

## Islamic Reform in Pre-Independence Malaysia: Revisiting the Stance of Selected *Kaum Tua Ulama*

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### Abstract

In pre-independence Malaysia, a wave of Islamic reform spearheaded by the *Kaum Muda* catalysed the spread of reformist ideas in the Malay Peninsula. *Kaum Muda*'s efforts to advocate for a purer form of Islam and foster societal progress elicited varied responses from the *Kaum Tua* ulama who had long held influence in the Malay Peninsula. While many studies have depicted the *Kaum Tua* as conservative, often opposing the reformist agenda of the *Kaum Muda*, this article seeks to explore the stances of five selected *Kaum Tua* ulama, namely Tok Kenali, Abdullah Fahim, Tuan Hussain Kedah, Idris al-Marbawi, and Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi who held different stances on the Islamic reform movement, despite being each being classified within the *Kaum Tua* camp. This qualitative study draws upon primary sources, including *Kaum Tua* writings featured in *Pengasuh*, as well as notable works such as *al-Iqaz*, *Tanbih al-Ikhwan*, *Nizam al-Hayah*, and *Malaya dalam Bahaya*. These texts were analysed using content analysis to interpret the *Kaum Tua*'s stances specifically their voice in navigating the Islamic reform waves from the early 20th century to the nation's independence. The findings reveal that the five selected *Kaum Tua* ulama despite maintaining a conservative stance on religious matters, actively supported Malay socio-economic and political advancement — a position that parallels the reformist efforts of the *Kaum Muda*.

Keywords: Islamic Literature; Islamic Reform; *Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua*; Malay Traditionalist; Malay World

### Introduction

A reformist movement emerged in the Malay world in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century led by individuals influenced by Islamic reformist ideas from the Middle East. Known as the *Kaum Muda* (Young Faction), this group advocated for Islamic reform (*islah*) in religion thought and practice. The movement arose in response to the significant challenges faced by the Malay community, which had fallen behind economically, socially, and politically compared to other ethnic groups. The Malays struggled to secure a stable standard of living, while colonial powers had taken over political control. According to *al-Imam* magazine published in 1908, these conditions stemmed from the Malay community's attitudes of laziness and complacency, neglecting knowledge and meaningful actions. The magazine critiqued the Malays for focusing on superficial matters and relying on unrealistic expectations and superstitions, rather than pursuing substantive progress.<sup>1</sup>

According to *al-Ikhwan* magazine, the *Kaum Muda* represented a new faction that called for a return to the Qur'an and Hadith as solutions to the socio-political and intellectual stagnation afflicting the Malay-Muslim community.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, they rejected traditional Islamic practices

inherited from earlier generations, particularly adherence to specific schools of thought (*madhhab*) and blind imitation (*taqlid*). Abu Bakar Ashaari, a prominent advocate of the *Kaum Muda* movement, emphasized that such rejection stemmed from the Islamic imperative for critical thinking and independent reasoning (*ijtihad*) to address contemporary issues of religious jurisprudence.<sup>3</sup> Aljunied further summarizes that the *Kaum Muda* movement urged the Malay community to abandon cultural customs, practices, and religious rituals deemed to contain elements of superstition, myths, or religious innovations. The *Kaum Muda* were also fervent in raising awareness about the backwardness faced by society, promoting reformist ideas through magazines and newspapers. Their efforts focused on advocating for knowledge acquisition, championing women's rights and emancipation, fostering political awareness, and encouraging local socio-economic development.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, the *Kaum Tua* (Old Faction), as defined by Thompson, refers to a group that sought a return to traditional religious practices and explicitly rejected modernist ideas.<sup>5</sup> Roff portrays the *Kaum Tua* ulama as being deeply rooted in customary religious beliefs and elements of magical thinking, within a largely subsistence-based village economy. Such socio-religious conditions, according to Roff, rendered them either openly antagonistic toward, or at least inherently suspicious of the ideological foundations of Islamic reformism.<sup>6</sup> Thus, *Kaum Tua* represent a conservative faction within Islamic scholarship, emphasizing the preservation of traditional religious practices and teachings passed down through generations.<sup>7</sup> Their educational backgrounds were from traditional systems, such as local *pondok* (traditional Islamic education institution) or Islamic education institutes in Mecca, distinguishing their intellectual approach from that of the *Kaum Muda*.<sup>8</sup> The *Kaum Tua*'s framework of thought is deeply rooted in the classical Islamic text (*turath*) educational system, which relies on established sources of Islamic law, namely the Quran, hadith, *ijma'* (consensus), and *qiyas* (analogical reasoning).<sup>9</sup> *Kaum Tua* ulama advocated adherence to a single school of thought in jurisprudence, particularly the Shafi'i madhhab, along with theological principles derived from Abu Hasan al-Ash'ari and Sufi teachings influenced by Imam al-Ghazali.<sup>10</sup> They promoted the principle of *taqlid* (adherence to established legal rulings), permitting *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) only to those who attain the status of a *mujtahid* (qualified jurist). When addressing new issues requiring legal rulings, the *Kaum Tua* prefer referred to the *ijtihad* of earlier scholars as a means of resolution.<sup>11</sup>

While historians as noted earlier, have often portrayed the *Kaum Tua* as predominantly conservative and resistant to reformist movements, several *Kaum Tua* ulama demonstrated different stances. Among these were Tok Kenali, Abdullah Fahim, Tuan Hussain Kedah, Idris al-Marbawi, and Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi. This type of *Kaum Tua* ulama remained doctrinally conservative, while fulfilling the essential characteristics of traditionalism, yet responded positively to the Islamic reform movement that had gained momentum in the Malay world since the early 20th century through their writings. Therefore, this article seeks to revisit the stances of these five selected *Kaum Tua* ulama during the wave of Islamic reform, with the aim of uncovering the roots of their diversity.

### **The Background of Five Selected *Kaum Tua* Ulama**

The five *Kaum Tua* ulama discussed here include Muhammad Yusuf bin Ahmad, better known as Tok Kenali (1868–1933). Born in Kampung Kenali, located in Kubang Kerian, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, he hailed from a devout farming family. Tok Kenali received his early education in Kota Bharu at the age of ten, studying Islamic sciences under prominent ulama such as Tuan Guru Asy-Syaikh Muhammad Ali bin Abdul Rahman (Wan Ali Kutan), Tuan Guru Haji Taib Tuan Padang, Tuan Guru Haji Ibrahim Sungai Budor, Tuan Tabal, and Haji Nik Wan Daud Kubang Pasu.<sup>12</sup> He later pursued his studies in Mecca around 1886, where he resided for nearly 20 years and studied under a prominent Malay ulama, Wan Ahmad bin Wan Muhammad Zain bin Wan Mustafa al-Fatani which also known

as Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani (1856–1908).<sup>13</sup>

Tok Kenali's close association with Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani led to their close ties in addressing the intellectual conflict between Shaykh Muhammad Abduh and Shaykh Yusuf al-Nabhani.<sup>14</sup> This experience exposed Tok Kenali to the evolving intellectual discourses of Islamic reformism emerging in Egypt. As a result, Tok Kenali developed an interest that diverged from traditional ulama of the time. He avidly read reformist newspapers and magazines such as *al-Urwah al-Wuthqa* and *al-Manar*.<sup>15</sup> Although Tok Kenali had a keen interest in reading newspapers and magazines authored by the reformist, he did not show any particular inclination toward their views on Islamic jurisprudence. Preferring to avoid involvement in controversial and sensitive issues, he remained silent when disputes arose between *Kaum Muda* and *Kaum Tua* regarding matters such as *talkin* (funeral prayers) and the concept of impurity concerning dog saliva, which became contentious in Kelantan during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>16</sup>

Tok Kenali's position as a prominent *Kaum Tua* ulama was evident in his pivotal role in establishing the Majlis Agama dan Adat Istiadat Kelantan on 24 December 1915. This institution, led by *Kaum Tua* ulama including Tok Kenali, subsequently restricted the circulation of *Kaum Muda* publications such as the magazine *al-Ikhwān* and the newspaper *Saudara* in 1929.<sup>17</sup>

Next was Abdullah bin Ibrahim bin Muhammad Tahir bin Kamaluddin, more widely known as Shaykh Abdullah Fahim (1879–1961). He was born in Mecca, where he also received his education. During his time there, he studied under several renowned Malay scholars, including Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik al-Fatani (1844–1915), Syed Wan Ali bin Abdur Rahman Kutan al-Kelantani (1837–1913), and Shaykh Uthman Sarawak (1863–1921). Upon his return to Malaya in 1916, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim became a prominent figure frequently consulted by Malay leaders, including Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Hajj (1903–1990), particularly in determining the date for Malaysia's independence.<sup>18</sup>

Shaykh Abdullah Fahim's stance in favour of the *Kaum Tua* became evident when he served as the Mufti of Penang from 1951 to 1956. During this time, he emphasized that the Islamic tradition in Malaya was deeply rooted in the *Ahl Sunnah Waljamaah* sect as translated below:

“Now, a Khawarij sect has emerged in Malaya, a sect deviating from the four Sunni schools of thought. Their aim is to confuse the understanding of the people and dismantle the unity of the true Malay race... Malays must not be deceived by their provocations.”<sup>19</sup>

Interestingly, the *Kaum Muda* was not explicitly mentioned in Shaykh Abdullah Fahim's statement. Following this, *al-Qalam* magazine sent representatives to investigate the reasons behind his remarks. According to *al-Qalam*, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim's comments were likely a response to the activities of Ibrahim Aqibi, a *Kaum Muda* preacher in Penang, who advocated adherence to the Quran and Hadith while firmly opposing religious innovations. As a result, *al-Qalam* criticized Shaykh Abdullah Fahim's statement, arguing that equating the *Kaum Muda* with the term “Khawarij sect” was unwarranted and misleading.<sup>20</sup>

In northern Malaysia, particularly in Kedah, Tuan Hussain Kedah (1863-1963), whose full name was Hussain bin Muhammad Nasir bin Muhammad Taib al-Mas'udi, was a prominent *Kaum Tua* ulama renowned for his contributions to education. He was born in Titi Gajah, Kedah, on 2 November 1863, and was a sixth-generation descendant of the esteemed Islamic scholar Shaykh Muhammad Arshad bin Abdullah al-Banjari (1710-1812), the author of the seminal work *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. Tuan Hussain received his early education from his grandfather, Haji Muhammad Taib bin Haji Mas'ud, a well-known scholar in Kedah during the late 19th century and the founder of a *pondok*

school in Titi Gajah in 1870. In 1881 at the age of 19, Tuan Hussain pursued further studies in Patani, where he learned under several prominent scholars, including Tok Khurasan (1875-1944) and Tuan Tabal (1840-1894), at established *pondok* institutions. In 1892, Tuan Hussain Kedah continued his studies in Mecca, where he was mentored by renowned scholars such as Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani and Tok Kenali.<sup>21</sup>

His alignment with the *Kaum Tua* school of thought is evident in his dedication to establishing *pondok* schools in Kedah, including Alor Ganu, Bohor, Bagan Ulu, Sungai Limau, and Padang Lumat, as well as the Pokok Sena *pondok* in Seberang Perai.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, his commitment to *Kaum Tua* principles is reflected in his authorship of classical Islamic works that adhering to traditional Islamic thought. These include *al-Nur al-Mustafid fi 'Aqa'id Ahl al-Tawhid* (on theology), *Qatr al-Ghaythiyyah* (on Sufism), and *Majmu' al-La'ali* (on Islamic jurisprudence).<sup>23</sup> One notable example of Tuan Hussain's stance is his work, *Hidayat al-Sibyan fi Ma'rifat al-Islam wa al-Iman*, a classical Islamic text deeply rooted in the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and written in *jawi* script. The book is structured into two primary sections. The first section delves into theology, aligning with the Ash'arite creed sect, and provides an explanation of the twenty obligatory attributes (*sifat wajib*) of Allah.<sup>24</sup> The second section focuses on matters of *ibadah* (worship), covering topics such as purification (*taharah*), prayer (*salat*), fasting (*sawm*), almsgiving (*zakat*), and pilgrimage (*hajj*). The text exclusively adheres to the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence, highlighting its enduring influence among the Malay Muslim community and avoiding the integration of perspectives from other schools of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>25</sup>

Another prominent *Kaum Tua* ulama was Muhammad Idris bin Abdul Rauf al-Marbawi (hereafter al-Marbawi) born in Mecca in 1893. The title "al-Marbawi" was derived from the name of his family's ancestral village, Lubuk Merbau, in Kuala Kangsar, Perak, Malaysia. Al-Marbawi started his early education in Mecca where he memorized the Quran by the age of 4. In 1903 his family returned to Malaysia and he enrolled at the Malay School in Lubuk Merbau, Perak. His pursuit of Islamic knowledge continued at the Pondok Shaykh Wan Muhammad in Bukit Chandan, Kuala Langsa and then to study under Tuan Hussain al-Mas'udi in Kedah. He furthered his education at the Pondok Shaykh Ahmad al-Fathani in Bukit Mertajam and later at the renowned Pondok Tok Kenali in Kelantan. He continued his studies in Islamic sciences at Al-Azhar University in 1924 and successfully obtained a *Shahadah 'Aliyah*, equivalent to a first-class degree, in Islamic Sharia. Al-Marbawi was a prolific scholar and produced many influential works including *Kamus al-Marbawi* (Arabic-Malay dictionary), *Bulughul Mahram* (Hadith compilation), *Bahr al-Mazi* (Hadith commentary), and *Tafsir Nurul Yaqin* (Quranic exegesis).<sup>26</sup> He was awarded an Honorary Diploma in Doctor of Law from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and also honoured with the Tokoh Maal Hijrah Kebangsaan award in 1987.<sup>27</sup>

Although some historians have categorized al-Marbawi as part of the *Kaum Muda* movement, this study takes a contrary stance. Al-Marbawi is clearly aligned with the *Kaum Tua* based on his writings, particularly in the prefaces he contributed to works by *Kaum Tua* ulama. For instance, in the forewords of *al-Mazhab atau Tiada Bermazhab* and *Sinaran Matahari* by Abdul Qadir al-Mandili (1910–1965), al-Marbawi praised both works, which was direct responses to the rise of *Kaum Muda* ideologies in the 1950s. *Al-Mazhab atau Tiada Bermazhab* counters the anti-*madhhab* stance advocated by the *Kaum Muda* figure Ahmad Hassan (1887–1958) from Bandung. In the preface to *al-Mazhab atau Tiada Bermazhab*, al-Marbawi commended the book for its clarity, strong arguments, and its ability to serve as a guide for students of knowledge, describing it as replete with clear evidence and strong reasoning, a beacon for seekers of knowledge.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, *Sinaran Matahari* addresses the controversial ideas of Abu Bakar al-Ashaari, a *Kaum Muda* ulama from Penang, whose 1957 book, *Ibadah Rasulullah*, sparked debates with unconventional fatwas, such as permitting the consumption

of snakes and monitor lizards. In the concluding section of this book, al-Marbawi emphasizes that the religious practices upheld within its pages are firmly supported by strong arguments derived from the four primary sources of Islamic jurisprudence. Consequently, al-Marbawi commended the book and encouraged Muslims to read and take heed of its contents, highlighting its relevance and significance in understanding and practicing Islamic teachings.<sup>29</sup>

Next is Muhammad Fadhlullah bin Muhammad al-Suhaimi (hereafter Fadhlullah Suhaimi) (1886–1964) who was born on Pahang Street in Kampung Glam, Singapore. His parents hailed from Indonesia and were descendants of al-Syaibani, a lineage tracing back to *Ahl al-Bayt* (the holy family of Prophet Muhammad PBUH).<sup>30</sup> During his youth, Fadhlullah Suhaimi pursued his education in Indonesia before continuing his studies in Klang, Selangor, and later in Mecca. In 1911, Fadhlullah Suhaimi began his undergraduate studies at al-Azhar University in Cairo, completing his degree within four years. After graduation, he returned to Singapore and, in 1918, traveled to Java, Indonesia, where he established an Arabic school, *Madrasah al-Maarif*, in Wosonobo, East Java, and contributed to the founding of *Madrasah al-Hidayah* in Garut, West Java. In 1936, Fadhlullah Suhaimi established *Madrasah al-Maarif al-Islamiah* in Singapore, which was followed by the founding of *Kulliyah al-Firdaus* in 1938 and *Madrasah al-Ridhwan* on Jalan Madrasah, Singapore, in 1940. His influence extended beyond Singapore as he co-founded *Madrasah Naim li al-Banat*, a school for girls in Kota Bharu, Kelantan, in 1942.<sup>31</sup> His efforts reflect his dedication to advancing Islamic education and the intellectual development of the Muslim community in the region. His contributions to Islamic scholarship were remarkable as he authored several influential works, including *Tarikh al-Islam* (Islamic history), *Kamus Arab-Melayu* (an Arabic-Malay dictionary), and *Tarikh al-Quran* (history of the Quran). He also regularly wrote articles for Malay magazines in the 1950s and delivered lectures through radio broadcasts, making a profound impact on Islamic education and intellectual discourse in the region.<sup>32</sup>

It is noteworthy that during Fadhlullah Suhaimi's studies in Egypt, the intellectual landscape was influenced by prominent Islamic reformist scholars. This influence is reflected in his establishment of various madrasah, a departure from the traditional *pondok* schools typically founded by other *Kaum Tua* ulama. However, this influence seems to have been limited to educational methodology, as Fadhlullah Suhaimi remained steadfast in adhering to the *Kaum Tua*'s theological principles in religious matters. This adherence is evident in his work, *Kitab Menyatakan Asas Mazhab Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*, which emphasizes the principles of *Kaum Tua* thought in Islam. Additionally, he authored *Sinaran Matahari: Pada Menolak Kitab Ibadah Karangan Abu Bakar Ashaari*, a critique supporting Abdul Qadir al-Mandili and rejecting the views of the *Kaum Muda* figure Abu Bakar al-Ash'ari.<sup>33</sup> Notably, Fadhlullah Suhaimi is also remembered for his staunch defence of the *Kaum Tua* ulama's views during the *Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua* debate held in Seberang Perai from 2 to 5 May 1953.<sup>34</sup>

### **The Islamic Reform Ideas of the Five Selected *Kaum Tua Ulama***

Contrary to the common perception of the *Kaum Tua* as resistant to change, these five *Kaum Tua* ulama actively engaged with contemporary challenges. They recognized the evolving socio-political landscape of pre-independence Malaysia but approached it from a perspective of preservation rather than reinterpretation, particularly in religious matters. This approach was grounded in their principles, which were deeply rooted in the classical Islamic text (*turath*) educational system. Despite their steadfast adherence to Islamic traditions, they adopted a progressive and open approach to lead society toward development and advancement. Their role is evident based on their voice and contributions in print media, including both independent works and magazines, which gained prominence during the

pre-independence era.

Tok Kenali was among the earliest *Kaum Tua* ulama to advocate for societal progress. As the chief editor of *Pengasuh*, a magazine that Roff identifies as aligned with the *Kaum Tua* ideology, Tok Kenali utilized the publication to raise awareness and inspire change within the Malay community.<sup>35</sup> In 1918, he openly criticized the passive and unproductive attitudes prevalent among the Malays, urging them to learn from the successes of other nations that had achieved significant advancements in governance, economics, and social development. For Tok Kenali, the key to societal success lay in cultivating high aspirations and translating them into tangible actions that benefit the community. This perspective is reflected in the following translated excerpt:

“We are among those who fail to engage in actions that bring benefit to our race and community. If we observe those who came before and those who now thrive in high standards of living and governance, spanning land and sea... they are outwardly like us. Yet, their lofty aspirations and enduring acts of kindness have brought significant benefits to their race and community, rendering them prosperous and enabling them to achieve all that they strive for in every field.”<sup>36</sup>

Tok Kenali also raised awareness among the Malay community regarding the criticisms levelled by foreign nations against the people of the Malay Peninsula. In response, he urged society to improve the image and identity of the Malay race through actions and practices that reflect values of goodness and progress. He emphasized the importance of avoiding behaviours that could reinforce negative perceptions held by outsiders about the Malay community. In this regard, Tok Kenali highlighted comparisons with other nations, particularly in terms of governance, customs, and interactions with religious scholars, which were perceived as being more refined and organized. This perspective is evident in the following excerpt:

“It is incumbent upon us to engage in endeavours that do not portray us as a nation lacking virtue... If we cannot surpass them, then at the very least, we must not fall below their standards and should strive to be on equal footing with them.”<sup>37</sup>

In *Pengasuh*, Tok Kenali also questioned the state of the Malay community, which he described as lacking in many aspects, underscoring the need for mutual support. He highlighted the importance of establishing locally-owned media, such as newspapers, in every state in the Malay Peninsula. Such media, he argued, would serve not only as a communication platform, but also as a tool to foster collaboration and ensure that collective efforts yield benefits for the nation, race, and religion. Tok Kenali emphasized that newspapers should not be limited to merely disseminating information, but should also serve as a medium to promote unity and coordinated action.<sup>38</sup> In another article, Tok Kenali once again urged the Malay community to unite and collaborate to achieve collective well-being. He stated that finding a leader or figure who possesses both knowledge and wealth—qualities deemed essential for leading and improving society—would be challenging during that period. Therefore, he encouraged the community to collaborate in developing capable and qualified leaders to address the societal challenges of that time.<sup>39</sup>

According to Faisal, Tok Kenali’s contributions to *Pengasuh* were relatively limited, amounting to only about seven articles in 1918.<sup>40</sup> This was largely due to his demanding responsibilities, which prevented him from fully assuming the editorship role, leading to his replacement by Muhammad Said, who served as editor from 1919 to 1933.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, Tok Kenali’s writings in *Pengasuh* reflected his approach of offering constructive advice rather than offensive criticism, aiming to persuade Malay

readers to value knowledge and uphold their cultural identity. While his writings carried elements of Islamic reform with a social focus, they notably refrained from addressing contentious religious issues. This approach likely stemmed from his exposure to reformist Islamic publications from the Middle East, which influenced his perspective without compromising his adherence to classical Islamic traditions.

Shaykh Abdullah Fahim also voiced significant reformist ideas. Although his body of work was not extensive, his reformist call is evident in a notable piece titled *Al-Iqaz*. In the introduction to this work, his son, Abdullah Badawi, explained that it was composed to be read by khatibs in mosques as a means of raising awareness about the condition of the Muslim community at the time, particularly in the state of Penang.<sup>42</sup> In *Al-Iqaz*, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim expressed his deep regret over the stagnation and backwardness of the Malay community, highlighting their excessive dependence on others to accomplish tasks. He attributed this state of affairs to the apathy and laziness prevalent among certain segments of the society, which had left them trailing behind other communities. This perspective is clearly reflected in his statement as translated as below:

“Indeed, the foreign nations in your land have advanced far ahead... How frozen is your spirit, how weak your resolve, and how complacent and lazy you have become.”<sup>43</sup>

Shaykh Abdullah Fahim identified apathy and indifference as critical issues hindering economic potential within the Malay community. According to him, such attitudes led to a lack of awareness about local economic opportunities, ultimately allowing foreigners to exploit the nation's wealth. In response, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim urged the community to adopt a proactive approach, stating as translated below:

“Arise with determination and work diligently to rescue those in hardship and poverty. There is no path forward except through relentless struggle and determined action.”<sup>44</sup>

He further encouraged the community to aspire towards economic growth by harnessing and utilizing natural resources effectively. This reflects his forward-thinking vision for the future of society. Shaykh Abdullah Fahim emphasized that economic development aligns with religious principles, as God has created all that exists on earth for human endeavour, ensuring that such efforts benefit the broader society.<sup>45</sup> Shaykh Abdullah Fahim indeed critiqued certain attitudes, particularly stereotypes within the Malay community, where a misunderstanding of destiny discouraged individuals from striving to improve their standard of living. Instead, they relied solely on accepting fate as predetermined, without making any active efforts to change their circumstances. Furthermore, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim emphasized the societal responsibility toward the homeland, interpreting it as a religious obligation, which he deemed as *fardhu*. He argued that this responsibility must be fulfilled through the development of infrastructure and institutions, such as mosques, roads, and vocational schools, as symbols of unity and to facilitate economic and social activities.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim's works embody a harmonious integration of religious principles with pragmatic reformist voice of *Kaum Muda*. Grounded in his profound understanding of Islam, he underscored the significance of collective responsibility in confronting the challenges faced by the Malay Muslim community. His ideas emphasized the necessity of active engagement and strategic planning in fostering economic development, strengthening social cohesion, and advancing infrastructure, framing these efforts as essential religious duties. This reflects his deep concern for their socio-economic conditions and his aspiration to inspire self-reliance and progress within the

community.

Other than Tok Kenali and Shaykh Abdullah Fahim, Tuan Hussain Kedah also articulated progressive ideas in his work *Tanbih al-Ikhwan*. This book, written in 1936, was commissioned by the Raja Muda of Perak at the time, Raja Abdul Aziz Ibni Almarhum Raja Muda Musa I. In the introductory section, Raja Abdul Aziz explained the purpose behind the work, stating as translated below:

“For a long time, we have desired to issue a piece of advice for the benefit of the Malay community in the state of Perak, which may be useful for advancing their religious and socio-economic life. However, due to our own limitations, we were unable to fulfil this aim until we met Shaykh Hussain Nasir bin Muhammad Taib al-Mas‘udi, a religious teacher from the state of Kedah.”<sup>47</sup>

This acknowledgment underscores the trust placed in Tuan Hussain Kedah’s intellectual capabilities and his ability to address the needs of the Malay-Muslim society. Therefore, in *Tanbih al-Ikhwan*, Tuan Hussain Kedah emphasized that the success of any endeavour would be fundamentally dependent on knowledge, careful planning, and systematic execution. This perspective also serves as a reminder of the critical importance of education and experience as foundational elements in undertaking actions or making informed decisions.<sup>48</sup>

To address the economic crisis, Tuan Hussain Kedah emphasized the importance of active involvement in the agricultural sector, particularly in rice cultivation. According to him, rice cultivation serves as a critical mechanism for ensuring food security. This is because rice not only guarantees a staple food supply for the population but also provides a basis for producing various other food products. He highlighted examples from countries like Thailand and India, where agricultural activities have significantly improved household economic resources through the sale of agricultural produce. He explained this as translated follows:

“In regions such as Siam and India, the cultivation of rice, wheat, legumes, spices, chili, and onions has contributed significantly to their wealth and prosperity. These agricultural activities have enabled these nations to achieve economic sufficiency and sustain government expenditures due to the dedication of their people to these forms of farming... It is appropriate for those who cultivate and develop new lands in Malay and Sumatran territories to prioritize rice cultivation, as it is considered the king of all crops in these regions. Furthermore, rice serves as a staple food that sustains the population across the Malay states. It is a highly blessed crop with enduring value, capable of being transformed into various forms of nourishment.”<sup>49</sup>

Tuan Hussain Kedah advocated for active participation in trade and entrepreneurship to strengthen the economic foundation of the Malay community. He emphasized the importance of establishing appropriate business infrastructure, such as shops or commercial complexes, tailored to the population size of a given area. This reflects his strategic approach in balancing demand and supply, ensuring the sustainability of businesses while minimizing excessive competition among traders. According to Tuan Hussain, such initiatives would foster balanced economic development, extending beyond urban centres to rural areas, ultimately contributing to more equitable economic growth across regions. The presence of shops or business centres would not only make goods and services more accessible to local communities but also improve the overall quality of life.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Tuan Hussain underscored that trade and entrepreneurship are not merely economic endeavours, but also acts of spiritual significance.

He stressed the importance of honesty and trustworthiness in business practices, qualities integral to a Muslim trader's ethical conduct. He supported his argument by citing several hadiths that highlight the virtues of honest and trustworthy traders, who are promised to be in the company of the Prophet, the *siddiqin* (truthful), and martyrs on the Day of Judgment.<sup>51</sup>

Al-Marbawi also articulated ideas for advancing Malay society in his book *Nizam al-Hayah*. Written in Cairo, Egypt, the book was completed on June 24, 1938, and later disseminated in Malaya by his students. According to al-Marbawi, the book was written in response to the dire condition of the Muslim community, which he described as chaotic due to Western colonization, leaving them unable to achieve success either in this world or in the hereafter.<sup>52</sup> One of the key pillars of progress, as outlined by al-Marbawi, is hard work and diligence. He explained that hard work involves striving earnestly to achieve one's objectives, while diligence requires avoiding laziness and apathy. These principles highlight the importance of maintaining an active and determined attitude in the pursuit of success. Al-Marbawi emphasized this idea as translated follows:

“Hard work entails striving earnestly for something with determination and persistence, while diligence means avoiding feelings of disinterest or idleness. In simple terms, diligence can be understood as never ceasing work and continuously seeking productivity. For example, if one is not writing, one should be reading; if one is not reading, one should be clearing weeds with a machete or sweeping the house. If not engaged in labour, one should perform ablution and proceed to prayer.”<sup>53</sup>

This passage encapsulates al-Marbawi's vision of a productive society driven by tireless effort and multifaceted engagement, whether through intellectual pursuits, physical labour, or spiritual devotion. To sustain this progressive spirit, al-Marbawi emphasized that the second pillar of progress lies in not giving up or becoming disheartened when faced with challenges such as financial losses, unfulfilled plans, illness, or other obstacles. Instead, individuals are encouraged to view these challenges as part of Allah's divine decree.<sup>54</sup> This perspective fosters resilience, prompting individuals to seek solutions, refine strategies, and learn from past mistakes. At the societal level, this mindset contributes to sustainable economic development, as it cultivates a community that is more adaptable and resilient in navigating economic fluctuations and global challenges. Building on this, al-Marbawi highlighted a pillar of progress, as translated below:

“One of the pillars of progress is to avoid engaging in futile activities, for this is a trait of true believers. Futile activities are those that bring no benefit—neither to the body, nor to the soul, spirit, or intellect. In contrast, those who avoid engaging in such activities are diligent in earning a livelihood for themselves, their families, and their dependents.”<sup>55</sup>

In the context of household economics, this excerpt underscores that al-Marbawi highlighted the importance of productivity and effective time management to ensure the financial stability of families. Within this context, when family members focus on meaningful and productive activities, household income is increased, enabling the fulfilment of basic needs such as food, education, and healthcare. Productivity also enhances each household's resilience to economic challenges, such as rising living costs or loss of income sources. Furthermore, prioritizing activities that yield positive outcomes helps families avoid resource waste, whether in terms of time, energy, or financial resources.

In the middle of 1940s, Fadhlullah Suhaimi emerged as a prominent voice advocating Islamic reform, particularly in addressing issues related to the political challenges faced by the Malay community. As part of his efforts, he authored a book titled *Malaya dalam Bahaya* as a response to the establishment of the Malayan Union. The Malayan Union was an administrative plan introduced by the British government after World War II to unify the administration of the states in Malaya. Announced in 1945 and officially implemented on April 1, 1946, its primary aim was to establish a common citizenship leading to a single national identity that transcended ethnic distinctions. Citizenship would be open to all races, and anyone born or intending to reside in the Malayan Union, including British subjects from other colonies.<sup>56</sup> This effectively diminished the recognition of Malays as the indigenous people, placing them on equal footing with Chinese and Indian immigrants. Given the Chinese community's stronger economic position, this arrangement fuelled dissatisfaction among various communities, particularly the Malays, as citizenship and identity became contentious issues.<sup>57</sup>

Regarding this issue, Fadhlullah Suhaimi sought to raise awareness among the Malay community about the dangers posed by the Malayan Union. According to him, the establishment of the Malayan Union resulted in several critical implications. First, the Malay population, numbering around two million at the time, faced increasing marginalization as the non-Malay population continued to grow. This demographic shift, coupled with the *jus soli* (common citizenship) principle of citizenship, threatened the Malays rights and privileges as the indigenous people, potentially leading to the loss of their political and economic majority. Second, the sovereignty and privileges of the Malay rulers, traditionally regarded as the protectors and custodians of Malay rights, were significantly undermined under the new administrative framework. Third, the Malayan Union posed risks to the status and development of Islam in the region. At the time, religious education in Malaya remained underdeveloped, with the focus primarily directed on English-based education. This lack of emphasis on Islamic education raised concerns about its sustainability under the Malayan Union. Similarly, the administration of Shariah courts faced potential interference, creating opportunities for non-Malays to influence the governance of Islamic laws.<sup>58</sup>

In response, Fadhlullah Suhaimi emphasized the urgent need for unity among the Malay community to safeguard their socio-political identity and cultural heritage. He critiqued the fragmented state of the Malay community and stressed the importance of administrative unification to bring all Malays under a single governance structure.<sup>59</sup> He thus advocated for the establishment of a strong political organization as a key instrument for defending their rights and strengthening the Malay nation. A robust political front, equipped with strategic action and intellectual discourse, was seen as a critical mechanism to ensure the safety and continuity of the Malay people.<sup>60</sup> However, Fadhlullah Suhaimi expressed concern and criticized certain attitudes prevalent among the Malays at the time. He described this as translated follows:

“...there is a disease that is difficult to cure within the Malay community, namely the tendency to overvalue, admire, and respect foreign nations. This condition is a grave mistake and detrimental to ourselves. In other words, it dulls the sharpness of our most valuable weapon in the struggle.”<sup>61</sup>

He urged the Malay community to address these shortcomings and instil in Malay children a sense of pride, dedication, and confidence in their own heritage. While the Malay community lagged behind foreign powers, who possessed significant capital and wealth, these resources enabled foreign communities to invest heavily in education, including sending their children abroad to pursue higher learning. In contrast, the Malay community faced financial constraints that hindered access to advanced education and limited their ability to compete on an equal footing with other communities.<sup>62</sup> However,

Fadhullullah Suhaimi emphasized that this issue could be resolved through efforts to strengthen the Malay economy. He underlined the importance of economic empowerment as a critical means to safeguard the socio-political and economic position of the Malay community amid the growing influence of external powers. First, he emphasized the establishment of cooperative enterprises in rural areas, recognizing that much of the economic output in Malaya originates from the villages. By organizing and empowering rural economic activities under a cooperative framework, the Malay community could create a system of economic self-reliance. This approach could be seen as a shield against the economic domination and influence of foreign powers, which posed a threat to the autonomy and survival of the Malay people. Second, Fadhullullah Suhaimi proposed the formation of rubber and coconut plantation cooperatives. These cooperatives would enable the pooling of resources and ensure higher prices for agricultural goods, particularly when marketed beyond local markets.<sup>63</sup> This strategy was designed to curb the inflow of foreign capital into local markets and prevent exploitation by external parties. By organizing their agricultural economy through cooperatives, Malays could secure better economic returns while also reducing their dependency on foreign intermediaries.

In essence, this vision reflects a call for economic empowerment, urging the Malay community to adopt self-sustaining practices and to create robust economic structures that protect them from foreign economic exploitation. This strategy was framed not only as an economic necessity but also as a critical measure to preserve their identity and autonomy in the face of the socio-economic challenges posed by the Malayan Union framework.

Another work, *Wanita dan Politik* was also published by Fadhullullah Suhaimi to clarify women's rights in politics. According to history, Malay women had been actively involved in politics after World War II. The wave of resurgence and awareness had enlivened the politics of the Malay Land, which was previously dominated by the male feudal elites.<sup>64</sup> Women's involvement in politics formally gained momentum when they began joining several national organizations. These included Angkatan Wanita Sedar (AWAS), established as the women's wing of the Malay Nationalist Party (Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya or PKMM), and the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) through its women's branch, Kaum Ibu UMNO (Women's Association of UMNO). Following the collapse of the Malayan Union's administrative framework, Malay women, alongside their male counterparts, united in a shared effort to safeguard the nation's sovereignty and advocate for self-governance.<sup>65</sup>

In his work *Wanita dan Politik*, Fadhullullah addressed the reactions of the Singapore and Kelantan Islamic Religious Councils, which prohibited women from participating in politics. These restrictions, according to Fadhullullah, were well-intentioned, aiming to prevent unrestricted interaction between men and women, which could lead to potential moral discord, particularly for married women. However, according to Fadhullullah Suhaimi, the prohibition was misunderstood.<sup>66</sup> Thus, to provide guidance for women interested in engaging in political activities, Fadhullullah authored this work, encouraging their participation by drawing upon historical examples of Muslim women involved in political life, such as Aisha, the wife of Prophet Muhammad.<sup>67</sup> However, he outlined specific conditions for women's involvement in politics. These included the prohibition of women from seeking general governing authority (*al-Wilayah al-Ammah*),<sup>68</sup> the requirement to obtain their husband's consent before participating, and the necessity of refraining from demanding equal rights in areas explicitly governed by Islamic law, such as divorce rights.<sup>69</sup>

### Stances of the Five Selected *Kaum Tua Ulama*

Based on the above analysis, this study identifies the five selected stances of the *Kaum Tua Ulama* during the waves of Islamic reform in early 20th-century as being characterised by a call for social advancement. Firstly, engagement in print media with calls for reformation. While print media was commonly used by *Kaum Muda* ulama to voice their dissatisfaction and promote ideas of Islamic reformation, *Kaum Tua* ulama also leveraged this medium to convey their reformist messages. Influenced by the growing use of print media, publications such as *Pengasuh*, *Tanbih al-Ikhwān*, and *Nizam al-Hayah* became platforms for addressing issues like moral decay, the importance of education, and economic reform. These publications allowed the *Kaum Tua* ulama to disseminate their ideas widely and effectively to a broader audience.

Secondly, raising awareness about the plight of the Malay community. Like the *Kaum Muda*, *Kaum Tua* ulama took active measures to address the socio-economic challenges faced by the Malays. They utilized print media, including books and magazines, and employed public platforms such as Friday sermons.<sup>70</sup> For instance, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim's works named as *al-Iqaz* was specifically written as a sermon text intended to raise awareness among local communities about their socio-political conditions.

Thirdly, addressing economic stagnation. These five selected *Kaum Tua* ulama and especially Shaykh Abdullah Fahim, al-Marbawi, and Tuan Hussain Kedah emphasized the need for Malays to engage in agriculture, trade, and cooperative business ventures. These efforts were aimed at fostering self-reliance and reducing dependency on foreign economic powers, which they considered essential to safeguarding the socio-political status of the Malay-Muslim community.

Fourthly, they were responding to contemporary societal issues. For instance, Fadhlullah Suhaimi vocally opposed the Malayan Union, arguing that it threatened Malay rights and sovereignty. Additionally, he provided guidelines for women participating in politics in response to controversies surrounding the prohibition of women's political involvement, advocating for their engagement within the framework of Islamic principles.

Fifthly, promoting nationalism through calls for unity. The *Kaum Tua* ulama subtly fostered nationalist sentiments by urging the Malay community to unite. Figures including Tok Kenali and Shaykh Abdullah Fahim emphasized the importance of competing with foreign powers to safeguard Malay rights and identity.

This is where their distinction from other *Kaum Tua* becomes evident. Although often characterised as traditionalists, these selected *Kaum Tua* figures were not wholly conservative in their outlook. In addressing the social, economic, and political challenges faced by the Malay community, they aligned—at least in principle—with the *Kaum Muda* in advocating for societal progress and in seeking solutions to overcome stagnation. They believed that societal transformation should occur within the framework of traditional Islamic norms, emphasizing change without the need for reinterpretation of religious principles while steadfastly adhering to teachings inherited from previous generations. Consequently, they refrained from advocating for reform in religious matters, as they regarded the existing religious practices in the Malay Archipelago as consistent with established Islamic jurisprudence. At the same time, their active participation in practical reforms reflected that the *Kaum Tua* were not inherently opposed to modernization.

In the case of Tok Kenali, Shaykh Abdullah Fahim, and Tuan Hussain Kedah, their stance can be traced back to their close teacher-disciple relationship with Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani. Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani was a prominent scholar who preceded the *Kaum Muda* movement in advocating for Islamic reform, particularly through his seminal work *Hadiqah al-Azhar wa al-Rayahin*, which was completed in 1889. Drawing upon his educational experiences in Baitul Maqdis, Egypt, and

Mecca, Shaykh Ahmad witnessed firsthand how other nations utilised knowledge to strengthen their social, economic, and technological foundations. This experience led him to openly criticise the backwardness of the Malay community, who, in his view, had become negligent toward knowledge, and he called upon both the ruling elite and society at large to revive and uphold education. At the same time, he also championed political awareness and inspired a spirit of nationalism to resist colonial domination, which had long exploited the Malay world—an outcome he believed was rooted in the people’s disregard for knowledge.<sup>71</sup> These reformist aspirations were conveyed through a call for self-reflection and societal awakening, serving as a catalyst for the transformative vision he sought to cultivate within the Malay-Muslim world.

Meanwhile, both Idris al-Marbawi and Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi received their advanced education at al-Azhar University, which at the time served as a melting pot for *Kaum Muda* thought.<sup>72</sup> This exposure to reformist discourse, along with their academic immersion in one of the most prestigious Islamic institutions of the era, significantly shaped their intellectual outlook and positioned them more favourably towards ideas of Islamic reform. Unlike some of their *Kaum Tua* contemporaries who were generally cautious or resistant towards the reformist current, al-Marbawi and Fadhlullah Suhaimi demonstrated a greater openness in responding to modern challenges, particularly in areas such as religious education, social reform, and engagement with contemporary thought. Their writings and public engagements reflected a synthesis between traditional religious scholarship and forward-looking reformist orientation.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, this five selected ulama of the *Kaum Tua* adopted a balanced approach in navigating the challenges posed by the Islamic reform movements and socio-political changes in the pre-independent Malaysia. While they remained steadfast in their school of thought to preserve classical Islamic traditions in their religious practices and teachings, they were not entirely resistant to reform. Their engagement in issues beyond the realm of religion, such as social, economic, and political development, highlights their commitment to the holistic advancement of the Malay-Muslim community. In terms of the five selected *Kaum Tua* ulama’s reformist voices, their contributions were evident in writings, advocacy, and socio-economic initiatives, which aimed to uplift the Malay community while safeguarding their religious identity. They emphasized the importance of education, self-reliance, economic empowerment, and unity as essential pillars for progress. Their nuanced approach to reform underscored the need to balance preservation with adaptation, ensuring that modern developments did not erode the core values of Islamic tradition. Thus, the researcher argues that these five selected ulama should, at the very least, be referred to as “progressive *Kaum Tua* ulama,” as their responses to the challenges of their time demonstrated an openness to reform, while remaining rooted in traditional Islamic scholarship.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> “Menuntut Ketinggian akan Anak-Anak Negeri,” *al-Imam*, 12 July 1907, pp. 25-31.
- <sup>2</sup> “Percayakan Ulama: Pertengkaran di antara *Kaum Tua* dengan *Kaum Muda*,” *al-Ikhwan*, 16 March 1929, pp. 220-222.
- <sup>3</sup> Abu Bakar al-Ashaari, *Kemerdekaan Berfikir dalam Islam atau Pembasmi Taklid*, Persama Press, Pulau Pinang, 1954, pp. 59-60.
- <sup>4</sup> Syed Muhammad Khairuddin Aljunied, *Islam in Malaysia: An Entwined History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2019, pp. 140-141.
- <sup>5</sup> Thompson, V. *Postmortem on Malaya*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1943, p. 304.
- <sup>6</sup> William Roff, “*Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua*: Innovation and Reaction Amongst the Malays, 1900-1941,” in *Papers on Malayan History*, ed. K.G. Tregonning, Department of History, University of Malaya Singapore, Singapore, 1962, p. 187.
- <sup>7</sup> William Roff, “*Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua*,” p. 177.
- <sup>8</sup> Shukri Ahmad, *Pengaruh Pemikiran Ulama di Semenanjung Malaysia Akhir Abad ke-20*, Penerbit Universiti Utara Malaysia, Sintok, 2011, p. 58.
- <sup>9</sup> Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, *Al-Mazhab atau Tiada Bermazhab*, Matbaah al-Anwar, Cairo, 1952, p. 3-9.
- <sup>10</sup> Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi, *Kitab Menyatakan Asas Mazhab Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah*, Matbaah al-Attas, Johor Bahru, 1928, p. 23-24.
- <sup>11</sup> Abu al-Mokhtar, “*Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua*,” *al-Qalam*, August 1953, p. 44.
- <sup>12</sup> Mohamad Firdaus Mohamad, Engku Ahmad Zaki Engku Alwi and Ruhaizan Sulaiman, “Sumbangan Tok Kenali dalam Pembangunan Agama Islam di Kelantan Antara Tahun 1915 Hingga 1933,” *Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah* 50, 2022, p. 124.
- <sup>13</sup> Idris Awang and Ahmad Zaki Ibrahim, *Tok Kenali: Tokoh Ulama' & Pemikir Nusantara*, Yayasan Pembangunan Intelek Kelantan, Kota Bharu, 2012, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>14</sup> Idris Awang and Ahmad Zaki Ibrahim, *Tok Kenali*, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>15</sup> Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Hassan, “Lima Tokoh Ulama yang Memainkan Peranan Penting dalam Perkembangan Ilmu di Negeri Kelantan (1860-1940),” *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies* 10 1980, p. 169.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.
- <sup>17</sup> Syed Syeikh al-Hadi, “Ulama di Kelantan dengan al-Ikhwan dan Saudara,” *al-Ikhwan*, 16 March 1929, p. 215.
- <sup>18</sup> Ermy Azziaty Rozali, Ameer Yuwsuef Khan Zubair Khan and Syaidatun Nazirah Abu Zahrin, “Peranan Sheikh Abdullah Fahim dalam Pendidikan dan Politik Masyarakat Melayu,” *International Journal of West Asian Studies* 13, no.1, 2021, pp. 289-291.
- <sup>19</sup> This view is believed to represent Abdullah Fahim’s final testament. Researchers have been unable to locate the original manuscript of this testament. Instead, only a copy reproduced in the magazine *Pengasuh* has been found. See Ismail Awang, “Haji Abdullah Fahim,” *Pengasuh*, December 1977, p. 28.
- <sup>20</sup> “Yang Haq dan Yang Batil,” *al-Qalam*, December 1952, p. 3-5.
- <sup>21</sup> Napisah Karimah Ismail and Farid Mat Zain, “Tuan Husain Kedah: His Influence and Contribution in Islamic Education and Development in Kedah,” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. 29, 2014, p. 62-63.
- <sup>22</sup> Jasni Sulong, “Pondok Education in Seberang Perai: Its Evolution and Uniqueness,” *Kajian Malaysia* 33, supp. 2, 2015, p. 85.
- <sup>23</sup> Suhanim Abdullah, *Pemikiran Tokoh Ulama Banjar Kedah*, Penerbit Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia, Batu Pahat, 2014, pp. 150-154.
- <sup>24</sup> This text continues to be utilized in Malaysia among students pursuing advanced religious studies and being reprinted several times. See Hussain Muhammad Nasir, *Hidayat al-Sibyan fi Ma'rifat al-Islam wa al-Iman*, Thailand: Maktabah wa Mathba'ah Muhammad Nahdi wa Awladuh, n.d, pp. 3-8.

- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-35.
- <sup>26</sup> “Azam Idris al-Marbawi Terus Berkarya,” *Utusan Kiblat*, October 1987, pp. 6-7.
- <sup>27</sup> “Syeikh Mohd Idris Ulama Antarabangsa dari Perak,” *Berita Harian*, 21 May, 1999, p. 4
- <sup>28</sup> Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, *Al-Mazhab*, p. 60.
- <sup>29</sup> Abdul Qadir al-Mandili, *Sinaran Matahari*, Matbaah al-Anwar, Cairo, 1958, p. 88.
- <sup>30</sup> Abu Hanifah Haris and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, “Sumbangan Lepas Mesir Dalam Bidang Pendidikan dan Penulisan di Tanah Melayu dan Indonesia, 1920-an Hingga 1970-an,” *International Journal of West Asian Studies* 5, no. 1, 2013, pp. 8-9.
- <sup>31</sup> Muhammad Suhail Tsaqif, Adnan Yusof and Shumsudin Yabi, “An Analysis of Sheikh Fadhlullah Al-Suhaimi, The Author of Pedoman Kemuliaan Pada Mentafsirkan Al-Qur’an,” *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 14, no. 8, 2024, p. 2901.
- <sup>32</sup> “Kiyai Fadzullah meninggal,” *Berita Harian*, 18 August 1964, p. 5; “On the Air,” *Shonan Times*, 4 February 1943, p. 2.
- <sup>33</sup> Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi, *Kitab Menyatakan Asas*, p. 23-24; *Sinaran Matahari: Pada Menolak Kitab Ibadah Karangan Abu Bakar Ashaari*, Al-Ahmadiyyah Press, Singapore, 1959, p. 1.
- <sup>34</sup> “Alim Ulama Semenanjung Tanah Melayu Bermuzakarah di Kampung Baharu, Pulau Pinang, pada 2, 3, 4 dan 5 Mei 1953,” *al-Qalam*, June 1953, p. 32-33.
- <sup>35</sup> William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1994, pp. 79-80.
- <sup>36</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Kenali, “Kemanusiaan,” *Pengasuh*, 14 July 1918, p. 3.
- <sup>37</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Kenali, “Menjernih Kekeruhan,” *Pengasuh*, 8 August 1918, pp. 2-3.
- <sup>38</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Kenali, “Kenyataan dan Pengharapan yang Besar,” *Pengasuh*, 21 September 1918, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>39</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Kenali, “Seruan,” *Pengasuh*, 7 September 1918, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>40</sup> Faisal @ Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid and Faizuri Abdul Latif, “Pemikiran Islah Majalah Pengasuh Tahun 1918,” *Journal of al-Tamaddun* 8, no. 1, 2013, p. 118.
- <sup>41</sup> Hiroko Kushimoto, “Islam and Modern School Education in Journal Pengasuh: Review of the *Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua* Dichotomy,” *Studia Islamika* 19, no.2, 2012, p. 217.
- <sup>42</sup> Abdullah Fahim, *Al-Iqaz, Khutbah Jumaat yang dinamakan Khutbah Penyedar dan Penggerak*, Persama Press, Pulau Pinang, 1948, p. 2.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 5-6.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 10.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 11.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 5-7.
- <sup>47</sup> Hussain Muhammad Nasir, *Tanbih al-Ikhwani*, Matbaah Zainiah, Taiping, 1936, p. 1.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 7.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 19.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-29.
- <sup>51</sup> This Hadith is referenced in a narration by Muslim (No. 1130). Tuan Hussain Kedah also cited other Hadiths to support his argument. See Ibid., pp. 22-27.
- <sup>52</sup> Muhammad Idris al-Marbawi, *Nizam al-Hayah*, Matba’ah al-Marbawiyah, Cairo, 1938, p. 2.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 26.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 27.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 30-31.
- <sup>56</sup> 2006/0053419, Malayan Union: Annual Report of The State of Perak, 1947, p. 4.
- <sup>57</sup> Mohamed Musaddik Abdul Majid, *Malaysia Negara Kita*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 2022, pp. 56-57.
- <sup>58</sup> Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi, *Malaya dalam Bahaya*, Mustafa Press, Kelantan, 1946, pp. 31-42.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 48-49.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 50-51.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 52-56.

<sup>64</sup> Mohd Anuar Ramli et al., "Muslim-Malay Women in Political Leadership: Navigating Challenges and Shaping the Future," *Mazahib: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 23, no. 1, 2024, pp. 313.

<sup>65</sup> Arba'iyah Mohd Noor, "The Transition of Malay Women's Role and Contribution in The Early 20th Century," *Journal of al-Tamaddun* 15, no. 1, 2020, p. 73.

<sup>66</sup> Muhammad Fadhlullah Suhaimi, *Wanita dan Politik*, Matbaah Ahmadiyah, Singapore, 1953, pp. 47-48.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-11.

<sup>68</sup> *Al-Wilayah al-Ammah* refers to a position or authority entrusted with managing general affairs. In modern terms, this concept translates to exercising roles or responsibilities within specific positions of authority, encompassing legislative, judicial, and executive powers.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 44-45.

<sup>70</sup> Annuar Ramadhon Kasa, Norhayati Hj Hamzah and Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, "The Development of Malay Religious Magazine Publications in Malaysia Post-Independence, 1960-1970," *Journal of al-Tamaddun* 19, no. 2, 2024, pp. 252-257.

<sup>71</sup> Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, *Hadiqat al-Azhar war Rayahin: Pemikiran & Hikayat Imam Empat dan Para Wali*, Khazanah Fathaniyyah, Kuala Lumpur, 2021, p. 2.

<sup>72</sup> Khadijah Mohd Khambali @ Hambali and Nor Adina Abdul Kadir, "Pengaruh Al-Azhar Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan Islam di Tanah Melayu-Malaysia," *Jurnal Usuluddin* 22, no. 1, 2005, pp. 35-42.

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