



SYED SHAYKH AHMAD ALHADY'S
CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE
TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION
OF THE MALAYS

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study is a discussion on Syed Shaykh Ahmad Alhady's concept of knowledge and his thoughts on the transformation of education of the Malays. The purpose of the study is to investigate his concept of knowledge that is translated into educational reform. This study also seeks to answer the following questions: firstly, whether the model of education as promoted by Syed Shaykh was appropriate for the Malays of his time; secondly, whether the transformation of education improved the Malays; and finally, the relevance of Syed Shaykh's concept on knowledge and educational reform to our present time. The research work adopts a qualitative method approach. The study uses descriptive, inductive and deductive, as well as, analytical methods to examine the data and information available in old periodicals, newspapers, microfilms, personal letters (*surat-surat persendirian*), and several other relevant published sources to provide answers to the research questions. The principal conclusion of the study is that the implementation of the concept of knowledge at any level of education needs sound and qualified staff, a strong and consistent curriculum, and an on-going support from the community in order to be successful. This study undoubtedly bears some significance, i.e. Syed Shaykh's model of a modern religious school is in fact deeply rooted in our system of religious education today and the issues raised by him over the negative attitude of Malays are still relevant for the present.

ملخص البحث

يناقش هذا البحث فلسفة سيد شيخ أحمد الهادي في العلمية وآرائه في الإصلاح التربوي. ويهدف البحث إلى الكشف عن نظريته العلمية التي تعتبر من الإصلاح التربوي. وتسعى الباحثة إلى الإجابة عن الأسئلة الآتية: أولها، هل النموذج التعليمي الذي قدّمه سيد شيخ أحمد الهادي مناسب للمجتمع الملايوي في عصره؟ ، وثانيها، وهل يتحسّن المجتمع الملايوي بالإصلاح التربوي؟ وأخيراً، هل يتناسب الإصلاح التربوي لسيد شيخ أحمد الهادي لدى المجتمع في عصرنا الحاضر؟ وتخضع الدراسة للبحث الكيفي الذي يعتمد على المنهج الوصفي والاستقرائي والاستنتاجي والتحليلي لجمع المعلومات والبيانات من الدوريات والأخبار والرسائل العلمية القديمة والميكرو فيلم والرسائل الشخصية كما اكتشف البحث المعلومات والبيانات من عدد من مصادر أخرى ذات الصلة والعلاقة به. ومن النتائج الهامة لهذا البحث أنّ فلسفة العلم لا تتحقق إلا بتوفر الموظفين الواعين والمؤهلين بجانب المقررات المحكمة المنضبطة وتشجيع مستمر من المجتمع. ويحقق هذا البحث عدة أمور، منها؛ تعتبر المدرسة الدينية الحديثة لسيد شيخ أحمد الهادي - حقاً - لبنة أساسية لنظام التعليم الديني في هذا العصر، وأنّ القضايا التي أثارها سيد شيخ أحمد الهادي فيما يتعلق بسلوك الملايويين السلبية ما زالت قائمة على قدم وساق في الوقت الراهن.

APPROVAL PAGE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Abstract in Arabic	iii
Approval Page	iv
Declaration Page	v
Copyright Page	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Abbreviations	xi
Common Abbreviations	xii
Transliteration Table	xiii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Introduction: A Historical Background	1
Statement of Problem	15
Objectives of Study	17
Scope and Limitation of Study	18
Literature Review	20
Methods of Study	45
CHAPTER 2: THE LIFE OF SYED SHAYKH B. AHMAD ALHADY, 1867-1934	48
Introduction	48
The Life of Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad Alhady	48
The Early Life of Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad Alhady	48
Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad Alhady in His Youth	60
The Third Phase of The Life of Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad Alhady	83
CHAPTER 3: SYED SHAYKH B. AHMAD ALHADY'S CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE	99
Introduction	99
Syed Shaykh's Concept of Knowledge	101
The Doctrine on the Nature of God	105
The Concept of Predetermination	107
The Concept of Man	109
The Concept of Child Development	114
The Concept of a Student	117
The Concept of a Teacher	118
Sources of Knowledge	122
al-Qur'an: The Sacred Source of Knowledge	122
Sunnah: The Sacred Knowledge Brought by the Prophet	124
Reason as a Source of Knowledge	127
Hierarchy of Knowledge	129
Traditional Knowledge and Modern Science	133
De-westernization of Knowledge	139
Reason in Syed Shaykh's Thoughts	143

The Value of Reason	143
Reason as an Honour from God	144
Reason and Islamic Values	146
Reason and the Foundation of Islam	148
Wisdom, Religious Obligations and Reason	149
The Confession of Faith	151
The Five Daily Prayers	152
The Religious Duty of Paying Tithes	154
The Religious Duty of Fasting	155
The Performance of Pilgrimage	156
The Interrelationship between Knowledge and Reason	157
Independent Reasoning (<i>Ijtihad</i>) versus Blind Imitation (<i>Taqlid</i>)	160
CHAPTER FOUR: SYED SHAYKH ALHADY ON EDUCATION	170
Introduction	170
Mecca versus Egypt: An Intellectual Network	171
Syed Shaykh's Concept of Education	182
Syed Shaykh's Concept of Education: Historical, Political, Economic and Social Background	186
Historical Background	187
The Arabic Schools	188
The English Schools	190
The Malay Vernacular Schools	192
The Chinese Vernacular Schools	196
The Indian Vernacular Schools	197
Political Background	199
Economic Background	203
Social Background	206
Model of Education According to Syed Shaykh Alhady	208
Institution of Education	209
Curriculum of Education	215
Methods of Instruction	223
CHAPTER 5: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL ON SYED SHAYKH ALHADY ..	230
Introduction	230
A Historical Background of Syed Shaykh's Thoughts	231
Reform Movement in Egypt	231
A Review of Syed Shaykh's Thoughts	240
Syed Shaykh's Concept of Knowledge: A Review	240
Syed Shaykh's Model of Education: A Review	254
Several Important Aspects of Syed Shaykh's Thoughts	271
Education for Children	271
Education for Girls	279
Language and Its Significance	287
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	293
BIBLIOGRAPHY	308

APPENDIX I: A photo of Syed Shaykh Alhady with Syed Mohamed Alwi	333
APPENDIX II: A photo of Syed Alwi Alhady	334
APPENDIX III: A photo of Syed Alwi Alhady and his family	335
APPENDIX IV: A photo of Syed Alwi Alhady with his friends	336
APPENDIX V: A photo of Sultan of Riau Lingga	337
APPENDIX VI: A photo of Raja Muhammad Yusuf (1857-1899)	338
APPENDIX VII: A photo of teachers and students of Madrasah al-Mashoor al-Islamiyyah	339
APPENDIX VIII: A photo of a Malay woman wearing veil (<i>al-hijab</i>)	340
APPENDIX IX: A front page of <i>al-Imam</i> (1906-1908)	341
APPENDIX X: A front page of <i>al-Ikhwān</i> (1926-1931)	342
APPENDIX XI: A front page of <i>Saudara</i> (1928-1941)	343
APPENDIX XII: A front cover of <i>al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī</i>	344
APPENDIX XIII: A front cover of <i>Agama Islam Pada Bicara 'Aqā'id dan 'Ibadah</i>	345
APPENDIX XIV: A front cover of <i>al-Tarbiyyah wa al-Ta'lim</i>	346
APPENDIX XV: A front cover of <i>Khutbah Nikah Kahwin</i>	347
APPENDIX XVI: A front cover of <i>Angan-angan Kehidupan</i>	348
APPENDIX XVII: A front cover of <i>Faridah Hanum</i>	349
APPENDIX XVIII: A front cover of <i>Ugama Islam dan Akal</i>	350

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JMHS	Journal of Malaysian Historical Society
JSEAH	Journal of Southeast Asian History
JSEAS	Journal of Southeast Asian Studies
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MW	The Moslem World
RIMA	Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs

COMMON ABBREVIATIONS

b.	born
ibid.	(<i>ibidem</i>): in the same place
vol./vols.	Volume/volumes
pt./pts.	part/parts
ed./eds.	edition/editions ; editor, edited by
etc	(<i>et cetera</i>): and so forth pages that follow
no./no.s	number/numbers
et al.	(<i>et alia</i>): and others
d	died
P.B.U.H.	Peace Be Upon Him
n.p.	no place/no publisher
n.d.	no date
trans.	translator/translated by
s.l.	(<i>sinoloco</i>): no place of publisher

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

ء	'	خ	kh	ش	Sh	غ	gh	ن	n
ب	B	د	d	ص	s	ف	f	ه	h
ت	T	ذ	dh	ض	d	ق	q	و	w
ث	Th	ر	r	ط	t	ك	k	ي	y
ج	J	ز	z	ظ	z	ل	l		
ح	h	س	s	ع	^c	م	m		

Short Vowels	
َ	a
ِ	i
ُ	u

Long Vowels	
اَ + َ	a
يَ + ِ	i
وُ + ُ	u

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The European interest in Asia, particularly Southeast Asia in the 18th century, stemmed from competition among the rival powers in Europe, namely Austria, Italy, Holland, Germany, Britain, France, Russia and Ottoman Turkey. The Ottoman Empire in particular, from 1300 to 1683 ruled a huge area, from the Arabian peninsular and the cataract of the Nile in the south, to Basra near the Persian Gulf and the Iranian Plateau in the east, almost to Gibraltar in the west and to the Ukrainian Steppe and the walls of Vienna in the north.¹ The broad encroachment of the Ottomans, however, did not last long as it started decaying in the late 17th century. After 1683, the Ottoman Empire went through several military defeats and territorial withdrawals.

The deterioration of the Ottoman Empire opened up an opportunity for rival powers to broaden their influence and rule over Ottoman territories. The Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 illustrated a significant phase of Ottoman history, where many Ottoman territories in Europe were divided and control was distributed among Austria, Russia and Poland respectively. The endorsement of the Treaties of Passarowitz and Kucuk Kaynarji in 1718 and 1774 likewise highlighted the loss of other Ottoman territories to Russia. Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798 marked the end of Ottoman domination of provinces along the Nile.² The French

¹ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.

² *Ibid.*, 37-41.

interference marked a new beginning in the history of journalism and press in Egypt through Bonaparte, who brought with him the printing press technology. The French eventually inaugurated its own periodical press in that subjugated country.³

Having seen the declining condition of the Ottoman in the 19th century, the Europeans frequently referred to it as ‘the sick man of Europe’. That period also witnessed European expansion in other Muslim countries while the Ottoman power was in decline. Between 1882 and 1906, the Europeans dominated many regions of the world, i.e. France in North Africa, Britain in India and Africa, Russia in Central Asia, as well as Britain and Holland in Southeast Asia. The waning state of the Ottomans stirred reform movements in several countries such as Egypt and India, led by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) and Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) respectively.⁴

Explicit opposition towards European colonialists began in the early 1870s. A volatile reaction reached its peak when the British occupied Egypt in September 1882. In fact, the British occupation was not opposed by its colony alone. It also raised objections from other European powers and the Ottomans. This was because the occupation had an impact on their vested interests in Egypt, i.e. on their financial, administrative, national and international affairs. The British consequently created a labyrinthine conflict that involved many different parties; among the European powers themselves, and between Egypt and the Ottomans.⁵ In Egypt, the British occupation generated self-appraisal among the educated Muslims who included al-Afghani and his disciple, Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905), on the weakness of the Islamic

³ P. J. Vatikiotis, *The history of Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2nd edn., 1980), 178.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 188-190.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

institutions. They all saw the need for serious reform. The religious reforms needed to be designed to suit the challenges of modern realities.

Among the Malay scholars in Malaya who showed a great interest in the ideas of reform and modernization as disseminated by al-Afghani, ‘Abduh, and Ahmad Khan was Syed Shaykh b. Ahmad Alhady (1867-1934). It is probably right to say that his interest in the modernist ideas was associated with his opinion that reform could improve the inhabitants of Malaya. During his time, Malaya was colonised by the British. Upon signing the Treaty of Pangkor in 1874, the British began extending and entrenching its control over the country.⁶ They implemented social, economic and educational policies in Malaya, which could be said to be somewhat discriminatory of its local people.⁷ The British policy created much displeasure among the Malays of Malaya.

As far as ‘Abduh’s thoughts and his reform movement were concerned, P. M. Holt maintained that they were influenced by several principles of Wahhabism. This could be seen from their opposition to any kind of deviations in religious practices such as innovation (*bida’ah*) that includes prayers to seek blessings from Allah for the dead (*tahlil*) and instructing the dead after burial (*talkin*), and mystical order (*tariqat*). Some of the ideas brought by Wahhabism also influenced ‘Abduh’s team mates of Muslim thinkers who were known as adherents to the pious ancestors in early Islam as exemplary models (*salafi*).⁸

⁶ Khoo Kay Kim, “The Pangkor Engagement of 1874,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 41, pt.1 (1974): 8.

⁷ See, Alexander McLeish, “A racial melting pot – Malaya,” *The Moslem World*, vol. 31, no. 3 (1941): 247; Abdul Malek Munip, “Perancangan pentadbiran kolonial Inggeris: Kesannya ke atas ekonomi Melayu,” in *Masyarakat Melayu: Antara tradisi dan perubahan*, edited by Zainal Kling, (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors, 1977), 131; and Frank Swettenham, *British Malaya: An account of the origin and progress of British influence in Malaya*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948), 258.

⁸ Wahhabism was led by Muhammad b. Abdul Wahhab who inaugurated moral reform and religious revival years before the British occupation. Wahhabism “sought to conform to the practices of primitive

Wahhabism was founded by Muhammad ‘Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792), whose thoughts were inspired by two *hadith* scholars of his time, the Najdi Shaykh ‘Abdullah Ibrahim Sayf and the Indian Shaykh Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi (d.1750). They were great admirers of Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328).⁹ The doctrines of Wahhabism spread to other Arab lands through the military expeditions, which prompted the Ottoman that governed many Arab regions to ask Muhammad ‘Ali, the governor of Egypt, to deal with the army. He succeeded in defeating the Wahhabi army¹⁰ but the doctrines were carried out and spread by the followers of Wahhabism.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s major teaching was theology and he was convinced that the concept of *Tawhid* in Islam is a theology of absolute monotheism.¹¹ It is an opposite of polytheism (*shirk*), another major theological theme of his teaching. *Shirk*, according to the Wahhabists, includes “worshipping, sacrificing to, slaughtering to, praying to, invoking, calling on, seeking refuge in, seeking intercession by, or attributing authority to anyone or anything other than God.” Furthermore, “the practice of considering the writings or teachings of religious scholars to be as authoritative as God’s revelation” is also regarded *shirk*.¹² The Wahhabism intended “to refresh and reform the religion of Muslims”¹³ through its opposition to the imitation of past scholarship (*taqlid*) while supporting individual interpretation (*ijtihad*).

Islam, and accepted as its only and sufficient law the Shar‘iah; as formulated during the first three centuries.” See, P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the fertile crescent 1516-1922: A political history*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1966), 151; and Quataert, 50.

⁹ Natana J. Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam: From revival and reform to global jihad*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004, 20-21.

¹⁰ Huseyn Hilmi Isik, *Advice for the Wahhabi*, (Istanbul: Isik Kitabevi, 1976), 196. For a detailed information about the expeditions, see Muhammad ‘Ali Basha and Ibrahim Basha, *Misr fi al-qarn al-tasi ‘ashar: Sirah jami‘ah li hawadith sakin al-jinan*, (al-Qahirah: n.p., 1931), 2nd Edition, 416-588.

¹¹ Delong-Bas, 56.

¹² *Ibid.*, 62. Also see Ayyub Sabri Pasha, *Wahhabism and its refutation by the ahl as-Sunna*, (n.p., n.d.), 3-47.

¹³ Isik, 198.

Delong-Bas agreed with Holt's opinion that 'Abduh's thoughts were influenced by Wahhabism. According to the former, 'Abduh and Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865-1935) were "both of whom drew inspiration from Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab."¹⁴ To my mind, this statement is probably linked to the similarities of their principle on the urgent need of reform and their viewpoints relating to several religious concepts such as new innovation (*bida'ah*), blind imitation (*taqlid buta*) and independent reasoning (*ijtihad*). Despite these similarities, Delong-Bas maintained that the modernists and the Wahhabists each have their own stance on other questions, such as the use of reason, the compatibility between reason and revelation, and the need of thorough investigation in matters of faith, which exhibit their differences.¹⁵ Holt was convinced that even though the spirit of Wahhabi reform had affected the modern development of Islam, except for its political facet, the movement had its own characteristics and principles.¹⁶ One must thus identify, isolate and separate their similarities and differences as to have a proper understanding of their principles. It is, however, not clear whether 'Abduh and his adherents that included Syed Shaykh was really influenced by Wahhabism or not.

With regard to 'Abduh's political thought, he openly expressed his anti-colonialist sentiments through several writings in the newspapers and magazines circulated in Egypt. These sentiments then influenced his readers both in Egypt and outside the country. Other than resisting the external power of the colonials, 'Abduh and the other Egyptian thinkers were looking inward and began to scrutinize weaknesses within themselves and within the Muslim community at large. Their works therefore looked into the declining condition of the Muslim community and

¹⁴ Delong-Bas, 235.

¹⁵ Ibid., 238.

¹⁶ Holt, 151-155.

their Islamic institutions. They realised the dire need of reforming the existing systems and institutions of the Muslim community so that it would be compatible with modern period. 'Abduh's new ideas on reform stirred the Muslims to be aware of their modest strength and their weaknesses. His views on religious reform, educational revival and nationalism were mainly derived from his exposure to the writings in the Egyptian press which was circulated in Malaya.¹⁷

The later half of the 19th and early 20th centuries saw that the Middle Eastern reformist ideas had diffused in Malaya via its contact with Egypt. The Malay connection to Egypt was in fact established back in the 18th century through their great scholars such as Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari (1710-1912), Ahmad Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847) and 'Abd Samad al-Palimbangi (1862-1938). They had a close network with several important scholars in Mecca and Egypt. Those Malay scholars became liaison officers for later Malay-Indonesian scholars who came to both Mecca and Egypt for study purposes. They were also responsible for the dissemination of Islamic reformism from the Middle East to the Malay world at that time.¹⁸ The spread of reformism was probably done through the distribution of journals and magazines from the Middle East.

The tradition of journalism in Egypt, as we have mentioned earlier, had its roots in the French invasion in the late 1790s. The French investment in printing led to the development of the Egyptian print media. By the time Egypt was occupied by the British in 1882, it became the organ and the platform for the propagation of ideas and thoughts to the Muslims. Soon, the Egyptian press concentrated mainly on liberation

¹⁷ Syed Alwi, "The life of my father," in *The real cry of Syed Shaykh al-Hady*, edited by Alijah Gordon, (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1999), 75.

¹⁸ Azyumardi Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks in Malay-Indonesian and Middle-Eastern ulama' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, (Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 127.

movements including pan-Islamism,¹⁹ as well as its demand for local independence and religious revival. By the 1900s, the Egyptian press went through a critical period when it confronted a conflict between conservative and modernist views on thought and life. The press became a platform for the dissemination of new ideas and movements for social, educational, political and economic reforms, feminism, secular liberalism and religious conservatism.²⁰

The Egyptian reformist magazines, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqa* (The Indissoluble Bond) and *al-Manār* (The Lighthouse), were highly influential in igniting Syed Shaykh’s thoughts on knowledge and its link to educational transformation of the Malays. The transmission of reformist ideas from Egypt to Malaya was made smooth and constant due to Syed Shaykh’s close connection with Rida, the editor of *al-Manār*. They were frequently corresponding with each other, as Syed Shaykh was responsible for the distribution of *al-Manār* in the Malay world.²¹ In fact, Syed Shaykh was very much influenced by ‘Abduh, as compared to other Egyptian reformists such as al-Afghani and Rida. ‘Abduh, for instance, asserted that the low level of knowledge and education among Muslims was a big obstacle for them to further develop and progress in life. Influenced by his mentor, it is apparent that Syed Shaykh firmly believed that education is the most effective means to transform Muslims into a modern and well-developed society. One thus could deduce that they

¹⁹ The term pan-Islamism is an ideology aiming at a comprehensive union of all Muslims into one entity, thus restoring the situation prevalent in early Islam. The religious element of the unity of all Muslims had been advocated since the days of Muhammad, but acquired an added political significance in the 19th century... Hence, political Pan-Islam originated essentially as a defensive policy, mainly aimed at saving all Muslims from foreign, non-Muslim domination by uniting them. See, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edition, “Pan Islamism”.

²⁰ Vatikiotis, *The history of Egypt...*, 178-179.

²¹ SP. 60/1, Salasilah Syed Alwi; SP. 60/6, Petekan2 tulisan Shaykh Alhadi dari *al-Imām* dan *al-Ikhwān*; and Syed Alwi, “The life of my father,” 75.

both shared the same thoughts on the Muslims' scientific and economic progress in general.²²

Views on such concepts were not merely derived from the thoughts of 'Abduh, but they were also based on Syed Shaykh's keen observation of the socio-political conditions of the Malays. Accordingly, Syed Shaykh formulated and developed a concept of knowledge and model of education for the Malays that he believed could liberate them from their predicament. He sincerely believed that for the Malays to compete with others, they are required to be educated and knowledgeable. The knowledge must be based on a sound model of education capable of transforming the nation into a higher level.²³ In addition, the Malays must help themselves, as they could not depend on their Malay rulers, who except a few did not care about the Malays since they were only figureheads of a state whereas the British held the authoritative power.²⁴

In the mid-19th century, a large number of Malays earned their living at paddy fields, farms and rivers. Others were doing other jobs such as being schoolteachers, policemen, office workers, labourers and small traders. Towards the end of the 19th century, they also participated in small-scale coffee and rubber growing, and ore mining. The profitable ore-mining industry attracted keen interest from many Chinese in the mainland who migrated to Malaya to have a share in the profits. Ore mining turned out to be a promising business for the Chinese as they brought a new technique of mining to Malaya. The Malays did not partake much in this industry and therefore the immigrants and the foreign merchants controlled it.²⁵ The Chinese, who used to be

²² Ahmad Bazli Shafie, *The educational philosophy of al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh*, (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation, 2004), 17.

²³ Shaykh b. Ahmad al-Hady, "Menuntut ketinggian anak negeri," *al-Imam*, 12 July, 1907, 25-31.

²⁴ W. Ismail W. Hamat, "Masyarakat Melayu dalam separuh abad ke 19," *Dian*, no. 82, 1975, 51-53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-51.

coolies, began running big businesses and became economically prosperous. It seemed to the Malay that the new Malaya was not like his own country. It was indicated that in 1880's, the Chinese already managed big businesses such as the steamer, an essential mode of transport for passengers and goods from one port to another.²⁶ As far as the Indians of Malaya were concerned, they were not only rubber tappers as some of them became general public workers. Chinese, Indians and Eurasians mostly held clerical posts in the government offices.²⁷ They were competing among themselves to secure positions in the government's administration whilst it was to be beyond the reach of ordinary Malays.

The state of backwardness amongst the Malay community cannot solely be blamed on them. Part of the blame has to rest on the shoulders of the British as well. This was partly due to the British policies in Malaya, which contributed somewhat to the weakening state of the nation.²⁸ Everyone was bound to the British social policy that assigned the three major ethnic groups in Malaya to occupy certain areas of the state. The Chinese populated the towns, the Indians were largely found in rubber estates while the Malays preferred to dwell in rural areas.²⁹ The formation of such division in the community caused much inconvenience to the Malays. They had misgivings towards the new livelihood in the city. They also faced difficulties in adapting to living with the large community of migrants who not only controlled economic activities but who practiced different cultures in Malaya.³⁰

²⁶ Ambrose Rathborne, "Malacca in 1880," edited by J. M. Gullick, *They came to Malaya: A traveler's anthology*, (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1993), 119-120.

²⁷ McLeish, 243-244.

²⁸ Adnan Nawang, *Za'ba dan Melayu*, (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 1998), 17.

²⁹ McLeish, 247.

³⁰ Abdul Malek, 136.

The weakness of the Malays was also due to the colonialist political policy that gave preference to Malay aristocrats, Chinese and Indians to fill the vacancies in the administrative posts of the government. The Malay laymen could never aspire to secure those posts as they knew very little English, which was the medium of administration offices of the British.³¹ Apart from that, the environment of Malaya at the time did not require the Malays to have to struggle through life. In living a simple life, therefore, they were said to be easily satisfied with the heritage of their ancestors. Frank Swettenham's observation in 1870s concludes that, "the leading characteristic of the Malay of every class is a disinclination to work." The Malays were pleased with their level of 'affluence' in their own homeland. They were in fact, bright and naturally artistic. Swettenham continues, "if he [Malay] were given again to the conditions which appeal to him, he would rise again to the height of his past achievement." Unfortunately, the Malays in general were not inclined towards hard work.³²

The above socio-political condition of the Malays ignited Syed Shaykh to provide them with the appropriate platform for a change and to him, it has to be through knowledge. Based on a concept of knowledge, Syed Shaykh expounded his ideas and translated them into a workable and practical theory that in his eyes suited the declining state of Malays. His deep concern for their intellectual learning stemmed from his belief that education is the main instrument for the Malays to make progress. Undeniably, the British policy over Malaya, which gave preferential treatment to the Eurasians, the Chinese and the Indians affected Syed Shaykh thoughts. This will be discussed in Chapter Four.

³¹ Adnan, 166, 226-228.

³² Swettenham, 136-139.

While being impressed by the educational reform of the Middle Eastern modernists, his concern for the Malay economic, educational and scientific progress was also considerably influenced by the ideas of modernization upheld by Ahmad Khan of India. Ahmad Khan pondered over many factors that led to the state of decadence amongst Muslims of India. He maintained that Muslims of India must have the willingness to adapt themselves to the modern era through total immersion in modern education.³³ He simply focussed on educational reforms with intellectual contribution as he was convinced that religious reforms would only yield discouraging outcome. He promoted Western learning and knowledge, which he regarded as a basis for the Muslims to regain self-respect.³⁴ His vision was materialised through the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (MAOC - presently a university) at Aligarh in 1875. The College integrated Western modern science and Islamic values in education, which, according to Ahmad Khan, was to become the best mediator to solve Muslims' appalling state of affairs.³⁵

Ahmad Khan employed his magazine, *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* (Refinement of Morals), to raise awareness among the Indian Muslims towards inherent problems in the Muslim society. In the periodical, he disseminated his ideas on education, its reforms and modernization. He focussed more on modernization, as this was, to him, the answer to address contemporary challenges.³⁶ Although Syed Shaykh did not have direct contact with Ahmad Khan, Syed Shaykh probably was impressed with his ideas. This assumption can be inferred from Ahmad Khan being featured on the cover of one

³³ G. Allana, *Muslim political thought through the ages: 1562-1947*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1988), 115-117.

³⁴ Madhvi Yasin, "Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan," *Studies in Islam*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1982): 153-155.

³⁵ Yasin, 155; Allana, 119; and Vijay Chandra Prasad Chaudhary, *Imperial policy of British in India (1876-1880): Birth of Indian nationalism*, (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1968), 326.

³⁶ Allana, 117-119.