

Pan-Islamic Appeal and Political Patronage: The Malay Perspective and the Ottoman Response

by

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The purpose of uniting the Muslim communities in resisting European aggression and ultimately ousting the colonialists from Asia and Africa was expressed in the West by the commonly used phrase "Pan-Islamism".¹ Nikkie R. Keddie suggests that the Pan-Islamic euphoria which swept through some parts of the Muslim World in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was a reaction toward the aggression of Western Powers. This was felt from the 1880s, culminating in the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, the Russian conquest of Merv in 1883, the Italian seizure of Tripoli in 1911 and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. These developments gave rise to many trends in the Muslim World, but most notably, the examples of German and Italian unification suggested to many Muslims the potency of movements for unity of divided territories behind a single government.²

Even though the term was a common currency in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars failed to develop a consensus on the precise interpretation of the phenomenon.³ In addition, even defining the term "Pan-Islamism" itself was subjected to discussions due to the fact that its equivalent does not exist in any of the Islamic languages.⁴ Most European scholars and statesmen, however, considered it to be a reactionary move-

ment, a revival of Islamic fanaticism, a combination of Muslims under the leadership of the Turks which raged aggressively against the European powers.⁵

On the other hand, Muslim intellectuals tend to look upon it as an essentially progressive movement, a perception of the increasing dangers to Islam from European penetration, and a movement aimed at uniting all Muslims in order to ensure free development of their intellectual and moral faculties.⁶ To these Muslim thinkers, the aggressive image of Pan-Islamism was viewed as being invented by the West to justify their intervention in the Muslim lands and against the awakening of Islamic conscience urging Muslims to aim for liberty and progress.⁷ According to Syed Hussein Alatas, the contest between Pan-Islamism and Western colonialism had a classic example in the Malay World. Its inception goes back to between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, being a continuation of the confrontation between Islam and the West, first restricted to the Mediterranean region and later extended to the other parts of the world.⁸

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a result of the expansion of European domination, the Muslims, including the Malays, who felt increasingly threatened by Western encroachment responded by searching for a patronage deemed imperative to preserve their dignity. Under these circumstances the Ottoman Sultan who enjoyed the title of Caliph, an office whose concept was highly charged with emotion, naturally was looked upon by them for a genuine leadership.⁹ This trend, however, only progressed remarkably during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (ruled, 1876-1908). As soon as he was installed as the Ottoman Caliph, he promulgated the constitution on 24 December 1876 which clearly stipulated that as the leader of the Muslims, he was also the protector of Islam.¹⁰

In order to realise his intentions and to gain this recognition, Sultan Abdul Hamid sent his emissaries beyond the Turkish borders, including the Malay World.¹¹ In Malaya, the Pan-Islamic feeling promoted by Sultan Abdul Hamid managed to nurture a strong sense of admiration which regarded the Turks as a power to reckon with, and as a protector they could rely upon. The earliest and the most remarkable inroad which is supposed to have had an important bearing on Sultan Abdul Hamid's Pan-Islamic appeal in this region was initiated by Sayyid Mohamad al-Sagoff, an influential Muslim leader who had a close relationship with the Turks as well as with Sultan Abu Bakar of Johore. Through his efforts, a friendship was fostered between the two Sultans and was further cemented following the visit of Sultan Abu Bakar to Istanbul in 1879 as part of his European tour. During this visit, Sultan Abu Bakar was presented with a lady-in-waiting of Circassian origin.

Rogayyah Hanum.¹² In Johore, Rogayyah was highly admired and was married to the Sultan's brother, Tengku Abdul Majid.¹³ Sultan Abu Bakar revisited Istanbul in February 1893, also as part of his European tour, where he was greeted with great pleasure by Sultan Abdul Hamid who bestowed upon him the title of the "Highest Osmanieh Order" as a symbol of friendship.

Even though Sultan Abu Bakar had a cordial relationship with the Ottomans, he did not show much interest in propagating the Pan-Islamic ideas championed by Sultan Abdul Hamid. An early effort which had a more profound effect in projecting the patronising role of the Turks and the charismatic leadership of Sultan Abdul Hamid, however, was undertaken by a prominent 'ālim who based himself in Makkah, Shaykh Wan Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain Mustafa al-Fatani. As a prominent 'ālim, Shaykh Wan Ahmad managed to win the trust of Sultan Abdul Hamid when he was appointed to run the Malay press in Makkah, al-Matbá'ah a-Miriyyah al-Ká'inah, when it was established in 1884.¹⁵

The trust also led to a close rapport which was further nourished when Shaykh Wan Ahmad attended a conference of 'ulamá' held in Istanbul in 1885 called by Sultan Abdul Hamid, representing the Sharif of Makkah. During his stay while attending the conference, Shaykh Wan Ahmad introduced a book, *Sabíl al-Muhtadín Li-al-Tafaqquh Fí Amr al-Dín* by Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari to Sultan Abdul Hamid, who was very impressed with it and agreed to sponsor its publication.¹⁶ The publication of the book boosted the image of Sultan Abdul Hamid in the eyes of the Malays and marked the beginning of his religious role as the guardian of the faith.

Shaykh Wan Ahmad, who was convinced of the position played by Sultan Abdul Hamid and the Turks for the cause of Islam, then added to his credentials as an author of religious books by writing *Hadiqatul Azhar wal-Riahín* in 1886. In the book a special section was allocated to the history of the Ottomans from their founder Uthman, to Sultan Abdul Hamid, and this has been the earliest Malay work dealing with Ottoman history. Shaykh Wan Ahmad wrote that the Ottoman was the dynasty *par excellence* following the reign of the rightful Caliphs, since they were Sunnis, implemented the *Sharfah*, and were respectful of the Companions of the Prophet and the 'ulamá'. In addition, he stated that they were committed to the interests of the Muslims by producing famous *fatwás*, waged *jihád*, were attentive of the Haramayn, gave alms and looked after the welfare of the *Hujjáj*. Since the Ottomans were the inheritors of the mantle of the rightful Caliph, it was the responsibility of every Muslim to respect them and pray for their vitality and prolongation.¹⁷ *Hadiqatul Azhar wal-Riahín* was a widely read text in traditional religious education, and was first published in Makkah and later printed locally.¹⁸

The Pan-Islamic appeal of Sultan Abdul Hamid among the Malays, however, received a remarkable stimulus in the last year of the nineteenth century following the role played by Kiamil Bey (Turkish Consul-General in Batavia from 1897 to 1899). In early 1899, while in Singapore, Kiamil was actively involved in an appeal aiming to withdraw all Muslims from European domination and to place them under the direct control of the Turks.¹⁹ In 1904, Kiamil was transferred to Singapore by the Turkish Government, despite the fact that the British refused to grant him an exequatur.²⁰ His transfer to Singapore coincided with increasing resentment in the Riau court, whose families were linked to the island's economic activities. They were also angry with the Dutch for their unwillingness to appoint another *Yamtuan* after the death of the predecessor.²¹

Following persistent Dutch refusals to listen to their protests, the Riau court made several attempts to further their cause by even sending a letter to Sultan Abdul Hamid requesting for his assistance. The move was a result of a secret gathering in early February 1904, held at the house of Raja Ali Kelana, the leader of the Riau court. The arrival of Kiamil in Singapore provided an additional impetus to the initiative and \$20,000 (Singapore) was raised to finance the mission to Istanbul for the purpose.²² The manoeuvre, however, failed to produce any remarkable outcome, since it was most unlikely that Sultan Abdul Hamid was capable of confronting the Dutch, but the effort clearly indicated that the Malays looked upon the Turks as a power which could assist them and support their cause.

The Pan-Islamic appeal where the Turks were looked upon as potential saviours was also appealing to the Achehnese who had a longstanding relations with them and heightened when Aceh was invaded by the Dutch in 1873. Following their successive failures to drive the occupier out of their homeland, their only source of hope rested with the Turks. Their desperation was clearly demonstrated when the Turkish warship "Ertugroul" anchored at Singapore Harbour in 1889 on its visit to Japan.²³ The Achehnese who had been humiliated by the Dutch were much excited as their expectations from Istanbul were rekindled with the landing of the ship. They sent an envoy to Singapore with letters requesting both the Turkish commander and Sayyid Mohamad al-Sagoff to bring their plight to the attention of Sultan Abdul Hamid.²⁴ Even by 1904 when the Achehnese were totally subdued, they still believed that eventually the Turks would assist them to drive the Dutch out.²⁵

The Turks were also looked upon as a source of hope in early twentieth century Kelantan following the expansion of British colonialism to the state. When negotiations were underway to transfer its administration from the Siamese to the British, there was also an effort being made to transfer it to the Ottoman administration instead. The initiative for the move was taken

by Shaykh Wan Ahmad Zain who acted as the intermediary for the process. As an anti-colonialist, Shaykh Wan Ahmad believed that only the Ottomans were able to help the Malay state from being occupied and that it was in their best interests as a Muslim state to be under Ottoman dominion.²⁷ His moves, however, did not materialise as he died in 1908 and no other 'ālim of his stature was capable of carrying out his plans.

Malay sentiments where Turks were looked upon as patrons and Sultan Abdul Hamid as a leader also made remarkable progress in the last few years of the nineteenth century and in the subsequent years due to the role played by Malay journals, such as *Jajahan Melayu*, *Lengkongan Bulan* and *Chahaya Pulau Pinang*. Even though the feelings associated with the Pan-Islamic appeal of Sultan Abdul Hamid did not disrupt the British forward movement in Malaya, the role played by these journals managed to enhance his image as an Islamic leader and that of the Turks as a superior race who defended the faith.²⁸

These journals were over-zealous in their reports of Sultan Abdul Hamid and portrayed him as a great leader who was extremely concerned with Muslim welfare.²⁹ The Turkish people was also depicted as very rich and powerful under the leadership of their respected Sultan.³⁰ As a distinguished ruler, Sultan Abdul Hamid was highly admired by Malays and his picture in full Ottoman royal attire was sold by the journal *Lengkongan Bulan* to interested readers.³¹

When the journal *Chahaya Pulau Pinang* started publication in 1900, the extent of the Malays' enthusiasm for Sultan Abdul Hamid and the Turks became obvious. News about them constituted its main stories, which covered the second, third and fourth pages of its first issue.³² These included the news of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of Sultan Abdul Hamid's ascent to the Ottoman throne, together with a poem dedicated to him, and the Ottomans' success in collecting a large sum of money in the form of donations to build the Hijaz Railway.³³ The following editions, regularly reported the Jubilee Celebration and the glory of Sultan Abdul Hamid, including a grand celebration by the Turkish communities in Liverpool, Manchester and France.³⁴ As a famous ruler, Sultan Abdul Hamid was also reported to have received precious gifts for the occasion from the Emperor of Germany and the President of France, as well as from the Muslims of Bulgaria, India and Java.³⁵ When Sultan Abdul Hamid fell sick it was reported by *Chahaya Pulau Pinang*. It also expressed its relief when he was convalescing and prayed for his long-life to continue his just rule.³⁶

The early twentieth century propagation of a favourable image of the Turks and Sultan Abdul Hamid which impressed the Malays was also

enthusiastically taken up by *al-Imam*, published in 1906. In its first issue, news on Turkey was as much a main attraction as news on Japan, the two areas together being regarded as representing Islam and Asia on the march.³⁷ Under the heading "Turkey and Japan", it elaborated on the proposed Congress of Religion to be held in Tokyo. Sultan Abdul Hamid was reported to have sent three of his able representatives there and exchanged telegrams with his counterpart, the Emperor of Japan.³⁸ Apart from this issue, another which also attracted the interest of the journal was the Hijaz Railway, which in its view symbolised Sultan Abdul Hamid's achievements for the future prosperity of the Muslims. The progress of its construction was regularly reported and it was forecasted to be completed in September 1908 with the inauguration performed by Sultan Abdul Hamid himself.³⁹

Another aspect of Sultan Abdul Hamid's achievement which received a comparatively extensive coverage from *al-Imam* was his military buildup which signified the empire's power. According to the journal, the coverage was intended to please its readers who were anxious to have its latest information. For these readers, the journal published, among other things, details of the capability of a Turkish warship complete with its tonnage, armour and speed "for those who like to read about it".⁴⁰ The journal considered that the Ottomans had to build an advanced navy and modernise their army since they were surrounded by enemies, and believed that with this buildup they would be at par with other European powers. With its report of the Ottoman's success in building up its military capability *al-Imam* hoped that it would bring great joy to its readers.⁴¹

Another issue which also attracted the attention of the journal was Turkish progress. Sultan Abdul Hamid was reported as a caring ruler who provided the infrastructure for his subjects by building schools, railways and other means of communications. *Al-Imam*, however, was aware that despite his noble efforts, Sultan Abdul Hamid had to face a formidable challenge from the West. In the face of this challenge, the journal hoped that the Turks would be more resilient and prayed that they would be protected till doomsday.⁴² The journal believed that there was no Islamic government that existed other than the Ottoman Empire, and despite the fact that the empire faced serious tribulations, it would continue to be strong. In its deed to report what it believed to be the sincere efforts of Sultan Abdul Hamid to further the cause of the Muslims, the journal deplored unfavourable reports about the empire elucidated by the Western press which it believed were part of the plot to undermine him.⁴³

When Sultan Abdul Hamid was deposed by the Young Turks in 1908, this political development did not prevent the Malays from looking upon the latter as the patrons of Islam and admiring their role⁴⁴. Even though the

Young Turk government was less enthusiastic about the Pan-Islamic appeal of its predecessor, to a certain extent it still favoured its role as the leader of the Muslims. Under the new regime, however, this role was most significantly played by the office of *Shaykh al-Islam* which advanced the cause more effectively by sending religious scholars to the Malay World. It was reported by *Neracha* that this was realised following a request for a religious teacher by the Malays. The latter quoted items from some Egyptian newspapers that a number of Muslim leaders from the Philippines had gone to Istanbul asking the Sultan for a *Qádí* to serve there.⁴⁵

A few months later, *Neracha* quoted from another newspaper, *Comrades* published in India, about a similar mission to Istanbul, led by Colonel Findley, the American Governor of the Philippines, representing the Muslims for the purpose. The Ottoman Sultan was reported to be very pleased to meet the governor as it was the first time the Caliphate had received a Christian mission on behalf of the Muslims. It was reported that as a result of this request that an *‘álim* Jamal Effendi, a very knowledgeable religious teacher who was well versed with Sanskrit, Hindi, English, French and the German languages (apart from being fluent in Arabic and Turkish) was sent in 1913, to serve for five years in the Philippines on behalf of the *Shaykh al-Islam*.⁴⁶

Subsequently in the following year, another Turkish *‘álim*, Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailáni was also sent by Istanbul to become the *Shaykh al-Islam* in the Philippines.⁴⁷ Even though Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani official assignment was to the Philippines, his mission as an *‘álim* also represented the *Shaykh al-Islam* of Istanbul to the Muslims throughout the Malay World. He was reported as a knowledgeable and pious man, and was the first prominent Turkish *‘álim* of such prominence to visit this part of the world.⁴⁸ As part of his mission, when Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani arrived at Singapore on his way to the Philippines he held a meeting at the Adelphi Hotel with the staff of *Neracha*.⁴⁹ His choice of meeting the editorial board of *Neracha* was not coincidental, since it was an acknowledgement of the role played by the newspaper in highlighting the Turkish cause.

During his short stint in Singapore, Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailáni also held meetings with the Muslim communities in the island and was invited to gatherings to deliver talks.⁵⁰ On Saturday 17 January the Singapore Harbour was congested with Muslims from all walks of life to bid farewell to the latter who was continuing his journey to the Philippines.⁵¹ During his short stay of two and a half months in the Philippines his activities there were regularly reported by *Neracha*.⁵² Even though Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailáni was supposed to serve longer, his stay was shortened because of illness and thus had to return to Istanbul for medical treatment. On Monday April 6, while on his return journey, the German ship he was travelling in

docked for two days at Singapore. On its arrival on the island, he again visited the office of the newspaper *Neracha* followed by a meeting with a number of prominent Muslim leaders.⁵³

The following day Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani left for Penang. When he reached Penang on Wednesday afternoon, he was greeted by a crowd of about two hundred Muslims, including the prominent Muslim leaders of the island, despite the short notice.⁵⁴ The Muslim community there made full use of his presence by bringing him to a mosque, Masjid Melayu at Acheen Street, where he was asked to deliver a speech. In his speech given in Arabic and translated into Malay, Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani advised the Muslims to help each other for good deeds and to cooperate amongst themselves to build schools in order to educate the Muslims.⁵⁵ The sending of the representative of the *Shaykh al-Islam* of Istanbul to this region, although short-lived, further boosted the image of Turks as the guardians of Islam.⁵⁶

The building up of the Malays' admiration of the religious and political roles played by the Turks undoubtedly suffered a major set-back when Sultan Abdul Hamid was deposed by the Young Turks. Although the Young Turks' government continued to favour the Islamic role played by the earlier administration, their appeal was less significant as they were more occupied with the internal political crises and the European wars. Looking at the Pan-Islamic ideas spearheaded by Sultan Abdul Hamid which were intended to put the Muslim World under the leadership of the Turks, it is apparent that it failed to develop into an effective political force. It did not also significantly succeed in appealing to the Muslims, including the Malays. Neither could it have succeeded, given the nature of the Muslim World and the geopolitical realities of the time.⁵⁷

The ideas and limited efforts that filtered through, though superficial, did arouse Malay consciousness of the challenges they had to face as Muslims against Western intrusion. It also provided them with a tinge of political awareness of their relations to the wider Muslim World. This was stimulated and heightened with the awareness about the confrontations between the Turks, representing a Muslim power, and the West.

Notes

1. The first use of the term "Pan-Islamism" was by Franz von Werner in *Turkische Skizzen* published in 1877, but written before July 1876. Later in 1881, Gabriel Charmes borrowed the term in an article in the *Revue de deux Mondes* and popularised it in various writings, especially, *L'Avenir de la Turquie, le Pan-Islamisme*. In Britain the term was first used by Wilfred Scawen Blunt in an article written in 1881, but published in the *Fortnightly Review* of January 1882. Later that year, this five-part article was issued in a book-form entitled *The Future of Islam*. In Britain, the phenomenon was also a subject of research by the Foreign Office which led to the publication of a booklet, *The Rise of Islam and the Caliphate, Pan-Islamic Movement*, Handbooks Prepared Under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 96a & b, January 1919. See M. Naeem Qureshi, "Bibliographic Soundings in Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in South Asia", *The Islamic Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, 1980, p. 22.
2. See Nikkie R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani: A Political Biography*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972, p. 124.
3. D.H. Evans, "The "Meanings" of Pan-Islamism: The Growth of International Consciousness Among the Muslims of India and Indonesia in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century", in Essays by Mushirul Hasan, et al., *India and Indonesia From the 1830s to 1914: The Heyday of Colonial Rule*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987, p. 15.
4. Naimur Rahman Farooqi, "Pan-Islamism in the Nineteenth Century", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 57, October 1983, p. 284.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 284. See also "A Pan-Islam Propagandist", *Singapore Free Press*, 6 January 1899; enclosure CO 273/246, Mitchell to Chamberlain (Confidential), 6 January 1899.
6. This consciousness arises from the belief in the oneness of Islam as a religion and a social system which embraces a broad sense of nationality and political community. It inspired Muslims all over the world with an awareness of threat and danger when confronted with the current traumatic events.
7. Naimur Rahman Farooqi, "Pan-Islamism", p. 284.
8. Syed Hussein Alatas, "On the Need for a Historical Study of Malaysian Islamization", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1963, p. 63.
9. Naimur Rahman Farooqi, "Pan-Islamism", p. 285.
10. T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., pp. 173-174.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
12. Ozay Mehmet, *Islamic Identity & Development. Studies of the Islamic Periphery*, Kuala Lumpur: Forum, 1990, p. 28.
13. From this marriage were born two children, Ungku Abdul Aziz the fifth Chief Minister of Johore and Ungku Abdul Hamid, the head of the Johore Translation Bureau (father of Ungku Abdul Aziz, former Vice Chancellor, University of Malaya). Following the death of Tengku Abdul Majid, Rogayyah then married Sayyid Abdullah al-Attas, a rich merchant from Batavia (Jakarta). The marriage produced a son, Sayyid Ali al-Attas (the father of Syed Hussein and Syed Naqub, two prominent scholars). Following a divorce, Rogayyah was married to Dato' Jaafar. They had seven children, including Onn (a prominent nationalist leader and the father of Malaysia's third Prime Minister). Rogayyah died in 1902. See Ramlah Adam, *Dato' Onn Ja'afar. Pengasas Kemerdekaan*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992, pp. 5-6.

14. Abdullah Abbas Nasution. *Sejarah Melayu Raya*. Penang: Persama Press, 1953. p. 24. See also CO 273/201. Secretary of the Sultan of Johore to Robert H. Meade, Colonial Office, 10 May 1894.
15. C. Snouck Hurgronje. *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970. p. 286.
16. A surviving copy of the Istanbul edition of the book is deposited in the Oriental and Indian Office Collection, The British Library, London. See Al-Shaykh Muhammad Arshad ibn Abd Allah al-Banjari al-Malayawi. *Sabil al-Muhtadin Li-al-Tafaqquh Fi Amr al-Din*. Istanbul: al-Sharikah al-Khairiyah of al-Hajj Muharram Affandi, Shawwal 1302/August 1885. Apart from being published in Istanbul the book was also published in Cairo in 1889. *Sabil al-Muhtadin* is a work on religious practice based of the *Shaff'i Madhhab* and widely used in religious education all over the Malay World. See Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Bahasa Melayu Bahasa Ilmu. Meninjau Kitab Sabil Al Muhtadin oleh Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari", *Jurnal Dewan Bahasa*, August, 1990, pp. 633-634.
17. See Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain Mustafa al-Fatani, *Hadiqatul Azhar Wal-Riahin*, Penang: Persama Press, 1935, pp. 129-130.
18. The Mekkah edition of *Hadiqatul Azhar Wal-Riahin* was published in 1889 and 1903 by al-Matba'ah al-Miriyyah al-Ká'inah. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Hadiqaul Azhar War Riahin*, Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992, pp. iv-v.
19. CO 273/246. Mitchell (Governor of the Straits Settlements) to Chamberlain (Colonial Office), 6 January 1899.
20. Anthony Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, February 1967, p. 280.
21. Barbara Watson Andaya, "From Rum To Tokyo: The Search For AntiColonial Allies By The Ruler of Riau, 1899-1914", *Indonesia*, No. 24. October 1977, p. 130.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
23. *Straits Times*, 16 November 1889. When the ship arrived on 15 November 1899 the Johnston Pier, Singapore was crowded with Malays who came to express their pleasure and admiration for the Ottoman Caliph.
24. Anthony Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p. 278.
25. G. K. Simon, "Islam in Sumatra", in S.M Zwemer F.R.G.S., E.M. Wherry. D.D. James & L. Borton (eds.) *The Mohammadan World of Today*, London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906. p. 212.
26. According to Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi whose findings are based on a number of documents and accounts, the effort was initiated in the 1890s after Shaykh Wan Ahmad went to Istanbul to express the wishes of the people of Kelantan. Following the discussion, two delegates were sent; one travelled through Singapore and the other through Bangkok to meet at Kota Bharu. In the early twentieth century in Kota Bharu too, there resided a highly respected Turk, Shaykh 'Ali Amir Husayn, who had a close relationship with Sultan Muhammad IV. Shaykh 'Ali was regarded by the Sultan as his military commander and was given land titles in Kota Bharu. Shaykh 'Ali died on 23 March 1939. See Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, "Satu Kajian dan Perbandingan Riwayat Hidup Kadir Abdi Dengan Assad Syukri", M.A. Thesis, University of Malaya, 1978, pp. 2-3.
27. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abullah, "Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani: Sultan, Politik dan Riau". *Dewan Budaya*, September 1991, p. 53.
28. Before World War 1 it was generally believed by the Malays that the Turks were a superior people who could wield supernatural powers. As the defender of the faith it was also believed that the Turk's defeat in the war was a signal prophesying doomsday. In its editorials, the journal *Jajahan Melayu*. (Vol. 1. No. 1, 10 December 1896 [5 Rejab 1313AH]) elaborated on the superiority of the Turks as generally believed by the Malays and went further to say that any power who wished to defeat them was daydreaming.

29. See for example *Jajahan Melayu*, Vol. 2, No. 24, 29 April 1897. See also *Lengkongan Bulan*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 11 May 1900, p. 4.
30. *Jajahan Melayu*, Vol. 2, No. 25, 6 May 1897.
31. The size of the picture was 6.5" x 4.25". See the advertisement in front page *Lengkongan Bulan*, Vol. 2, No. 5, 28 May 1900 and Vol. 2, No. 7, 4 June 1900.
32. *The Journal Chahaya/Chahyah/Chayah Pulau Pinang/Penang* can be considered a relatively successful journal since it managed to survive for nearly eight and half years from 13 October 1900 to 28 March 1908. It was published by a Chinese tycoon Lim Seng Hui, the proprietor of Criterion Press, 230 Birch Street, Penang. The journal was produced in four pages in *Jawi* and published every Saturday. See Mohd. Dahari Othman, "Akhbar Cahaya Pulau Pinang, 1900-1908", *Jebat*, No. 7/8, 1978/79, p. 115.
33. See *Chahaya Pulau Pinang*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 13 October 1900, p. 2. For a discussion of the contribution to build the Hijaz Railway, see William L. Ochsenwald, "Financing of the Hijaz Railroad", *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-4, 1973, pp. 129-149.
34. *Chahaya Pulau Pinang*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2 & Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 3.
35. *Cahaya Pulau Pinang*, No. 5, 10 November 1900, p. 4.
36. *Cahaya Pulau Pinang*, No. 7, 27 October 1906, p. 3.
37. William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 1980, pp. 58-59.
38. See *Al-Iman*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 23 July 1906, pp. 30-31.
39. For the report on the railway, see *Al-Iman*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 23 July 1906, pp. 31-32; Vol. 1, No. 4, 19 August 1906, p. 128; Vol. 2, No. 1, 12 July 1907, p. 13.
40. *Al-Iman*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 21 August 1906, p. 63.
41. *Al-Iman*, Vol. 1, No. 7, 16 January 1907, p. 211.
42. See *Al-Imam*, Vol. 1, No. 9, 16 March 1907, pp. 281-284.
43. See *Al-Iman*, Vol. 2, No. 5, 7 November 1907, pp. 101-102.
44. See for example the case of the Turkish Consul in Batavia, Muhammad Refat Bey who stopped at Singapore on Monday December 15, 1913 on his way to Istanbul. His arrival was given a special coverage by *Neracha* and a large crowd was reported waiting at the harbour to have a glimpse of a man believed to have an immense knowledge and known to speak forty five languages, and also communicate in Malay. See *Neracha*, Vol. 4, No. 114, 17 December 1913.
45. See *Neracha*, No. 91, Vol. 3, 25 June 1913.
46. *Neracha*, No. 100, Vol. 3, 27 August 1913.
47. *Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 97, 6 August 1913. The choice of Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani as a representative of *Shaykh al-Islam* of Istanbul to the Malay World was made as he was regarded as a learned man who had the knowledge of languages like Arabic and German. In Turkey he ranked as a senior 'alim, who was qualified to occupy the post of Qadi in prestigious provinces like Adana or Egypt. As a respected 'alim he was awarded an Ottoman decoration symbolised by the gift of a special robe which he carried with him.
48. *Neracha*, No. 132, Vol. 4, 22 April 1914, p. 5. To add to his credentials Sayyid Wajih was said to be the twenty fourth in descent from Sayyid 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani the famous Sufi master and the thirty fifth in descent from Husayn, the son of 'Ali, the fourth Rightful Caliph.
49. *Neracha*, No. 118, Vol. 4, 14 January 1914, pp. 1-4. He arrived at Singapore on 11 January 1914.
50. *Neracha*, No. 119, Vol. 4, 21 January 1914, p. 3.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

52. For example, upon reaching the Philippines he was reported as sending a number of letters to Singapore, among others, the editors of *Neracha*, thanking them for the hospitality he had received during his short stay on the island. The newspaper took the opportunity to notify its readers with the advice given by the Sayyid as it was for the benefit of their life and religion. See *Neracha*, No. 125, Vol. 4, 3 March 1914., p. 3.
53. *Neracha*, No. 130, Vol. 4, 8 April 1914. p. 1.
54. Among the Muslim leaders who were at the pier to greet Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani were Shaykh Zakaria, Shaykh Daud, Shaykh Mustafa, Sayyid Alwi an Sayyid Hussein.
55. *Neracha*, No. 131, Vol. 4, 15 April 1914, p. 2.
56. The spectacular Malay reception given to Sayyid Muhammad Wajih al-Jailani during his sojourns in his outward and return journeys was spontaneous, and this indicated the Malay's high regard for the Ottoman religious role. His presence was viewed with great pleasure and the Muslims in the islands felt it an honour and privilege to meet him.
57. For a discussion of the failure of Pan-Islamism in the Muslim World at the time as a political force to reckon with, see John S. Badeau, "Pan-Islamism" in Benjamin Rivlin and Joseph S. Szyliowicz (ed. with intro, and notes), *The Contemporary Middle East. Tradition and Innovation*, New York: Random House, 1965, pp. 201-215.