

THE OTTOMAN'S WAR WITH THE EUROPEANS (1912-1914):  
A PARADIGM SHIFT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALAY  
POLITICAL THOUGHT

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The Balkan wars broke out on October 8, 1912 when Montenegro moved into northern Albania as well as into the sancak of Novipazar. Soon after, Montenegro's allies sent ultimatums to the Porte demanding autonomy of the remaining European provinces. This demand, however, was rejected by the Ottomans. The rejection culminated in a disastrous war for the latter, who by the end of the year were driven from all, but a few strongholds. When the Treaty of London was signed on May 30, 1913, the Ottoman government had to cede to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, all its European territories with the exception of a strip of land buffering the Straits of Istanbul.<sup>1</sup>

The war between the Ottomans and the Europeans in the Balkans was generally seen by the majority of Muslims as a new crusade launched by the European Christians against their fellow brothers. Similar feelings were also found in Malaya where this sentiments was in part due to the increasing exposure to the developments taking place in the battlefield, particularly articulated by the vernacular newspapers, namely *Neracha* and the journal *Tunaş Melayu*, both under the editorship of Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha, who was also *al-Imam's* last editor.<sup>2</sup> *Neracha's* reporting of the Ottoman war was also enthusiastically played by K. Anang who was then the paper's assistant editor.<sup>3</sup> *Neracha* was extremely popular among the Malays owing to the fact that in 1912 it was the only newspaper that extensively reported on the Ottomans was with the Italians in North Africa, and in the Balkans.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, its readership was not confined only to Malaya, but extended to the Netherlands East Indies and also as far afield as Makkah and Cairo.<sup>5</sup>

*Neracha*, also known as *al-Mizan*, was first published in June 1911 as thrice monthly. From 1 May 1912 its frequency was increased to a weekly edition, in response to demands by its readers for more news of the Italo-Turkish war.<sup>6</sup> The exponential demand for current developments drove *Neracha* from time to time to publish whatever latest news it had received, even though in some cases the news were unsubstantiated.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, between 1912 and 1913, on average more than half of the four-page issue, and in some cases the whole issue, were given over to reports on the war. Most of the news that it reported was taken from the Egyptian newspapers, *al-Hilal*, *al-Mu'ayyad*, *al-Manar* and *al-Ahram*.<sup>8</sup>

Even though *Neracha* sometimes reflected local affairs in its correspondence columns and in its editorial comments, the great bulk of the news that it publish

indicated its strong sentiments with the Turkish cause. The latter took the form of reporting the course of events of the current war, especially highlighting news favourable to the Turks. On the same token, *Neracha* criticised *Reuters* in London and the local English newspapers for disseminating news of successive Turkish defeats in the Balkans, in spite the latter's victories. *Neracha* based its criticism of the European press on the authority of the news reported by the Egyptian and the Indian newspapers, whose news it echoed in its pages.<sup>9</sup>

In an effort to cast doubt on the European newspapers' reporting of these successive Turkish defeats, *Neracha* praised the purportedly balanced coverage of an English newspaper, *The Observer*, on the losses and victories achieved by both warring parties at the battlefield.<sup>10</sup> *Neracha* was especially critical of *Reuters* when the latter alleged that the Ottoman government had sent her nationals from Istanbul to the Netherlands East Indies to instigate the local Muslims to revolt against the Dutch authority. To rebut *Reuter's* allegation, *Neracha* published a letter of denial from the Turkish Consul in Batavia, Muhammad Refat Bey, where the latter also accused the Balkan Committee in London for creating mischievous stories.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from publishing news of the war, occasionally *Neracha* also enlightened its readers on the historical background of the contemporary European-Turkish conflict. This was intended to further their readers' knowledge and to provide a better understanding of the current events. At the height of the Italo-Ottoman conflict, K. Anang wrote a two part series on the history of the Italian invasion of Tripoli and their intrigues to undermine the Ottoman war effort in the Balkans.<sup>12</sup> On another occasion, to inform his readers, K. Anang also traced the history of Albania from the Ottoman invasion until its adoption of a neutral stance in the Balkan wars. His elaboration also enlightened the readers on the Albanian struggle of independence which subsequently undermined the Ottoman empire.<sup>13</sup>

The support given by *Neracha* towards the Turkish cause was not only confined to disseminating favourable news on the war, but also through religious and fund raising campaigns. For instance, following the Italian aggression in North Africa and the offensive the Ottomans had to face against the European powers in the West, it prompted the newspaper to suggest to its readers that they should emulate their Indian counterpart, who diligently prayed for the Turks' victory.<sup>14</sup> The paper also chastised the Malays especially those who enjoyed themselves hedonistically at football matches, seemingly oblivious to the sufferings of their fellow Muslims.<sup>15</sup>

To support the Turkish cause, the newspaper launched a fund raising campaign appealing to its readers to donate at least \$1.00 each. The fund raising was to help the Turks to secure weapons and ammunition for the war effort. Probably as a reaction to the paper's instigation, the Malays in Perak were reported to have organised a campaign to raise funds on behalf of the Red Crescent Society in Istanbul to alleviate the suffering of the war victims.<sup>16</sup> A similar campaign was also launched earlier for the Muslims of Tarablus during the Italian on slaughter in North Africa.

*Neracha* too note of the campaign and probably as a gesture of appreciations, published the name of those who donated.<sup>17</sup>

At the height of the Balkan wars, *Neracha* continued to pursue aggressively the fund raising campaign for Turkish cause and constantly reminded the Malays of their obligations. It rhetorically stressed the responsibility of every Muslim to promote the campaign, as well as emulating the sacrifices of their fellow Muslims of India and Egypt. This was in spite the fact that the Turks had not directly appealed for any assistance to any Muslim nation.<sup>18</sup> Riding on the Muslim brotherhood bandwagon, *Neracha* publicised the effort made by Egyptian newspapers in campaigning for the Ottomans' cause. *Neracha* lectured the Malays of their responsibility as well as of all Muslims to support the Caliphate, reminding that the fall of the Ottoman empire would be tantamount to a disgrace of all Muslims.<sup>19</sup> To impress its readers further on the positive response to the fund raising campaign made by Muslims elsewhere, *Neracha* publicised that the Muslims in the Netherlands East Indies had already donated 1,000 to the Turkish Red Crescent Society in Istanbul.<sup>20</sup>

The fund raising campaign spearheaded by *Neracha* was a success. The amount of money collected was probably a testimony of the latter. In Perak, the drive was headed by Raja Harun al-Rashid, a member of the Perak royal family, who acted as the Secretary to the Turkish Fund. By the 4 January 1913, the fund committee which was established to coordinate the campaign was reported to have successfully collected \$7610.33 from the Sultan of Perak, the royal families and the Muslims of the state for the Istanbul Red Crescent Society. A further \$899.31 was donated on 10 March, and additional donations were also promised by the fund committee.<sup>21</sup> Funds were also raised by Muslims in Penang for the Turkish Red Crescent Society and the money collected was transferred through Sayyid Ameer Ali, the President of the Red Crescent Society of the British Isles.<sup>22</sup>

As part of the fund raising campaign, *Neracha* also urged for the Malays to buy bonds valued at \$1.00 each in order to support the Turkish economy at war. In June 1913 the guidelines to purchasing the bonds in Arabic and English were made available to *Neracha* by the Turkish Consul in Batavia. In the following month, *Neracha* informed its readers that it had received ten pages of the bond guidelines translated into Malay.<sup>23</sup> In its effort to encourage Muslims in Malaya to buy them, *Neracha* also took the initiative of sending the Turkish bond guidelines to prominent Muslims and clubs and even to other newspapers. Along with the guideline were emotive fliers instigating and urging them to take the necessary actions on what it termed as a shared responsibility as well as to show their affection to the Commander of the Faithful and the Caliph of the Muslims.<sup>24</sup>

The role played by *Neracha* in furthering the Turkish cause proved to have a remarkable impact on the Malay sentiments toward the struggle of the Turks; to the extent that it also prompted them to find ways of translating the sentiments locally. A manifestation of the former was the overwhelming public interest in pictures of various Turkish personalities and events of the war. This was capitalised

by *Neracha* which launched a grand sale of those pictures. The frequency of the advertisements, and the different sizes and types of pictures being offered for sale, indicated that there was a popular demand for the pictures among its readers.<sup>25</sup> The demand also drove *Neracha* to publish pictures of the Turkish Cavalry and Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War as a supplement to one of its issues.<sup>26</sup>

The role played by *Neracha* had also created in the Malays a “new” political awareness and indeed won their undivided sympathy towards the Turkish cause. *Neracha*’s effort exposed the Malays to the challenges faced by their fellow Muslims that transcends local and national boundaries. An expression of the new awareness was seen in a public assembly by the Muslims of Telok Anson (now Teluk Intan) in early November 1912, when they congregated in large numbers at Madrasah Insaniyah on the commemoration day of the Prophet’s birthday. During the occasion, a special prayer was offered for the Ottoman’s cause, in particular the Sultan, in their defence of their territories from the Bulgarian onslaught. As a further sign of support, Turkish flags were flown in front of and around the *madrasah* during the commemoration day.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, in early July 1913 when news of the success of the Turkish troops in recapturing Endirne, a gathering and thanksgiving prayers were immediately held at the Perak Road’s Mosque, Datok Keramat, Penang. Turkish flags were again flown during the occasion.<sup>28</sup> The editorial staff of the newspaper *Neracha* also held a similar gathering and thanksgiving prayers to mark the occasion.<sup>29</sup> The newspaper also reported that special prayers were conducted elsewhere in the country.<sup>30</sup>

In early 1913, Malay awareness of the Ottomans’ war fought on the European front was further boosted by Haji Abbas publication of a monthly journal, *Tunas Melayu*. The journal’s publication was a step forward in the development of Malay journalism as it was the first Malay journal to include pictures.<sup>31</sup> Like *Neracha*, *Tunas Melayu* also had to satisfy the readers’ demand for the latest news. This led it to report, among other things, the victory achieved by the Turks against the Greeks, albeit the news originated from Egyptian newspapers, especially the January 14 to 16, 1913 issues.<sup>32</sup> Unlike *Neracha*, *Tunas Melayu* news coverage was very limited since it concentrated more on publishing picture of events and personalities of the Ottomans’ war.<sup>33</sup> The pictures that were published in the journal were also advertised for sale to interested readers.<sup>34</sup>

Apart from *Neracha* and *Tunas Melayu*, events that took place in the Ottoman empire were also reported on a lesser scale by *Majalah al-Islam*. A notable case was when the latter published a letter from a reader, Ali Fahmi Mohammad, who expressed his disgust at the barbarous attack of the Italians on Tripoli and the brutality of the Greek soldiers toward the Muslims in the Balkan campaigns.<sup>35</sup> In another development, when the Ottoman empire sided with Germany in World War I *Majalah al-Islam* took upon itself to allay the fears concerning the commitment of the Young Turks to the Islamic cause. For instance, *Majalah al-Islam* published an elaborate set of answers to questions put forward by one reader who was sceptical

over the future role of the C.U.P government in looking after the affairs of the Muslims.<sup>35</sup> In its advocacy of the Turkish cause, *Majalah al-Islam* also deplored the role played by Western powers for meddling in Ottoman internal affairs.<sup>37</sup>

In the first week of November 1914, Great Britain declared war on the Ottomans when the latter abandoned its neutrality and aligned itself with Germany. The declaration of war led the Turks to issue a *Fatwa* known as *Jihad-i Ekbar Fard-i Ayn* on the 11 November. The fatwa, signed by the Shaykh al-Islam, Khayri Effendi which was formally adopted on 14 November declared *jihad* and thus, justified hostilities toward Great Britain, France, Russia and its allies.<sup>38</sup> The proclamation alarmed the British government because of its possible grave and disastrous effects on the public opinion of its Muslim populations. The British were aware that to a certain extent her Muslim population owed the Sultan in Istanbul spiritual allegiance as a rightful Caliph of Islam and guardian of the Muslim holy places.<sup>39</sup>

In order to avoid the confrontation from spilling over into Malaya and the Malays being drawn into the conflict, the British took immediate steps to neutralise the *jihad* propaganda and also the Turkish attempt to win worldwide Muslim support. One of the most drastic steps taken by the British was the imposition of news blackout regarding the war. In Malaya, through the Federated Malay States Government Gazettes of 1914, an enactment on publication of news of the war was announced on 21 November.<sup>40</sup> In the enactment, the British authorities were given the power to censor news reports of the Ottomans' war, so that news concerning the latter intended for publication were restricted only to accounts favourable to Britain. At the outbreak of hostilities, *Reuter's* telegrams to the local press were stopped, especially if they contained any reference to the future of Istanbul. The news agency was also asked to refrain from telegraphing opinions on the future of the city, so as to guard against the possibility of inflaming local Muslim feeling.<sup>41</sup>

The moves taken by the British authorities proved to have a devastating effect on the Malay newspapers supporting the Turkish cause, particularly *Neracha*, which had made the news of the war on the European front as its main attraction. Even before the act, when the war was at its reporting on the events. This is mainly due to the enactment and the difficulty in securing the latest news. This inevitably led to a drop in its popularity and ultimately owing to reduce readerships, had to cease publication in June 1915.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, *Tunas Melayu* also had to cease circulation, in fact much more earlier. Meanwhile, *Majalah al-Islam* lost its editor K. Anang when he was banished from Singapore in 1915 by the British for his alleged role in the Singapore Mutiny.

The Malay sympathy toward the Turkish cause was undoubtedly due to the role played by *Neracha* and to a lesser extent *Tunas Melayu* and *Majalah al-Islam*. Since these papers were the most widely read and the main source of information, they were extremely important in determining the Malay's public opinion. With the absence of these newspapers and the British news blackout, especially regarding the Turks during World War I, the Malay source of information on the developments

there was totally cut off. Furthermore, the British success in securing the loyalty of the Malay Sultans to their rule also hindered the Malays from expressing their support for the Turkish cause.<sup>43</sup>

Even long after the demise of these papers, sympathy for the Turks still persisted. For instance, in 1921 an effort was made to raise funds for Turkey and the State Council of Kedah was asked to allow collection of money to help needy Muslims there. The Council did not object and even agreed that the State Government would contribute a dollar collected, up to \$2,000. The approval for the collection, however, would be made after enquiries with the High Commissioner was made for any adverse political implication in aiding Turkey, which was at war with Greece.<sup>44</sup>

The images of the wars fought by the Turks in the European fronts proved to have had a significant impact on eventual Malay perception of their struggle against Western colonialism. During the years that followed the Malays continued to show their support to the Turkish cause which was viewed as synonymous to defending the Islamic cause. This development was especially instigated and propagated by the Malay vernacular newspapers, namely the *Neracha*, *Tunas Melayu* and *Majalah al-Islam*. Together they symbolised the early nurturing in the development of Malay political awareness of which the Islamic paradigm was a notable feature.

<sup>1</sup>Roderic H. Davison, *Turkey. A Short History*, The Eothen Press, Walkington, Beverley, 1981, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha was born in Singapore in 1885 and received his education in Makkah. Apart from being the editor of *al-Imam*, *Neracha* and *Tunas Melayu*, during his lifetime he also served as Qadi for Tanjong Pagar District in Singapore and Mufti of Pahang. For his life and times, see William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Penerbit Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1980, pp. 63-64; Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab, "Satu Nota Tentang Haji Abbas b. Mohd. Taha", *Malaysia in History*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, June 1978, pp. 1-7.

<sup>3</sup>Not Much is known about K. Anang whose real name was Mas Abdul Hamid. According to a British intelligence report, he was the editor of a seditious paper *Islam Bergerak* (Islam Astir) published in Java and was a strong advocator of the Caliphate movement. He was also a close friend of Muhammad Refat Bey, the Turkish Consul in Batavia. In Singapore, apart from being the assistant editor of *Neracha*, in 1914 K. Anang also became the editor of the journal *Majalah al-Islam*. See CO 273/516, F.M. Braddeley of the Straits Settlements to Winston Churchill of the Colonial Office, 29 July 1922; enclosure The Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence, No. 1, March 1922. See also William R. Roff, *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals*, Oxford University Press, London, 1972, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>The Malay interest in the progress of the war was overwhelming and the editorial of *Neracha* even remarked that if not for the war they would not have subscribed to it. It further added that these subscribers were also very worried if they received their copies late since it prevented them from knowing the latest development of the war. See *Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 28, 29 April 1912 (front page).

<sup>5</sup>See *Tunas Melayu*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 12 March 1913, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Nik Ahmad bin Haji Nik Hassan, "The Malay Press", *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXXV1, Part. 1, May 1963, p. 47.

<sup>7</sup>See *Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 71, 5 February 1913.

<sup>8</sup>In most of its foreign news, normally *Neracha* would acknowledge which newspaper it quoted, even though the exact issue of the newspapers was not frequently mentioned. Among these newspapers, *Al-Mu'ayyad*, edited by Shaykh Ali Yusuf was its most important reference. *Al-Mu'ayyad* was the widest foreign circulated newspaper at that time and for many years was regarded as *The Times* of Egypt. See George Swan, "The Moslem Press in Egypt", *The Moslem World*, Vol. 1, No. 2, April 1911, p. 150.

<sup>9</sup>*Neracha*, No. 61, Vol. 2, 27 November 1912, p. 4. *Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 63, 11 December 1912.

<sup>10</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 63, December 1912, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 61, 27 November 1912, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>See *Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 31, 1 May 1912 and Vol. 2, No. 32, 8 May 1912.

<sup>13</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 76, 12 March, 1913, pp. 1-2.

<sup>14</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 54, 9 October 1912 (front page).

<sup>15</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 57, 30 October 1912, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 35, 29 May 1912, pp. 3-4.

<sup>18</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 60, 27 November 1912. *Neracha* repeatedly pointed out the responsibility of the Malays to help the Turks as their defeat would be tantamount to the defeat of the Muslims. Even though the newspaper realised that the Turks were facing a difficult task on the battlefield, it advised its readers not to believe in the European propaganda campaign which wanted to see their defeat. *Neracha* believed that the Turks would ultimately win in their Balkan War against the European conspiracy.

<sup>19</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 89, 1 June 1913, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 64, 18 December 1912, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 77, 19 March 1913, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>*Penang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 6 December 1912.

<sup>23</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 98, 13 August 1913, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 88, 4 June 1913. The newspaper itself was unable to publish the guidelines due to limited space and appealed to other Muslim newspapers who were sympathetic to the cause of Turkey to do so.

<sup>25</sup>Advertisements for the pictures being sold by the newspaper appear regularly in its pages, for example eight different types of colour pictures of the Italo-Turkish War of A4 size at \$2.00 each. The pictures included Italian troops disembarking from their ships, Turkish and Arab soldiers fighting the Italians, Italian and Turkish and Arab soldiers engaged in the war, Italian troops attacking the Dardaneles, Turkish and Arab soldiers capturing Italian bunkers, the arrival of 10,000 Arab soldiers in Turkey, a land attack by the Italians and an Italian plane shot down by the Turks, Vol. 2, No. 62, 4 December 1912; eight different type of pictures of the war in Tripoli were sold at \$2.00, Vol. 3, No. 63, 11 December 1912; pictures of Nadim Pasha, Kamal Pasha, Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha and Turkish soldiers loading guns onto a train at \$1.00, Vol. 3, No. 76, 12 March 1913; 13 pictures of four inches in size taken from the journal *Tunas Melayu* of various events of the war for \$1.00, Vol. 3, No. 76, 12 March 1913; 13 pictures of various events of the war including the incident of Nadim Pasha being shot, sized 24 by 24 inches sold at the price of \$6.00 including postage, Vol. 3, No. 77, 19 March 1913, p. 4 and Vol. 3, No. 78, 26 March 1913, p. 4; colour pictures 15.5 inches by 20 inches on various events of the war in Bulgaria and Montenegro five for \$1.00, Vol. 3, No. 86, 21 May 1913.

<sup>26</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 4, No. 122, 11 February 1914, p. 2. The picture of Enver Pasha, Turkish Minister of War was published earlier by *Majalah al-Islam*; see *Majalah al-Islam*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 13 January 1913.

<sup>27</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 2, No. 59, 13 November 1912, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 98, 13 August 1913, pp. 3-4.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 99, 20 August 1913, p. 3; *Neracha*, Vol. 3, no. 107, October 1913, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup>Zainon Ahmad, "The life and Thought of Sayyid Shaykh Ahmad Al-Hadi", M.A. Thesis, University of Malay, 1979, p. 27. See also Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab, "*Neracha* - 1910 Jun 1915: Penyambung Nafas Islah al-Imam", *Jurnal Budaya Melayu*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1978, pp. 93-107.

<sup>32</sup>*Tunas Melayu*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 12 February 1913, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup>Among the pictures published were, Sultan Abdul Hamid's personal bodyguard, Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 1913, p. 8; the late Nadim Pasha, Turkish Minister of War, Vol. 1, No. 4, May 1913, p. 9; a disfigured

Turkish soldier, Vol. 1, No. 4, May 1913, p. 10 & p. 11; Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, Vol. 1, No. 4, May 1913, p. 12; Bulgarian Army 9, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 1913, p. 9; Enver Bey a famous Turkish war hero, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 1913, p. 24; A Turkish Hospital, Vol. 1, No. 6, July 1913, p. 80.; late Shevket Pasha, Turkish Prime Minister and Minister of War, Vol. 1, No. 7, August 1913, p. 93; Turkish doctors and nurses, Vol. 1, No. 7, August 1913, p. 95; Aya Sophia Mosque, Vol. 1, No. 8, September 1913, p. 109; Turkish army Vol. 1, No. 9, October 1913, p. 122; Turkish military commander at Haidar Pasha Railway Station, Vol. 1, No. 11, December 1913, p. 156; Izzat Pasha, Turkish former Minister of War and Talaat Bey, Vol. 2, No. 2, February 1914, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup>*Neracha*, Vol. 3, No. 76, 12 March 1913, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>*Majalah al-Islam*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1913, pp. 46-52.

<sup>36</sup>*Majalah al-Islam*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1914, pp. 112-115.

<sup>37</sup>See *Majalah al-Islam*, "Kuasa Dunia: Satu Bantahan Bagi Siasah", Vol. 6, No. 6, 1914, pp. 188-196.

<sup>38</sup>Geoffrey Lewis, "The Ottoman Proclamation of Jihad 1914", *The Islamic Quarterly*, vol. XIX, Nos. 3 & 4, July-December 1975, p. 157. For the translation of the proclamation, see pp. 157-163 of the article.

<sup>39</sup>L/PS/10/5249, Oriental and India Office Collection), Memorandum on Indian Moslems", Mark Sykes to A.H. Grant, Secretary to the Government of India in Foreign and Political Department, Simla, 1912, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup>Federated Malay States Enactment 1914 in *Government Gazette*, 21 November 1914.

<sup>41</sup>CO 273/421, Arthur Young (Governor of the Straits Settlements) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, received by the Colonial Office on 12 March 1915.

<sup>42</sup>*Neracha*, No. 136, Vol. 4, 20 May 1914, p. 3. *Neracha* announced it was stopping publication in June 1915; see *Neracha*, Vol. 5, No. 190, June 1915.

<sup>43</sup>For a discussion of the steps taken by the British Malaya administration to prevent Malays from sympathising with the cause of the Turks, see Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Middle Eastern Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940", PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994, pp. 304-310.

<sup>44</sup>CO 717/15, Translation of the Minutes of the Kedah State Council No. 51, 14 March 1921.