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In: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 152 (1996), no: 2, Leiden, 236-256

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Introduction

It is generally agreed that the early decades of this century were a period of 'national awakening' for the autochthonous and Chinese peoples of the Netherlands East Indies. Captured effectively by Takashi Shiraishi's book *An Age in Motion*, it was a period in which new ideas, new forms of organization and a new vocabulary transformed the political, social and religious landscape of the colony.² Less well known is the fact that a similar and simultaneous 'national awakening' was occurring within the Arab, predominantly Hadrami, community of the Indies. The *nahḍah al-Ḥaḍramīyyah* or 'Hadrami awakening' can be dated from the establishment of the first Arab educational organization, Jam'īyyah Khayr, in 1901. As it gained momentum in the ensuing decades, it was characterized by the proliferation of three novel social institutions: the voluntary organization (*jam'īyyah*), the modern-style school (*madrasah*), and the newspaper (*jarīdah*).³

The Arab press was both the agent and the recorder of the Hadrami awakening. Between 1914 and 1942 at least thirty-six periodicals ap-

¹ This paper is a result of library research conducted in Leiden (January-February 1993 and April 1995) and Jakarta (December 1993 - February 1994). The research was made possible by funding from the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies (Monash University), Monash Asia Institute, and the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee, whose support I gratefully acknowledge. I would also like to record my thanks to Sumit Mandal, who generously provided me with a copy of his own list of Arab papers in the Indonesian National Library.

² Shiraishi 1990. The expression 'national awakening' is used by Ruth McVey, among many others (McVey 1967).

³ A contemporary account of the *nahḍah* can be found in 'Al-Ḥaḍārimah wa nahḍatuhum', *Al-Dahnā* 1-2, February 1928, and subsequent issues. The term *nahḍah* is difficult to render into English. I translate it here as 'awakening', but it also carries connotations of a revival or renaissance.

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peared in Arabic or Malay directed towards the Arab community.⁴ They ranged from twice-weekly newspapers to monthly or even quarterly magazines. While they often disagreed ideologically, all shared the sense that they were a vital part of the *nahḍah al-Ḥaḍramīyyah*. Although few survived for more than one or two years, collectively these periodicals provide the most important body of primary sources on the Arabs of the Indies. Until now, however, they have barely been touched by researchers – due partly, it is assumed, to the difficulty of access to the materials, and partly to ignorance of their existence. Hence a general introduction to the Arab press and a bibliographic guide to available holdings may be of value to historians of the period.⁵

This paper is divided into three parts. The first is an introduction to the Arab press, including an overview of its development, types of publication, circulation, and related issues. This is not intended to be a history of the Arab press; rather, it provides a guide to the periodicals and a few relevant issues. The second part is a bibliographic listing of the periodicals, including data on known holdings. The third part is an alphabetical list of titles. It is hoped that through this publication new holdings may come to light, and research on the Arab community of Indonesia may be encouraged and facilitated.

The Arab periodicals

1.1 Background: The Arab community and origins of the nahḍah

Evidence of Arab traders in the Indonesian archipelago dates back many centuries. The presence of a substantial settled Arab community, however, is of more recent origin. Large-scale Arab migration to the Indies appears to have begun in the mid-eighteenth century. The vast majority of these migrants originated from Hadramawt, a province of modern-day Yemen located on the south-eastern tip of the Arabian peninsula. Hadramawt has a long history of outward migration, attributable to its lack of natural resources and notoriously unstable internal political situation. The Hadrami settlement in the Indies formed a link in the Hadrami diaspora scattered around the Indian Ocean, incorporating settlements in eastern Africa, the Red Sea countries, and India (Martin 1971).

Hadrami migration to the Netherlands East Indies increased during the nineteenth century, particularly following the introduction of steam

⁴ This figure does not include Malay papers directed towards the general public in which there was significant Arab involvement. These papers, of which *Oetoesan Hindia* was the most important example, are outside the scope of this article. See Shiraishi 1990:52.

⁵ The Arab press receives only two sentences in a recent bibliography of the history of the press in Indonesia: 'De Arabische pers is nooit erg groot geweest. De oplagen van de Arabische bladen waren klein en de inhoud was vaak sterk gericht op religieuze kwesties' (Hoogerwerf 1990:137).

shipping and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. By 1900 the Arab population of the colony totalled 27,000. This figure almost trebled to reach 71,000 by 1930 and probably peaked at around 80,000 by the time of the Japanese occupation in 1942 (De Jonge 1993). The vast majority of this population originated from Hadramawt, with a small minority of Hejazi Arabs. They formed settlements in the major coastal trading cities of Java and the outer islands: Batavia, Surabaya, Pekalongan, Cirebon, Sumenep, Palembang, Aceh, and Pontianak were the largest centres of Arab population. Most worked in the intermediary trade, dealing particularly in cloth and playing a leading role in the local *batik* industry. Money-lending was another activity commonly associated with the Hadramis. By the turn of the century there had emerged a wealthy elite of Hadrami property owners: the proverbial *tuan tanah Arab* (Arab landlords).⁶

The first signs of the Hadrami awakening appeared in Batavia in 1901, when a group of wealthy traders and property owners formed the Jam'iyah Khayr (Benevolent Society).⁷ Although its statutes suggest that it was intended as an Arab mutual assistance organization, Jam'iyah Khayr's main field of activity was education. It established Islamic schools in Batavia and Bogor which were run along modern lines, with graded classes, use of modern textbooks, and incorporation of non-Islamic subjects like mathematics, history, geography and English language into the curriculum. The schools were open to all Muslims but were largely attended by members of the Arab community. While the leaders of Jam'iyah Khayr were aware of educational developments taking place elsewhere in the Islamic world, they were probably more influenced by the example of the Chinese modernizers who had established the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK) in the previous year and were promoting similar educational reforms within the Chinese community (on the THHK see Coppel 1981; Williams 1960:57-95).

Jam'iyah Khayr was followed by the establishment of similar Arab educational organizations in other cities. Shamā'il Al-Huda (Pekalongan), Jam'iyah Al-'Arabīyyah Al-Islāmīyyah (Solo), and Al-Khayrīyyah (Surabaya) were among the organizations which began to operate modern-style schools within a decade of the founding of Jam'iyah Khayr.⁸

In 1914 a new organization arose after a split within Jam'iyah Khayr between the conservative and modernist wings. The impetus for the split

⁶ De Jonge 1993. The outstanding contemporary account is that by L.W.C. van den Berg (1886).

⁷ Noer 1973:56-61; Haikal 1986:ch. 3. There is some dispute about the date of the founding of Jam'iyah Khayr, with Noer claiming that the association was established in 1905. Documents located by Husain Haikal, however, indicate that the association was already active in 1903. The foundation date which he provides, 1901, therefore appears the most likely.

⁸ Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), Koloniën, Mailrapport (MR) 720x/20, Schrieke to Governor-General, 31 May 1920; Noer 1973:60.

was a conflict over the traditional status and privileges of the *sayyid* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), opposed by the modernists on the grounds that all believers were equal before God. Underlying this conflict, however, was a more fundamental division over the freer interpretation of Islam which was being promoted by Aḥmad Sūrkaṭi, then inspector of the Jamʿiyyah Khayr schools and a supporter of the Islamic modernist movement in Egypt. Sūrkaṭi and his followers (who were largely but not exclusively non-sayyids) left Jamʿiyyah Khayr and established their own organization, Jamʿiyyah Al-Iṣlāḥ waʾl-Irshād Al-ʿArabīyyah (Arab Association for Reform and Guidance), in 1914. Although based in Batavia, Al-Irshad quickly spread to other cities. By 1919 it had established schools in Batavia, Tegal, Pekalongan, Cirebon, Bumiayu and Surabaya. Al-Irshad became the leading organization of the Hadrami *nahḍah* in the ensuing years (Badjerei 1985; Schrieke 1920).

1.2 Arabic periodicals

The Arab press arose in the context of the educational movement described above. The first Arab periodical in the Indies was the Arabic/Malay publication *Al-Bashīr* (The Herald), which was initially published in Palembang in 1914 and moved to Batavia along with its editor, Muḥammad bin Hāshim, in 1915. Bin Hāshim was an active and progressive teacher, who reported his teaching activities to the Egyptian modernist publication *Al-Manār* as early as 1909. He was brought to Batavia to replace Aḥmad Sūrkaṭi at the Jamʿiyyah Khayr school, later teaching at Shamāʾil Al-Huda in Pekalongan and the Hadramawt School in Surabaya.⁹ Bin Hāshim's paper displayed an overwhelming concern with education, reflected in frequent reports of developments in various Arab schools, and in this respect it is typical of virtually all later Arab periodicals. Although subtitled in Malay 'organ of the Muslims and other peoples' (*Orgaan Kaoem Moeslimin dan Lain-Lain Bangsa*), the Arabic subtitle indicates that *Al-Bashīr* aimed to serve 'the Arabs and Arabic and the [Muslim] religious community', in that order (*takhdimuʾl-ʿarab waʾl-ʿarabīyyah waʾl-millah*).

The successor to *Al-Bashīr* was *Al-Iqbāl* (The Advent), published in Surabaya from mid-1917 to late 1920. In its first year of publication *Al-Iqbāl*, like its predecessor, displayed a preoccupation with education. Articles pleaded continually for the need for the Arabs to be educated in order to keep up with the progressive Chinese and natives; and there were frequent reports of the educational endeavours taking place around Java. In its second year, however, these concerns were overshadowed by the conflict over Al-Irshad. This conflict flared in Surabaya early in 1919 with the establishment of an Al-Irshad school in that city. *Al-Iqbāl* became the chief weapon of the conservative sayyids of Surabaya in their opposition

⁹ *Al-Bashīr* 1-17 (18 December 1914):3; *Pandji Poestaka* 41 (2 June 1925): photograph. For his letters to *Al-Manār* see Bluhm 1983.

to the modernists. The paper carried frequent articles denouncing the Irshadis, and particularly their leader, Aḥmad Sūrkaḥ. The conflict dominated the paper until its controversial end, which occurred late in 1920, when Rabī' bin Ṭālib, a prominent Irshadi in Surabaya, took possession of the Setia Oesaha press where it was published.¹⁰

Meanwhile the supporters of Al-Irshad, frustrated that their letters were not published in *Al-Iqbāl*, felt the need for a paper to promote their own stance in the conflict. After an abortive initial attempt with the short-lived *Al-Salām* (Peace), which appeared only once before closing down, prominent figures of Al-Irshad in Surabaya established the newspaper *Al-Irshād* (Guidance) in June 1920. The paper combined articles promoting education according to modernist values with reports about the organization, attacks on its conservative sayyid opponents, and news culled from Middle Eastern newspapers. The paper appears to have folded in 1921 due to lack of funds, a problem which beset virtually all the Arabic periodicals.

Most subsequent Arabic periodicals followed the pattern set by the publications discussed above, and it is not necessary to discuss each of them individually. *Al-Irshād* was the prototype for at least nine subsequent periodicals: *Al-Shifā'* (The Remedy), *Al-Aḥqāf* (Sand-Dunes), *Al-Ma'ārif* (Education), *Al-Dahnā'* (The Desert), *Al-Miṣbāḥ* (The Lamp), *Al-Isḥāḥ* (Reform), *Al-Mishkāh* (The Lamp), *Al-Irshād* (Guidance), and *Al-Murshid* (The Guide). Although none was printed under the name of the organization, all of these periodicals were edited by men who were active members of Al-Irshad. These periodicals – along with Aḥmad Sūrkaḥ's more exclusively religious magazine *Al-Dhakhīrah Al-Islāmiyyah* (The Islamic Treasury) – can be classified together as Irshadi publications.¹¹ Similarly the newspaper *Ḥaḍramawt* and magazines *Al-Rābiṭah* (The Union), organ of the pro-sayyid union Al-Rābiṭah Al-'Alawīyyah established in 1927, and *Al-Thiqāfah* (Culture) may be grouped together as sayyid publications following the precedent of *Al-Iqbāl*. The periodicals *Būrūbūdūr* (named, inexplicably, after the central Javanese Buddhist temple complex), *Al-Qisṭās* (Scales) and *Barhūt* (named after a valley in Hadramawt), on the other hand, adopted a more neutral stance.

Apart from the publications listed above, there are four Arabic periodicals which appear to have been established by men who came to the Indies specifically in order to gain support – both moral and financial – from the Arabs for a certain cause. The first of these was *Al-Wifāq* (Harmony), established by the Meccan Muḥammad Al-Fattah in 1923. Al-

¹⁰ For the content of *Al-Iqbāl* see Schrieke 1920. Its closure is discussed in *Būrūbūdūr* 5, 31 December 1920, as summarized in *IPO* 7, 1921.

¹¹ *Al-Mishkāh* was nominally published in service to the Waḥdah Al-'Arabīyyah, the Arab Union established under the leadership of Muḥammad bin 'Abdullāh al-'Amūdī in Surabaya in 1930. However, its content reveals a strong bias towards Al-Irshad and it appears to have been produced by Al-Irshad figures. On the Waḥdah see Van der Plas 1931.

Fattah openly described himself as a propagandist for the Holy Land (i.e., for Ibn Sa'ūd) and his newspaper as 'the first to launch a movement for the overthrow of [Sharif] Hoesein' (*jang pertama kali memboeat pergerakan, soepaja Hoesein djatoeh dari atas tachta keradjaannja*) (*Al-Wivac* 10-1, 6 January 1926). In the same category we can include *Al-Kuwayt wa'l-'Irāqī* (Kuwait and Iraqi), established in 1931 by the Kuwaiti 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Al-Rashīd and the Iraqi Yūnus Al-Baḥrī, which also promoted a strong pro-Sa'ūdi line. Both men later established their own periodicals, and it is likely that these publications, respectively *Al-Tawhīd* (Unity) and *Al-Ḥaqq* (Truth), also fall into this category, although the lack of extant holdings makes this uncertain.

Almost all of the Arabic periodicals (with the exception of the four mentioned in the previous paragraph) were intimately connected with the Arab educational organizations and schools. The vast majority of the editors of Arab periodicals belong to the group known by their contemporaries as *rijāl al-naḥḍah* or *nāhiḍ*, literally 'men of the awakening'. Many were teachers in the modern Arab schools, and held executive positions in Al-Irshad, Jam'īyyah Khayr, Al-Rābiṭah Al-'Alawīyyah, and numerous similar organizations. Several examples will illustrate the scope of their activities. Muḥammad Al-Hāshimī, editor of *Al-Salām* and *Būrūbūdūr*, taught at schools in Batavia, Solo and Surabaya, as well as being active in the Red Crescent Fund.¹² 'Aydrūs Al-Mashhūr, besides editing and managing *Ḥaḍramawt*, was an early chairman of Jam'īyyah Khayr and played an active role in Al-Rābiṭah Al-'Alawīyyah (Haikal 1986:148, 242). 'Umar Nāji, a graduate of the Al-Irshad school in Batavia, edited *Al-Shifā'* and *Al-Irshād* while he was a teacher at the Al-Irshad school in Pekalongan. He later became secretary of the organization and taught at its Batavia school.¹³ 'Alī bin 'Abdullāh bin Harharah, another Al-Irshad Batavia graduate, was variously editor of *Al-Shifā'* and *Al-Iṣlāḥ*, teacher at Al-Irshad schools in Tegal and Batavia, secretary of Al-Irshad, and chairman of the modernist organization Izhār Al-Ḥaqq (Nāji 1962 [?]:120, 127; *Neratja*, 7 November 1923). The activities of these men indicate the aptness of the description 'men of the awakening', as they devoted their lives to the three institutions of the *naḥḍah*: the voluntary organization, the modern school and the newspaper.

Finally, it is noteworthy that, despite the numerical dominance of Hadramis in the Arab community of the Indies, a high proportion of the editors of Arabic periodicals were non-Hadrami. This is particularly evident during the early years of the Arab press, when Ḥasan Abū 'Alī Al-Thiqah (Meccan), Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān Al-Hāshimī (Tunisian), Aḥmad bin

¹² Noer 1973:59; ARA, Koloniën, MR 85x/23, Gobée to Governor-General, 30 December 1922 (report by Hoesein Djajadiningrat on the first Al-Islam Congress in Cirebon).

¹³ Nāji 1962 [?]:113, 120; *Keng Po*, 28 November 1927, cited in *IPO* 49, 1927.

Muḥammad Sūrkaṭī (Sudanese), and Abū'l-Faḍl Al-Anṣārī (Sudanese, brother of the former) were the editors of *Al-Irshād*, *Būrūbūdūr*, *Al-Dhakhīrah Al-Islāmīyyah* and *Al-Ma'ārif* respectively. This tendency can be attributed to the high educational training of the newcomers, who were all brought to the Indies in order to teach at the modern schools of Jam'īyyah Khayr and Al-Irshad, and the relatively lower educational standards of the Hadramis. The situation changed with the emergence in publishing of young men educated in the new schools. 'Umar Nāji, 'Alī bin Harharah and Muḥammad bin 'Abūd Al-'Amūdī, for example, were all educated in Al-Irshad schools and came to play a significant role in the Al-Irshad periodicals.

1.3 Malay periodicals

From the mid-1920s, a new kind of organization began to appear within the Arab community of the Indies, bringing with it a new form of periodical. These organizations were established by the *muwallad* Arabs: those born in the Indies to Arab fathers and mothers of Indonesian descent or mixed ethnicity. Generally these organizations aimed to overcome the divisions caused by the conflict over Al-Irshad and to establish unity among the *muwallad* regardless of their ancestry. In so doing they created a new division, however, which cut across the Irshadi-sayyid divide: a division between *muwallad* and *aqḥāḥ* (pure, i.e., Arabia-born) Arabs.¹⁴

The earliest of the *muwallad* organizations appears to have been the Jam'īyyah Al-Taḥdībīyyah, established in Surabaya on 1 August 1924. Al-Taḥdībīyyah was a social organization which aimed to 'raise the social position of the Indies Arabs, setting aside all party feeling', and drew its membership from the younger generation of both camps.¹⁵ Although the organization appears to have collapsed by the late 1920s, several of its leading figures were involved in later attempts to unite the *muwallad* Arabs in the Indo-Arabisch Verbond (IAV), established in Surabaya in 1930, and the Persatoean Arab Indonesia (PAI), established in 1934.¹⁶

In 1926 Al-Taḥdībīyyah began publication of the appropriately named *Zaman Baroe* (New Era), the first Malay-language periodical directed specifically towards the Arab community. Whereas some previous publications had included Malay sections (*Al-Bashīr*, *Al-Qisṭās*) or even Malay editions (*Al-Dhakhīrah Al-Islāmīyyah*, *Al-Wifāq*), these were clearly directed

¹⁴ Previous scholars have referred to the Arabs born in Arabia as *wulaiti*. I prefer the term *aqḥāḥ* on the grounds that it is encountered far more often in the primary sources. It should be noted that, like the Irshadi-sayyid division, the *muwallad*-*aqḥāḥ* division was not absolute: many *muwallad* cooperated with *aqḥāḥ* Arabs in Al-Irshad, and there were *aqḥāḥ* Arabs who supported the *muwallad* organizations.

¹⁵ Haikal 1986:426; *Aliran Baroe* 2-6, January 1939. The quote is from *Zaman Baroe* 2, 5 April 1926, cited in *IPO* 16, 1926.

¹⁶ On the IAV see Van der Plas 1931. For the PAI see Algadri 1988: ch. 8-9; Haikal 1986: ch. 5.

towards non-Arab readers. *Zaman Baroe*, on the other hand, was produced by and for *muwallad* Arabs, for whom Malay was a more natural language of communication than Arabic. After *Al-Taḥdhībīyyah* fell into decline, the chief editor of its paper, Salim Maskati, went on to establish *Lembaga Baroe* (New Institution) in 1928, while his former colleague Hoesin Bafagieh founded *Al-Mahdjar* (The Settlement) in the same year. Malay publishing continued in the 1930s with the IAV organ *Al-Jaum* (Today), *Pewarta Arab* (Arab Reporter) and the PAI periodicals *Sadar* (Aware), *Insaf* (Awareness), *Aliran Baroe* (New Current) and *Berita* (News).

Although the Malay periodicals took different stances in the conflict over *Al-Irshad* (*Zaman Baroe* and *Lembaga Baroe* reported favourably on *Al-Irshad*, while *Al-Mahdjar* and *Pewarta Arab* supported *Al-Rābiṭah Al-'Alawīyyah*), these periodicals shared an Indies-centric outlook which distinguished them from their Arabic-language counterparts. This Indies-centrism was expressed through a greater proportion of news and articles concerning events in the colony, as well as active campaigns for Dutch-Arabic schools and Arab representation in municipal and national councils (*Gemeenteraad* and *Volksraad*). In the case of *Pewarta Arab* and the PAI publications, Indies-centrism reflected a firm political view that Indonesia, and not Hadramawt, was the homeland of the *muwallad*. This stance was criticized by Arabic periodicals on the grounds that it amounted to a denial of the Arab heritage. By the late 1930s the most vehement debate in the Arab press was no longer over the status of the sayyids, but the debate in the columns of *Al-Murshid* and *Aliran Baroe* was over the importance of *'urūbah*, Arabness itself.

Unlike the editors of Arabic periodicals, editors of Malay-language periodicals were rarely teachers. Typically they were *muwallad* who may have been educated in the schools established by *Al-Irshad* or *Al-Rābiṭah Al-'Alawīyyah* – 'Abdurrahman Baswedan, for example, received his education from both – but chose to look beyond those movements for their careers and their organizational activities. Most held administrative posts in the *muwallad* organizations, virtually all becoming involved in the PAI by 1934. Among them are the first Arabs who were journalists by profession. Undoubtedly the most famous Indonesian Arab journalist, and the only one whose reputation has extended beyond the Arab community, was 'Abdurrahman Baswedan, who edited the Malay periodicals *Lembaga Baroe* (under the pseudonym Bin Auff Al 'Asrie), *Berita* and *Sadar*, and was also on the staff of several non-Arab newspapers.¹⁷ But it is Salim Maskati, Baswedan's senior and editor of *Zaman Baroe*, *Lembaga Baroe*, *Al-Jaum*, and *Aliran Baroe*, who has rightly been identified as the first

¹⁷ Baswedan worked on *Sin Tit Po*, *Soeara Oemoem* and *Matahari*. He is the only pre-war Arab journalist included in Soebagijo's tribute to Indonesian journalists (Soebagijo 1981:256-61; see also DPK 1989).

journalist of Arab descent in the Indies.¹⁸ Hoesin Bafagieh, who edited *Aliran Baroe* and *Al-Mahdjar* and was also on the staff of *Zaman Baroe* and *Ḥaḍramawt*, may also have earned his living from journalism. One suspects, however, that all of these men probably had other sources of income which supplemented the income from their journalistic activities.

1.4 Circulation and finance

Data on the circulation of the Arab press are extremely rare. Only a few periodicals ever divulged their circulation figures. *Būrūbūdūr* announced that its circulation had reached eight hundred in October 1921, while *Al-Ma'ārif* was reported to have a circulation of about three hundred in March 1928. In April 1929 *Al-Mahdjar* reported that it had received 250 'Aidu'l-Fiṭr greeting cards from its readers, although it is impossible to estimate what proportion of the readership this figure represents.¹⁹ These scant figures suggest that the circulation of the periodicals was extremely small, running in the hundreds rather than thousands. The vast majority of subscribers to Arabic periodicals were men, but it seems that Malay periodicals were able to attract some women readers, as *Al-Bashīr* claimed to have ninety women subscribers in 1915 (*Al-Bashīr* 2-19, 29 January 1915). Some Malay periodicals even courted women readers with regular sections devoted to women's issues.

The actual number of readers, of course, would be several times the circulation figures. Many newspapers were shared among friends and passed from hand to hand in informal gatherings (*majlis*). Some organizations actively encouraged the reading of newspapers through the operation of clubs and reading-rooms where newspapers were available to members.²⁰ A large number of non-subscribing readers were also found in Arab schools where newspapers were utilized in teaching. As a very rough guide, we may say that newspapers reached perhaps five per cent of the total Arab population.

Although the majority of readers were in the Indies, most Arabic periodicals would have circulated outside the colony as well. Domestic and international subscription rates were invariably listed on the first page of periodicals. The periodicals of Java were obviously well read in Singapore, with debates in the Indies press frequently spilling over into the Singaporean Arabic periodicals of the 1930s. The Indies periodicals also reached Aden and Hadramawt. Indeed, *Al-Irshād* was banned from

¹⁸ DPK 1989:47-8. Haikal claims it was Maskati who introduced Baswedan to the world of the press (Haikal 1986:429).

¹⁹ *Būrūbūdūr* 31, 30 October 1921, cited in *IPO* 47, 1921; India Office Library (IO), R/20/A/1412, Crosby despatch 10 March 1928; *Al-Mahdjar* 2-11, April 1929.

²⁰ In 1929 a member of *Al-Taḥdhībīyyah* complained that the newspapers in the organization's library were being removed by its chairman, Salim Maskati, in order to extract items for inclusion in his own paper. This member joined the organization specifically in order to gain access to newspapers (*Al-Mahdjar* 2-9, February 1929).

Hadramawt by the Qu'āifī Sultan in 1920, a fact which suggests that periodicals circulated in the homeland from an early period.²¹ Even the Malay-language *Al-Mahdjar* was eagerly read by *muwallad* from the Indies who were studying in Hadramawt (*Al-Mahdjar* 2-10, March 1929). There is also evidence of the periodicals circulating in other countries of the Hadrami diaspora: *Al-Dahnā'* published a letter from a reader in Somalia in 1929, and *Al-Aḥqāf* was found in southern Africa (*Al-Dahnā'* 2-4, February 1929; *Al-Miṣbāḥ* 4, March 1929).

For the relative distribution of periodicals within the colony and beyond it, *Būrūbūdūr* may perhaps be taken as a guide. The head of the postal service in Batavia reported that 349 copies of issue no. 15 (dated 10 April 1921) were posted to subscribers. Of this total, fifty were sent outside the colony: seventeen to the Straits Settlements, thirteen to Turkey, five to Aden, two to British India, twelve to European newspapers, and even one to China.²²

As noted above, the Arab periodicals continually faced financial difficulties, which resulted in a short life-span for most publications. For many periodicals, it is likely that publication began with initial funding donated by supporters of the organization whose views the paper represented. But most were unable to maintain the stable subscription base necessary in order to continue publishing beyond one or two years. When a paper was launched, it would be sent free to a mailing list of potential subscribers. Those who did not return the paper would be considered to be permanent subscribers, who were requested to pay fees for their subscription. Many such 'subscribers' were evidently unwilling to produce the money, however, and these 'freeloaders' made many periodicals unviable. Of course most periodicals solicited advertisements as an additional source of revenue, but it was difficult to find advertisers for publications with such a limited circulation. It is notable that the longest-running newspaper, *Ḥadramawt*, did succeed in attracting a large number of advertisers, including European firms.

1.5 Role of the newspaper: 'Sign of the perfection of the nation'

Despite their religious and ideological differences, the editors of the Arab periodicals, whether Arabic or Malay, shared a vision of the newspaper as an active force in promoting the *naḥḍah* among the Hadramis of the Indies. The reportage of news was never a high priority, with most periodicals relying on the Middle Eastern press (in the case of the Malay periodicals, the Chinese-Malay press) for the news reports which were reproduced verbatim in their pages. Rather, as a glance at their titles will suggest, the role of the newspaper was to lead, guide, and persuade the Hadramis to

²¹ IO, R/20/A/1409, Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla to Aden, 18 August 1920.

²² ARA, Koloniën, MR 426x/21, Attorney-General to Governor-General, 28 April 1921.

embrace 'progress' (*taqaddum* (Ar.) / *kemadjoean* (Mal.)). Although never clearly defined, progress was invariably linked to the attainment of modern sciences and the spread of Western-style education.²³ Hence the preoccupation of the Arab newspapers with questions of education and the dominance of teachers among its pioneers.

The centrality of the role of the newspaper in achieving progress received repeated expression in virtually all periodicals. For example, an article published in *Al-Ma'ārif* in June 1928 argued that:

'One hardly ever sees a people achieve any sort of progress without having a newspaper calling for it, nor [does one see] an important organization without a newspaper spreading its principles and defending it. It is imperative for the Arab community in Java ... to have newspapers to guide them to what will benefit them, and bring them back to the right path when they deviate. This will protect their position among the other communities [in Java] which have innumerable newspapers and have exceeded [the Hadramis] in the field of progress (*taqaddum*).' (*Al-Ma'ārif* 4, 2 June 1928.)

In a similar vein, a contributor to *Al-Irshād* argued in 1920 that one could measure the progress of a people by the number of schools and newspapers it had. The newspaper was 'a sign of the perfection of a nation ... the wings by which it flies to its highest goals ... the ladder by which it progresses to the heaven of glory and honour, pride and success' (*Al-Irshād* 21, 11 November 1920). The essential role of the newspaper was perhaps best captured, however, in the following cartoon. It pictures Hadramawt as a sick man laid out on a stretcher and bewailing his ailments. The newspaper *Barhūt*, personified by the man on the right, offers bottles labelled 'medicine', while his fellow-countrymen offer encouragement and support (*Barhūt* 1, 15 November 1929).

1.6 Conclusion

In relation to its size, the Arab – predominantly Hadrami – community of the Netherlands East Indies engaged in considerable publishing activity during the period up to the Second World War. At least thirty-six Arabic or Arab-oriented periodicals were produced over a period of twenty-eight years. The volume of publishing is even more remarkable when one considers that virtually no publishing activity appears to have occurred in Hadramawt itself until well into the 1950s. R.B. Serjeant observed in 1951 that 'there is no printing-press in the country, apart from a decrepit machine at Mukalla, able to produce only one small official news-sheet a month' (Serjeant 1951:3). These periodicals provide an invaluable source

²³ A similar vision of progress was articulated in the indigenous Indonesian press in the early twentieth century (Adam 1995: ch. 5). For the Arabs as for the Indonesians, the Japanese and the Indies Chinese were people who had achieved, or were well down the road toward achieving, progress, and were thus worthy of emulation.

of information about the religious, social and political thinking of this influential group during the period of its 'national awakening'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The form of entry is consistent with that used by William R. Roff in his *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals Published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States 1876-1941*, with some minor modifications.²⁴ Items are listed in chronological order according to the date of first issue. Below each title is the place of publication, frequency, language, and dates of publication, so far as these can be ascertained. This is followed in the second line by the editors. In the third line extant holdings are indicated. Additional explanatory notes are provided for some items.

The bulk of the holdings are found in the Indonesian National Library (Perpustakaan Nasional, indicated by the abbreviation PN). Thanks to a joint microfilming project, fourteen of these titles are now also accessible on microfilm at the library of the Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) in Leiden. These items are indicated by the abbreviation PN/KITLV. Photocopies of three items are also available in Monash University library (MU), Melbourne. Additional holdings at the library of the Leiden State University (LU), and some private collections in Indonesia, are also included.

Unless otherwise indicated, all holdings have been viewed and checked against catalogue listings. All have also been cross-checked with the very useful data contained in the *Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers (IPO)* compiled by the Dutch colonial authorities between 1918 and 1942. Data on periodicals for which there are no extant holdings are taken from the *IPO* unless another source is indicated.

Spelling and transliteration is ever a thorny issue in Indonesian studies. For the sake of consistency and ease of use, the titles of Arabic publications have been transliterated according to the system recommended by the Indonesian Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS) (Den Heijer 1992). Where the publication has also transliterated its own title, this is provided in brackets. The title of Romanized Malay publications has been left in its original form, while the title of the single Jawi publication was transliterated in the same way as the Arabic titles. Arabic personal names have been transliterated consistently throughout, except where a clear personal preference is indicated. Arabic dates have been converted to the Christian calendar in accordance with the guidelines provided in Bacharach 1984.

²⁴ Roff's bibliography can be used in conjunction with the present listing as a guide to the known holdings of Arab periodicals from Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore.

This bibliography makes no claim to being exhaustive. It is probable that there are substantial further holdings in private collections in Indonesia and elsewhere. The phrase 'no known holdings' therefore indicates only that there are no holdings of which the writer is aware. It is hoped that this publication may help to bring these additional items to light.

1. *AL-BASHĪR*

Palembang until no. 16, thereafter Batavia; twice-monthly; Arabic and some Malay; [? month] 1914 - [?]

Editors: Muḥammad bin Hāshim, 'Abdu'l-Khālīq bin Muḥammad Saʿīd

Holdings: PN: year 1 no. 17 (18 December 1914); year 2 nos 18-19 (1 January - 29 January 1915); year 2 no. 22 (15 April 1915)

2. *AL-IQBĀL*

Surabaya; twice-monthly until October 1918, thereafter weekly; Arabic; [? June] 1917 - [?]

Editor: Muḥammad bin Sālim Barājā

Holdings: PN: year 1 - year 2 (1918-1919)

[Note: Catalogue listing only. In January 1994 the holdings could not be viewed due to their poor condition. The contents of the first two years are summarized in Schrieke 1920.]

3. *AL-SALĀM*

Surabaya; weekly; Arabic; 29 April 1920

Editor: Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān Al-Hāshimī

Holdings: PN/KITLV/MU: no. 1 (29 April 1920)

[Note: The paper was closed down after one issue.]

4. *AL-IRSHĀD* (AL-IRSJAD)

Surabaya; weekly; Arabic; 11 June 1920 - [?]

Editor: Ḥasan Abū 'Alī Al-Thiqah

Holdings: PN/KITLV/MU: year 1 nos 1-7 (11 June - 29 July 1920); nos 14-46 (23 September 1920 - 5 May 1921)

5. *BŪRŪBŪDŪR*

Batavia; thrice-monthly; Arabic; 5 November 1920 - [?]

Editor: Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān Al-Hāshimī

Holdings: PN/KITLV/MU: year 4 nos 1-10 (5 July 1924 - 17 March 1925)

6. *AL-SHIFĀ'*

Pekalongan; monthly; Arabic; [? month] 1921 - [?]

Editors: 'Umar bin Sulaymān bin Nājī, Ḥusayn bin Nāṣir Al-Bakrī, 'Alī bin 'Abdullāh bin Harharah

Holdings: PN: year 2 nos 4-6 (July-September 1922)

7. *AL-MADRASAH*

Pekalongan; twice-monthly; Arabic; April 1922 - [?]

Editor: Abū Bakr bin Muḥammad Al-‘Attās

Holdings: No known holdings

8. *AL-QISTĀS (AL-QISTHAUS)*

Surabaya; weekly; Arabic and some Malay; 3 February 1923 - [?]

Editor: ‘Umar bin ‘Alī Makārim

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 1-5 (3 February - 3 March 1923); no. 13 (16 June 1923); no. 15 (30 June 1923)

9. *AL-DHAKHĪRAH AL-ISLĀMĪYYAH* (Arabic edition)

Batavia; monthly; Arabic; August 1923 - May 1924

Editor: Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Sūrkaḥī

Holdings: Private collection (photocopy with writer): year 1 nos 1-10 (August 1923 - May 1924)

AL-DHAKHĪRAH AL-ISLĀMĪYYAH (Malay edition)

Batavia; monthly; Malay; August 1923 - May 1924

Editors: Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Sūrkaḥī, ‘Abdullah Badjerei

Holdings: PN: year 1 nos 1-10 (August 1923 - May 1924)

10. *AL-WIFĀQ* (Arabic edition)

Bogor; weekly; Arabic; 1 November 1923 - [?]

Editor: Muḥammad Al-Fattah

Holdings: No known holdings

AL-WIVAC (Malay edition)

Bogor; weekly; Malay; 1 September 1925 - [?]

Editors: Muḥammad Al-Fattah, St. M. Joesoef Samah

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 1-10 (1 September 1925 - 6 January 1926)

11. *ḤADRAMAWT (HADRAMAUT)*

Surabaya; weekly until year 10 no. 341 (15 August 1932), thereafter twice-weekly; Arabic; 6 December 1923 - [?]

Editors: ‘Aydrūs Al-Mashhūr, Muḥammad bin Hāshim (to mid-1920s), a group of learned Hadramis

Holdings: LU: nos 179-184, 187, 189-220, 222-260, 262-286, 288-367, 369-388 (17 January 1929 - 27 January 1933)

[Note: The paper experienced several breaks in publication during the 1920s. It appears to have revived following the establishment of the Rābiṭah Al-‘Alawīyyah in 1927.]

12. *AL-AḤQĀF* (ALAHGAFF)

Surabaya; monthly; Arabic; 21 November 1925 - [? month] 1926

Editors: A.B.S. Al-Tamīmī, group of youth

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 no. 1 (21 November 1925)

13. *ZAMAN BAROE*

Surabaya; twice-monthly until no. 12/13 (20 October 1926), thereafter thrice-monthly; Malay; 16 March 1926 - [?]

Editors: Salim bin 'Alī Maskati, Muhammad Bahwal, Salim Bahwal, Zayn Bawazir

Holdings: PN: year 1 no. 1 - year 2 no. 27 (16 March 1926 - 15 March 1928)

[Note: PN catalogue listing only. Holdings not viewed and may be incomplete.]

14. *AL-MA'ĀRIF* (AL-MAAREF)

Batavia; weekly; Arabic; 12 May 1927 - [?]

Editor: Abū'l-Faḍl Al-Anṣārī

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 1-29 (12 May 1927 - 12 April 1928)

15. *AL-DAHNA'* (ADDAHNA')

Surabaya; monthly for the first year, thereafter twice-monthly; Arabic and some Malay; January 1928 - [?]

Editors: Leaders of the Jam'īyyah Al-Taḥdhībīyyah

Holdings: PN: year 1 nos 1-6 (January-June 1928); nos 10-12 (October-December 1928); year 2 nos 1-19 (mid-December 1928 - mid-September 1929); year 3 no. 1 (feast issue)

16. *AL-RĀBIṬAH*

Batavia; monthly; Arabic; February 1928 - [?]

Editors: Aḥmad bin 'Abdullāh Al-Saqqāf, Hāshim bin Muḥammad Al-Ḥabshī

Holdings: PN: year 3 nos 1-10 (May 1930 - February 1931); year 4 nos 1-7 (June-December 1931)

[Note: The catalogue at PN lists years 1-2 (1928-1929) in addition to the above holdings, but these issues could not be located in January 1994.]

17. *AL-MAHDJAR*

Surabaya; monthly; Malay; June 1928 - [?]

Editors: Hoesin Bafagieh, S. Hoesin bin Agil, S. Bahresj, A. Bamazroe, H. Koetban, A. bin Jahja

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 1-7 (June-December 1928); year 2 nos 8-12 (January-May 1929); year 2 no. 15 (August 1929)

18. *AL-MIṢBĀḤ*

Surabaya; monthly; Arabic; [? December] 1928 - [?]

Editors: students at the Al-Irshad school in Surabaya

Holdings: PN: year 1 nos 2-6 (January-May 1929)

19. *LEMBAGA BAROE*

Surabaya; twice-monthly; Malay; December 1928 - [?]

Editors: Salim bin 'Ali Maskati; 'Abdurrahman Baswedan (co-editor from no. 12/13 under the pseudonym Bin Auff Al 'Asrie)

Holdings: PN/KITLV: sample issue (December 1928); year 1 nos 1-8 (10 January - 10 May 1929); no. 12/13 (10 July 1929)

20. *BARHŪT* (BARHOUT)

Batavia until no. 4, thereafter Solo; fortnightly; Hadrami dialect; October 1929 - [?]

Editor: Muḥammad bin 'Aqīl bin Yaḥyā

Holdings: PN/KITLV: no. 1, 3-4 (1929); nos 5-20 (1930); nos 21-35 (1931)

[Note: No. 16 was the only issue to appear in standard Arabic.]

21. *AL-ISLĀḤ* (AL-ISLAAH)

Batavia; weekly; Arabic; 22 September 1930 - [?]

Editors: 'Alī bin 'Abdullāh bin Harharah, group of Irshadis

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 no. 1 (22 September 1930); nos 12-15 (27 January - 10 March 1931)

22. *AL-HUDA*

Batavia; twice-monthly; Jawi (Malay with Arabic script); 5 November 1930 - [?]

Editors: Yaḥyā bin 'Uthmān bin 'Abdullāh bin Yaḥyā, 'Alwī bin Ḥamid Al-Aydrūs, Ibn Shuhadā' Mūsā Al-Maḥfūd

Holdings: PN: year 1 nos 1-7 (5 November 1930 - 15 March 1931); year 2 nos 8-13 (1 April - 15 June 1931)

23. *AL-MISHKĀḤ* (AL-MISJKAH)

Surabaya; twice-monthly; Arabic; 18 February 1931 - [?]

Editors: editorial committee

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 no. 1 (18 February 1931); no. 3 (18 March 1931); nos 10-18 (3 July - 12 December 1931)

24. *AL-JAUM*

Surabaya; weekly until year 1 no. 23 (5 August 1931), thereafter twice-weekly; Malay; 18 February 1931 - [? month] 1942

Editors: M.B.A. Al-'Amudi, Salim bin 'Ali Maskati, Ar. Awad Baswedan (year one)

Holdings: PN: sample issue (18 February 1931); year 1 - year 5 (1931-1935)

[Note: It is difficult to unravel the personnel and publication details of this paper, the organ of the troubled Indo-Arabisch Verbond. The last issue listed in *IPO* is 17 January 1942, but it appears that publication was disrupted for much of the decade up to that date.]

25. *AL-KUWAYT WA'L-'IRĀQĪ* (AL-KUWAIT & AL-IRAKY)

Batavia; monthly; Arabic; October 1931 - [?]

Editors: 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Al-Rashīd and Yūnus Al-Baḥrī

Holdings: PN: year 1 nos 2-10 (October 1931 - June 1932)

26. *AL-HAQQ*

Bogor; weekly; Arabic; 22 August 1932 - 25 January 1933

Editor: Yūnus Al-Baḥrī

Holdings: No known holdings

[Note: Extracts from this paper can be found in D. Ya'qūb Yūsuf Al-Hajīy, *Al-Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Al-Rashīd: Sīrah Hayātihi*, Markaz Al-Buḥūth wa'l-Darasāt Al-Kuwayfiyyah, Kuwait, 1993.]

27. *AL-TAWHĪD*

Bogor; monthly; Arabic; 1 March - 15 December 1933

Editor: 'Abdul-'Azīz Al-Rashīd

Holdings: No known holdings

[Note: Extracts from this paper can be found in D. Ya'qūb Yūsuf Al-Hajīy, *Al-Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Al-Rashīd: Sīrah Hayātihi*, Markaz Al-Buḥūth wa'l-Darasāt Al-Kuwayfiyyah, Kuwait, 1993.]

28. *AL-IRSHĀD*

Pekalongan; quarterly; Arabic; July 1933 - [?]

Editor: 'Umar bin Sulaymān bin Nājī

Holdings: Private collection (photocopy with writer): no. 1 (July 1933)

29. *PEWARTA ARAB*

Semarang; weekly; Malay; [? September] 1933 - 17 October 1934

Editors: Nuh S. Al-Kaff, A.M. Musawa, R.S. Soerjoamidjojo

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 5, 7, 11, 13-15; year 2 nos 16-17, 24, 28-30, 32, 34-39, 42-45, 48-51 (16 October 1933 - 17 October 1934)

30. *SADAR*

Batavia, Semarang and Solo; monthly; Malay; [?]-[? month] 1942

Editor: 'Abdurrahman Baswedan

Holdings: No known holdings

31. *INSAF*

Batavia; monthly; Malay; January 1937 - August 1941

Editors: A. Bajasut, Hamid Algadri, Z.A. bin Jahya

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 1-12 (January-December 1937); year 2 nos 1-12 (January-December 1938); year 3 nos 1-7 (January-July 1939); year 4 nos 1-5 (January-May 1940); year 5 nos 1-5 (February-August 1941)

32. *AL-MURSHID (AL-MOERSJID)*

Surabaya; monthly until no. 14 (October 1938), thereafter twice-monthly; Arabic with some Malay; August 1937 - August 1939

Editors: Muḥammad 'Abūd Al-'Amūdī, group of youth

Holdings: PN/KITLV: year 1 nos 1-8 (August 1937 - March 1938)

Private collection (photocopies with writer): year 1 nos 1-12 (August 1937 - July 1938); year 2 nos 13-31 (September 1938 - August 1939)

33. *AL-THIQĀFAH*

Batavia; twice-monthly; Arabic; August 1937 - [?]

Editors: teachers at Jam'īyyah Khayr school in Batavia

Holdings: No known holdings

[Note: Publication of the first issue was reported in *Al-Salām* (Singapore), 20 October 1937.]

34. *AL-TURJUMĀN*

Batavia; twice-monthly; Arabic [Hadrami dialect?]; [? month] 1937 - [? month] 1938

Editor: Muḥammad bin 'Aqīl bin Yaḥyā

Holdings: No known holdings

[Note: Publication of the first issue was reported in *Al-Salām* (Singapore), 20 October 1937.]

35. *ALIRAN BAROE*

Surabaya; monthly; Malay; August 1938 - November 1941

Editors: Hoesin Bafagieh, Salim bin 'Ali Maskati (year one)

Holdings: PN: year 1 no. 1 (August 1938) - year 4 no. 40 (November 1941)

Private collection (photocopies with writer): year 1 nos 1-5 (August-December 1938); year 2 nos 6-17 (January-December 1939); year 3 nos 18-29 (January-December 1940); year 4 nos 30-40 (January-November 1941)

36. *BERITA*

Solo; weekly; Malay; [? December] 1941 - [?]

Editors: 'Abdurrahman Baswedan, M.A.R. Baradja

Holdings: No known holdings

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Al-Miṣbāḥ (18.)
Al-Mishkāh (23.)
Al-Murshid (32.)
Pewarta Arab (29.)
Al-Qisṭās (8.)
Al-Rābiṭah (16.)
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