت سقانی برساتو
دان مفرساتوکن دغن نیار مہسہ ۲
دانارا سبورغ اسلام بقسا انق دغن
لایقہ فدیقن ال ۲ یڈا فرکناکن

فدنام نہ جرمنا یڈا مہیلن ایہ
ایانہ ساتو جرمنا کورہن بقتربک دغن
نام درنجا اورنیککن ۲ دان کبہ دانانی
سمانت سارین ہمانہ بی بھکن ۲ بنورہ
فرکند دغن داسن ۲ بشبولہ منجادی
کون کفد تبق ۲ فنتون ترابستہوا
دناس سباکی زمان سکارغ دمان قوم
کیت مستی بلاجر انسا ال دان
مشکوناکن کماادن بکراان ددالم
تبق ۲ ساتو فرکارا ال ۲ مسکالبقون
بشبرمشکورہ دغن مشارکت قوم دان
بقسا دان بکیتو جرمنا بقتربسیرہ
مہشککن دغن ترغن کفد کیت
بتال بر بہمان عادت رسم بقسوک
مقسا انق ۲ کیت برنیسکج سوزرت

بولبرو

مداقت کجیان بسر دانوار لینق
سبکیمان تانہ دکتھوی اولہ توان ۲
لمباج بہوا رابغ بر واپرو بقتربسور
تیت ادانہ اندناس این سدغ مہبرات
فرتجورفککن دتسام بن نسوز وار سد
تبتدر اپن
فد مالم خسس بقلاو کبہ تانہ برالواغ
برجانن ۲ کمانن اقویوروان بقتربسیرہ
برسام ۲ دغن برالان اورغ راکن
سجوت مان تانہ مقورانی کسمانن
فول ہوات برنورہ سولک دغن نسوان
بختیار اندری نوانشون رابغ بقتربسیرہ

سودارا

زباکی ۲ فرخوان اد دغن
دکوارکن فد تبق ۲ ہاری
سلاٹ دان جعت

Advertisements
 Each page per insertion 50 cts.
 Special arrangements can be
 arranged with the Manager in
 writing, if personally.
 Subscriptions:-
 1 month 15-00
 3 " 50-00
 1 Year 100-00
 (Single copy 10 cents)
 Payable in advance.

Saudara

Founded September 1928 by The Jelutong Press, Penang

Accepted for
 Postage and Free
 Delivery at
 111, Jelutong Road,
 PENANG.
 Telegram "Saudara Penang"
 All Cheques, Money-orders and
 Drafts should be made payable
 to the Manager,
 "SAUDARA"

Vol 10 No. 767

Published every Wednesday & Saturday. Penang, Wednesday, January 19th 1933



جف انبيغ بيغ فالبيغ بارو يون جنوري

Baru Sampai

بارو سامپاي

لاکڑی بیج صاف سردی دان ساربن حاتی دیپیکن لوه املی ۲ لاکڑی ملايو
 مشور دن و شاعران سورت کلیران ۲ باپی
 پیتر و ران فان نشون ۲ چشم ستان

- | | |
|---|----------|
| شیرول کٹونج - کرونیوچ دیپیکه سوال - انونی ایل - نوبج | P. 13018 |
| کرونیوچ سلامت ٹیکل - شیرول ویم - اوه نوبج وروا سولوا | P. 13019 |
| کرونیوچ جاتن سیریل - کرونیوچ سولت رجسٹی حاتی - ولاین لوه | P. 13020 |
| مولک عبدالکریم | |
| کرونیوچ جاتن روری دنتر - لاکڑی لاکٹ اولہ بیس سیریل | P. 13021 |
| کولمبن سولای اسٹری - کرونیوچ اد لراوتونن لوه ایس. میڈاٹ | N.S. 312 |
| کرونیوچ و تانن ساتو لیسٹری - کرونیوچ لوه ایسٹونسا لومات بیج | N.S. 313 |
| اند لوه بیس بیس | |
| کرونیوچ لاسو سول لردلین - لیسپور ووم تانک اولہ بیس ویت | N.S. 314 |
| روبا کرونیوچ قنرمن باین - کرونیوچ ایکن روسن لوه بیس | N.S. 315 |
| روسلین | |
| کرونیوچ چٹانکین مرٹ - کرونیوچ روبا قیلون دن دیپیکن | N.S. 316 |
| اولہ ایس. فرسو | |
| موت من حنا. اتل جابنو - لاکڑی عرب اولہ ایس. لبار | N.S. 317 |
| زوت مور کمان - بایلریل مو لاکڑی عرب اولہ ایس. لبار | N.S. 318 |
| کٹوری اول لب - بیج اول مریا - حاراین سیکر قاتور | N.S. 319 |
| لاکڑی دی کاپین ۱ دان ۲ لاکڑی ۲ ملايو | N.S. 320 |
| لاکڑی دی کاپین ۳ دان ۴ لاکڑی ۴ ملايو | N.S. 321 |

یولہ دالت دہلی لد جیوا کدی ۲ بستر نام دکسیل سترت بیج

Sole Agents:
S. Moutrie & Co. Ltd.

باگی سٹانی فکاہی سورت داک فکاہی فیکر جاکہ بیج کس
 لاوتہ مکدی چاہی کیت باگی سٹانی

سوی نغ

نمبر 189 بیج وودا قینم

نو کتر چاہی درجا بترننگی داک نو کتل مرگن مورہ - کفران - عالی
 لاکڑی - فیکر جاکہ ۲ داکو دقہ - کرا

FOR SPORTS & BUSINESS WEAR CALL AT HUI TUNG
 FOR YOUR SUITS.
 No. 179 PENANG ROAD PENANG.
 Moderate charge - satisfaction guaranteed - prompt services.



کریٹین ایپ

کمیجائن توان ایٹ. مستحق

بیسہ روکو. کریٹین ایپ. ہر روز دقہ کسک روکیا
 ستنی دقہ داکو روکیا دقہ جابج ایک بیسہ

دقہ دقہ کسک روکیا ایٹ. کریٹین ایپ. ہر روز دقہ کسک روکیا
 ستنی دقہ داکو روکیا دقہ جابج ایک بیسہ

CRAVEN 'A'

پیش اولہ جاکہ نر فرس کین و کادار کن اولہ جاکہ پوس حدانسید و فیباہن نمبر 113 جیلو بیج وودا بیج (سٹریٹ سٹیشن) ای



8.11.56 برسمائين م 1.98

باسمي منچاري جالو ۲ کسرونو فکي چاره ددلم نامن فمپيوران کيت

تتال ۳ رندا ۲ باکي رسکين اورغ

THE WEMBLEY PARK.

این مالم سبت 8 جنوازي 1938 هرک ماسوق دتوره سين سواج

تيلفور

اييل دلوار هندو منسرونو فکي هاتي مالم هاري نيله

مولاي

WEMBLEY CABARET (1937).

تفت بق سهايس ۲ باکوس سرونو سکالي ددلم فولو فینغ بار دانسيه درفد فولکل 9 هنگت فرتهه

دبارا کبالي

مالم 4 کوفون سرغکيت 9 کوفون باکي 2 رغکيت مالم يسو ني دافس 5.30 هنگت

30 8 مالم 6 کوفون سرغکيت تاري مالم درفد 9.30 هنگت فرتهه مالم 4 کوفون سرغکيت 9 دوارغکيت

Odeon Star Opera.

19

8.1.38 لا کراه ۲ پو فوزه ۲ همباني دقن تاري مناري بنسا اچه نرالو اندهن دري اول هنگت اخره

9.1.38 لا کواه ۱۱ ديموق سرغ ۱۱ چوباله تره ۲ سيلادتم مایهت ايله سوات چرنا پشترجادي ددالم تانه جاوا

چو کف مبري فواسهاتي دري اول هنگت اخر 10.1.38 لا کواه ۱۱ کيندبانه کيم اوف سيلون ۱۱ ايله سوات

چرنا پشترجادي دنغري سيلون هرک بکت 10 20 30 دان 50 مين

دانه

CAPITAL TALKIE.

مانسي اورا

ددالم کاواسن نامن فمپيوران ويسلي.

منورغ

« هوا خاي کروي » گمبر برچاکف چينا کيتونيس يفاکوس دان موليق

هرک ۲ ماسوق بيق موره ترماسوق بايران فتو 15, 25, 40 سين

تله مولاي داداکن دغن فرو کريم

عرب فرو کريم اين داداکن دغن

درفد راج ۲ عرب تيسور دکت

انتار امریک ۲ بيق خاصير ددالم

مبوکان اين ايله لورد لويد دان لور

فورتا سر فیند ليشر مشوات

سايکس ستر اولدوليسن ۲

بيلکن لجات جهاين دان شودا کر

فرخبران دنيا ابروه دان لاپوز ۲

برکان دغن اشکاهن فوليتيق ديشلوماتيق دان سوشتيال

انو کراهن کمليان دان کهرمانن

بتغ نايه کزاند کروس اوف ذي بات

تاهن بهارو

کفد سر رويت بنسارت بتغ نايه کزاند

لندن 31 دسيبر

کروس اوف دي برتيشن اينفاير کفد سر

انو کراهن شکت کمليان دان بتغ ۲

اندر وره دانکن

کهرمانن باکي سبون تاهن بهارو 1938 تله

بتغ ديم کوميدرا اوف ذي برتيشن

لڑھائیکن سوڈہ ٹریٹ ساکن
برجسٹا کانیہ دشن لرموان یفیر تریٹ



اتو اکو کابہ کلد اشتریکو
مرکان چوما 50 سین بریہ بلنجا لوس
کراهن راج منصوره فستله سکارغ کلد
Raja Manohar
JELUTONG PRESS
555 Jelutong Road, PENANG.

The oldest and the most popular
Bi-weekly newspaper in Northern
Malaya, published on every Tues
day and Friday.

سودارا

دتریشکن آد نیف 2 هاری ثلاث - دان جمعت.
ESTABLISHED 1928.

جاکت 2 اکن ٹریٹ اوس 2

بوکو جریٹا
د توان قاضی مشہول جینا پونا
اتو
انق فرموان یفیر ندرهاک
ساتو جریٹا یفیر دشت دان جری
کارغ اولہ راج منصوره سدغ دچینی
دان فسن دری سکارغ مرکان 30 - پن
کلد
Raja Manohar
JELUTONG PRESS
555 Jelutong Road, PENANG.

SAUDARA

PHONE 4000

SAUDARA

(منسخه 7 بتین)

تولوفیش - هاری جمعت 28.2.41

شاهن 14 بیلغن 1092



باکی لرموان

فیلچو کورامیر

(باکی لاکي 2 دان لرموان)



باکی لاکي

کسو - امان واندو دانغ حبض
نیاکت بولنن سفاکو کت عملیت اتو
نوا کبرمتین دانغ بولن نیاکت
اوبه 2 من حاصل یفیر خاطرطری

فد فاتن بهارو حقیقت رهسیا باطن

اوبت ایل جفت کورامیر این ترسیاغه مستاجب باکی لاکي نیاکت بولنن سفاکو کت عملیت اتو
بواه دانت بلدی دسرات 2 کدی اوبت دان لرموان وکیل لسه باکی یفیر خاص - کلدوغ اوبت
زی لوغ سیرغ نیم نمبر 33 کیبیل ستریت اولو اینغ

سلالو کادار مانی کران مانی
فایه نیدور انه کلاک 2 بتین دانغ
گوروه لسه بواه لسه کلد اوبت کریم
اوتجیع ایر کنجیج فوجت بدان لسه
دان کوروس سلالو فنیغ مات دان
فشدان کابور

اوبت سربو فنیغ کفلاچف لوخنیغ



اوله اوبت سربو این ساعت جرب کفد بار غسیا فمکو نیاکت
کارن چمنور این ترلا لرموان باکی مهبوهکن نیاکت، ادفون نیاکت کفلا ایت
تله بیاس ددافی اوله اورغ دتکری یفیرها و افاس دد لرموان تاهن کیت تله
مکو ناکن فمقون یفیر خاص بی سربو فنیغ لوخنیغ این، اناکی فدناس سکارغ
فد فتن کیت، اوبت این دشن چمنور ان کر کایر یفیر نیلین یفیر مکن فاقولک
توان مپدیکن اوبت سربو این، کارن ای برک ناکد، اورغ لسه اوبت کاف
جوک، سلالین دد فنیاکت یفیر سیروه ذاتس بوله جوک ای مهبوهکن نیاکت
یفیر نام توغ، ساکت کفلا، مابولوه، دم سلسا، فیم، تیا دحضم کما
سجوبونه دان سفل 2، اوبت این ماکن، اورغ تو سالتو بوغکوس سکالی ماکن
دان کاند بر 4 تاهن هتک 8 تاهن سفق بوغکوس دان دروی 8 تاهن
هتک 8 تاهن سفق بوغکوس جوک، جک صدق ماکن صدق فمقون
دشن ایر یفیر ماسق اوبت سربو



اوبت این دد فنیوه اوله

APPENDIX II

(SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF WRITERS AND INDIVIDUALS)

Abbas bin Muhammad Taha - There is not much information on Haji Abbas's background. He is said to have been born in 1885 and lived in Tanjung Pagar, Singapore. His parents were Malays but originally from the Minangkabau area in West Sumatra, Indonesia. In his childhood he was sent to Arabia to study religious knowledge in the Holy City of Mecca. He spent quite a number of years there, until his return to Singapore in 1905. He settled in Singapore and became a teacher. It was around this time that he joined other Muslim elites in the publication of *al-Imam* and became the assistant editor. Beside this post, he was also the *Imam* of a local mosque in his village in Tanjung Pagar. Later, he was also appointed as the *kadhi* (religious magistrate) of Tanjung Pagar district (Mohd. Sarim 1978: 1-3).

After the termination of *al-Imam's* publication, Haji Abbas published his own reformist magazines, *Neracha* and *Tunas Melayu*. Both of these magazines were radical in nature and aimed at spreading his reformist ideas. As an educationist, Haji Abbas was very concerned about the backwardness of the Malays. Out of this concern he wrote a book on education and philosophy, called "*Kitab Sempurnaan Pelajaran*" (The Book of Perfection in Education). His other main concern was the economic achievement of the Malays. He encouraged the Malays to form trade associations to promote trade activities among themselves. In 1913, his efforts materialised when a trade association was established in Kuala Kangsar Perak, with branches in Rawang, Selangor and Kota Bharu, Kelantan (Abu Bakar 1981: 190-1).

The conflict between *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* at that time made him realize the importance of creating a special association of religious elders to solve any disputed matters in Malay society regarding Islam. However, his suggestion was opposed by those who believed that this kind of association would not have much power, since the Sultan in every state had absolute power in the running of the religious affairs of that state. Although the proposal was rejected in the Malay States, the situation was different in Singapore. In 1936, the Majlis Ulama Singapore (The Singapore Council of Religious Elders) was formed and Haji Abbas was appointed as the President of the Council. This position indeed enhanced his position as a prominent 'alim in Singapore. However, his career was not confined to Singapore only. He once taught in the State of Selangor and became the Mufti of Pahang in 1940 (Mohd. Sarim 1978: 4-6).

He was famously remembered as the supporter of the *Talfiq* doctrine (the legal doctrine which permits the application of rulings made up by all major schools of thought in Islam). In fact he once went to Kota Bharu to support Haji Wan Musa, ex-Mufti of Kelantan, in a debate to defend this doctrine. The issue that aroused the debate was about the licking of a dog. According to Shafie *mazhab*, the licking of a dog will render an ablution null and void. However, this view was not held by other *mazhabs* such as Hanafi. This debate created a major rift between *kaum muda* and *kaum tua*. On his return to Singapore, Haji Abbas immediately wrote a booklet on this issue entitled "*Risalah Penting Pada Masalah Jilatan Anjing Di atas Empat Mazhab*" (An important Booklet on the Case of the Licking of a Dog according to the Major Four Schools of Thought) (Mohd. Sarim 1978: 6-7).

Ariffin Ishak - Ariffin was born in Semilang around 1914 and was the son of a customs clerk. He received his early education at a Malay School in Kota Kuala Muda, Kedah and then continued for another three years at a government English school in Sungei Petani, Kedah. After finishing school, he opened a small eating shop which also sold newspapers (Roff 1994: 212). Ariffin was one of the founders of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (Brotherhood of Pen Friends) and became the first editor of its magazine, *Paspam*.

Manicasothy Saravanamuttu (M. Saravanamuttu) - Saravanamuttu was born on September 21, 1895 in Colombo. He received his education at St. Thomas College, Colombo and then St. John College, Oxford. His career included: Sports editor for Ceylon Observer(1922/25); Sports editor(1930) and editor(1931) for Straits Echo, Penang; Managing director for North Malayan Newspapers 1939/47; Ceylon Commissioner in Malaya in 1950; and concurrently Ceylon Minister, Rhode Island, October 1954. Among his public activities were: President Ceylon Association Penang and Province Wellesley 1934/47; Penang Rotary Club 1945/50; Member of Court, University of Malaya in 1949. When the British evacuated Malaya in 1941 he became the chairman of Penang Services Committee until the arrival of Japanese who imprisoned him. Other positions that he held were: Patron, Malayan Cricket Association in 1955 and Panji Sports Club, Jakarta 1954; and Honorary Member British Cricket Club, Jakarta. In 1953 he was elected as the most popular personality in Malaya in a *Singapore Standard* Contest with a vote of 465,000 and was given the prize of a world tour. In honour of his contribution to society, a Sara scholarship was established in his name by public subscription at Penang Free School and Bukit Mertajam High School (Morais 1956: 61).

Mustapha al-Bakri - He was born on October 15, 1902. He received his education in Anderson School Ipoh and Malay College Kuala Kangsar. In 1924, he joined the Malayan Administration Services (M.A.S) and thus served in different parts of the Federated Malay States mainly as a magistrate. Other positions included a district officer during the Japanese occupation, and working in the police department to organise the recruitment of a special constabulary. In 1949 he was appointed as the State Secretary of Perak, and he later acted as Menteri Besar of Perak. In 1951 he was appointed as the Keeper of Rulers' Seal and Secretary to the Conference of Rulers. Early in 1952 he became an unofficial member of the Federal Council. Mustafa al-Bakri was also appointed as the Member for Industrial and Social Relations in the Federal Government, with a seat in the Federal Executive Council and the Legislative Council. While in this position, he succeeded in pushing for "an amendment to Trade Union Enactment which resulted in liberalising the provisions of the law relating to trade unionism and the second was the employment bill which amended and consolidated the laws relating to labour in the Federation." On the resignation of Dato Sir Onn he also took over the portfolio of Home Affairs. In 1954, Mustafa was promoted to Staff A rank in the Malayan Civil Service (M.C.S), the highest rank as yet reached by any Asian officer. After a distinguished career, upon his retirement in 1957, Mustafa was appointed as Chairman of the Elections Commission, Federation of Malaya. And, he was Grand Chamberlain during the ceremony of the installation of Malaya's Paramount Ruler (Morais 1957-58: 50).

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff - He was from Arab descent and received his early education from Al-Sagoff Arabic School and later, the Raffles Institution in Singapore. The al-Sagoff family was a rich and well-known Arab family in Singapore at that time. They owned big businesses with huge capital. This probably explained why he managed to finance the publication of *Warta Malaya*.

Shaikh Ahmad bin Mohd. Hashim - Shaikh Ahmad was born in 1896 in Penang. He received his formal education in the Victoria Institution in Kuala Lumpur. After that he became a government official in Kedah and Perlis until his retirement in 1951. In Perlis, Shaikh Ahmad served as representative on the Federal Legal Council 1948/55, and on a large number of official committees within the state. At national level he was a member of The Central Advisory Board on Education in Kuala Lumpur; Pilgrimage Advisory Committee, Malaya; Executive Committee, College Islam, Malaya; Malay Alliance Council, Malaya; and General Executive Committee of UMNO, Malaya. He was also the chairman for UMNO Perlis and Lembaga Didekan, Malay Boys and Girls Kangar. Apart from that he was appointed as the treasurer for Derma Kebangsaan Melayu, Perlis. He was also the president of Federal Rural Co-operative Societies Ltd. Kangar; Co-operative Marketing and Transport Society Ltd.; Lembaga Didekan Malay Schools and Rural Co-operative Apex Bank, Ltd., Malaya (Morais 1957-58: 92).

S.M. Zainal Abidin - Zainal Abidin was born on October 3, 1898 in Penang. He was the son of Sultan Mydin, a merchant. His formal education was solely in Penang Free School and later he began his teaching career at the same school. His specialist subjects in teaching were Geography and Health Sciences. But, apart from this he also taught English, Latin, French, Malay and Mathematics. He served as headmaster of the Francis Light School for ten years and Inspector of Schools Penang for five years until retirement in July 1953. Zainal Abidin wrote several books for Malay schools namely *Ilmu Pengakap* (a Malay version of scouting for boys), *Ilmu Bumi* (Essentials of Geography), *Pelik Tetapi Benar*, *Chontoh Karangan dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan* and *Latehan Bahasa Kebangsaan*. He also taught English by correspondence to thousands of Malays. He is also remembered as the individual who was behind the establishment of the School Parents' Association. Apart from teaching and writing, Zainal Abidin was actively involved in the Boy Scout Movement, in which he was appointed District Scout Commissioner, Penang and Province Wellesley, and he was awarded the Medal of Merit from imperial Scout Headquarters in London. In 1945 after his 30 years' involvement in scouting activities, he retired. Apart from that, he was the acting president of Paspam in 1934. As for political activities Zainal Abidin served as President of Penang UMNO for five years in succession (Morais 1959-60: 446).

Tan Cheng Lock¹ - Tan Cheng Lock was born on 5th April 1883 at Hereen Street Malacca. He received his early education at the Malacca High School in 1889 and later the Raffles Institution. After completing his education, he worked as a teacher in the Raffles institution for seven years before moving to the rubber industry. After working as an assistant manager in his cousin's company for a while, he opened his own rubber

¹ p. 1-3 [Online] available at http://www.perpustam.edu.my/berita_perpustam/profil.html [accessed on 12/02/2003]. For detailed account of Tan Cheng Lock's life, refer to the book of his personal profile by his daughter: Scott-Ross, Alice. *Tun Dato Sir Cheng Lock Tan, S.M.N., D.P.M.J., K.B.E., J.P.* Singapore: Alice Scott-Ross, 1990.

companies: Melaka Pindah Rubber Estates Ltd., United Malacca Rubber Estates and Syarikat Ayer Molek Estates Ltd.

Throughout his life Tan Cheng Lock held many important positions and provided prominent leadership for the Chinese community. Apart from a few positions in the Malacca City Council and Chinese associations, he was also appointed a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Straits Settlements. While in these positions, Tan frequently presented his ideas for the need for equal rights for all the races in Malaya, whether immigrants or indigenous, and for the welfare of the Chinese community in general.

One of the greatest contributions of Tan Cheng Lock in Malayan politics was the establishment of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). On 29 February 1949, Tan, together with other Chinese leaders such as Tun Leong Yew Koh and Kolonel H.S. Lee founded the MCA with the aim of uniting the Chinese throughout Malaya; preserving the rights of the Chinese; cooperating with the government to fight against communism; and working with other races to achieve independence. Through the MCA Tan worked closely with the British government to weaken communist influence in the Chinese community. Tan strived to convince the British government that the majority of Chinese were still loyal to the British.

Tan was also very enthusiastic about cooperation between the different races in Malaya. He supported the establishment of the IMP (Independence Malayan Party) by Dato' Onn bin Jaafar, which aimed to achieve a close alliance between all the races in Malaya, and later with Tunku Abdul Rahman and UMNO. Tan brought the MCA into the National Convention organised by UMNO on 23rd August 1953 which aimed to achieve independence by peaceful means. Later, the *Perikatan* which comprised UMNO, the MCA and the MIC was established. This coalition speeded up the independence process, and the party won 51 seats out of 52 in the Federal election of 1952. Moreover, Tan's ambition of introducing the *jus soli* concept of citizenship became a reality when the proposal was accepted by UMNO.

Tan Cheng Lock died on 13th December 1960 at the age of 77.

Za'ba (Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad) - Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Za'ba) was born on 16 September 1895 in Kg. Bukit Kerdas, Batu Kikir, Negeri Sembilan. He first had his formal education at the age of twelve in Sekolah Melayu Batu Kikir, Negeri Sembilan. Prior to that he received education in Quranic recitation from his father who inherited the intellectual flair of his Bugis ancestors. He continued his education in the school in Linggi where he learnt Arabic and Quranic studies. Later he enrolled into an English school, St. Paul's Institution, at the age of fourteen and remained there until he passed the Senior Cambridge examination (Adnan 1994: 31-58).

In 1915, Za'ba began his career as a temporary teacher at Bukit Zahra English School, Johor Bharu. By this time he has began writing articles to the newspapers and magazines in Malaya. His first article entitled "Mandi Safar di Tanjung Keling" was published in *Utusan Melayu* in January 1916. In 1918 he became a teacher in Malay College Kuala Kangsar (MCKK). In May, 1923 Za'ba was transferred to Pejabat Penolong Pengarah Pelajaran Negeri2 Melayu dan Negeri2 Selat di Kuala Lumpur. At the same time, he took up the part-time job of teaching English to government officials from various departments in Kuala Lumpur. In 1924 he played a significant role in the

foundation of the Malay Literary Society in Kuala Lumpur (MLS). In 1924 he was transferred to Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim. There he founded the Translation department which became very important in the development of the Malay language. At the same time Za'ba also became more and more active, and he wrote several books during this time. They were: *Ilmu Bahasa Melayu I* and *Ilmu Bahasa Melayu II* (1927), *Rahsia Ejaan Jawi* (1929) dan *Ilmu Mengarang Melayu* (1934). In 1932 he produced his first book on Islam entitled *Umbi Kemajuan* and later in 1934, a translation of an Arabic work into Malay entitled *Pendapatan Perbahasan Ulama pada Kejadian Perbuatan dan Perusahaan Hamba* (Adnan 1994: 59-91). From 1937-1939 he became the adviser of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (PASPAM). And, from 1947-1950 - he became a lecturer of Malay language in School of Oriental and African Studies. In 1952, he was appointed as senior lecturer and head of the Department of Malay Studies in University Malaya. Za'ba died on 23 October 1973 at the age of 78 (Adnan 1994: 163-165, 183).

Throughout his career, Za'ba wrote many articles for various journals such as *Majalah Guru*, Seremban and Kuala Lumpur (1924-1931); JMBRAS, Singapore (1924-1930), *Majalah Malaya*, Pulau Pinang (1926), *al-Ikhwan*, Pulau Pinang (1926-1930), *Semangat Islam*, Pulau Pinang (1930-1931), *Bulan Melayu*, Johore (1930-1933) and *Saudara Pulau Pinang* (1931), *Lembaga Melayu*, *Utusan Melayu* and *Pengasuh* (1916-1922), *Qalam* (1953-1955), *The Malayan Undergrad* (1955); *Majalah Belia* (1955), *Majalah Kebudayaan* (1955), *Majalah Guru* (1955-56), *Album Kenangan SITC* (1956), *Majalah Bahasa* (1957), *Chenderamata Merdeka* (1957), *Majalah Dewan Bahasa* (1957-1958), and newspapers; *Warta* (1954) and *Utusan Melayu* (1954) (Adnan 1994: 91, 168).

APPENDIX III

Among the writings of Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi are:

1. *Sejarah Islam - Penggal Pertama* (Islamic History - Part One), 1922.
2. *Faridah Hanum* or *Hikayat Setia Ashik kepada Ma'shuknya*. [An adaptation of love story and romance in a wealthy and educated Muslim family in modern Egypt], 1925-26.
3. *Angan-angan Kehidupan* (The Ideals of Life), 1927.
4. *Tafsiran Quran* (Quranic Exegesis) - the 30th Chapter of the Quran, 1927.
5. *Surah al-Fatihah* (The Opening Chapter), 1928.
6. *Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassan (Hindon and Hammad)*. [A novel of love story between Hindon and Hammad], 1928-1929.
7. *Hikayat Taman Chinta Berahi* or *Mahir Affandi dengan Iqbal Hanum*. [A love story between Mahir Affandi and Iqbal Hanum], 1928.
8. *Hikayat Cermin Kehidupan* (The Tale of the Mirror of Life), 1929.
9. *Hikayat Pembelaan Dalam Rahsia* [A story of love between comrades], 1929.
10. *Alam Perempuan* (Woman's World), 1930.
11. *Kitab Ugama Islam dan Akal* (The Book of Islam and Reason), 1931.
12. *I'tiqad dan 'Ibadat* (Creed and Worship), 1931.
13. *Hadiah Kebangsaan* (National Gift), 1933.
14. *Cherita Rokambul* (The Story of Rokambul), n.d.

APPENDIX IV

Among the writings of Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin are:

Books in Arabic:

1. اتحاف المرید فی احکام التجوید
(A Textbook on the Art of Reading the Quran) - for Standard One in Malay Schools.
Muar, Johore: Matba'ah Al-Jamaliyah, 1928.
2. نتیجة الأم
[The Almanac: Muslim and Christian Calendar and the Direction of Qiblat according to Shafie Sect]. Taiping, Perak: Matba'ah Al-Zainiyah, 1951.
3. تنمة الإرشاد الخیر العلم الفرائد
(The Best Complete Guide to Inheritance Law). Singapore, Matba'ah al-Muhammadiyah: 1952.
4. تذكرة متبع السنة في الرد على القيل بسنة ركعتين قبل الجمعة
(A Reminder for those who perform the *Sunnah* prayer before the Friday Prayer),
Penang: Matba'ah Haji Abdullah Haji Mohamad Nordin Al-Rawi, 1953.
5. القبلة
Taiping: Matba'atul al Zainiyah, 1951.

Unpublished Articles in Arabic:

1. "كي تتقدم أمة الملايو" (So that the Malay Nation may achieve progress).
2. "ربوع الأخير السفر" (The Last Wednesday of Safar).

Books in Malay:

1. *Perisai Orang Beriman Pengisi Mazhab Orang Qidyani*
(Shield of the Believers against the Qidyani Sect). Singapore: Setia Press, 1930.
2. *Pati Kiraan Pada Menentukan Waktu Yang Lima Dan Hal Qiblat dengan Logarithma*
(The Essence of Calculation For the Five Periods Through Logarithms). Singapore: Al-Ahmadiyah Press, 1938.
3. *Ini Huraian Yang Membakar 'Taman Persuratan' Haji Bakar, pada menyatakan Hukum Dua Rakyat Kabliyati al-Jumaah*
(An Analysis of the Writings of Haji Bakar regarding the Two Rakaat Sunnah Prayer before Friday Prayer). Cairo: Al-Matba'ah Al-Marbawiyah, 1932.
4. *Risalah Penebas Bid'ah-Bid'ah di Kepala Batas*
(Pamphlet Refuting Innovations at Kepala Batas). Penang: Persama Press, 1953.

بیتنا

(10)

HALAMAN SAHABAT PENANG

دليل نيشتم

فرجهان اكوغ

دولم رتيان ساي پلازماني ته پوهاند
سدیکه دريدل جانوان له مشر جنتن. برکتان
دوښمن تر ايت ساي پورا سوزغ لوبيس نه
تيا ورسويو ورس وادا کي جانوان نه ملي
فرجهان ته پستکي نداشتن معلانين اي پات
باين اهل ۳ نه منق حشر دهلې لري پيدا کون
پستکي ته پيدا دات سايوت پستکي لوبه کول
د ارج جانوان

بلون فرجهان اړو اړت توجوان نه
تولون سکتې اړه کول برکت ۳ ول لول کول
د اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
د کول اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت

فرجهان نيشتم پير دوا لولېم پير
د سوزغ ۳ نه ساي سکتې حشره دلا کي سول
فرجهان اړو اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
نشت دان پستکي سوزغ لوبه کول پستکي
نيل ۳ فرجهان نيشتم اړت اړت اړت اړت
دان نيشتم ۳ نه برکتان توجوان نه سوزغ لوبه
اين دن کول ورسول د اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړو دن وکول ۳ پستکي ۳ اړت اړت اړت اړت
نيل کول سکتې

د لالې سولې پستکي سکتې ته
پستکي کول سکتې اړو اړت ۳ نه وړت لول تيا
سکتې دهلې لري پيدا کول سکتې ورسول
سکتې سکتې سکتې سکتې سکتې سکتې
لري پيدا کول سکتې سکتې سکتې سکتې

سکتې لري ته دواړه کي پورا فرجهان
اړو اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت

بدرسه لاري
پستکي لاري
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت

930-1761-1303 625
17574
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت

نوشتم پيران ملاک
نوشتم پيران ملاک
نوشتم پيران ملاک
نوشتم پيران ملاک

China Pharmacy
Malacca
1918 July 1918
The General Secretary
Peranakan Sahabat Pena Malaya
118 Drive Kramat Road
Penang.
I have the honor to inform you that the
Registry of Societies has been pleased to
register the Peranakan Sahabat Pena Malaya
in Malacca.
You are requested to remit the fee being
retained by the Registry of Societies for
completion in Singapore has been paid.
I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Ang. Registrar of Societies
نوشتم

نوشتم
نوشتم
نوشتم
نوشتم

نوشتم
نوشتم
نوشتم
نوشتم

اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت

Law Commission, Customs, Excise and
Anti-Money Laundering in British Malaya
A Malaya Review, The Adventure of Man
Kamb Papyrus Abolish, "Pambali Blue"
"Abolish", "Amiah Kamb" I Tama.

لاريان اڅکروس
پيگان بشکرو
(H. A. اڅکروس)
HALF-MINUTE STORY.
ENGLISH - MALAY.
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

One day a clerk entered a brewer's
shop in her town. After walking about in
the shop and still he could not see the brewer,
he wanted, he enquired from the waitersman.
"Have you the bank entitled 'Women
must relate to Men' which has just been
published?" The waiter replied: "We do
not want to touch on non-moral subjects in
our shop, sir."
The Orange Usher's Man.
A circus manager was about to visit
to another country for change of air to see
or two months, and because he was very
fond of the animals under his charge, he
said to his steward, "I shall return in two
months' time. If there are any important news
relating to the circus please write and let
me know." He then departed, and some time
afterwards he saw a letter in which was the
following information: "We are all getting
on all right. Our income is improving.
The only man in the Circus No. 2 owing to
the loss of his mare is seriously ill. Please
say what would be done before your
return."

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

مسلمات
دعارف سکتې پيران سکتې
د اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
د اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
د اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت
د اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت اړت

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې
پيران سکتې

APPENDIX VI

PERSAUDARAAN SAHABAT PENA'S CONSTITUTION AS ENDORSED BY THE FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF PASPAM ON 22ND DECEMBER, 1935

Establishment and Name

1. This association should be called "Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya." It has been registered or has been exempted from registration according to the law of the Straits Settlements.
2. Jelutong Press is the headquarter for this association. The address is no. 555 Jelutong Road, Penang. This association is under the patronage of *Saudara* with branches in every state throughout the peninsula.
3. The Objectives of Sahabat Pena are:
 - i) To establish an association which encourages its members to get to know each other and establish a proper contact between them so that a strong friendship can be established among its members.
 - ii) To encourage writing and reading in the Malay language among its members.
 - iii) To uphold, spread and strengthen history, customs and Malay language.
 - iv) To establish a library for members' use.
4. In order to achieve all the purposes stated above, the association could do anything which is not mentioned in the third agenda of this statement.
5. The membership of the association is open to all readers of *Saudara* men or women whose age is not less than 16 years old.
6. Anybody who wants to become a member of the association has to pay a fee of not less than 50 cents which is the first year fee. Member will get a badge of Sahabat Pena.
7. Any member who does not pay the annual fee by the end of June every year, his/her name will be deleted from the membership registry.
8. Anybody who brings at least ten *ringgit* for the Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena will be registered as a lifetime member, but he/she will be charged the same amount like other members for the use of library.

<p>Rights and Freedom</p>	<p>9. Any member who does not owe the association any payment has the right to attend and voice their opinion in any meeting or annual general meeting and to vote in any debate and also to contribute their writings to Sahabat Pena's column in <i>Saudara</i>.</p> <p>10. Every member is free to use the library according to the rule governing the use of it.</p> <p>11. Every member has the right to join the writing competition which offers prizes but he/she must not owe the association any payment.</p> <p>12. Every member has the right to buy any book published by the association a lot cheaper than the market price as fixed by the grand committee.</p>
<p>Responsibilities</p>	<p>13. Every member should wear the badge in the appropriate place specified by the committee in the annual general meeting so that it would be easier for the members to recognise each other.</p> <p>14. When a member meets another member, they should get to know each other without having to be introduced by another person.</p>
<p>Grand Committee</p>	<p>All the tasks in Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena should be handled by the grand committee. They should be chosen from among the members in Penang. The posts included in the committee are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) president ii) deputy president iii) secretary and treasurer iv) assistant secretary v) advisor vi) 3 sub-committees <p>All the officials mentioned should be appointed during the annual general meeting which will be held in January or February except for the post of secretary and treasurer. The secretary is allowed to choose his own assistant but with the approval of the grand committee. The editor of <i>Saudara</i> will automatically be the secretary and treasurer, thus no other appointment is needed.</p> <p>16. The annual general meeting should hire two auditors from among the members in Penang; the sub-committees are not allowed to become auditors.</p>

Annual Gathering	25. On the first Sunday in the month of August every year, an annual gathering shall be held in a place chosen by the majority of Sahabat Pena members. This gathering is aimed at achieving the purposes of Sahabat Pena's establishment. Permission from the authority shall be sought before this gathering is held.
-------------------------	---

Ref: (Saudara vii/473(1934): 7).

APPENDIX VII
(PASPAM FIRST ISSUE - FRONT PAGE)



"پاسم مشهور کن بنا"

پاسم

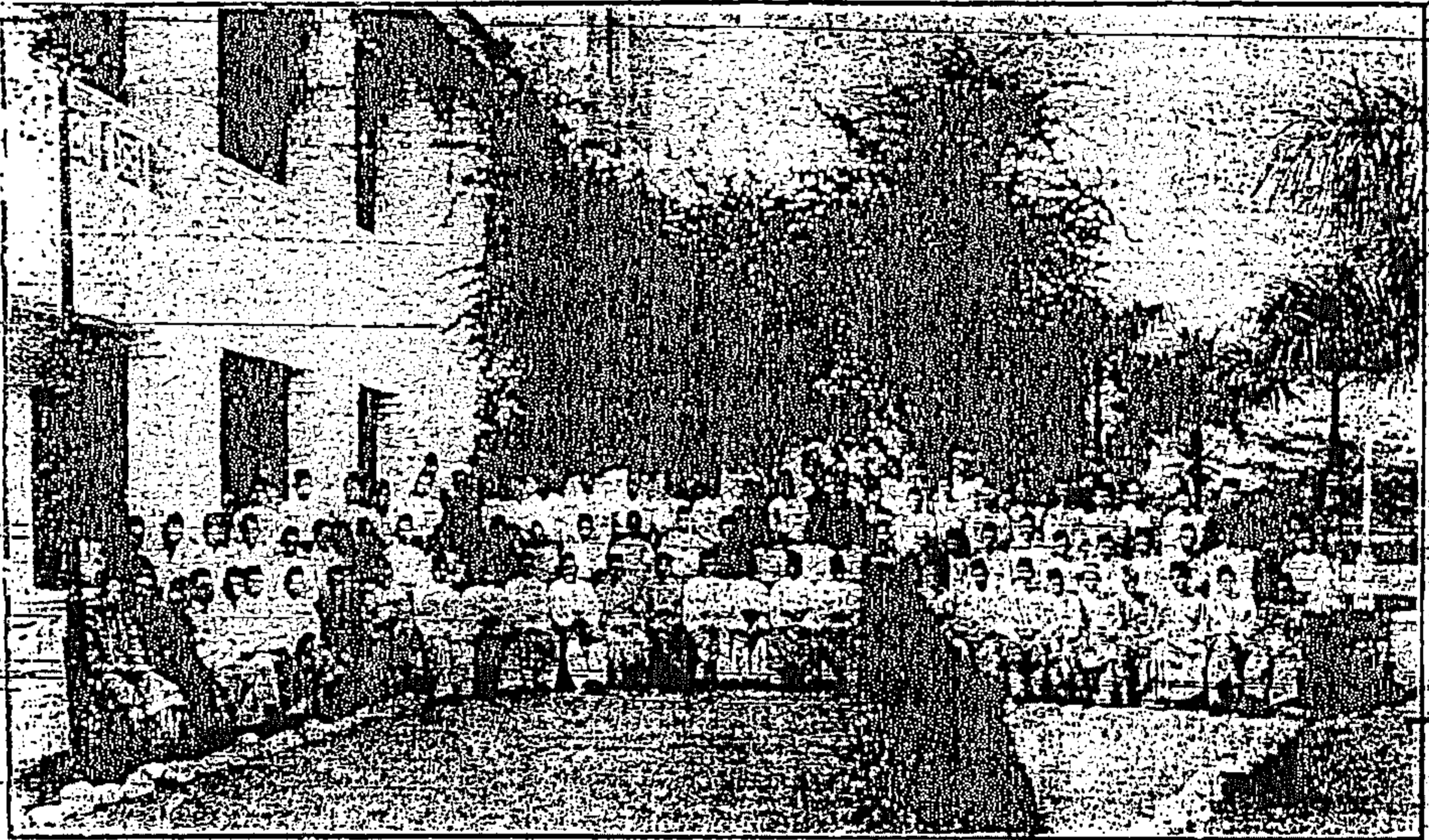
فمبریتا جواتر فیر سرداران صحاب قینا مسالانا

دترین اوله اینو فحات نیر 148 دانوه کرامت دود، فولور قینغ - فند قینغ 15 مار تبولن، متسیجی

فولور قینغ - 16 ربیع الآخر - 1357

دبری دغن فرجوم کفد اهلی ان

15 جون 1938 - ییلاش 1



کمبر فرجمقان اکوغ فضقم کالی یشکلیم یندادا کن داندوشن سکول ایفوه، قیرق.

فد 17 افریل 1938

ددالم فرجمقان اکوغ اینله دادا کن سوات مشوارت اکوغ خاص کران مریدین سرت منصحن: رخ اندخ ۲ فضقم یشهارو.

دان دغن سبب اخلاص دان فهم ۲ من یشله برلاکو داتارا سکلین وکیل ۲ جواش نکرې ددالم مشوارت ایت

سنبوله فباکیت فضقم سرت نایک سمانن بالیک سمولا.

دجیق اوله الهلی فرین سمبر 17 قینغ سرت، فولور قینغ

OP 966 29/6/38



'PASPAM'

The Official Organ of the Perdaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya,
Published by Headquarters, No. 148, Dalu' Kramat Road, Penang. On the 15th of every month.

Issue No. 1

Given Free to Members

Penang-15th June 1938

OSAKAYA & CO.,

GENERAL GOODS, WHOLE SALE AND RETAIL,

414, Chulia Street,

PENANG.

<p>تھو گفند سکلین لٹکان ۲ کیت کیت دشن جرمن ہیری</p>	<p>بارغ ۲ پیترسڈیا بارغ ۲ الومینوم، بارغ کاج، فرکاس ۲ بیورٹ، برنا کی ۲ جنس فرماین بودق ۲ یشرفسواہ (یرسفریج) دان تندق . نکاین ۲ لای ۲ دان فرموان، کاین ۲ بیغ نکاین بودق ۲، توالا ۲ دانلا یس ۲.</p>	<p>اوساکایہ غنکنتی نمبر 414 جولیا سٹریٹ</p>
<p>تھو گفند سکلین لٹکان ۲ کیت</p>	<p>کونا کتھ سٹالو کیت فوٹ ڈابلت فین دان دعواتن (Pilot Pens and Ink)</p>	<p>فولر بیغ</p>
<p>فد بولن جولیا 1938 این، کنتی کیت اکی ممبوک سوات جواش لای</p>	<p>یغ سڈیا دجوال دسرات ۲ بندر ددالم ملایا این، رواتن سبتیق، دان تانم لام دفاکی دان مات فین ایت دفر بوات درند، اسن ۱۴ کارت ہڈا کوی، بنر</p>	<p>ایٹھ سوات کورج اورغ جنون یغ مشہور دندر این پتھر کتل سجوال بارغ ۲ دشن ہرک بیغ</p>



AJINOMOTO
SAVOURY SALT
AND PILOT PENS
AND INK

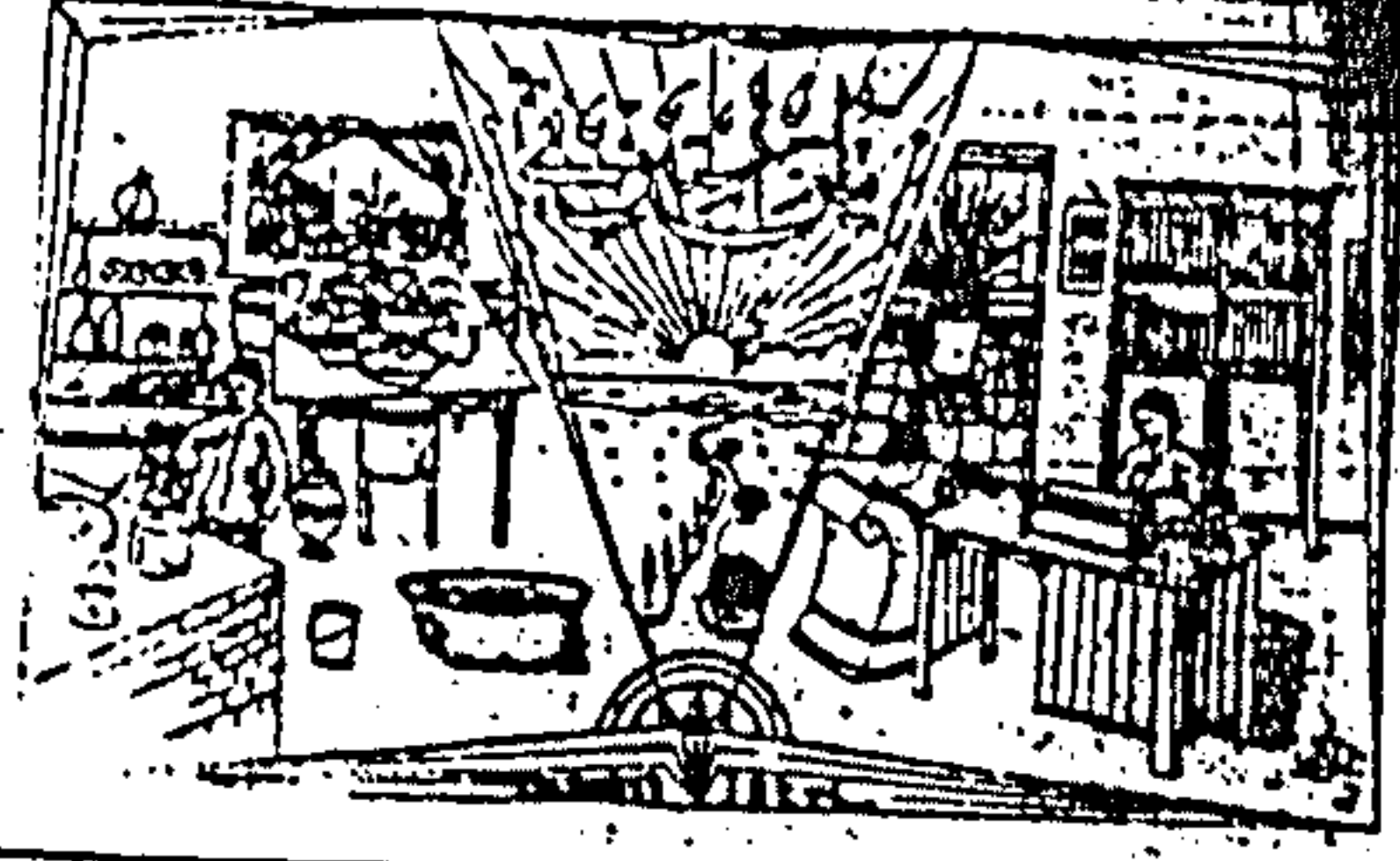
Printed at ... (Street, Penang)

APPENDIX VIII
(TAMAN ISTERI - WIFE'S GARDEN)

114-1-3334 34-3-37



جف 222
باکي ميٹون مع بمبري کبر کاسن
دان کسيانن ميٹون
"Fruits Syrup"
کيت سلاو ستن برمايم 2 بلما سيرب
سفرتي دياره اين :
روس وامن ميٹيل ا لورنچ ليو 4 نيم
الوند 4 روتيللا 4 ناس 4 برسفولا 4 ايس کريم سورا
اورنچ پيٹين 4 کولا پيٹين
ROSE SPECIAL
[Syrup & Juice Specialist]
387, Beach Street, Penang.



قوم ايوب دان فرتو کاشن
سنگه فون لدمان اين سيق سافه
انق 2 فرموان کيه سذغ برلوبا 2 متوره
هلو لفتوان سام اد ددان سکوله رنده
اتو تيلکي تنالي ايوب سوك بمبري سديکيه
للاوع مع ايوب سذغ اد له بايق فابدمن
سرفولع کفد قوم ايوب بدهارلي اکن
جادتي سنيکن بسر فرتو نشن کفدان
دبلا کف هاري
هندقله دايشکن بهوا داتارا
کيايشکن هلوم 2 مع انق 2 فلاجيري دالام
سکوله ايت اد فرماون جوک فلاجران
فرتو کاشن 2 سفت مرندا سکت
سولم سولم جاھين دانلنچ فلاجران
مع ساچم اين سيغ اد بايق کونان باکي
فانيدہ کھيدولن دان فر کونان راسي
سکل دککلکندی تنالي سلاين درلد
اين اد جوک جنين فرتو کاشن مع قاتوه
جوک 2 فلاجيري اوله انق 2 فرموان کيت
سفت 2 ميوٹ فر کاس 2 دانور 2 اوکير
سوکير دان مع ساومشان درلد فر کوجان
کترنوان روم سکا مع رهن 2 درسيب
سکل جنين فرموان مع ترسيوت سکل
د فلاجيري اوله انق 2 فرموان 2 سوله دغن
سوده ساچم بوله جادي فتندي در کونان
انق 2 فرموان سيغ اد کفدان طينت
کچندر رغن کفد فر کارا 2 مع ترسيوت
سکارغ ايوب سوك جوک ميتاکن
لاکي سديکيت لعتوت بزکان دغن
ککونان فر کارا اين سب سلاو ترسيوت
رايون درلد سفته 2 اورغ مع سلاو
مشتقلکي کفد سفته 2 انق فرموان مع
دوره پلاچر کيدالم سکوله دغن کتان
انکه اد ککونان انق 2 فرموان بدسره
پلاچر کن سکوله 2 بوکن بوله کرج ماکن
اکايي 2 اتو کدالم 2 دان 2 دان 2 دان
باردسا کين دغن سيب اينه ايوب جوب
ممبري فلاوع اد هاري اين کفد انق 2
مع ماسه لاکي مندودکي دسکو سکوله
نفاصن دان بلسده لولس عامن سفاي
براختار مفکالتکن ککوجان فرتو کاشن
يترسيوت درسيب اد هارون بيسر انق 2
تصاري مات اير هيدوف دغن برکفله
والهي انق 2 دغن انق کونبي تکون دان
سر سجاي فرتو کاشن قيتو کيان

بجستان سرت وکاسيبي ايت سات
بروات مفلورکن اتو لون مشاورکن هاني
کفد هندق بر کون درلد تالغ مع لام
(کو تو کولو) سفي 2 کيه 2 سني سزغ
تله دانيم بوله سردارا کيت داندرسيا
مشاکن (کولو رنده اتو ماسه بر افغون)
ايت سذغن دکاکن بکيتو 2 کونان
نفتن سکارغ بايق درلد سردارا 2 کيت
مع مودا 2 مع سفتن بارو سذغ بر لايه
دانس علم يکارغ مشارغ دان باچ عيماج
دان سفتن بر لايه فد بيرال جواغن
فر جانن 2 ايت ساکي مدهداهن بزکت
طاعت سکا 2 دالت قيام فر ايم دغن
سردارا 2 انجلمندودکي مغل بيرال
درجه فلاجران لفتوان ايت سفيکون
دبلا کف لون جادي بر کفله سات 2
هندق منجادي جرناليسه کران 2 وان
ساکين 2 وامين دان ارسهات سکا
کسيانن ايت مع ديتا 2 ستي سذالت
سر دان تکون بکرج ايت سوات هانن
مع سافت قاتوت دقوجي ساغله ساته 2
برسره کفده بخله دارتوه اتو برتوليس
درلد لوني سکا تيدق دجوني دغن
بر سفيکوه 2 سفي 2 بيراف جواغن فلاجران
کيت تاه دالت ساوات داره کيت مع
برسيو دغن کماون ساغ 2 2 سوادهي
مفاد کفد سزان 2 ساچ سرت توان
مشارغ سکا 2 سکا 2 کسلا م توالغ
فرتو کاشن والسلام

او چانن فر بيمکاشيه کفد
مرد سکوله عرب سفيکول
برهوب دغن کيلان سيو ترسيوت
مدرسه الاحياء انشريت سفيکول کفوانن
مردن بيرنا امسيل يي ساچ معد مع
تله ساي جومطاني 2 دن بسوده ساي
سيارکن فر خيران کيلانن ايت دهلانن
سودارا کولارون خللاو 2 مريدغ ترسيوت
تله داتغ سرتي ساي دمان تله ساي
کيايکن بيبت ايت دغن سلاوت
العسله فد هاري اين ساي بر کيرج
هاني سرك موزي فر لايه سفت مع
ساته 2 برس دان امان سکا ليق ساي
تيدق مندانت سارغ اوچانن ترسيوت
درلد انجي 2 مريد يترسيوت تنالي ساي
کفدان 2 مدهداهن سافت ستي سرت
نستوت عذر يترسيوت سکا 2 ايت
فر کارون مع سام رات 2 سکا 2 سفا
جايله فر جلاتن توان
سيد عبدالرحمن السطاس
2794

اوت قبل کيت ايتک نيکراه مع مشهور
ملاوسکن لاکيت نياد مضم لاکيت 2 دان مورولرا دالام فروت ساکت ددلم
چانن اير کيچين دان کماون لوق 2 مرک 80 2 دن باي ماتو نين بيرايس 52 ليل
سکتي سنجياي نيلس
سوات لوت مع منو پاتي کسان دان مبادعت مع سلام 23 نامن بيرايس
دطلن سکل جنين جهوران اوتن 2 بير مرک اوتو مياهوکن نو 4 دان مع قوت دلف
ميرين ککومان دانس سکل کماون 2 مرک 60 9 2 سون بيرايس 60 تولد کوند
فيلس 2 مدامت بوکو فرجوم کشراموت بوکو کسيانن لسه کفد 2

Atank Nigrah Pharmacy.
101 Selegie Road, SINGAPORE.
Agents:
M. A. PITCHAY GUNNY & SONS,
252, 4 & 6, Penang Road, PENANG.
M. L. CHE DIN & Co.,
15, Pengkalas Kapul, Alor Star, KEDAH.
A. F. Mohd. MAIDEEN & Co.,
115, Main Road, TAIPING.
CHOP SWEE HIN,
46, Jalan Datoh, KUALA KANGSAR.

انده دان قوات
لازتين لين کلوارن جارون
MENTMORE VIS-LINK
14 Carats Gold - Nib
PLATIGNUM VIS-LINK
دال عسکو
112 ايسه جرنغ
سنيغ

APPENDIX IX
(BANDUNG STYLE OF DRESSING)



Jakarta, 1941.

APPENDIX X

Published in the Pahang Government Gazette of June 27, 1904, No. 14, Vol. III., Notification No. 133.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES

STATE OF PAHANG

ENACTMENT No. 2 OF 1904

An Enactment to provide for the punishment of certain offences by Muhammadans.

Cecil Wray,

[8th June, 1904.]

Acting British Resident.

It is hereby enacted by His Highness the Sultan in Council as follows:-

1. Short title and commencement.	This Enactment may be cited as "The Muhammadan Laws Enactment, 1904," and shall come into force upon the publication thereof in the <i>Gazette</i> .
2. Application.	All persons professing the Muhammadan religion shall be subject to this Enactment, and no other persons shall be subject thereto.
3. Attendance at Mosque.	Any male persons over the age of sixteen years residing within three miles of a mosque presided over by a Priest of his own <i>Muzahaf</i> who, without reasonable excuse to be communicated to and allowed by the nearest Assistant Kathi or Trustee of the Mosque, shall fail to attend Prayers at such Mosque on every Friday who after Saalam shall fail, except with the permission of the Kathi, to remain for at least one hour in the Mosque to hear the the teaching of the Imam or Ulama shall be liable on conviction before the Court of Penghulu, or, if there be no such court of either of the above descriptions having jurisdiction, before the Court of a Magistrate, to a fine not exceeding fifty cents for every such offence.
4. Enticing away an	Any person who shall take or entice any girl as yet unmarried,

<p>unmarried girl.</p>	<p>who is subject to this Enactment , out of the keeping of her parents or guardians or of any person having the care of her on their behalf shall, on conviction before a competent Court, be liable to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, and shall also be liable to a fine which may extend to twice the amount of <i>mas kawin</i> usually paid on the marriage of a girl of her class.</p>
<p>5. Unmarried girl leaving lawful guardians.</p>	<p>Any girl, as yet unmarried, who shall abscond from lawful guardianship in order to lead an immoral life shall, for the first offence of this nature, be liable on conviction before a competent Court to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month, and for any subsequent offence of the same nature to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.</p>
<p>6. Adultery.</p>	<p>Any person who has sexual intercourse with a person subject to this Enactment who is, and whom he knows or has reason to believe to be, the wife of another man, such sexual intercourse not amounting to the offence of rape, is guilty of the offence of adultery, and shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding one year and shall also be liable to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars. Any woman convicted before a competent Court of being a participator in an offence under this section shall be liable to simple imprisonment or a term not exceeding six months.</p>
<p>7. Incest.</p>	<p>Any person who has sexual intercourse with a person whom he is, and whom he knows or has reason to believe that he is, forbidden by the Muhammadan Law to marry by reason of consanguinity is guilty of the offence of incest, and any male person who commits incest shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding five years. Any woman convicted before a competent Court of being a participator in an offence under this section shall be liable to</p>

<p>8. Betrothal.</p>	<p>imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding one year.</p> <p>Any person who, having either verbally or in writing entered into a contract of betrothal before a Mosque official or Penghulu or village headmen, subsequently refuses to marry the other party to the contract, shall, upon suit by the said other party being willing to fulfil the contract, be liable to be adjudged to pay to such other party the value of the <i>mas kawin</i> which would have been paid if the marriage had taken place. In any such case each party shall return all the gifts made by the other.</p>
<p>9. Religious teaching.</p>	<p>No person shall, except in his own house and in the presence of members of his own family only, teach any religious doctrine, unless he shall previously have obtained written permission to do so from His Highness the Sultan; and any person who shall teach any religious doctrine without having obtained such permission, or who, having obtained such permission, shall teach any false doctrine, shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars.</p>
<p>10. Offences, where and how triable.</p>	<p>Offences under sections 4, 5, and 9 hereof shall be triable before the Court of a Magistrate of the First Class, and offences under sections 6 and 7 before the Court of the Senior Magistrate. When about to try any of the offences referred to in this section the Court shall cause two Muhammadans of standing to be summoned from a list of persons nominated in that behalf by the Ruler of the State to sit with the Court as assessors. The provisions of sections 207, 208 and 209 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1903, shall apply to such assessors.</p>
<p>11. Judgment.</p>	<p>When in a case tried with the aid of assessors under this Enactment the cases for the prosecution and the defence and the prosecutor's reply (if any), are concluded, the Court may sum up the evidence for the prosecution and defence and shall then require</p>

<p>12. Disposal of fines.</p>	<p>each of the assessors to state his opinion orally, and shall record such opinion. The Court shall then give judgment; but in doing so shall not be bound to conform to the opinions of the assessors. If the accused is convicted, the Court shall pass sentence on him according to the law.</p> <p>All fines imposed under this Enactment shall on being recovered from the offenders be paid in to the District Treasury to the credit of a fund to be termed the "Muhammadan Religious Fund"; and no payments shall be made out of such fund except on the written order of His Highness the Sultan or of such officer or officers as His Highness may from time to time empower in that behalf.</p>
-------------------------------	---

APPENDIX XI

Published in the Government Gazettes of the Federated Malay States and of each of the States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang of January 20, 1939, No. 3, Vol. XXXI, Notification No. 189.

STATE OF SELANGOR ENACTMENT No. 2 of 1938 I ASSENT	
[19 th July, 1938]	TENGGU ALAM SHAH, Sultan of Selangor.
An Enactment to amend and consolidate the law relating to certain offences against Muhammadan Law.	
It is hereby enacted by His Highness the Sultan by and with the advice and consent of the State Council as follows:	
1. Short Title and Repeal	(i) This Enactment may be cited as the Muhammadan (Offences) Enactment, 1938. (ii) Upon the coming into force of this Enactment, the Enactment specified in the schedule hereto shall be repealed.
2. Application	(i) The provisions of this Enactment shall apply to persons professing the Muhammadan religion and shall not apply to any other person. (ii) No person who does not profess the Muhammadan religion who abets an offence against this enactment shall be guilty of an offence by reason of such abetment.
3. Attendance at Mosque	(i) Any male person over the age of fifteen years residing within three miles of a Mosque who, without reasonable excuse to be communicated at the earliest possible moment to the nearest Mosque Official shall fail to attend Prayers at such mosque on every Friday or who shall fail, except with the permission of a Mosque Official, to remain in the mosque to hear the teaching of the Imam or <i>ulama</i>

	<p>whether such teaching is imparted before or after the <i>Saalam</i> shall be liable on conviction before the court of a <i>penghulu</i> to a fine not exceeding five dollars.</p> <p>(ii) For the purpose of this section "Mosque Official" shall include a <i>nazir</i>, a <i>Penghulu Mesjid</i>, an <i>Imam</i>, a <i>Bilal</i> and a <i>Khatib</i>.</p>
<p>4. Notice to compel attendance of children at Koran School.</p>	<p>(i) From and after the commencement of this enactment it shall be lawful for the Secretary to the Koran Instruction Committee, for the Visiting Teacher or the Assistant Visiting Teacher of the Koran Schools, to cause a notice to be served on the parent or person having the actual custody of any male child between the ages of seven and fourteen years requiring such child to attend the Koran school specified in the notice and on receipt of such notice such parent or person shall be lawfully responsible for the regular attendance of such child at the School specified.</p>
<p>Regular attendance.</p>	<p>(ii) "Regular attendance" shall mean attendance throughout the hours for which the School is open for the attendance of pupils for not less than fifty per centum of the school days in any calendar month.</p>
<p>5. Exemption</p>	<p>No child shall be compelled to attend any school which shall be distant more than two miles from his usual place of residence measured according to the nearest road or path.</p>
<p>6. Penalty</p>	<p>Any person lawfully responsible for the attendance at school of any child shall on proof before the Court of Magistrate or of a <i>Penghulu</i> that such child has not attended school on at least fifty per centum of the school days in any calendar month and in the absence of any reasonable excuse for such non-attendance be liable to a fine not exceeding five dollars.</p>
<p>7. Enticing away an unmarried girl.</p>	<p>Any person who shall take or entice any girl as yet unmarried, who is subject to this Enactment, out of the keeping of her parents or</p>

<p>8. Unmarried girl leaving lawful guardians.</p> <p>9. Adultery</p> <p><i>Khalwat</i></p>	<p>guardians or of any person having the care of her on their behalf shall, on conviction before a competent Court, be liable to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, and shall also be liable to fine which may extend to twice the amount of <i>mas kawin</i> usually paid on the marriage of a girl of her class.</p> <p>Any girl as yet unmarried, who shall abscond from lawful guardianship in order to lead an immoral life shall, for the first offence be liable on conviction before a competent Court to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month, and for any subsequent offence to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.</p> <p>(i) Any person who has sexual intercourse with a person subject to this Enactment who is, and whom he knows or has reason to believe to be, the wife of another man, such sexual intercourse not amounting to the offence of rape, is guilty of the offence of adultery, and shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding one year and shall also be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars. Any woman convicted before a competent Court of being a participator in an offence under this sub-section shall be liable to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to a fine not exceeding six months, or to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars.</p> <p>(ii) Any male person who is found in retirement alone with and in suspicious proximity to any Muhammadan woman whom he knows is not forbidden by Muhammadan law to marry, by reason of consanguinity or of fosterage or of affinity or with any woman not being a Muhammadan is guilty of an offence under this Enactment (<i>Khalwat</i>). Such person shall be liable on conviction before a competent court to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding one year and shall also be liable to a fine not exceeding</p>
---	---

<p>10. Incest</p>	<p>two hundred and fifty dollars.</p> <p>Any woman convicted before a competent Court of being a participator in an offence under this sub-section shall be liable to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars.</p> <p>(iii) Any woman who is found in retirement alone with and in suspicious proximity to any male not being a Muhammadan shall be liable on conviction before a competent Court to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars.</p> <p>(i) Any person who has sexual intercourse with a person whom he is, and whom he knows or has reason to believe that he is, forbidden by the Muhammadan law to marry by reason of consanguinity or of fosterage or of affinity, is guilty of the offence of incest.</p> <p>(ii) Any male person who commits an act which is incest by reason of consanguinity or of fosterage shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding five years; and any woman convicted before a competent Court of being a participator in such act shall be liable to the like penalty.</p> <p>(iii) Any male person who commits an act which is incest by reason of affinity shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars; and any woman convicted before a competent Court of being a participator in such act shall be liable to the like penalty.</p>
<p>11. Prohibition upon divorced persons.</p>	<p>(i) Where the marriage of two persons has been irrevocably dissolved by the pronouncement of three divorces by the man against the woman, it shall be unlawful for such persons to cohabit</p>

<p>12. Religious Teachings</p>	<p>as man and wife unless the woman shall first have been lawfully married to some person other than her divorced husband and such marriage shall have been dissolved.</p> <p>(ii) Any person who acts in contravention of the provisions of the preceding sub-section shall be liable on conviction before a competent Court to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars and for any subsequent offence of the same nature to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or to simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months.</p> <p>(i) No person shall, except in his own house and in the presence of members of his own family only, teach any religious doctrine, unless he shall previously have obtained written permission to do so from His Highness the Sultan; and any person who shall teach any religious doctrine without having obtained such permission, or who having obtained such permission, shall teach any false doctrine, shall be liable, on conviction before a competent Court, to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars.</p> <p>(ii) If during the trial of any charge under this section any question shall arise as to whether any doctrine taught was a false doctrine the Court shall refer such question in writing to the State Council and the decision of the State Council thereon shall be communicated to the court in writing and shall be final and binding on such Court and on any Court of Appeal before which any appeal in connection with such charge may be heard.</p>
<p>13. Sale of cooked food in the month of Ramthan.</p>	<p>(i) No shop-keeper or other retail trader who is subject to this Enactment shall during the month of Ramthan between half an hour before sunrise (<i>pajar siddik</i>) and the hour of sunset supply to any person subject to this Enactment any article of cooked food or any article of drink or any tobacco or cigarettes for immediate consumption.</p>

(ii) Any person who shall contravene the provisions of sub-section (i) shall, on conviction before the Court of a *penghulu*, or if there be no court of either of the above descriptions having jurisdiction before the Court of a magistrate, be liable on first conviction to a fine not exceeding two dollars and on a second or subsequent conviction to a fine not exceeding ten dollars unless, in either case, he proves to the satisfaction of the Court before which the proceedings are had, that the purchaser obtained the food, drink, tobacco or cigarettes under false pretences.

(iii) Whenever it is proved that any person employed by a shop-keeper or retail trader who is subject to this Enactment has during the month and between the hours specified in sub-section (i) sold to any person who is subject to this Enactment any such article as is specified in the said sub-section for immediate consumption, such shop-keeper or other trader shall be deemed to have contravened the provisions of sub-section (i) unless he proves to the satisfaction of the Court before which the proceedings are had that the sale was effected without his knowledge or consent and that he had taken all reasonable steps to ensure due compliance with the provisions of the said sub-section.

14. Publication concerning the Muhammadan religion.

Any person who prints or publishes any book or document concerning the Muhammadan religion, whether such book or document is an original composition or a compilation from existing documents or both, without the written permission of the Religious and Customary Committees of State or any person who sells, offers for sale, distributes or circulates any book, which, in the opinion of the Religious Committee appointed by His Highness the Sultan in that behalf, contains precepts of the Muhammadan religion which are contrary to the recognised principles thereof shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars or to imprisonment of either description for not more than one year, and such book or document shall be liable to

<p>15. Breaches of the fasting rules in the month of Ramthan.</p>	<p>forfeiture.</p> <p>(i) No person subject to this Enactment shall in the month of Ramthan between half an hour before sunrise (<i>pajar siddik</i>) and the hour of sunset do, in any public place or in any place to which the public or any class of the public has access, any act which contravenes the provisions of Muhammadan Law relating to fasting in the month of Ramthan.</p> <p>(ii) Any person who shall contravene the provisions of sub-section (i) shall, on conviction before the Court of a <i>Penghulu</i>, or, if there be no such Court having jurisdiction, before the Court of a <i>Kathi</i>, or if there be no Court either of the above descriptions having jurisdiction, before the Court of a Magistrate, be liable on first conviction to a fine not exceeding two dollars and on a second subsequent conviction to a fine not exceeding ten dollars.</p>
<p>16. Offences, where and how triable.</p>	<p>Offences under sections 7,8,10(iii),11, 12 and 14 hereof shall be triable before the Court of Magistrate of the First Class, and offences under sections 9 and 10 (ii) before the Supreme Court. When about to try any of the offences referred to in this section the Court shall cause two Muhammadans of standing to be summoned from a list of persons nominated in that behalf by His Highness the Sultan in Council to sit with the Court as assessors. The provisions of sections 249, 250 and 251 of the Criminal Procedure Code shall apply to such assessors.</p>
<p>17. Judgment</p>	<p>When in a case tried with the aid of assessors under this Enactment the cases for the prosecution and the defence and the prosecutor's reply (if any) are concluded, the Court may sum up the evidence for the prosecutions and the defence and shall then require each of the assessors to state his opinion orally, and shall record such opinion. The Court shall then give judgement; but in doing so shall not be bound to conform to the opinions of the assessors. If the accused is convicted, the Court shall pass sentence on him according to law.</p>

18. Disposal of fines

All fines imposed under this Enactment shall on being recovered from the offenders be paid in to the District Treasury to the credit of a fund to be termed the "Muhammadan Religious Fund"; and no payments shall be made out of such fund except on the written order of His Highness the Sultan or of such officer or officers as His Highness may from time to time empower in that behalf.

GLOSSARY

- Adat* - Malay customs; traditions
Adat Perpatih - the matrilineal system followed in Negeri Sembilan
Adat resam - Malay customs; traditions
Ahl al-kitab - people who believe in the books of previous prophets i.e. Christians and Jews
Ahl-sunnah wal-jamaah - the main stream of Muslim *ummah* who are the followers of the *sunnah* of the Prophet s.a.w. and the four Caliphs as opposed to the *Shi'ite*
'aib tercela - low degree
Alim - knowledgeable person (plural - *ulama*)
Aqal - mind; intellect; reason
Aqidah - belief
Assabiyyah - nationalism; patriotism; kinship
Aurat - the part of body which must be covered according to Islam, for man from navel to knee, for women the whole body except for face and hands.
Awqaf - charities (plural of *waqf*)
Az-zuhd - down to earth
Azimat bekal mati - a talisman placed in the coffin of the dead
Bahaya - danger
Bala - calamity
Bangsa asing - foreign races, referring to other races apart from Malay and British
Bangsa dagang - immigrant races
Batik - Malay textile design
Benggali - Malay title for the *sikh*
Berambut tokong - bobbed hair
Berhala - an idol
Berkelumbung - covering the head
Berkhatam - the ceremony to mark the completion of Quranic reading
Berniat - having an intention; making of an intention
Bernazar - making a vow to do something if prayer is granted
Bersanding - a practice in a marriage ceremony where the bride and groom sit together on a dais in front of the guests
Bersuci - the way to clean oneself; purifying oneself religiously
Berzanji - chant recounting Muhammad's life, usually recited on 10th of Muharram
Bid'ah - innovation
Bilal - the caller of prayer; person who recites *azan* (call to prayer)
Bumi Melayu - Malay world
Campak buang - a kind of weapon
Chenangkak - a kind of weapon
Cerut - cigar
Ceti - Indian money-lender
Darurat - emergency
Datuk - the title for the aristocrats and ministers; grandfather
Datuk alim - religious person
Datuk-nenek - older generations
Derma perang - war fund; war donations
Dhalalah - evil
Fardhu 'ain - an act obligatory to each and every capable individual Muslim
Fatwa - Islamic legal ruling
Fidyah - a form of fine as a substitute for fasting. It is one day's meal, or its value, to be given to those who are poor and needy

Fiqh - (literally 'understanding') is Islamic Jurisprudence, the process and rulings related to all aspects of Islamic life

Firkah - branch

Fitnah - slander; civil strife; war; riots

Fuqara' - plural of *faqir*, destitutes

Hadith Hasan - according to Tirmidhi, a Hadith, the chain of which does not contain a reporter accused of lying and it is not *Shadh* (rare) and the Hadith has been reported through more than one *Sanad* (chain of narrators)

Hadjee (Haji) - title given to people who has performed the pilgrimage; pilgrims

Haj - pilgrimage to Mecca

Halal - permissible in Islam

Hamas - the classification of letters in the discipline of Quranic recitation; to excite

Haram - forbidden/prohibited in Islam

Hijrah - the migration of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. from Mecca to Medina; Muslim calendar

Hubaya - make sure that; above all; by all means

Hudud - Islamic criminal law

Hukum - legal ruling; Islamic injunction

Hukum air - legal ruling pertaining to water in Islam for example, *mutlaq* (pure), *musta'mal* (used), *mutaghayar* (changed), *mushammas* (in a stained container and exposed to the sun) and *mutanajis* (unclean)

Ibadah/ibadat - servitude; worshipping Allah

Ibadah khususiyyah - specific act of worship in Islam i.e. praying, fasting, etc.

Ijma' - consensus of opinion among Muslim jurists; unanimous agreement or approval

Ijtihad - exerting an utmost effort towards arriving at a correct legal ruling by means of *qias* (analogy), *ijma'*, *istihsan* (preference) and *istislah* (public interest)

Iktikad/I'tiqad - belief; path of belief

Ilm al-hadith - Study of Hadith

Ilm al-tarikh - Study of History

Ilm al-tasyri' - Islamic Legal study

Ilm tafsir - Study of Quranic exegesis

Imam - leader

Iman - Islamic faith

Islah - reform

Jahiliyyah - ignorance

Jawah - a name for the Malay-Indonesian community in the Middle-East

Jawi - a script for Malay language which is very similar to Arabic script

Jawi peranakan - Someone with mixed Malay and Indian blood

Joget - Malay traditional dance

Jumud - stagnant

Kampung - Malay village

Kafir - infidel

Kain kafan - the cloth used to wrap the body of the dead, usually white cotton cloth

Karut - nonsense

Kaum batiniyah - another name given to the *kaum tua* i.e. conservative *ulama* and the religious establishment; (*batiniyah* - spiritual)

Kaum Muda - young faction

Kaum Tua - old faction

Kedai - shop

Kedai kopi - coffee shop

Kenduri - feast

Kenduri arwah - ritual meal to mark someone's death

Keramat - saintly
Keris - a kind of Malay dagger
Ketika tenung - a kind of black magic
Ketok-ketok - the instrument which is being used to mark the starting of prayer time.
Khairat mati - welfare for the dead
Khalifah - vicegerent
Khalwat - close proximity between different sexes; in other situations it can also mean solitude, retirement from the world, retreat
Khatib - preacher at the mosque; a mosque official; the *Jumaat* (weekly) congregational prayer leader who gives a sermon to the congregation
Khurafat - myth; superstition
Khutbah - sermon
Kitab - religious book
Kitabullah - the book of Allah (Quran)
Kitab jawi - religious book written in *Jawi* by Malay scholars
Kitab-kitab perukunan - religious books about how to perform basic *ibadah* like praying, fasting, etc.
Lalai - indolent
Lebai-lebai kampung - religious leaders in the village
Lebai pondok - the students of *pondok*
Macan - monster
Madrasah - religious school
Mahaliyyah - local
Mahdi - messianic guide who will come just before the end of the world to lead the faithful
Majlis syarahan - public speaking ceremony
Majusi - Zoroastrian
Makan - eat
Makan gaji - salaried employment
Makmum - people who follow the *imam* when performing congregational prayer (*salat*)
Malas - lazy
Mandi - bath
Marhaban - Welcome! (esp. used in Islamic school circles); *lagu marhaban* - melody for praising the Prophet on *Mikraj*; *memarhabankan* - greet a newborn baby by singing religious melodies to it; Songs to welcome the guest etc.
Marjan - a kind of precious stone
Maruah - dignity
Mas kawin - bridal gift
Al-Masih - the title for Prophet Isa a.s.
Maulid nabi - the birthday of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w.
Mazahib - plural for *mazhab*
Mazhab - school of law
Melayu Raya - 'Greater Malay', the union of all Malay-like people in Malaya and Indonesia
Mengajar - teaching
Muallaf - newly-converted Muslim
Mudhakara - Arabic term for discussion
Mufassirin - expert in Quranic exegesis
Mufti - the religious head of the state; one who issues legal rulings
Muhrim - close relations whom one is prohibited to marry
Mujtahid - people who exercise *ijtihad*
Mukmin - believers in the Islamic faith

Munkar - evil deeds
Murah rezeki - bountiful
Mursyid - reliable teacher, usually in reference to religious teachers
Murtad - heresy
Musibah - calamity
Muslihat - a trick or a means to secure advantage for one self.
Mutaqaddimin - a group of *ulama* who preceded the contemporary era (i.e. 20th and 21st century)
Nakir - an angel who questions the dead in the grave
Nazir - school inspectorate
Nikah-kahwin - marriage
Nikah muhallil - *cina buta*; a marriage which is carried out in order for a man to remarry a woman whom he had divorced with three *talaq*.
Orang-orang besar - Malay dignitaries
Orang-orang kampung - villagers
Orang semenda - the people in the *rumah semenda*, where principles of matriliney operate according to *Adat Perpatih*
Otak udang - Literally means 'the brain of a prawn'; A Malay term to refer to stupid people
Pahala - religious rewards for good deeds
Pajak-gadai - pawnshop; pawn activities
Pajar siddik - the dawn
Pak Haji - a title given to man who has performed pilgrimage to Mecca
Pak Lebai - title for religious men in the Malay society
Pangkat - rank; position
Pantun - a form of Malay poetry
Pasukan mahaliyyah - local troop
Pawang - Malay shaman
Pelamin - seating platform; *dais* for bride and groom
Pelayan - waitress; waiter
Pelesit - a kind of ghost in the form of vampire believed in by Malays
Pembesar-pembesar negeri - Malay dignitaries
Penghulu - village headman in Malay society
Penghulu masjid - the head of the mosque officials
Peranakan - mixed-race i.e. Malay-Indian and Malay-Arab community
Pinjam-meminjam - loan activities
Polong - a kind of ghost believed in by Malays
Pondok - traditional religious institution in the Malay world; literally, a hut
Puasa - fasting
Qalqalah - Its linguistic definition: shaking, disturbance
 Its applied definition: a technical term used for correct pronunciation of certain letters appearing in the Quran
Qasidah - religious chant in Arabic, which consists of prayers to Allah s.w.t. and praise to the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. It also consists of poems about struggle and advice and stories about human life in the world. It is usually sung at the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birth and other Muslim ceremonial days
Qadha' - fate
Qadar - divine decree
Qadhi (Kathi) - a Muslim judge
QulhuAllah - a chapter from the holy Quran (Chapter 112 - al-Ikhlās); actually it is the first word of that chapter
Rabitah - connection

Rakaat - the unit in prayer which comprises several specific movements like standing, bowing, prostrating, and sitting
Raja - king
Rasi - compatibility
Ratib - a kind of chant
Rezeki - sustenance/provision
Riba - interest
Ronggeng - Malay traditional dance
Rubu' akhir Safar - the last Wednesday in the month of Safar (Islamic/Hijrah calendar)
Rukbi - a style of reciting the Quran
Rumi - roman script
Sarong - cloth worn from waist to ankle which looks like a long skirt and in Malay society it is usually made up of *Batik* textile
Sadaqah - charity
Salat - prayer
Sayyid - descendants of the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w.
Selendang - shawl or stole worn over shoulder or diagonally across the body
Sembahyang - prayer
Sesat - astray
Sikah - a style of reciting the Quran
Sireh - betel leaf
Serban - religious headcover for men
Shi'ites - Muslims who honour the fourth caliph, Sayyidina Ali r.a. and his family and believe that Ali should have replaced Rasulullah s.a.w. as the leader of Muslim *ummah* after his death. They also refuse to recognise all other caliphs who were not from Ali's lineage
Shirk - polytheism as opposed to *Tauhid* (see below)
Songkok - traditional Malay headcover for men
Sufi - mystics
Suku - tribe
Sunat - recommended
Sunnah - the actions, sayings and approvals of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w
Sunnat qabliyat al-jum'a - the 2 *rakaat sunnat* (recommended) prayer before the *Jumaat* (Friday) prayer
Surat tauliah - teaching certificate
Syafaat - help; assistance
Syahwat - lust
Syara' - Islamic canon law or Islamic injunctions
Syariat / shari'a - Islamic law
Syarikat - company
Syeikhul Islam - the head of religious affairs
Tafsir al-Quran - Quranic exegesis
Tajwid - the science of correct recitation of the Quran
Takrif - definition
Talfazu binniat - utter with intention
Talqin - prayers read at the grave of the dead during funeral services
Tamaddun - civilisation
Tanzimat - reform in Turkey
Taqdir - predestination
Taqlid / taqlid buta - blind imitation
Tarteel - to recite Qur'an with *Tajwid* and with due observance to the rules of *Waqf* (pausing or stopping at the end of the verse)

Tasbih - rosary; praising God
Tauhid - oneness of God; monotheism
Tazhib - illumination
Taukeh - Chinese proprietor
Tawar jampi - a traditional method of curing illness in Malay society, usually by a shaman or *bomoh* (traditional Malay medicine man)
Thariqat - path
Tipu-daya - tricks
Tempat semenda - the house of the bride's family according to *adat Perpatih* (see above)
Tok pekong - image or picture at a Chinese temple or shrine
Tuk guru - religious teacher
Tuk tukang - the person who is hired by the bride's or groom's family to manage affairs during a marriage ceremony
Tukang airbatu - people who sell cold drinks
Tukang bertanam sayur - farmer who grows vegetables
Tukang cangkul - gardener
Tukang kereta - mechanic
Ulama - Islamic scholars
Ummah - Muslim nation
Ummat - Muslim nation
Ummat Jawi - Muslim people in the Malay region
Upacara berinai - the 'henna application' ceremony held prior to the actual wedding day, in which the bride's palms and feet are 'decorated' with the dye from henna leaves. Sometimes this is followed by a 'costume change' (*tukar pakaian*) session where the bride and, less often, the groom, will don different clothes for photography. The *pelamin* will be beautifully decorated for this purpose
Upacara menepung tawar - Relatives and friends sprinkle petals and rice grains on the couple during 'bersanding' in the marriage ceremony, which symbolises blessings of fertility for the couple
Upahan sembahyang mayat - a token for people who perform the special prayer for the dead
Usalli - the recitation at the beginning of a prayer
Usuluddin - Islamic theology
Wahabi - the sect originated by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab in the 18th century Arabia, which fought against innovation (*bid'ah*) in religion
Waham - evil
Wahsjah - a reception held after the death of someone on the third, fourth, seventh, fortieth and one hundredth day.
Wajib - obligatory
Waisu - Buddhist monks
Wali - guardian of a woman; saints
Wirid - religious chants usually performed after prayer
Zakat - religious tax
Zakat fitrah - religious tax paid in conjunction with the *Eidul Fitri* celebration
Zikir - religious chants
Zina - adultery
Zuhd - humble

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. SAUDARA: Articles cited in the text

volume i

No. 1 / 29.9.1928

Anon. "Pendahuluan" (Introduction), p. 1.

No. 4 / 20.10.1928 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Sekolah Melayu dan Gurunya" (Malay School and Their Teachers), p. 3.

No. 15 / 5.1.1929

Abdul Wahab al-Falfalaani. "Kaum Muda dan Kaum Tua atau ahli al-Quran dan ahli al-Kitab" (Kaum Muda and Kaum Tua or the People of the Quran and the People of the Book (*Kitab Jawi*)), p. 4.

No. 17 / 19.1.1929

'Arab Sumatra.' "Kaum Tua dan Perjalanannya, Fahaman yang Menyesatkan" (Kaum Tua and their Path, A Misguided Belief), p. 4.

No. 29 / 20.4.1929

_____. "Kefardhuan Khutbah bagi Umat Islam" (The Necessity of Khutbah for Muslims), p. 3.

No. 30 / 1 / 27.4.1929

Anon. "Contoh Fikiran Lebai Pondok Balasan kepada Tuan al-Haji Ismail Saleh Kedah dalam *Pengasoh* dan Encik Yahya N.S.M." (Examples of Lebai Pondok's Mind – A Response to Tuan al-Haji Ismail Saleh Kedah in *Pengasoh* and Encik Yahya N.S.M.), p.1.

No. 30 / 2 / 27.4.1929

Arab Sumatra. "Kefardhuan Khutbah bagi Umat Islam" (The Necessity of Khutbah for Muslims), p. 3

No. 36 / 8.6.1929

Anon. "Contoh Fikiran Lebai Pondok" (The Examples of Lebai Pondok's Way of Thinking), p. 1.

No. 42 / 20.7.1929

Abham. "Kaum Muda dan Kaum Tua," p. 4.

volume ii

No. 52 / 1 / 28.9.1929

Anon. "*Saudara Genap Satu Tahun*" (*Saudara After One Year*), p.1.

No. 52 / 2 / 28.9.1929

Abdul Latif Hamidi. "Masalah Taqlid" (The Problem of Taqlid), p. 3.

No. 56 / 26.10.1929

_____. "Masalah Taqlid" (The Problem of Taqlid), part v, p. 3.

No. 65 / 1 / 28.12.1929 - editorial

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Anglo-Malay School," p. 3.

No. 65 / 2 / 28.12.1929

'Arab Sumatra.' "Bukti Pekerjaan Kerajaan Islam" (The Evidence of the Workings of the Islamic State), p. 4.

No. 66 / 1 / 4.1.1930 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Anglo-Malay School" p. 3.

No. 66 / 2 / 4.1.1930

'Arab Sumatra.' "Bukti Pekerjaan Kerajaan Islam" (The Evidence of the Workings of the Islamic State), p. 4.

No. 83 / 3.5.1930 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Anak-anak Melayu dengan Pelajaran Ugama" (Malay Children and Religious Education), p. 3.

No. 87 / 7.6.1930 - editorial

_____. "Anglo-Malay School di Pulau Pinang: Fikiran 'Anak Negeri' dalam *Majalah Guru*" (Anglo-Malay School in Penang: 'Anak Negeri''s View in *Majalah Guru*), p. 3.

No. 88 / 14.6.1930

Anon. "Masalah Talqin" (The Problem of Talqin), p. 7.

No. 91 / 1 / 5.7.1930

Anon. "Surat Terbuka kepada Kaum Tua (Ulama Taqlid, Ulama Talqin dan Ulama Fidyah dsb.)" (An Open Letter to Kaum Tua (Ulama Taqlid, Ulama Talqin and Ulama Fidyah etc.)), p. 1.

No. 91 / 2 / 5.7.1930

Anon. "Kenyataan Bagi Kaum Muda yang telah Sesat lagi Menyesatkan" (A Message to Kaum Muda who are Misguided and Misleading Others), p. 8.

No. 93 / 1 / 19.7.1930

Anon. "At-Taqlid, Talqin dan Talfazu Binniat," p. 7.

No. 93 / 2 / 19.7.1930

Anon. "Mandi Safar di Melaka, Ini Bulan Safar" (*Mandi Safar* in Malacca, This is the month of Safar), part i, p. 8.

No. 94 / 28.7.1930

Anon. "Mandi Safar di Melaka Ini Bulan Safar" (*Mandi Safar* in Malacca, This is the month of Safar) part ii, p. 6.

No. 96 / 9.8.1930

Anon. "Mandi Safar," p. 4.

No. 99 / 30.8.1930

Muhammad Yusuf S.M. "Bagaimana Martin Luther Memecahkan Kekuasaan Ulama-ulama Kristian" (How Martin Luther Broke the Power of the Christian Priests), p. 1.

volume iii

No. 107 / 1 / 25.10.1930 - editorial

Abdul Rahim Kajai. "Kemalangan dan Kesempitan Kaum Islam" (Misfortunes and Desperation of the Muslim People), p. 5.

No. 107 / 2 / 25.10.1930

Tuan Muhammad Yusuf S.M. "Kejatuhan Kaum-kaum Islam dan Pergerakan *Wahabi*" (The Downfall of the Muslim People and the *Wahabi* Movement), p. 6.

No. 108 / 1.11.1930

_____. "Kejatuhan Kaum-kaum Islam dan Pergerakan *Wahabi*" (The Downfall of the Muslim People and the *Wahabi* Movement) p. 6.

No. 110 / 1 / 15.11.1930

Anon. "Pelajaran Anak-anak Melayu, Setengah dari Alangan Mereka Meneruskan Pelajaran ke Sekolah Inggeris" (Malay Children's Education and some of the Obstacles in continuing their Education in English schools), p. 1.

No. 110 / 2 / 15.11.1930 - editorial

Abdul Rahim Kajai. "Pelajaran Anak-Anak Melayu dan Adakah Anak-anak Melayu Berhajat kepada Pelajaran Agama?" (Malay Children's Education: Are They in need of Religious Education?), p. 3.

No. 110 / 3 / 15.11.1930

Tuan Muhammad Yusuf S.M. "Kejatuhan Kaum-kaum Islam dan Pergerakan *Wahabi*" (The Downfall of the Muslim People and the *Wahabi* Movement), p. 6.

No. 111 / 22.11.1930

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Istiadat Kahwin Umat Melayu dan adakah Istiadat Kahwin ini Patut Menerima Perubahan?" (The Malay Marriage Ceremony: Does this Ceremony Need to be Changed?), p. 1.

No. 112 / 29.12.1930

Tuan Muhammad Yusuf S.M. "Kejatuhan Kaum-kaum Islam dan Pergerakan *Wahabi*" (The Downfall of Muslim People and the *Wahabi* Movement), p. 6.

No. 114 / 1 / 13.12.1930

Anon. "Pemandangan dan Fikiran di atas Adat Istiadat Nikah Kahwin Umat Melayu yang telah lalu dan pada Masa yang akan Datang" (Observations and Opinions on the Malay Marriage Ceremony Custom in the Past and Future), p. 1.

No. 114 / 2 / 13.12.1930

Anon. "Perubahan Adat Kahwin Cara Melayu" (Changes in Malay Marriage Customs), p. 7.

No. 114 / 3 / 13.12.1930

'Al-Shab al-Fallahi' (Youth of Success). "Adat Istiadat Cara Kuno Masih Berlaku di dalam Jajahan Kuala Pilah" (Conservative Adat is still being Practised in Kuala Pilah), p. 8.

No. 115 / 20.12.1930

Anon. "علماء القبور يدافعون عن التلقين" (Ulama of the Grave Support Talqin), p. 1.

No. 119 / 17.1.1931

'Al-Shab al-Fallahi' (Youth of Success). "Adat Istiadat Cara Kuno Masih Berlaku di dalam Jajahan Kuala Pilah" (The Conservative Adat is still being Practised in Kuala Pilah), p. 8.

No. 120 / 24.1.1931

_____. "Adat Istiadat Cara Kuno Masih Berlaku di dalam Jajahan Kuala Pilah" (The Conservative Adat is still being Practised in Kuala Pilah), p. 8.

No. 127 / 1 / 21.3.1931 - editorial

Abdul Rahim Kajai. "Lintasan Fikiran atas Perjalanan Pelajaran Anak-anak Melayu di Sekolah-sekolah Melayu" (A Passing Thought on Malay Children's Education in Malay Schools), p. 5.

No. 127 / 2 / 21.3.1931

'al-Haqir' (The Humble). "National Dance – Menari Kebangsaan (*Ronggeng*)," p. 6.

No. 128 / 28.3.1931

_____. "National Dance – Menari Kebangsaan (*Ronggeng*)," p. 6.

No. 129 / 4.4.1931 - editorial

Abdul Rahim Kajai. 'Akal Pengetahuan dengan Adat Datuk Nenek' (Our Reasoning and Adat from Older Generations), p. 5.

No. 135 / 16.5.1931 - editorial

Abdul Rahim Kajai. "Kebengisan Kerajaan Itali dan Bandingannya" (The Ferocity of Italian Government and Comparisons), p.5

No. 140 / 20.6.1931

Anon. "Pajak Gadai di Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu Patut Diperusahakan oleh Kerajaan Sendiri" (Pawnshops in the Federated Malay States Should be Run by the Government), p. 1.

No. 145 / 25.7.1931

Anon. "Pajak Gadai di Negeri-negeri Selat dan Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu" (Pawnshops in the Straits Settlements and The Federated Malay States), p. 1.

No. 151 / 5.9.1931

Islamuddin. "Pawnshops" (Pajak Gadai), p. 6.

volume iv

No. 158 / 1 / 24.10.1931

Anon. "Apakah Jadi Dunia Timur Ini?" (What is going to happen to the Eastern World?), p. 1.

No. 158 / 2 / 24.10.1931 - editorial

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Adakah boleh Jadi Peperangan Dunia Lagi Sekali?" (Is Another World War Inevitable?), p.5.

No. 159 / 31.10.1931

'ا.م.' (Alif.Mim.). "Pelajaran Agama di dalam Sekolah-sekolah Melayu Negeri Sembilan" (Religious Education in the Malay Schools in Negeri Sembilan), p. 7.

No. 162 / 21.11.1931

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Udara Yang Dahsyat Mulai Berpisah" (The Bad Times are beginning to go), p. 5.

No. 166 / 19.12.1931 - editorial

_____. "Anak-anak Sekolah Melayu Jangan Pedulikan kepada Undang-undang itu Pegang Ekornya Sahaja" (Malay Children in the Malay Schools: Do not Bother about the Incomplete Rules), p. 5.

No. 170 / 9.1.1932

"Melayu Jati" (Pure Malay). "Takrif Melayu" (Definition of a Malay), p. 1.

No. 172 / 16.1.1932 - editorial

Abdul Wahab Abdullah. "Bangsa Melayu" (The Malay Nation), p. 5.

No. 173 / 20.1.1932

Anon. "Bagaimana yang sebenarnya Campuran Rempah Ratus yang akan dijadikan Bangunan Kebangsaan Melayu ini" (What is the Real Mixture for Building the Malay Nation?), p. 1.

No. 174 / 23.1.1932 - editorial

Abdul Wahab Abdullah. "Pelajaran Inggeris di Sekolah Melayu" (English Education in Malay Schools), p. 5.

No. 175 / 27.1.1932

'Penugal Melayu' (Malay Dibbler). "Takrif Melayu," (Definition of a Malay), p. 1.

No. 176 / 1 / 30.1.1932 - editorial

Abdul Wahab Abdullah. "Pelajaran Inggeris Sebelah Petang di Sekolah-sekolah Melayu" (Afternoon English Lessons in Malay Schools), p. 5.

No. 176 / 2 / 30.1.1932

Arab Sumatra. "Muslihat Sembahyang Jumaat bagi Pergunaan ahli-ahli Perniagaan yang Beriman" (The Advantages of Friday Prayer for Faithful Traders), p. 6.

No. 211 / 8.6.1932 - editorial

Abdul Wahab Abdullah. "Pelajaran Anak-anak Melayu di dalam Sekolah Inggeris" (Malay Children's Education in English Schools), p. 6.

No. 224 / 23.7.1932

Anon. "Betulkah Orang Melayu Malas?" (Are the Malays really Lazy?), p. 6.

No. 232 / 20.8.1932

Teruna Sekarang (Contemporary Bachelor). "Memperelokkan Bahasa Kita, Tambahan Bukan Tukaran" (Improving our language, Addition not Replacement), p. 1.

No. 233 / 24.8.1932 - editorial

Abdul Wahab Abdullah. "Anak-anak Melayu dengan Bahasa Melayu" (Malay Children and Malay Language), p. 5

No. 243 / 1 / 28.9.32

Anon. "Anak Melayu dan Sekolah Inggeris" (Malay Children and English Schools), p. 3.

No. 243 / 2 / 28.9.1932 - editorial

Abdul Wahab Abdullah. "Anak Melayu dengan Sekolah Inggeris" (Malay Children and English Schools), p. 6.

volume v

No. 262 / 3.12.1932

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman. "Apakah Sebabnya Anak-anak Perempuan Melayu Belum Suka Memegang Jawatan di Pejabat Kerajaan?" (Why do Malay women dislike to work in government offices?), p. 1.

No. 265 / 14.12.1932

'Teruna Sekarang' (Contemporary Bachelor). "Anak-anak Perempuan Melayu Hendak Memegang Jawatan di Pejabat Kerajaan?" (Do Malay Girls want to work in government offices?), p. 7.

No. 267 / 21.12.1932

Umar Mustapha Cemur. "Perempuan Melayu dengan Jawatan Kerajaan, Menyambut Jemputan Encik Muhammad Amir" (Malay Women and Government Occupations: accepting the Invitation of Encik Muhammad Amir), p. 6.

No. 270 / 4.1.1933

Hafsah. "Betapakah Kewajipan Kaum Ibu yang Hak" (The Real Responsibility of Women), p. 8.

No. 275 / 21.1.1933

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman. "Pasalnya Perempuan-perempuan Melayu tidak suka berjawatan Kerajaan – Rampai-rampai dari Saya – Muhammad Amir al-Uthman" (The Reasons Why Malay Women Dislike Government Jobs: Some of My Thoughts – Muhammad Amir al-Uthman), p. 9.

No. 279 / 1 / 8.2.1933

'ش. ي. Perak' (Ya.Shim. Perak). "Pekerjaan-pekerjaan Perempuan" (Women's Occupations), p.7.

No. 279 / 2 / 8.2.1933

'Anak Teruna' (A Bachelor). "Belumlah Ada Sepuluh Percent Perempuan Melayu yang Boleh Menolong Suaminya di dalam Pekerjaan," (Less than ten percent of Malay women are able to help their Husbands in their Jobs), p.7.

No. 282 / 18.2.1933

Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff. "Menentang Tambahan bagi Perempuan-perempuan, Sekolah Pertukangan Minta Diadakan" (Regarding Improvements for Women: Request for Handicraft Schools), p. 5.

No. 288 / 11.3.1933

'Teruna Sekarang' (Contemporary Bachelor). "Melayu dan Tiru Meniru: Sambungan Saudara Bilangan 267" (Malays and Imitation: Continuation from Saudara no. 267), pp. 1-2.

No. 291 / 22.3.1933

Abdul Wahab Khan. "Buah Fikiran Hendak Membangunkan Sebuah Sekolah Tinggi bagi Pelajaran Agama Islam iaitu Sebuah Muslim University oleh Yang Sangat Kuat Berperasaan Persaudaraan Islam" (A Thought on Establishing a Higher Institution for Islamic Education, That is, A Muslim University, by One Who Possesses a Strong Spirit of Islamic Brotherhood), p. 1.

No. 293 / 29.3.1933

_____. "Buah Fikiran Hendak Membangunkan Sebuah Sekolah Tinggi bagi Pelajaran Agama Islam iaitu Sebuah Muslim University oleh Yang Sangat Kuat Berperasaan Persaudaraan Islam" (A Thought on Establishing a Higher Institution for Islamic

Education, That is, A Muslim University, by One Who Possesses a Strong Spirit of Islamic Brotherhood), p. 1.

No. 299 / 22.4.1933

'Anak Negeri' (Son of the State). "Peraturan Mengajar Ugama di Sekolah Melayu: Sambungan Rencana *Majalah Guru*" (The Method of Religious Teaching in Malay Schools: Continuation from *Majalah Guru*'s Article), p. 9.

No. 300 / 26.4.1933

_____. "Peraturan Mengajar Ugama di Sekolah Melayu: Sambungan Rencana *Majalah Guru*" (The Method of Religious Teaching in Malay Schools: Continuation from *Majalah Guru*'s Article), p. 9.

No. 302 / 3.5.1933

'Teruna Sekarang' (Contemporary Bachelor). "Renungan di atas Buahfikiran Hendak Membangunkan Sekolah Tinggi bagi Pelajaran Ugama Islam" (A Thought on the Idea of Establishing a Higher Islamic Educational Institution), p. 7.

No. 315 / 17.6.1933 - editorial

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Turun Bala di Akhir Rubu' Bulan Safar" (The Imposition of Calamities on the Last Wednesday in the month of Safar), p. 6.

No. 316 / 21.6.1933 - editorial

_____. "Menterjemahkan Kitab-kitab ke dalam Bahasa Melayu," (Translating Religious Books into Malay), p. 6.

No. 317 / 24.6.1933 - editorial

_____. "Cuti Akhir Rubu' di bulan Safar" (Holidays on the Last Day in the month of Safar), p. 6.

No. 325 / 22.7.1933 - editorial

_____. "Pelajaran Anak-anak Kita Di dalam Sekolah Inggeris," (Education of Our Children in English Schools), p. 6.

No. 327 / 29.7.1933 - editorial

_____. "Sungutan Anak-anak Yang Berpelajaran" (Complaints From Our Educated Children), p. 6.

No. 334 / 23.8.33

Anon. "Pelajaran dan Mata Pencarian" (Education and the Means of Livelihood), p. 3.

No. 343 / 1 / 23.9.1933 - editorial

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad Al-Hadi. "Membuang Huruf Melayu bermakna Membuang Pelajaran Ugama dan Menyeru kepada Komunis" (Discarding Malay Letters means Discarding Religious Teaching and Promoting Communism), p. 6.

No. 343 / 2 / 23.9.1933

M. Saravanamuttu. "Huruf Jawi atau Roman? - Salinan Daripada Rencana Pengarang *Straits Echo* yang Bertarikh pada 19 September" (Jawi or Roman Script? - a Copy of the editorial of *Straits Echo* on 19th September), p. 6.

volume vi

No. 346 / 4.10.1933

'Melayu Semenanjung' (Malayan Malay). "Huruf Jawi atau Roman? (Bahagian Lim Ching Yan dan Pengarang *Straits Echo*)" (Jawi or Roman script? - (Regarding Lim Ching Yan and the Editor of *Straits Echo*)), p. 9.

No. 351 / 21.10.1933 - editorial

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Perbahasan di atas Perkara Pelajaran Ugama dan Mengubah Huruf Quran dengan Huruf Jawi" (A Debate on the Issue of Religious Education and Changing Quranic and *Jawi* Script), p. 6.

No. 361 / 25.11.1933

Anon. "Pelajaran Inggeris – Daripada Penyata Pelajaran 1932," (English Education – from Education Reports 1932), p. 4.

No. 366 / 13.12.1933 - editorial

Sayyid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi. "Malaya dan Kemakmurannya" (Malaya and Its Prosperity), p. 6.

No. 367 / 16.12.1933

'Matba'' (Follower). "Kemunduran dan Kemajuan Melayu Semenanjung – Terhenti ke atas Ulama, Ahli Pengetahuan dan Kaum Terpelajar," (The Backwardness and Progress of the Malays in Malaya Depends on *Ulama*, Knowledgeable People and Intellectuals), p. 2.

No. 370 / 27.12.1933

Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff. "Masih Juga Belum Ingat – Bilakah Lagi Wahai Saudaraku?" (Still Not Aware – How Long Will It Take, My Brothers?), p. 1.

No. 372 / 3.1.1934

'Pen.' "Pekerjaan Orang Melayu itu Jarang Memuaskan Hati" (The Malay Quality of Work is Seldom Satisfactory), p.8.

No. 374 / 10.1.1934

Yahya Rualwi of Bandar Baharu. "Melayu dengan Kemajuan di Mata Dunia" (Malays' Progress in the Eyes of the World), p. 2.

No. 375 / 13.1.1934

Al-Yupi of Jalan Bendahara. "Melayu dengan Perniagaan – Pemandangan di dalam Ipoh Perak" (Malays and Business - An Observation in Ipoh Perak), p. 1.

No. 376 / 17.1.1934

Ariffin Ishak. "Sahabat Pena" (Pen Friends), p.11.

No. 379 / 31.1.1934

'Pendita Zaman' (Genius of the Century). "Kejatuhan Putra Bumi Semenanjung ini Serba Bagai" (The Backwardness of the Malays exists in Many Fields), p. 2.

No. 381 / 7.2.1934

Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff. "Persekutuan Sahabat Pena untuk Kanak-kanak Sekolah" (Sahabat Pena Association for Schoolchildren), *Halaman Kanak-kanak*, p. 8.

No. 384 / 17.2.1934

'Abakin. "Pakaian Cara Melayu – Telah Dipandang Hina oleh Setengah daripada Kaum-kaum Melayu" (The Malay Way of Dressing is looked down by Some Malays), p. 1.

No. 385 / 21.2.1934

'Pen.' "Adat Perkahwinan Cara Lapuk itu Tidak Boleh Dihapuskan" (The Conservative Marriage Customs Can not be Eradicated), p. 1.

No. 387 / 28.2.1934

Tan Cheng Lock. "Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan di Melaka, Bahasan Mr. Tan Cheng Lock berkenaan dengan Bahasa Basahan bagi Malaya," (Legislative Council Meeting in Malacca - Mr. Tan Cheng Lock's Debate regarding a *Lingua Franca* for Malaya), pp. 4-5.

No. 389 / 7.3.1934

Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin. "_____," p. 6.

No. 390 / 10.3.1934

'Semangat Masa' (Spirit of Time). "Adat Perkahwinan Cara Lapuk!! Bilakah itu Akan Hapusnya?" (The Conservative Marriage Adat: When is it going to be eradicated?), p. 1.

No. 391 / 14.3.1934

'Yang Mencuba Berfikir' (One Who Attempts to Think). "Kekhilafan Kita Yang Besar Pada Memaknakan Ugama Islam Amnya dan Kaum Melayu Khasnya" (Our Biggest Mistake in Understanding Islam in General and in Malay Society in Particular), pp. 1-2.

No. 392 / 17.3.34

Ariffin Ishak. "Sahabat Pena," (Pen Friends), p. 4.

No. 393 / 21.3.1934 - editorial

Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin. "Keadaan Pelajaran" (The State of Education), p. 6.

No. 395 / 31.3.1934

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman. "Melatihkan Diri Sendiri – Menyambut Seruan Tuan Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff" (Training Ourselves – Accepting the Call by Tuan Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff), 4.

No. 396 / 4.4.1934

'Asal Tho'ifi' (Honey of Tho'if). "Kemajuan Perempuan Melayu" (The Progress of Malay Women), p. 9.

No. 397 / 7.5.1934

Muhammad Amir al-Uthman. "Kasihani Nasib Anak-anak Melayu" (Pity on the Fate of Malay Children), p. 1-2.

No. 399 / 13.4.1934 - editorial

Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin. "Al-Qadha' wa Al-Qadar" (Decree and Destiny), p. 6.

No. 400 / 18.4.1934

Kapten Nur Muhammad Hashim. "Syarahan Tuan Kapten Hashim di dalam Perjumpaan Guru-guru Melayu Kuala Lumpur di Sekolah Melayu Kampung Baharu – Mengembangkan Perasaan Kasihkan Bangsa dan Tanahair" (Tuan Kapten Hashim's Speech in Kuala Lumpur's Malay Teachers' Gathering at Kampung Baharu Malay School – Encouraging the Feeling of Love towards Nation and Motherland), p. 1.

No. 401 / 21.4.1934

Hafsah. "Perubahan Kaum Ibu di Zaman Kini" (The Changes in Women Nowadays), p. 8.

No. 404 / 2.5.1934

Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff. "Masa Bilakah Bahasa Melayu dan Tulisan Jawi itu akan digunakan lagi?" (When are the Malay Language and Jawi Script going to be used again?), pp. 1-2.

No. 410 / 1 / 23.5.1934

Hafsah. "Kaum Ibu dengan Suratkhobar" (Malay Women and Newspapers), p. 8.

No. 410 / 2 / 23.5.1934

Muhammad al-khatib. Untitled editorial of *Halaman Sahabat Pena*, p. 8.

No. 414 / 6.6.1934 - editorial

Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin. "Rubu' Akhir Safar," (the Last Wednesday in the month of Safar), p. 6.

No. 419 / 23.6.1934

Daud Qasim. "Sahabat Pena" (Pen Friends), p. 8.

No. 420 / 27.6.1934

'Paman' (Uncle). "Bangsa Melayu Patut Sedar Negeri Melayu di dalam Bahaya" (The Malay Nation must realize that the Malay States are in Danger), p. 4.

No. 432 / 8.8.1934

Muhammad al-Khatib. "Sahabat Pena[:] Fikiran Penyunting *Halaman Kanak-Kanak*," (Pen Friends[:] Editor of *Halaman Kanak-kanak's* View), p. 8.

No. 442 / 12.9.1934

_____. "Khabar Penghiburan" (Good News), p. 8.

No. 443 / 15.9.1934

'Belia Sekarang' (Contemporary Youth). "Sahabat Pena," (Pen Friends), p. 8.

No. 445 / 22.9.1934

Anon. "Beberapa Peraturan di Negeri Turki, Apa-apa yang Menjadi Muslihat bagi Rakyat dan Kerajaannya: Yang diutamakan Bersatu, Agama" (A Few Rules in Turkey, for the Benefit of the People and Government: The Priorities are Unity and Religion), p. 3.

No. 447 / 29.9.1934

A Short Note about Encik Abdul Wahab Afandi Abdullah, p.14.

volume vii

No. 449 / 6.10.1934 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Jepun dan Islam" (Japan and Islam), p. 7.

No. 467 / 1 / 8.12.1934

Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurbanali (Head of Muslim Community in Japan). "Islam di dalam negeri Jepun - Permulaan Mencetak al-Quran dan Mengembangkannya dari *al-Balagh*," (Islam in Japan - the beginning of Quranic Printing and Teaching, from *al-Balagh*), p. 4.

No. 467 / 2 / 8.12.1934

Encik S.M. Zainal Abidin. "Khutbah Encik S.M. Zainal Abidin B.A., Yang Dipertua Agong (Am) Persaudaraan(Sahabat Pena) bagi Sementara, Kerajaan Jepun dan Agama Islam" (A Lecture by Mr. S.M. Zainal Abidin B.A., the Acting President of the Brotherhood of Pen Friends, on the Japanese Government and Islam), p. 10.

No. 468 / 12.12.1934 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Jepun dan Islam, Timur akan Menyinarakan Cahaya Keutamaan Semula?" (Japan and Islam: Will The East Shine Its Light Again?), p. 6.

No. 476 / 12.1.1935

Anon. "Politik Itali dan Jajahannya: Betapa Maknanya bagi Seluruh Negeri Eropah: Apakah Sebabnya Jepun Digemari oleh Habshi?" (Italian Politics and Her Colonies: Its Impact on the Whole of Europe: Why is Japan favoured by the Abyssinians?), p. 11.

No. 479 / 23.1.1935

Anon. "Politik Itali dan Jajahannya: Betapa Maknanya bagi Seluruh Negeri Eropah: Apakah Sebabnya Jepun Digemari oleh Habshi?" (Italian Politics and Her Colonies: Its Impact on the Whole of Europe: Why is Japan favoured by the Abyssinians?), p. 4.

No. 483 / 6.2.1935

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Tujuan Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya bagi Kaum dan Negeri Melayu" (The Objectives of Sahabat Pena Malaya for the Malay People and States), part i, p. 7.

No. 484 / 9.2.1935

_____. "Tujuan Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya bagi Kaum dan Negeri Melayu" (The Objectives of Sahabat Pena Malaya for the Malay People and States), part ii, p. 10.

No. 486 / 16.2.1935

_____. "Tujuan Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya bagi Kaum dan Negeri Melayu" (The Objectives of Sahabat Pena Malaya for the Malay People and States), part iii, p. 9.

No. 488 / 23.2.1935

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Habasyiniyyah dan Itali: Persengketaan Bertambah Genting tetapi Masih Longgar?" (Abyssinia and Italy: The conflict is getting Worse, but is it still uncertain?), p. 7.

No. 490 / 2.3.1935 - editorial

_____. "Perdamaian di Timur Jauh di antara Jepun dan China?" (Peace in the Far East between Japan and China?), p. 7.

No. 494 / 16.3.1935

'Selangor 508.' "Pena Hotel," p. 4.

No. 497 / 30.3.1935

Muhammad al-Khatib. "Pena Hotel," p. 8.

No. 510 / 18.5.1935 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Percaturan Politik di Eropah, Italy and Habsyah" (European Political Conflict, Italy and Abyssinia), p. 7.

No. 516 / 8.6.1935

Anon. "Pemandangan Amir Shakib Arslan di atas Pencerobohan Kaum Kamaliah (Turki Baru) terhadap kepada Ugama Islam" (Amir Shakib Arslan's Opinion about the Invasion of the *Kamaliah* (New Turkey) Group on Islam), p. 5.

No. 520 / 22.6.1935

Anon. "Pemandangan dan Pemerhatian di atas Perubahan-perubahan Turki Baru Berkenaan dengan KeIslaman, As-Shaikh Bajunid Afandi (Java) 6 Bulan di dalam Pengembaraannya" (Opinions and Observations on the Changes in New Turkey Regarding Islam, As-Shaikh Bajunid Afandi (Java) 6 Months of His Travels), p. 3.

No. 525 / 10.7.1935

'Semangat Masa' (Spirit of Time). "Kaum Ibu dengan Pakaian" (Women and their Clothes), *Taman Isteri*, p. 9.

No. 535 / 14.8.1935

_____. "Pakaian Bandung biarlah di Bandung sahaja," (Bandung Clothing - let it be for Bandung only), *Taman Isteri*, p. 9.

No. 541 / 4.9.1935

'ز.د.ش' (Zai.Dal.Shim.) "Pertanyaan Semangat Masa dijawab" (Semangat Masa's Enquiries are Answered), *Taman Isteri*, p. 11.

No. 546 / 21.9.1935

Ahmad Abu Bakar al-Mas'udi Langkawi. "Kaum Ibu dan Perubahan Baru" (Women and the Current Changes), *Taman Isteri*, p. 11.

No. 547 / 25.9.1935

'Maktua Perak' (An Old Woman from Perak). "Permenungan Orangtua...Kaum Ibu dengan Pakaiannya" (An old Woman's Contemplation...Women and their Clothes), *Taman Isteri*, p. 11.

No. 548 / 28.9.35

'Makcik Muda Pahang' (Young Lady of Pahang). "Kaum Ibu Melayu dengan Pakaian dan Perubahan Baru Terhadap kepada Ahmad Abu Bakar al-Mas'udi Langkawi" (Malay Women and the Style of Clothing and Current Changes, to Ahmad Abu Bakar al-Mas'udi Langkawi), *Taman Isteri*, p. 13.

volume viii

No. 549 / 2.10.1935 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Penutup Perbahasan atas Kaum Ibu dengan Pakaian Bandung" (Closing of the Debate regarding Women and the Bandung Style), p. 9.

No. 558 / 2.11.1935

Anon. "Paspam dan Perusahaan" (Paspam and Industries), p. 10.

No. 578 / 15.1.1936 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Perjuangan Italy-Habsyi: Bayangan Percaturan Siasat yang Mengenai Nasib Sinyur Mussolini atau Italy" (Italy-Habsyi Conflict: Mussolini and Italy's Fate), p. 9.

No. 585 / 8.2.1936 - editorial

_____. "Barat dan Timur Terancam oleh Bahaya Peperangan Akan Datang! Di dalam Masa Italy dan Habsyi Berjuang Terus-menerus" (East and West are Facing the Threats of Impending War! Habsyi and Italy Continue Fighting), p. 9.

No. 597 / 25.3.1936 - editorial

_____. "Permainan Boria dan Perasaan Kaum kita Am" (*Boria* and the General Opinion of Our People), p. 9.

No. 602 / 11.4.1936

Aminah. "Fikiran Miss Maimun" (Miss Maimun's Thoughts), p. 4.

No. 605 / 22.4.1936

'Rakyat Melayu' (Malay Citizen). "Malaya Zahir ke Dunia Pertuturan dan dengannya didatangkan Beberapa Angkara Tuntutan oleh Bangsa2 Asing di Malaya" (The Emergence of Malaya in the Linguistic World, With That Comes the Demands from Foreign Races in Malaya), p. 2.

No. 608 / 2.5.1936

Anon. "Kelebihan Laki-laki daripada Perempuan pada Fahaman Faridah Hanum," (The Superiority of Men Compared to Women, According to Faridah Hanum's View), p. 4.

No. 610 / 9.5.1936

Anon. "Seruan Kepada Anak-anak Perempuan Muda" (A Call to Female Youth), p. 4.

No. 612 / 16.5.1936 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh Al-Hadi. "Tuntutan Bangsa Asing di Negeri Melayu" (Foreign Races' Demands in the Malay States), p. 9.

No. 620 / 13.6.1936

Abbas bin Mohd. Taha. "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung" (The Malayan Ulama Association), p. 3.

No. 622 / 20.6.1936

'Muhibbul Watan' (Lover of the Nation). "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung" (The Malayan Ulama Association), p. 2.

No. 624 / 28.6.1936

'Paman' (Uncle). "Bangsa Melayu Patut Sedar Negeri Melayu di dalam Bahaya" (The Malay Nation must realize that the Malay States are in Danger), p. 4.

No. 626 / 4.7.1936

Hashim bin Umar. "Modern Bagaimanakah yang Lagi Akan Datang?" (How Much More Modern is It Going to be in the Future?), p. 3.

No. 627 / 8.7.1936

"Muhibbul Watan" (Lover of the Nation). "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung" (The Malayan Ulama Association), p. 5.

No. 631 / 22.7.1936

As-Shaikh Ibrahim al-Hadi. "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung" (The Malayan Ulama Association), p. 2.

No. 632 / 25.7.1936

'Makcik Muda Pahang.' "Patutkah Tidak Anak Perempuan Sekarang Belajar Menggunting Rambut," (Should the Girls Nowadays be allowed to learn Hairdressing Skills?), p. 4

No. 635 / 5.8.1936

Al-Haqir al-Faqir (The Humble The Needy). "Paspam di sisi Orang-orang Melayu," (Paspam among the Malays), p. 2.

No. 636 / 1 / 8.8.1936

Aminah Abdul Jalal. "Patutkah Tidak Anak Perempuan Sekarang Belajar Menggunting Rambut?" (Should the Girls Nowadays Learn Hairdressing Skills?) p. 4

No. 636 / 2 / 8.8.1936

Al-Haqir (The Humble) Abdul Majid Saleh al-Latiff. "Tumpang Menyahut! (Rencana Makcik Muda Pahang)" (Giving a Response! (Article of Makcik Muda Pahang)), p. 4.

No. 637 / 1 / 12.8.1936

Pak Haji Abdu Ansamad. "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung," p. 2.

No. 637 / 2 / 12.8.1936 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Persekutuan Ulama Semenanjung," p. 9.

No. 642 / 1 / 29.8.1936

'Anak Perca Barat' (Son of the West Perca). "Laki-laki yang Mengajar Kaum Ibu Bebas" (Men Who Taught Women about Freedom), p. 4.

No. 642 / 2 / 29.8.1936 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Rasukan Perniagaan Jepun dibimbangkan" (The Influence of Japanese Trade is Alarming), p. 9.

No. 644 / 5.9.1936

Anon. "Kemajuan Melayu Fikiran Encik Mustafa al-Bakri" (The Malays' Progress – Mr. Mustafa al-Bakri's Thoughts), p. 3.

No. 646 / 12.9.1936

'Anak Perca Barat' (Son of the West Perca). "Pengetahuan Cara Modern Fikir Sebelum Bekerja" (Modern Malay Knowledge: Think before Working), p. 4.

No. 647 / 1 / 16.9.1936

_____. "Perempuan Sundal Bertambah Kerana Apa?" (The Number of Whores is Increasing, Why?), pp. 2-3.

No. 647 / 2 / 16.9.1936

Anon. "Kaum Muda dan Kaum Tua," p. 2.

No. 650 / 26.9.1936 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Syarikat Mati" (Funeral Societies), p. 9.

No. 651 / 1 / 30.9.1936

Hamidun 49. "Langkahan Paspam Yang Ketiga" (Paspam's Third Movement), p. 13.

No. 651 / 2 / 30.9.1936

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh Al-Hadi. "Tiruan KeEropahan - Tiruan Tiada Memilih dan Tiada Bersempadan, Ucapan Tuan Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi di dalam Persidangan Y.M.U Pulau Pinang pada 22 September jam 9 malam" (European Imitation - Imitation Without Selection and Restriction - Tuan Sayyid Alwi al-Hadi's Speech in the Meeting of Y.M.U Penang on 22nd September at 9 p.m.), p. 22.

volume ix

No. 652 / 7.10.1936 - editorial

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "_____,", p. 9.

No. 654 / 14.10.1936

_____. "Corak Malayan \$2,000,000 Kerana Mempertahankan Negeri China" (The Malayan Way, \$2,000,000 to Defend China), p. 9.

No. 655 / 17.10.1936

Hamidun. "Khairat Mati" (Charity for the Dead), p. 4.

No. 656 / 21.10.1936

_____. "Khairat Mati" (Charity for the Dead), p. 3.

No. 659 / 1 / 31.10.1936

'Dayang Taman' (Garden Maid). "Modern keEropahan oleh dengan Kaum Ibu Melayu" (European Modernity and Malay Women), *Taman Isteri*, p. 4.

No. 659 / 2 / 31.10.1936

Hamidun. "Khairat Mati" (Charity for the Dead), p. 5.

No. 663 / 14.11.1936

'Miss Pulau Pinang.' "Berkehendakkan Modern yang Sebenar" (Desiring a True Modernity), p. 4

No. 672 / 16.12.1936

Muhammad Ariffin Ishak. "Tokongkanlah Rambut" (Cut the Hair Short), p. 4.

No. 681 / 23.1.1937

'س . ع' ('Ain.Sin.). "Kaum Ibu dengan Tokong Rambut" (Women with Short Hair), p. 4.

No. 700 / 3.4.1937

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Sekolah Melayu dengan Pelajarannya" (Malay Schools and Their Education), p. 9.

No. 701 / 7.4.1937

_____. "Meletak Jawatan Setiausaha Agung Paspam yang kehormat" (Resigning from the position of Paspam's General Secretary), p. 8.

No. 702 / 10.4.1937

_____. "Bagi Permenungan Pemimpin-pemimpin Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya" (For the Observation of Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena's Leaders), p. 9.

No. 705 / 21.4.1937

_____. "Meninggikan Pelajaran Sekolah-sekolah Melayu" (Upgrading the Status of Education in Malay Schools), p. 9

No. 713 / 22.5.1937

Saifuzzaman. "Rampaian Buahfikiran - Laki-laki yang Berbilang Isteri" (Some Thoughts - Man Who Has Many Wives), *Taman Isteri*, p. 4.

No. 719 / 31.7.1937

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Paspam - Sila Fikirkan by Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi" (Paspam - Let's Think by Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi), p. 8.

No. 730 / 1 / 8.9.1937

Shamsuddin Salleh. "Beristeri Lebih dari Satu" (Having More than One Wife), *Taman Isteri*, p. 4.

No. 730 / 2 / 8.9.1937

'Pak Janggut' (A Bearded Man). "Fikiran Sehari-hari," (Everyday Thoughts), p. 4.

volume x

No. 763 / 1 / 5.1.1938

Hashim Muhammad, 'Sahabat Pena 50.' "Betapakah dan Bagaimana Perdirian Paspam Pada Masa yang Akan Datang?" (What And How is Paspam's Fate in the Future?), p. 8.

No. 763 / 2 / 5.1.1938

Anon. "Kehairanan Kita di atas Tujuan Paspam" (Our Astonishment at Paspam's Aims), p. 8.

No. 766 / 15.1.1938

Anon. "Huru Hara di dalam Bandar Singapura" (Uproar in Singapore), p. 4.

No. 769 / 26.1.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Akhbar-akhbar Melayu menegaskan haknya yang halal. *Warta Malaya* menjadi jarum bagi mencantumkan perasaan bekerja bersama-sama di antara journalist di atas penanggungannya yang serupa" (Warta Malaya becomes a Needle which joins together the Cooperative Spirit between Journalists in their Tasks), p. 2.

No. 770 / 29.1.1938 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid). "*Majlis Mempertahankan Kebenarannya*" (Majlis Defends Its Innocence), p. 7.

No. 771 / 2.2.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Teguran *Warta Malaya* yang Berharga, *Majlis* Suratkhbar yang besar itu patut mengenal akan haknya atau bukan. Jangan Memamah Pisang yang Berkubuk," (*Warta Malaya* Valuable Reminder, a prominent newspaper like *Majlis* ought to know between right and wrong, Do not just eat "*pisang yang berkubuk*"), p. 2.

No. 773 / 9.2.1938

'Pen Straits.' "Masalah *Halaman Sahabat Pena* Jadi Gelanggang Perebutan? Langkah *Majlis* Mesti Diperhatikan" (Is *Halaman Sahabat Pena* Becoming an Arena of Competition? *Majlis*'s Moves Must be Observed), p. 8.

No. 774 / 12.2.1938

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Peperangan Jepun dan China" (The Sino-Japanese War), p. 7.

No. 779 / 2.3.1938

Editor of *Halaman Sahabat Pena*. "Punca Persengketaan Paspam" (The Reasons for Paspam's Disputes), p. 8.

No. 780 / 5.3.1938 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Malaya dan Indonesia" (Malaya and Indonesia), p. 7.

No. 781 / 9.3.1938

'Talibul Haq' (One Who Demands the Truth). "Apa Makna Kebebasan Fikiran?" (What is the Meaning of Freedom of Thought?), p. 4.

No. 789 / 6.4.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law - Laws for Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 3.

No. 790 / 9.4.1938

_____. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law - Laws for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 3.

No. 791 / 1 / 13.4.1938

'Ain Ali (The Eye of Ali). "Apakah Pengakuan Bangsa Dagang di Malaya Berjalan di atas Pengakuannya atau Sebaliknya...Polisi Kerajaan Jangan Diganggu" (Are the Foreigners Keeping to their Word or Otherwise?...Do not Disturb the Government's Policy), p. 2

No. 791 / 2 / 13.4.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law - Laws for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States) p. 3.

No. 791 / 3 / 13.4.1938 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu" (Laws for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 5.

No. 792 / 1 / 16.4.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law - Laws for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 4.

No. 792 / 2 / 16.4.1938 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu" (Laws for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 7.

No. 793 / 1 / 20.4.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law - Laws for the Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 3.

No. 793 / 2 / 20.4.1938 - editorial

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Saudara dan Paspam," (*Saudara and Paspam*), p. 7.

No. 794 / 23.4.1938

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law – Laws for Muslims in the Federated Malay States) p. 3.

No. 795 / 1 / 27.4.1938

_____. "Muhammadan Law - Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Yang Bersekutu" (Muhammadan Law – Laws for Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 3.

No. 795 / 2 / 27.4.1938

Muhammad Yunus bin Abdul Hamid. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu" (Laws for Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 7.

No. 797 / 4.5.1938

_____. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam bagi Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu" (Laws for Muslims in the Federated Malay States), p. 7.

volume xi

No. 865 / 1 / 4.1.1939

'Putra Larut' (Prince of Larut). "Suara Bangsa-bangsa Malayan di dalam Majalah *Straits Times* – Perkataan Bangsa Malayan di dalam *Straits Times* – Tersangat...Kononnya Mereka Berhak Sama di Malaya" (Malayan's Voice in the *Straits Times* Magazine...As If They Have Equal Rights in Malaya), p. 3

No. 865 / 2 / 4.1.1939

Bongsu Perak (Perak's Youngest). "Kaum Melayu di Kampung Terosak: Bolehkah Ketua-Ketua Melayu Melepaskan Dia? Kalau Tidak Bagaimanakah Harapan Mereka?" (Malay People in the Villages are being harmed: Can the Malay Leaders Saved Them? If Not, What will be their Future?), p. 7.

No. 866 / 7.1.1939 - editorial

Abdul Majid Sabil. "Adakah Tanah Melayu Menjadi Negeri China yang Kedua?" (Is Malaya going to be the Second Chinese State?), p. 6.

No. 867 / 11.1.1939- editorial

_____. "Manusia itu ada Mempunyai Maruah" (Human Beings Have Their Dignity), p. 6.

No. 868 / 14.1.1939

'Wakil Kita Yang Khas' (Our Special Representative). "Ketegangan dan Kekusutan Dunia" (Tension and Conflict in the World), p. 2.

No. 869 / 18.1.1939

"Putra Larut" (Prince of Larut). "Saudara: Siapa yang dikatakan Anaknegeri Dialah Berhak Tetapi di Malaya Polisi yang Demikian Sudah Terpesong, Tatkala Malaya Berhak, Malaya Tinggal Namalah," (Saudara: He who is regarded as a Citizen, has the right; but in Malaya the Policy is Different; Perhaps only the Name is left of their Rights), p. 2.

No. 871 / 25.1.1939 - editorial

Abdul Majid Sabil. "Negeri Melayu dan Orang Melayu Merdeka" (Malay States and Independent Malay People), p. 6

No. 872 / 28.1.1939

'Buai' (Swing). "Pasal Bangsa Melayu Kekurangan Memegang Jawatan" (About the Lack of Malays in Government Positions), p. 9

No. 873 / 1 / 1.2.1939

Mukhtar Ismail India. "Bahaya yang Akan Terhadap Kerajaan Bangsa Melayu dan Bangsa Melayu" (A Danger for Malay Government and Malay Nation), p. 2.

No. 873 / 2 / 1.2.1939

Anon. "Malaya dan University" (Malaya and University), p. 9

No. 873 / 3 / 1.2.1939

Anon. "Keunduran Melayu" (The Backwardness of the Malays), p. 11.

No. 875 / 11.2.1939

'Putra Larut' (Prince of Larut). "Ketewasan Melayu Disebabkan Malas?...? Melayu Tewas Disebabkan Bangsa-bangsa Perbuat dan Dengki Khianat. Tetapi Jangan Diteropong Dari Merchu Sahaja!" (Malays' Failure Because of Laziness?...? Malays Fail because of the Foreign People's Actions and Envy. However, Do not See from Above Only), p. 2.

No. 917 / 8.7.1939 - editorial

Anon. "Islam itu Melayukah?" (Does Islam Means Malay?), p. 6.

No. 931 / 6.9.1939 - editorial

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Kita Akan Mendapati Perang Dunia Yang Kedua" (We are going to face the Second World War), p. 6.

No. 936 / 23.9.1939 - editorial

_____. "Apa yang Harus Kita Perbuat Sekarang?" (What should we do now?), p. 6.

volume xii

No. 945 / 25.10.1939

Muhammad Ariffin Ishak. "Gerak Kemajuan Paspam Mestilah dengan Suratkhobar" (Paspam's Movement Towards Progress Must be With a Newspaper), p. 8.

No. 947 / 1.11.1939

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Turki akan Membangkitkan Tarikh Baru bagi Benua Eropah?" (Turkey Will Create a New History for Europe?), p. 6.

No. 948 / 4.11.1939 - editorial

_____. "Persekutuan Seruan Islam SeMalaya," p. 4.

No. 962 / 27.12.1939

Sayyid Alwi bin Shaikh al-Hadi. "Mengapa Kita Mesti Berdiri di Belakang Britain dan Rakan-Rakannya" (Why We Have to Support Britain and Her Allies), p. 7.

No. 1012 / 19.6.1940

Haji Muhammad, Chief Secretary of Paspam Perak. "Kenyataan kepada Ahli Paspam Cawangan Perak di bawah Naungan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak" (An Announcement to the Members of Paspam Perak Branch under the Patronage of Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak), p. 15.

No. 1015 / 1 / 29.6.1940

Anon. "Syarat-syarat Perdamaian German-Perancis" (The Conditions of the French-German Peace Agreement), p. 5.

No. 1015 / 2 / 29.6.1940 - editorial

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Kerajaan Marshall Petain Menjual Bangsanya?" (Is the Government of Marshal Petain betraying its own Nation?), p. 10.

volume xiii

No. 1043 / 9.10.1940

Tuan Haji Muhammad Zain bin Haji Ayub. "Perubahan Paspam" (Changes in Paspam), p. 7.

No. 1045 / 15.10.1940

'Ratuman.' "Colonial Politics, Politik Tanah Jajahan. Motto: Jika Kita Mesti Diperintah oleh Bangsa Asing, Lebih Baiklah Kita Diperintah oleh Bangsa Inggeris sebab Bangsa Inggeris itu ada Mempunyai Timbang Rasa Sesama Manusia" (Colonial Politics. Motto: If We must be Ruled by a Foreign Nation, It is better that it should be Britain because the British are very considerate with Other People), p. 3.

No. 1046 / 1 / 17.10.1940

_____. "Colonial Politics, Politik Tanah Jajahan. Motto: Jika Kita Mesti Diperintah oleh Bangsa Asing, Lebih Baiklah Kita Diperintah oleh Bangsa Inggeris sebab Bangsa Inggeris itu Ada Mempunyai Timbang Rasa Sesama Manusia" (Colonial Politics, Motto: If We must be ruled by a Foreign Nation, It is better that it should be Britain because the British are very considerate with Other People), p. 3 & 5.

No. 1046 / 2 / 17.10.1940

Kapten Nur Muhammad Hashim. "Yang Berhormat Tuan Kapten Nur Muhammad Hashim dan Cadangannya Buat Menguatkan Bantuan Perang" (The Honourable Tuan Kapten Nur Muhammad Hashim and His Suggestions to Strengthen War Aid), p. 8.

No. 1046 / 3 / 17.10.1940

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Yang Berhormat Tuan Kapten Hashim Menghendaki Persatuan Semangat dan Perasaan 'SeMalaya' bukan Diktator" (Yang Berhormat Tuan Kapten Hashim Promoted Unity and the 'Malaya' Spirit not Dictatorship), p. 10.

No. 1047 / 19.10.1940

'Ratuman.' "Colonial Politics, Politik Tanah Jajahan. Motto: Jika Kita Mesti Diperintah oleh Bangsa Asing, Lebih Baiklah Kita Diperintah oleh Bangsa Inggeris sebab Bangsa Inggeris itu Ada Mempunyai Timbang Rasa Sesama Manusia" (Colonial Politics, Motto: If We must be Ruled by a Foreign Nation, It is better that it should be Britain because the British are very considerate with Other People), p. 3 & 18.

No. 1048 / 22.10.1940

_____. "Colonial Politics, Politik Tanah Jajahan. Motto: Jika Kita Mesti Diperintah oleh Bangsa Asing, Lebih Baiklah Kita Diperintah oleh Bangsa Inggeris sebab Bangsa Inggeris itu ada Mempunyai Timbang Rasa Sesama Manusia" (Colonial Politics. Motto: If We must be Ruled by a Foreign Nation, It is Better that it should be Britain because the British are very considerate with Other People), p. 3.

No. 1051 / 1 / 29.10.1940

_____. "Colonial Politics, Politik Tanah Jajahan. Motto: Jika Kita Mesti Diperintah oleh Bangsa Asing, Lebih Baiklah Kita Diperintah oleh Bangsa Inggeris sebab Bangsa Inggeris itu ada Mempunyai Timbang Rasa Sesama Manusia" (Colonial Politics. Motto: If We must be Ruled by a Foreign Nation, It is Better that it should be Britain because the British are very Considerate with Other People), p. 3.

No. 1051 / 2 / 29.10.1940 - editorial

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Arang dan Abu di Benua Eropah, Negeri-negeri Kecil Menjadi Qurban" (Coal and Dust in the European Continent: Small States Become Victims) p. 10.

No. 1061 / 23.11.1940 - editorial

_____. "Umat-umat Melayu di Seluruh Semenanjung Tetap akan berpecah-belah" (The Malay Nation throughout Malaya Will certainly Split), p.10.

No. 1062 / 26.11.1940

Ratuman. "Dari Mana Asal Raja-raja Melayu? Raja-raja Melayu di Gugusan Tanah-tanah Melayu Banyak Berasal dari Tanah Arab dan juga dari Negeri India: Tarikh Menjadi Saksi Buat Dipercermin Sehari-hari supaya Kepala-kepala Takrif Menjadi Insaf" (From Where is the Origin of the Malay Kings? Many of the Malay Kings in the Malay Archipelago Originated from Arabia and India: History Becomes the Witness so that the Head of *Takrif* Realize), p.17.

No. 1068 / 10.12.1940

_____. "Orang Jawa dengan Takrif" (The Javanese and *Takrif*), p. 3.

No. 1071 / 1 / 17.12.1940

_____. "Buah Fikiran Wartawan Kita dan Takrif Melayu" (Our Journalists' Thoughts and the Definition of a Malay), p. 3

No. 1071 / 2 / 17.12.1940 - editorial

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Pemandangan Akhbar-akhbar Belanda" (Dutch Newspapers' Views), p. 10.

No. 1072 / 21.12.1940

Wak Sati. "Kita Diminta Supaya Memberhentikan daripada Memalu Takrif Melayu" (We are Requested to Stop Arguing about the Definition of a Malay), p3

No. 1073 / 24.12.1940

_____. "Kita diminta supaya memberhentikan daripada memalu Takrif Melayu" (We Are requested to stop arguing about the Definition of a Malay), part ii, p18.

No. 1075 / 28.12.1940

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Belumkah Sampai Masanya buat menjalankan Loteri Perang?" (Has the Time not come yet for introducing War Lottery?), p.10.

volume xiv

No. 1079 / 10.1.1941

'Penulis Budiman' (A Benevolent Writer). "Orang German itu Pembohong, Selalu Mungkir Janji (tiada amanah), Pembengis dan Khianat, kata Tuan Shaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim" (The Germans are Liars, Untrustworthy, Fierce, Treacherous, According to Shaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim), p. 17.

No. 1080 / 14.1.1941

Anon. "Mengapa Loteri Perang Masih Diabaikan?" (Why is the Question of a War Lottery still being ignored?), p. 3.

No. 1081 / 17.1.1941

Anon. "Orang-orang Melayu Dengan Soal Pertahanan Negeri" (The Malays and the Issue of the Defence of the State), p. 3.

No. 1082 / 21.1.1941

'Anak Tanjung Penaga' (Tanjung Penaga's Offspring). "Apakah dia yang dikatakan Penyakit Masyarakat?" (What is the Illness of a Society?), p. 3.

No. 1085 / 31.1. 1941

'Penulis Budiman' (A Benevolent Writer). "Orang German itu Pembohong, Selalu Mungkir Janji (tiada amanah), Pembengis dan Khianat, kata Tuan Shaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim" (The Germans are Liars, Untrustworthy, Fierce, Treacherous, According to Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim), p. 18.

No. 1086 / 1 / 4.2.1941 - editorial

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Orang-Orang China Malaya Disyorkan Supaya Membangunkan Pasukan Askar Membantu British" (The Chinese in Malaya are encouraged to establish an Army Battalion to assist the British), p. 10.

No. 1086 / 2 / 4.2.1941

'Penulis Budiman' (A Benevolent Writer). "Orang German itu Pembohong, Selalu Mungkir Janji (tiada amanah), Pembengis dan Khianat, kata Tuan Shaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim," (The Germans are Liars, Untrustworthy, Fierce, Treacherous, According to Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Hashim), p. 13.

No. 1087 / 7.2.1941 - editorial

Muhammad Amin bin Nayan. "Pasukan Pertahanan Mahaliyyah" (The Local Defence Corps), p. 10.

No. 1088 / 11.2.1941

'Anak Tanjung Penaga' (Tanjung Penaga's Offspring). "Pemandangan Jepun Arah Selatan Membuat Kita Berfikir. Indonesia dan Malaya Janda yang Diidami, Sediakan Payung Sebelum Hujan – Sebaik Langkah itu Berhati-hati" (Japan's Southward Aspirations Make Us Think. Malaya and Indonesia are the Desired Widows, Prepare the Umbrella Before It's Raining – The Best Way is to be Careful), pp. 3 & 14.

2. ARTICLES FROM MALAY NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS CITED IN THE TEXT

D) *AL-IMAM*

volume i

No. 1 / 23.7.1906

Anon. "التاريخ الإسلامي" (Islamic History), pp. 10-14.

volume ii

No. 3 / 9.9.1907

Wakil *al-Imam* di Langkat (*Al-Imam's* Representative in Langkat). "Pelajaran dan Berikatannya dengan Syariah Yang Maha Suci" (Education and Its Relation with the Honourable Islamic Law), pp. 84-7.

volume iii

No. 4 / 1 / 27.9.1908

Anon. "Ilmu dan Ulama" (Knowledge and Religious Scholars), pp.121-5.

No. 4 / 2 / 27.9.1908

Anon. "Persekutuan Kita dan Ilmu" (Our Society and Knowledge), pp.129-31.

No. 5 / 1 / 27.10.1908

Anon. "Ilmu dan Ulama" (Knowledge and Religious Scholars), pp. 157-61.

No. 5 / 2 / 27.10.1908

Anon. "Sebab Kemajuan Ahli Barat - Dan Keunduran Ahli Timur" (Reasons for the Progress of Western Societies and the Backwardness of the Eastern Societies), pp. 236-9).

No. 6 / 25.11.1908

Anon. "Ilmu dan Ulama" (Knowledge and Religious Scholars), pp. 210-14.

No. 7 / 25.12.1908

Anon. "Ilmu dan Ulama" (Knowledge and Religious Scholars), pp. 251-2.

II) *NERACHA*

volume ii

No. 38 / 19.6.1912

Anon. "Setengah daripada Galang Kemajuan" (Some Obstacles to Progress), p.1.

No. 39 / 26.6.1912

Anon. "Setengah daripada Galang Kemajuan" (Some Obstacles to Progress), p.1.

volume iii

No. 82 / 23.4.1913

Anon. "Orang-orang Alim Jawi dan Suratkhobar" (Malay Ulama and the Newspapers), p.1.

No. 84 / 7.5.1913

Abdul Wahid bin Abdur Rahman Talib al-Ilmi. "Menuntut Ilmu dan Kemajuan" (Seeking Knowledge and Progress), p. 1.

No. 86 / 21.5.1913

Anon. "Agama dan Kemajuan" (Religion and Progress), p. 1.

No. 96 / 30.7.1913

Anon. "Menuntut Ilmu" (Seeking Knowledge), p.1.

volume iv

No. 125 / 15.4.1914

Anon. "Kebaikan Perintah Agama" (The Wisdom of Islamic Injunctions), p. 1.

No. 142 / 1.7.1914

Anon. "Kemajuan Bangsa Asing" (The Progress of Foreign Nations), p.1.

No. 143 / 8.7.1914

Anon. "Jalan Memulihkan Kejatuhan" (The Way to Remedy Degradation), p.1.

No. 150 / 2.9.1914

Anon. "Orang-orang yang Makan Gaji" (People in Salaried Employment), p. 1.

volume v

No. 165 / 23.12.1914

Anon. "Kejatuhan Kita pada Kehidupan Dunia" (Our Downfall in this World), p. 1.

No. 180 / 7.4.1915

Anon. "Hendak Memajukan Bahasa Arab di antara Orang-orang Kita Jawi atau Melayu" (Improving the Knowledge of Arabic among Our *Jawi* People or Malays), p. 4.

No. 182 / 21.4.1915

Anon. "Perempuan Wajib Jua Belajar" (Women Must also seek Knowledge), p. 1.

No. 185 / 12.5.1915

Anon. "Mencerca Dunia dan Menggemarkan Pahala Akhirat" (Condemning this World and Preferring the Reward of the Hereafter), p.1.

No. 186 / 19.5.1915

Anon. "Meninggikan Perasaan - tentang Kepentingan Bahasa Inggeris" (Moral Booster - about the Importance of English language), p. 1.

No. 190 / 14.6.1915

Anon. (Possibly the editor, Haji Abbas bin Mohd. Taha). "Kenyataan hendak diberhentikan *Neracha* ini," (An Announcement to terminate *Neracha*'s Publication), p. 1.

III) *AL-IKHWAN*

volume i

No. 1 / 16.9.1926

Anon. "Menuntut Ilmu Agama" (Seeking Religious Knowledge), pp. 17-18.

No. 3 / 16.11.1926

Anon. "Pelajaran Melayu dan Bilangannya" (Malay Education and Its Extent), pp. 59-60.

No. 7 / 16.3.1927

Za'ba. "Kemiskinan Orang Melayu" (The Poverty of the Malays), part i, pp. 132-5.

No. 8 / 16.4.1927

_____. "Kemiskinan Orang Melayu" (The Poverty of the Malays), part ii, pp. 151-6.

No. 9 / 16.5.1927

_____. "Kemiskinan Orang Melayu" (The Poverty of the Malays), part iii, pp. 171-6.

No. 10 / 16.6.1927

_____. "Jalan Keselamatan Bagi Orang Melayu" (The Salvation of the Malays), part i, pp. 187-192.

No. 11 / 16.7.1927

_____. "Jalan Keselamatan Bagi Orang Melayu" (The Salvation of the Malays), part ii, pp. 212-6.

No. 12 / 16.8.1927

_____. "Jalan Keselamatan Bagi Orang Melayu" (The Salvation of the Malays), part iii, pp. 229-35.

volume ii

No. 1 / 16.9.1927

Za'ba. "Jalan Keselamatan Bagi Orang Melayu" (The Salvation of the Malays), part iv, p. 16-22.

No. 8 / 16.4.1928

Anon. "Sekolah Melayu" (Malay Schools), pp. 248-9.

volume iii

No. 5 / 16.1.1929

Anon. "Perubahan dalam Al-Azhar di Mesir - Dari Kaum Tua kepada Haluan Muda" (The Changes in Al-Azhar, Egypt - From Kaum Tua to Kaum Muda's Way), pp. 156-7.

volume v

No. 2 / 16.10.1930

Anon. "Adakah Kaum Melayu ini Dapat Melepaskan Wujudnya daripada Fana dan Hapus? Apakah Penyakit Ketewasan Semua Kaum Islam Masa ini di dalam Medan Peperangan Kehidupan?" (Are the Malays Able to Free Themselves from Fleetness and Extinction? Are All Muslims at Present Facing Failure in Their Lives?) pp. 33-42.

volume vi

No. 5 / 16.2.1931

Anon. "Pelajaran Inggeris dan Anak-anak Melayu" (English Education and Malay Children), pp. 161-7.

IV) WARTA MALAYA

volume ix

No 73 / 29.3.1938 - editorial

Sayyid Hussein bin Ali al-Sagoff. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam: Pemandangan dan Bandingannya" (Muhammadan Law: Observations and Comparisons) p. 9.

No. 74 / 30.3.1938 - editorial

_____. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam: Bahagian Sembahyang Jumaat," (Muhammadan Law: Section on Friday Prayer), p. 9.

No. 75 / 31.3.1938 - editorial

_____. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam: Bahagian Mengaji Al-Quran" (Muhammadan Law: Section on the Koran School), p. 9.

No. 76 / 1.4.1938 - editorial

_____. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam Bahagian Zina" (Muhammadan Law, Section on Adultery), p. 11.

No. 77 / 2.4.1938 - editorial

_____. "Undang-undang (Daus) Orang-orang Islam: Bahagian Surat Tauliah" (Muhammadan Law: Section on Teaching Certificates), p. 9.

No. 78 / 4.4.1938 - editorial

_____. "Penutup Bahathan Undang-undang Muhammadan" (Closure of the Debate on Muhammadan Law), p. 9.

V) *UTUSAN MELAYU*

volume i

No. 56 / 1.8.1939 - editorial

Abdul Rahim Kajai. "Orang Melayu Tiada Berhajat kepada Pimpinan Singapore Malay Association" (Malays Do Not Desire to lead the Singapore Malay Association), p. 8.

3. ARTICLES FROM ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS CITED IN THE TEXT

I) *THE MALAY MAIL*

volume lxxv

No. 8114 / 1.12.1923 - editorial

Za'ba (Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad). "The Poverty of the Malays," p.8.

No. 8131 / 21.12.1923 - editorial

_____. "The Salvation of the Malays. I," p.8.

No. 8132 / 22.12.1923 - editorial

_____. "The Salvation of the Malays. II," p. 8.

II) *THE STRAITS TIMES*

23.3.1938 - editorial

_____. "Go To Mosque or Go to Prison," p. 10.

III) STRAITS ECHO

volume xxxi

No. 219 / 19.9.1933 - editorial

M. Saravanamuttu. "Arabic or Roman?" p. 8.

volume xxxiv

No. 109 / 11.5.1936 - editorial

M. Saravanamuttu. "One Country, One Nation, One Policy," p. 8.

4. OFFICIAL REPORTS

Report of the Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on Higher Education in Malaya (The McLean Report), 1939, in Wong, Francis Hoy Kee and Gwee Yee Hian (1980): 142-3.

Report of the Committee on Technical and Industrial Education in the Federated Malay States (the Lemon Report), 1919, in Wong, Francis Hoy Kee and Gwee Yee Hian (1980): 72-9.

5. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Enactment No.2 of 1904. Federated Malay States. States of Pahang.

Enactment No. 6 of 1904. Federated Malay States. State of Negri Sembilan.

Enactment No. 20 of 1904. Federated Malay States. States of Perak.

Enactment No. 3 of 1904. Federated Malay States. States of Selangor.

Enactment No. 6 of 1937. State of Pahang.

Order in Council No. 1 of 1938. State Of Negri Sembilan.

Enactment No. 2 of 1938. State of Selangor.

Enactment No. 5 of 1939. State Of Perak.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abdul Aziz bin Mat Ton (1972/73) "Al-Imam Sepintas Lalu," *Jurnal Sejarah* 11(1972/73): 29-40.

Abdul Aziz, Ungku (1975) *Jejak-jejak di Pantai Zaman*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya.

Abdul Rahim Kajai (nd) [Online]. Available:
<http://members.tripod.com/~sasteramaya/KAJAI.htm>

Abdullah Basmih (1958) "Almarhim Sayed Shaikh Al-Hadi, Pujangga dan Pelopor Kesedaran Politik," *Qalam* 90 (1958): 3-7.

Abdullah Hussain and Khalid Hussain (1974) *Pendita ZA'ABA dalam Kenangan*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Abdullah, Munshi (1980) *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah* (edisi baru dengan pengenalan dan anotasi diselenggarakan oleh Kassim Ahmad), Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Abu Bakar Hamzah (1981) *Al-Imam Its Role in Malay Society 1906-1908*, MPhil. Dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury.

Abu Zahari Abu Bakar (1980) *Perkembangan Pendidikan di Semenanjung Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti.

Adnan Haji Nawang (1994) *Za'ba Patriot dan Pendeta Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Penataran Ilmu.

Akh. Minhaji (2000) "Islamic Reform in Contest: Ahmad Hassan and His Traditionalist Opponents," *Studia Islamika*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2000: 87-116.

Al-Sayid Syeikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi (1985) *Faridah Hanom* (second edition), Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara.

Alisjahbana, Sutan Takdir (1966) *Indonesia: Social and Cultural Revolution*, Kuala Lumpur: O.U.P.

Andaya, Barbara Watson and Leonard Y. (1982) *A History of Malaysia*, London: Macmillan.

Ariffin Omar (1993) *Bangsa Melayu: Malay Concepts of Democracy and Community, 1945-1950*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Awang Had Salleh (1974) *Pelajaran dan Perguruan Melayu di Malaya Zaman British*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

_____ (1977) "Institusi Pondok di Malaysia," in Zainal Kling (ed.) (1977): 31-49.

Aziz Ahmad (1967) *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964*, London: Oxford University Press.

- Azyumardi Azra (1999) "The Transmission of *al-Manar*'s Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Case of *al-Imam* and *al-Munir*," *Studia Islamika*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1999: 75-100.
- Badriyah Haji Salleh (1984) *Kampung Haji Salleh dan Madrasah Saadiyah-Salihiah 1914-1959*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Baljon, J.M.S. Jr. (1950) *Sajjid Ahmad Khan Seorang Islam-Modern dan Pembaharu Sosial* (translated by Amal Hamzah), Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.
- Bosworth, C.E. et al. (1995) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Cendekiawan Bimbang Bahasa Melayu Merosot* (nd) [Online]. Available: <http://www.tatabahasabm.tripod.com/bm.htm>
- Chang, Paul Ming Phang (1973) *Educational Development in a Plural Society*, Singapore: Academia Publications.
- Chelliah, D.D. (1947) *A Short History of the Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements, 1800-1925*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Press.
- Christie, Clive J. (2001) *Ideology and Revolution in Southeast Asia 1900-1980*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Eliraz, Gloria (2002) "The Islamic Reformist Movement in the Malay-Indonesian World in the First Four Decades of the 20th Century: Insights Gained from a Comparative Look at Egypt," *Studia Islamika*, volume 9, no. 2, 2002: 49-87.
- Emerson, Rupert, et al. (1942) *Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*, New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Federspiel, Howard M. (1970) *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in the Twentieth century Indonesia* (Monograph Series Modern Indonesian Project Southeast Asia Program), New York: Cornell University.
- Firdaus Haji Abdullah (1985) *Radical Malay Politics: Its Origins and Early Development*, Malaysia: Pelanduk Publications.
- Funston, John N. (1980) *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of the United Malays National Organisation and Party Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational (Asia).
- German, R. L. (1937) *Handbook to British Malaya 1937*, London: The Malayan Information Agency.
- Gibb, H.A.R. (1972) *Modern Trends in Islam*, New York: Octagon Books.
- Haji Bachtiar Djamily (1994) *Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan Syekh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Falaqi al-Azhari*, Kuala Lumpur: Asmah Publisher.
- Hamka (1961) *Pengaruh Muhammad 'Abduh di Indonesia*, Djakarta: Tintamas.

_____ (1967) *Ayahku - Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatra*, Djakarta: Djajamurni.

Ho Seng Ong (1952) *Education for Unity in Malaya, Series 1*, Penang: Malayan Teachers Union.

Hooker, Virginia Matheson (2000) *Writing A New Society: Social Change through the Novel in Malay*, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Hourani, Albert Habib (1962) *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*, London: OUP.

_____ (1991) *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Hughes, Thomas Patrick (1935) *A Dictionary of Islam*, London: W.H. Allen & co.

Ibrahim Abu Bakar (1994) *Islamic Modernism in Malaya: The Life and Thought of Sayid Syekh al-Hadi, 1867-1934*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.

Igdemir, Ulug et al. (1963) *Ataturk*, Turkish National Commission for UNESCO.

Irving, Thomas B. (Al-Haj Ta'lim 'Ali) (1992) *The Noble Quran: Arabic Text and Translation*, Jordan: Majdalawi Books

Iskandar Haji Ahmad, Drs. A.M. (1973) *Persuratkhabaran Melayu 1876-1968*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Ismail Mat (ed.) (1993) *Ulama Silam Dalam Kenangan*, Selangor: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Jamilah Othman (1984) *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 Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, M.A. Thesis, National University of Singapore.

Kazancigil, Ali and Ozbudun, Ergun (eds.) (1981) *Ataturk: Founder of a Modern State*, London: C. Hurst & Company.

Keddie, Nikki R (1968) *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani,"* Berkeley (Cal.): University of California Press.

Khasnor Johan (1984) *The Emergence of the Modern Malay Administrative Elite*, Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Khoo Kay Kim (ed.) (nd) *Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.

_____ (ed.) (1980) *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.

_____ (ed.) (1985) *Sejarah Masyarakat Melayu Modern*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Penerbitan Universiti Malaya.

Lau, Albert (1991) *The Malayan Union controversy 1942-1948*, Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Lim, P. Pui Huen (1992) *Singapore, Malaysian and Brunei Newspapers: An International Union List*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Loh, Phillip Fook Seng (1975). *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya, 1874-1940*, Kuala Lumpur: OUP.

Mahathir Mohamad (1970) *The Malay Dilemma*, Singapore: Times Book International.

Mahfudz A. Hasir (1973) "Sasterawan dan Ulama Progresif Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi," *Dian* 64 (1973): 77-84.

Mardin, Serif (1981) "Religion and Secularism in Turkey," in Kazancigil, Ali and Ozbudun, Ergun (eds.) (1981): 191-218.

McIntyre, Angus (1973) "The 'Greater Indonesia' Idea of Nationalism in Malaya and Indonesia," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 7(1973): 75-83.

Means, Gordon P. (1970) *Malaysian Politics*, London: University of London Press, Ltd.

Merina Merican (1960) *Sayed Shaikh al-Hadi dan Pendapat-pendapatnya Mengenai Kemajuan Kaum Perempuan (Sebagai Tersiar di dalam Majallah al-Ikhwan)*, B.A. thesis, University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur.

Mohd. Aboulkhir Zaki (1965) *Modern Muslim Thought in Egypt and Its Impact on Islam in Malaya*, Ph. D. thesis, University of London.

Mohd. Sarim Haji Mustajab (1975/76-1976/77) "Syed Sheikh Abdullah Maghribi: Pendidik dan Kaum Muda," *Jebat* 5/6 (1975 / 76-1976 / 77): 1-6.

_____ (1977) "Sheikh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin al-Falaki: Pelopor Gerakan Islah Islamiyah di Tanah Melayu," *Malaysia in History*, vol. 20, no. 2, Dec.1977: 1-11.

_____ (1978) "Satu Nota Tentang Haji Abbas bin Mohd. Taha," *Malaysia in History*, vol. 21, no. 1, June 1978: 1-7.

_____ (1982) "Gerakan Islah Islamiyyah di Tanah Melayu, 1909-1948," in Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (ed.) (nd) *Malaysia: Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunan*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 149-173.

Mohd. Taib bin Osman (1984) *Aspects of Malay Culture*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Morais, J. Victor (ed.) (1956) (1957-58) (1959-60) *Leaders of Malaya and Who's Who*, Kuala Lumpur: J. Victor Morais.

Muzaffar, Chandra (1987) *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti.

- Nabir Haji Abdullah (1976) *Maahad Il-Ihya As-Syariff Gunung Semanggol 1934-1959*, Selangor: Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Nagata, Judith (1984) *The Reflowering of Malaysian Islam: Modern Religious Radicals and Their Roots*, Vancouver: University of Columbia Press.
- Noer, Deliar (1973) *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Osman Amin (1953) *Muhammad 'Abduh*, Washington D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies.
- Parkinson, Brien K. (1967) "Non-Economic Factors in the Economic Retardation of the Rural Malays," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1967): 31-46.
- _____ (1968) "The Economic Retardation of the Malays - A Rejoinder," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1968): 267-272.
- Rahim bin Osman (nd) "Madrasah Masyhur Al-Islamiyyah," in Khoo Kay Kim (ed.) (nd): 75-85.
- Ramlah Adam (1996) *Burhanuddin al-Helmy: Suatu Kemelut Politik*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Ratnam, K. J. (1965) *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- Roff, William R. (1964) "The Malayo-Muslim World of Singapore in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 24 (November 1964): 75-89.
- _____ (1967) *Sejarah Surat-surat Khobar Melayu* (Monograph Persekutuan Bahasa Melayu Universiti Malaya Nombor Satu), Penang: Saudara Sinaran Berhad.
- _____ (1972) *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States, 1876-1941*, London: Oxford University Press.
- _____ (ed.) (1978) *The Wandering Thoughts of a Dying Man: The Life and Times of Haji Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- _____ (1994) *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (second edition, first edition 1967), Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Ryan, N.J. (1976) *A History of Malaysia and Singapore*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Safie bin Ibrahim (1987) *Islamic Religious Thought in Malaya, 1930-40*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University.
- Scott-Ross, Alice (1990) *Tun Dato Sir Cheng Lock Tan, S.M.N., D.P.M.J., K.B.E., J.P.,* Singapore: Alice Scott-Ross.

Seminar Jawi (nd) [Online]. Available:
http://www.um.edu.my/umpress/BERITA_UM/berita_um_0.5.htm

Senu Abdul Rahman, et al. (1971) *Revolusi Mental*, Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Melayu.

Shamsul A.B. (1986) *From British to Bumiputra Rule: Local Politics and Rural Development in Peninsula Malaysia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

_____ (2001) "A History of an Identity, an Identity of a History: The Idea and Practice of Malayness in Malaysia Reconsidered," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, October 2001: 355-366.

Sidek Fadzil (1977/78) *Ash-Shaykh Muhammad Abduh – Suatu Tinjauan Kritis Terhadap Pemikirannya dan Rumusan mengenai Pengaruhnya Dalam Masyarakat Melayu*, M.A. thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

_____ (1989) *Pemikiran Barat Moden – Sikap Para Cendekiawan Muslim dengan Tumpuan di Alam Melayu*, Ph.D. thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Singh, Jaginder et al. (1980) *Credit and Security in West Malaysia: The Legal Problems of Development Finance*, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Song Ong Siang (1967) *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore*, Singapore: University of Malaya Press.

Spence, Jonathan (1990) *The Search for Modern China*, London: Hutchinson.

Stockwell, A.J. (1979) *British Policy and Malay Politics During the Malayan Union Experiment 1942-1948*, Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Monograph No. 8.

Swettenham, Frank Athelstane (1893) *About Perak*, Singapore: Straits Times Press.

Syed Hussein Alatas (1972) *Modernization and Social Change*, Sidney: Angus and Robertson.

_____ (1977) *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, London: F. Cass.

Syed Husin Ali (1979) *Orang Melayu: Masalah dan Masa Depan*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Adabi Sdn. Bhd.

Syed Naguib al-Attas (1963) *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays* (edited by Shirly Gordon), Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd.

Syed Syeikh bin Ahmad Alhady (1965) *Ugama Islam dan Akal*, Kota Bharu, Kelantan: Percetakan Pustaka Dian.

Tan Cheng Lock (1947) *Malayan Problems from a Chinese Point of View*, Singapore: Tansco, 1947.

Tan, S.H. (1961) *The Life and Times of Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi*, B.A. thesis, University of Malaya in Singapore.

Taufik Abdullah (1971) *Schools and Politics: Tthe Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra, 1927-1933*, Ithaca (New York): Cornell University.

Tham Seong Chee (1977) *Malays and Modernization: A Sociological Interpretation*, Singapore: Singapore University Press.

The Presidency of Islamic Researches, IFTA, Call and Guidance (Revised and edited) (1992) *The Holy Quran: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*, Saudi Arabia: Ministry of Hajj and endowments.

Theimer, Walter (1940) *The Penguin Political Dictionary*, England & New York: Penguin Books Limited.

Thompson, Virginia (1950) *The Left Wing in Southeast Asia*, New York: William Sloane Associates.

Tregonning, K.G. (ed.) (1962) *Papers on Malayan History*, Singapore: Malay Publishing House.

Tun Tan Cheng Lock (nd) [Online]. Available:
http://www.perpustam.edu.my/berita_perpustam/profil.html

Vinacke, Harold M. (1967) *A History of the Far East in Modern Times*, London: George Allen & Unwin Limited.

Wertheim, W.F. (1967) "Religious Reform Movements in Southeast Asia," *Archives de Sociology des Religions*, XII, 1967: 53-66.

Wilder, William (1968) "Islam, Other Factors and Malay Backwardness: Comments on an Argument," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1968): 155-164.

Wilkinson, R.J. (1906) *Malay Beliefs*, London: Luzac & co.

_____ (1959) *A Malay-English Dictionary* (Romanised), Part 1 & II, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

_____ (1971) *Papers on Malay Subjects*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Winstedt, R.O. (1959) *A Practical Modern Malay-English Dictionary*, 3rd edition, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur: Marican & Sons.

_____ (1961) *The Malays: A Cultural History*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

_____ (1962) *A History of Malaya*, Singapore: Maricans and Sons.

Winzeler, Robert L. (1975) "Traditional Islamic Schools in Kelantan," *JMBRAS*, vol. 48, part 1, 1975: 91-103.

Wong, Francis Hoy Kee and Tiang Hong (1971) *Education in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann.

_____ and Gwee Yee Hean (1980) *Official Reports on Education: Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, 1870-1939*, Singapore: Pan Pacific Book Distributors(S) Pte Ltd.

Yahya Ismail (1972) "Syed Sheikh Ahmad Alhadi: Reformis, Ahli Fikir, Novelis Progresif," *Dewan Sastera* (January 1972): 3, 49 and 53.

Yahya Ismail (1974) "Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi: Pembuka Zaman Baru dalam Bidang Novel," *Dewan Bahasa* (November 1974): 549-576.

Yegar, Moshe (1979) *Islam and Islamic Institutions in British Malaya, Policies and Implementation*, Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University.

Zainal Kling (ed.) (1977) *Masyarakat Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications.

Zainon Ahmad (1979) *The Life, Times and Thoughts of Sayyid Shaykh Ahmad Al-Hadi*, M.A. thesis, University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur.

Zulkipli bin Mahmud (1979) *Warta Malaya Penyambung Lidah Bangsa Melayu 1930-1941*, Selangor: Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

700 Sertai Seminar Tulisan Jawi Dunia Melayu (nd) [Online]. Available: <http://www.umnomelaka.org.my/isusemasa/september/12jawi.htm>