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# THE INDONESIAN-HADRAMIS' COOPERATION WITH THE OTTOMAN AND THE SENDING OF INDONESIAN STUDENTS TO ISTANBUL, 1880s-1910s

**Alwi ALATAS[*] - Alaeddin TEKIN[**]**

**Abstract**

In the second half of the 19th century, especially since the 1880s, there was an intense relationship and cooperation between the Hadrami people in the Dutch East Indies (Colonial Indonesia) and the Ottoman government. This cooperation was driven especially by some wealthy Hadrami traders and the Ottoman consuls in Batavia. The Hadrami people in the Dutch East Indies who felt discriminated against by the colonial government then sought after emancipation. They complained about their problems to the Ottoman consuls in Batavia and looked for ways to improve their condition. Some of these wealthy Hadramis were able to send their children for schooling in Istanbul. This study intends to examine in depth about this cooperation, especially in the case of scholarship of some Hadrami students in Istanbul. For this purpose, a number of Ottoman and Dutch archival documents were used and this study will expectedly be able to complement the existing researches on this topic.

**Keywords:** *Ottoman, Indonesian-Hadrami people, Dutch East Indies, Hadrami students, Istanbul.*

**Öz**

**Endonezyalı Hadramilerin Osmanlı Devleti ile İşbirliği ve Endonezyalı Öğrencilerin İstanbul'a Gönderilmeleri, 1880'ler – 1910'lar**

On dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, özellikle 1880'lerden itibaren, Hollanda kolonyal yönetimi altında bulunan Endonezya'daki Hadramiler ile Osmanlı Devleti arasında yoğun bir ilişki meydana gelmişti. Bu işbirliği, özellikle Endonezya'daki varlıklı Hadramiler ile Batavya (Jakarta)'daki Osmanlı Konsolosları tarafından yürütülmüştür. Hollanda sömürge yönetimi tarafından ayrımcılığa tabi tutulduğunu hisseden Hadramiler, bir özgürleşme arayışına girdiler. Şikâyetlerini Batavya'daki Osmanlı konsoloslarına ilettiler ve durumlarını iyileştirmenin birtakım

[*] Asst. Prof., International Islamic University Malaysia, Department of History and Civilization, Kuala Lumpur/MALAYSIA. E-mail: alwialatas@iium.edu.my ORCID: 0000-0002-2207-1438

[**] Lecturer Dr., Social Sciences University of Ankara, Department of History, Ankara/TÜRKİYE. E-mail: alaedddin.tekin@asbu.edu.tr ORCID: 0000-0002-8358-5934

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yollarını aradılar. Bu zengin Hadrami ailelerinden bazıları, çocuklarının daha iyi bir eğitim alabilmesi için onları İstanbul'a göndermeyi başardılar. Bu çalışma, bu işbirliğini derinlemesine incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır ve özellikle İstanbul'daki burslu bu Hadrami öğrencilerin durumu üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu amaçla Osmanlı ve Hollanda arşiv belgelerinden yararlanılarak hazırlanan bu çalışma ile birlikte, konu hakkında mevcut tüm çalışmaları tamamlar nitelikte olduğu düşünülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Osmanlı, Endonezyalı Hadramiler, Hollanda Doğu Hint Adaları, Hadrami Öğrenciler, İstanbul.*

## Introduction

Arabs have migrated to the Indonesian archipelago since long time ago. Robert B. Serjeant suggests that *sāda* – those who trace their lineage to Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) – from Hadramawt, Yemen, had reached Southeast Asia and controlled coastal trade before the arrival of the Dutch in the region.[1] They generally professed as scholars and traders and married to local women.[2] Hadrami people are among few communities who have a unique ability to combine religion and trade in countries where they have migrated.[3] Some of these migrants then assimilated and became indigenous after several generations, but some others retained their original identity. However, those who lived in the Indonesian archipelago for more than one generation would usually absorb the customs and languages of the local communities and were to some extent considered as part of the indigenous community, even though they did not entirely abandon their original identity.[4] Some of the Hadramis, especially those who came later, continued to maintain contact with their country of origin. Some of the Hadrami children were sent by their fathers to their ancestral land to obtain education and after that returned to the archipelago.[5] Indigenous people tended to respect them because of the role of their ancestors in the past and because of the lineage relationship of some of them with Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ).[6]

The number of those who migrated was not huge, especially when compared to the Chinese. However, their influence is not to be underestimated.[7] Their diaspora has created noteworthy religious, commercial, and political networks along the Indian Ocean.[8] In the 19th century, the number of the Hadrami people who migrated to the Dutch East Indies (colonial Indonesia) and the Straits Settlements of the British Empire had rapidly increased. This was due to, among other things, the economic attractiveness of the country of destination and also the ease of travel with the opening of the Suez Canal and the emergence of steam ships.[9] Some of the Hadramis whose family had

[1] Serjeant 1996, p. 149.
[2] Raffles 1965, p. 75.
[3] Clarence-Smith 1997, p.4.
[4] Hurgronje 1991, pp. 732-733.
[5] Noer 1994, p. 66.
[6] Othman 1997, p. 84.
[7] Miksic 1996, p. 119.
[8] Gilsenan 1990, p. 253.
[9] Vlekke 1943, p. 290; Van den Berg 1989, p. 1.

lived for few generations had become wealthy traders in main cities like Batavia (Jakarta).

In the second half of the 19th century, a new chapter took place in the Hadrami community in the Dutch East Indies and the Straits Settlements, in conjunction with the emergence of Islamic reformism and Pan-Islamism in the Middle East and their spread to the archipelago, and also with the appointment of the Ottoman consuls in Singapore and Batavia. Since then, several Hadrami leaders in the region had actively involved in the socio-religious reforms that had political dimension and was therefore suspiciously observed by the colonial government. In their activism, they demanded emancipation, strived for advancement through education, and engaged in solidarity programs. In all of these, the Ottoman was at the center of hope and its consuls played no small part. This article is, therefore, going to explore and analyze the relationship and cooperation that prevailed between the Ottoman and the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies, particularly in the sending of children for education in Istanbul. Several Ottoman archives (BOA) are used and analyzed, thus providing a more complete picture of the names and the developments of the "students from Java" who studied in Istanbul with Ottoman scholarship. Parts of these archival documents are contained in the collection of the Ottoman archives on the Ottoman relations with Indonesia compiled by a group of Turkish researchers,[10] but there are a number of additional unpublished archives used by this research.

**Disappointment and Emancipatory Struggle**

According to a Dutch scholar, L.W.C. Van den Berg, the relationship between the people in Hadramawt and the Ottoman in the 19th century was actually flat, far from being passionate. They respected the Ottoman Caliph, mentioned his name in Friday prayers, and recognized the Ottoman Caliph as the highest Islamic political authority. However, this relationship was more symbolic than real, including for those who had migrated to Southeast Asia, so that "no Arab in the archipelago felt obliged to obey the orders issued by Constantinople." He also gave an example that there was a prominent Yemeni who came to Batavia to collect donations on behalf of the Ottoman but to no avail, because the Hadramis in that city were not enthusiastic about such matters. They were also depicted as being less concerned with politics as long as their economic interests were not compromised and were generally not involved in local revolts as the Europeans often believed.[11]

The observation of this Dutch official and scholar is worth mentioning. Van den Berg carried out his research on Arabs in Hadramawt and the Dutch East Indies in 1884-1886. Several years earlier, Ottoman Consuls had been appointed in Singapore and after that in Batavia. Along with the appearances of these consuls in Batavia, the Hadrami people in the Indo-Malay world had increasingly involved in the socio-political activities and would be austerely observed by the colonial government. Van

[10] Terzi et alii 2017.
[11] Van den Berg 1989, pp. 113-116.

den Berg's research above seems to have been persuaded by this trend, since the research was motivated by the desire of the Dutch East Indies government to find potential danger within the Hadrami society, particularly pertaining to Pan-Islamism.[12] The change that occurred in the Hadrami society was closely related to the problems they felt in the Dutch East Indies in the 19th century, as well as to the influence of reform ideas and also Pan-Islamism transmitted from the Middle East.

The increase of the Hadrami migrants to the Indonesian archipelago occurred since the end of the 18th century. In the past, they entered this region via Aceh, having previously transited in Malabar. From there they spread to Palembang, Pontianak, and Java. In the 19th century, Singapore started to become the first stopover for these migrants, and at the end of the century Singapore had completely replaced Aceh. The growing number of migrants led to the formation of Arab quarters in several cities of Java and some other islands in the 19th century. At the same time, the colonial government began to regulate this community more tightly and appointed heads of community (Arab lieutenants or captains) in certain cities in which the Arab population were quite big.[13]

In Batavia, for example, the Arab quarter was among the largest in the archipelago and it had chiefs of Arab community since 1844. The Arab quarter in Batavia was located in a district called Pekojan, a name originally indicating the existence of the Bengali population which in the 19th century had already been replaced by the Arabs. However, few Arabs were allowed to live in other districts of Batavia, such as Krukut and Tanah Abang. The Arab community in Pekojan generally dwelled in brick houses like the European population resided in old Batavia. Several houses indicated that the owners were wealthy. However, in the 19th century Pekojan was overcrowded by the Arab population and the environment was unhealthy.[14]

Prior to 1859, there was no statistical data to show an accurate number of the Arab population in the Dutch East Indies. However, the statistics available after that year showed a significant increase of the population. In Java and Madura, the Arab population doubled from 4,992 in 1859 to 10,888 in 1885. In Sumatra, the figures for these census years were more than tripled from 2,776 to 9,613. As for Batavia, the increase in that span of twenty-six years was more than five-fold, namely from 312 to 1662.[15] This figure continued to increase until the beginning of the 20th century.

This significant increase led to the swelling of population in the existing Arab quarters. Naturally, this should have led to the expansion of the quarters or the exit of some Arabs from the quarters to other areas that were populated by the indigenous, with the consequence of becoming more assimilated with the indigenous, as was the case in the previous periods. However, in the 19th century, the colonial government introduced regulations that prevented this from happening. The colonial government restricted the

[12] Steenbrink 1989, p. xv.
[13] Van den Berg 1989, p. 72.
[14] Van den Berg 1989, pp. 72-73.
[15] Van den Berg 1989, pp. 68-70.

living place and the movement of the Arabs and did not want them to easily mix with the indigenous people.

Since the early 19th century, the Arabs had been required to live in their own quarter or district and they had to obtain a pass to go to other places – policies that were also imposed to the Chinese. This restriction was implemented in all Arab colonies in 1866.[16] These policies are known as *wijkenstelsel* (district system) and *passenstelsel* (pass system). This only limited the mobility of the Arabs and did not completely prevent them from accessing other regions including the rural areas.[17] However, these policies caused great difficulties for them. For a relatively short distance, such as from their quarter to the port of Batavia or to Buitenzorg (Bogor), they need to request for a travel document, and the time required to get the pass might longer than the travel itself.[18] The *wijkenstelsel* and *passenstelsel* policy might be introduced by the colonial government to control the Hadrami migrants that significantly increase in the 19th century so they would not breed any social or political complication. However, the increase of population, along with the economic strengthening within the Hadrami community and, consequently, the expectation for its equivalent social status, only made such restriction to create more problem. The Hadramis were therefore very critical to this policy.

This policy was introduced by the colonial government because the Arabs were considered economically and religiously harmful to the indigenous peoples.[19] This negative view was widespread among the Dutch officials and the indigenous elite.[20] Many of them felt excessively afraid of everything related to Islam and Arab, particularly influenced by the unsubstantiated writings in the mass media. Indigenous officials sometimes took advantage of this European prejudice to drive out people they did not like by throwing the stigma of fanatics to these people. Few colonial officials like Van den Berg tried to make it clear that such views had no basis, especially with respect to the Hadrami people. They had no reason to engage in provocations that could create social disorder and threats to the colonial government, because it had the potential to harm the capital and commerce they ran.[21] According to Van den Berg, if there was anything that needs to be suspected behind political propaganda and attempts to financially deceive the indigenous people, then it was the Arabs from Mecca.[22]

However, the colonial administrators did not always agree with this kind of sympathetic viewpoint. In the annual Dutch statistical report of *Koloniaal Verslag* of 1902, for example, there was a suggestion to expel the Arabs home because they were considered as security annoyance and dangerous people.[23] In 1886, at around the same

[16] De Jonge 1997, p. 97.
[17] Roff 1970, p. 170.
[18] Mobini-Kesheh 1999, pp. 31-32.
[19] De Jonge 1997, pp. 101-102; Mobini-Kesheh 1999, p. 31.
[20] De Jonge 2002, pp. 225-226.
[21] Steenbrink 1989, pp. xvii- xix.
[22] Van den Berg 1989, p. 134.
[23] Algadri 1988, pp. 78-79.

time as Van den Berg's research, Van Vleuten, Director of the Interior of the Dutch East Indies, considered the invitation to all colonial officials to sympathize with the Arabs as absurd. "Europeans in the Indies all hated Arabs," he wrote. "This hatred is tantamount to the hatred of the Europeans against the Jews."[24] Allegations of the negative influence of the Arabs upon the indigenous might have certain supporting evidence, though their scale and significance were questioned by researchers such as Van den Berg. However, Van Vleuten's statement above illustrates the manifestation of European prejudice behind the accusations against the Arabs. Thus, the resentment of some Europeans had been projected in the form of negative images of the Arabs.

As mentioned earlier, the increase of population and wealth in the Hadrami community had created a bubble of aspiration that was indirectly suppressed by the colonial restriction policies. The Hadramis needed more space and liberty to ease their economy. However, it seemed that the increase of Hadrami population, coupled with the apprehension of Dutch officials concerning religious revolts in some areas such as Banten, had made the colonial government in the last decades of the 19th century to further tighten and limit the movement of the Hadramis who were already in trouble since the introduction of the restriction policies. The *wijkenstelsel* and *passenstelsel* appeared to have been important factors behind the demand for equality with the Europeans, which the Hadramis eagerly sought, among others, through the support of the Ottoman consuls in Batavia.

At around the same period, the idea of Pan-Islamism emerged and spread in the Muslim world. The unity of the Muslim world, which is the ideal of the Pan-Islamists, has actually experienced ups and downs throughout Islamic history. However, Pan-Islamism had become a specific term to describe the vision of Islamic unity, with the Ottoman Caliphate at its center, in the later portions of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. The term Pan-Islamism, which was a European vocabulary to describe the Muslim efforts to materialize the unity in that period, real or perceived, was used for the first time in 1877 and 1878. The equal term in the Islamic world, *Ittiḥad-i Islām*, had appeared approximately a decade earlier among the Young Ottomans, and later on known in Arabic as *Waḥdat al-Islām* (*al-Waḥda al-Islāmiyya*) or *Jāmiᶜat al-Islām*.[25]

Pan-Islamic aspiration got a strong boost particularly in the Hamidian era of the Ottoman that started in 1876.[26] Sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876-1909) used this idea to encourage the implementation of reforms and to strive for internal unity in his caliphate amidst the grave threat of disintegration.[27] This idea gained the support of some Sufi scholars such as Shaykh Abu-l-Huda al-Sayyadi from the Rifa'iyyah Order, Shaykh Fadl al-Alawi from Hadramawt and Shaykh Muhammad Zafir, a member of the Shadhiliyah Order from Makkah.[28] However, this idea spread of many Muslim countries, including Southeast Asia, especially through the role of a reformist who was

[24] Steenbrink 1989, p. xx.
[25] Landau 1990, pp. 1-3.
[26] Reid 1967, p. 279; Landau 1990, p. 10.
[27] Karpat 2000, p. 15.
[28] Hourani 2013, p. 107.

at odds with the Sufis, namely Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. Al-Afghani called for the Islamic world to unite and liberate their countries from European colonialism.[29] Pan-Islamism was quite influential in rousing the sentiment among Muslims in many regions, although at the end it did not succeed in realizing the unity and in maintaining the existence of the Ottoman Caliphate which had been seriously declining.

The idea of Pan-Islamism was transmitted to the Dutch East Indies and received initial reception by some prominent Hadramis such as Abdullah bin Alawi al-Attas, Ali bin Shahab, Abdul Kadir Alaydrus, Sahl bin Sahl, and Muhammad bin Abdul Rahman Alaydrus Salabiyah.[30] These people are generally wealthy traders, and it is actually uncommon for traders to join the ranks or become leaders of a new religious idea, if not because the idea brings hope to the problem they all shared. The problem of this community now became part of the wider crisis of the Islamic world, namely the decline of Islamic civilization and the threat of Western colonialism, the cure of which was enthusiastically sought in the Islamic unity. Pan-Islamism gave optimism to the Hadrami people who felt ill-treated by the colonial government. Now they could turn their faces to the Ottomans, which, despite experiencing serious setbacks, were still reckoned by the Europeans. It was expected as mutually beneficial for both parties. The Ottomans needed the support of the Islamic world to re-establish their position and conversely the Muslim community, including those in the Dutch East Indies, needed the support of the Ottomans to achieve emancipation and to ensure the accomplishment of their rights notwithstanding the colonial atmosphere.

Efforts to establish relationship with the Ottoman were attempted in several regions of Sumatra in the mid-19th century, by religious leaders or local sultans, in their resistance to the Dutch. In Java, the vibrancy spread predominantly in the western part of the island where the middle-class Muslims had stronger leadership. The antipathy towards the Dutch and the widespread sympathy for the plight of fellow Muslims increased significantly after the launch of the Dutch military invasion to Aceh in 1873, only few years before the beginning of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign in Istanbul. In the second half of the 19th century, Singaporean Muslims, especially the Hadrami merchants, played a significant role as a hub and link between Southeast Asia and centers of Islamic authority in Mecca or Istanbul and this British colony had become an important place in which resentment and dissatisfaction were directed at the Dutch colonialists, and never at the British, so as to irritate the Dutch colonial government.[31]

It was also in Singapore in 1864 that the Ottoman appointed its first consul who was a member of the local Hadrami notables, Abdullah al-Junayd. The following years witnessed the shrinkage of formal diplomatic representation of the Ottoman in Singapore, due to the Dutch protest to the British, but several other wealthy Hadramis casually continued to receive the local respect as the Ottoman representatives.[32] The Dutch observed this consulate matter closely and with annoyance, but later on, started

[29] Steiner 1947, p. 43.
[30] Hurgronje et alii 1994: 9/1690.
[31] Reid 1967, pp. 271-274.
[32] Reid 1967, p. 271.

from early 1880s, it could no more resisted the Ottoman's request and decided to approve the appointment of successive Ottoman consuls in Batavia. The presence of these consuls was recognized in the socio-political setting of the Dutch elites in Batavia, but their activities were viewed with suspicion and they were accredited as trading agents rather than diplomatic representatives.[33] Therefore, several Dutch press later on expressed their wrath to the Ottoman consul such as Kamil Bey whom they considered breaching the limits of propriety of a commercial representative and described him as "a dangerous guest" (*een gevarlijke gast*). He was perceived as the main actor behind the Pan-Islamic agenda in the Dutch East Indies, particularly through the sending of several children from Java to the Ottoman schools in Istanbul. The government then pressured the Ottoman Sultan to remove Kamil in the last quarter of 1898.[34]

Even though the first honorary consul in Batavia was Sayyid Aziz Effendi of Baghdad, appointed on 17 February 1882, Ali Galip Bey, a Turkish bureaucrat, would become the first official consul in Batavia on 21 April 1883.[35] The Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not actually have the budget needed to establish the consulate, but the plan was deemed necessary "to protect the Ottoman people in Java" and it was approved by the Ottoman Sultan.[36] The appointment of Sayyid Aziz was officially rejected by the colonial government in October1882.[37] Different from the next official Ottoman consuls in Batavia who came from the Ottoman office, Sayyid Aziz, originally from Baghdad, was a merchant already resided in Batavia.

This Sayyid Aziz is no other than Sayyid Abd al-Aziz al-Musawi, the father-in-law of Abd Allah bin Alawi al-Attas,[38] one of the main Pan-Islamic supporters already mentioned before. This family relationship made Sayyid Aziz close to the Indo-Hadrami people that denoted the majority of the Arab migrants in the Dutch East Indies and signified "the Ottoman people in Java" who entitled to the Ottoman protection. A contemporary Dutch newspaper stated that the name of the appointed consul general was Said Abdul Aziz Albagdadi. The reason behind the establishment of such consulate in Batavia was the disappointment over the undermining of the rights of the Arab citizens by the colonial government. The Ottoman considered the Arab people from Hadramaut as its subjects and therefore should be treated equally as the Dutch, English and French residents in the Dutch East Indies, or as equal as the Dutch lived in the Ottoman realm,[39] something that the colonial government did not want to concede. Thus, since the beginning, the opening of the Ottoman consulate in Batavia had closely been related with the Arab community and their emancipatory struggle. The next consuls would become the channels for the Indo-Hadrami's complains and for the Ottoman interests in the Dutch East Indies.

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[33] Schmidt 1992, pp. 85-87.
[34] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* 1898: 1; *De Locomotief* 1898: 9.
[35] Supratman 2017, 35.
[36] Terzi et alii 2017, p. 302.
[37] Schmidt 1992, p. 86.
[38] Alatas 2007, pp. 74-75.
[39] *Suriname* 1882: 2.

The Ottoman consuls now became the mouthpieces of the Hadramis who were upset with the colonial restraints upon them and wanted their status to be equalized with the Europeans. However, the presence of the Ottoman consulate and its close tie with the Hadramis seemed to have increased the colonial government's concern about the unfavorable possibilities if the restrictive policy was removed. Snouck Hurgronje,[40] who understood that the core disappointment of the Arab community was in their freedom of movement, repeatedly suggested the government to remove policies that curb the mobility of this community in the Dutch East Indies, and, in exchange, to reject the entrance of the newcomers from Hadramaut, but this recommendation did not receive immediate deliberation from the colonial government. The Hadrami people, fueled by the spirit of Pan-Islamism and gained the support of the Ottoman consuls, then extended their criticism through mass media in the Middle East and Turkey, depicting the colonial government's repression against Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. This repeatedly irritated the colonial government, but at the same time was unable to take effective steps to overcome it. The Hadramis, on the other sides, had not achieved anything significant at that stage more than the increase of displeasure toward the Dutch.

**The Sending of Students to Istanbul**

The supporters of Pan-Islamism among the Hadramis were generally advocating Islamic reformism that lament the deterioration of Islamic civilization and its colonization by the West. In their quest for the strengthening and progress of the Muslim society, they pointed, other than unity, to the importance of education. The reform minded Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies considered that their traditional education, in the Hejaz and Hadramawt, was no longer sufficient to meet the challenges of modernity, so a new type of education was needed. The colonial government had opened its schools for the local aristocrats by the middle of the 19th century, intended for the training of civil servants.[41] The Foreign Orientals, including the Hadramis, were given the freedom to pursue their own education, since most of them would go to private companies or open their own business after graduating.[42] But even if these Hadramis were given the same opportunity to enter the modern Dutch schools, the 19th century was still too early for them to accept the idea of enrolling their children to non-Muslim educational institutions,[43] and they were yet to establish their own modern schools. The best option to access this new type of education, modern yet Islamic, or at least organized by Muslims, was in Cairo or in Istanbul, the possibility of which was now laid open with the presence of the Ottoman consulate. Several wealthy Hadramis would send their children, mostly with the help of the consulate, to study in Istanbul at the end of the 19th century.

[40] Hurgronje 1990: II/291-2; 1991: V/ 723-725.
[41] Mestoko 1985, p. 92.
[42] Suratminto 2013, p. 83.
[43] Haikal 1986, pp. 97-98.

There is an Ottoman archive mentions a meeting during the pilgrimage in the Hejaz in 1891 between a Turkish official and someone from Java named Sharif Ali whose message was conveyed to the Ottoman Sultan. Sharif Ali complained about the situation in his country that had been occupied by the enemy for a long time and he hoped for the protection of the Sultan. A proposal was submitted by Sharif Ali that every year 10-20 children from his country be sent to study at a military school in Istanbul, so that a few years later a force could be mobilized to repel the enemy by raising the Ottoman flag.[44]

We do not know the continuation of this plan and it is also uncertain whether Java mentioned in this document is specifically Java Island or not, because the word Java at that time was also used for the Indo-Malay World in general. Likewise, there is no further information as to who exactly Sharif Ali mentioned in the document. However, Göksoy mentioned a person whose name is Sharif Ali and stayed in Istanbul in the same year of the document, 1891. According to his article, Sharif Ali is originally a Hadrami and working for the Sultanate of Aceh.[45] As can be seen from this information, Sharif Ali's plan was not for the Javanese or Hadramis, he had designed it entirely for the Acehnese students. It would be interesting if this plan involved the Hadramis or Acehnese from the Dutch East Indies, because it did not only hope for internal progress, but also contained the seeds of physical resistance against the colonial government.

It is said that Ali bin Ahmad Shahab, one of Pan-Islamic supporters in Batavia, had come to Istanbul and met Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1311 of Hijri (1893/4), discussing the development of the Muslim *umma* in the world and planning to send several children from the Dutch East Indies to study in Turkey.[46] This information does not provide the reference and most probably is based on oral story in the Shahab family, but somehow reflects a similar narration with the above Sharif Ali's. However, here the meeting was direct, the aim of education was not mentioned, and the time was few years later. Or maybe it is true that Ali Shahab went to Istanbul that year, for some contemporary newspapers in May 1894 recorded him as a passenger on a ship bound for Amsterdam and stopped at Suez, Egypt.[47] However, there is no further information obtained by this study whether he continued from Suez to Istanbul or not.

The sending of children from Java to schools in Istanbul is somewhat discussed in by Jan Schmidt[48] and İ. Hakkı Göksoy[49] in their books on the Ottoman and Pan-Islamism, but they only started from 1898. The Ottoman archives used by this study show that the dispatch of this student dates back several years. It was the children from the family of Abdullah bin Alawi al-Attas who first went and got a scholarship in Istanbul. These children had previously attended secondary schools in Egypt, but then

[44] BOA, Y. PRK. MYD, 10/60.
[45] Göksoy 2015, pp.182-186.
[46] Shahab 2017, p. 10.
[47] Algemeen Handelsblad 1894: 2; *Het Nieuws van den Dag* 1894: 23.
[48] Schmidt 1992, pp. 91-102.
[49] Göksoy 2004, pp. 119-127.

moved to Istanbul on a scholarship after applying to the Ottoman Ministry of Education in mid-May 1895. The mediator for this application was not the Ottoman consul in Batavia, but the Ottoman High Commissioner in Egypt, Ghazi Ahmad Muhtar Pasha,[50] and therefore escaped the observations of the colonial government. There were totally six students in this first batch. Uthman bin Abdullah al-Attas (18 years old) and Muhammad bin Abdullah al-Attas (15) were registered at the *Mülkiye* School (Civil Service School), Hashim bin Abdullah al-Attas (12) and Aydarus bin Alawi al-Attas (12) at *Sultani* (Galatasaray Lycée) School, while Umar bin Alawi al-Attas (11) and Muhsin bin Ali al-Attas (11) at *Daruşşafaka* School.[51] The last name given is written in the text as Muhsin bin Ali, but most likely his father's name was incorrectly written, and it supposed to be Alawi. The first three names, Uthman, Muhammad and Hashim are the sons of Abdullah bin Alawi al-Attas, while the other three, Aydarus, Umar, and Muhsin, are brothers of Abdullah bin Alawi from different mothers.[52] The registration process for these students went fast and on 8 June 1895 a letter was sent to the *Mülkiye* School containing a request for Usman and Muhammad bin Abdullah al-Attas to be taken care of, as stipulated by the Ottoman Sultan.[53] This educational institution, *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*, was a training school for aspiring statesmen who would work in the Ottoman government and is roughly equivalent to the Faculty of Political Science. *Mekteb-i Sultani* (Galatasaray Lycée) is an educational institution that opened in 1868 and later on changed its name to Galatasaray High School and has continued to survive today. The medium of instruction used in this school was French and around this period time the number of the students reached 500 people.[54] In the beginning the students were dominated by non-Muslims from Greece, Armenia, and others, but since 1880, Turkish language had also been used in the school, consequently accommodating more and more local admission.[55] *Daruşşafaka* is the Ottoman secondary school for orphans, a free boarding school with modern education for orphans and children between 10 and 12 years old.[56]

The issue of the education of the Hadrami children from Java in Istanbul does not appear in the letter of the Ottoman consul in Batavia, Kamil Bey, to the Ottoman foreign ministry at the end of 1897 which briefly describes the history and situation of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies, although the letter generally discusses the decline of education and the weak of religious understanding and practices of the Muslims in this region.[57] The letter from the Ottoman consulate in the following year, 13 April 1898, also makes no mention of this theme, but it describes a brief history of the Alawiyyin in Hadramawt, the migration of some Alawiyyin to the Dutch East Indies, and the

[50] BOA, İ. DH, 1322/20; BOA, A} MTZ. (5). 5/161.
[51] BOA, MF. MKT, 266/54.
[52] Alatas 2005, pp. 8-9.
[53] BOA, MF. MKT, 452/1.
[54] Kodaman 1991, pp. 136-140.
[55] Schmidt 1992, p. 91.
[56] Ayhan and Maviş 1994, pp. 7-9.
[57] Terzi et alii 2017, pp. 407-409.

difficulties they faced under Dutch colonialism. The letter mentions petitions from Arabs in several cities in Java, through prominent Hadramis such as Ali bin Shahab, Abdul Kadir bin Husein Alaydrus and Taha bin Ahmad al-Haddad, which were then conveyed to the consulate. The petition mentioned their desire to become Ottoman citizens and their readiness to be equipped with arms, if circumstances forced, to defend their rights from the colonial oppression.[58]

However that same year, another Ottoman archive mentions that news of the success of the aforementioned first batch of students enrolling and studying in Istanbul spread rapidly in the Dutch East Indies and the Straits Settlements, particularly in Java and Singapore. A document dated 7 June 1898 states that several Muslim families in the region proposed to the Ottoman government that their children be allowed to study in Istanbul. The Ottoman government granted the request but would not cover the travel costs to Istanbul.[59] Application for new students from the Dutch East Indies were now being carried out through the Ottoman consulate in Batavia and since then the colonial government would keep track of the consulate with great suspicion.[60]

Four students from the Dutch East Indies arrived in Istanbul in April 1898 and they were immediately enrolled in schools in Istanbul.[61] These four students - each now added with *Effendi* after his name - were Abdul Muttalib son of Ali bin Ahmad Shahab, Abdul Rahman son of Abdul Kadir Alaydrus, both from Batavia (Jakarta), Muhammad Hasan from Bandung, and Ali. In July 1898 they had already started their studies. Three of these four students enrolled to the *Sultani* School (Galatasaray), while the other one who was older attended the *Mülkiye* School.[62] These students left Java without the role and mediation of the Dutch East Indies government. The Dutch consul in Istanbul, Van der Staal van Piershil, was unable to get information about these students from the Ottoman foreign minister, Ahmad Tawfik Pasha. However, his assistant translator whom he sent to investigate managed to speak with three students at the *Mekteb-i Sultani*, namely Abdul Muttalib (10 years), Abdul Rahman (8) and Mehmed Ihsan or Muhammad Hasan (15). The three of them had already mastered the Turkish language even though they had only been in the country for several months and they considered themselves citizens of the Dutch East Indies. Another student who enrolled in *Mülkiye* was none other than Ali (18 years).[63] From other documents we know that his full name is Ali bin Abdul Rahman bin Sahil.[64] It seems that Ali was endorsed by the Sultan of Siak (*Siyā'*; Arabic and Turkish sin-ya'-alif-ain)[65] in Sumatra, but he was surely not the son or direct relative of the Sultan of Siak, since the reigning Sultan, Syarif Hasyim

[58] Terzi et alii 2017, pp. 424-426.
[59] BOA, BEO, 1166/87419.
[60] Supratman 2017, pp. 36-37.
[61] Schmidt 1992, p. 91.
[62] BOA, BEO, 1166/87419.
[63] Schmidt 1992, p. 93.
[64] BOA, HR. TH, 330/92.
[65] BOA, BEO, 1166/87419.

Abdul Jalil Syaifuddin (r. 1889-1908), does not have a son named Ali[66] However, our reference to Siak is a bit dubious since the Arabic text for this Sultanate is more commonly put as *Siyāq* (sin-ya'-alif-qaf). The parents of these four students wrote a letter to thank the Ottoman Sultan for the admission of their children in Istanbul so as "to make them awake from their sleep and to liberate them from their ignorance and to lift them from their carelessness"[67]

On 21 January 1899, the Ottoman Grand Vizier informed Sultan Abdul Hamid II that two Arab leaders in Bogor, Ba Junaid and Abu Bakr Bin Sunkar sent their children to study in Istanbul through the mediation of the consulate in Batavia that expected them to be welcomed upon arrival and to be admitted to a good school. The request was approved by the Sultan.[68] Schmidt mentions that Abdul Rahman bin Abdullah Ba Junaid from Bogor sent two of his children, while Bin Sunkar, whom according to him was from Batavia, sent four of his children, plus another one Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Sayyidi from Kotaraja, North Sumatra, so all are totally seven students.[69] The name of the two Ba Junaid students are Ahmad and Sa'id,[70] aged 13 and 8 respectively.[71] These third batch students ignored the suggestion of the resident of Batavia to abandon their plan. They arrived in Istanbul in February 1899, were received by the Minister of Education Zuhdi Pasha, and then enrolled in the *Asiret* ('Aşīret Mekteb-i Hümāyūn/Tribal School), a school founded in 1892 by Abdul Hamid II for the children of Arab tribal chiefs in order to prepare them for office or for a career in the military. This school was free of charge and also provided food for its students for free. The Ottoman Government did not actually have the budget to pay for these students. The funding was somehow provided by the Ottoman Government for these students, although some of these students also received regular remittances from their families.[72] An Ottoman document dated 30 January 1899 states that a certain budget will be allocated for these students.[73] Another one dated 21 September 1903 informs that the Sultan would provide scholarships of 80 *qurush* per month for the students of Java that enrolled in the *Sultani* School.[74] Funds for travel were sometimes also provided by the Ottoman Government, usually after the students submitted the application for that purpose.

It is said that a new batch of students was also planned to go to Istanbul and their total number were 30 students.[75] However, this research cannot trace whether this group of students finally departed to Istanbul or not. In early 1900, the Ottoman Government was considering to stop the coming of students from Java due to unsatisfactory results

[66] Muhammad et alii 1988, pp. 27-28.
[67] BOA, BEO, 1166/87419.
[68] BOA, BEO, 1261/94534.
[69] Schmidt 1992, pp. 93-94.
[70] Terzi et alii 2017, pp. 533-535.
[71] *De Locomotief* 1899: 2.
[72] Schmidt 1992, p. 94.
[73] BOA, HR. İD, 2032/23.
[74] BOA, BEO, 2174/162984.
[75] *Haagsche Courant* 1899: 1.

and on 22 February that year the government decided that students from Java who wanted to study in Istanbul had to pay their own travel expenses along with a few other expenses.[76]

The arrival of these students in Istanbul was reported by the Turkish press as well as by the Dutch press. The information about the enrolment of these students in the Ottoman schools was soon circulated and became a serious concern of the officials in the Dutch East Indies, in the parliament and the ministry of foreign affairs in Den Haag and the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul. The Dutch press and officials perceived those children as a crucial element of Pan-Islamic political project that potentially dangerous for the colonial interest in the East Indies. This exasperation might partially lead to the pressure for the removal of the consul Kamil Bey that occurred in the middle of October 1898.[77] Kamil Bey, however, continued to play an important role in the process of sending students after he left the consulate office in Batavia. During a meeting of the Dutch parliament on 2 February 1899, a member of parliament reminded the Dutch Foreign Minister about the political ideas that might develop among these students upon their return to Java. Therefore, the students were expected to come to the Dutch consulate in Istanbul and their passports to be checked. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, dismissed the concern and considered that the issue of the arrival of the students had been exaggerated by the Dutch press[78] However, earlier at the end of January, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs had asked the Dutch consul in Istanbul to gather information about the students from Java.[79] After gathering information, the Dutch consul concluded that the issue of the dangers of Pan-Islamism through the education of the students in Istanbul was actually baseless, because the schools these students enrolled were modern educational institutions that were less relevant for the spread of such political ideas.[80] The Dutch consul apparently thought that these students were Javanese, perhaps due to the term "Javanese students" used by the Ottoman press and official documents. However, this was criticized by Snouck Hurgronje in his letter to the Dutch Government on 22 April 1899 which explicitly identified that the students were all of Arab descents.[81]

The students went to Istanbul with passports prepared by the Ottoman Consul in Batavia. The question of citizenship then became an issue. The Dutch colonial government put the Hadramis who settled in the Dutch East Indies in the social category of Foreign Oriental, different to the Europeans and to the indigenous people. However, when these Hadrami students left for Istanbul, their departure procedures were under the spotlight and there were members of the Dutch parliament who thought of these students as Dutch subjects who need to report their arrival in Istanbul to the Dutch ambassador. Meanwhile, the Ottoman consuls in Batavia regarded the Indo-Hadramis as

[76] BOA, BEO, 1437/107706.
[77] *De Locomotief* 1898: 9.
[78] BOA, Y. A. HUS, 394/96.
[79] BOA, HR. İD. 2032/23.
[80] Schmidt 1992, pp. 92-93.
[81] Hurgronje, et alii 1994, IX /1655-1656.

the Ottoman citizens living in the Dutch East Indies, because they came from Hadramawt which was considered as part of the Ottoman region, at least nominally.[82]

After all, these Hadrami students underwent their studies in Istanbul as foreigners and they needed special permit, or needed to apply for and accepted as Ottoman citizens, to enter higher education that was reserved for the Ottoman citizens only.[83] The Hadrami students, like many members of the Indo-Hadrami community during this period, wanted to be recognized as the Ottoman citizens so they could move more freely and be released from the colonial restrictions. Some of these students, for example, insisted on wearing Turkish clothes and hats when returning to the Dutch East Indies, while the colonial government required this community to wear their traditional Arabic clothes – or to be punished and fined for the violation – and saw the Turkish clothes as a form of Pan-Islamic resistance. At the end, these students felt that the unchanging colonial climate had increased the feeling of discomfort for those who had tasted modern education.[84]

Not long after the coming of the third batch of the students in 1899, the Ottoman evaluated that the education of these Hadrami students was not very successful because they enrolled in the middle of the school year so they missed several subjects, because of language difficulties, and because of the different climate that caused these students to get sick frequently. Some students experience failures in their studies so that their scholarships were not utilized properly.[85] In the middle of 1903, the General Directorate of Education decided to send the seven Javanese students of the *Asiret* (Tribal) School to Lesbos Island to get a warmer climate due to the illness they were suffering. The Ottoman Government covered all the expenses during they stay in the island and an officer accompanied them to take care of their various needs.[86] Furthermore, in February 1904 it was decided that these seven students would be sent to their hometowns for a month so they could really improve their health.[87] Actually, in the spring of 1901, there were already four students who died and two students who returned home, while another student, Muhammad Hasan from Bandung, who came in 1898, was hospitalized because he missed his hometown.[88] In early 1906, the Ottoman consul in Batavia, mentioned that the last student mentioned above, known also as Mehmed Effendi bin Abdurrahman bin Hasan, had passed away previously in Istanbul.[89]

Other students continued their studies in Istanbul until finish and some others failed in completing their studies. Uthman and Muhammad bin Abdullah al-Attas from the first batch had completed the preparatory level at the *Mülkiye* School in mid-1899

[82] BOA, Y. A. HUS, 394/96.; BOA, HR. TH, 330/92.
[83] BOA, MF. MKT, 457/1.; BOA, MF. MKT, 452/1.
[84] Schmidt 1992, p. 99.
[85] BOA, BEO, 1275/95593.
[86] BOA, MF. MKT, 722/32.
[87] BOA, HR. TH, 298/91.
[88] Schmidt 1992, p. 98.
[89] BOA, HR. TH, 330/92.

and were about to receive their diplomas. However, their plan to continue to higher education could not be directly approved, since only the Ottoman citizens were allowed to enter this level. Therefore, these students tried to obtain Turkish citizenship. In spite of that, their special support by the Sultan opened up the opportunity to get exemptions in pursuing higher education, though they might not be able to get public careers that required Ottoman citizenship.[90] It was soon clarified that they were "allowed to continue their higher education if they enter the higher education entrance exam and succeed in it." Ottoman citizenship, however, was still a probability.[91] Uthman and Muhammad might not continue their study in Istanbul, since by 1901 both had left the city and continued their study in Europe. Uthman continued to Montpellier, France, while Muhammad studied engineering in Belgium. In 1907, Uthman almost finished studying medical in French and Muhammad was still doing his engineering. The third son of Abdullah bin Alawi, Hashim, was still in *Sultani* School (Galatasaray) in 1901, but in 1907 he had already followed Muhammad studying engineering in Belgium.[92] Uthman would become a medical doctor, joined the Turkish Red Crescent Society during the Balkan War,[93] but later on went back to the Dutch East Indies and lived in Depok, near Batavia. Muhammad would become a mining engineer and Hashim an agriculturist. Muhammad lived and passed away in Indonesia, while Hashim would finally stay in Istanbul with his Turkish wife[94] after opening a rubber plantation and a company in the Dutch East Indies for several years.[95] The other son of Abdullah ibn Alawi al-Attas, Ismail, was not sent to Istanbul by his father, but directly to Europe from Egypt.[96]

The brother of Abdullah ibn Alawi al-Attas, Umar, was studying at the *Mekteb-i Sultani* (Galatasaray) in 1901. In July 1906, he had left the *Sultani* and intended to continue to commercial school in Europe or in the Dutch East Indies.[97] However, in the following year, an Ottoman document informs that he was at that time a student of the Faculty of Law and he applied in April that year for new passport and to get permission to go back to his hometown for certain purposes.[98] No further information was found by this research regarding the continuation of Umar's study in Istanbul. His two brothers, Aydarus and Muhsin, no longer appear in the subsequent documents or news since they first came to Istanbul. Are they among the students who have reportedly died or returned to their hometown in 1901?

In 1901, Abdul Muttalib Shahab and Abdul Rahman Alaydrus were still undergoing their studies and studying Dutch in their spare time. Abdul Rahman returned

[90] BOA, MF. MKT, 457/1-2.
[91] BOA, BEO, 1331/99787.
[92] Schmidt 1992, p. 98.
[93] *IO 1919*, India Office Records.
[94] Lutfia 2020.
[95] *IO 1919*, India Office Records.
[96] Alatas 2007, p. 92.
[97] Schmidt 1992, pp. 98-102.
[98] BOA, MF. MKT, 989/28.; BOA, DH. MKT, 1159/28.

to Batavia to visit his mother in 1905 and he obtained a visa from the Dutch consulate in Istanbul for this trip, which spark criticism by Snouck Hurgronje, for the student and his father were well known for their hostile attitude against the colonial government. In the same year, Abdul Muttalib was still at the *Sultani* School. In March 1907, a fire broke out in that School and Abdul Muttalib and Abdul Rahman lost all their belongings because of that. Both of them came to the Dutch consulate and received financial assistance. Abdul Rahman then went to Cairo, Egypt, joining his father to study Arabic and English in the country, while Abdul Muttalib returned to Batavia.[99]

In 1901, Ali bin Sahil, who came to Istanbul with Abdul Rahman and Abdul Muttalib, had been transferred from *Mülkiye* to *Mekteb-i Sultani* (Galatasaray) where the students were much younger than him. He applied to move from *Sultani* to study in Agriculture (*Ziraāt*) in mid-1904, but the Ottoman Government found it difficult to be approved considering his age was already 24 years.[100] In April 1905, Ali was still studying at the *Sultani* School,[101] but in October that year he applied to leave school and return to his home country. Due to lack of funds, he requested financial assistance to return home and the Ottoman agreed to allocate 3,000 *qurushes* for this purpose.[102] His failure in education was because he did not pass several sciences and French subjects, in addition to being busy taking care of his younger mates. His application was approved by the Ottoman because of his good behavior during his stay in Istanbul.[103] Funds for the trip were issued the following month, November 1905, so he was able to return to his country.[104] However, Schmidt mentions that Ali went to the Dutch East Indies at the end of 1912 to raise funds for Turkey and incite the people against the Christians.[105] Unfortunately, this study finds no data to further explain what prevailed between the years; did this student postpone his return or did he return back to Istanbul in the following years?

As mentioned earlier, in early 1904, the students who had arrived in 1899 were allowed to return for vacation to the Dutch East Indies. These students arrived at Tanjung Priok Harbor, Batavia, dressed in Turkish clothes – against the colonial regulations – and were greeted by the Ottoman Consul, Sadik Bey, while the police watched from a distance. This had quite a dramatic effect within the Arab community and reinforced the Ottoman image. The tug of war over Turkish clothing did not end. The threat of colonial punishment caused uneasiness and the parents of these students wanted to convey the case to the Ottoman Sultan. The students finally returned to Istanbul in February 1905.[106] Snouck Hurgronje only mentioned two sons of Ba Junaid and two sons of Bin Sunkar who came to the Dutch East Indies at that time. When

[99] Schmidt 1992, pp. 98-103.
[100] BOA, MF. MKT, 806/73.
[101] Schmidt 1992, p. 101.
[102] BOA, BEO, 2689/201627.; BOA, BEO, 2689/201671.
[103] BOA, MF. MKT, 887/51.
[104] BOA, DH. MKT, 1022/38.; BOA, BEO, 2700/202432.
[105] Schmidt 1992, p. 101.
[106] Schmidt 1992, p. 99.

Abdul Rahman Alaydrus returned to Batavia, he also wore Turkish clothes and was fined by the colonial government but was defended by his father and the Ottoman consul in Batavia.[107] The resistance through clothing became a kind of minor rebellion against the colonial restrictions.

It is possible that some children, at least Ahmad and Said Ba Junaid, returned early to Istanbul. There was an Ottoman document on 5 January 1905 which stated that Ahmad and Said Ba Junaid had finished school and wanted to continue to higher education at *Mülkiye*, but it was necessary to take a French language course for this purpose.[108] Another document on 10 January 1905 also mentions that two students from Java – perhaps Ahmad and Said – applied to higher education, but their status as foreigners became an issue.[109] The two brothers expressed to the Dutch consul in early February 1905 about their plan to continue their study for a year at *Mülkiye* and then to a Jesuit school in Beirut to study French, then to work in a banking company in the Netherlands.[110] In March 1906 apparently, they had completed the program in *Mülkiye* and they filed a petition to be allowed to receive imperial decoration like their Ottoman friends.[111] This petition was approved by the Minister of Education, Mustafa Hashim Pasha, in July 1906 and therefore they would soon receive their decoration.[112] However, in the previous month, the brothers went to Beirut to apply for study, but without success because their age did not meet the requirements. They spent time in Egypt and in October apparently took short courses in Damascus, before returning to Istanbul in April 1907 and finally returned to the Dutch East Indies in mid-May that year. The two brothers returned to Istanbul two years later and attempted to obtain Ottoman citizenship. Ahmad married to Fahire Hanim, daughter of the director of the imperial Harem, and apparently returned to the Dutch East Indies with his wife. Said Ba Junaid, the younger of the two brothers, also married a Turkish-European woman, and seemed to have continued living in Istanbul. At least he was the only student from Java who was still in Istanbul in 1915.[113] His wife is actually the daughter of Kamil Bey and according to a report in 1919, he stayed in Sindanglaya, Preanger, and Java.[114] Unfortunately, no more appearances of the other students of the 1899 batch in the documents collected by this research.

**The Aftermath**

The students of 1899 appeared to be the last group of students from Java studying in Istanbul, so the total number of the Indo-Hadrami students does not increase from the seventeen children Schmidt mentioned in 1900: six students arrived in 1895,

[107] Hurgronje et alii 1994: IX/1705-1706.
[108] BOA, Y. MTV, 269/229.
[109] BOA, MF. MKT, 823/93.
[110] Schmidt 1992, pp. 99-100.
[111] BOA, İ. MBH, 15/26.
[112] BOA, İ. TAL, 401/23.
[113] Schmidt 1992, pp. 100-102.
[114] *IO 1919*, India Office Records.

four in 1898, and seven in 1899.[115] The thirty students who were supposed to come after 1899 might never actually go to Istanbul. Lack of Ottoman funding and unsatisfactory results of some of the students most likely had caused the discontinuation of the scholarship in Istanbul. However, the Indo-Hadramis' dream for good education did not go away. Through Jamiat Kheir association that was founded in 1901 by the leaders of Arab community in Batavia, they had established some schools since 1906.[116] The Jamiat Kheir School is probably the earliest modern Islamic school established in the Dutch East Indies.

Deliar Noer suggests that none of the above students played important roles when they returned to the Dutch East Indies.[117] This is generally true, but it does not mean they had no contribution at all. Some students did not succeed in their studies and most who graduated did not have far-reaching contributions to the society, at least compared to the role played by their parents, and were below the expectations that might be anticipated from such a prestigious overseas education. Instead, these students seemed to have lost the outstanding commercial skills their parents had and tended to become professionals. However, Ahmad and Said Ba Junayd had founded the Sarekat Dagang Islamiah (SDI) with Tirtoadisurjo in Bogor in 1909. Ahmad became the president of this organization while Said was its treasurer.[118] SDI of Tirtoadisurjo was later brought to an end, but then continued by Haji Samanhudi. After that it turned into the largest organization in its era, namely Sarekat Islam. The Hadrami people still played an important role in the Sarekat Islam organization, at least until the late 1910s. However, the two brothers seemed to have been less involved in this organization in the following years.

The restriction policies (*wijkenstelsel* and *passenstelsel*) that had annoyed the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies was finally abolished. In 1911, the Arabs in Java and Madura were given the freedom to move. However, the Hadrami activism and their cooperation with the Ottoman consuls in Batavia did not stop, if not increase, at least until the end of the First World War. This shows that their previous activities were not merely reactive to the colonial policies. The Hadramis did not only ask for the Ottoman's support to achieve their objectives. They also participated in providing certain assistance to the Ottoman Government and society, as the Ottoman consuls in Batavia also actively requested this support from them. Consul Rasim Bey, for example, raised funds in 1904 from Arab leaders and others for railway development in the Hijaz.[119] During the Balkan War, in 1912 the Ottoman Consul Rafet Bey initiated the establishment of the Red Crescent Society (*al-Hilal al-Ahmar*) in the Dutch East Indies to collect humanitarian aid for the war victims. The funds they raised were then sent to headquarter of the Red Crescent Society in Istanbul for distribution. It was the Hadrami

[115] Schmidt 1992, p. 98.
[116] *Hadramawt* 1930.
[117] Noer 1994, p. 69.
[118] Mobini-Kesheh 1999, p. 43.
[119] Schmidt 1992, pp. 89, 106-107.

people in the Dutch East Indies who practically run this organization.[120] The establishment of this organization was even carried out at the Jamiat Kheir office. Between 1912 and 1913 this humanitarian institution, represented by its leader Abu Bakr al-Attas, had transferred money to the Red Crescent headquarter in Istanbul four times with a total of 46,000 francs.[121] In 1916, the Batavia branch of the Red Crescent raised more than 2,000 guilders.[122] However, it was not only the Arabs that involved in collecting humanitarian funds to the Ottoman. Sarekat Islam also attempted to raise humanitarian funds for the Ottoman and started a cooperation with the Red Crescent Society in 1915.[123] Even the Chinese-Malay newspaper *Sin Po* and certain regions with a small number of Muslims such as Papua also raised funds for the Red Crescent, so that in 1917 an amount of 23,000 guilders were collected for this institution.[124]

However, the Ottomans had significantly deteriorated after the First World War and would gradually bring about the end of this dynasty. This situation, along with various other factors, forced the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies to reorganize their movement. The dynamic relationship between the Hadrami people and the Ottoman that begun in the 1880s finally ceased to exist with the end of the Ottoman rule.

**Conclusion**

Even though the interesting of the Ottomans to the Indonesian archipelago is started in the middle of the 16th century, there has been a disconnection period between the two regions in almost two and half centuries. Alaeddin Tekin explains the reasons of this disconnection period in three factors which are a long distance and a lack of common interest between the two regions and the period of stagnation for the Ottoman Empire during this period.[125] In the second half of the 19th century, along with the development of the idea of Pan-Islamism, there was a cooperation between the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies and the Ottoman Government. The Hadrami people, who felt that they were treated unjustly by the colonial government, especially through restrictions of movement, hoped to realize emancipation through this cooperation. On the other hand, the Ottoman also needed support from the Islamic world, including from the Muslim community in the Dutch East Indies, to strengthen itself from further declining.

Since the early 1880s, the Ottoman appointed its consuls in Batavia who from time to time played an active role in carrying out the Ottoman interests, which led to the colonial government observing the activities of these consuls with caution. The Ottoman consulate became a place for the Hadramis to complain about their problems under the colonial rules, and by the end of the 19th century an educational program through the sending of students to Istanbul was successfully launched. However, the final results of

[120] Supratman 2017, p. 51.
[121] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* 1913: 18.
[122] Supratman 2017, p. 51.
[123] *De Preanger-bode* 1915: 3.
[124] Van Dijk 2007, 247.
[125] Tekin 2021, p. 179.

this program were not as significant as what might be expected. Most of these students did not play an important role when they returned to the Dutch East Indies, at least it was very disproportionate to the role played by their parents. However, two of them had become the founder of Sarekat Dagang Islamiah in Bogor in 1909, an organization which later, though somewhat obliquely, developed into Sarekat Islam that was very influential in the 1910s. Not only did the Hadramis get assistance in the form of education and other supports from the Ottoman consuls, the Hadrami people had organized the Red Crescent Society and transferred large amounts of funds to help victims during the Balkan War and the First World War.

The cooperation between the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies and the Ottoman did not give maximum results for the Hadrami people and certainly did not save the Ottoman from its inevitable collapse. However, it does not mean this cooperation has no influence at all in history. This cooperation, directly or indirectly, had contributed to the dynamics of the emergence and development of early Islamic organizations in Indonesia, especially Jamiat Kheir and Sarekat Islam. The hopes raised by this collaboration might contribute more than the direct realization achieved by both parties. This hope had become the spirit that nurturing the seeds of the 20$^{th}$ century Islamic movement in Indonesia.

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**d. Interview/personal communication**

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