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Islamic Reform and Young People in the Malay Archipelago in the Early 20th Century

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Abstract

Islamic renewal was a movement in the Muslim world in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries. This movement and teaching began with the assumption that the Muslim world experienced a "collapse" along with the increasingly vigorous expansion of European colonialism into Muslim countries. At the end of the 18th century, Napoleon Bonaparte expanded into Egypt, which shocked the Muslim community in that country. In this context, the idea of Islamic renewal emerged, which sometimes mixed or had aspects similar to Wahhabism and was considered capable of solving problems in the Muslim world. The Malay Archipelago is a region that cannot be separated from the wave of Islamic renewal in the early 20th century. Islamic students in this region were influenced by many Islamic reforms while studying in Hejaz and Cairo. After they returned to the Malay Archipelago, they became influential clerics who spread the idea of Islamic renewal and opposed the teachings of indigenous groups and traditionalist scholars. These Islamic reformers came to be known as 'Young People'. The rise of the Young People is standard in the Malay Islands, especially Sumatra (Dutch Indies) and the Malay Peninsula (British Malaya). This article observes the emergence of the Youth and Islamic reform in the Malay Archipelago in the early 20th century. This article examines how the Youth and Islamic reformers interacted with colonial authorities, indigenous peoples, and traditionalist clerics. The method used in this study is qualitative, in which the author conducts an in-depth analysis of primary sources and elaborates on the historical context that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century. In this article, the author argues that the rise of Islamic renewal and the Youth cannot be separated from the emerging socio-economic structure in the Malay Archipelago.

Keywords: Malay, Sumatra, Malaya, Young People, Islam, Reformism

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, West Sumatra, a provincial area under Dutch colonialism's control, had seen the arrival of some Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabawi disciples. They had learned Islam from Ahmad Khatib (1860-1915) and then returned to their hometown in West Sumatra. Among Ahmad Khatib's students are Syekh Djamil Djambek (Bukittinggi), Hadji Abdullah Ahmad (Padang dan Padang Pandjang), Haji Rasul (Manindjau and Padang) and Syekh Thaib Umar (Batu Sangkar).[1] Ahmad Khatib's students' arrival shows the existence of religious leaders educated in Makkah and a sociological change in West Sumatran or Minangkabau society. These students became a new social class that challenged the social order controlled by the indigenous people (*penghulu*) and traditionalist clerics who tended to see religion textually. Under Ahmad Khatib's guidance, the students brought Islamic reform ideas emphasising ijtihad and reason, and accepted modernisation previously rejected by traditionalist clergy. Those influenced by this spirit of Islamic renewal are often called *kaum muda* (young people). The groups that oppose them, namely indigenous groups and

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[1] Taufik Abdullah, *School and Politics: The Young People Movement in West Sumatra (1927–1933)* (LP3ES, 1971), 13.

traditionalist clerics, are usually referred to as *kaum tua* (older people). In the Malay Peninsula, the spirit of Islamic reformism was also brought by the disciples of Jawi, who had just returned from the Hijaz. Some prominent Islamic reform figures in British Malaya are Tahir Jalaluddin and Syed al-Hadi. They are regarded as the 'Young People' of British Malaya because of their efforts to bring about Islamic renewal and reformism.[2]

The emergence of Islamic renewal brought by the young people greatly influenced the political and social life of the Malay Archipelago under the rule of Dutch and British colonialism. The presence of young people must be connected to the modernisation efforts carried out by the Dutch and British colonial governments in the Malay Archipelago. From the 19th century to the early 20th century, European colonial governments continued modernising by building infrastructure that accelerated urbanisation. Rail transport networks were built to connect the interior of the Malay Peninsula and Java with port cities. In addition, the colonisation of cities in the Malay Archipelago by Europeans has had a significant impact on the influx of investment, prompting massive immigration of foreign Eastern groups, such as Chinese and Arabs. They are business people who build media businesses so that media businesses, such as newspapers and magazines, emerge. In addition, the shipping business became increasingly competitive with the entry of Bugis, Arab, Chinese, and European businesspeople. These ships facilitated the movement of people from the Malay Archipelago to areas in the Indian Ocean, including the Hijaz. In this context, the renewal of Islam brought by the youth flourishes in the Malay Archipelago. The modernisation carried out by colonial Europe provided opportunities for Islamic renewal and youth growth in the Malay Archipelago.

In this article, the author investigates sociological changes in the Malay Archipelago and the emergence of Islamic reform from the Hijaz and Cairo by the Youth. For this reason, the author conducted an in-depth study on how economic and infrastructure modernisation helps young people spread the idea of Islamic renewal. The historical method is applied in this research. This question is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of the youth movement and the concept of Islamic renewal in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya. During this time, the study of Young People and Islamic reform revealed the intellectual wrestling between the Young and the Old in the religious debate. Admittedly, the emergence of the Youth in the Malay Archipelago has encouraged the Old to maintain their authority over the community. For this reason, the dynamics of Islamic renewal brought by young people are more coloured by debates on syariah, bid'ah, and khurafat issues.

Seeing this, this study focuses more on the relationship between young people and the social, political, and economic structures built by the colonial government. Therefore, the author emphasises the system's role in supporting the emergence of Young People in the Malay Archipelago. In addition, the author also focuses on how global changes have encouraged young people to view structures within the colonial order. At the beginning of the 20th century, various global changes prompted Young People to revisit their relationship with the colonial government.

The period examined in this study is between 1900 and 1940. The reason for limiting this study to that period was that many young people returned to Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula after studying in Makkah in the early 1900s. As mentioned above, some of these figures are Sheikh Djamil Djambek (1862-1947) and Hadji Rasoel (1879-1945) in West Sumatra. In the Malay Peninsula, Tok Kenali also returned to Kelantan in 1908 after studying in Cairo and Makkah. Tok Kenali also studied under Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabawi and Sheikh Daud Fatani. The 1940s became a significant turning point for the Youth movement as global political changes became more pronounced with the issue of Japanese attacks on the Dutch East Indies

[2] Mohamad Ali, *Islam and Colonialism: Becoming Modern in Indonesia and Malaya* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 60.

and British Malaya. This made relations between the Youth and the colonial government less and less improved. Moreover, many Young People figures were considered to have close ties to the Japanese military government during the Japanese occupation.

The author of this article uses a historical method that emphasises extracting primary sources in depth. The author excavated primary sources in Malay newspapers and magazines published in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya in the early 20th century, published in 1909-1925.. The press is a significant primary source for researching Young People, as many of these groups are prominent Malay press figures. Tahir Jalaluddin, for example, is a youth figure, reformer, and thinker of Islamic reformism who is active in the press. He founded the *Al-Imam* newspaper in Singapore between 1906 and 1908.[3] Because many young people are members of various organisations, both Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah, the media owned by these multiple organisations also deserve to be used as primary sources. Some of the primary sources used by the author for this study include newspapers *Oetoesan Melajoe*, *Hindia Baroe, The Straits Echo,* and several books by Young People, such as Hamka, who wrote the book *Tasauf Modern*.

In the historiography of Southeast Asian history, many works explain the history of Islamic renewal and the Young People. These works mainly result from an intellectual historical study that shows the network of thought among reformist scholars in Southeast Asia. One of the best works on the origins of Islamic renewal in Southeast Asia is Azyumardi Azra's book entitled *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*. In this book, Azra explains the network of scholars in the Malay Archipelago with the Middle East in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to Azra, this period is crucial to see the origins of Islamic renewal due to European expansion.[4] Azra criticises the historiography of political history that coloured this period and thus ignores the intellectual dynamics of that period. The number of *Jawi* students from the Malay Archipelago who came to Makkah and Medina to study has encouraged the transfer of ideas from Middle Timorese scholars to these students. This is where the concept of reformism and Islamic renewal in the Malay Archipelago began. In his book, Azra shows the intellectual network possessed by scholars from the Malay Archipelago in the 17th and 18th centuries, from Nur al-Din al-Raniri, Abd al-Rauf al-Sinclair, and Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari. Azra's study is a prelude to the later reformism of Islam and the Youth.

Studies of the dynamics of Southeast Asian Muslims in the 19th and early 20th centuries have also been conducted by many Muslim scholars. These studies can no longer be identified as local history but also as global history, emphasising the importance of connections and networks between Southeast Asia and other regions, especially the Indian Ocean. The relationship between Southeast Asia and the Middle East through the Indian Ocean has been described in the works of historians such as M. Saleh Putuhena and Eric Tagliacozzo on Hajj.[5] In addition, the work of William Gervase Clarence-Smith also provides an essential insight into the role of the Hadhrami Arabs who interceded between Muslims in the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East and the businesses they owned, especially shipping.[6] Thus, studies of the Hadhrami people have also become essential to the history of interaction between the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East[7]. The ease of transportation and facilities have encouraged interaction between Muslims in the Malay Archipelago, so intellectual and political

[3] Ali, *Islam and Colonialism*, 60.
[4] Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 1.
[5] Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 3–15; M. Saleh Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia* (LIPI Press, 2007), 1–7.
[6] William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (Hurst & Company, 1997), 297–301.
[7] Sumit K. Mandal, *Becoming Arab: Creole Histories and Modern Identity in the Malay World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 19–21; Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (University of California Press, 2006), 17–22.

networks between the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East, significantly the Hijaz and Cairo, have intensified. In this regard, Michael Laffan's study is significant because it shows how Young People interacted with scholars in the Hijaz and Cairo and brought changes to the socio-political landscape in the Malay Archipelago, especially the Dutch East Indies[8]. These studies have had a significant impact on the historiography of Southeast Asia, which has been dominated by political and economic history. This shows that the history of Islam in Southeast Asia can not only be seen in the context of local history but must also be viewed globally.

In addition, two studies have been very influential in looking at Young People in the Malay Archipelago. A study from Taufik Abdullah entitled "School and Politics: The Young People Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)" is a work that should not be missed at all.[9] Taufik Abdullah's dissertation at Cornell University is an "opening door" to discovering the intellectual struggle in West Sumatra. In this dissertation, Taufik Abdullah shows how Minangkabau became a very *outward-looking* and dynamic area that produced influential intellectual figures who were members of the Youth group. Relations between Minangkabau and the Middle East encouraged the emergence of reforming scholars who dominated the socio-political movement in West Sumatra. The Minangkabau students, who had just returned from the Middle East, then returned to West Sumatra and brought the idea of Islamic renewal that opposed the domination of indigenous traditionalist groups and ulama. In this study, Abdullah shows the dynamic Minangkabau community in the face of social change. Here, Abdullah also emphasised the role of schools as an essential element for young people to promote Islamic progress and reformism. One of the critical schools for young people in Minangkabau at the beginning of the 20th century was Sumatra Thawalib, followed by various other schools.

The work of Mohamad Ali is also part of the historiography of Young People in the Malay Archipelago, which is an essential reference for seeing the dynamics of Young People. In his book, Muhamad Ali stressed the importance of seeing the youth in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya as an essential part of the modernisation project of the Dutch and British colonial governments. As quoted in his book, Muhamad Ali states that he offers a comparative and cross-cultural history of Islamic reform and European colonialism so that the Youth movement cannot be separated from the aspirations of colonial society to become modern.[10] In this book, Muhamad Ali shows that the emergence of the Young People and the interests of the colonial regime were sometimes at odds, as seen in the works of earlier scholars. In his research, Ali emphasised that the Youth and the colonial regime were both interested in making the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya indigenous peoples' modern societies. It is understood that the idea of Islamic reformism indeed emphasises the use of reason in understanding religion. The use of common sense or ijtihad in understanding religious problems is one of the Islamic modernisation projects that has also been carried out by Islamic thinkers of the 19th century, such as Muhammad Abduh. Thus, the teachings of Islamic reformism brought by Muhammad Abduh and the youth leaders in the Malay Archipelago wanted Muslims also to be able to live with modernisation. This was also what the colonial governments in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya wanted to modernise indigenous people.

Analysis

Modernisation in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya

One of the factors that influenced the development of Islamic renewal in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya was the structured development carried out by the colonial government.

[8] Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 171–172.
[9] Taufik Abdullah, *School and Politics*, 1.
[10] Mohamad Ali, *Islam and Colonialism*, 1.

This shows that the emergence of Islamic renewal cannot be separated from the colonial government's role in modernisation programs in the two colonies. Modernisation has a fundamental difference from modernity. Historian John F. Richard calls the early modern period "the creation of a global maritime network that connected all human beings to a transportation network, thereby increasing capacity and efficiency". Richard also continued that this was marked by "the rise of a truly global world economy characterised by long-distance trade, rapid growth and connected economies on every continent". In addition, there are also factors of population growth and expansion of land use to satisfy production needs.[11] The above conditions are considered characteristic of the early modern period. Thus, modernisation has always been associated with connecting one region with another to conquer nature and expand economic networks.

In the context of the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya, modernisation programs have been carried out massively by the two colonial powers since the latter half of the 19th century. This was done effectively and efficiently after the colonial governments in both colonies successfully negotiated and fought with the indigenous rulers. In Sumatra, the Dutch East Indies colonial government negotiated with the British Malayan government through the Anglo-Dutch Treaty in 1871. The treaty ceded the Gold Coast in Africa to the British, while the British shipped Indian indentured coolies to the Dutch colony of Suriname. In addition, the British also ceded the entire island of Sumatra to the Dutch.[12] This caused the Dutch to invade Sumatra, which met stiff resistance from the Aceh Sultanate, causing a war that extended until 1907.[13] In Java, the colonial government also faced resistance from local rulers, as Prince Diponegoro did in the Java War (1825-1830).[14] Meanwhile, the British colonial government continued to invade Malaya's interior after successfully obtaining Penang in 1786 and Singapore in 1819.[15] Since 1870, British Malaya has also incorporated several Malay kingdoms into its colonies, namely Selangor, Perak, Negeri Sembilan, and Pahang. This region is called the "Federated Malay States". Johor entered the territory of British Malaya in 1895. Meanwhile, the Bangkok Treaty of 1909 included the parts of Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Terengganu.[16] The conquest of indigenous kingdoms in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya could then accelerate the modernisation process carried out by the colonial government.

The colonial government encouraged investment growth in the economic field, making the economy more dynamic. This stimulated prosperity in the hinterland areas that produced agricultural and mining products. The construction of the railway had accelerated integration between the port cities of the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya, with the hinterland producing agricultural and mining products. Several important fast-growing ports exist in the Straits of Settlements and the Federated Malay States, such as Singapore, Penang, and Port Swettenham. Inland products are exported through these ports, such as areca nuts, coffee, copra, fish, gambier, rubber, gutta, gold, rice, pepper, sugar, tapioca, tin, tin ore, and wolfram.[17] The port in Singapore serves not only as the entry point for economic products but also as the departure point for pilgrims from the Malay Archipelago.[18]

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[11] John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (University of California Press, 2003), 198–202.
[12] M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*, 3rd ed. (Stanford University Press, 2001), 186.
[13] Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah* (Gramedia, 1987), 6.
[14] Peter Carey, *Destiny: The Life of Prince Diponegoro of Yogyakarta, 1785–1855* (KITLV Press, 2014), 606.
[15] Eric Tagliacozzo, "Navigating Communities: Islam and Maritime Commerce in Late Colonial Indonesia," in *Islamic Legitimacy in a Plural Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid (Routledge, 1999), 9.
[16] Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, *Colonialism, Violence and Muslims in Southeast Asia: The Maria Hertogh Controversy and Its Aftermath* (Routledge, 2018), 108.
[17] Anthony Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra: Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain, 1858–1898* (Oxford University Press, 1969), 12.
[18] *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, April 15, 1929, 7.

In the Dutch East Indies, West Sumatra, for example, is a region that has long been connected to the global economy since the late 18th century. The interior of West Sumatra is a producer of gold and coffee. Agam City and Fifty Cities prospered thanks to the high demand for coffee from the United States between 1790 and 1830.[19] This prosperity has encouraged the migration of Minangkabau students to study in Makkah, and they were influenced by the Islamic renewal movement there. Ahmad Khatib Minangkabawi was one of the reformer scholars from West Sumatra who could study in the Hijaz thanks to prosperity. Ahmad Khatib went to Hejaz in 1881 after graduating from a local school in West Sumatra.[20] Ahmad Khatib later became an Islamic reformer who influenced many of Jawi's students studying in Makkah. Economic exploitation in Banten has also encouraged prosperity, making many students go to Hijaz. The religious elites in Banten are landowners, so they are more independent. They are considered "specialists who communicate Islam to the peasants."[21] However, the large number of people from the Malay Archipelago who come to Hijaz is not always due to economic prosperity but also because of more accessible connections due to shipping technology and the large number of Hajj travel agents. Achmad Djajadiningrat noted that he questioned the ability of the people of Banten to go to Hajj with their low wages.[22] Debt was also a component that influenced the wave of Jawi disciples coming to the Hijaz.

The economic development of the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya has encouraged various nations to migrate to these two colonies. This migration then created an investment climate that encouraged ease in connecting the Malay Archipelago with the Hijaz and Cairo. The migration of Hadhrami Arabs, Indians, and Chinese to the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya, for example, has boosted the economy. Many Hadhrami people, for instance, opened economic opportunities between the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East by opening trading companies, Hajj ship transportation, and publishing in print media. They competed with European, Chinese, and indigenous businesspeople such as the Bugis. Hadhrami Arab traders came to Singapore in the mid-19th century. They settled in Kampong Glam, such as Sayyid Mohammed bin Harun Al-Junied and his nephew Sayyid Omar bin Ali Al-Junied. In addition, Sayyid Abdul Rahman Alsagoff is a successful trader from Hadramaut in Singapore. In 1848, Abdul Rahman Alsagoff founded the famous Alsagoff and Company.[23] The company then played an essential role in transporting pilgrims from the Malay Archipelago to the Hijaz. However, there are some records of slavery practices carried out by this company by tying pilgrims to debt. For example, Hajj pilgrims who have money can hitchhike from Jeddah to Singapore by signing a debt contract. After that, they are obliged to become labourers in Johor and other cities in Malacca.[24]

Another business that flourished due to immigration in the Malay Archipelago was the newspaper business. Singapore is one of the British colonies that showed much success in the newspaper business, founded by Europeans, Tamil descendants, and Jawi descendants. An influential English-language newspaper is the *Straits Times*. *Jawi Peranakkan* newspaper was also an influential newspaper headed by Muhammad Said in the late 19th century.[25] In the Dutch East Indies, Peranakan Chinese and Hadrami Arabs also encouraged the newspaper business. Newspaper *Wazir India*, for example, was published in 1878 by the company W. Bruining & Co., headed by Abdul Chatab. Although the origin of its editor is unknown, it is much loved by the descendants of the Arab community and is called a Jawi language

[19] Christine Dobbin, *Economic Change in Minangkabau as a Background to the Padri War, 1784–1833* (PhD dissertation, Australian National University, 1977), 21.
[20] Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, 106.
[21] Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 60.
[22] Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, 47.
[23] Mona Abaza, *Changing Consumer Cultures of Modern Egypt: Cairo's Urban Reshaping* (Brill, 1997), 64.
[24] Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (ANRI, 2001), 98–99.
[25] Torsten Tschacher, *Race, Religion, and the 'Malay' in the Sri Lankan Tamil Muslim Diaspora* (Brill, 2011), 70.

newspaper. Articles published by *Wazir India* talk a lot about Islamic issues, such as the tradition of going on Hajj to Makkah.[26] According to Ahmat Adam, a newspaper *Wazir India*, it was also read by Islamic students, especially from the West Coast of Sumatra.[27] In addition, although it did not contribute much to the connection between the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East, the descendants of the Chinese also played an essential role in encouraging the newspaper business in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya. They encouraged the growth of the Malay press business. A Chinese descendant from Bogor named Lie Kim Hok, for example, bought the Bintang Djohar newspaper from D. J. Van Linden.[28] Then, several newspapers were established by descendants of Chinese using Malay, such as *Sin Po* and *Keng Po*. This shows that the migration of Asians to the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya, caused by modernisation, has increased business development dynamics in both colonies. This accelerates the integration of the Malay Archipelago and various world regions, especially the Middle East.

Youth and Islam

The modernisation carried out by the Dutch and British colonial governments in the Malay Archipelago has accelerated the movement of people between Southeast Asia and the Middle East. The move of ideas, of course, follows the trend of people. One of the essential roles of the interconnection process between the Middle East and the Malay Archipelago was the departure of indigenous students to Makkah and Cairo to study under Jawi teachers. In addition, the movement of Hajj pilgrims is also significant because these pilgrims will stay for some time in Makkah and Medina to study Islam. Studies from Vredenbregt show that the connection between the Malay Archipelago, especially the Dutch East Indies, and Makkah was very significant between 1892 and the 1930s. In fact, in 1913/1914, the number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies reached 50% of the total pilgrims from all over the world who came to Makkah and Medina.[29]

The arrival of pilgrims and Jawi disciples from the Malay Archipelago to the Hijaz and Cairo has encouraged the transfer of ideas about the renewal of Islam. Scholars in the Muslim world discussed the discourse on Islamic renewal at the end of the 19th century. One of the figures of Islamic reform who received much attention from students and scholars in the Malay Archipelago was Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905). Although Abduh was a scholar from Cairo, his thoughts were also influential in the Hijaz. Abduh was a Muslim intellectual who wanted Islam to run harmoniously with rationality, modern civilisation, and progress.[30] As did Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Cemil Aydin regarded Abduh as a Pan-Islamic figure. Both published magazines*, al-Urwat al-Wuthqa,* in 1884. The influence of Muhammad Abduh among the prominent Jawi scholars in the Hijaz was unavoidable. Ahmad Khatib Minangkabawi, for example, allowed his students to read the works of Muhammad Abduh. In addition, Nawawi al-Bantani was also a prominent Jawi scholar responsible for spreading the idea of Islamic renewal from Muhammad Abduh to Javanese students.[31] Abduh's influence on the Jawi scholars in Makkah is evident in the recommendation of some of their students not only to study in the Hejaz but also at Al-Azhar University, Egypt, which became the centre of Islamic renewal. Michael Laffan points out that Ahmad Khatib recommended that Minangkabau students study at Al-Azhar. One of Ahmad Khatib's students who studied in Makkah and Al-Azhar was Muhammad Tahir bin Jalal ad-Din.[32] Muhammad Tahir was one of the Islamic

[26] Ahmat Adam, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855–1913)* (Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1984), 87.
[27] Adam, *The Vernacular Press*, 88.
[28] Adam, *The Vernacular Press*, 129.
[29] D. Vredenbregt, *The Haddj: Some of Its Features and Functions in Indonesia* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 149.
[30] Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Harvard University Press, 2017), 73.
[31] Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, 112.
[32] Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, 129.

reformers from Minangkabau, West Sumatra, who played an essential role in the Islamic intellectual movement in the Malay Peninsula. In fact, in the 1890s, some Malay disciples met the founders of *al-Manar*, a magazine that spread the spirit of Islamic renewal from Abduh. 14 students from the Indies studied in Cairo in 1904. According to Laffan, four students were relatives of the Sultan of Riau-Lingga. As mentioned earlier, many Jawi students studying in Hejaz and Cairo cannot be separated from the modernisation in the Malay Archipelago. The Dutch East Indies and British Malaya colonial governments supported modernisation in their territories to enable Jawi students to access the Middle East physically and ideally.

Some students who had studied in the Hijaz and Cairo returned to the Malay Archipelago with the idea of Islamic renewal. These reformers are often referred to as Young People. Young people are a group that is much influenced by the idea of progress. The Youth are not only Islamic reformers but also indigenous groups. Among the indigenous groups, there are young people, such as Datuk Soetan Maharadja, who gave many views on the progress of women.[33] Instead, they oppose the youth group who are affected by the renewal of Islam. These modernist Islamic youths were former students who had studied in the Hijaz and were influenced by the teachings of Muhammad Abduh. The Young Muslims opposed the teachings of the traditionalists or the Elders based solely on *naql* or established authority. They also fight attitudes of *taqlid* and call for the Old People to return to the tradition of the Quran and al-Hadith. In addition, they emphasise the importance of reason and *ijtihad* in solving problems.[34] Because of this attitude from the Islamic Youth, many groups of Indigenous Youth and traditionalist Islamic Youth are disappointed. Thus, many modernist Islamic youth carry out attacks on indigenous traditions that are considered contrary to the Qur'an, al-Hadith, and reason. Indigenous elders, such as Soetan Mangkoeto, expressed disappointment with the Jawi disciples who had just returned from Makkah because they "had a different heart, and just handicapped our customs."[35]

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Malay Archipelago engaged many young people in religious, educational, journalistic, and political fields. Young People's ability to use technology allows them to play a complete role. Buya Hamka, for example, is a well-known journalist and preacher. One of the most influential Islamic youths in the Malay Archipelago is Haji Rasul or Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (1879-1945). He is the father of the famous Malay cleric of Buya Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Amrullah), who gained much sympathy from Muslims in Indonesia and Malaysia. The writings of Haji Rasul angered many Indigenous Elders, especially many *penghulu*, traditional leaders. In his article entitled *Kitab Pertimbangan Adat*, Haji Rasul denounced many rulers in West Sumatra who could not become penghulu or traditional leaders. The two *penghulu* who, at that time, were strongly criticised by Haji Rasul were Datuk Ketoemanggoengan and Datuk Perpatih nan Sabatang.[36]

Criticism of the Indigenous Elders also came from modernist young people who were active as journalists and political activists, namely Haji Agus Salim. Although he did not have a profile as a student of Jawi, like Haji Rasul, Hajj Agus Salim was a person who was influenced by the idea of Islamic renewal and progress. He could understand various European and non-European languages, especially Arabic and Turkish.[37] One of Agus Salim's writings questioned the authority of the indigenous leaders in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, who could no longer face colonial rule. According to Salim, the penghulu is "already dead, whitened, does not want to lush the leaves anymore, caterpillars eat the stem in his heart". Then he quoted the

[33] Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics,* 13-4.
[34] Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics,* 13-4.
[35] Soetan Mangkoeto, "Perempoean Minangkabau," *Oetoesan Melajoe*, January 13, 1917, 1.
[36] Haji Datang, "Kitab Pertimbangan Adat," *Oetoesan Melajoe*, February 15, 1921, 1.
[37] Mukayat, *Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan H. Agus Salim* (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1985), 5.

saying "*tak lekang dek paneh, tak lapuak dek ujan*", will not rot due to heat and rain."[38] This was due to the helplessness of the indigenous leaders before the power of the Dutch colonial government because the prohibition forest was closed by the Tanah Datar Assistant Resident. In fact, according to Salim, the assistant resident forced the heads to suppress the letter of agreement. In this paper, Agus Salim clearly shows that the rulers and indigenous people were weak before the Dutch colonial government.

In addition to criticising traditional leaders, many Islamic youth have also carried out attacks on traditionalist clerical groups that teach tariqat. One of the tariqas criticised by the Youth is the Shattariyah tariqah, which is considered contrary to Islam. In 1907, for example, Hajj Muhammad Djamil Djambek from Bukittinggi (West Sumatra) held an audience with four scholars of the Shattariyah to debate aspects of Shattariyah that were opposed and not contrary to Islam.[39] In Malaya, Syed al-Hadi also criticised the older people who accepted the teachings of Islam, as they were not based on the Quran and Hadith. According to al-Hadi, as a reformer, Islam should hold on to the Quran and Hadith.[40] Regarding the conflict between the Islamic Youth and the tariqat group, the Indigenous Elders defended the tariqat group more. The Elders considered that the teachings of Islamic renewal brought by the Young People were Arab customs that did not follow Malaya's traditions. Soetan Mangkoeto, a representative of the Elders, once stated that "the scribes do not want the *sjarak,* i.e., Islamic law*,* on the Arabs; it is carried out for the Malays in Alam Minangkabau, who are shady and behave better than the Arabs."[41]

However, some young Muslims also try to reconcile the teachings of the elders with the renewal of Islam. One of the efforts of the Islamic Youth to reconcile the two opposing principles was carried out by Hajj Abdul Malik Amrullah, or Buya Hamka. One of Hamka's books shows this effort is *Tasauf Modern,* modern Sufism. Although Hamka is a direct son of Hajj Rasul, who criticises Sufism, Hamka has a unique view of Sufism. For Hamka, Sufism is part of Islamic philosophy, so "Sufism is progressing as well. It is a kind of philosophy that has arisen later from the time of the Prophet, which goes back and forth looking at the state of the times and the state of the country."[42] Hamka firmly opposes the teachings of Sufism, which weaken Islam itself. Like Islamic reformers, Hamka called on Muslims to continue to use reason and effort so that Islam does not regress. He forbade tasawuf, which weakens Islam by "refusing to make a living, sculpting property, defending the chaos of the world, hating the government."[43] Hamka emphasised the essence of the religion of Islam as follows, "it is a religion that calls on its ummah to make a living and take for granted to achieve glory, height, and majesty in the struggle for the life of the nations. Islam calls for mastery in the realm with the basis of justice, collecting good wherever it is, and allowing people to take the opportunity to seek the permitted pleasure.[44]

In this book, Hamka shows that Sufism and Islamic renewal are not contradictory. For Hamka, Sufism that ignores the life of the world, avoiding *ijtihad* in seeking sustenance, is a wrong Sufism. In this book, Hamka also shows the importance of knowledge and reason. Here, Hamka opposes the existence of *taqlid*, a blind following that was often the theme of the debates of the Old People in the early 20th century. According to Hamka, Islam "does not acknowledge *blind taqlid*, but invites reason to work, do not neglect, and do not delay."[45] Hamka shows that Islam encourages its people to keep thinking using their intellect so as not to become "*pak turut*",

[38] Haji Agus Salim, *Penghoeloe-Penghoeloe Mengadoe*, *Oetoesan Melajoe*, August 14, 1924, 1
[39] Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Shattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks* (Prenada Media, 2003), 65–66.
[40] Mohd. Ali Hashim, *Syeikh Tahir Jalaluddin: Ulama dan Reformis* (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2016), 62.
[41] Mangkoeto, "Perempoean Minangkabau," 1.
[42] Hamka, *Tasauf Modern* (Pustaka Panjimas, 1981), 17.
[43] Hamka, *Tasauf Modern*, 19.
[44] Hamka, *Tasauf Modern*, 19.
[45] Hamka, *Tasauf Modern*, 93

followers only, because "pak turut is farm animals". In this paper, it is clear that Hamka wants to state that Muslims who followed the taqlid ıt were like farm animals. Then Muslims, according to Hamka, "are told to be filtered, not to be 'nrimo wae', just accept it, like an estuary through which fish, crocodiles, ships and carcasses pass". This can encourage humans to "choose what is good, fix what is appropriate and throw what is not good."[46] In this position, it is clear that Hamka is a Young Islamic who inherited the paradigm of thinking from Muhammad Abduh, who prioritised reason and ijtihad in solving problems faced by Muslims.

For this reason, Islamic Youth in the Malay Archipelago always want to solve the community's real problems. They do not want Islam to debate only non-essential issues or *furuiyyah,* which did not bring progress to Islam itself. To that end, most young Muslims in the Malay Archipelago are moving into politics, education, journalism, social economics, and other fields. They abandoned the methods of the traditionalists, who only debated religious matters unrelated to the actual conditions in society. For example, a young man from Kelantan, Malaya, named Tok Kenali, was so influenced by Muhammad Abduh's writings that he was moved to start an education movement. He is one of the young Muslims from Kelantan who promotes education reform for Kelantan. Tok Kenali also founded the organisation *Al-Jam'iyyah al-Ashriyyah*, which became a forum for Muslims in Malaya to discuss problems in the Muslim World. Besides, Tok Kenali is also active in journalism by establishing *Pengasuh* and Al-*Hidayah* magazine.[47] Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin is also a Young Man who is active in journalism. Newspaper *Al-Imam*, which he founded in Singapore and published between 1906 and 1908, was one of the leading media of Islamic renewal modelled after *Al-Manar* from Cairo. This newspaper was highly critical of Malay rulers and aristocrats.

Like Tok Kenali, Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin also stressed that Malay Muslims should abandon their backwardness by being progressive and accessible, and abandon non-essential debates (*furiyyah*).[48] Like Tok Kenali in Malaya, many youth leaders in Java also pay attention to education issues. In 1909, Tahir Jalaluddin was listed as Sub-Mufti of the Muslim Society of Penang, led by Syed Abdul Bari al-Ahdal. This organisation is a moderate Islamic organisation that calls for "the blessings of British rule and dwelt at great length upon the value of unity and equality of treatment of the high and low and the rich and poor, irrespective of creed"[49]. As a leading Islamic reformer, Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin was instrumental in mediating a dispute over the direction of Qibla in Penang in 1926. The Kedah government sent Tahir Jalaluddin as the Mohamedan Advisory Board to Penang to determine the correct direction of Qibla at Kapitan Keling Mosque. Based on newspaper stories, *Straits Echo* stated that Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin "very carefully examined the niche with his instruments and then pronounced to the congregation that the azimuth or true bearing of Mecca from Penang was 292 degrees and that the niche was wrongly constructed."[50] Young people always provide new perspectives based on ijtihad on the problems faced by Muslims in the Malay Archipelago. Efforts to improve the direction of Qibla did not only occur in Penang but also in Java, where there was a debate between the Young and the Old about the direction of Qibla at that time.

One of the leaders of the Islamic Youth from Java who was much influenced by the teachings of Muhammad Abduh was Kiai Haji Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923). Haji Ahmad Dahlan was the founder of the Muhammadiyah organisation engaged in education in 1912 basen in Yogyakarta. Dahlan was also the chairman of Sarekat Islam (SI) in Yogyakarta. The older people worried about this organisation because it is considered to threaten their existence. They

[46] Hamka, *Tasauf Modern*, 92
[47] Ali Hashim, *Syeikh Tahir Jalaluddin*, 66.
[48] Ali Hashim, *Syeikh Tahir Jalaluddin*, 61
[49] "The Mohamedan Advisory Board," *The Straits Echo*, January 14, 1926, 288.
[50] "Mohamedan Society Penang," *The Straits Echo*, June 12, 1909, 290.

criticised SI a lot because it was considered disloyal to the Dutch East Indies government. One of the posts on *Oetoesan Melajoe* – the newspaper Kaum Tua Adat – once stated that SI had invited people to raise the Turkish flag in the Dutch East Indies.[51] The old people did this to show that SI was a dangerous organisation for the Dutch colonial order.

Haji Agus Salim (1884-1954) from West Sumatra, who took part in Java, was also active in many organisations and journalism. Agus Salim also raised many real problems faced by the community and avoided non-essential debates (*furuiyyah*). One of the writings of Agus Salim in *Hindia Baroe* shows that Young People are also very concerned about women's issues. He defended Islam from accusations that it does not care about women. One of Agus Salim's writings is defending Islam from the allegations of a Javanese aristocratic woman, Raden Ajeng Kartini, who thinks Islam does not care about women.[52]

In addition to his aspirations in Islam, Haji Agus Salim was also involved in the socialist movement. Agus Salim's writing in *Hindia Baroe* shows that socialism and Islam are not contradictory because, according to Agus Salim, "Allah made us from one man and one woman to many men and women; divided into nationalities, and villages (*sjoe'oeban waqabail*) that we may prosper God's earth for the sustenance of all men." For this reason, continued Agus Salim, Islam does not nourish "one nation over, enslaving another nation."[53] This writing is made by Haji Agus Salim in the context of the World Labor Day celebrations commemorated every May 1.

Many young people have established various educational institutions that have an essential role in social transformation. For example, Shaykh al-Hadi, a young person from Malaya, was active in the education movement. He was active as a secretary at the Arabic School. An editor of *The Guardian*, Mr. E. A. Marican described the school led by Shaykh al-Hadi as a modern school with teachers who graduated from Al-Azhar, Cairo. The subjects taught in this school are also religious and non-religious subjects, such as Algebra, Arithmetic, Geography, Logic, and Science. In addition, E.A. Marican also stated that this school teaches English. He further stated, "Mr Syed Shaik Alhadi assures me that lessons in English will be included in the school's curriculum from next month, the services of a qualified teacher having already been secured."[54]

In the Dutch East Indies, the Sumatra Thawalib School (formerly Surau Jembatan Besi) was one of the schools established by young people in West Sumatra. This school was established by adopting a modern curriculum. Unlike the traditional Islamic boarding school, which only focuses on one or two areas of specialisation, Sumatra Thawalib teaches all religious lessons.[55] One of the most famous Sumatran Thawalib schools is in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra. Then, according to Taufik Abdullah, the model of Sumatra Thawalib School founded by Young People increased after the 1920s; even in the Sumatran School Thawalib also widely used various kinds of books, such as books from Al-Ghazali, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sina, Muhammad Abduh, and Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani.[56]

In addition, the Muhammadiyah organisation, founded by Ahmad Dahlan in Java, has also spread to West Sumatra. One of the figures who became the driving force of Muhammadiyah in West Sumatra was Haji Rasul, a well-known Youth figure who was a student of Ahmad Khatib Minangkabawi. In addition, there is also the Adabiyah School founded by Haji

[51] "Penghoeloe-Penghoeloe Mengadoe," *Oetoesan Melajoe*, March 5, 1917, 1.
[52] H.A. Salim, Perempoean dalam Islam. *Hindia Baroe*. 1925, April 18, 2.
[53] Salim, Perempoean dalam Islam, 1.
[54] A. Marican, "The Arabic School and Syed Shaikh al-Hadi," *The Guardian*, December 1919, 675.
[55] Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics,* 56.
[56] Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics,* 59

Abdullah Ahmad, which is worried by the Indigenous Elders. According to the Elders, this school is concerning because it tends to be anti-order.[57] The Indigenous Elders Group was then worried about the schools established by the Muda. They also tried to create a rival school.

Conclusion

The Young People are a progressive group from the Malay Archipelago who want significant social change in the colony. This group is divided into Islamic Youth and Indigenous Youth. The Islamic Youth Group was significantly influenced by the teachings of the Egyptian Islamic reformer Muhammad Abduh. Through the intellectual network of scholars, the Jawi scholars in the Hijaz, such as Ahmad Khatib Minangkabawi, played an essential role in spreading the renewal of Islam to the Malay Archipelago through their disciples. These Jawi students were the product of modernisation by the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya since the 19th century.

Furthermore, economic and infrastructure modernisation efforts undertaken by the colonial government in the Malay Archipelago have helped integrate port cities and hinterland, making it easier for Jawi students to access education. Shipping business activities in the Malay Archipelago also helped strengthen the connection between the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East, so that Islamic renewal ideas brought by the Young People could spread widely in the Dutch and British colonies in Southeast Asia. For this reason, in this article, the author argues that the modernisation carried out by the Dutch and British colonial governments in the Malay Archipelago had a positive impact on the spread of Islamic renewal and encouraged the Young People to continue to carry out ideological expansion that threatened the existence of the Elders, namely indigenous groups and traditionalist scholars. The Youth Group was increasingly able to push the position of the Old People, who previously had powerful authority in Malay Archipelago society. The programs owned by the Young People seem more practical than those of the Elderly. The primary concern of the Young People was very much directed towards the social improvement of education, inspired by the reform ideas undertaken by Muhammad Abduh in Egypt.

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[57] Soetan Mangkoeto. “Adat di Tanah Besar.” *Oetoesan Melajoe*, January 31, 1917, 2.

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