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THE HIKAYAT ABDULLAH

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ABDULLAH BIN ABDUL KADIR

An Annotated Translation by

A. H. HILL



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MAPS

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ABBREVIATIONS

In the footnotes of this book, references in brackets are to works listed by subjects in short bibliographies on pp. 317-325.

- EIC Rec. The East India Company letter-books. In the Raffles Museum archives.
- JFMS Mus. Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums (Kuala Lumpur; 1st series 17 pts., edited R. J. Wilkinson, 1907-11; 2nd series, 1-7, 1912-27). For detailed analyses of the series 'Papers on Malay Subjects' and C. B. Buckley's 'Anecdotal History', see JMBRAS, 25, (1), 1952, and 27, (1), 1954.
- JIA Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia, edited by J. R. Logan (Singapore, 1-9, N.S. 1-4, 1847-63).
- JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore, 1, 1923, continuing).
- JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore, 1-86, 1878-1922).

PREFACE

A complete translation of the *Hikayat Abdullah* is long overdue. For all its shortcomings Munshi Abdullah's Autobiography is a document of much interest to historians of the Far East. The translations of Thomson and Shellabear are out of date, and the translators of excerpts have been confronted with the difficulty that in many passages the author's meaning can be understood only when considered in the context of his life and times. It is a matter of coincidence that the present translation was begun in March, 1949 exactly a hundred years after Abdullah's Autobiography was first published.

My original intention was to render the text fairly freely into modern English. But when the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society offered to publish my work it was clear that it would be longer than is usually handled in the Society's journal, and after the first draft had been examined by the Board of South-East Asian Studies of the University of Malaya that university generously offered a grant to cover the extra cost of publication. I have had therefore to bear in mind the needs of Malayan students.

To make a translation that can be compared closely with the text I have been obliged to sacrifice consistency of style and to retain all the pleonasm and repetitions of the original, in an attempt to mirror the variety of styles employed by the author. In the short *Bab Yang Kêdua*, Abdullah's "Second Volume" included as an epilogue, my translation is much freer.

Although Abdullah describes the events of his life in roughly chronological sequence his narrative lacks formal development. He discusses unconnected topics in no logical order, returning again and again to his favourite themes like the evil of debt-slavery and the difficulty of the Malay language. Much cross-referencing has been necessary to keep track of the many threads in the pattern of his life-story as it unfolds. In the explanatory notes I have tried to throw light on Abdullah's obscurities, his misrepresentations of fact and occasional solecisms; and to assess his claim, substantial as it is, to have written a work of importance and merit.

In the introduction there is an account of Abdullah's life and the history of his time sufficient for an understanding of the text. I hope

that readers requiring more detailed information will find the lists of references useful. These lists, which are given under subject headings at the end of each chapter in the notes section, are not exhaustive. But I have tried to include references to every source whose contribution to the subject, however small, is a positive one, and not merely a summary of earlier information.

I am greatly indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt for help in translating some passages in the text and for corrections to the notes. I am grateful to Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill for many useful suggestions in the introduction and notes. Stanley Read of the Malaya Publishing House kindly explained to me Abdullah's account of an early printing process. The late C. E. Wurtzburg, *M.C.*, supplied information on the life of Sir Stamford Raffles, especially his visits to Malacca. C. D. Cowan provided notes on the Opium Wars in China, and the Rev. Dr. Amstutz particulars about the work of the Christian Church in Singapore. Criticisms by Prof. Brian Harrison and D. E. M. Fiennes of my original draft have been of great value to me. The map of Malacca Fort was prepared by the Survey Department in Malacca, and appears by kind permission of the Director of Surveys, Federation of Malaya. The remaining maps were supplied from the Raffles Museum: nos VI & VII are from old prints in the Museum archives: the other four were specially prepared for this work by K. M. Foong and C. A. Gibson-Hill.

A. H. Hill

16 January, 1954

INTRODUCTION

Political Background to 19th Century Malaya

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir was born in Malacca in 1797, some eighteen months after the Dutch garrison stationed in the port had capitulated to a small British squadron without a shot fired in its defence. Situated half-way along the Straits of Malacca and sheltered from both monsoons by the land masses of the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra, Malacca for the last four centuries had been an important commercial centre, a port midway between India and China and an entrepôt for the islands of the East Indian Archipelago with their valuable trade in pepper, camphor, sandalwood and spices. It also marketed the tin and gold of the peninsula and distributed the cottons of India and the porcelain, drugs and silks of China.

As early as the beginning of the Christian era Indian traders from the Coromandel coast had formed colonies along the western shores of the Malay Peninsula, and on the eastern seaboard contacts had been made from Cambodia and China from a very early time. The continuous record of history goes back no further than 1400 A.D., when a Palembang king of Singapore and his band of followers fled to Malacca to escape, according to the most authentic account, the vengeance of the Siamese after he had murdered their governor of the island. Accepted as chief among the Proto-Malay inhabitants and fishermen of the coast he founded a dynasty of rulers whose kingdom grew and flourished on international trade. The town attracted Indian Muslims who converted the inhabitants to Islam. Rich Tamil merchants introduced a luxuriant culture to the royal court and the cosmopolitan citizens of the port. But its independence lasted little over a hundred years, for its prosperity and favourable position attracted the attention of the Portuguese at Goa, whose early explorations had made them first among the European nations in the race for the spice trade of the East Indies. Regarding themselves as crusaders in the name of Catholicism they conquered Malacca in 1511, driving the last Sultan into exile.

At the height of their power in the East the Portuguese built forts at Amboyna, Tidore and Malacca. Contemporary records of the period by Tome Pires (*Suma Oriental*, 1512-15), Duarte Barbosa (1518),

Godinho de Eredia (1613) and Barretto de Resende (1638) testify to the greatness of the Lusitanian Empire with its headquarters at Goa. But the Portuguese, a small nation which could ill afford the men required to maintain its eastern empire, lost command of the sea and were exposed to attack by hostile Muslim kingdoms and the rival powers England and Holland whose navies were contending for supremacy. In 1641 the Dutch conquered Malacca after a five and a half months' siege and the Banner of the Seven Castles was hauled down for ever. The new occupying power had already achieved almost a stranglehold over the trade of the Spice Islands and most of the southern part of the Archipelago.

After the Amboyna Massacre in 1623 the English East India Company, a private concern founded by a group of London merchants in 1600, had abandoned almost all its trading centres in the Far East to its powerful Dutch rival. It chose to concentrate on India rather than to continue the unequal and dangerous struggle east of the Malacca Strait.

But the wars of the 17th century had been a drain on Holland's manpower, and although she emerged from the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 with all her possessions intact she lacked the resources to maintain them. Native revolts broke out in the outer islands, compelling the Dutch before long to relax their grip. In Malaya Bugis colonists of Johore, Selangor and Perak alternately made treaties with the Dutch in Malacca or, like Raja Haji, attacked their strongholds and harried their ships at sea. In 1795 a commission from Holland announced that the Company was bankrupt. Holland cancelled its Charter and imposed direct colonial rule, retaining the seat of government at Batavia.

Abdullah therefore was born into a world on the eve of great changes. For soon the English India Company was once more to take an interest in the Malayan area. After some obstruction Captain Light had founded an English settlement on Penang Island in 1786 and the Dutch had been unable to oppose him. Then revolutionary and imperialist France was to appear on the European scene, profoundly modifying English policy in the Far East. Acting nominally as protectors of Dutch rights usurped by the French revolutionary government the English occupied Malacca in 1795, but would have returned it to its rightful owners at the Peace of Amiens in 1802 had not war broken out again before it could be done. This time the Dutch were the allies of Napoleon Bonaparte whose brother Louis was appointed King of Holland. Napoleon dreamed of a French empire stretching from Africa to Java, to be won by defeating the

British navy in the Mediterranean and by attacking India from the French possessions of Mauritius and Reunion. Lord Minto, who became Governor-General of India in 1807, sent expeditionary forces to occupy these two islands in 1810. In the same year he appointed Stamford Raffles, secretary to the Penang Council who was soon to become the lasting friend of Abdullah, to be his agent for collecting information for an attack on Java. In 1811 after a short campaign the Dutch were defeated in Java and all French designs on British possessions in the east came to an end.

Raffles was left as Lieutenant-Governor of Java until 1816, shortly before it was retroceded to the Dutch after the Congress of Vienna. French imperialism had been temporarily shattered, but on the European scene it was still thought necessary for England to adhere to her traditional policy of keeping Holland friendly and politically strong enough to stand up to France. All the Dutch possessions occupied during the war were restored except Cape Colony. Malacca was handed back in September 1818. Lord Hastings, Minto's successor, had his instructions not to offend Holland by opposing too far a revival of her old monopolist trading policy in the East Indies. At first Hastings did not agree with his predecessor's high opinion on the merits of Raffles, who back in London in 1817 championed the case for a more aggressive policy to resist Dutch pretensions. But Raffles had to plead before an intensely suspicious Court of Directors who regarded his political ambitions as dangerous. The East India Company still thought in terms of favourable balance sheets, Penang had belied its early promise of great commercial success and Bencoolen was a dead loss. The Directors were in no mood to enter into further territorial commitments at the risk of conflict with the Dutch. Raffles went out east again to take charge of the Bencoolen settlement with a knighthood, a second wife—his first, born Olivia Devenish, had died in Java—and a warning to moderate his anti-Dutch policy.

Powerless to interfere, Raffles watched the steady encroachment of Dutch sovereignty along the coast and islands of Java and Sumatra. In 1818 after an interview with Hastings in Calcutta he received qualified support to found a new English trading centre to the south of Penang fronting the waxing tide of Dutch expansion. Orders cancelling this instruction were actually sent only three weeks after Raffles left on his mission at the end of the year. But fortunately for the British the orders arrived too late, and the upshot was the founding of Singapore. Once the landing had been made even Hastings realized that to withdraw would be a demonstration of weakness which would only play into the hands of the Dutch. There are

accounts by two eye-witnesses of the actual landing on 28 January 1819 near the entrance to the Singapore River. The fuller is from the pen of Lt. Crawford, of the Bombay Marine, the commander of one of the survey ships that accompanied Raffles's flotilla from the Karimun Islands.

The Dutch, already installed in the Riau Archipelago made strong protests. From London the Court of Directors, fearful of provoking open hostilities, angrily told Raffles that he was a meddlesome bungler likely to involve England in political complications in Europe. However as the days passed without the Dutch threat being translated into action more moderate counsels prevailed. The Dutch claim that they owned the island of Singapore although it had not been occupied by them was rejected, and the validity of Raffles's manoeuvres to secure a legal title were upheld. But the ultimate fate of the infant settlement was uncertain until the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824 was ratified. This restored Malacca to the English in exchange for Bencoolen, marked out British and Dutch spheres of commercial interest and recognized the English as rightful owners of Singapore.

Raffles, who remained in charge at Bencoolen while Farquhar was Resident at Singapore, made only two more visits to the settlement he had founded, totalling ten months in all. In June, 1823, he returned to Bencoolen, and in April the following year sailed for England. Farquhar had preceded him: neither of them ever again visited the East. Raffles lived just long enough to see his "political child" become a permanent British possession, and to realize that its commercial importance had already exceeded his most sanguine hopes. The 1824 Treaty ushered in a period of peace that lasted for a hundred and seventeen years during which Singapore's prosperity grew until it became one of the greatest of the world's ports.

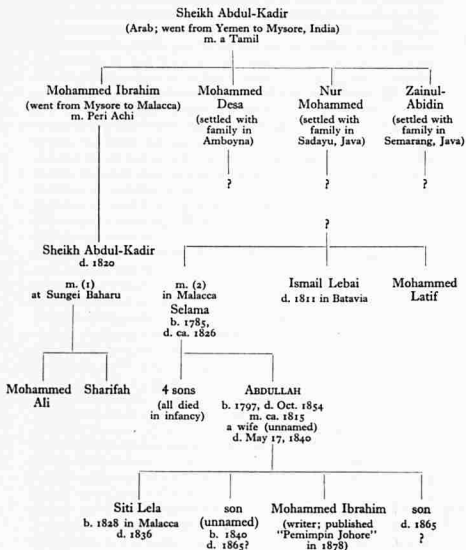
Abdullah's Life

Our knowledge of Abdullah's life is confined almost entirely to what he tells us in the autobiography here translated and in two or three other shorter works, all but the last written while he was in Singapore. His account of current events requires some correction in the light of what is recorded elsewhere in the literature of the period. Yet in view of the mark he made as a Malay writer and teacher among Englishmen who have left some account of their lives and work, it is surprising how rarely his name occurs anywhere in contemporary records. None of the existing letters from the pen of Sir Stamford Raffles mentions the Malay scribe whose youthful precocity so struck

him in Malacca. Neither Begbie nor Newbold acknowledges his indebtedness to Abdullah for the information he gave them for their well-known books. None of the chroniclers of the early days in the new Settlement like John Crawford, Duncan, Osborn and Earl mention him. Of the heads of government only Butterworth (1843-55) gives him any recognition. One writer alone had described his appearance and manner. J. T. Thomson, writing of the '40's, when Abdullah had already reached middle age, says: "In physiognomy he was a Tamilian of southern Hindustan: slightly bent forward, spare, energetic, bronze in complexion, oval-faced, high-nosed, one eye squinting outwards a little. He dressed in the usual style of Malacca Tamils. Acheen *sêluar*, check *sarong*, printed *baju*, square skull cap and sandals. He had the vigour and pride of the Arab, the perseverance and subtlety of the Hindoo—in language and national sympathy only was he a Malay." Abdullah himself mentions that he had a beard.

Abdullah's family tree is shown on the next page. His great-grandfather was an Arab from Yemen, a country of men fanatical in their Muslim orthodoxy. Missionaries of Islam, many of them carried their faith to other parts of the world. Shaikh Abdul-Kadir emigrated to Nagore, a province of Mysore in southern India, and there he married a Tamil woman. He was a man of culture and distinction among his neighbours, their spiritual teacher and guide. His four sons all emigrated further to the East after his death. One settled in Sumatra, one in Java and one in Amboyna, and of these we hear no more in the story. The fourth, Abdullah's grandfather, Mohammed Ibrahim by name, went to Malacca where he married a young girl, a half-Indian like himself. She was a teacher at the Koran School in the quarter of the town where the Indian Muslims lived. When Abdullah's father was born he was given the name Abdul Kadir after his grandfather. Abdul Kadir grew up a good linguist, proficient in Malay, Tamil and Arabic, as well as a staunch and conservative upholder of his faith. He inherited the family tradition of learning, and his superior education enabled him to become a prosperous business man in Malacca. Soon he was earning additional money as a religious teacher, and before long he had married an upcountry Malay woman in a village near Taboh Naning called Lubok Kêpong, where he became *khatib* of the mosque. Soon afterwards he moved to Sungei Baharu where two children were born to them. But he then divorced his wife because the climate of her village did not suit him. Returning to the busy world of Malacca he became a Malay teacher and professional letter-writer. One of his pupils Abdullah says, was William Marsden, the eminent oriental scholar who served for a time at

Abdullah's Family Tree



Bencoolen and afterwards became First Secretary to the Navy during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1785 Abdul-Kadir married his second wife, a Malacca-born half-Indian named Sëlama. Their first four children all died in infancy. Abdullah the fifth and last alone lived to maturity.

Abdul-Kadir had risen to a position of importance as a member of the harbourmaster's department under the Dutch. After the English arrived in 1795 he became captain of a merchant vessel belonging to Adrien Koek, a senior Dutch official who retained his position under the new regime. On Koek's instructions Abdul-Kadir visited places up and down the Malay Peninsula and along the Java coast, and spent some time collecting manuscripts for the Dutch Government at Batavia.

Abdullah says that his parents were not temperamentally suited to one another—their stars, as he puts it, were ill-matched. In great travail his mother gave birth to the boy whom an Arab pundit in Malacca had prophesied would live and was to be named Abdullah after him. Her pangs brought forth a delicate weakling whose life was often despaired of during the first few years. Psychiatrists would probably say that he had a marked Oedipus complex. Certainly he doted on his mother and clung to her for support against the moodiness and uncertain temper of his father whose rare visits home the young child learned to fear. Abdullah was by nature introspective and in his early years suffered periods of unusual depression, though he became more normal as he grew up. His intelligence and rare temperament soon showed themselves. He was a great favourite with his grandmother Peri Achi and by the age of four he was sitting on her knee at her school near their home learning to scribble on a schoolboy's slate. At the age of six he suffered a severe attack of dysentery from which he only just recovered, and his grandmother so pampered the frail child that even at the the age of seven he could not read a word of the Koran. While other children chanted their verses he traced out the written Arabic characters with his pen as fancy took him. But this Montessori treatment implanted in him a passion for the written word which was to give him a great advantage over his fellows in his later studies. From such beginnings there grew an enthusiasm for literary adventure which remained with him for the rest of his life.

One day about the year 1804 Abdullah's easy life abruptly changed. His father returned suddenly from his travels and, furious at his son's backwardness, set him at once to arduous and long study at the Kampong Pali Koran school near which the family settled in a new house. Every night his father questioned him on his lessons and chastised him for every mistake he made. All Sëlama's pleadings for

her son availed nothing. Abdullah played truant from school as often as he dared risk it. But his inherited talent now had a chance to show itself. In class he soon outstripped his less gifted schoolmates and he seems to have escaped personal experience of the brutal punishments he describes (with a gruesome picture) as reserved for naughty and stupid pupils. When he could recite the Koran he was circumcised according to Malay custom. During the next two years or more he made his first attempt to study a spoken language; not Malay but Tamil, a Dravidian tongue of southern India which his father spoke well and which was used in commerce by all the rich merchants of the port. His father was careful not to let him neglect his Koran studies, and led him on to writing Arabic by making him go to the mosque and write down the names of the people there. Every night he gave him writing exercises, severely punishing his mistakes, until he was word perfect. He set him to write out the Koran with all the correct diacritical marks, an exacting task even for the religious scholar, and gave him an Arabic text to translate into Malay.

By the time he was eleven years old Abdullah was earning money by writing Koranic texts and teaching religion to soldiers of the Indian garrison stationed in the Fort, the majority of whom were Muslims. From them in return he learned Hindustani and for part of the three years he was with them he went to live in the Fort. The soldiers called him "munshi" (a teacher of language), a title which stuck to him for the rest of his life, and by which he is known to posterity. But his father was not keen on him doing this, and insisted on his returning home at frequent intervals to get on with his Malay studies which were just beginning. It was his first real chance of a secular education. Few if any of his school-fellows at Peri Achi's school would have progressed beyond the stage considered necessary and sufficient for the times, parrot-like recitations of the Koran with only the vaguest guidance as to its meaning.

Abdullah has left a charming story of the first big opportunity he had to prove his worth to his parents. A ship's captain who owed money to a Chinese in Malacca came one day to the house to ask Abdullah's father, who happened to be out, to write a bond. After the Captain had waited for some time Abdullah volunteered, with some hesitation, to do it for him. Just as he had finished and the captain was leaving with the signed document in his hand, Abdullah being the richer by a whole dollar, in walked Abdul-Kadir. Abdullah promptly ran off to his room but his father, unable to conceal his real feelings, told his mother how proud he was of their only son; and although afterwards he soundly rated him in his usual manner for

making mistakes Abdullah, listening at the door, had heard all he wanted to know. Thereafter he was allowed to understudy his father in his petition-writing business, and he was sent to study under the finest Malay scholars in Malacca. He read avidly all the Malay manuscripts he could lay his hands on, and his enquiring mind gave his teachers no rest until they had answered all his questions. He tramped all over the district to find tutors who could expound to him the intricacies of Malay idiom. He sat at the feet of learned visitors from other countries. By the time he was fourteen years old he was an accomplished Malay scholar.

Up to this time the only event of public importance in Malacca had been the destruction of the famous old Fort by Captain Farquhar in 1807. The original orders from the Penang Government had included demolition of the town and evacuation of the settlement, with the dual purpose of removing a possible trade rival to Penang and of destroying anything in the place that would be of value should another power occupy it. Fortunately on Raffles's recommendations the second part of the plan was not carried out, and of it Abdullah obviously knew nothing. He gives a vivid and accurate picture of the old Fort as he remembers it when it was still standing, and of the consternation of all the people when they saw it blown to pieces. He seems not to have met Raffles on his first two visits, but on his third, when he was Lord Minto's special agent, Abdullah became the youngest of a number of scribes and copyists whom Raffles employed in his office. Abdullah was too young to understand anything of the nature of Raffles's mission, but he tells us about Raffles's natural history collections, how everyone marvelled at the Englishman who paid fantastic prices for strange animals and insects, for rare manuscripts and books of verses. Abdullah was kept busy copying manuscripts, in Raffles's house, which stood at Bandar Hilir on the southern outskirts of the town.

Biographies of Sir Stamford Raffles have been written by Boulger (1899), Egerton (1900), Coupland (1946) and Wurtzburg (1954). Yet the most intimate and pleasing portrait of the great man, as he appeared to the eyes of a hero-worshipping yet discerning Asian, comes from the pen of Abdullah. In a passage often quoted he mentions Raffles's broadness of brow, a sign of thoroughness; his projecting forehead, a sign of intelligence; his large ears, the mark of a ready listener. Abdullah concludes a tribute to Raffles's nobility and kindness of heart with words for which J. T. Thomson has found so happy a translation: "He spoke in smiles." No less favourable are Abdullah's comments on Raffles's first wife Olivia, whom he describes as the ideal soul-mate for a busy man of affairs.

By the beginning of 1811 plans for the invasion of Java were nearly complete. Abdullah describes the magnificent parades held as General Auchmuty, Colonel Gillespie and Lord Minto arrived one after the other from India with large bodies of troops and were received with guards of honour and bands playing in the town of Malacca. He notes the fine precision drill of a cavalry regiment whose horses manœuvred to the call of a bugle, the crowds that came to watch their mock battles, the different castes of the Indian Sepoys and their strange customs.

To Abdullah belongs credit for the only record of an episode in the preparations for the Java expedition, a minor affair in which Raffles for once was outwitted. Raffles wanted to find out if the Susunan of Mataram, a semi-autonomous kingdom of Java, would be an ally of the English in their fight against the Dutch. In March 1811 he secured the services of no less a person than the ruler of Siak, Těngku Panglima Běsar, who happened to be in Malacca. It was arranged that the king should take a letter to the Susunan, in company with a Javanese Pangeran (prince) as interpreter, and return with the answer as quickly as possible to Malacca. Raffles gave them a comfortable launch manned by the Company's crew, money, food and a safe-conduct through the blockading ships along the Java coast. Weeks passed and then, when the first part of the invasion fleet had already sailed and hope of the launch's return had almost been given up, the two envoys arrived and handed Raffles an imposing letter enclosed in yellow wrapping. The Pangeran translated it, saying that the Susunan was on their side. But something aroused Raffles's suspicions and he spent a long time examining the letter after the two men had left. Then he called for a sheet of the office note-paper. Comparing it with the paper on which the letter was written Raffles saw that the two were identical. Abdullah and his colleagues all agreed that there could be no doubt about the perfidy of Raffles's two envoys. Summoning the Pangeran back Raffles stormed and raged at him, and gradually the true story came out. The craven Pangeran threw all the blame on his superior. They had gone nowhere near Mataram, but to Jambi in southern Sumatra where the Siak ruler had disposed of a lot of valuable property he had placed on board Raffles's boat. The boat he had used for several weeks to indulge his taste for piracy up and down the Jambi River. Then the Pangeran had been made to concoct a letter and had been sworn to secrecy. Purple with rage Raffles sent for Těngku Panglima Běsar and cursed him roundly for his duplicity, threatening him with violent death.

The whole of this little drama Abdullah, unknown to the actors, had watched through a crack in the door of the room. In actual fact the incident was more mortifying to Raffles than intrinsically important. The following morning Raffles sailed in Lord Minto's ship to Java, and Abdullah's next meeting with him was nine years later in Singapore. Raffles had suggested taking him to Java but his mother refused to part with her only child; wisely perhaps, for her brother Ismail Lebai who went with the expedition died of fever in Batavia three months later.

For the next four years Abdullah did nothing worthy of mention. His story opens again in 1815 with the arrival in Malacca of the Rev. William Milne, an L.M.S. missionary who had spent two years in Macao and Canton. With his wife and three children he lived inside the old fort area and started a free Bible class for local children in his house. Abdullah, remembering advice given him by Raffles and Lord Minto, attended the class to learn English. Milne soon discovered his proficiency in Malay and made him his teacher. Gradually more missionaries came to join Milne, and Abdullah was kept busy teaching them Malay and translating the Gospels. One of the first of these was a German, the Rev. C. H. Thomsen who became Abdullah's lifelong friend, although his obstinacy in refusing to accept Abdullah's advice about Malay idiom led to an early quarrel which required all Milne's tact to smooth over. Abdullah defends his own attitude at some length. Many times he upbraids even his close friends for their ungrammatical and awkward speech, and for their pretentious assumption that the Malay language is easy to learn. He made no concession to those whose work lay among the Chinese and who required a smattering of Malay only for conversational purposes while they made a serious study of a much more difficult language. But there was little excuse for Thomsen who later aspired to be a Malay scholar.

Many missionaries remained a year or more in Malacca before passing on to other stations. By 1817 Milne had established a training centre where missionaries newly out from England could learn oriental languages and gain first-hand knowledge of the Society's work in the East. Some locally born converts were also trained for the ministry. The centre published a paper called the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*. Milne contributed an article on Malay demonology from information given by Abdullah, who in spite of his orthodox creed was quite an authority on devils, ogres and charms. Abdullah drew a picture of a Malay birth-spirit, a trunkless head flying through the air with trailing entrails, which was reproduced in the paper. By that time (ca. 1817) the Mission had acquired a handpress which Abdullah was taught to

use. He and Thomsen translated parts of the Bible into Malay and printed copies of numerous religious tracts, stories and language primers. Two famous missionaries who spent some time in Malacca were Robert Morrison, the "Chinese" Morrison of Canton and Macao, and Walter Medhurst, afterwards well-known for his work in Batavia and China.

In urging Malay children to attend the mission school Abdullah faced strong resentment from his family and friends who thought that the real purpose of these English and Malay lessons was to undermine his faith in the religion of Allah. Abdullah's father disliked his association with Christian missionaries. On one occasion he ordered him bluntly to have nothing more to do with them. But Milne spoke with his customary good sense and Abdul-Kadir gave way.

Abdullah was present at the opening of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca on November 11th, 1818. The foundation-stone was laid by the ex-Resident, Major Farquhar, who was shortly to leave Malacca having already handed the port back under the Treaty of Vienna to a Dutch Governor, Timmerman Thyssen. Thyssen also was present, and Milne made a speech in Chinese. Shortly after this Abdullah married, again through the good offices of Milne who, after a talk with his father, persuaded him to overcome his unaccountable diffidence. The celebrations were attended by Milne and a few of the missionaries. Abdullah nowhere mentions the name of his wife, though they remained deeply attached to each other until her death twenty years later.

Earlier in the year Farquhar had been away from Malacca, and rumours spread round the town that he was looking for another place to found a settlement. The story that he was searching for an English lady seized by pirates deceived nobody, least of all Abdullah who naively pretends to be taken in. In fact Farquhar visited the islands to the south and west of the Malay Peninsula on what was announced to the Dutch as a trading mission. He concluded what he thought was a satisfactory agreement with the Sultan of Lingga, and was favourably impressed with the Karimun Islands, which he passed, as a site for an English settlement. In September 1818 he had returned to Malacca to hand over to Thyssen, as we have noted above. His work in the East then being finished, he went to Penang to wait for a ship to England. There he met Raffles returning from Calcutta with Lord Hastings's instructions and agreed to accompany him to the southern end of the Straits. They landed at the mouth of the Singapore River on 28th January, 1819. Abdullah in the most unhistorical blunder of his whole book declares that Raffles was not present at the original

landing. His version of the story is a garbled one, culled from incorrect information obtained after the events he attempts to describe.

Thomsen and Abdullah went to Singapore some time after June 1819. Abdullah describes the Sea Gypsies, aboriginal-Malays who lived by fishing and piracy round the island; and the elder brother of the Sultan of Riau who had been installed Sultan of Singapore by Raffles before the signing of the treaty ceding to the English the sole right to maintain a trading station on the island. Sultan Husain Shah lived in Kampong Gélam a mile to the east of the new settlement. Tēmēng-gong Abdul-Rahman, the titular overlord of Johore, on the north bank of the Singapore River, from about the end of the present Elgin Bridge seaward to just beyond the level of Hallpike Street.

Raffles visited the Settlement again in October, 1822. One day he took Abdullah and Thomsen to see a remarkable stone with an illegible inscription which had been found at the mouth of the Singapore River. Believed to commemorate Majapahit's conquest of Singapore in the 14th century it baffled the best scholars among the crowds that saw it before it was blown to pieces twenty years later to allow for the extension of the sea-wall round Fort Fullerton.

One night there was consternation in the Settlement. A judgement debtor handed over to police custody had escaped and run *amok*. He had forced his way into the house of his creditor brandishing a *kērís*, but his intended victim had run out at the back and spread the alarm. The Resident, Major Farquhar, and two other officers with an armed guard were on their way to the house when they met Abdullah and invited him to join them. The offender could not be found. Just as they were about to abandon the search Farquhar prodded his stick through the floor of an outhouse—and instantly fell to the ground stabbed. His assailant, identified later as the escaped man, made a dash but was caught and hacked to pieces by the soldiers. Abdullah and the guard carried Farquhar to the nearest house and a doctor was hastily summoned. The Resident's injuries were not serious. At first it was assumed that the Sultan was behind the atrocity and Raffles ordered the palace to be surrounded by armed troops. They were withdrawn after a few hours when it was plain that he was not implicated. Raffles had the dead body publicly gibbeted an act which Abdullah seems to have considered a salutary lesson to those needing it. Abdullah mentions the constant brawls and fights that broke out between the Sultan's followers and Farquhar's Malacca Malays until the carrying of weapons in the streets was forbidden, a regulation against which the Sultan protested. Raffles persuaded the Tēmēng-gong to move his household and followers, by this time amounting

to 607 men, women and children, to Tělok Bělanga, after which street riots occurred less often.

Abdullah was present at a large gathering of people when Raffles laid the foundation-stone of a school for local children, the Singapore Institution, to the planning of which he had given such long and careful attention. The ceremony took place four days before he boarded the *Hero of Malown* and sailed from Singapore for the last time in June 1823. Abdullah graphically describes the spontaneous outburst of grief and affection that marked Raffles's departure and the addresses of congratulation given him by members of the various communities. A multitude of all races lined the shore or sat in boats round his ship as it prepared to leave the harbour. Abdullah tells of the sadness he felt as he packed in trunks and leather cases all Raffles's rare books, manuscripts and maps, as well as natural history specimens and objets d'art from Java—the entire collection to be lost when a later ship, the *Fame*, caught fire off Bencoolen. It took twenty lighters, according to Abdullah, to convey all Raffles's luggage out to the ship. Abdullah could not have guessed what the future held in store for the great man who had befriended him; indignation when the East India Company, faced with declining revenues and anxious to please its share-holders, refused to reward him suitably for his services; financial losses, illness and an early death. Advising Abdullah to stick to his teaching work and to learn English until he was fluent Raffles gave him a testimonial and an order to a business friend in Singapore to pay him two hundred dollars. Invited on board the ship to say good-by, he was taken to the cabin where Lady Raffles gave him twenty-five dollars as a present for his children in Malacca. Unable any longer to control his emotion Abdullah burst into tears. Later he tried to express what he felt in a restrained and rather naïve *pantun*: “. . . Mr. Raffles, wise is he. How well the hearts of men he knows. . . .” Returning to the shore he waved to Raffles on deck, who waved back—a lean, spare figure receding into the distance. The ship weighed anchor and was gone.

With a heavy heart Abdullah went along the next morning to claim his two hundred dollars, signed a receipt—the astute business man was taking no chances—and came out of the office with the money in his hand. Deprived of Raffles's fatherly counsel he felt utterly lost, and soon afterwards he went back to his house in Malacca. It was on his return to Singapore early in 1824 that he heard of the disastrous fire on board the *Fame* which had destroyed all Raffles's property, though Raffles and his wife were safe. The new Resident was John Crawford who had served under Raffles in Java. Abdullah is quite

frank about his dislike of the man charged with the duty of making the new Settlement pay its way after the heavy expenditure lavished on it for the past four years. Abdullah rarely displays any malice, but he cannot conceal his delight at the great ovation given to Farquhar when he left in December 1823, the crowd which gathered along the water-front to bid him farewell, in the midst of which Crawford was completely ignored.

Until the Anglo Dutch Treaty was finally ratified in 1825 the future of Singapore remained unsettled. With some bitterness Abdullah contrasts Crawford's parsimoniousness with the Farquhar's open-handed prodigality. He accuses Crawford of apathy in attending to public needs like road-building and police. He tells a dubious story of the high-handed manner in which Crawford allegedly kept the Sultan and the Tëmenggong short of their allowances to force them into signing the 1824 treaty which ceded Singapore to the East India Company. He even hints that Crawford used public funds to promote his personal interests. The truth is that Crawford was a fair administrator and a fine scholar. But he was by nature over-cautious and obstinate in his reluctance to follow the policy of his predecessor.

It was during Crawford's residency that Abdullah was taken by a Chinese friend to the interior of Singapore to see the initiation ceremonies of the powerful Thian Tai Huey, a secret society organized into lodges which claimed Chinese settlers all over the East Indies. Dressed as a beggar he watched the burning of votive paper and the drinking of blood before idols, and the beating and torturing of those who opposed the Society's will. Sickened by what he saw Abdullah went straight to Crawford and told him his *grand guignol* tale. An armed force of policemen made its way to the Society's headquarters but achieved little, the one man they arrested being promptly freed by his comrades who raided the goal the same night and carried him back in triumph to their encampment in the jungle. There were frequent raids on the port in search of loot, the most notorious being that on the dhoby lines near Kampong Gëlam.

Abdullah's services were in great demand both for teaching Malay and as a petition-writer and interpreter between parties in commercial deals, on which he drew a commission. He must have been in quite affluent circumstances for he was able to make frequent visits to his wife in Malacca. She, with the conservatism of her race, had never dared to make a journey across the sea. Worse than the risk of pirates was the censure of her own society which considered such an undertaking dangerous and improper. Not once did she accompany her husband to Singapore. How many times Abdullah made the voyage

between the two settlements we cannot be sure. His book contains twenty-four separate references to journeys made by him, all between 1819 and 1840 when he left Malacca for good. He made at least one visit of several months to Malacca before Raffles left the East, two or three of short duration between 1823 and 1827 when he was called back to help with the printing at the Anglo-Chinese College, one of about two years between 1828 and 1830, and several more in the '30s.

One of his visits to Malacca Abdullah spent going through the papers of William Milne, who had died in May 1822, and arranging the Malay section of the College library. The Mission was under new management with David Collie, a Chinese scholar, as Principal. In 1826 Abdullah was present at the opening of the first Christian Chapel in Malacca when James Humphreys, prime mover in building it, addressed a large gathering of the townsfolk in Malay. After Humphreys's departure the College was short of staff on the Malay side, and Abdullah worked there for a time. Between 1828 and 1830 he spent nearly two years helping Newbold to collect information for his book. But he soon tired of Malacca and, with the reluctant approval of the missionaries, returned to his more lucrative work in Singapore.

In February 1830 Abdullah lost all his possessions in a disastrous fire in Market Street, on the south side of Singapore River where he was living in lodgings. A barrel of gunpowder in the back yard of a Chinese shophouse blew up. Cascades of burning fragments fell on his house. It was burnt to the ground and Abdullah lost the letters which Raffles had given him and all his other belongings, which were packed up ready for a move to Malacca. He had been delayed by a high fever which had confined him to his bed until panic lent him strength. It was the Chinese New Year and crowds were playing in the narrow streets. Abdullah ran to and fro, pencil and paper in hand, making notes of everything he saw; the fire-fighters with buckets of water, the looters who took everything the fire left, the broken chest of opium that left a trail all down the road. In May 1831 he was back in Malacca for the first Naning expedition in which a British force was ignominiously hurled back by a ragged band of Malay guerrillas whose ideas about their independence did not suit the book of the Straits Government. The greater part of the next four years Abdullah spent in Singapore. But he was in Malacca in 1835 for the State funeral of Sultan Husain Shah who had moved there from Singapore the previous year in consequence of a court scandal engineered by his son. This had created such a stir that the Sultan had had to leave the island. He had actually surrendered what little power remained to

him to one of his palace favourites, a Tamil commoner named Abdul-Kadir, for whom Abdullah designed a pretentious seal of office.

Abdullah's last two visits to Malacca were both clouded by personal tragedy. Towards the end of 1838 his favourite daughter died at the age of eight. Disconsolate with grief he sat hour by hour by the side of her grave until one day he saw a ghostly vision of her walking towards him over the sand. He sprang up and she was gone. Then he realized, he says, that the apparition was sent by Satan to tempt him in his weakness. Early in 1840 he had only just survived the crisis of a high fever through the care of his wife, when she herself died in childbirth. In one of the most moving passages in his book he describes the sudden numbing realization that she had gone from his world for ever. In spite of their long separations he had loved his wife, who had been intensely loyal to him and a good mother to his children. He could not bear to live on in the house which held such poignant memories. He sold it for a fraction of its proper value and moved permanently with his children to Singapore. There, through the kindness of a friend, he found lodgings in Kampong Malacca on the south bank of the River, where his neighbours were mostly fellow-emigrants from his home town.

It is with the growth of Singapore that Abdullah is mainly concerned in the second half of his book. He tells of town-planning, the filling in of swamps and the building of earth-roads that extended the town limits as far as the Kallang River on the north side and took in the land comprising the present Harbour Board area to the south-west. He writes of gangs of convicts, "slaves of the Company" transferred from Bencoolen as cheap labour to a place so short of it that for the first ten years only one road ran more than a mile inland, though Singapore was never a convict settlement in the ordinary sense; disputes with the Sultan when his palace grounds were invaded by road-builders and his ill-treated concubines were given police protection after they had fled from the royal court. He describes the arrival of some of the earlier steamships and the amazement they caused.

On one occasion an Indian Army doctor, who happened to be staying at the house of one of the European merchants taught by Abdullah, offered to cure a hydrocele which was causing him much discomfort. Delighted at the thought of trying the white man's medicines, for local treatment had done him no good, he was horrified when the doctor produced a knife and mentioned simple surgery. Unnerved by the gloomy forebodings of his Malay friends and only half believing Thomsen's reassurances he at last summoned up enough courage, after making his will and leaving it in Thomsen's hands, to

undergo the operation. It was over in a minute and he felt no pain. The next morning to show his gratitude he brought the doctor a jar of preserved fruit. Refusing to take the money which was at first pressed on him he accepted an old musical box in return for the fruit, for fear he says of hurting the doctor's feelings! What impressed Abdullah most about the doctor was his wooden leg, which he said he had fitted after amputating his own leg on a battlefield in India.

Several of the leading European merchants in Singapore like Edward Boustead and the Armstrong brothers employed Abdullah to teach them Malay. They enjoyed discussing with him the topics of the day. With a little help Abdullah could read English newspapers. He tells us of his well-meaning but futile attempts to explain inventions of the steam age to his less enlightened Malay friends. Ridicule and anger greeted his exposition of gas-lighting, railway trains, the Thames Tunnel, the Zoo. He understood the scientific explanation of eclipses. But his friends preferred to cling to their belief that a snake was trying to swallow the sun, for had not that been good enough for their fathers?

Nevertheless Abdullah was no hypocrite. He could be warm-hearted in his affections and generous in praise of his friends. He gives us cameo sketches of two young Englishmen in whose company he felt completely at ease. One, Abdullah discovered from the manager, was an apprentice in a business firm. The other was an officer off a ship making a hydrographic survey of the waters round Singapore, whom Abdullah met by chance one day in the street.

When building started on the Old St. Andrew's Church in 1836 the area was fenced round and guards, convicts under a warder, were posted to keep away intruders. People who tried to take the usual short cut across the open space were chased off by Indians armed with staves. The story in the native quarter was that the Resident Councilor had ordered the collection of heads to feed the devils which haunted the church, and that inside the building was a large hole into which the skulls were thrown. There was a great stir one night in Tělok Ayer when it was rumoured that a Chinese had been chased and nearly killed by one of the convicts. Abdullah was so pestered with questions by his ignorant friends that he resolved to find out for himself what had really happened. So he went down to Tělok Ayer and asked a few questions. The true story he discovered was merely that a policeman had struck out at a Chinese pedlar who had been shouting his wares too noisily in the middle of the night.

It was about this time that Abdullah became associated with the Christian missionaries who were beginning to reach Singapore in fair

numbers. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a centre on the island to train their men for service in other parts of the East Indies and in China. Abdullah was in his element again, teaching them Malay and helping with translations at the largest printing press in the Far East. There he met Alfred North, a missionary who had been a printer by trade in New York and who went with his wife to work in Madura when the Board moved its establishment to China. Together they produced a number of books for school-children, popular science readers and prayer-books as well as some of Abdullah's own compositions. Abdullah also helped the two Stronach brothers of the London Missionary Society and was for a time a teacher at the Singapore Institution which the Board of Trustees were at last persuaded to open as a school on the lines proposed by Raffles twelve years earlier. There also he met Benjamin Peach Keasberry, with whom he was to be closely connected for the last eighteen years of his life. Keasberry, an Englishman who had been in business in Singapore and in Java, had been attracted into the missionary field by Medhurst in Batavia and had trained in America before joining the A.B.C.F.M. in Singapore in 1837. Like Thomsen before him he had for his chief interest the education of the Malays. Inheriting the goodwill of the American Board when it moved to Canton in 1843, for nearly forty years Keasberry preached, translated the Scriptures, ran mission schools and produced printed books for his congregation. In Keasberry's schemes for Malay education Abdullah saw the means of rescuing his countrymen from their ignorance and superstitious prejudices. He helped Keasberry print a large number of children's books, and under his guidance and encouragement wrote his own life story.

One short adventure interrupted Abdullah's mission work in Singapore. In 1837 he went on an expedition up the east coast of Malaya to the royal courts of Pahang and Kelantan, acting as interpreter to a deputation from a group of Singapore merchants whose trading boats (*Sampan pukat*) had been detained in the Kelantan River in the course of a protracted civil war. In another book Abdullah describes the hazards of the voyage (see page 21, below).

Abdullah's autobiography goes up to September 1846, after which the written record of his life in Singapore ceases. In February 1854 he sailed in an Arab ship on the pilgrimage to Mecca. In October of the same year he died suddenly at Jeddah: it was said of plague. Of his children, his eldest son died in 1865 when a luxury steamer owned by the Tēmnggong of Johore blew up, killing about thirty people. Another son, Mohammed Ibrahim, went as interpreter with Irving,

the Auditor-General of the Straits Settlements, when in 1872 he was sent to Perak by Governor Ord to find out which of the three claimants was the rightful ruler of the State. Mohammed Ibrahim later became a writer at the court of the Maharaja of Johore. In 1878 he published a pamphlet on the idiom of good Malay speech and literature entitled "A Guide for Johore."

Abdullah's Literary Works

Enough has been said to show how long and arduous were the studies which equipped Abdullah for the literary tasks that lay ahead. His early Koran lessons, the stern but effective tutorship of his father, the teachings of the finest pundits of Malacca from whose circle he graduated with a wide knowledge of Arabic and his own language, his professional contacts with the Christian missionaries, instilled into him a taste for literature and much originality of mind. His association with Englishmen widened his intellectual horizon and led him into experiments in phraseology and the use of new words for new needs. He wrote *Hikayat Abdullah*, which contains forty-three different English words, at a time when he was making translations of religious and scientific pamphlets into Malay. It is not surprising that he lapses so easily into a hybrid idiom, using abstractions and impersonal phrases foreign to the genius of the Malay language. Traces of all stages in his education can easily be picked out from his writings. But western influence, however strongly it affected his style, did not alter fundamental values, his subjective idealism, his contempt for usury and material gain, his passionate faith in Islam.

When he was only thirteen years old he was writing texts from the Koran for the Muslim soldiers of the Malacca garrison. Six years later he was preparing tracts at Milne's mission; the Ten Commandments, an arithmetic book for school-children, conversations with a shoemaker, a magazine called *The Garden of the Wise Men* (*Bustan 'Arifin*). He collaborated with Thomsen in writing a Malay-English phrase book and in revising a Dutch version of St. Matthew's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. Of these early writings nothing is now extant except Begbie's reproduction of an article on Malay demons written for Milne's *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*. The Mantra vocabulary which Abdullah collected for Newbold was never published.

In 1822 he produced the Malay text of Raffles's proclamation making gambling and the opium farms illegal. He built up for himself a lucrative profession drawing up Malay translations of agreements and business documents for the English and Chinese traders.

In 1835 he translated a collection of Hindu fables called *Panchatantra* or in Tamil *Pancha Tandēran* under the title of *Hikayat Galilah dan Daminah*. These tales, which parallel the Fables of Pilpay so popular in mediaeval Europe, may have been of Brahman origin. By Abdullah's time they had found their way into Arabic and Persian literature. The version on which Abdullah worked was in Tamil and different in several particulars from other versions. His translation was lithographed the same year in Singapore, the Government Press published a Jawi edition of it in 1887, and a Dutch Romanized edition appeared at Leiden in 1904. After going to Singapore and translating the rules of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce for Edward Boustead, Abdullah returned once more to Malacca where he wrote what was, so far as we know, his first entirely original composition of any length. The occasion was the death of his daughter, of whom he and his wife had been especially fond. To comfort his wife he wrote "A Balm for the Heart" (*Dawa 'i'-Kulub*) in which he spoke of the wickedness of bereaved parents who allow their grief to overwhelm them, and of the delight of parents whose children have died young when they shall meet them again on the Day of Judgement.

It was in the academic environment of the Singapore missions that Abdullah found leisure and encouragement to write the works which have made his name. While compiling educational booklets for North on applied science, inventions and industries he found time to write *The Story of the Voyage of Abdullah* (*Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*) recounting his experience on his east coast voyage in 1837. He describes how the two ships were held up by storms which forced them to make for shelter up inhospitable creeks, how they ran the gauntlet of pirates raiding up and down the coast, and how the Malays in the independent states went about armed to the teeth and lived in utter poverty and squalor. The travellers arrived at the estuary of the Kēlantān River in the middle of a civil war and at one point found themselves between rival forces firing at each other from opposite banks. The merchants were received in audience by the Sultan who begged them to ask Governor Bonham to send him arms to end the conflict and so make the port safe again for honest seafaring folk! Abdullah's account was produced at North's printing press the following year with, so the author says, alternate pages in Arabic and romanized script. Evidently North thought enough of it to take extra trouble in making it appeal to the widest possible circle of readers. There have been numerous editions since, the latest brought out by Malaya Publishing House, and it is of all Malay texts the most widely read by students of the language. Written in an easy colloquial style

and avoiding those flights of rhetoric which make his greater work difficult at times to understand, it is studied by children in the vernacular schools and by government officials learning Malay. In 1849 a French translation was published in Paris in a series entitled "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages": it was re-issued by Arthus Bertrand the following year. Recently, A. E. Coope has published an English translation of the full text.*

At the mission press Abdullah edited and published an old manuscript *Kitab 'Adat Ségala Raja-Raja Melayu Dalam Ségala Négèri*, "The Customs of the Malay Kings especially concerning childbirth." There is an old edition of this in Raffles Library with a frontispiece which adds: "copied by Abdullah bin Abdul-kadir, a learned and accurate native of Malacca, at Singapore in 1837." Two or three years later when he was working with Keasberry, he edited a version of the *Séjarah Melayu*, a history of the Malay people finished during the Portuguese occupation and later revised at the Johore court. A Dutch version of Abdullah's text appeared in Leiden in 1884, "Sadjarah Malajoe op de Maleische Kronicken." Abdullah's acquaintance with the work is of importance in that he tried to model the style of his own autobiography, which he commenced some two years later, on its conversational passages. With Keasberry he wrote some biblical commentaries and books of moral instruction for the young, "Little Henry and His Nurse," "The Birth of Christ," stories about the Creation and the sun, moon and stars, and a hymn-book. With John Stronach of the London Missionary Society he produced a new translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew to replace that of Thomsen, though he regrets that in spite of Stronach's scholarship there were still some solecisms in the text.

In October 1840, five months after his wife's death when he had settled permanently in Singapore, he started writing his *magnum opus*, The Story of Abdullah (*Hikayat Abdullah*). According to his postscript he finished the first draft in May 1843. We can only guess at the disposal of the first draft but probably one or two copies were made by Malays at Keasberry's mission: J. T. Thomson, one of his pupils, mentions that he was given one in 1846.

* The Revd. B. P. Keasberry began an English translation for the *Journal of Eastern Asia*, the opening sections of which appear in Volume 1, No. 1 of that journal (July, 1875). This is the only issue that was printed, and there is no indication that the translation was carried further: possibly Keasberry's death that year cut short his work on it. Some of the papers intended for the second number of the journal ultimately appeared in the first issue of the *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* (July, 1878), but there are no further sections of Keasberry's translation among them, or in later issues of the *JBRAS*.

Thomson had come to Malaya as an employee of Scott & Co., of Penang, in 1838, and in 1841 was appointed Government Surveyor in Singapore. He retired to London in 1855, nominally on the grounds of ill-health: later he went to New Zealand, where he remained in various surveying posts until his death in 1884, apart from a short visit to England in 1877. In 1874 he was, so he writes, moved by curiosity to examine Abdullah's manuscript which had lain neglected for eighteen years. Using Marsden's Malay-English dictionary he translated about two-thirds of the MS. which, with a short commentary, he published in London as "Hakayit Abdulla. . .". He omitted portions about Abdullah's schooling, Farquhar's journey to Riau and the Chinese secret societies, which had already been translated by Braddell in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, also parts about the Malay States and the Christian missionaries which he had already published in an earlier book "Some Glimpses of Life in the Far East." In the notes he applies his caustic wit to criticizing the officials of the East India Company, airing his lukewarm likes and violent dislikes of people in high places, and disparaging the efforts of the missionaries. His translation, which is widely quoted by historians, is prone to inaccuracies. He misconstrues *bentan* and *di-balek mihrab*, and misreads *gajah* (elephant) for *kacha* (glass) and *puyu-puyu* (perch) for *puyoh-puyoh* (quail). Marsden's dictionary could not tell him the difference between *sêlêsai* (settle) and *sêliseh* (clash). He often misunderstands the real innuendo behind some of Abdullah's more pointed remarks, and occasionally obtains a sense the reverse of what the author intended.

Even when full allowance is made for Thomson's errors in his incomplete translation it is clear that he was using a text slightly different from that lithographed at the mission press in 1849. The latter was the prototype of the only text now available. Exhaustive enquiries in England and in New Zealand have failed to trace the whereabouts of either of the two originals. Thomson divides his translation arbitrarily into thirty-four chapters which in title and length bear no relation to the twenty-six chapters of the printed text. The twenty-sixth chapter, which carries the story from August 1841 to September 1846, he omits altogether; and although he always notes any hiatus in his translation he does not indicate at the end of it that there is anything left out. There are several passages that point to slight differences in wording, and one or two towards the end about the Malacca and Singapore missionaries which are not found in the printed text.

We may conclude that Abdullah finished his first draft, as he says, in May 1843, and that it was put together and copied out by his friend at the mission press. Probably North, who left for Madura eight months after it was finished, looked it over; and one of these early copies was given to Thomson. About 1874 it was decided to publish the text, and the first serious revision was undertaken. On the advice of Keasberry and his colleagues Abdullah altered statements which they told him were incorrect, such as Collie's marriage in Malacca and North's possession of the *Hikayat Galilah dan Daminah* (which he had returned when he left), or which offended Anglican susceptibilities like Coleman's Greek cross on St. Andrew's Church. Abdullah also arranged his narrative in chapters—the division is uneven and the titles not always apposite—and added the final chapter about the Opium War and Butterworth's suppression of piracy. A year or so later he began his "second Volume" (*Bab Yang Kedua*), found as an addendum in the earliest printed texts. He lived to write only a few pages of it.

Almost nothing can be inferred about the form of the original draft. In one passage Abdullah refers "on page eight of this book" to his classification of Malay idioms to be found on page 32 of the Malaya Publishing House romanized edition of 1939. On the front page of Thomson's translation there is a reproduction $\frac{2}{3}$ the size of the original, of page 56 of Abdullah's manuscript, a portion which covers nearly two full page lengths, 118–120, of the M.P.H. edition. The plate shows a clear, bold handwriting with perfectly even, straight lines and no sign of an erasure. This seems to confirm that Thomson's text was a fair copy.

Governor Butterworth took an interest in Keasberry's school and persuaded the Tēmenggong of Johore to send his two sons there in 1846. In the East India Company letter-books (R-19, Governor to Bengal: 105–6) there is a copy of one of Butterworth's letters dated 6th September 1849, which shows that he bought 12 copies of the *Hikayat Abdullah*, "a Malayan Work recently published here by one of the most accomplished Native Malayan Scholars in the Straits—Abdullah, the protégé of that Great Statesman Sir Stamford Raffles." Butterworth subscribed for them at the rate of four dollars a copy and sent six to the Bengal Government. He distributed the other six among "the Chieftains of the adjacent Malay States." In the Raffles Library (Singapore) there is an old damaged copy of the *Hikayat Abdullah* lithographed in Jawi script and undated, possibly one of this edition. At all events the version stated by Abdullah to have been lithographed at the mission press in March 1849 became the prototype

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[illegible]

of all existing printed copies. Lim Kong Chuan, one of the first private firms in Singapore to print vernacular works, brought out an edition in 1880. Brill of Leiden published "Autobiographie van Abdoellah b. Abdelkadar Moenshi" in 1882. In 1888 the Singapore Government Press produced for the use of Malay schools in the Straits Settlements the Jawi edition used for this translation. The work still commands a wide public and is a Malay School text-book in use all over the country. In 1918 the Rev. R. G. Shellabear published an English translation of Chapters 1-13, but his book is long out of print and extremely rare. As far as it goes the translation is a good one, much more accurate than Thomson's. But lacking a preface and notes it throws no light on the controversial points raised here. Shellabear does not say what text he used.

Three short works complete the total of Abdullah's compositions: (1) a description of the *P.S. Sesostris*, one of the Company's steamships which lay in the roads of Singapore harbour for some weeks while on its way to join the British Fleet off the China coast in 1841; (2) an account of a famous Singapore trial in 1851 in which one Safar Ali, Tamil interpreter to the Police Court and a man of importance in the Settlement, was convicted of murdering a servant boy and hiding the body; (3) the diary of Abdullah's pilgrimage to Mecca, describing the daily events of the voyage up to within a week or two of his death at Jeddah in October 1854. It was brought back by his travelling companion and published as "The Story of Abdullah's Voyage to Jeddah" (*Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah ka-Négèri Jèddah*). Thomson remembers seeing the *Sesostris* story, to which North added a postscript about the uses of steam, but all three works are now extremely rare.

Abdullah was the first writer in Malay to bring realism to this art, to see events of everyday life from the standpoint of the common experience of mankind and not through the tinted spectacles of legend and romance. His contemporary world was a large one, peopled by a strange and somewhat ill-assorted conglomerate of races. New techniques of living were being demonstrated and standards of conduct and belief unquestioned from the dawn of Malayan history were being freely debated. It is by no means to be expected that Abdullah would understand all the complex social and economic problems inherent in the growth of a trading port controlled by newcomers whose ways of life were so different from those of the Malacca Malays of his childhood. More than once he voices his suspicions of newfangled ideas "The old order perishes, a new world comes into being, and all around us is change", and admits that he is unable to adapt him-

self to novel conceptions of morality that strike at the roots of his religious beliefs. But at the same time to his own countrymen (in spite of his mixed ancestry he always thought of himself as a Malay) he is the prophet foretelling death and destruction for all who stand in the way of progress, the reformer who would cure them of their blindness and ignorance, the visionary who saw glimpses of a new pattern of society in which they would find their place in the sun. Abdullah understood little of sociology and nothing of politics. His notions about the history of the Malay States are extremely vague. His appeal is to the old saws and traditional sayings of his people, the clichés and epigrams that embodied rules of conduct accepted by everyone. The Malay language is rich in these sayings. To an illiterate people they were the current coin of conversation. In the first half of his book especially, when he is relying on his memory of events long past and has no records to guide him, Abdullah likes to wander off into long digressions; moral perorations in which he appeals to his readers' enlightenment, enlisting their support in his crusade against blind superstition. These homilies, in which he spares no effort to ram home the point of some seemingly inconsequential argument, usually end with a short paragraph introduced by the word *nasihat*, which may be freely translated "moral". Abdullah was an essayist and a biographer. Any analysis of his work such as is attempted in this translation must needs show up in a strong light his frequent blunders of fact, his occasional deliberate distortion of the truth, and his often hopelessly confused chronology. The great value of his work lies not in the dry record of a period well served by the chronicler and the annalist, but in the intimate pen-pictures he gives of the personalities of his time. The author is at his best in describing a person's *sifat*, his appearance, manners and attitude to those round him from which his character is inferred. Few of the great men of the day in Malacca and Singapore have any finer memorial, any fairer tribute to the work they did, any more discerning appreciation of their characters than that found in the pages of Abdullah's life-story.

Abdullah had a surprisingly accurate memory for detail, and although he turns back with relief to passages of imaginative writing he is capable of sustaining interest in quite long scientific descriptions; for example, of the hand-press at the Malacca mission, and the camera which he and Keasberry saw demonstrated on Government Hill.

He took great pains with his work, and if he never achieved that infinite capacity which is genius he brought to his writing a fresh and a very real talent. Though today he is justifiably taken to task for

his too ready acceptance of all things English and his uncritical attitude towards the white man's prejudices, his writing has been an inspiration to generations of Malays. As Sir Richard Winstedt has said: "Foreigner though he was he led them back from an arid desert of euphuism and imitation of foreign models to a realism that had started in the fifteenth century and is in accord with the genius of a race of extroverts." And those who throw up hands in horror at his unidiomatic phrasing have only to read the modern vernacular newspapers to see how substantial are his claims, frequently put forward in his major work, to purity of Malay style.

A. H. Hill

THE STORY OF ABDULLAH

Introduction

In the name of Allah the Merciful and the Compassionate!

It happened that on about the twenty-second day of October 1840 a friend of mine, an Englishman of whom I was fond,¹ urged me strongly to give an account of my history and the events of my life. He suggested to me that I should write my autobiography in Malay. But in truth my heart felt sad and my limbs heavy as I thought of my dear friend's wish. For all the important events of my life now belonged to the past.

I felt the more embarrassed, too, when I remembered that I am indeed an ignorant man, lacking in wisdom and understanding of the art of letters and inexperienced in the ways of authorship. In my daily work I have had the usual ups and downs. So on account of these handicaps I viewed the project with some misgiving.

Moreover, I am diffident about my own powers because I have heard and seen so many people who proclaim their own cleverness, with such boastful talk that folk really think them clever. But it is so much idle nonsense. For when anyone asks them to undertake a work or composition requiring a knowledge of the meanings of words, the emptiness of their claim is at once discovered. All their assumed cleverness is not the result of learning but an incoherent hotch-potch of information which they have picked up all over the place. But again so many people are as helpless as a goldsmith without his touchstone. When they hear these charlatans making contradictory assertions they behave like a tired man who has a pillow pushed under his head; that is to say, they accept them without questioning their truth. Like a man, for example, seeing a bamboo standing erect and thinking that such a fine, straight unbending piece of wood must surely have a solid interior. A man of intelligence would first split it in half and look inside, when he would discover its emptiness.² As a

¹ *Sa-orang sahabat-ku ia-itu orang puteh yang ku-kaseh akan dia.* Thomson ascribes this reference to Alfred North, an American missionary, but probably Abdullah meant the Rev. Keasberry. See note 9, under Chapter 25.

² In these mixed metaphors Abdullah's point seems to be that a deep knowledge of literature is required to assess the real merits of these self-styled teachers.

wise man says "It takes a jeweller to recognize a real gem." All this is especially true nowadays. Since Singapore has become a settlement grasshoppers have become eagles, bed-bugs tortoises and earth-worms serpents. These strange happenings have their origin in material wealth and position. The most ignorant and lowly person is considered clever and well-bred if he be but possessed of wealth. If he is clever and well-bred but not wealthy, people despise him.

The types of people I have just sketched and the lives they lead I will use to illustrate my own circumstances. I was born of lowly station and have lived in poverty. I am lacking in knowledge and experience. I am not expert in writing, and have no ability or talent save that Allah has granted to me. I am never unconscious of my shortcomings and weaknesses.

When I had reached this stage in my thoughts, suddenly it was as if someone had startled me from my reverie and said to me; "If you are lowly, go and ask the mighty. If you are poor, go and ask the rich. And if you lack knowledge and understanding, ask of Allah who has promised that to all who ask of Him it shall be given." So if it please Him to bestow His favour upon me with all my heart I pray for the help of Allah the Most High (who for all its breadth has spread above us unsupported the canopy of the sky) that he will fulfill the wish of my dear friend. And even if I be totally unfitted to undertake the work, yet do I hope that he will be with me in this my humble task.

Listen then, my dear friend, while I recount the story of my life which I am calling "The Story of Abdullah". In it I shall tell of the days of my forefathers down to the time when my mother bore me in Malacca (may Allah preserve her from all harm and danger); relating all the events of the period that I have seen or heard about, both in Malacca and in Singapore—right down to the date when this book shall be finished.³ I am sure that in doing this I shall be unable to avoid many mistakes and omissions, faults in idiom, style, spelling and expression. For all these I bow my head in humility before those who may be pleased to read my story, for all that it contains these mistakes. The more frankly and gladly do I ask their indulgence over my errors and stupidity, in as much as I have admitted that I am far from being an experienced writer and cannot help making frequent mistakes.

³ See Introduction, p. 24.

1. The Story of Abdullah

My great-grandfather was an Arab from Yemen, of the family of Othman¹ whose name was Shaikh Abdul Kadir. He was a teacher of religion and language. He left Yemen and went to the State of Nagur in Kalinga, where he taught the people for a long time.² He married there and had four sons named Mohammed Ibrahim, Mohammed Desa, Nur Mohammed, and Zainal-'abidin. Later he died there, and after his death his children travelled to the East. Mohammed Ibrahim came to Malacca and married my grandmother whose name was Peri Achi, the daughter of Schaikh Mira Lebai. When my father was born he was called Abdul-Kadir so that he might carry the blessing of his grandfather's name.

The remaining three sons all travelled to Java. Mohammed Desa then went to Amboina, was married and had children there. Nur Mohammed went to Sadayau where he had children and grandchildren. Zainal-'abidin settled for life in Sumatra and his descendants are still there.

My father grew up in Malacca. After finishing his Koran studies he learnt the Malay language and arithmetic, and then became a merchant trading in sundry goods between Malacca and the hinterland. After some time he began to impart his knowledge of the Koran and Muslim prayers to the upcountry people, in addition to his commercial activities, so that the people grew very fond of him. He married and became *khatib* in a village called Lobok Képong.* Not long afterwards he and his family moved to Sungei Baharu, and he became *khatib* there. Later two children were born to him, a son Mohammed Ali and a daughter Sharifah.

My father spoke the "Hindu" language, i.e. Tamil, well; and he used to write and keep accounts in it. By now he was expert in Malay from writing compositions and petitions to the Malay rajas. This was how he earned his living at that time. He taught Malay to an Englishman named Mr. Marsden,³ who gave him a letter saying that he

* See Map IV.

¹ *nigéri-nya Yaman dan bangsa-nya Uthmani*, i.e. an orthodox Muslim of the Sunni School.

² In his *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, Abdullah says that the title *shaikh* is given to the descendants of the Prophet's greater disciples, i.e. the first four Caliphs. It is also used of (1) a guide for pilgrims to Mecca, (2) the head of a Sufi school, (3) any respectable Arab (by Malays). Nagur (= Nagar) is a province in the State of Mysore.

³ William Marsden, born in 1754, joined his elder brother in the service of the East India Company and went to Bencoolen in 1771. He combined administrative ability with a talent for languages, becoming Acting Secretary of the Settlement in 1774, and Secretary in 1776. One of his duties was to interpret between the native chiefs

had learnt the language from him. I found that letter in my father's writing-box and showed it to Mr. Thomsen,⁴ at a time when I could not speak a single word of English let alone read letters in it. Mr. Thomsen said, "This letter is what we call in English a 'Character' given by Mr. Marsden to your father. He was the man who compiled a Malay-English Dictionary. He studied under your father for a year and eight months in Malacca."

After my father had been living at Sungei Baharu for sometime all his relations were hoping very much that he would come to Malacca and marry again. It happened that my father became very ill at Sungei Baharu and his friends came from Malacca to fetch him. So he divorced his wife at Sungei Baharu and returned to Malacca, where he married my mother in the year 1785. My mother's father was an Indian from Kedah who had embraced the Muslim faith, and moved to Malacca where my mother, whose name was Selamah, was born.

Now, at this time my father was performing the duties of harbour-master;⁵ that was, of course, in the days of the Dutch in Malacca. Indeed my father might be compared to the mouse that falls into the rice-bin, living as he was then in the most affluent circumstances. As we say, "He called to the right and was answered from the left." Spending money was for him like washing his hands in water. Perhaps indeed he forgot the changing fortunes of this world. His eldest child died four months after birth and in a short time all four of his children were dead.

The English came and took Malacca from the Dutch. The Commander of the English force was Major Cook and his Chief Engineer

and the Governor in Council when the Council sat as a judicial body. A disagreement with the Company over its revenue policy led to his resignation in 1779, and for several years after his return to England he devoted himself to research in natural history, geography and the languages of Sumatra. He published his *History of Sumatra* in 1783-4 (3rd edition, revised and much improved, 1811), and his *Malay-English Dictionary*, a standard work for the next eighty years, in 1811. He died in 1836.

There is no evidence, to support this claim that Marsden visited the Malay Peninsula. He himself makes no mention of doing so in the brief *Memoir of his Life* (1838), and it is probable that Thomsen was mistaken.

⁴ For a short biography of the Rev. C. H. Thomsen, see note 7, under Chapter 9.

⁵ *mēmēgang pēkērjaan tuan shahbandar Holanda*. The influential Abdul Kadir may have taken over some of the duties of this appointment which the Governor always gave to a high-ranking Dutch official. For the duties see the letters of Hoyck van Papendrecht (1924: 18) an officer of the Dutch East India Company who was Shahbandar in Malacca in 1786.

The title *Shah-Bandar* (Lord of the Port) dates from the time of the Malacca Sultanate and signified the receiver of customs' dues. It survives as an honorific at several Malay Courts.

Mr. Farquhar.⁶ Shortly afterwards Major Cook sailed away and in his place Mr. Farquhar became Resident of Malacca. At that time my father was a merchant and sailed carrying his produce to Siak, for that country was well populated and rich. Many pikuls of gold used to be exported annually to Malacca. Malacca was a large port doing a flourishing trade, rich produce being collected there from all parts, for at that time the settlement of Penang had not yet become an English settlement. Malacca harbour was crammed so full of all kinds of goods that they almost overflowed into the river itself, and many of the townsmen became rich.

Not very long afterwards my father obtained employment with Mr. Adrian Koek, the official deputy to the Resident of Malacca.⁷ My father was soon made captain of a large sailing boat called *The Trailing Sail* which travelled to and fro between Malacca and Kedah, for Mr. Koek was very friendly with the Kedah rajas. On one occasion my father brought back an elephant, a present from a Kedah prince Tengku Daud to Mr. Koek. It was the first time the people of Malacca had set eyes on a live elephant. My father also worked as envoy for Mr. Farquhar and Mr. Koek in other Malay countries like Lingga, Riau, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan and Palembang, even as far afield as Java and neighbouring territories. So he became closely acquainted with all the chiefs of those countries.

One day an instruction from the Secretary to the Government at Batavia was passed through the Malacca Government to my father ordering him to go to Riau, Lingga, Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan to look for Malay manuscripts and to act as an emissary to the Malay chiefs, carrying a letter from Timmerman Thyssen. Mr. Koek had provided \$500 along with a sailing boat flying the Dutch flag. So my father visited all those countries; some texts he was able to buy,

⁶ It was William Farquhar who in 1819 became first Resident of Singapore (see note 1, under Chapter 5). The surrender of Malacca is noted in Chapter 11 below. Farquhar did not become Resident of Malacca until 1803, eight years after its occupation, but he was stationed there in a subordinate capacity for the greater part of the period 1795-1803.

⁷ *ia-itu Raja Muda dalam negeri Mēlaka*. The title usually denotes the heir to a Malay throne. Adrien Koek, a prominent official of the Dutch East India Company before its collapse, continued to play a leading part in the government of Malacca under the British administration. From 1798 to 1818 he was a member of the Dutch College of Justice, a body of influential Dutch citizens working under British protection, and for part of that time its President. He was a close friend of Farquhar, who in 1812 sent him to Bulang to warn the Bēndahara of Pahang not to interfere in a dispute over the Riau-Johore succession.

After the Dutch restoration in 1818, Koek became the senior member of the Malacca Council. He was a valuable restraining influence on Timmerman Thyssen, the Governor, when in 1819 the Dutch disputed the validity of Raffles's settlement at Singapore. Three years later he accompanied Thyssen to Riau to seize the regalia of the Riau-Johore Sultanate.

others were given free by the rajas and still others he paid to have copied for him. In this way he collected some sixty to seventy books of various kinds.

Then he was ordered to go to Riau to become a *tolk*, that is, a Malay interpreter and writer. He was caught in Riau till the conclusion of Dutch hostilities against the Bugis and the Malays, returning to Malacca only after three years' absence.⁸

It happened that in the year 1816,⁹ by the will of Allah working His purpose among His servants, that my mother died, and shortly afterwards in the same year my father also died, leaving this transitory world for the world everlasting. At that time I was in Singapore teaching Malay to English merchants.

At this juncture my birthplace Malacca, may Allah preserve it from all danger and oppression, passed into the hands of the English. On two occasions there has been warfare with the English in Malacca; once, it is said, about 90 or 100 years ago, when the Dutch were ruling Malacca. Then suddenly one morning two ships and a ketch came into view sailing off Malacca. Arriving at the anchorage they approached very close in to the shore, and fired several times at the Dutch ships anchored there. Then the ships turned out to sea again and disappeared from view. All the Dutch in Malacca and the local people were greatly excited, and when it became known that the ships were English, they redoubled their vigilance, for it was feared that the ships would very likely return. But when the time came the English took Malacca without any fighting or trouble, for Mr. Adrian Koek had already made an agreement with them and capitulated, offering the English a safe landing via his estate at Bandar Hilir.¹⁰

* This must have happened before 1795. There were continual sporadic raids on the Dutch in Malacca from Johore, Riau and the small kingdoms across the Straits of Malacca (see the comments on Raja Haji, note 7, under Chapter 4).

⁹ *Pada hijrat nabi sanat 1231 tahun*. The date is clearly wrong. Abdullah went to Singapore in 1819, and both his parents were apparently alive in Malacca when he underwent a minor surgical operation in Singapore described in Chapter 20 (see pages 202 & 204, and note 2). This episode cannot be accurately dated but may have occurred in 1824 or a year or two later. Possibly his parents died in the small-pox epidemic which occurred in Malacca about 1826 (Chapter 23, p. 245). Presumably they were not alive in 1830 when, as Abdullah tells us in Chapter 23 (p. 251), his wife and friends were worried about him, thinking he had lost his life in the great fire of that year in Singapore.

It is tempting to hazard the guess that the printers of Abdullah's manuscript misread 4 as 3, the two Arabic ciphers being very alike in shape: A.H. 1241 (= A.D. 1826) would agree with the few facts we know.

¹⁰ This may be true, though neither Newbold nor Begbie mention the part played by Koek in the surrender of the Dutch garrison. Newbold says that under the terms of the capitulation (on 18 August, 1795), arranged between Capt. Newcome and Major Archibald Brown of the English force and the Dutch Governor, Admiral Couperis, the Dutch were to remain responsible for much of the civil administration

2. The Birth of Abdullah

In the year 1795 on the 7th day of Safar on Sunday morning, when the sun was in the ascendent,¹ that is to say after the eighth month, the English took Malacca from the Dutch. The English Commander was named Major Cook and his Chief Engineer Mr. Farquhar.

The village where I was born was called Kampong Pali,* Pali being a Tamil word meaning Mosque. I had four brothers all older than myself who died when they were young, one aged 3 years, one aged two years, one aged 12 months, and one aged 6 months. Their deaths for a time drove my mother nearly out of her mind. She sat continually weeping and heavy of heart.

Sometime after this there came to Malacca an Arab Sayid named Habib Abdullah, of the Haddad family;² he was a saintly man held in the highest regard by the people of Malacca. All the men and women there became his pupils, studying the religion of Islam. Only my mother did not attend, her tears still falling at the memory of her dead children, whom she could not forget. Our house was opposite this Sayid's house and every day he would hear her weeping, so he had my father called and inquired about my mother's behaviour. When my father told him he said "Go and tell your wife not to weep for if it please Allah there will be born to her a son. When he is born call him Abdullah after me." When my father returned home and told her of the Sayid's words she ceased weeping. Sometime after that, by the decree of Allah working His purpose on His children, my mother became pregnant. May Allah pardon all her offences and grant her a place among the elect for the great pain and anguish which she suffered during her confinement, (especially when I was being born). Food gave her no comfort and sleep no respite. It was as though

and for the cost of the English garrison. But the Madras Council relieved Couperis of these duties and put Major Brown in sole charge of the settlement. About 1800 the latter was replaced by Lt-Col. Taylor, who was resident until July, 1803, when he was succeeded by Capt Wm Farquhar (Major, from September, 1811). Thereafter the latter remained in charge of the settlement until its retrocession to the Dutch in 1818, except for five months in 1811, when he accompanied the British expedition to Java, and two periods of leave (six months from September, 1813; and five months from February, 1816). See also note 1, under Chapter 5.

¹ *hētika shamsu*, lit. at the time of the sun, i.e. when the astrological influence of the sun is gaining. Skeat (1900: 548) gives an old table dividing each day of the week into seven parts. The first day runs: *Shams* early morning, *Zuhrah* (Venus) morning, &c, and the order changes on the second and succeeding days. Abdullah's date, 12 August, 1796, in the English calendar, is one year out: see note 10 under Chapter 1.

* See Map II.

² *Habib*, an Arabic word meaning costly, precious (in the sight of Allah) was a title given to Sayids, or reputed descendants of the Prophet in the male line.

her life hung by a single hair as she kept fainting and reviving. Beads of perspiration bathed her body like clusters of pearls dropped from a necklace as she lay tossing in her restlessness. Several times she fainted away, but always recovered. After her time had come and I was born, great was the anxiety and care with which she cherished me. If I had an ache in the foot, for example, she would feel it as it were a pain in her own eyes, so great was her love for me. If I live to be a hundred, all the devoted service that I can give her will not suffice to recompense her for the pangs that only childbirth can bring. If I cried while she was sound asleep she would start up suddenly and with tender affection caress me, soothing me with all manner of gentle crooning until her weariness left her. Every night she cradled me in her lap though she was nodding with sleep as she held me to her breast to feed me. Poverty prevented her keeping servants and there were no brothers or sisters to help her. She would allow nobody else to hold me for fear they might be inattentive.³ Truly when I look back and think how deep was her love for me, the responsibility I bear is as the weight of the earth and sky, a debt I can never repay. Only daily I pray Allah that she may find repose in Heaven for ever with the Blessed. Amen. So let it be.

Listen, all you well-disposed and fortunate children.⁴ Is it right that we should betray our parents or disobey them who have treated us, their children, with such understanding and kindness, breaking their hearts and bringing them sadness and tears? Many children there are who behave dishonourably towards their parents, striking and abusing them. May Allah preclude me from being numbered among these children of the Devil. The whole story of the love of parents for their children, were I to write it, would be, I dare say, of

³ *takut barang kali orang pengapakan akan daku*. Grammatically *pengapakan* is derived from *apa* by the use of *peng* as a verbal formative and the suffix *-kan*. A literal translation gives a colloquial English idiom, "hold me for anything." But the Malay phrase here is clumsy and unidiomatic.

Writers have accepted 1797 as the year of Abdullah's birth, but the evidence of it rests solely on Thomson's book. In his introduction Thomson says: "Abdullah . . . was born in Malacca in 1797, which date is derived from information towards the end of his manuscript, in which he says that in 1843 he was 46 years old." No reference to Abdullah's age is found in any of the extant texts. The mention of 1843 is in the concluding sentence of the first part of the book, when Abdullah says that this was the year he finished writing it. Strangely enough Thomson gives no translation of his reference, and it remains a mystery since, as has been said, all 'attempts to trace his manuscript have so far been unsuccessful'. All internal evidence agrees well with Thomson's date, though based on this alone a reasonable guess might have put Abdullah's birth a year or two earlier, possibly just before the capitulation of the Dutch in 1795.

⁴ This sentence introduces the first of several *nasihāt* inserted by Abdullah at irregular intervals throughout his narrative: see Introduction, p. 27.

more value to men of good character than this present book. But it is not my intention to write more about it now.

When my mother had come safely through the dangers of her confinement I was given the name of Abdullah, following the name of Habib Abdullah. For the first four months of my life I enjoyed good health. After that I suffered much discomfort and felt unwell every day. Much money was spent by my parents on the purchase of medicine from Indians, Malays and Chinese. For two or three days I would feel well, then for four or five days sick again. My mother wore herself out with anxiety taking me to see men skilled in the art of healing wherever they were to be found. They all said "This child cannot recover from his sickness; perhaps his parents are ill-suited⁵ to look after him. They would be well advised to sell him to someone with many children." For that had frequently been the custom among people in the past.

Surely this is a foolish custom of our forefathers, who did not understand the ways of Allah the Most High. We cannot believe for a moment that the lives of their children were lengthened by such means, or shortened when they were brought up by their own parents. For this custom is not like that of selling slaves. It is a sale in name only, five or six cents being taken by the parents to buy sweetmeats and other kinds of food. But the children remains in the care of its own parents, who call it by So-and-So's name, and pretend it is not their own child.⁶ There are also some who suppose that a high-sounding name brings disease or death to the child. But such a belief is entirely wrong and foolish, and does not come from the teachings of Allah and His Prophet. As for such parents, so dearly they love their child that they are willing to try anything which may do some good, and are thankful if at any cost the child lives.

In this way I was sold temporarily to some six or seven different people. Moreover, some fifteen or sixteen women took me to breast in turn, some for a week, others for a month and others for two months, for my mother no longer bore milk. For my parents the trouble of caring for my life was like trying to fan a flame under water. Yet it pleased Allah to spare me and I live in spite of this handicap for four

⁵ *tiada sêrasi* (= *sa-raksi*). *Raksi* Skr., the signs of Zodiac, comes to mean a person's lucky star. Malay astrologers established the degree of concord of an engaged couple by computing the numerical values of the letters making up their names, certain conjunctions being considered good and others bad. See Overbeck's *Shahr Raksi* (1923: 282-307).

⁶ Abdullah refers to a practice, common at one time among Malay parents, of purchasing the right to rename a child after a particular person, in the belief that a change of name would improve the child's health or chances in life. Such beliefs are still widespread in the East. See references below.

or five years, in fair health up to the time when I could ask in child's language for my daily needs. Great was my mother's delight when she saw that I could talk even though it was only baby talk. She treated me with the care of a woman carrying on the palm of her hand a cup filled to the brim with oil, and she would allow no one but herself to bathe me and put me to bed. Truly may Allah pour down His mercy and forgiveness upon her in her grave and number her among those who will receive His Compassion. Amen.

It happened that at that time in Malacca my grandmother on my father's side became a great teacher at Kampong Pali. Some two hundred boys and girls learnt the Koran, and all kinds of people studied under her. Some learnt to write, others Malay literature and language, each according to his choice. Nearly all the children of Malacca became her pupils. My mother had lived in the same house as my grandmother, for by then my father had already sailed as a merchant to Siak. The annual trade between Siak or Pekan Baharu and Malacca was bringing in golden rewards of ever-increasing richness. I mixed freely with a large crowd of other children, although I had not yet learnt to pronounce a single word except in baby language. I was the darling of my grandmother who used to sit me down next to her while she was teaching. Whatever lesson she was giving to her pupils I just sat and followed for amusement. From early morning until six o'clock in the evening no sound was heard but the chanting of the Koran. So it came about that I learnt to pronounce words parrot-fashion although I could not recognize written letters.

Thus was my life ordered until I was six years old, when I fell sick with chronic dysentery. Distraught, my mother could not sleep for I used to cry out wanting to relieve myself. She went everywhere trying to find medicines; one to drink, another to rub on my stomach, another as a hot compress and so on. This state of affairs lasted for more than a year. Many times my mother wept over me thinking I would die. A thousand mercies be upon her for the pangs she suffered in cherishing me. Then by the help of Allah I recovered, and my body regained its former health. My grandmother gave me a pen, a tablet and some ink to play with, saying "Go and amuse yourself with these. If you play in the mud or run about in the sun I shall spank you." So I was frightened to go out anywhere and started scribbling on the table with the pen and ink.⁷ When the tablet was covered with scrawls

⁷ Begbie (1834: 467) says: "The method of writing in the Malay Schools is by a hollow reed (*rĕsam*) or a *kalam* made of the sago or *kabong* tree, upon a thin board of a very fine-grained wood called *pulay* [*pulai* = *Alistomia scholaris*] which gives a light cork-like wood whose surface is whitened with pipe clay. The ink is made of rice burnt to charcoal, mingled with pure water and then strained."

she would tell one of the children to wash it and dry it. When it was dry I would go on scribbling. This was the work my grandmother made me do all day before I had learnt to recognize the form of the letters.

3. Abdullah begins his Koran Studies

After practising in this way for some time my hand became accustomed to holding the pen and I could copy the form of written letters, albeit roughly. One day when my grandmother saw that my scribbling bore some resemblance to letters she wrote a few lines of the Koran for me on a small tablet and told me to study them. I did my lessons when I felt in the mood. When not I went out and played. This continued until I was seven, at which age I still could not read a single section of the Koran, for I was thoroughly spoilt by my grandmother who never scolded or struck me. I did not care much for learning, preferring just to play about all day.

One day my father returned from Siak. As soon as he arrived he asked my grandmother "What news of young Abdullah's Koran studies? How many sections of the Koran has he learnt and what skill in reciting has he acquired?" My grandmother replied "Do not be annoyed for he is always falling sick; if he is scolded or struck who knows but that he may get ill." (My father always called my grandmother Achi, a Tamil word meaning elder sister. His reason for calling her this was that she was only thirteen years old when she bore my mother and people regarded them as sisters.)

Some days later my father moved to another house very close to Kampong Pali itself. Every day I used to go to school in the morning, and I was taught by my father at night. Many times I was beaten and slapped. Many writing tablets were smashed in pieces when they were used to hit me on the head. Many canes were broken on my body. Time after time my mother used to weep because I suffered such frequent chastisement. Sometimes my fingers were beaten till they were swollen because I had made mistakes in writing. Mark well how difficult it is to aspire to knowledge, wisdom, skill and learning. Soon my heart was filled with hatred, anger and spite against my teacher. Many were the prayers I offered for his speedy demise, to release me from the pain of study so that I could go out and play wherever I liked. At that time I was very fond of flying kites. My father used to beat me frequently and hang the kite round my neck, ordering me back to my studies. I was highly delighted whenever my teacher was too ill to give me lessons for then I could go out and play; and if during a lesson he or anyone else ordered me to go anywhere, even to dan-

gerous places, I was thankful to go just to get away from study. If I had the slightest feeling of bodily discomfort I purposely made myself ill to avoid my lessons. I would rather look on the face of a tiger than on that of my teacher. For as everybody knows, if an orchard has fine trees but no fence to protect it, it is bound to be entered by animals and the like that will destroy it.

Knowledge and skill are the ladder to riches, and riches lead to greatness. Of a truth, all things created by Allah in this world have their value which can be reckoned in terms of money; learning alone commands a price which no man can determine. Moreover the wealth of this world, its riches and its greatness are ephemeral things, like a fickle woman changing her affections from one to another, as she pleases. But knowledge, on the other hand, is steadfast and sincere. Bright is its countenance, the best of companions for a man of discretion, never forsaking him while life remains in his body. It is the most wonderful of the things created by Allah. It is not devoured by worms, damaged by rain or sun, or able to be stolen by other men. It does not encumber or weigh heavily upon those who carry it, or require room for its accommodation. It requires neither food nor drink to sustain it, yet it is ready to satisfy our needs at any time. Therefore has a wise man said "When you make money buy gold; when you sell gold buy diamonds; when you sell diamonds buy the rarest gems; and when you sell the rarest gems buy knowledge." For this is the measure of the power and the security which knowledge brings to those who acquire it. Let it be compared to a stone pillar which will bear a very heavy weight placed upon it. Only if the weight is excessive beyond reason will the pillar crack and be broken in two. It will not yield or bend like a wooden beam.

Now when I remember how I was struck, beaten, slapped, and admonished, the many tablets broken over my head, the stern and angry looks, the nagging and scolding of all my teachers, I realize that each blow of the cane on my body has now become a lamp to guide me, each slap a pair of spectacles to my eyes. Had there been no lamp to my hand, no spectacles for me to use, doubtless many times I would have stumbled into the furrows and channels which lie thick on the highways and byways to knowledge, for without lamps to guide them many men before me have stumbled hither and thither, falling and jumping up covered in mud and filth, their limbs broken. I beseech Allah that it may please Him to grant a thousand mercies and the reward of peaceful repose to my teachers who have made me aware of these pitfalls, and who have provided a touchstone to my hand that I may avoid false imitations of gold and silver, and diamonds

which are but gravel. Many are the men who, having no touchstone, fall for these deceptions, for they have no guide to point out the good from the bad or the true from the false. Now at last do I taste the honey which has flowed from the honeycomb, for which I have waited diligently from the days of my youth. Many times has my body been stung all over, my face become inflamed. But now I feel the sweetness more than all the sweetness of the earth. Many other men there are who have not dared to approach the honeycomb for fear of being stung by the bees. They think that only danger awaits them, and do not realize how rewarding will be the honey produced by the bees.

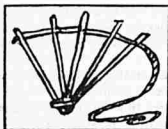
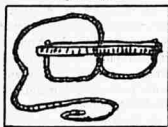
I commend this advice to all children whose minds Allah has opened. If you were to live even for a thousand years, do not be afraid to spend money on the pursuit of learning. For assuredly all the servants of Allah the world over wish for greatness and eminence and riches. There is not a single person who rejects them. Yet learning is the ladder which leads to all these things. Once you have acquired learning, you can never lose it. You will gain not the contempt of men but their respect. Perhaps too it may avail you in your journey through this world to the world hereafter.

I persevered in my studies, with the help of Allah and in fulfilment of my promise, until I could recite the Koran and also read and write; not like other children whose teachers used to write on their tablets for them. For indeed in those days nobody could write the Koran. But if people do not learn writing when they are young, when they are older and the desire to write arises what can they do? A human being is like a twig of wood. While it's still young, it yields whichever way we bend it, for it is pliable; when it has grown old, it has become dry and if we bend it, be it ever so slightly, it will snap. For a long time I received instruction from my father and my grandmother, and also from two uncles of mine named Ismail Lebai and Mohammed Latiff. They were both uncles on my mother's side. To me they looked like tigers. The one of whom I was especially frightened was Mohammed Latiff for he it was who often hit me during recitation and writing lessons. When he first started teaching me he used to scratch on the tablet with pen only, using no ink, while I would follow above in ink to give my hand practice. Little by little I learnt to form the letters properly and my hand-writing improved.

When my grandmother saw that I could read and write she made me a monitor in charge of the children of my own age, to hear them read, to teach them and to write on their tablets. I never stopped learning from morning till night. Whatever words people spoke I

*Sengkang*

School punishments, reproduced from a copy of the lithographed illustration to the 1849 edition of the *Hikayat Abdullah*; see this text, pp. 43-4.

*Rantai Bèsi.**Apit China.**Kayu Palat.**Di-gantong tiada bërjèjak kaki.*

could spell and write down for them. Any children who had writing to do on his tablet would pay me in the class-room. Some gave a few cents, others sweetmeats, fruit and the like. Nobody dared to contradict anything I said in class for I was their teacher in recitation and writing. All reading and writing was in the Arabic language for in the days of our forefathers it was unheard of for anyone to start a school in which Malay was taught.

All manner of instruments for inflicting punishment were kept in the school, different kinds for different offences. First there was the cane and the *apit china*. The *apit china* was made from four pieces of rattan, each about six inches long, fitting together at a point at one end and threaded with a long piece of twine at the other, as in the picture. It was used for squeezing the fingers together as a punishment for children who stole or hit their fellow-pupils.

Another was called the *kayu palat*. It was made out of a round piece of wood about the width of a man's chest. Three holes were pierced in it, those on the right and left carrying the knotted ends of two pieces of cord which passed through the centre hole. It was used to punish children who ran away from school, or who climbed trees, or who gazed at their friends. The child's feet were put one into each of the two loops of the cord which was twisted upwards and used to beat his soles. There was also a chain six feet or more in length, nailed to the end of a beam. The free end was fitted with a lock-pin and it was used to punish children who regularly played truant or were always quarrelling, or who did not listen to their parents' instructions and were late for school. The chain was locked round the offender's waist and he was made to carry the wooden beam on his shoulder round the school. Sometimes he was left wearing the chain and was not allowed home, his rice being sent to him.

There was also the *séngkang*, a punishment for children who were always squabbling or absconding or thieving. The child was held with his right hand up to his left ear, and was told to stand up and sit down over and over again, as in the picture. There was a punishment for pupils who were lazy in their studies. Smoke was generated in a heap of dry coconut fibre and the child made to stand astride it. Sometimes dry pepper was put in the fire. The reek of the smoke was most irritating and caused a copious discharge from eyes and nose. There was a punishment for children who made mistakes in class. A twisted cord was fastened round the child's waist and tied to a post. The child was then told to go on with his writing until it was done. Not until it was finished was he released, his rice being sent to him by his parents.

A punishment for children who were very badly behaved, ones who fought, ran away or stole things was to hang them up by their two hands with their feet off the ground. Another punishment for those who misbehaved and stole was to place them face downwards on the floor and beat them. Another for children who told lies or used bad language or insulted people consisted in putting pepper into their mouths.¹

The teachers had power to inflict any of these punishments in the school. Even if the children were the sons of rajas and rich men the teachers still did not mind. They could cane them in school even until blood was drawn and no action would be taken against them, for they taught well. When someone sent his child off to study the Koran it was the custom for the mother or father first to come and pay respects to the teachers, bringing a betel-tray and a plate of sweetmeat, along with the intending pupil. The parents would say: "Sir, two things only I ask; first that you do not harm his eyes and second that you do not break his limbs. Apart from this you may do what you will! The child was then ordered to bow to the feet of the teacher who said a blessing, shared out the sweet meats among all the children, took his fee and distributed incense. I will not dwell on the customs of this school, for intelligent men will not want a lengthy account but will accept these illustrations as far as they go.

After some eight or nine months of painstaking recitation and writing of the Koran my learning had reached a high standard and the road to serious study was increasingly opened to me. At mid-day when work was finished I used to fashion small kites which I sold to the children for the price of one *duit*. The money I spent in buying sweetmeats and fruit. It was from these kites that I first learnt to draw decorations and pictures, for at the time I had damaged my hand. I made a mental note wherever I saw Chinese making pictures and decorations, and I drew them on my kites. There were indeed other people making kites for sale. But children were not fond of buying them because the decorations were bits of red and dark green paper stuck on with paste. I made all my kites of white paper. But I had ready inks of various colours. When children came to buy kites I would ask "What sort of drawing would you like?" One might reply "I would like an elephant," another "a bird," another "a fish." Whatever they asked for I drew on the kites. That is why the children preferred to buy mine. In this way I was able to find money for my expenses, in addition to my earnings for writing on the children's tablets. Thus I completed my studies, and for a few days longer my father made me go over my reading again, perhaps twenty times in all. Then I was almost word perfect in reading the Koran.

¹ Abdullah's description of these ugly forms of chastisement, which he might be expected to denounce, is in keeping with his realism as a reporter. His viewpoint is strangely detached, leaving us to infer perhaps that in his virtuosity he escaped at least the specially vicious punishments. He may have taken a rather morbid interest in cruelty. See for instance his account of the tortures in the Malacca Fort under the Dutch (pp. 60-61). Or again an Anglophile attitude may explain his tendency to denigrate Malay and Dutch practices.

After that my father ordered me "Every day you must go after the evening prayer and recite the Koran in the mosque. For in the mosque there are hundreds of people going in and out, and if they hear you make a mistake they will certainly point it out." I did as my father ordered for some time.

Some months afterwards my parents conferred with our relations about finishing off my study of the Koran and having me circumcised.² When it had been arranged, my parents invited all our relations in Malacca, men and women, and a large party of them assembled. I was dressed in a fine raiment of gold and silver, and then brought before the company and ordered to recite whatever parts of the Koran people wished to hear, including my teacher. Many other learned men asked me questions on the reading of the Koran, concerning pronunciation and so forth. When I had answered, the *imam* or the *khatib* said a blessing and I was ordered to bow to my teacher, followed by my parents. That was the moment for my teacher to be presented by my parents with a gift of clothing. On a tray was placed a coat, a handkerchief, a pair of shoes, and a sum of money as much as they could afford, some ten or twenty dollars. These gifts were brought and placed before the teacher, with a prayer for Allah's blessing on all his teaching. Apart from this there were many other ceremonies which I will not mention in this account of my life. That night I was treated with henna as at a marriage ceremony. My parents were happy because I was their only child. The next day hundreds of people were invited to a feast. At night a carriage bore us in procession, followed by hundreds of people, with music-making round the Settlement. Then we returned home. The next day there was another feast to which everyone was invited. A prayer was recited and the man was ready to perform the circumcision. After seven days had passed I was allowed to bathe, and then I could walk about. Then the man who performed the circumcision was rewarded with gifts of clothing and three or four dollars in money. He paid frequent visits to see me, only ceasing when I had completely recovered.

About a month after I was well my father sent me to a teacher to learn Tamil, an Indian language, because it had been the custom from the time of our forefathers in Malacca for all the children of good and well-to-do families to learn it. It was useful for doing computations and accounts, and for purposes of conversation because at that time Malacca was crowded with Indian merchants. Many were the men

² For a good description of the Malay circumcision ceremonies see Wilkinson (1925: 17-19). Abdullah's account shows the scale of entertainment which a well-off family would provide.

who had become rich by trading in Malacca, so much so that the names of Tamil traders had become famous. All of them made their children learn Tamil.

At that time there were in Malacca four "Kapitans", each race having a "Kapitan". The custom dated from Dutch times, when there was an Indian "Kapitan", a Malay "Kapitan", a Chinese "Kapitan", and a Eurasian "Kapitan". Anyone having a matter of judicial import would take it to his "Kapitan". If the "Kapitan" could not settle it, it was taken to the "Fiskall", then to the "Feitor", and finally to the "Justisa".³ Because of this there was in Malacca among all races a feeling of shame and fear between one man and another. If for instance a Malay child did a wrongful act or anything bad of that kind a Chinese or a man of any other race seeing it could correct him or strike him and would receive the approbation of the child's parents. If there was some very minor thing it could be settled by the village elders alone, for each village had its elders appointed by the Kapitan. Whenever there were disputes they were first reported to these elders.

When I had been learning Tamil for two years and six months I felt no small chagrin at the frequent blows and insults I received. Moreover the tip of my index-finger was chafed from writing in the sand, for this old practice of using the finger as a pen nobody had the courage to change. If a wooden stilo or the like were used it would certainly be thought a very bad thing. They considered it much better to let one's finger be chafed, even if it was worn to the bone, than to make the least change in the custom of their fathers. Now by the grace of Allah I made some progress in these studies. Then my teacher was rewarded with clothing and a present of money. Although I was learning Tamil my father insisted that I must attend all the five hours of daily prayer in the mosque.⁴ If he did not see me going on some occasion he would cane me. Indeed at that time I felt I would far rather meet a tiger than my father, and from one year to the next

³ The *Fiskaal* or *Fiskal* was a Dutch officer who had summary powers of jurisdiction in minor criminal cases, and the duty of prosecuting in more serious ones. Schouten (Leupé, 1936: 118) mentions that in 1641 the *Fiskaal* occupied the third seat on the Governor's Council. The *Feitor* or *Factor* was originally a name for a subordinate employee of the East India Company, but later it was used of a Magistrate who presided over a district court, in both civil and criminal cases, which could not be decided by the Kapitan. The *Justisia* was the old Portuguese Court of Justice whose jurisdiction was taken over by the Dutch. It commonly tried political offenders and enemies of the State. The designations of the two Dutch officials seem to have become synonymous with cruelty and injustice. See also p. 89 in Chapter 6.

⁴ Abdullah's complaint is that his father made him continue his Arabic studies harder than ever by going to the Mosque, while he was still learning Tamil. See the next paragraph.

I had not the courage to speak to him. Any wishes and instructions he had to give he told to my mother who let me know. Only with my mother did I remain on the most intimate terms. With her I could sit chatting and playing and so on. At meal time however I had to eat with my father. If I absented myself he would search everywhere until he found me. Only then would he start his meal.

One day my father told me: "Take a piece of paper, an ink-well and a pen and go and stand every day in the mosque. Write down the names of all those who go in and come out. Every evening show me what you have written." When my mother told me this I thought it odd and said, "What is the good of writing just their names?" "I do not know. I do not understand your father's instructions" my mother replied, "But do what he says, because there must be some good in it for him to have told you to do it." I thought to myself "This seems a heavy burden. Every day I have to work without respite," and I burst into tears. But my mother said "You foolish child, is it not better to study than to go about without benefiting yourself?" It was my duty every evening to go and show the names to my father. Yet I was many times slapped and cursed, whenever I formed the outline of the letters in a name wrongly he would clutch me round the neck. Nevertheless at the end of a month or so of this I was writing correctly everyone's name.

One morning my father said abruptly to me "Go and fetch a pen and ink and a piece of paper, and bring them here." When I had brought them he continued "Write down everything I say." When I heard this my heart beat fast for I had never done it before. However I had no choice but to sit down and write any word that he uttered. After I had been writing thus for some two hours he asked for my work. He looked at it with a frown on his face, saying "To-day I will excuse you, to-morrow if you make any more mistakes like these you will get a stroke of the cane for every one of them." He marked all the faults, the letters wrongly used or wrongly joined, and mistakes over the stops. Then he said "Everyday you will come and write like this." This made me feel very disappointed because I would not be able to go out and play. The next day was like the first. He did not repeat the same words but many others of which I had never heard. Words used at court and rare names he bade me write down, and so daily I incurred his wrath and his threats. Many times he called me 'dog' or 'monkey' but I did not receive the cane. As the days went by I felt more and more at ease and after some two months I made no more mistakes. Then I learnt the meanings of words and how to use them. Used in one context they mean one thing, used in another context something different.

But I will not elaborate further the things that I suffered on account of my studies, like an *aur* stem rubbed the wrong way.⁵ My body became thin, my face sunken with the strain of thinking. I was worried because I did succeed and because I was ashamed at giving cause for anger. But I realize now that however high the price I paid for my knowledge, at that price can I sell it. If I had picked up my knowledge as I went along, merely copying and listening, so far from people wishing to buy it I would be quite prepared to give it away free for the asking. It is well known to you, my readers, that anything cheap must be faulty; and anything expensive of superior value. Is not the precious diamond but a stone? Why is it held in such high regard by everyone? It is not because of its brightness?

One day my father said to me "You must not longer spend your time going about doing nothing. I have bought some paper. Sit down and write the Koran at home." And he showed me how to follow on paper the lines on a tablet. So I sat down and wrote. I did indeed receive presents and compliments, but the presents were blows with a rattan and the compliments abuse and sullen grumbling every day. This went on for six or seven months, my mistakes being pointed out to me. By the end I could correctly transcribe the Koran and Arabic manuscripts. When my father saw that I could write the Koran he said: "Here is a manuscript written in Malay and Arabic, a very fine one. Make a copy of it." So I copied it and after some time it was finished. Other people seeing my writing said it was good. Only my father poured unceasing discredit upon me saying "Look at your writing, like a hen scratching, a sheer waste of paper. Even small children could write as well as that." He found fault with everything, nothing was right. But now at last I realize that my father in his wisdom did not wish to commend my skill or my work for fear it would make me arrogant and swollen-headed over my cleverness and erudition.

At that time the English forces in Malacca were all sepoys, being Bengalies and Madrassis.⁶ About three-quarters of them were Muslims, and one-quarter Hindus. All the Muslims were strict in their Koran studies and their prayers. They used to come to my grandmother's

⁵ *saperti aur di-tarek songsang*. The *aur*, in common with other species of bamboo, is partly covered with very thin, spiky barbs, as fine as fur. If the hand brushes against them the needle-sharp ends stick in the flesh, causing intense irritation.

⁶ *supai semua-nya*. *Supai* = Sepoy (Hind., *tipahi*), an Indian soldier. The small Malacca garrison was made up of Indian troops from the Madras and Calcutta stations. Abdullah gives no dates but his main contacts with the troops were in the years 1808-11, up to the time of Lord Minto's expedition to Java, when Abdullah was fourteen years old.

house and pay my uncle to write Koran texts for them. I too wrote texts, earning handsome fees. I was delighted to be making money, and became all the keener on writing texts, working day and night without stopping. When my father noticed this he said angrily "Do not make a practice of writing at night or your eyesight will soon be ruined. And do not work too hard in the daytime either, for you are still a child and will fall sick." It annoyed me that my father imposed these restrictions, for the longer I took over the work the more slowly would I make money. Surreptitiously behind my father's back I continued writing texts because of my fondness for making money.

A difficulty arose for me because I did not understand Hindustani and when I wished to converse with the soldiers we could only gesticulate like dumb people. Moreover at that time people who knew the language were very hard to find. Therefore I was very keen to learn it myself. I told one of the officers how anxious I was to learn Hindustani. He replied "Come to my house in the Fort and I can provide you with food and tell my teacher to give you lessons. You can become teacher to all of us here and write Koran texts which our men will buy." I told my mother what the officer had said, and she told my father who said "Very well, let him learn Hindustani for later it may prove a useful acquisition to him."

So I went and stayed in the Fort, where my uncle happened also to be living. Every two or three days I went home and back again, having my meals and writing texts there, and at the same time learning Hindustani. They gave me money, and suet and rice to eat. I became on very friendly terms with all the sepoy, getting to know them all in spite of the large number of men and women. I remained in touch with them for three or four years, and by the grace of Allah I gained a knowledge of their language. Every day I used to converse with soldiers in Hindustani. It was then that people first called me "Munshi", which means a teacher or tutor of languages, and the designation has stuck right up to the present time.

After this had been going on for some time I was ordered home by my father who said "Sit down every day and read this book, which is entirely in Malay. Every three days I will examine you in the meanings of the words and how they should be used." Every day I did this. I had no free time at all for leisure or recreation. But the occasion brought me much gain, in understanding matters of religion and also of Malay idioms and the meanings and power of words. Every three days my father came to the place where I worked, and posed me questions on any point he wished concerning religion and idiom. When I knew the answer I gave it to him and when I did not he would tell me.

At times the question came to my mind: "What good is my life to me? I have no leisure from day to day, but have to sit and study instead of going out to play and to visit my friends" and as the thought came I cried in my sadness and mortification. My mother came into the room and said when she saw me "Why are you crying for no good reason?" And I replied "Rather than live like this I should be better dead, for I am not treated as other children are." My mother said "What do you mean? Are you not fed and clothed? And if you are not like the child of a rich man, still as a poor man's son your father cherishes you; why then do you cry needlessly?" And I replied "Even if you gave me gold every day it would be no good to me if I did not like it. See how my father makes me study every day, not once in a while, but so that I have no time off. He will not let me go visiting with my friends. I am like a man in the grave. Day and night there is work to be done." When my mother heard my words she put her arms round my neck and kissed me on the face saying "My child, why be so stupid? You have not yet reached years of discretion. You are still a child and cannot yet appreciate for yourself the value of learning. Later you will understand its value and be grateful to your parents. Are you not my only child? If you do not learn to read and write the Korean as the children of the best families do, when you are older great may be your regret that your parents did not teach you these good things. Now you feel a bitterness greater than the bitterness of gall, but later on you will realize a joy above the sweetness of honey. Then at last you will be grateful for the providence of your parents. Supposing we two left you any amount of material possessions, if you gained no benefit they would give you but a transient pleasure. But good learning is not like this. Only when life leaves your body will it too leave you." Verily my mother's words were the truth, for now at last I know that the sweetness of knowledge is greater than the sweetness of honey.

On one occasion my father walked in while my mother and I were in the middle of talking. We at once stopped. It was my father's habit whenever he saw men never to look pleasant, always stern. His attitude towards me was such that none of my work, whether writing or reading, received his commendation. The faults he found were never-ending. Whatever I did was wrong, although other people spoke well of my work. But my father stopped them when he heard them, saying "These people will spoil my child."

One day a sea-captain came to the house to look for my father. He wished to draw up a bond, being in debt to a Chinese merchant in Malacca for \$300. That day my father was very busy at the house of

Mr. Adrian Koek, so the captain sat in our house waiting until mid-day. Then he returned home for his meal. Afterwards he came back and waited until evening. Finally I went and said to him. "Whence do you come, sir and what do you wish?" He replied "I want to see your master." I said "Today my father is very busy at Mr. Adrian Koek's house," and he exclaimed "What shall I do, for I have arranged with your master that he will draw up a bond? I wish to sail at once." I said "If you like sir, I will try to write it myself," and I ran to my writing table. Then I started writing. I inquired his name and his friend said it was Nakhoda Ahmad. He himself would not mention his own name or the name and address of the Chinese merchant to whom he owed money. The finished letter I brought out and showed to him. After reading it he shook his head⁷ saying "That is correct, but let me place on it my own signature in your presence." Then he signed it and took his leave. As he was going out he thrust a dollar into my hand, touching his head and saying "Take this and buy yourself some sweetmeats." I took it, delighted at having made a dollar so quickly. He said, "It is for your trouble, my young friend," and I replied "Thank you, sir."

Just at that moment my father came in, and seeing the captain, said to him "How do you do, captain? When did you come here?" When I saw my father I ran into my room and kept quiet, much regretting that I had written the bond. The captain replied "For a long time I waited for you, since the morning. This is what your son Abdullah has written for me." When I heard my name mentioned my heart trembled at the thought of the mistakes I might have made, for I had never in my life drawn up a bond like that before. I had no example to follow and could only use my initiative and brains. When my father saw the bond he smiled saying "Naughty boy, pretending to himself that he is clever. You may use this letter, Captain. Take it to the house of your creditor." When the captain had left my father came in with a broad smile on his face. My mother asked "Why are you smiling?" He answered "Today a gift of thousand dollars would not please me so much as the realization that my son is able to help me." He told her what had happened and they both laughed saying "May Allah strengthen him in his good learning." Then my father said "Now I have gained a child, just as if he were born to me this very day. Had he not known how to read and write letters, living in ignorance, I would have accounted him as one already dead." Everything my parents said I heard from my room. This day for the first time I was

⁷ *lalu ia menggeleng-geleng* (cf. *giling*) usually means "to shake the head in negation," but apparently here "shook his head in amazement."

aware of my parents' affection for me, and appreciated the value of their lessons, the benefit of the knowledge they had imparted to me. From that time there has remained in my heart the certainty that all that my parents taught me was true and right and good.

Then my father came into the room where I studied with a stern look on his face and said: "What have you been doing today? When I am not at home you pay no attention to your lesson. Because you are so lazy you know nothing about writing. Yet you write a bond for Nakhoda Ahmad of Siak, full of mistakes which I have corrected." But I thought to myself "I know now what he really means", for my father would on no account say that I was knowledgeable or clever, nor would he praise me for fear that I should become conceited.

Yet from that day onwards any written message, receipt, covenant, will, or the like which people brought to be written, my father ordered me to do. At the start he would say that such-and-such were the circumstances, the money involved was so much, the agreement was for so many months. He would then tell me to compose a letter myself. In my first and second attempts there would be a few mistakes, but the third attempt would be correct. After that my father made available to me all his writing materials and boxes.

In Malacca of those days it was very hard to find people who could do any letter-writing. There were only four or five altogether who practised it as a profession. There was first Khoja Mohammed* the son of a Malacca Tamil who became the Company's *talk*; second, Jamal Mohammed bin Nur Mohammed of Surat; third, my father Abdul Kadir bin Mohammed Ibrahim; fourth Mahidin bin Ahmad Lebai. Among the Malays I knew there were Inchi Yahaya bin Abdul Wahid and Inchi Ismail bin Mohammed Arif Surati. All these men whose names I have mentioned were important people because they were so diligent in study and the quest for knowledge that they had become very learned. They were consulted by all manner of men on all sorts of subjects. Men were shy of opposing them in debate. Their full time was spent on this work, for they had no other occupation. So prosperous was the settlement of Malacca in those days that they never rested for a moment, being engaged all the time earning a good living. Their names were highly praised even to the ends of the earth. Their services were used by the white men and were held in esteem in the highest councils of the land.

Now as for young people at that time no one was really keen to learn reading and writing in the Malay language; only myself, a lowly,

* *Khoja*, a Persian title which originally signified membership of a religious order. It came to be applied in Malacca to wealthy and literate Muslim Indian merchants.

poor and ignorant man. I could not engage in trade for my parents were poor and had no property. For this reason I studied well and truly until I inherited the literary prowess of the gentlemen whose names I have mentioned above. Pray do not think for a moment, my readers, that I am being boastful. For consider, if such seeds as these had been cast anywhere at all, without doubt they would have grown up by now. In those days the opinion of everybody was that it was improper to give instruction in the Malay language because it is our own language. Moreover since our forefathers' time nobody had ever started a school for teaching the Malay language; only for studying the Koran. It was right to learn Arabic, because of its value for purposes of religion and theology and this language alone was regarded as important by Muslims.

I studied under those men I have mentioned, asking them about the subtleties of the Malay language, and obtaining all kinds of examples.⁹ I learnt a great many Malay words, rare names, proverbs, sayings, and fine combinations of words. All these I learnt from diligent questioning and from reading ancient story-books and the compositions of men of old. From them I gleaned many of the artifices of Malay grammar; compound words and word combinations, the order of words, root words and derivatives, the force of words, euphony, affixations, associated words, the sense of words, their refinement, innuendos and specialized meanings. And many other features of the Malay language were revealed to me. Any new word I came across in manuscripts or anthologies I at once took to one or other of these teachers and in all deference and humility asked him its meaning, its force, its derivation and how it was used. Sometimes they were moved to laugh at me because for one single word I would go from my house to theirs, no matter how great the distance, for an explanation. They said "You will soon become an expert, to judge from your zeal and enthusiasm." There were many words I found in manuscripts and stories, of which even my teachers had never heard and did not know the meaning. They would then direct me to a place where I might enquire; to Datok Sulaiman, a Malay who lived up-country from whom I learnt certain basic principles of the Malay language. When I first knew him he was between 80 and 90 years old, of pure Malay ancestry, a man of scholarship and good

⁹ The following passage, in which Abdullah itemizes the various literary devices in which he acquired skill, is difficult to translate. He arranges his material without regard for logical order and it is virtually impossible to differentiate in meaning between each one of the words he uses. He repeats this list later, almost word for word, in a long dissertation upon the difficulties of the Malay language (see pp. 225-7, in Chapter 22).

birth. There was also one Datok Astur of about the same age. Neither of them would discard the traditional Malay dress to their dying day; the turban, the tight jacket and *sarong* without trousers. It was to them that the teachers I have mentioned would put questions about idiom and rare words mentioned in manuscripts and treatises.

They became my teachers and explained to me all the complexities of the Malay language. It was they who told me that it possesses grammar, inflexions¹⁰ and changes by rule, and that there are marks denoting the beginning and the end of a word as well as diacritical signs.¹¹ There are also words whose meanings vary according to the emphasis used when they are uttered; and many others which are used for their sound effect, each having its appropriate place. All of them are definite features of the Malay language, besides sounding pleasant in themselves. But, my teachers said, nobody had been clever enough to systematize and lay down rules for the Malay language. In this way I obtained the final word on Malay literary expression.

Now after I had been working at all these studies in turn for about a year and nine months, my teacher passed away. So my studies were brought to an end, for at that time it was impossible to find in Malacca anyone who was his peer in language study. I was loath therefore to learn under another teacher. I could only ask questions of people more knowledgeable and experienced in these matters. But my hands could not compete with their feet in tackling a knotty problem. I had already discovered the secret that there is a great difference between one who is a real teacher and one who merely copies.

A few days after my Malay teacher's death I was just sitting and writing, worried because I could no longer study, when by the grace of Allah there came an Arab, a shaikh from Yemen. He was an expert in Koran studies and his name was Muallim Muhai'd-din. When the people of Malacca heard his exposition they were amazed as though listening to the sounds of heaven, for he recited with perfect accuracy and correct vowel sounding.¹² All were very keen to study under him. He said "I propose to sail to Java, and therefore I cannot teach here."

¹⁰ *bahasa Melayu itu ada nahu-nya dan saraf-nya. Nahu* is Arabic grammar with its complicated system of, for instance, conjugating verbs by means of prefixes and affixes with internal vowel change (*saraf*). Malays apply these words to their language, whose attenuated grammar bears no relation to that of Arabic. For other observations on the structure of the Malay language see pages 245-7, and note 28, in Chapter 23.

¹¹ Only in religious works are the diacritical signs used to show the pronunciations of rare Arabic words and proper names: see pp. 107-8, and note 5, in Chapter 9.

¹² *serta dengan hukum tajuit dengan panjang pendek seperti ukoran-nya. Tajuit*, means the reading of Arabic with correct vocalization. By *panjang pendek*, Abdullah implies the giving of the correct length to the vowel sounds. When certain letters occur after the vowel points in an Arabic word, the vowel sound is lengthened.

Then many of the elders went and asked him to stay, for a great number of people wished to learn to recite the Koran. So he said, "If I can earn some profit here I can stay. For I have a family in Acheh and so I have come to earn a living to provide for their needs." The people held counsel together and made an agreement that whoever wished to study would pay five dollars a year. So I and some forty or fifty others began our studies. The shaikh discounted my previous studies and made me start afresh. He gave me rules for reciting the Koran. Allah favouring me, and with the blessing of my teacher, after a year of hard study I was able to recite as he taught. It was at this period that the Malacca folk first became famous for their recitation of the Koran. Before it their numbers had been insignificant for nobody had understood the principles, the vowel sounding, the pauses, the punctuation, the voice inflexions and so forth. Many were the presents which were given to the shaikh, in addition to his fees mentioned above. He was pleased and said many prayers. Then he sailed home to Acheh.

Shortly after I had finished these studies of the Koran there came a wise man, an Arab *Sayid* named Shaikh bin Alwi, of the Bafakih race.¹³ His knowledge of Malay, and even more of Arabic, was profound. When he arrived in Malacca, great was everyone's astonishment to hear him unravelling every problem and posing many questions which could not be answered by the people. But he was in poor circumstances. When people in Malacca saw this, all being keen to study under him, the elders made an arrangement by which anyone wishing to take lessons should pay five dollars a year. I put my signature to the contract and began my lessons together with some fifty or sixty others as fellow students. The first work he took for our instruction was an original manuscript called *Ummu-'l-barahin*, which expounded the true nature of Allah and His revelation to man,¹⁴ His power and His greatness, and how we should conduct ourselves before Him, and realize our own unworthiness and weakness. After a few days we finished it, and then we began studying a work about the canon law of Islam, concerning prayer and suchlike matters. Then we studied various other branches of knowledge, and stories of value to us in promoting wholesome and intelligent thought. All the manuscripts were in Malay. Of the subjects mentioned above I gained a fair understanding, by the grace of Allah and with the blessing of my teacher. It was for a year or more that we remained at these studies.

¹³ *Bafakih bangsa-nya*, on the Hadramaut coast.

¹⁴ *dzat Allah dan sifat Allah*, i.e. the two aspects of Allah, the hidden and revealed, the esoteric and the exoteric. *Ummu'l-barahin* means *Mother of Explanation*.

Now for the first time were the eyes of the Malacca folk opened. Before this not one person in a hundred could understand such matters for they did not attach any importance to them. While Sayid Shaikh bin Alwi was at Malacca all the other learned men shut up their books, not daring to pass question and answer with him. After the period of his agreement had finished he sailed for Java. Up to the present he has lived in the district of Sumenap as a friend and teacher to the Sultan.

It is a matter of wonder and astonishment to me to see how the Malays remain unaware of themselves, living in ignorance because they will not learn their own language or have schools where it may be taught. It is an insult to the intelligence to suppose that a man with no education can become clever by his own effort. Is it not a fact that all races of this world, except the Malays, do learn their own language? The Malays say "What is the good of learning Malay, for it is our own language. Moreover it is useful only in this world. Let us rather learn Arabic which will be useful in the world to come." That is true enough, but how, I wonder, can we learn a foreign language if we have not first understood our own? The Malays converse in Malay, carry on trade and write and answer letters all in Malay. I have never yet seen anyone, whether Malay or of mixed blood or of any other race, using Arabic in everyday life, in trading, in writing accounts, or in correspondence. For these purposes everyone uses his own language. Arabic is used only in worship and prayer.

4. The Malacca Fort

There came a time when I had nothing else to do except read and write. All of a sudden there arose a rumour in Malacca that the English intended to destroy the Fort. Nobody believed that the Fort could be easily destroyed. One said "The work will not be finished during the Resident's lifetime." Thus everyone thought, for the Fort was strongly built with breastworks and hard stone and covered no small area. Therefore it did not occur to anyone that the Fort could be quickly broken up. Many were the thoughts that passed through people's minds. Some said, "At last all the poor people of Malacca can become rich for the money they earn demolishing the Fort." One man said "If they so much as touch the Fort many men will die; for there are many jinns and devils in it." But a few said "These English are very cunning and that is why they are going to destroy the Fort. Supposing it were to fall into the hands of another power it would never be recaptured in war, for it is strong and well-built."

The appearance of the Fort as I had noted it during my walks and inside the place was as follows. There were big blocks of granite, dark brown in colour, some six feet and others about three feet long. The stonework was smooth and flat as if it had been planed. I have heard that the stones were fashioned by Chinese masons from Batu Pahat* under the orders of the Portuguese and for that reason the place is called "Chiselled Stone" to this day.

The bulwarks of the Fort sloped slightly inwards, with an ornamental stone projection running round its four sides.¹ There were eight bastions varying in width from sixty to eighty feet, which served as emplacements for artillery. The walls all round were about fifteen feet thick. Below each bastion there were underground living quarters fully provisioned, with wells and stables for horses. There was a pathway running round inside the walls, by which people could move from bastion to bastion where there were exit doors.² The height to the top of the Fort was about sixty feet, and it was rumoured that

* See Map III.

¹ The original fortress was completed by the Portuguese in January, 1512, six months after Alfonso d'Albuquerque's occupation of Malacca. It was a castle and four-walled keep, commanding the sea and the entrance to the Malacca River, the residence of successive Governors for a hundred and thirty years. During this period the fortifications were extended to enclose St. Paul's Hill. de Eredia's map of 1613, and that of 1656 found by Leupé (1936: 176), both show the fort as an irregular pentagon with its apex towards the sea de Eredia mentions the ramparts of stone and mortar (Mills, 1930: 17-8), but two of its sides were still only earth ramparts when the Dutch carried them by storm in 1641, after a nine months' seige.

The continual flow of alluvium down the Malacca River has led to the silting up of its bed and some changes in its direction, the old estuary being now some distance inland.

² The exact position of the bastions and strong points is still a matter of conjecture. I have attempted a reconstruction of the Fort in Map III (reproduced from F.M.S. Surveys, 562/1929) with Portuguese names followed by Dutch names in brackets. The six bastions built by the Portuguese are mentioned by Barretto de Resende (Maxwell, 1911: 4) in his description of Malacca as it was in 1638. They were: The order for the Portuguese bastions follows Resende: the numbers refer to the map on p. 000)

(1) *S. Domingos* (Victoria), a large round bastion much damaged by gunfire in 1641. It was strengthened in Governor Bort's time and provided with heavy artillery.

(2) *Madre de Deos* (Emelia), facing the Church and Convent of Our Lady Mother of God, on Bukit China. It had a large cellar for gunpowder.

(3) *Once Mille Virgines* (Henriette Louise).

(4) *S. Jago* (Wilhelmus), i.e. *Santiago* (St. James), a small round bastion.

(6) *S. Pedro* (Frederick Hendrick), the largest of the bastions. The Dutch built a guardhouse on it, and used the vault for storing cannon.

(8) *Hospital dos Povres* (Ernestus Casimir), a half-bastion near the site of the Pauper Hospital.

(5) (Mauritius) a half bastion built by the Dutch to replace a strong point jutting out seawards.

(7) (Middleburgh), a new half-bastion built in 1660 near the mouth of the river.

Governor Bort also mentions a ninth strong point, Amsterdam, near the St. Domingo bastion.

the foundations were the same in depth. At the time when they were preparing to destroy it I noticed that they had dug down some forty-five feet without reaching the foundations.

The Fort had four gates,* one a big one in line with the large bridge and having in it a small door through which people went in and out after eight o'clock at night. Some twenty or thirty yards to the right there was another gate for taking goods in and out of the Fort, and all the horse-carts used to leave from here. These two gates were guarded by sepoy sentries in rotation. There was a small gate on the Bukit China side and on the Bandar Hilir side another gate looking more or less like the large one.³

There were three bridges; first, a large one on the town-side; second, a small one leading to Bukit China; and third, one to Bandar Hilir. The bridges were constructed so that they could be pulled up and down, and they used to be raised at night-time and during periods of riots or hostilities.⁴ Large vessels wishing to enter or leave the river used to pay a toll.

Round the Fort they built an earth breastwork twelve feet thick and at its feet they placed projecting stakes with sharp iron points. Skirting it there was a moat about thirty feet wide and as deep. The water could be let in and out by a sluice at the bridge on the Bukit China side, and ran out into the sea by the bridge on the Bandar Hilir side. The banks of the moat were planted all round with angseña trees and in the water were found crocodiles, perch, grey mullet and lobsters.

At intervals of twelve feet all round the fort they placed guns and sentry-boxes known as "monkey-houses" where the Sepoy stood on

* See Maps II and III.

³ The four gates described by de Eredia in 1605 (Mills, 1930: 17-18) were destroyed in the attack of 1641, according to Schouten's Report (Leupé, 1936: 129). But scattered information in Governor Bort's Report of 1678 (Bremner, 1927: 17 ff.) enables Abdullah's four gates to be identified with fair certainty as:

(1) One near the *Hospital dos Pobres*, with double doors and a wicket.

(2) The *Alfandega* gate, used for delivering provisions to the Fort.

(3) A small gate built by the Portuguese, facing Bukit China.

(4) The *Santiago* gateway, with large double doors and a wicket. It was built by the Dutch in 1669 to replace the old *Porta de S. Jago* which had been damaged and was unusable in Governor Bort's time. It is the one remaining vestige of the Fort, having survived Farquhar's destruction in 1807. For the evidence of Dutch workmanship, see note 6, below.

⁴ There is no mention of drawbridges or a moat until the time of Governor Bort. His account is slightly confusing, but mentions three bridges which tally with Abdullah's description.

(1) Over the river, between the gate near Middleburgh and the Customs House.

(2) Over the moat, on the east side.

(3) Over the moat, on the south side near the *Santiago* gate.

guard. After six o'clock in the evening they allowed no one inside the Fort, and one could only walk round the outside. At eight o'clock they fired a gun and the draw-bridges were raised. Then anyone walking about without carrying a light was arrested, and anyone not answering a challenge was fired on from the Fort above. Round the Fort there was a carriage-way some sixty feet wide leading to the river's edge. Fronting the river they had had constructed an artificial embankment and planted it with angsema trees at intervals of forty feet extending as far as the small bridge.

Inside the Malacca Fort there was a rise of moderate elevation, at the summit of which was the Dutch church. Originally it had been a Portuguese church and had been taken over by the Dutch as their own church. Below it was the Dutch cemetery.⁵ The original Fort was the work of the Portuguese. I discovered this from a picture of its builders on the front of the main gate. I noticed that the people in the picture had European features. It was a bas relief in plaster, standing about as high as a child. The picture I have mentioned exists to this day on the Bandar Hilir gate, the one on the town side having been destroyed by Mr. Farquhar.⁶ The church at the top of the hill was called San Paulo in Portuguese.

By the side of the church there is a garden belonging to the East India Company. In it there used to be some very fine fruit-trees, flowers and all kinds of vegetables. In the garden there was a well, its depth I know not how many hundreds of feet, for it was so deep that one could not see the water in it. If one threw a stone down there was a few seconds pause before one heard the splash. Another well, equally deep, lay outside the garden. In line with the hill stood the residence of the Governor, a building of elaborate design. To reach it one could walk through a tunnel built into the hill. There was also a door giving direct access to the river.

⁵ Father Cardon says that the Church whose ruins lie at the top of the hill was built by the Jesuits between 1566 and 1590. Work on the *Nossa Senhora do Monte* (Our Lady of the Hill) was often interrupted by strife, for the site commanded an important position in the defence of the garrison (1947: 188-217). The church was severely damaged in the 1641 siege. Bort records that in 1678 St Paul's Church (as it was reconsecrated by the Dutch) held two services every Sunday, and Cardon considers it likely that it was used as a place of worship until 1753, when Christ-church was built. After that it was abandoned to slow ruination by wind and rain.

⁶ Thomson describes the *Santiago* gate from a drawing he made in 1848 (1874: 25), and says that the figures mentioned by Abdullah were well preserved at that time. The date over the gateway is 1670, during Governor Bort's regime (1666-78). Fr Cardon says that after the fall of the town to the Dutch, the gate was decorated with the Dutch East India Company's coat-of-arms, and its two allegorical figures as supporters (1940: 136). Actually it was a new gate built in Bort's time (see note 3, above).

At the back of the Company's garden lay the grave of Raja Haji, a powerful Malay raja of Bugis descent whose wife was named Ratu Mas. He it was who came and made war on Malacca during the time of the Dutch. That was slightly over sixty years ago. He almost captured Malacca, having occupied all the surrounding suburbs and villages. Only the centre of Malacca itself remained unsubdued. Then all races in Malacca took to arms to help the Dutch; the Malays, Indians, Chinese, and Eurasians, each race under its Kapitan and its leaders. After many years fighting Raja Haji was killed by a shot at Tanjong Palas.* The Dutch took his body and buried it at the back of the garden. I have heard a story that the place was a pig-sty. Twenty or thirty years later the descendants of Raja Haji came from Lingga and Riau to Malacca asking permission of the English Resident to transfer the grave to Riau. This permission was given and the grave was taken away. The story of Raja Haji's fighting is a very long one, too long for me to tell here. It will have to wait.⁷

On one side of the hill was a prison which the Malacca folk called *miskurdi*, or in the Portuguese language "Misericordia", meaning a place of penitence.⁸ There was also the *terongko*, or place of chains, and inside it there was a special chamber called *terongko gelap* (The Dark Dungeon) where men who had committed very serious offences were put, and where no daylight could penetrate. Adjoining it was a room where they kept instruments for killing and torturing men. It was called *teratu*. Here men used to be placed on a raised slab and their joints struck with hard blows until they were broken, after

* See Map IV.

⁷ Raja Haji was a famous warrior, the nephew of the first Bugis Yamtuan Muda of Riau. In 1756 his brother Raja Lumu became ruler of Selangor, and some years later he succeeded by a show of force to the vacant throne of Riau-Johore. For some time Raja Haji raided small kingdoms up and down the Straits of Malacca, and with the help of his brother successfully attacked Kedah. In 1782 he turned against the Dutch, alleging that they had cheated him out of a share in some pirate booty, and two years later he attacked Malacca. He was killed by a stray shot as his forces were assaulting the fort.

Accounts of the Riau-Johore Sultanate and the Bugis invaders are found in two Malay works. *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, of unknown authorship, and the *Tuhfat al Nafis*, written at Riau in 1865, by Raja Haji Ali, a grandson of Raja Haji.

⁸ The *Igreja da Misericordis*. Church of the Confraternity of Mercy, or *Nossa Senhora de Visitacao* (Our Lady of the Visitation), is mentioned by de Eredia and shown in the maps of the period. Fr Cardon says that its members visited the prison, ministered to the sick and said masses for those condemned to death. First mention of its use for penal purposes comes in Governor Bort's Report, when the Roman Catholic Clergy were being persecuted with increasing severity and their public worship suppressed: "All the slaves of the Company and the convicts are lodged within the Fort in the strong old high stone castle (*Misericordia*). . . . It is situated opposite the bastion of St. Pedro. In the open space between them is the place of execution where all death sentences are carried out." By Abdullah's time *Miskurdi* meant prison, punishment and torture.

which they were hanged at Pulau Java.⁹ There were branding instruments as well. A piece of iron rather larger in size than a silver dollar was heated red-hot and applied to a man's back between the shoulder-blades. A thick yellow smoke rose, and there was a smell of burning flesh, after which the man would be chained up. There was also a place where men were strangled; and a barrel in which people were rolled. The barrel had nails driven into it so that their points projected inwards. Those who had committed unnatural offences were rolled about inside it until their bodies were torn to shreds. I myself have never seen such tortures being inflicted, having heard of them only from very old men. But the instruments were certainly there, and the barrel I saw all studded with nails. All sorts of instruments were kept there, used by the Dutch to torture and punish people. All the apparatus, the torture chambers and the like were thrown away and burnt, and the Dark Dungeon itself was destroyed, at the time when Lord Minto came to Malacca for the war in Batavia. These wicked and frightful things he ordered to be cast into the sea.

Now I must return to my story about how Mr. Farquhar set about demolishing the Malacca Fort.¹⁰ He called coolies of all races together and bid them smash the Fort first from the Bukit China side. Hundreds of coolies tried to break the stone, but after two or three days they were unable to do so. For they were afraid because they fully believed that there were ghosts and devils in the Fort. Because of their belief many had all sorts of nightmares, and there were rumours of men slapped by devils, vomiting blood, suffering sudden death or

⁹ Javanese Island, formerly called Pulau Malaka and *Ilha dos Naos* (de Eredia), a small island lying a short distance from the shore. Matelief de Jonge bombarded Malacca from a battery on the island during the 1606 siege, and thereafter the Portuguese planned a fort on it for additional protection of the defences. But only the foundations were laid by 1641.

¹⁰ See Introduction, page 9. It was Captain William Farquhar who carried out the actual demolitions in 1807, acting on the orders of the East India Company. There was a double purpose in the destruction of the Malacca Fort, which was to be followed by the closing of the port and the evacuation of the town. The military value of Malacca, if the Dutch should possess it again in the future, would have been destroyed, and a rival in trade to Penang removed. This plan was adopted largely on the advice of Colonel Robert Farquhar, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang 1804-5, and was pursued the more energetically when Penang became a Presidency under his successor, Philip Dundas. The original proposal was to destroy the fort and then all the important public buildings before abandoning the settlement. William Farquhar sent a petition from the inhabitants protesting against the proposal, and gave his support to this protest. But on being censured by the Board of Directors he was obliged to carry out the task.

It was Raffles who secured the cancellation of the abandonment order, by a despatch to Lord Minto in 1808, in which he successfully urged the importance of retaining Malacca. The cost of destroying the fort has been variously estimated. Bougler puts it at three to four thousand pounds sterling. Low (quoted in Thomson, 1874) at 10,241 Spanish dollars, a little over two thousand pounds, and Newbold (1839: 126) as high as 260,000 rupees, about seventy thousand pounds.

various kinds of illness. And as their terror grew, so the price paid for their labour increased, but obviously their fears were groundless the very strength of their beliefs and superstitions being responsible for their injuries. Now the mortar which was sticking to the stone looked and smelt as if it were newly put on. When Mr. Farquhar saw how difficult it was to smash the stone he gave instructions to dig down to the foundations of the Fort. But however deep they dug still the foundations were not reached, even after they had gone down to a depth equal to the height of the Fort. So they stopped trying to work down to the foundations. Then Mr. Farquhar ordered them to start demolition from the seaward side. Many were the spades, picks, crowbars and other instruments broken in the attempt. The work caused sickness and there were many who were afraid to go on because of the deaths and injuries. Their pay rose from half a rupee to a whole rupee a day but they would not take it. The task of destroying the Fort was a most difficult one, and many thought that it would never be demolished by the English, because it was so strong and because so many ghosts inhabited it.

After about three months of illness and trouble, with many men dying or breaking their arms and legs, news was suddenly heard that the Resident was ordering a hole to be dug under the bastion on the seaward side, in which boxes of gunpowder were to be placed for firing. Everyone was astonished saying "What manner of thing is this?" Hundreds of people went to see it, and I myself went out of my way to do so. I saw that they had in fact dug a very deep hole, about six feet square. They measured off a distance of about six feet to one side at the bottom and dug out a shallow niche. Then they filled it with gunpowder and placed in contact with it below the ground a fuse more than sixty feet long made of cloth impregnated with gunpowder. The wick was as thick as a man's big toe. Then orders were given to close the hole, and stones and earth were rammed down tight inside. It had taken a score of workmen five or six days to dig one hole. Then a gong was sounded and it was announced that the next morning at eight o'clock no one was to cross the river, and those living in houses close by were told to move to others far away. The next morning Mr. Farquhar appeared on horseback holding a slow-match in his hand. He sent men to clear out everyone on the Fort side and they ran away in all directions. Then he touched off the fuse and at once spurred his horse away. After about ten minutes the gunpowder exploded with a noise like thunder, and pieces of the Fort as large as elephants, and even some as large as houses, were blown into the air and cascaded into the sea. Some went right over the river and struck

the houses on the other side. Everyone was startled when they heard the noise, their surprise all the greater because never in their lives had they heard such a sound or seen how the power of gunpowder can lift bits of rock as big as houses. At last they realised that the Fort could be destroyed by the English, and they shook their heads saying "Great indeed is the skill and ingenuity of these white men. But what a pity that a building as fine as this should be brought low in an instant of time. For if they wished to repair it there is no knowing how many years it would take before it was finished." For the Fort was the pride of Malacca and after its destruction the place lost its glory, like a woman bereaved of her husband, the lustre gone from her face. But now by the will of Allah it was no more, showing how ephemeral are the things of this world. The old order is destroyed, a new world is created and all around us is change.¹¹ The stonework of the destroyed Fort was carried away by people to all parts; some to build houses in Malacca, some to Batavia when the Dutch reoccupied Malacca recently, and some to Riau. The English too loaded pieces into ships to make warning buoys. Some pieces sank in the river and others lie about up to the present time in large mounds from which every day people help themselves.

Six or seven days later they decided to blow up the bastion on the side of Kampong Keling, and they sounded a gong, warning people to move well away from their houses. On that side of the river was Khatib Musa's house, about forty yards away or more. So they all moved away from the place except his slave, a man named Basir, another man called Mebarak and his child Ibrahim. These three all hid under a scaffolding so that they could see the performance. A match was applied to the fuse and the men moved off quickly. After a few moments the gunpowder blew up with a loud bang and boulders as big as elephants came flying through the air and crashed onto the scaffolding, collapsing it. Those hiding under it were covered in stones and smothered by sand. There was confused shouting and people cried "Four or five men have been killed struck by bits of rock." Then everyone ran forward together, and I too went to see what had happened, for I had been warned by my mother to go at least half a mile away. When I reached the house I found that a Pulikat¹² Indian

¹¹ *yang ada tidakkan dan yang tidak di-adakan berubah2 ada-nya*. No English translation can capture the exact nuance of this phrase in which Abdullah sums up his philosophy of fatalism in the type of short balance expression loved by Malay writers. Abdullah uses it again about changing conditions in Singapore: see p. 162, and note 13, in Chapter 13.

¹² Pulikat, on the Madras coast, was the site of an important Dutch factory exporting cloth. In Abdullah's day descendants of these emigrants to Malaya were numerous and wealthy.

named Abdul Satar had been having a meal when he was struck and wounded on the temple by a fragment of rock. When I went inside I found Basir. I could see only his legs. His body was weighted down, I saw, by bits of rock, some six feet others four feet across. Eight or nine bits lay on top of him. He was extricated with the help of many hands, but there was little life left in him. Ibrahim's legs were found to be pinned by three pieces of rock each about six feet across, and he was buried in rubble. When the stones and earth had been lifted they found that one of his legs had been broken in three places. He was lifted up and carried away to Kampong Pali. As for his companion Mebarak, he was completely buried in earth and stones. He was extricated, but the bones of his leg were crushed and hung limp. He was taken to the house of an English doctor. Basir soon died. Ibrahim and Mebarak were given treatment and by the grace of Allah are alive up to the present, although both are lame. But what could be done? For by their own carelessness they had courted danger, and everyone knew that they had only themselves to blame. When the people of Malacca saw what had happened they were all very frightened. Whenever parts of the Fort were to be blown up they left their houses and ran in all directions, and all the children were driven a long way off.

Thus it was that Mr. Farquhar destroyed the Fort with ease. All those who did not believe that it could be destroyed were dumbfounded and held their peace. All the ghosts and devils who featured in the minds of the people took flight and vanished, terrified by the smoke of the gunpowder. Thus was the beautiful Fort of Malacca utterly annihilated, blasted to pieces by gunpowder. If they had broken it up stone by stone they would not have finished even by now.

5. Major Farquhar in Malacca

People of all the four races in Malacca greatly liked Mr. Farquhar and were glad to have him as their Resident. At that time Malacca was at peace and much merchandise went in and out, coming from all countries trading with it. Even poor people could earn their living, much more so those already rich. It was rare to find Malacca folk going overseas or elsewhere to earn their living. More commonly, men from other countries came to Malacca to make a living, marrying and bringing up their families there, where the customs and laws were good. Each race was under its own "Kapitan," and each "Kapitan" had under him the elders. They settled lawsuits and disputes, or if unsettled they were brought before the Justisa. Although the country

was English its laws and customs were Dutch. For instance proceedings in the courts and the titles of important officials were in the Dutch language.

Soon after his appointment Mr. Farquhar was given the rank of Colonel¹ and a guard of European soldiers was posted below his house. Previously the guard had been Indian. On one occasion Colonel Farquhar wished to take an afternoon ride in his carriage. After lunch he started to walk down the steps of his house. The white sentry who was standing ready in his usual place below the house loaded two rounds into his gun. As Colonel Farquhar came down he fired. There

¹ William Farquhar, born in 1770, became an ensign in Madras under Cornwallis in June, 1791. He was at the siege of Seringapatam the next year and at the taking of Pondicherry the following year. In August, 1793, he was promoted Lieutenant and in July, 1795, was appointed chief engineer for the expedition to Malacca. He was later recalled to Madras for a few months, but in May, 1798, he returned to Malacca as Chief of Staff to Colonel Taylor, the Military Governor, whom he succeeded on 12 July, 1803. He was promoted to the rank of Captain in January, 1803, and Major in September, 1811.

Farquhar's blowing up of the Malacca fort on orders from Penang has been described in the last chapter. Abdullah uses the form *Tuan Farquhar*, varied by *Tuan Colonel Farquhar* and *Tuan Raja Farquhar* throughout this chapter and those which follow describing his tenure of office as Resident of Malacca and of Singapore. He did not reach the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel until 9 May, 1821, after he had become Resident of Singapore. But he was promoted Brevet-Major on 25 June, 1810, and it is perhaps to this that Abdullah refers in the passage under note.

Farquhar accompanied Lord Minto's expedition to Java and was appointed by General Auchmuty to take charge of intelligence and guides. He landed with the troops at Chillingching and was present at the surrender of Sourabaya on 22 September, 1811. He was later offered the post of Chief Civil Authority at Sourabaya, but he refused it and returned to Malacca on 2 November (1811). Thereafter he remained in charge of Malacca until it was handed back to the Dutch under the terms of the Vienna Treaty on 21 September, 1818.

By this time Farquhar was thoroughly aware of the need to find a suitable place for a new English settlement to prevent the Dutch regaining their old trade monopoly. Abdullah even says (pages 135-6) that Farquhar would not wait for the formal hand-over of Malacca to the new Dutch Governor, but left it to one of his subordinate officers while he hurried off to Riau (but see notes 1 and 3 under Chapter 10). Actually the hand-over was delayed until his return to Malacca in September 1818. By this time he had concluded a commercial treaty with Riau, which the Sultan repudiated soon afterwards under strong pressure from the Dutch; and he had visited the Karimun Islands, Southern Johore and Siak in search of likely places for a settlement. Back in Malacca, Farquhar performed his last duty by opening the Anglo-Chinese College, at the earnest request of William Milne, whom he had so greatly helped in his Missionary work. The ceremony took place on 11 November, in the presence of the new Governor. The following month he left for Penang, to wait for a ship to Calcutta (where three of his children were then living), and thence to England, for three years' leave, granted him in 1816. But in Penang he was handed a letter, by Raffles, from the Bengal Government (dated 20 November, 1818), asking him to accompany Raffles and take charge of the new settlement which the latter was to establish at or near the south end of the peninsula. The exact locality was not specified. Farquhar favoured the Karimun Islands, and he and Raffles went there first, but on examination the proposed site was considered unsuitable. Raffles and Farquhar accordingly decided to investigate the estuary of the Johore River. On the way, they put in at Singapore, on the advice of Capt'n Daniel Ross, B.M., and after viewing the spot agreed to go no further. In Chapter 11 Abdullah gives a vivid, though historically incorrect account of the famous landing in which all the credit goes to Farquhar.

was the crack of the gun as one bullet went to the left of Colonel Farquhar and the other to the right. He was startled at the noise, but he was not killed for his hour had not yet come. Yet his distance from the firer was only about fifty feet. There was consternation in Malacca, and people said "The Resident has been shot. What happened was so-and-so." The sentry was arrested and thrown into prison. Some days later he was sent to Bengal and I did not hear what became of him.

This is the story of Colonel Farquhar and his order to capture an elephant. One day a certain man came to Malacca from Trengganu. His name was Pawang Gajah.² He was of Kedah extraction and was skilled in elephant lore and all kinds of sorcery. He had come to Malacca to practise these arts and he soon became well known for his knowledge of charms. He spent all his time going round the jungle. One day he came to the house of Enche' Sulong who at the time was major-domo to Mr. Farquhar, supervising any work which Mr. Farquhar wanted done. He had known Mr. Farquhar ever since the time when the Fort was destroyed. Pawang Gajah spoke to Enche' Sulong saying "In the jungle round Malacca there are very many elephants. If he would like me to do so, I will capture for Colonel Farquhar any number of them." When Enche' Sulong had heard Pawang Gajah's words he went and told Mr. Farquhar that Pawang Gajah undertook to capture elephants. Mr. Farquhar said: "If his statement is true, I agree. He can go and capture one." Then Enche' Sulong went home and told Pawang Gajah what the Resident had said, and took him to meet the Resident, and they came to an arrangement. Pawang Gajah said, "Wait, sir, while I comb the jungle and wherever I meet a herd of elephants, if I need helpers you must let me have sixty or seventy men. As for our agreement, if I capture an elephant how much will you pay me?" Colonel Farquhar replied, "Very well Enche' if you can bring a live elephant back to Malacca I will pay you \$100 for each animal." Then Pawang Gajah said "As you say sir, as long as the expenses will be paid by you. Will you give me a small advance now as I shall be going into the jungle?" Colonel Farquhar replied "Enche' Sulong will give it to you." Then Pawang Gajah returned. When everything was ready he set off into the jungle with two companions.

After spending about eleven days in the jungle he came back and found Enche' Sulong. He said "I have found a herd of elephants, some sixty animals. Give me some men so that I may build a pen." When

² *Pawang Gajah*, lit. One knowledgeable in the control, occult and material, of elephants: a Malay *pawang* is a medicine-man skilled in the art of healing, divination and charms to ward off evil influences, and procure desired effects.

news was reported to Colonel Farquhar he gave orders to Enche' Sulong to take on as paid labourers the Malays who lived in the neighbourhood. The name of the place where the pen was to be built was Sa-Batu, two days' journey to the east of Malacca. Enche' Sulong provided some sixty or seventy men who worked in rotation each for two or three days.

The news spread round Malacca that Mr. Farquhar was having elephants caught for him, and that there was a trap being built at Sa-Batu. People's hearts leapt at the thought of seeing how an elephant trap was made, for never in their lives had they seen such a contrivance. I was excited beyond words, so much so that had I been a bird, with wings to carry me, I would have flown there to see it.

Now I will describe how the trap was constructed. Men went into the jungle and cut poles as thick as a man's thigh and twenty feet long. The poles were collected and driven into the ground six inches apart, making an enclosure about hundred and twenty feet square. They were lashed tightly together. On top of this fence they built a "Balai",³ that is, a place where people could stand. The structure was very rigid throughout, made of the stoutest wood. When the whole enclosure was finished it looked like a "Jermal"⁴ which people make for catching fish. To the right and left of the enclosure for a distance of two hundred yards they drove in stakes close together to form two lines diverging from it. Along the whole length of the fencing were placed banana trees and sugar cane stems right into the trap itself. The excitement mounted when news reached Malacca that all was ready. All the white men and members of the other four races went to have a look, some on foot, some in carriages, some on horseback. After two days' journey I reached Sa-Batu and I looked at the construction of the elephant trap, all of it merely the work of human intelligence, although there are many who say "The elephant *pawang* is well versed in sorcery and the magic arts and he has the jinns under his control."⁵ But of course all this talk is stupid nonsense. Towards evening Pawang Gajah went into the jungle with hundreds of people to drive the elephants out. Coming upon the herd, they drove them steadily for six or seven days from afar until they reached the fence, which was covered with bananas and sugar cane. And when the elephants saw the food they of course went straight on ahead. Then the drivers came in closer and

³ *balai* covers any building used for public purposes, from the audience hall of a raja's palace to the grandstand described here.

⁴ For Abdullah's account a *kelong*, see p. 161 and note 11 under Chapter 13.

⁵ Skeat (1900: 155) gives an interesting account of the *pawang's* skill in handling elephants, and (*ibid*: 103) a translation of a protective charm which the *pawang* uses.

closer, firing guns and yelling from the right and the left. The elephants sensed the narrow space they were in and entered the enclosure tamely after their meal of bananas and sugar cane. The men came even closer. There were people above the door ready grasping the slip-cord and when the elephants had entered they let go and the door slammed shut.⁶ I counted altogether sixty-two elephants large and small, male and female.

Pawang Gajah at once ordered hundreds of men to climb up the fence holding spears and wooden sticks. When the elephants seized the fence trying to break it the men prodded their trunks with these weapons until they let go. This went on all round the sides of the pen, a stab here, a blow there. I climbed up to have a look, but was stopped by a man who said that no stranger must mount the fence or the magic would be destroyed. So I went casually to Pawang Gajah and offered him a rupee piece. When he felt it in his hand he said "Here, let this man up at once!" I smiled as I thought to myself: "Which is the more powerful, his magic or my rupee?" I was helped up by a man who thrust a wooden stick into my hand saying "Whenever an elephant reaches up at you strike quickly." And this I did. The elephants, I noticed, behaved as though a great battle was raging. The din was like the ceaseless roll of thunder. Each elephant behaved according to its nature: some ploughed holes in the ground, some churned up clouds of sand, others flung clods of earth and bits of wood. The uproar was deafening. A few elephants were stabbing the fence with their tusks. I saw that the young elephants remained in the middle while the larger ones formed a circle round them. The whole ground inside the enclosure became a lake of mud four feet deep after being trampled on by the elephants.

Men ran back to Malacca and told the Resident. The next day he came accompanied by Dr. Chalmers and all the white men in their carriages. On arrival they all climbed on top of the elephant pen. Meanwhile the elephants moved round and round the enclosure trying to find a way out but encountering blows whichever way they turned.

They were given no food at all for six or seven days, except when it seemed that they were about to break down the enclosure in their desperation. Then Pawang Gajah would recite some incantations over a few banana stalks which he threw inside. The elephants then stopped and tore the stalks to bits. I heard many men say "This

⁶ *di-lépaskan-nya-lah pēsawat-nya*. *Pēsawat* is any sort of contrivance or "gadget" operated by cords, pulleys, flexible rods, springs and release catches, as distinguished from *jēntera* which usually refers to wheels and rotating parts. Jungle Malays and the aboriginal tribes of the peninsula show great ingenuity in fashioning automatic traps for catching fish, birds and small animals.

Pawang is indeed clever for he recites incantations and the elephants are afraid of him." But this stupid notion is entirely wrong, for the unfortunate animals had been kept hungry for several days, and calmed down when they were given a little food. Even a child could see that.

After the elephants had been held for about ten days they had all become weak for lack of food and water. Then nooses of thick rattan were fashioned and let down into the enclosure, baited with a few banana stalks. When an elephant became trapped in the noose it was pulled tight round the animal's neck and made fast to a tree. Then Pawang Gajah went inside and fixed chains to the elephant's flanks. He led them out of the pen one by one, securely chained. This went on until every elephant had been taken out. No food or water was given to them for fear of their gaining strength, which would lead to their breaking down their pen and bursting their chains. Even as it was I noticed that the elephants continually lashed out at the men on top of the fence, with much noise, sometimes wounding them in the face. Many times they tried to break the fence, coiling their trunks round the poles and shaking them so that the whole enclosure trembled. If the animals had not been fended off quickly with wooden poles the whole structure would have collapsed.

Many Malays, Chinese and others believed in Pawang Gajah's magic saying, "This pawang must be well-versed in elephant charms, for many are the incantations which he recites until even the elephants of the jungle fear him. How much more so should human beings fear him." Therefore everyone besought him to give them medicines and charms and talismans. But such ideas are, I consider, mistaken, and foolish are they who put their trust in them. Everything he had accomplished was by the use of his intelligence, and not by the aid of charms or magic or incantations.

Later I was sorry to hear that all the elephants had died. Six or seven were left who could have reached Malacca, but only one remained alive. Mr. Farquhar and Dr. Chalmers paid Pawang Gajah according to the agreement that they had made. They sent the bones of the dead elephants to England.

Now Mr. Farquhar kept at his house a large tiger. Originally it had been found by a man in the Naning jungle, caught in the recess of a tree-trunk, when it was no larger than a cat. It had been brought into Malacca and presented to Mr. Farquhar. He kept it in his house in the Fort. He had a large cage made of *nibong* matting. The tiger was fed daily on buffalo meat. It was not given raw meat for fear it would learn the smell of blood and become fierce. The meat was first

boiled in water. And so it grew up, sleek and plump, to the size of a young calf. Every day men and women came to see it. When they approached the cage the tiger did not lie down but walked round and round. Sometimes it snarled and roared, frightening people with the noise. One day a Chinese carpenter was summoned to make repairs to the cage, which had been damaged. The carpenter came and peered through the bars of the cage. The tiger suddenly struck him a sharp blow on the face, pulling out one of his eyes and wounding him on the cheek. The Chinese fell down in a swoon as one dead. They ran to tell the Resident and when he saw what had happened he was very angry and ordered a sepoy to shoot the tiger. He had it skinned and stuffed so that when it had been sewn up it presented a most life-like appearance.

Mr. Farquhar, I noticed, kept at his house all kinds of animals, a leopard, a wild cat, a wild dog, a porcupine, a cassowary,⁷ and various kinds of monkeys such as gibbons, macaques and leaf-monkeys; as well as many different kinds of birds, some in cages, in aviaries, or on a chain, others free. There were two keepers who looked after these animals. But the tiger had a separate keeper, an old Malay at whose approach the animal was quiet and did him no harm. One day an unfortunate accident happened to the Resident, though Allah prevented him from coming to any harm. It was his custom after his afternoon meal to go for a ride on horseback or in his carriage for recreation round the hills as far as the orchards on the outskirts of the town. One evening towards sunset he went riding on his horse to Bukit Serindit.* The place was covered with bushes, and it seems that a tiger was hiding in a thicket near the path. When the Resident's horse was near it scented a tiger and halted, breathing heavily, and would not go any further. The Resident spurred it with a whip and it jumped forward in a gallop. When they came to the place where the tiger lay it spring out at the Resident. But because the horse was moving so fast it only caught his hat which it carried away. Mr. Farquhar returned to Malacca safe but hatless, and everyone said "Of a truth our Raja is a lucky man; twice he has almost died but has returned to life. Certainly he is destined to become more famous yet."

⁷ All the animals mentioned are native to Malaya except *burong kasuari*, the cassowary (a term also used for the ostrich). The nearest point to Malaya at which the cassowary is found in a feral condition is the island of Ceram, east of the Celebes. Abdullah would be familiar with the appearance of the feathers, which were an important article of trade in all the markets of the Far East. It also seems likely that there was some trade in the adult birds: the first example to reach England was obtained from a Sultan in Java.

* See Map II.

It was Mr. Farquhar's nature to be patient and tolerant of other people's faults; and he treated both rich and poor alike, never looking on one person as more important than another. If a man however poor and lowly came to him with a complaint he would attend to him quickly and listen carefully, giving advice and direction until the man's mind was set at rest, so that he returned home full of gratitude. Whenever he travelled about in his carriage or on horseback the rich and the poor, and the children too, saluted him and he at once returned the compliment. He was ever generous to all the servants of Allah.

Truly all these qualities I have related were as cords tying the hearts of the people to him.⁸ They were like the dew which falls for a third part of the night. All the flowers blossom out in the garden of delight, their sweet smell pervading the whole world. All the wild insects leave the forest and enter the garden to partake of the fragrance of the flowers. Mark well, you men of understanding, the metaphors which I have scattered here like pearls dropped from a necklace of sparkling radiance. I mean that if a man is good he is acclaimed good by all posterity and, though he die, his name lives on. If a great or a rich or a noble man shows respect to the poor and humble does he thereby lose his greatness or forfeit his status? As the wise man says "The snake creeping round the root of the trees, has it lost its venom?" On occasions even the firm feet of the great elephant may stumble and slip, and the bird flying in the sky sometimes drops to the ground. How much more must we human beings, weak of heart, clinging uncertainly to life and fated but to die, suffer changes of fortune from time to time. Greatness and renown in this world are changeable things, not remaining with one person for long. In the end it is his reputation, whether it was good or bad, about which people speak.

For a short time during Colonel Farquhar's residency in Malacca two senior officers came from England or India to take over command of the Indian garrison troops. They were billeted near the Tranquerah⁹ Gate,* in a house standing where the Anglo-Chinese College

⁸ *Ménjadi tali pèrtambatan hati manusia: pèrtambatan* is used of tethering an animal or mooring a boat.

⁹ According to Fr Cardon, *Tranquerah* means a rampart, an entrenchment defended by deep pits and a palisade of sharp-pointed stakes (1947: 104-113). It was built by the *Quelis* (Indians) with the help of the Portuguese after attacks on Malacca by the dispossessed Sultan Mahmud Shah in 1518 and 1525 had caused much destruction to property in their quarter. It bore the brunt of five attacks by Aceh between 1568 and 1592, and was seized by Matelief de Jonge in 1606. It was occupied by the Dutch early in the Siege of 1641, and destroyed by the Portuguese counter-bombardment from the fort.

For Abdullah's account of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, see Chapter 9, below.

* See Map II.

was later built. One of them named Mr. Bean was an ill-natured man with a very bad temper. He put two soldiers on guard at the door of his house, and children of any race who passed by along the road he had caught and put into a fenced compound, the gate being shut on them. If the children ran away too fast to be caught they were pursued by two dogs, and in the ensuing scramble they would be caught and shut up. When he had collected many children Mr. Bean brought them out in pairs and made them box each other. Any child unwilling to box he ordered to be caned, so for fear of this they boxed. He used to take great delight in this, leaping about and roaring with laughter. The young boxers had bruised faces and noses. He noted anyone who was blooded and gave him more money than those who were not, before he let them go. Then he would call another pair. He spent every day thus, watching human blood flowing. All the bad boys and those who ran away from school to earn a few cents gathered together and went to box. The place became a prize-fighter's ring. Nobody had the courage to stop Mr. Bean but it aroused the hatred and fear of all the best people, who dared not allow their children to pass along that road. After a short while Mr. Bean did not want children any more but took adults instead and made them box. Everywhere poor people found work by doing this boxing, which provided them with a means of earning their living. Scores of men went to box every day.

At that time there were still not many Englishmen in Malacca and people looked upon them as tigers because of their misbehaviour and aggressiveness. When one or two English ships called in at Malacca all the people shut their doors. All along the lanes straggled drunken sailors who smashed in the doors of the houses, followed women about in the street, and started fights with each other, getting wounded in the face and causing much disturbance. They chased people who ran away and those that fell in the river and drowned they robbed in their drunkenness. They looted the property of stall-holders in the market. Everyone was terrified of them. At the time of which I speak I had never met an Englishman whose face looked white; they were always "riding a green horse," that is to say, drunk. Children who cried would be told by their mothers "Keep quiet or the drunken English will come," and at once they quietened down. Anyone happening to meet an Englishman at once fled far away. Women could not walk about the streets if there was an English ship in the port. Even slaves, to say nothing of respectable people, could not afford to be seen for fear of being assaulted. All those things I have mentioned made people afraid, and were aggravated by conduct like that of

the officers I have already described, which caused more and more alarm.

To continue the story of the bad-tempered officer who forced people to box, after some months he gave this up and took to cock-fighting. He provided himself with a cock and staged fights against those of other owners. Many people took part in these fights, coming from all over the countryside with their cocks. Every day scores of animals perished and the winners made large sums of money. After a few days he gave this up also and bought a great many ducks which he released in the sea in front of his house. Then he set free two or three very fierce dogs which he kept on a chain and set them on the ducks. He used to take great delight in this exhibition which drew crowds to watch it. He would take his gun and shoot any ducks which had escaped the dogs. All the ducks were killed, some savaged by the dogs, others hit by bullets, while Mr. Bean leapt about in his delight. A few days later he bought some pigeons in a cage. He stood ready with a gun, and as a man released them one by one he shot them. Some were hit and fell dead, while others escaped and flew on. Later he bought a number of monkeys which he let climb to the top of an angsona tree in front of his house. Then he shot them and they fell to the ground dead. Every day this senior officer behaved in this fashion, doing all sorts of wicked and unpleasant things endangering the lives of animals and causing men much pain. I do not know how much money he wasted in this futile manner. As long as he lived in the house no woman dared use the lanes round it for fear he would interfere with her.

I was surprised that Mr. Farquhar who became Resident of Malacca at the time took no action over the doings of this official, for other races despised the things I have mentioned, which they held to be typical of the behaviour of all Englishmen, following the Malay proverb "A single buffalo has mud on it and the whole herd is smeared." Such deeds and behaviour remain long in the memories of other men, for one man tells another and the tale passes round until it becomes firmly rooted in peoples' minds.

6. Mr. Raffles in Malacca

Sometime later a rumour was heard in Malacca that the English were going to attack Java. Two or three months after we first heard this news Mr. Raffles and his wife suddenly came to Malacca, with an English copying clerk named Mr. Merlin and a Malay clerk named Ibrahim, a half-Indian from Penang. Mr. Raffles took a house in

Bandar Hilir on an estate owned by the Chinese Kapitan's son whose name was Baba Cheng Lan. He brought with him many rare objects of European workmanship, things displayed in cabinets, pistols, costly satin materials and gold embroidered muslin, and a great many things I had never seen before; many broadcloths of great fineness, ornate clocks, and paper for writing letters to Malay rulers and princes with gold and silver headings, and many other objects intended as presents for Malay royalty.¹

One day Ibrahim the Malay writer came to my house and sat talking about how Mr. Raffles was looking for copyists whose handwriting was good, and how he wanted to buy old Malay letters and

¹ Raffles made his second visit to Malacca* in December, 1810, when as Lord Minto's agent with the Malay States he selected the port as his headquarters. Abdullah does not mention Raffles's earlier short visits in 1808.

Raffles had arrived at Penang on 19 September, 1805, as a member of the new governor's staff, which had been enlarged when the Settlement in that year became a Presidency of India under Phillip Dundas. Starting on the boat going out Raffles had acquired some knowledge of Malay, though his popularity with the local races sprang more from his keen insight into Malay affairs, than from any achievements of real scholarship in the language.

To his ordinary duties were soon added those of translator and interpreter to the Penang Council, and in March 1807 he was appointed Secretary to the Council. But overwork and recurrent fever led to a breakdown in health, and he was ordered to take a holiday. To avoid mental stagnation he chose Malacca with its historical associations and there, with his wife, he went at the end of 1807. His convalescent leave was, however, cut short by the Penang Council which could not deal with its correspondence, and at the earnest request of the Governor, Colonel Macalister, he went back to Penang in October, 1808. There he wrote his famous report to the Governor-General of India advising against the proposed abandonment of the Malacca Settlement.

Meanwhile Napoleon had sent Daendels, a Dutch general who had seen service in the French Army, to organize Java for military operations. Lord Minto, determined to forestall French-Dutch action, sent an expedition to reduce Mauritius and Reunion in 1810. In June, 1810, Raffles was granted two months' leave from Penang. In a personal interview with the Governor-General he succeeded in gaining Lord Minto's approval and support for the attack on Java, although the Board of Directors demurred until the successful results of the Mauritius operations were known. In the meantime Lord Minto appointed Raffles as his "Special Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States," with a confidential mission to obtain all the information he could about the defences of Java, and to explain the naval blockade of the Dutch coast to the native rulers. He reached Malacca in December 1810.

The rumour of the proposed attack on Java, which Abdullah says preceded Raffles's arrival, must have emanated from Dutch apprehensiveness, since the final decision had not yet been reached. But it seems that Abdullah half-suspected the true purpose of Raffles's visit, though the latter's interest in botany, zoology and history provided good cover for his secret work.

* After this was written I received an interesting piece of information from the late C. E. Wurtzburg. He says: "Actually this was Raffles third visit to Malacca. All biographers, from Lady Raffles onwards, have given a garbled version of his earlier visit to Malacca for the sake of his health. From the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* I have been able to prove what I have long suspected, that Raffles went twice on sick leave to Malacca. The first occasion was on or about 1 November, 1807, and he definitely arrived back in Penang, after being hurriedly recalled, on 23 January, 1808. He went to Malacca again at the end of July 1808 (exact date unknown) and arrived back at Penang on 29 October, 1808."

texts. He said that those who had any should take them to Mr. Raffles's house at Bandar Hilir. One of my uncles named Ismail Lebai had very good hand-writing, and he and his younger brother Mohammed were both taken on as copyists. The next day Ibrahim came again and asked for a specimen of my handwriting. After I had written one he took it to Mr. Raffles, and the same afternoon one of his attendants came to summon me. So I went along, and Mr. Raffles said to me: "Copy these letters into a book." Now working there was a Malacca-born friend of mine named Tambi Ahmad bin Nina Merikan. There was all manner of work being done; some copied stories, some wrote letters, others wrote about the idioms of the Malay language, its poetry and so on. Each of us had his own task.

Now as to Mr. Raffles's physical features I noticed that he was of medium build, neither tall nor short, neither fat nor thin. He was broad of brow, a sign of his care and thoroughness; round-headed with a projecting forehead, showing his intelligence. He had light brown hair, indicative of bravery; large ears, the mark of a ready listener. He had thick eye-brows, his left eye watered slightly from a cast; his nose was straight and his cheeks slightly hollow. His lips were thin, denoting his skill in speech, his tongue gentle and his mouth wide; his neck tapering; his complexion not very clear; his chest was full and his waist slender. He walked with a slight stoop.

As to his character, I noticed that he always looked thoughtful. He was very good at paying due respect to people in a friendly manner. He treated everyone with proper deference, giving to each his proper title when he spoke. Moreover, he was extremely tactful in ending a difficult conversation. He was solicitous of the feelings of others, and open-handed with the poor. He spoke in smiles. He took the most active interest in historical research. Whatever he found to do he adopted no half-measures, but saw it through to the finish. When he had no work to do other than reading and writing he liked to retire to a quiet place. When he was occupied in studies or conversation he was unwilling to meet anyone who came to the house until he had finished. I saw that he kept rigidly to his time-table of work, not mixing one thing with another. I noticed also a habit of his in the evening after he had taken tea with his friends. There was an inkstand and a place for pen and paper on his large writing-table, and two lighted candles. After he had walked to and fro for long enough he would lie on the table on his back staring upwards and close his

² The text mentions *rusa*, the sambhur; *kijang* the barking deer; *pelandok*, the smaller mouse-deer, and *kanchil*, usually identified with it: *napoh* and *bengkurang* are alternatives for the larger species of mouse-deer; both are common in Malaya.

eyes as though asleep. Two or three times I thought he was actually asleep, but a moment later he would jump up quickly and start writing. Then he would again lie down. This was his behaviour every night up to eleven or twelve o'clock when he went to bed. Every day it was the same, except occasionally when his friends came in. When morning came he would rise and fetch what he had been writing the night before, and walk up and down reading it. Out of ten pages he would take perhaps three or four and give them to a writer to copy out. The rest he would tear up and throw away.

He employed four men to search for specimens of natural history. One he told to go into the jungle and look for various kinds of leaves, flowers, fungi, mosses, and so on. Another he told to find worms, grasshoppers, various kinds of butterflies, beetles, and other different insects, cicadas, centipedes, scorpions, and the like, and he gave him some needles and told him to set the specimens. Another man he despatched with a basket to get coral, various sorts of shells, molluscs, oysters and the like, and also fish. The fourth man went out catching wild animals like birds, jungle fowl, deer, and small quadrupeds. Mr. Raffles kept a large book having very thick pages in which he used to press leaves and flowers and the like. Anything which could not be inserted between the pages he gave to a certain Chinese from Macao who was every expert at drawing life-like pictures of fruits and flowers, telling him to copy them. He also had a large barrel full of some sort of spirit, possibly toddy or brandy, in which he put live animals such as snakes, centipedes, scorpions and the like. Two days later he would take them out and place them in bottles, where they looked just as if they were alive. People in Malacca were surprised to see such a thing, and many were able to earn good money searching for the creatures of the sky, the land and the sea; of the uplands, the lowlands and the forest; things which fly or crawl; things which grow and germinate in the soil; all these could be turned into ready cash. There were also people who brought Malay manuscripts and books, I do not remember how many hundreds of these texts there were. Almost, it seemed, the whole of Malay literature of the ages, the property of our forefathers, was sold and taken away from all over the country. Because these things had money value they were sold and it did not occur to people at the time that this might be unwise, leaving them not a single book to read in their own language. This would not have mattered if the books had been printed, but these were all written in longhand and now copies of them are no longer available. There were some three hundred and sixty books in all, apart from *Shaer* and *Pantun* and other kinds of

verses.³ Yet other books Mr. Raffles borrowed and had copied, keeping four or five copyists employed on this task alone.

Every day people brought different kinds of animals, such as worms the like of which I had never seen before. The Ruler of Sambas⁴ sent Mr. Raffles a present of two apes of the kind which the English call orang-utang; and other presents also came, a young tiger, a bear and other kinds of animals from every country. The orang-utang which came from Sambas was very tame and wore trousers, a coat, and a hat given him by Mr. Raffles. He looked like a small child as left to himself he walked about the place. I noticed that his behaviour was almost like that of a human being, save only he lacked the power of speech. Whenever he wished to relieve himself he ran off to the right place. He used to come and stay quietly near the table where I was writing, not capable of mischief like other monkeys. He would pick up a pen slowly and look at it; then when I said, "Put it down at once," he would put it down in a flash. His belly was large and at times when he was sitting he would moan like a sick man. When I said "What is the matter?" he would hug his stomach just as if he understood our language, though that of course is impossible. There were actually a pair of orang-utangs, a male and a female, but after four or five months sojourn in Malacca the female died one night. From that time onwards, I noticed, the male behaved like a man stricken with grief. The food given to him he left where it was, not touching a morsel of it. After six or seven days thus he also died. My heart was touched to see such a thing. If animals can love one another as man and wife, how much more should we human beings do likewise, following their example. There were many other

³ The *shaer*, consisting of verses made up of four rhyming lines, is a form of Malay song-poetry usually describing amatory or super-natural episodes. The traditional *shaer*, like the *Kén Tambulan*, is based on Javanese and Indian legends, but Overbeck considers that the stories are symbolic of real incidents in Malay life (1934: 108).

The *pantun* is a four-line poem in which the first line rhymes with the third and the second with the fourth. The first couplet, always complete in itself and alluding usually to flowers, birds, rich garments, the sea and suchlike in special terms, is complementary to the second couplet which points the moral in more direct language. Quite often, however, the association of one couplet with the other is so slight as to defy detection, even if it exists at all. Many *pantun* are of great antiquity and have been handed down orally from generation to generation. Similar verses are found among the Muruts of Borneo (Woolley, 1927: 366) and the Visayans of the Philippine Islands (Overbeck, 1934: 109). Winstedt has drawn attention to resemblances between the *pantun* and the Chinese ode (1939: 133). Abdullah tries his hand at composing *pantun* (pp. 81 & 304-5), but however lofty his sentiments the verses are mere doggerel. He also published one *shaer*, the *Shaer Singapura Têrbakar*, which is again doggerel (see page 240-1).

⁴ Sambas, a river-state on the western shores of Borneo, due east of Singapore. At this period it was a centre for bands of pirates who raided the southern end of the Straits of Malacca and the Johore coast, and Raffles had protested to the ruler.

animals and birds in Mr. Raffles's house, each having its own cage or pen.

It was Mr. Raffles's nature to study with great enjoyment the history of countries and their ancient customs, and to make enquiries and ask questions about unusual things. He studied the Malay language with keen attention, learning the proper style as used by Malays. From time to time he was fond of asking "How is this word used by Malays?" and when we had told him he would say "The English usage is different, it is so-and-so." Every day he ordered letters to be written for despatch to the Malay States, the contents merely searching for a way to establish friendly relations between their rulers and the English and trying to gain their support. Every letter sent out was accompanied by presents and expressions of kind feelings. Therefore they gained the sympathy of all the rulers, who replied with letters and presents, sending their compliments and thanks. And many Malay manuscripts came from different places.

It was Mr. Raffles's way to care little for money. If there was anything he wished to buy or any work he wanted undertaken, whatever the cost or fee might be he paid it as long as he obtained the thing he wanted or the work was done. His wishes therefore were quickly gratified for there were always people waiting at his house, ready to find or to buy anything he wanted or to do his bidding for the money it would bring them. I know not how much money was paid out daily from his safe to buy things or to pay those who worked for him. He often said in my hearing "I hate the behaviour of the Dutch who live in Malacca. They despise the Malays and will not treat them on equal terms." Mr. Raffles on the other hand liked to be on good terms with all Malays; even the poorest of the poor could speak with him. All the important people of Malacca, both white men and Malays, came to see him from day to day. Yet in spite of this nobody knew why he had come to Malacca, what he intended to do or what was his appointed task. But what I particularly noticed was that everything about him, his work, words, intelligence, deportment, and kindness unmistakably denoted that here was a man of ability and great discretion.

One day while Mr. Raffles was in the middle of discussing with his Malay clerk the reply which he wished to be sent to the ruler of Sambas one of the Malays suddenly came in bearing six durians. Thinking that Mr. Raffles liked to buy durians he brought them into the house and stood waiting near the door. But as soon as Mr. Raffles caught the smell of the durian he held his nose and ran upstairs.

Every one was surprised to see him run like this for they did not realize that he could not stand the smell of a durian. A moment later he called the Sepoy guard and said "Who brought those durian here?" When they pointed to the Malay he told him to leave quickly and ordered the guard "Never allow anyone to bring durians to the door again." From that day onwards no one dared to bring any more durians. It was then that I discovered the truth that Mr. Raffles did not know how to eat durian. So far from eating them he could not even bear to smell them. After a little while he came down again saying "The smell of those durians has given me a headache. That food is nauseating." Hearing his words we all smiled to think that his attitude should be so different from that of other people. Something that they liked he hated. After that if any one came carrying durians he was driven away by the guard.

One afternoon just as I was going home Mr. Raffles called me and said "Let us go for a ride together for I would like to see a Malay school." So together we mounted his palanquin⁵ and went off to Tranquerah. When we reached the house of Lebai Abdul Razak we went in together and saw three children undergoing punishment. One was chained round his waist, the chain being nailed to the end of a beam which he was forced to carry on his shoulder. Another was merely chained and was being ordered to recite the Koran. The third was tied to a post. Mr. Raffles said to me "Enche, why are the children chained up in this way? It is a wicked practice. Please ask the teacher." I enquired of the teacher who replied "This one, sir, ran away and now, after eight days, has just been brought back from a place called Kendur, a day's journey from here, by a man to whom his parents had to give one dollar. That is why I am punishing him in this manner. And this one ran away for two days and climbed trees in the jungle, so he is being punished. And this one has forgotten all his previous reading work and so I am making him do it now." Mr. Raffles said "If that is so, all right," and added "Why do you not teach the Malay language?" The teacher replied "The parents of these children require that they shall first learn the Koran. Once they have mastered it they can proceed with the Malay language. That has always been our practice, and it is not a custom in this country for people to have places where the Malay language can be learnt." Mr. Raffles said, "Very well, teacher, I only wanted to know. Do not be angry. Good-bye." And we both left. As he went out Mr. Raffles said to me "Is

⁵ *pélangking*. The word has been derived from the Sanskrit *palhi*, a box-litter; but it may be of European origin, cf the Spanish *palanquino*, a little bearer. The O.E. Dictionary gives *palanquin*, fr Portuguese—*palanquine*.

that really the Malay custom, Enche'?" I said "Yes, it is, sir." He smiled and said "Very well, Enche', if I live long enough I would like to found a place of learning the Malay language.⁶ I am very fond of it for it has a pleasant sound and is very useful." Then he climbed into his carriage and went home.

I marked the enthusiasm which Mr. Raffles showed in studying the affairs of the Malay States, their laws, their constitutions and their systems of government. He wanted to find out what were the amusements of the Malays, their customs, the names of the hills and places round Malacca, the local industries, the goods which were exported and whether the people of Malacca preferred the rule of the English to that of the Dutch. About all these matters he made thorough enquiries.

I noticed that the character of Mr. Raffles's wife was unlike that of ordinary women. She shared her husband's charm, the modesty and prudence in everything that she did. She spoke in a friendly and courteous manner alike to the rich and the poor. She enjoyed making a thorough study of Malay, and used to ask how the Malays say this and that. All the points that she noted she wrote down on paper. And I observed too that whenever Mr. Raffles wanted to do something, for instance to make a purchase, he always asked his wife first and if she agreed he acted. It was her nature, I noticed, to do all her work with the greatest alacrity, never wasting a moment in idleness, but forever working away at one thing or another.⁷

In their attitude towards work there was, I found, a very great difference between Malay women and white women. For it is the custom of Malay women, when they have become the wives of important people, to grow more conceited and lazy, becoming haughtier and haughtier in manner and magnifying their own importance in every word they utter. They consider manual labour or any prolonged effort causing fatigue to be beneath their dignity. They just lie down and doze, then dress and arrange their coiffure, or sit and order their slaves about. They know that rice is served to them right into their laps. They rise at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning and take a little refreshment, then sit about for a while before retiring again until the afternoon, when they toy with a little betel nut. That is the

⁶ For Abdullah's account of the founding of the Singapore Institution see Chapter 15.

⁷ Raffles' first wife Olivia Marianne was the widow of a Dr. Jacob Fancourt, who had died in India in 1800. Raffles met her in 1804 while he was working at India House in London. They were married the following year. Ten years older than Raffles she made him the perfect wife that Abdullah describes, though there were no children of the marriage. Olivia followed Raffles to Java on his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor. She died suddenly and tragically in Batavia in 1814.

lot of the fortunate woman who is married to a man of high standing. But I noticed that Mrs. Raffles was as active as the cockroach which has no tail, doing one thing after another; after tidying the house she would sew and after sewing she would write letters. May I be blinded if my eyes ever saw her retire or compose herself for rest in the middle of the day. She was up and about all the time. Allah alone knows. Unless I have misunderstood what I saw, this is a sign that she was wise and capable of doing important things. As I saw it, it was her character and industry that fitted her to do her husband's work and to be his helper. For Allah had joined together the pair of them making them of one mind, like a ruler and his minister, like a ring and the jewel set in it, like sugar in milk. Let this be an example to follow for generations that are to come. To illustrate such harmony of character and temperament I have composed this *pantun*:

With goldfish let them be compared
Swimming in a bowl perchance;
In every thought and deed are shared
Such grace and seemly elegance.
The goldfish in the bowl swims by,
Heeds not the Laksamana's tread.
Their daily lives personify
Serenity to wisdom wed.

On the other hand I have noticed the behaviour of many other married people. If the husband wants to go this way, the wife wants to go the other: if the husband says one thing the wife says the opposite. So they have daily quarrels, smacking and kicking each other like cats and dogs. Moreover there are women who because they are beautiful tread their husbands down under foot. May Allah discountenance the behaviour of such women. So far from making good wives they are not even fitting companions. They cause mischief, break men's hearts and increase discord, and in the end they may bring disaster upon their own souls. Here is a *pantun* which I have composed about it:

Of what avail a coloured dress
If the pattern's ill designed?
What use a woman's fond caress,
If she be not good and kind.
If the pattern's ill designed
Vain are the costliest silks she wears
If she be not good and kind,
Save and preserve me from her cares.

After Mr. Raffles had been living for three or four months in Malacca he had sent out letters with presents to the rulers of all the Malay States to the west and to the east. A month or two later the Ruler of Siak,* whose title was Tengku Penglima Besar and whose name was Sayid Zin, came to see him. The circumstances of his coming to Malacca I do not know, whether invited by Mr. Raffles or of his own accord to meet Mr. Raffles. But come to Malacca he did, accompanied by his two sons. On his arrival he was received by Mr. Raffles with great deference and given a house and garden at Bandar Hilir to live in. He was provided with a caretaker and given a handsome allowance for expenses. Every day he travelled in a horse-drawn carriage. I never saw him going about on foot. Day and night he used the carriage. Every day or two he held conversations with Mr. Raffles and then returned home.

Many English ships went to and fro patrolling the coast of Java and any boat, ketch or ship flying the Dutch flag was captured and brought to Malacca. For the first time the Malacca folk realized that the English were enemies of the Dutch and so intended to make war on them. One or two English ships arrived in Malacca carrying munitions of war, hundreds of tents, wagons, pieces of artillery, guns, ammunition and the like.

One day when Tengku Penglima Besar came for his talk with Mr. Raffles the latter disclosed that the English did indeed intend to go and make war on Java. He explained how a certain difficulty had arisen because, he said "I cannot find anyone able to go to Java and deliver my letter to the Susunan of Bantaram,⁹ so that I can get

* Siak was a Malay Sultanate in central Sumatra on the river of that name whose mouth lies opposite the island of Bèngkalis. Through Bèngkalis it had close trade contacts with Malacca. In the heyday of its ascendancy, about 1720 A.D. under Raja Kèchil, it had attacked Johore, but had eventually been eclipsed by its Bugis rivals from Celebes. In an account of the countries round Penang written by Capt. Light in 1789 (Wurtzburg, 1938: 124), there is mentioned "Siak—a place of considerable trade in alliance with Malacca."

⁹ See Map I.

⁹ *Susunan of Bantaram* = *Susuhunan of Mataram*. Until the 20th century the Dutch never succeeded in bringing under effective control the whole of their empire of islands in the East Indies. But the strong action they took against certain recalcitrant chiefs had in 1755 compelled the breakup of the old kingdom of Mataram, which had risen to power in the sixteenth century in Java after the collapse of Majapahit, into two independent and semi-autonomous kingdoms. One was at Surakarta under the *Susuhunan*, the other at Djokdjokarta under a Sultan. So Raffles had to promote the friendliest possible relations with these two powerful rulers and to secure their aid against the Dutch, for whom they would have no liking. Tengku Pènglima Bèsar was being sent on a very important and delicate mission. With the help of the ruler of Bali, Raffles had established touch with the Sultan of Mataram, and he was faced with the problem of running a secret letter the whole length of the north coast of Java with only the English blockading ships to help him against piracy and capture by the Dutch.

definite information about his position, whether he will come in with us against the Dutch or not. I shall be very pleased if I can find a reliable man, who can keep a secret, to take my letter to Java." When Tengku Penglina Besar heard Mr. Raffles's words he sprang up and drew his *keris*, saying, vehemently "What is the use of this *keris*?" (His *keris* was known as "The Green One").¹⁰ As long as I have this Keris to my hand, wherever you go I will precede you. Only after I have died will you die. Write your letter. I will convey it to the Susunan of Bantaram." When Mr. Raffles heard the words of Tengku Penglina Besar his face brightened and he smiled as he said, "Thank you very much indeed, Tengku. Your kind favour will be adequately rewarded by the Company, which will help you in any way you wish." The Mr. Raffles stood up and shook him by the hand, and they confirmed the arrangement about the delivery of the letter.

At that time there was a certain Pengeran,¹¹ the son of a Javanese nobleman, living in Malacca, at Ujong Pasir,* who was on friendly terms with Mr. Raffles. Mr. Raffles sent for him, and in a moment he arrived. Mr. Raffles explained to him the full circumstances which prompted the sending of a letter to the Susunan of Bantaram. The Pengeran said, "Sir, I would undertake to convey it to the Susunan, but at present the whole coastline of Java is blockaded by your English ships and not a single boat or ketch¹² can go in and out. The Dutch are very much on the alert and are suspicious. If this letter should fall into their hands they will certainly hang the man who carries it without further enquiry." "Do not worry about that," replied Mr. Raffles, "I will give you a note. If you meet any English ship on the sea show this note and without fail you will be given help. Your duty is merely to select a suitable landing place, after which Tengku Penglina Besar will deliver the letter." When the Pengeran heard Mr. Raffles's words he said: "If that is so I will undertake the mission." Then Mr. Raffles said "Come here to-night and we will draft the letter which is to be sent. For this matter is urgent and will brook no further delay. In some four or five days' time a great many ships will arrive and in ten days or a fortnight Lord Minto and the Com-

¹⁰ The *kēris*, a short stabbing dagger, carried by every Malay. A famous *kēris* which had unusual marks on it, or which had killed many people, was thought to be endowed with magic properties and was often known by a special name. See note 1, under Chapter 14.

¹¹ *nama-nya Pēngēran*. Pēngēran was a title given to Javanese princes and the sons of royalty or great chiefs.

* See Maps II and IV.

¹² *Kēchi*, from the English *ketch*, a sailing boat with a small mizzen mast: usually fore-and-aft rigged with a bowsprit and one or more headsails, and steered with a rudder, not a sweep.

mander-in-Chief of the Madras Army will be here." Pengeran replied: "Very well sir," and went home to Hujung Pasir. Then Mr. Raffles said to Tengku Penglina Besar "Prepare yourself for your journey, Tengku. Possibly in two days' time you will sail in my ketch." He replied "Certainly sir," and returned home.

The same evening Mr. Raffles called the Pengeran back and asked him to compose the letter which was to be sent in Javanese to the Susunan of Bantaram. It was nearly midnight before the letter was finished and Mr. Raffles placed his seal on it, adding many presents to the value of two or three hundred dollars. The next morning early Mr. Raffles sent word to fetch Tengku Penglina Besar. When he came Mr. Raffles gave him \$400 to meet the expenses of himself and his companions. The ketch was ready to sail and on board were the same Malay boatmen who had brought it from Siak and the Tengku's two children. On the day of sailing Mr. Raffles gave them two boxes of opium and a further two hundred dollars for expenses.

Then Mr. Raffles called Tengku Penglina Besar and Pengeran to his house and instructed them about everything he wished to be done. He gave them a letter in English, and said "Should you happen to meet any English ship or ketch present this letter, Tengku, and you will be given anything you want, such as food or other needs. You, Tengku, will be the captain of the ketch and Pengeran will follow whatever directions you give, but you had better consult each other about everything. I want news quickly, before all these ships have sailed to Java for I shall wish to give the information to my chief, Lord Minto. Return as soon as possible. Do not waste time on your journey or call in anywhere on the way." The ketch was fully provisioned and sailed at six o'clock the next morning. Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar went to see Tengku Penglina Besar and Pengeran off. They came to the water's edge and shook hands with both of them saying "Goodbye". The two men got into the ketch and were away.

I will now turn from the story of the voyage of Tengku Panglima Besar and Pengeran and tell of the English ships which collected in Malacca for the war against Java. Four or five days after the ketch had sailed the ships started arriving in Malacca, three ships, four ships and a single ship at a time. The next day more came, perhaps six or seven ships, and so it went on, day after day. All the ships carried Indian soldiers and sailors, their officers being English, a large number of them. The troops encamped at a place called Limbongan.*

* See Map IV.

They stretched without break from Limbongan as far as Tanjong Keling,* each unit with its distinctive uniform. There were many different sects of Hindoos and Muslims. I noticed that some of the Hindoos ate their food as dogs do, licking it with their tongues. Others, if people watched while they were eating, would throw down their rice and chase the onlookers away, making as if to murder them in their anger. Others cooked their own food out in the heat of the sun and ate it there. As soon as perspiration appeared they swabbed it off their bodies as if they were having a bath. After they had finished their meal they buried the remains of their rice and curry in the sand. Some tied three strands of thread round their bellies and went on eating until the thread broke. Others I noticed took a white and a red powder which they daubed on their chests, their arms and their brows to form a three-pronged mark. They bowed to the front, to either side and to the back of them, then dashed into the sea up to their waists where they stood bowing to the sun for some time, slapping themselves vigorously on both cheeks. Then they returned to the beach and took their meal, screening themselves with white cloth so that no one could watch them eating. If anyone caught sight of them they threw away their rice and smashed their pots and pans. For their next meal they bought a fresh supply of cooking vessels. There was one group which could eat food in the sight of others but which could not converse during meals. They could only mouth with their lips and gesticulate with their hands while eating, without moving from the place where they were sitting. And many other foolish customs also I saw. There were those who could not eat fish or meat or anything containing blood but only vegetables.

At that time too I saw many different kinds of people and styles of clothing which I had never seen before in my life. I noticed that the English officers wore various kinds of uniform, some having tiger skins, others hats with cock-feathers dyed pink and black all round the brim, others trousers of animal-skins, and tunics made of cloth striped like a tiger. For the first time I saw different types of tents, some like proper houses with bedrooms and living rooms containing writing desks and doors and windows, bathrooms and lavatories, all made entirely of cloth. Some tents were plain red in colour; others were white on the outside and had coloured chintz with a floral pattern on the inside.

As for the training of the troops, from morning till evening they were drilled in squads; one squad would be having instruction in

* See Map IV.

firing heavy guns and another in musketry. The very large guns were pulled by bullocks. I was astonished to see that when people fired guns as large as these near the animals' ears they did not take fright or move from their places. When an officer shouted an order to the soldiers to move at the double the bullocks also broke into a run. When he said "Halt" the bullocks also halted, and when the soldiers changed direction the bullocks did likewise. It was surprising to see them behaving like human beings. It served as a reminder to me that although animals with no intelligence can be trained by man, yet mankind itself, endowed with intelligence and capable of distinguishing the good from the bad, often prefers to loaf about in idleness, unwilling to learn anything which will be to its advantage and good.

A few days later there came a very large ship called a "trooper" carrying Indian soldiers, with three hundred men on board all Muslims, and three English officers. They disembarked, were sorted into units and ordered to billets at Bandar Hilir in the estate owned by Mr. Adrain Koek. Crowds of the Malacca folk went to see the soldiers. I went with them and found some of the officers instructing the troops on the parade ground. All the soldiers were mounted on horses. These were Arab steeds, tall, very fine, all of the same colour. I noticed that all the men looked the height of smartness, tall and full in build. All had whiskers. They wore grey coats, grey trousers and grey hats. Each one carried as his weapons a pair of pistols, a sword and a rifle slung across his back. Each wore a powder-flask strapped to his left side and a water-bottle to his right, and had a haversack for his rations strapped to his shoulders. Two leather straps were braced to hold the horse's saddle with clasps, and whenever the rider mounted the two ends were buckled to his waist so that he did not fall. For none of them held the reins for riding. By their natural skill they rode the galloping horses, looking as if they were flying through the air. So far from falling off, they did not even shift their positions as they fired and reloaded their rifles and struck out with their swords. The officer instructing spoke no words of command but had a bugle in his hand. To give an order he blew the bugle and all the horses galloped off at once as quickly as lightning. On the bugle being sounded again they halted simultaneously, not one after the other, all their legs in line. Again, and the horses would break rank to form four sides of a square like a fort. Yet again, and all the soldiers fired their rifles at the same instant. The noise was like a single shot. Again, and rifles were reloaded. Again, and rifles were slung back across the shoulder and swords were drawn. Once more the bugle sounded, and

at once the men ran up the hill, forming a circle round it like a stockade. Then suddenly lascars came up, that-is-to-say, people who cut down the bushes. They carried lengths of cord round their waists with which they kept on tying the undergrowth into bundle after bundle while they slashed it down, one man to each sheaf. In a moment the stockade was exposed to view. Then the bugle sounded again and they ran down the slopes with a noise like thunder, and formed up in order before their officer. This officer was also on horseback as he drilled the troops.

The skill of these horses astonished me even more than that of the bullocks which hauled the guns. For all the horses recognized the sound of the bugle as if it had been the voice of a man, not a single one of them failing to follow it. Moreover the riders never depended on reins, but only on the consummate skill of their chargers to carry them from place to place. The commanding officer's horse stood higher than those of the soldiers, and when this officer returned to the camp after the finish of the exercises he did not deign to take his horse through the gate of the estate. Instead he galloped straight for the fence and jumped right over it. The height of the fence was about ten feet. This took place every day and hundreds of the Malacca folk used to come and watch the exhibition. Great indeed was their amazement when they saw the cleverness of the horse, which behaved almost like a human being, understanding all the words of command given on the bugle: and as they watched the officer every day jumping the horse over the fence whenever he came out or went in. Someone said, "This man is not human," and another, "This Englishman is certainly a jinn and that is why he can do these things." The soldiers understood the Koran and the Arabic language, and of course Hindustani. Besides, the majority had Arab blood in them.¹³ Their appearance was very smart and correct and their behaviour courteous. I asked them "Whence have all you men been brought by the English?", and they replied, "Our home is Delhi and we are the Nabob's men. The English went there asking for men and so the Nabob gave three hundred. Thousands more of our comrades are left behind there, all horsemen like us." Then I asked them what pay they received and they replied "We are paid three hundred rupees each by the Nabob and a like sum by the English; and we are promised

¹³ Sayids claim descent from the Prophet through his grandson Husain and his great-grandson Zainalabidin. The soldiers, as descendants of a religious aristocracy from the Hadramaut, would claim an especially privileged position in the Muslim community. Linehan (1936: 41) and Winstedt (1918: 49-54) have described the important part played by Sayids in the affairs of the Malay States.

that if Java is occupied we shall be given a gratuity in addition to this pay."¹⁴

Three days later there arrived six large ships, among them one carrying the Commander-in-Chief.¹⁵ As his vessel arrived it was received with a salute fired by the guns on the Malacca Fort. Next came a column of about a thousand soldiers, all the soldiers from Limbongan as far as Kg Liri,* all marching into Malacca with a band of drums and pipes. On arrival at their destination the soldiers were formed up in three ranks to the right and left of the road by their officer, the lines extending from the water's edge right up to the Resident's house. After a short while the Commander-in-Chief disembarked. In appearance he was a big man, I noticed, oval-faced and with a thick-set body. He was of medium height. He wore a black tunic with a medal hanging at his chest. Four or five of his aides-de-camp accompanied him. Then Mr. Raffles, Colonel Farquhar and the senior officials of Malacca came forward and received him, shaking him by the hand and paying him due respect and honour. As soon as he stepped on shore the big gun fired many times and all down the lines the troops presented arms while the trumpets and pipes played. Then he walked up to the Resident's house. When he turned his head to the right and left saw and many men saluting him he returned their salutes by nodding his head, until he reached the Resident's house. As his foot reached the first step all the troops fired three times in succession. The noise was enough to shake the very foundations of Malacca. Then all the men returned to their quarters.

¹⁴ In a despatch to Raffles dated February, 1811, Lord Minto said, "The expedition, comprising 4,000 European infantry with a suitable proportion of artillery and 4,000 native Bengal infantry with 300 cavalry, will sail from India the beginning or middle of March." Abdullah can hardly have believed the exaggerated stories the Indian soldiers told him about their pay and perquisites.

¹⁵ *General Madras*. This was Sir Samuel Auchmuty. Born in New York in 1756, the son of a loyalist father ruined after the Declaration of Independence, he reached high rank in the Army, serving in many parts of the world. In 1783 he joined his regiment in India as adjutant, and in the next fifteen years saw service in campaigns in India, Egypt and South America. He was made a K.C.B. in 1803. Lord Minto, impressed with his ability, made him Commander-in-Chief at Madras in 1810, and ordered him to organize a force to capture Java. Preparations for the campaign were very thorough and the troops sailed in two convoys for Penang and Malacca in the early months of 1811. The first arrived from Bengal in April. The second, with Lord Minto, General Auchmuty and Colonel Gillespie, reached Malacca from Madras on 1 June, only ten days before the expedition sailed for Java. The campaign was short and successful (see note 9, under Chapter 8), and in November 1811 Lord Minto and Auchmuty returned to India, withdrawing with them a large part of the fleet and the invasion forces. Soon afterwards Auchmuty went to England. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland in 1812, and died there the following year.

* See Map IV.

Five or six days later four large ships came in sight and it was rumoured that the General from Bombay was approaching.¹⁶ The guns fired a salute from Malacca, and when he disembarked he was likewise welcomed with lines of troops drawn up as already described, though I noticed that rather less honour was accorded to him than to the Commander-in-Chief. I noticed that he was a short man with a round face, white hair, stocky in build, and his complexion was pale at the sight of so many people. He was received by the officials and taken to the Resident's house. As he reached the steps the troops fired one salute. Then each unit returned to its quarters.

Every day in varying numbers ships came, one day four or five ships, the next day perhaps only one; until the Malacca roads were so full of ship lying at anchor that the masts of the vessels looked like the poles of a fence. All foodstuffs became very expensive in Malacca; three hen's eggs cost two *wang*, a chicken cost a whole rupee, and the price of vegetables and fish was unspeakably high. Even catfish, the scavenger fish of the river, were all turned into rupees.¹⁷ People of all races prospered greatly, the poor in their own way and the rich in theirs, each with his particular job which earned him a living. At that time no woman dared to move from her house because of the English and Indian soldiers who lay in a drunken stupor along the roads and who engaged in noisy brawls. The port guards and policemen used to arrest drunken men and send them back to their camps. At that time no one had heard the terms "Mata Mata" or "Police" or "Court", only "Piang", "Merinyu", "Fiscaal" and "Justisa."¹⁸ In Malacca at that time one never saw

¹⁶ *General Bombay*. This was Colonel Gillespie, who commanded a division which had sailed in the second convoy from Madras. Auchmuty's right-hand man in the field, Gillespie was the hero of the battle of Cornelis (see note 9, under Chapter 8). He remained in Java, where he soon came into conflict with Raffles in opposing certain of the latter's reforms. In particular he refused to submit to Raffles's demand that military control should be vested in the civil government. In 1814 he made charges of gross maladministration against Raffles in a report to the Court of Directors. It was over two years later, after Gillespie's death in India, and Raffles's return to England, that the charges were finally dropped.

¹⁷ *habis-lah menjadi rupiah sikah belaka*. The Bengal or sicca rupee, worth slightly more than the Company's rupees minted at Madras and Bombay, was evidently introduced by soldiers of the garrison in 1811 (see text below). The force which took Malacca from the Dutch, in 1795, came from Madras, and so apparently did all the troops stationed there until the arrival of the Java Expedition. For an account of the tin coinage used in Malacca before the Portuguese occupation, see Dakers (*JMBRAS*, 17, (1), 1939: 10). It is not certain when the term *wang* was first used for a particular coin: Wilkinson (1932) says that the value of the *wang* was first eight *duit*, and later ten.

¹⁸ The *Merinyu* was a kind of town enforcement officer who combined the functions of a policeman, having wide powers of arrest, with those of an official who could summarily exact fines for minor offences. For *fiskal*, etc., see page 46, and note 3, under Chapter 3.

a silver dollar or other coin, but only Indian rupees, all of them brand new.

Many of the Hindoo soldiers died every day, the reason being, it was rumoured, that while at sea they never ate cooked rice but only dried rice and coconut and sugar. After disembarking they ate cooked rice which gave them stomach ache. Every day some of them died of it. Besides this, it was their custom whenever they wanted to eat always to wash first. Then only did they take a meal. Of the rest many became ill and anaemic and got ulcers.

7. Lord Minto in Malacca

One morning about two or three days afterwards there came into sight a small ship, very swift, painted black. A flag was flying at the mast-head. When the other ships saw it they all ran up their flags, and a flag was also hoisted on the summit of Fort Hill. There was excitement in Malacca when people said "Lord Minto's ship is coming." A moment later the ship was seen to hoist a pennon. In the town everyone received instructions to sweep the fronts of their houses and all the thoroughfares and market places were ordered to be decorated. Thousands of all races gathered together on the shore to see what manner of man this was and what clothes he was wearing, for his name was well-known.¹ Soon a great clamour was heard as columns of soldiers from Limbongan, Kelebang Kechil, Kelebang Besar, Batang Tiga, Liri, Tanjong Keling,* all converged on Malacca. Mingling with the strains of bands playing their drums and pipes and

¹ Lord Minto was Sir Gilbert Elliott, first Earl of Minto, born in 1751. He was called to the Bar in 1774 and was a Member of Parliament for the next eighteen years. He was appointed Viceroy of occupied Corsica soon after the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars. He returned to England on the evacuation of the island in 1796, and was created a peer in 1799. In 1807 he became Governor-General of India. He sent missions to Persia, Lahore and Kabul to establish offensive alliances against France, and an unsuccessful military mission to the Chinese in Macao. In 1809 he annexed Amboyna and the Moluccas, and in the following year captured Mauritius and Reunion. The attack on Java came in 1811.

On 18 June, 1811, he sailed from Malacca in the frigate *Modeste*, commanded by his son, and the fastest vessel in the fleet. By 1 August she was moving along the coast of Java, having caught up the main fleet with the troops under Colonel Gillespie, which had left a week earlier. After the battle of Cornelis, Lord Minto issued his proclamation to the people of Java. In it he announced reforms which were to be introduced at once, abolishing monopolies, torture and oppressive Dutch laws.

Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java and Lord Minto returned to India with the Commander-in-Chief in November, 1811, by which time hostilities had ceased. His untimely death less than three years later deprived Raffles of a staunch friend at a time when, being under suspicion as the result of Gillespie's charges, he most needed such support.

* See Map IV.

with other noises the din was like the sound of the Last Trumpet. The standard-bearers came marching by holding their colours on high. In Malacca all the officers wore brand new uniforms, which flashed as they caught the rays of the sun. The columns were so long that they took more than an hour to pass by. They were formed up partly in two ranks and partly in four. The lines of soldiers were packed closely together in the town, and as for the crowds that followed one could see nothing but a sea of humanity. All the columns of soldiers were drawn up in ranks three deep from the water's edge to the Resident's house. A moment later a bugle sounded from Bandar Hilir and a column of three hundred horsemen under an officer came thundering past. When they reached their position they formed up round the outside of the ranks of infantry. There was a large pinnace² owned by the East India Company, which had been decorated and had an English flag flying from her bows. The oarsmen were dressed all in red. They wore red uniforms and red turbans. When all was ready Mr. Raffles, Colonel Farquhar and the leading officials set off in the pinnace to receive Lord Minto. About an hour later Lord Minto came down into the pinnace. As he descended the ship fired a salute, and when the signal was heard it was taken up from the land. Then all the ships in the roads fired their guns. The noise was like parched rice cracking in the frying-pan. For some two or three hours the noise of firing went on without stopping, until the smoke from the guns covered the sea in gloom. A little later the pinnace returned to land where the officers and lines of soldiers were ready waiting. As Lord Minto stepped ashore a gun boomed from the hill.

Seeing Lord Minto's appearance and bearing I was greatly surprised when I realized what he really looked like, the impression he gave one, his physique and the clothes he was wearing. I called to mind the Malay proverb which says "The report is finer than the reality." And I bit my little finger for shame. The man I saw looked like this. He had passed middle age. His body was thin, his manner mild, his face gentle. I should not have supposed him capable of lifting even a twenty-five pound weight, so fragile was his build. I noticed that he wore a tunic of black cloth, black trousers, and nothing else worthy of mention. All the officials waiting to receive him withdrew to a distance, nobody having the temerity to offer his hand to him. They just raised their hats and folded their arms. The officer of the guard shouted an order to all the troops to present arms to Lord Minto as a mark of respect. As he went by he turned his head to the left and to the right,

² *Sékochi*, from the Dutch *schuitje*, a ship's cutter or pinnace.

acknowledging the greeting of those on either side of him while he walked slowly along the lines of troops, the guns firing all the while. His hand kept coming up to the salute without intermission, in the correct and proper manner. Never did I see him behave in a superior manner or raise his head. On the contrary he bowed all the time with a polite look on his face. Now all the people standing there saluted him. He stopped for a moment and lifted his hand in answer to the greeting of the poor people, Chinese, Malays, Indians, Eurasians, all the while smiling, as he acknowledged their salutes. Truly did the hearts of all the servants of Allah open out to him, as they gave thanks because they recognized a fine character, a person who knew how to win the affections of men.

I thought a while as I remembered how true is the Malay proverb which says "If the snake edges past the roots of a tree, still it will not lose its venom" and again, the Chinese proverb which says: "Does the water in a full jar become muddy?" On the contrary, it is only the water in the half-empty jar which becomes muddy. Officials nowadays are like people who merely arrange their masters' tables, men of no real standing. Yet their conceit is as high as the skies. They pretend not to notice poor men like me even if we greet them three or four times. When they travel about in carriages their self-importance is all the greater. They acquire their positions, as children say, "like the monkey which plucks a flower." But does it understand its worth? On the contrary it tears the flower to shreds and throws it on the ground. There is also a Malay saying "However high the egret soars in the end he descends again to his perch on the buffalo's back." Its meaning is that whatever greatness a man may achieve in this world in the end he returns to dust. However, I ask a thousand pardons of these subordinates of the great to whom I have referred above, and assure my readers that I have not written a single word out of malice or a desire to belittle these men. But in this world, in which we live but for a day, it is our custom to call a good man good and a bad man bad. As the Malay saying goes "When the tiger is dead his stripes remain; when the elephant is dead his bones remain." When a man is dead his reputation lingers on among later generations.

Now I must return to the story of Lord Minto. After a short while he finished greeting the people and walked slowly along bowing his head. When he arrived at the Resident's house he mounted the steps. All the high officials in Malacca and the new arrivals went up to meet him. I noticed that of all the many assembled it was Mr. Raffles who dared to stand at his side, the remainder holding back. When they had been introduced to Lord Minto, they went back to their places.

Then the long lines of soldiers fired three times in succession before returning to their quarters.

The next day Lord Minto made his first journey to inspect the prison where criminals and debtors were incarcerated, some for three or four years and others for six or seven months. The prison gate was opened to him on his arrival and all the prisoners came running forward. Some fell on the ground at his feet and others wept as they told him about their circumstances. The *sapir*, or gaoler, came up and restrained them but Lord Minto said, "Don't do that." When he saw the state they were in, tears came into his eyes as he said in Hindustani, "Do not worry, in a short while all of you will be free." When the prisoners heard this they were greatly cheered and fell in homage at his feet, each feeling as if he had become the Resident. Lord Minto returned to the Resident's house and a little later Colonel Farquhar, accompanied by the gaoler and several guards and policemen carrying keys, came and unlocked the gate saying, "Go, all of you. His Excellency Lord Minto has ordered your release." They were delighted beyond words and all shouted loudly as they left, proclaiming their thanks and asking a blessing upon Lord Minto, beseeching Allah to grant him long life and victory over all his enemies. And I pray to Allah that in this way also will He pardon our offences and release us from the torments of the flames of hell. Amen.³

The next day Lord Minto visited the *terongko gelap*, that is, the Dark Dungeon. When he had arrived he saw all the various instruments for torturing people; branding irons, clubs for breaking people's joints before they were hanged, the place where men were put in irons, and the scaffold. All these instruments were in use during the Dutch period. When Lord Minto saw them his face looked grim and he spat several times. Then he said to the keeper: "Take all these down and burn them. Do not leave a single one." At once the Company's convicts were ordered to come and remove them to the bottom of the hill where they were burned. Then he went to see the punishment cells. When he arrived there were two or three men who had committed serious offences being punished. All of them he let out and he gave instructions to break up the cells and rebuild them in the fine style in which they exist at the present time. The old prison was as different from the present one as the earth from the sky, for the *terongko* and the punishment cells had no windows at all, and nowhere to sit down or sleep except the bare earth, day and night, and for use

³ According to Raffles (1830: 260) it was on 4 June, only three days after he landed, that Lord Minto issued an order that all government slaves in Malacca were to be emancipated.

also as a latrine. Imprisonment under such conditions was like living in hell. The present goal has many windows with iron lattice work and a stone pavement floor, and is divided into rooms like a house. There are proper places for sleeping. At night it is well-lit by lamps. Prisoners are allowed to receive visits from their families, their only punishment being their loss of freedom. Most people declare that as the prison is so good some may welcome imprisonment, being no longer afraid of it without its tortures. But in my opinion this view is expressed by those who have not considered the value of freedom, and who think that people can be made afraid of prison only by reason of its punishments. This shows, I think, a spiteful character and a nature which feels no sympathy for its fellow-creatures. So far from inflicting such tortures imprisonment in itself is enough, for is not the very stigma of prison well-known and a sufficient humiliation? What good is it then to torture a servant of Allah for if his crime merits death it is better for him to be put to death at once?

One afternoon Lord Minto came into Mr. Raffles's compound while taking a walk to see the district. When he arrived Mr. Raffles at once came running out of his house to welcome Lord Minto in. When Lord Minto entered the room where we were writing everyone stood up and greeted him. He looked round the room, and when he came to the place where I was writing I moved back, for among all the copying clerks I was the smallest, that is to say the youngest. He shook me by the hand, saying in Hindustani "Are you well?" and I bowed to him. I felt the skin of his hand, as smooth to the touch as that of a child. He came and watched how Malay is written and what the letters look like. A moment later he asked me to write something. He watched my hand carefully and smiled saying, "How is it that you can write so fast for the hand moves from right to left," and he added, "You should learn how to write English and how to read it." "I should be delighted to learn, sir," I replied. After this he went upstairs to Mr. Raffles's apartment where he met Mrs. Raffles for a moment. Then he went home. But every day Mr. Raffles went to meet him at the Resident's house.

Every afternoon while he was in Malacca Lord Minto used to go out in his carriage. One day he went to see the mosque, another day the Chinese temple and another day the Indian temple and the Roman Catholic church. He went all round the Malacca Settlement. Wherever people saw his carriage, whether the rich or the poor and lowly, they stopped to pay their respects to him. He used to return their greetings at once and sometimes when crowds greeted him along the road he held his hat in his hand, not wearing it but waving it to and fro with a

kind look on his face, in polite acknowledgement. Never once did I see him draw attention to his high position by his behaviour or his style of dress, though his employees dressed themselves like important officials with silk umbrellas and watches and smart uniforms. Several of them annoyed and oppressed people in the market and the shops. People were afraid of them because they were the servants of a high official. They remembered the habits of Malay princes and the well-to-do Chinese. If their employees did anything to ordinary folk no action could be taken against them. If one of them were killed seven lives would be taken in revenge.⁴ None of the people understood how good is the rule of the English, under which even if the ruler himself, to say nothing of his subordinates, commits any unseemly act a case can be brought against him. Should he slay a man he himself will certainly be sentenced to death. For under English law it is never allowed that one man shall act unjustly towards another. Be the offenders great or small, princes or paupers, all are judged alike. Respect must be paid to an important person because of the rank he holds and not because he oppresses people and plunders their property, or commits other wrongful acts.⁵

8. Tengku Penglima Besar

We return to the story of Tengku Penglima Besar, who with Pengeran, the son of a Javanese aristocrat, had been ordered by Mr. Raffles to take a letter to Java. Nearly three months had now elapsed and during the Tengku's absence the ships kept coming to Malacca and collecting there until they filled the anchorage. I counted the ships lying off-shore from Tanjong Keling as far as Pulau Panjang, in all a hundred vessels large and small. Many other vessels had already left and were waiting at sea all along the route to Java.

One day the man guarding the flag on top of the hill came and reported to Mr. Raffles saying: "Your ketch which was taken by Tengku Penglima Besar has arrived." Mr. Raffles was very pleased to hear this news for all the ships were due to sail in a week's time and were already standing by fully equipped and provisioned for the voyage. A moment later the ketch came to anchor and Tengku Penglima Besar and Pengeran stepped ashore. They both came to Mr. Raffles stood waiting. When they arrived he shook hands with

⁴ *tujoh orang bela ganti-nya*. *Bela*, to take vengeance on. In the printed Jawi text of 1888 this is the word used, but in the M.P.H. romanized text published in 1939, it is incorrectly transcribed *bela*, to cherish, look after.

⁵ Abdullah was a great admirer of English justice, although he did not fully understand judicial procedure.

both of them and said, "What news, Tengku? Is all well?" "All is well, sir," he replied. "Although I was almost stabbed to death. Two of my men were killed, stabbed as they went ashore to take the letter" and he related to Mr. Raffles all that had happened while they were carrying the letter. Mr. Raffles said "Do not worry, Tengku, the East India Company will suitably reward you for your daring work. If we take Java safely I will suggest to Lord Minto that you be given sovereignty over a piece of territory, in any part you wish. What news of the reply?" Tengku Penglina Besar presented the letter wrapped in yellow cloth and Mr. Raffles said, "Did you yourself meet the Susunan?" He replied "I did sir, at night. His proposal to me was that whenever the English chose to come and take Java his forces would assist us from the interior. I had no time for further discussion owing to the risk of Dutch agents on the prowl. When I took the letter, as I was leaving some Javanese agents of the Dutch came to arrest us. I stabbed at them and two of my men were killed. I do not know how many of the Javanese were killed because the night was very dark." While the Tengku was telling his story Pengeran was there listening, and he confirmed¹ it. Mr. Raffles said to Tengku Penglina Besar "The Company is very grateful indeed to you, Tengku." After the letter had been handed to Mr. Raffles, Tengku Penglina Besar excused himself to go home, then Pengeran also. Mr. Raffles shook them by the hand, and they both left for their homes.

In the afternoon Mr. Raffles sent for Pengeran to read the letter, for he understood Javanese. After a short while he arrived. When he had gone up Mr. Raffles told him to open the letter, and then he read it out. After compliments² to the East India Company and greetings to Mr. Raffles the letter said, "We have received your letter and presents and as for your request we are standing by prepared. Whenever you reach Java we will come from the interior to your aid." Listening to the words of the letter, Mr. Raffles became lost for a

¹ *bèrsamoul dengan kain kuning*. Yellow is often described loosely as the colour of Malay royalty. The *Séjarah Melayu* (Shellabear, 1909: 63) says that in old Malacca—as now in Trengganu—the rulers standard was white, while yellow was for princes of the royal blood. Wilkinson (1935: 29–31) sees in the use of yellow for the state umbrella the influence of China, to whose emperors the Malacca Sultans sent embassies, but Braddell (1939: 187) and Winstedt (1951: 36) consider that the ruler's colour was introduced from India.

² *Maka ia pun mēngyakan juga*. The verb is from *ya* (= *ia*); yes it is so. The form is not found in classical Malay literature.

³ *puji-pujian*, the compliments at the beginning of a Malay letter. They are more or less set phrases depending on the relative status of the writer and the recipient, and when both are of high standing they may take up a large part of the letter. Raffles had much experience of this kind of correspondence. Something in the letter itself, perhaps the form of these *puji-pujian*, must first have aroused his suspicions.

while in thought, and when Pengeran had finished reading it he left to go home.

Now I noticed Mr. Raffles's demeanour. From the time he heard the wording of the letter until the evening he seemed unable to make up his mind. From time to time he took up the letter and examined it, and then put it down again. It was his custom every day to go for an evening drive. That day his carriage waited at the door until nightfall, but he did not want to leave his house. All through the night he behaved in this way. When I called the next morning at nine o'clock as was my daily custom, I saw Mr. Raffles leaning back in his chair holding the letter in his hand. After breakfast he went down below to see the men packing up his baggage, but he was still carrying the letter, I noticed. Then he went upstairs again. A few minutes later I saw him run downstairs and heard him say: "Ibrahim bring any four or five sheets of the writing paper which is in the cupboard." Enche' Ibrahim fetched them and took them up to him. Then Mr. Raffles brought down the letter and the sheets of paper and showed them to his clerks and to all of us, saying "Is not the paper on which this letter is written the same as this sheet without a number on it?" We all replied "They are without doubt exactly the same though one is slightly smudged by the hand of the writer." At once he ordered a policeman to go and summon Pengeran, and a little later Pengeran came in. His face, I noticed, had turned pale.

Mr. Raffles was pacing up and down his verandah holding the letter as Pengeran came up. When Mr. Raffles saw him he glanced at him out of the corners of his eyes without greeting him as he stood against the wall. After pacing up and down ten or twenty times he suddenly turned on Pengeran, as if he meant to hit him, or so I thought, as I peered through a crack in the door. Pengeran, I noticed, was startled by this sudden movement. Without calling him by name Mr. Raffles demanded "Did the Susunan of Bantaram really give you this letter?" Now I saw that Pengeran's face was like that of a corpse, drained of every drop of blood. He remained silent, not answering Mr. Raffles's question. Then said Mr. Raffles "Did you hear what I asked? If you do not tell me the truth I shall have you hanged." When Pengeran heard Mr. Raffles's words and saw the mounting fury of his temper, his limbs trembled. I had never before seen Mr. Raffles's face such a colour, almost purple. His hand was shaking with the strength of his passion, as he said "Are you going to tell me the truth?" Pengeran replied "Sir, what can I do?" then held his peace. "What is the truth? Speak up," said Mr. Raffles. Then Pengeran went on "I was only a subordinate, sir, under the orders of Tengku

Penglima Besar. Whatever he told me to do I did, sir. If I had refused he would have murdered me." Mr. Raffles said "What is this? How did it begin? Tell me the whole story. If not you will stand accursed." Pengeran replied "How can I tell you, for I have sworn on the Koran not to disclose our secret?" "That will not do," said Mr. Raffles, "you must tell me."

Then Pengeran replied "Very well, sir, it was not my fault. We sailed away for twelve days and had arrived off the Palembang coasts when a storm overtook us, a strong wind blowing in our faces from the south-east. Then Tengku Penglima Besar said 'Let us put in at Jambi for this wind is very strong', and I replied 'Mr. Raffles has instructed us not to stop anywhere'. Then Tengku Penglima Besar said 'If that is so, how shall we die? Rather than be drowned, let us at least meet our death in a foreign land'. He spoke very angrily to me and I replied 'Do whatever seems best to you, Tengku'. So we trimmed the sail on a course for Kuala Jambi and reached the estuary after two days' sailing. Arrived there he unloaded the opium and all the other valuable goods on board. He and his children went off with four or five men while I and the crew remained on the ketch. I waited one day, two days, and still he did not come back. On the sixth day his companions came and asked for any goods that were left. I had not the courage to stop them for I was alone and feared that they might attack me. After the goods had been taken ashore there was an interval of some fifteen days before Tengku Penglima Besar came back. There was a stern look on his face and he was angry. He climbed into the boat and straight away went to his bunk. His companions all sat up cooking and eating. This went on for five or six days. Then he again went ashore, saying to me 'This is the season of strong gales. Wait a few days longer and we shall be able to sail'. I replied 'All right Tengku'. For six or seven days he remained ashore. Then he returned. As soon as he arrived back he ordered the anchor to be weighed and we set sail. He sailed the ketch up the river and then ordered us to anchor. We remained there six or seven days. A large sailing-boat⁴ attempted to sail past us. We fired at it and it replied, killing two men in the ketch. Firing went on until sunset when the wind abated and the other boat sailed away. To what destination I do not know, but we did not see it again. Afterwards we attacked three perahu.⁵ All the men in them fell into the river and their cargo was seized. After about a fortnight of this Tengku Penglima Besar called to me

⁴ *top*, a sailing-barge used for freight-carrying.

⁵ *pérah*, often anglicized to *proa*. Any moderately beamy, open Malay boat used for river and sea navigation, propelled by sails or paddles.

one morning and said 'What do you propose we do now? We cannot deliver the letter to the Susunan of Bantaram, because the wind is so strong'. I replied 'Why can we not deliver it if we sail with all our might, for this is not the season of heavy winds.'⁶ He grew angry and his face looked grim when he heard what I said and I held my peace for fear he would stab me. Then he said 'There is a proposal I wish to make. Will you all agree with it?' I and the other men in the boat said 'What is that Tengku?' And he replied 'If you really wish to do it I must insist that all of you swear solemnly that in no circumstances will you give away this secret. If any one is not agreeable, let him speak', and we all replied 'Whatever you tell us, Tengku, that we will do'. Then he brought out the Koran and ordered me to take the oath first. I was terrified when I saw how angry he looked, as if he would commit murder, and I believed that he would certainly kill me if I did not do his bidding. So I swore not to reveal our secret. Then all our companions in the boat also took the oath. After this he said 'Let us compose a letter and say that it is a letter from the Susunan of Bantaram in reply to Mr. Raffles stating that the Susunan received the letter we were carrying, that he is ready prepared and that whenever Mr. Raffles launches his attack on the Java coast he will join forces with him from the interior.' So then I composed a letter, and after I had written it we wrapped it in yellow cloth. After that we repeatedly reaffirmed our promise not to give away our secret. When the matter of the letter had been settled we sailed back to Malacca. That is the story from beginning to end, sir."

When Mr. Raffles had heard the whole story, he bit his little finger and slapped himself on the leg, his face purple with anger. Then he said to Pengeran "You go downstairs." Mr. Raffles, I noticed, looked a very worried man, and he sighed from time to time, for that very day he wished to put all his belongings on board his ship. The other ships were already leaving, and the sea off Malacca was dark with so many vessels under sail. There was much hurry and bustle in Malacca

⁶ i.e., the monsoon period. The north-east monsoon comes to an end along the south-east coast of Sumatra soon after the beginning of March, and the south-west monsoon starts in May or early June. A gale such as 'Tengku Panglima Besar and the Pengeran' encountered is more usual near the break of the monsoon than in the middle. If Abdullah's time intervals are correct the two men were away from seventy-five days, and must have arrived back in Malacca about 14 June. At the date about which the Pengeran is speaking they would not have had time to reach Java and get back before the monsoon broke. If, as seems likely, they left Malacca at the beginning of April the story fits into its right chronological position.

The monsoon periods in the Malacca Straits are well illustrated in maps prepared by Grimes (*JMBRAS*, 19, (1), 1941: 80-81).

that day for thirty or forty ships were sailing off together, leaving only some fifty or sixty behind.⁷

At three o'clock in the afternoon the important officials came in their carriages to Mr. Raffles's house for they had already heard news that a letter had been received from Java. At the time Mr. Raffles felt greatly ashamed for they would all wish to hear its contents. A moment later Lord Minto came to the house. When everyone was assembled Mr. Raffles sent for Tengku Penglima Besar, ordering the guards at the gate to admit only him, and none of his associates. Now on all previous occasions Tengku Penglima Besar had always come quickly when summoned by Mr. Raffles. But this afternoon even when those policemen went to call him he still did not come, for he was packing his baggage in readiness to abscond. After a while he came. His comrades accompanied him, some ten or twelve men each armed with *kéris*, and also his two children carrying knives. When they arrived at the gate the guard refused to admit any of them, except Tengku Penglima Besar. The rest waited outside. Having no option Tengku Penglima Besar entered slowly. Arrived at the house he was about to go up when he was stopped by the guard who went and reported to Mr. Raffles. A little while afterwards Mr. Raffles came down. When Tengku Penglima Besar caught sight of Mr. Raffles he saluted him. But Mr. Raffles did not acknowledge the action because he was so angry. He exclaimed "You liar! I will have you put at the cannon's mouth. Go away! Don't stand there. My ship leaves this afternoon. Go quickly and embark. It sails at four o'clock. Once at sea I will stand you at the cannon's mouth. At this late hour how can I postpone sailing even until to-morrow morning? If I could, you deserve to be hanged. Go away! Do not stand in my presence any longer. I do not wish to see the face of a liar and a pirate."

At this, I noticed, Tengku Penglima Besar's face looked like that of a dead man and he could not utter a word in reply. He was dumb as a stone, for all that he had received such favour before. Mr. Raffles was greatly embarrassed in front of Lord Minto for he had assured him that Tengku Penglima Besar was a reputable man. If perchance he were to lose even ten dollars it would not have caused him so much distress as the shame he felt before his subordinates. It was, I think,

⁷ The two assaulting divisions were made up of 200 European officers, 5,144 European other ranks and 6,616 native troops. About 1,200 were left behind sick in Malacca, and about 1,500 were unfit for fighting on landing in Java. The fleet, the largest that had ever been assembled by a European power in the Far East consisted of four battleships, 14 frigates, 7 sloops, 8 East India Company cruisers, 57 transports and several gunboats. It travelled in a number of small units to minimize naval risks in the narrow channels, but the carefully reconnoitred passage south of the island of Borneo was made without loss.

because he was ashamed that he purposely told Tengku Penglima Besar to go away; for if not a moment later he would have carried out his threat. So as not to be seen any more by the white men Tengku Penglima Besar returned home. Meanwhile at the house of Mr. Raffles there was great activity in preparation for the voyage, and while everyone was thus occupied Tengku Penglima Besar made his way out of Malacca in a small boat. It was rumoured that he had gone back to Siak.

Verily, let all these misfortunes be a warning to you, my good friends, to be remembered by all who are looking for trustworthy and reliable men capable of doing their duty. Such virtues are expensive to buy and hard to find these days. If you do not make careful and thorough enquiries into them, be sure that in the end you will repent your folly, as did Mr. Raffles but what good did it do him? As the Malays say "Be sorry beforehand and you can still make amends, be sorry afterwards and it will avail you nothing," and as the wise man has said "A drop of indigo will spoil a pailful of milk." As for the case of Mr. Raffles, because he had not enquired carefully enough how such important work was to be carried out, he had cause to be sorry afterwards when it was of no avail. For then he realized that the wickedness of man is very hard indeed to put right, save that Allah should show him the way. As the wise man has said "Even if the crow were washed in rose water and fed on ambergris and musk his black feathers would never turn white."⁸

That same evening one of the ships caught fire while at anchor off Kelebang Besar. The fire was caused by the seamen smoking cigars and throwing a lighted end into the ship. It set fire to the rigging and enveloped the whole vessel. The conflagration started about midnight. It was still burning the next morning and at about eleven o'clock it reached the powder magazine which blew up with a noise like thunder. The whole town of Malacca felt the tremor. Then the ship sank. The ship's captain was ashore at the time. Immediately all the ships at anchor in the harbour weighed and sailed out for fear the fire should spread to them. Two days after the burning of the ship many of the Malacca folk found bits of her fittings and the property on board strewn all along the shore.

On the day Mr. Raffles sailed he wanted to take me with him. But my mother was unwilling to allow it, saying in tears "I have not two

⁸ *Burong gagak itu jikalau mandikan dengan ayer mawar dan di-beri makan ambar dan kasturi sa-kali pun. Tiada akan menjadi putih bulu-nya yang hitam itu; "the leopard cannot change his spots." Ambar kasturi occurs in the Bustanu's Salatin, a work with which Abdullah would have been familiar, in the sense of all kinds of fragrant perfume.*

children, or three children, but only one, the apple of my eye." Mr. Raffles said "Are you afraid that he will die?", and my mother replied "It is not that I fear his death, sir, but that he is still a child and not used to separation from his parents. Moreover I hear that Batavia is very unhealthy. For these reasons, sir, I cannot bring myself to let my child go." Mr. Raffles said "Very well, if my life is spared I shall come back here and can employ Abdullah again." Then he called me into his study and wrote me out a letter. After that he opened his chest and took out thirty dollars. He handed me the letter and the money, saying "If there are any Englishmen asking for writers or wishing to learn Malay show them this letter and you will get employment." I saluted and thanked him. Then he said "Go and say good-bye to my wife." So I went and paid my respects to Mrs. Raffles who gave me ten dollars and some fine muslin with a foliated pattern on it, saying "You can make yourself a jacket." I went home feeling very sad, for I was very fond of Mr. and Mrs. Raffles who were just like a father and a mother to me. At the time I felt that but for fear of my parents I would gladly have run away and followed him wherever he went, so fine was his nature and so courteous his treatment of others. May Allah reward his kindness in this world with ever greater honour and renown, and grant him happiness, health and peace. On that very day he made arrangements and took with him my uncle named Ismail Lebai. They sailed together in Lord Minto's ship. All the other ships had sailed away and quiet reigned again in the Malacca roads.

A month after the English had occupied Java a letter came to my grandmother in Malacca saying that my uncle Ismail Lebai who had gone with Mr. Raffles had died in Batavia.⁹ His wife and children were sad, and his mother especially was grieved at the death of her son.

9. The Anglo-Chinese College

It was in 1823 that an English missionary and his wife first came to Malacca with their three children, a young daughter and twin sons. The missionary's name was Mr. Milne, his daughter Celia, and the

⁹ Abdullah's mother Sélama had been rightly informed about the unhealthiness of Batavia, which is the subject of several Dutch contemporary accounts. Ismail Lebai was not the only victim, for two days after the battle of Cornelis, Dr John Leyden, Raffles's close associate and friend, died suddenly of a mysterious and violent fever in Batavia.

The main assault went ashore at Chillingching. Gillespie's division soon invested Tanjong Priok, occupied Batavia, and on 23 August did a forced night march to fight the only large-scale battle of the campaign against General Janssens, who waited in carefully prepared positions at Cornelis. The defending forces were routed, and all opposition was finally broken a month or two later when Janssens was driven out of his last strongholds at Sémarang and Sourabaya.

twins William and Robert.¹ When he first arrived he lived in the Fort and kept a school where children learnt English. He had been teaching for ten days or a fortnight when I heard news that a newly arrived English padre was teaching children free, taking no fees or money even for his expenses. Everything was provided, even paper, ink and the like. When I heard this I was very pleased for I remembered the advice of Lord Minto and Mr. Raffles who had said: "If you learn English it will be very useful to you." Ever since they had told me this their words had lived in my memory. At that time it was very difficult to learn English in Malacca for there were no schools. The sons of rich men had tried to learn, calling teachers to their houses and paying them high fees. They were not good teachers: neither were they proper Englishmen, the majority being Eurasians from Madras or the Dutch possessions who had learnt a little English. These were the people who became teachers in Malacca and asked exorbitant fees. Nobody of any other race in Malacca could read or speak English correctly, for there were none who learnt it.

One day I set out to make the acquaintance of Mr. Milne, and also to see what an English padre looked like and in what style he lived. For before this I had never seen one or heard about one, and I had received no proper information about English clergymen although

¹ . . . *kapada tarikh hijrat 1238 ia-itu kapada Masehi sanat 1823, maka kapada tahun itu-lah mula-mula padèri Inggèris datang ka-Mèlaka* . . . but Abdullah's emphatic statement of the date is all the more surprising in that he proceeds to give, in this chapter, a lengthy account of Milne's work in Malacca over a period of five years, which he must have known occurred before the founding of Singapore in 1819.

William Milne was born in 1785. He was trained by the London Missionary Society and after being ordained in 1812 went out to join Robert Morrison (see note 29) in Macao in July 1813. But the hostility of the Chinese and the opposition of the Portuguese Roman Catholic missions hampered their work so severely that in 1814 Morrison sent Milne on a tour of the East Indies, to find a suitable place for a mission centre where newly arrived missionaries from England, as well as local recruits for the Ministry, could be trained for eventual work in China. Milne visited Java and then spent a week or two in Malacca in August, 1814, before returning to Macao. On his and Morrison's advice the Ultra-Ganges Mission was opened in Malacca early in 1815, on a piece of land on St. John's Hill given by Farquhar. Milne held Bible classes for Chinese children in his house. In August 1815 he opened the first Christian school in Malacca. The work of the Mission is described in the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* published by Milne in the same year, quoted by Lovett (1899: 432). Milne published many religious tracts in Chinese and Malay, and started a printing press. On 11 November, 1818, he opened the Anglo-Chinese College (see note 38), an institution combining a school for local children and a centre for printing text-books in the local languages.

Early in 1822 Milne, on a visit to a newly opened mission in Singapore, was struck down by sickness. He struggled back to Malacca but died four days after arrival on 27 May, and was buried beside his wife who had died in March, 1819, in the Portuguese cemetery on St Paul's Hill (Tyerman and Bennet, 1840: 222). One of his sons, William Charles, went as a missionary to Macao in 1839, and was on the staff of the new L.M.S. mission in Shanghai in 1845.

I had seen Eurasian priests.² I wanted also to see how he taught the children. So at eleven o'clock in the morning I arrived at his house and peered through the window from the outside, not daring to enter. I saw that he was teaching two children and that in appearance and in the clothes that he was wearing he was like the majority of other Englishmen. When he noticed me I greeted him with "Good Morning, Sir," in English; this much only I knew of the English language, having learnt it when I was Mr. Raffles's writer. Hearing this he returned the greeting in like manner. At the same time he came out to me and took me inside the classroom thinking I was good at English. He said to me in English "Where did you learn English?" but I made no reply for I did not understand. A Eurasian child in the room explained to me, and Mr. Milne added "Can you read Malay?" I replied "Yes sir, a little." Then he went into an inner room and fetched two or three volumes of the Gospel printed in the Malay language. When I saw the lettering, I was very surprised, for never before had I seen Malay printed. But after examining it closely I found that I could follow all of it. Only the punctuation marks were wrong, for in Malay manuscript-writing not nearly so many are used.³ I felt some concern when I asked myself "How many styles of Malay writing must there be in this world?" but this I kept to myself. When I asked "Where was this book produced, sir?" Mr. Milne replied "The Dutch produced it. They prepared a translation in Malay." Then I asked him "What book is it?" and Mr. Milne replied "The Gospel" adding "take one of the volumes away with you and read it," I took it and thanked him, and then said "Sir, I should be very pleased to learn English." He replied "Very well I will teach you. But at the same time you shall teach me Malay." "Very well, sir" I agreed, "I will come again tomorrow." I took leave of him and returned home with a light heart; first, because I had obtained the book free; second, because I had found in Mr. Milne a good-natured man courteous in speech; and third, because he had promised to teach me English. Also, I wanted to find out what the book was about and what were the tales told in it, for I took it to be a story-book. At that time I was very keen on reading stories, because of the great benefit I gained from a knowledge of the things they described. In reading them I encountered many new facts about the Malay language. If I found

² *Nasrani* or *Sērani* (=Nazarene) is used by Abdullah for Roman Catholics of mixed ancestry.

³ Punctuation marks. Abdullah uses the Hindustani word *noktah* (=Ar *Nukhtah*), full stop. Its primary meaning was vowel point, but these would certainly not have been introduced in a printed work of recent origin (see note 11 under Chapter 3).

someone with a story-book which I had not read, wheresoever it might be, I tried my hardest to borrow or hire it, and I would read it through to the finish before returning it. Such books provided my usual reading matter, and I gained an understanding of the pauses and the emphasis in writing, and of similar things which with the help of Allah I will describe below in full.

Therefore I advise all my friends who read this book of mine, if you wish to become conversant with the Malay language, to familiarize yourself with Malay literature. For in its stories there will be found many important features of the language the value of which you do not realize at the time. But wait awhile and they may be very useful when you are undertaking any kind of composition or when anyone asks "What is the meaning of this word and how is it used?" Then perhaps you will remember "Yes. I came across the word in such-and-such a manuscript or book, and that its use and meaning are so-and-so." Do not misunderstand what I have said. I am well aware that the subject matter of such books is more often fiction than fact. Certainly I would never counsel you to believe the stories in them. If there is anything which is manifestly untrue in them let it alone and pay no attention to it. You must understand, however, that the author was an educated man, not just an ordinary person, and thus we avail ourselves of his knowledge and erudition. When we have absorbed all his learning then perhaps we can write our own selections from stories which are true in substance and works of exceptional value, especially once we have mastered their meaning. Thus does our work become ever finer and finer, shedding further light on that which is already clear. In striking contrast to this, I have seen many men, clever at reading Malay letters and stories, express great surprise when we ask them "What is the meaning of the word you have read?" and be unable to answer. For they have not learnt and do not understand the derivation and power of words, being content merely to copy others. These are the people who only know how to read. It profits them nothing. They cannot write anything original because of their lack of understanding. They are like a man who has all his tools set out and ready but does not know their purpose and how to use them. Can such a man become a craftsman? If he is compelled to do the work of a craftsman his tools will wear out and the work he attempts to do will be ruined. In the end all his tools are utterly devoured by rust. So it is with literary composition. Words used in the proper place make for euphony and for clarity; used in impossible places they sound awkward, like a rice-pounding rod used to draw out a thorn.

Now I must return to the story about my obtaining a book from Mr. Milne. As soon as I reached my home I sat down and read it, noting carefully all the punctuation marks. After I had read the first page I continued reading with speed all through the night until I had almost finished the book. The letters and the form of the words were proper Malay but the style of writing was not. Furthermore, words were used in impossible places, or put together in impossible combinations. Therefore I found I could not understand the real meaning of the book. It all sounded very clumsy to my ear, and I was inclined to say "This is a book of the white man, and I do not know the white man's language." I was much intrigued as I sat thinking about the book for I was attracted by its printing, the lettering being very fine. Only the words were unintelligible, being neither Malay nor English, and I could not fathom them. I thought "It was useless to produce such a book. I know not how much money and energy has been spent on it but its phraseology makes it valueless." Next day I showed it to my friends in the neighbourhood, and they all tried to read it. Some were quite unable to do so, others could just read at a slow pace. Nobody understood its meaning and they tried to stop me saying "Do not read this book, throw it away; for it is a book of the white man and will spoil us in our faith."⁴ But I replied to them "How do you know this is a white man's book? Is it not written in Malay? How can it spoil us in our faith? What does faith mean? It means that I put my trust in the faith I know. If I should read a thousand books about other religions and pay no heed to them how can they destroy my faith? I have no wish to hear such foolish talk." So they kept quiet.

It was then ten o'clock, and I went to call on Mr. Milne. When I reached his house I wished him good morning and he called me into his room. He asked "Did you read the book last night?" I replied "Yes, sir," and he then asked, "Is the Malay idiom correct?" I replied "No, sir," and he went on "If it is not Malay idiom what idiom is it?" I replied, "I cannot tell, sir. The person who wrote the book alone knows." When my reply had been translated by his interpreter Mr. Milne laughed. Then he went into an inner room and fetched a Malay-English dictionary. He looked up some fifty or sixty words like *Patek*, *Singgasana*, *Sa-sunggoh-nya*, *Sēngsara* and so on. I explained these as best I could while he checked them in the dictionary, comparing them one by one and saying "Correct". I noticed that all the words were correct Malay, as used in Malacca and in all manuscripts and

⁴ *iman kita*. Abdullah uses *iman* in the loose sense of absolute religion (*ugama*) but it has properly the restricted meaning of absolute faith in Allah, an inner conviction as opposed to formal acceptance of religion which is *islam*.

letters. I asked "Who compiled this dictionary?" He replied "A very clever Englishman named Mr. Marsden." Then I said "All these words are correct Malay but the book you gave me yesterday is not correct Malay." He smiled and produced another book, on Malay grammar, also the work of Mr. Marsden. He handed it to me and told me to read a specimen letter which was in it. I read it and then he asked "Is that correct Malay?" I replied "That is correct Malay writing, sir." He smiled and thought for a moment, then said "Please write a letter. I would like to show it to a certain gentleman who understands Malay." I said, "Certainly, sir." He gave me pen, ink and paper and I wrote as follows "Of a truth whosoever wishes to learn the languages of other races must first understand his own mother tongue, so that the language which he wishes to learn may be of value to him." Mr. Milne took the letter when I had finished it saying "Be sure and come back to-morrow."

I went again at ten o'clock the next day. When I arrived at the door Mr. Milne said "Good morning" and told me to come in. He said "Your name is Abdullah?" I replied "Yes, sir," and he went on, "And you worked for Mr. Raffles?" I replied "That is so sir." Then he said laughing, "You can be my teacher. An Englishman has told me that you are well fitted to be a teacher of Malay." Then I replied. "Sir, I am an ignorant person, only a lad of no education. How then shall I be your teacher? Because for a man to be a teacher is no easy matter. Five things are necessary, First, the teacher must be learned. Second, he must not boast about himself because of his knowledge. Third, he must be patient with the mistakes and stupidity of others, bearing with their difficulties. Fourth, he must know each of the words he teaches, its derivation and how it is used. Fifth, he must be diligent and hard-working. If these conditions are not fulfilled he cannot become a teacher." Then Mr. Milne replied "Very well. For some time I have wanted to find a teacher, because I want to learn Malay. Three Malays have come here asking to be taken on as teachers. So I asked about several words taken from this book and the reply was "This is not Malay, it is the white men's language." Yet another man came the next day wanting to be my teacher. I asked him "Have you learnt the Malay language?" to which he replied "How should I learn it sir, for it is my own language. I have never before heard of a man learning Malay." So I said "If you have not learnt it how can you teach it to other men?" He made no reply but went away without saying good-bye to me, for my words had angered him. Then a few days ago came one of the older generation wishing to be my teacher. He said that for decades past he had had experience as a teacher. Him I

asked "Enche' Guru, how many sounds are there in the Malay language?" He replied "Who can count them, sir. There are thousands and thousands of them." I laughed to hear such utter foolishness and said "How can you expect to be a teacher? You do not know the sounds of the Malay language." At this he was angry and said "My hair has already turned white but never have I heard anyone ask about Malay sounds." Then he went home. And now I am going to ask the same question of you. How many sounds are there in the Malay language?" I replied "You, sir, have already asked an old man this and he could not answer. I am a mere child. How should I know?" Mr. Milne said "Try to think." So I said "I believe there are three sounds in Malay, sir." He asked "What are they?" and I replied "Upper, Lower, and Frontal." He said "What does that mean?", and I replied "These are the names of the vowel signs in Arabic and in the Koran. "Upper", a mark above the letter, is *Fathah*: "Lower", a mark below, is *Kasrah*. And "Frontal", a mark in front, is *Dhammah*. But because Malay does not employ these Arabic vowel points *Fathah* has been changed into *Alif*, *Kasrah* has become *Ya* and *Dhammah* has become *Wau*, making the sounds a, i, u."⁴ He said "That is right." That very day he made me a promise saying "Come here daily and teach me from ten until one o'clock. At the same time I will teach you to speak and read English, and will pay you a salary of ten dollars." I replied "Very well, sir." He went on to say "In a few days many friends of mine will arrive, all of them anxious to learn Malay. I shall be very glad if you know some English which will make it easier for them to learn Malay, and help us in our studies together."

I wrote down the letters of the Arabic alphabet that day and Mr. Milne started learning them. To me he gave a book called a "Spelling Book," and from it he taught me English letters and their sounds. This was our daily procedure, I teaching him and then he me. After three or four months he was able to recognize words and could read a little although not as yet with much fluency. I too could use some of the letters to spell words. Mr. Milne then started to learn the Cantonese dialect of Chinese. A Chinese teacher had just come. His name was Lee Sin Sang, a friend of mine. He was very keen to learn

⁴ See Chapter 3 (page 56 and note 11). Milne's question was: *Ada berapa bunyi dalam bahasa Melayu?* by which he apparently meant, How many vowel sounds are there in Malay? *In how many different ways are the vowel sounds of the Malay language expressed in writing?* Abdullah replies by quoting the three vowel signs which the Arabic language employs to represent short vowel sounds. They are followed by *aliph*, *ya* and *wau* in Arabic to represent the vowel sounds in stressed syllables. But the Malay language uses these three letters to represent seven or eight different vowel sounds.

Malay while I wished to learn Chinese. So every day I taught him and he taught me, following the Malay proverb "Take a drink of water while you are diving," for in my opinion knowledge is better than ignorance. Many people tried to stop me saying "What is the good of learning that heathen language?"⁶ But to all this I attached no importance, for I knew that they were stupid people. If I did not learn while I was young, what should I do when I was older? I would certainly regret my omission.

Mr. Milne's bearing and manner, I noticed, showed him to be a man of fine character. He said anything he had to say in a gentle voice with a kind look on his face. Even when he was angry his manner remained pleasant. Moreover he was by nature very persevering in his studies, and in committing words to memory. If I taught him something one month and asked him a question on it the next, he would give a correct answer.

During the time I was thus occupied in teaching and learning a certain missionary Mr. Thomsen came from Batavia, bringing his wife with him. He lived at the back of Mr. Milne's house. One day Mr. Milne said to me "There is a newly arrived missionary who is anxious to learn Malay. I have told him that I have a teacher for him. Please go and call on him at four o'clock for he wishes to see you." I said "Very well sir." At four o'clock I arrived, and Mr. Thomsen called me upstairs and told me to sit down saying "You are Mr. Milne's teacher?" I replied, "Yes sir." Then he said "If you are able to teach me I wish to learn Malay," and I replied: "I do not know, sir, but if you want to learn Malay I will try to teach you." He laughed saying "I have already heard of you by name, for a man in Batavia spoke of you. Your name is Abdullah." I replied "Yes sir." He asked "Did you work for Mr. Raffles?" and I replied "I did sir." He went on "Did he give you a letter?" I replied "Yes sir." He said: "Please bring the letter tomorrow. I would like to see it." I replied "Certainly sir." Then I said good-bye and went back to Mr. Milne. As I walked along I was occupied with my thoughts. For Mr. Thomsen's pronunciation sounded like that of Dutchman. Every word he uttered was with such an accent. I thought "If this white man wishes to learn Malay it will certainly be hard to correct his accent and will take some time to accomplish, for he pronounces his words with difficulty. All these thoughts I kept to myself, but in my opinion this man was not an Englishman. When I joined Mr. Milne he said "Have you met Mr. Thomsen?" I replied "Yes, sir." Then he asked "What did he say?",

⁶ *bahasa kafir*, i.e. the language spoken by those who do not accept the Prophet's message: meaning any language not written in the Arabic script.

I passed on to him everything Mr Thomsen had said. Then Mr. Milne said "Good, go to him to-morrow." Then I asked "What sort of man is he, sir?" He replied "English, why do you ask?" I said "I believe he is not English" and he asked "How do you know?" I replied "Because of his accent one can recognize that he is not English." Mr. Milne laughed saying "The Malays are good at knowing Englishmen from other races," and added "True, he is not English. He is German." I was surprised to hear this for never in my life before had I heard of a race called the Germans. I asked: "Eurasians, sir?" Mr. Milne answered "No. They are also Europeans, the name of a certain race of people." Then I said "It may be very difficult for him to learn Malay sir, for his accent makes him pronounce all words with difficulty." But Mr. Milne replied "That doesn't matter. Every one is like that to start with."

The next day at ten o'clock I took the letter given me by Mr. Raffles to Mr. Thomsen. When he had read it he showed it to his wife who read it and smiled. Then he said "You can become my teacher for Mr. Milne is learning Chinese and has no time left for Malay. But I wish to learn Malay only until I become proficient." I smiled

¹ Claudius Henry Thomsen had spent some years in the Dutch East Indies before joining Milne in September, 1815, to take charge of the Malay side of the Mission. In spite of their early quarrels he and Abdullah became firm friends and they went to Singapore together. Thomsen later had a house in Bras Basah Road on the site where the L.M.S. chapel afterwards stood, in which he opened a small school for locally born children. He was one of the subscribers to the fund for the Singapore Institution, and was authorised by the trustees to engage Malay teachers for the new school (Lady Raffles, 1830: 552-3 & App. 33-4). The Straits Settlements Records contain several references to Thomsen in Singapore in 1822-3. Abdullah's statement (page 131) that after Milne's death he became temporary Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College is not confirmed from any other source. We do, however, know that he went to England for eight months to take home his invalid wife, but this was at the end of 1816. She died at sea on 15 February, 1817 (*Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, February, 1818). Possibly he acted as Principal for a short time in 1822, before Collie's arrival. Lovett does not mention his doing so, but it seems that Thomsen was not in Singapore for part of 1822. Lovett says that he first went to Singapore in that year, which might be correct (though it conflicts with Abdullah's "about four months" after the founding of the Settlement), and that he left the East altogether in 1834 (1899: 743). Unfortunately Lovett's dates are not always reliable, and his evidence on this point is no better than Abdullah's.

Abdullah does not tell us what became of his friend after their ways parted in Singapore. Apart from brief references on pages 282 and 287, Thomsen is mentioned by name for the last time in Chapter 20 when he advised Abdullah, who was working for him in a mission school, to face a minor surgical operation (see pages 201-2). The episode may be dated about 1826, and certainly before 1828. Thomsen seems to have had no dealings with the new missionaries Stronach, North, Keasberry and others for whom Abdullah worked after 1830.

At the end of 1822 Thomsen opened a farm school at Telok Belanga where he attempted to teach Malay boys the dignity of manual labour, but according to J. T. Thomson (1874: 124) it was not a success, and he lost nearly \$15,000 on it. In 1835 the land was bought by a Hokien named Yeo Hood Ng, and in Thomson's map of 1849 it appears as "Hodeen's Field." It was situated between Bukit Chérmin and the Pasir Panjang Road.

when I heard his words and he went on "This Malay language is very easy to learn and in two months' time I shall have become very good at it." Whenever he spoke there was one word of Malay to ten of English, and one of his men explained his meaning to me. He seemed to me to have a fixed notion that everything was easy and he was quite unaware that to correct his speech even two years would be insufficient time. I replied "If you become proficient in as little as three months' time I shall be very pleased, for I have a good reputation. But wait until I have told Mr. Milne. I will do whatever he says." I said good-bye and then returned to Mr. Milne to whom I related all that we had said. He told me "Good, come and teach me daily, perhaps for an hour or two, then go and teach Mr. Thomsen, and he can teach you English. For he wishes to learn Malay. I am learning Chinese and so have not much time for Malay. He can pay you fifteen dollars and I will pay you five dollars." I replied "Very well sir." So every day I used to go and teach Mr. Thomsen and Mr. Milne.

I noticed that there was a great difference between the attitude of Mr. Milne and that of Mr. Thomsen. Mr. Milne would accept my correction of any mistake of his, whether in wording, spelling, pronunciation or reading, and wanted to learn how the words are used. But Mr. Thomsen would not. He used to argue saying "That is wrong, this is right," sometimes to the point of becoming annoyed. His conduct was, as the Malays say, like rain ascending into the sky again, as if he wanted to instruct me. I was amazed to see a man behaving as if he had constituted himself the only authority and saying, "This dictionary is wrong." He seized on the three vowels *alif*, *wau* and *ya* and insisted on putting all these three letters into all his words, saying that the Malays were wrong when frequently they left them out. For instance in the word *jikalau* he would put in *ya* to make جيكالو : in *dengan* he would put an *aliph* making

داغن : *mengtahui* he spelt مغتاھوي : *tinggal* تېنگکل : *kebajikan*

کباچیکان : *kejahatan* کجهتان : *merdeheka* مردھیکا : *taalok*

تعلوق : *zina* زینا : *kerja* کرجا and so on. I need not elaborate further in this book. He did not understand the force of the three vowels nor the rules governing their use in Arabic. They are called lengthened vowels, and would form words thus:— حکالو

and ملاوینکن and دآشن and . If this were done it would be necessary to use the vowel-lengthening sign or j in all Malay words, for

this is the rule in Arabic grammar.* Furthermore he separated the letters in places where they should be joined and joined them in places where they should be separated. Verily, I thought, he does not wish to learn the Malay language but to ruin it. He told me to write in this way but I would not do so for it was offensive to my learning and intelligence. He ordered me peremptorily to do so and I replied, "It is not correct, sir, and I am unwilling to write thus. You must look for someone else." He grew more and more angry saying, "How do you expect to earn your pay if you do not do as I tell you?" I answered him "Sir, I do not receive my pay to make mistakes. If in the future anyone should see them he is bound to say that I am a stupid teacher, knowing nothing. Therefore I am afraid that my reputation will suffer. Please find yourself another teacher." And I said good-bye and went home.

In my absence at home Mr. Thomsen went to Mr Milne and said to him "I told Abdullah to do some writing but he left. He refuses to do it." Next day when I arrived to teach Mr. Milne he said to me. "Why did you not do as Mr. Thomsen told you yesterday? You have stopped working for him." When I heard what Mr. Milne said, my temper was roused, and I replied "Since the time I began to teach you has there even been a single argument between us, or have I ever run counter to any of your instructions, sir? Mr. Thomsen wishes to be a teacher of the Malay language, and also wants to introduce a new scheme. He wants to discard all the canons of Malay writing and to adopt a different way of spelling to suit his own ideas." Then Mr. Milne said, "Have I not said before that you should be a little patient?" I replied "How can I give in to him? He wants to alter all Malay writing. Please go yourself and compare my writing with that of the dictionary and see whether it is different or the same." So Mr. Milne went to Mr. Thomsen's house to compare the writing. He came back shortly afterwards smiling and said "Yes, your writing is the same but Mr. Thomsen's adds many extra letters. Mr. Thomsen said that the dictionary is incorrect. It follows methods of Malay spelling which are wrong." I replied, "Mr. Marsden's ability is now well known, and he it was who compiled the dictionary which is used in all Malay countries. If the dictionary is declared to be wrong how much more must I myself be wrong? In that case Mr. Thomsen had better find a really clever man to teach him." Mr. Milne said, "Let

* Even this would produce a strange hybrid. Abdullah applies the rules for the spelling of Arabic, a flexional language with a tri-literal root in all words, to an isolating language in which such rules can have no relevance. In Malay the only spelling is that of the accepted usage, and of the ten examples given by Abdullah the last three are correct according to modern ideas.

him try to find another man. Then later he will think better of it." During the six days of my absence four or five people applied to be Mr. Thomsen's teacher. All of them he catechised and showed my writing, telling them to read it to him and asking "Are his words, his spelling and his letter-joining correct?" They all said yes. Then he showed them his own work, but none of them could read it. They all asked, "What country possesses this kind of writing?" He said "In this writing the letters are correct. What I showed you just now is wrong." Some teachers stayed for six days, others for a fortnight, leaving one after another.

Mr. Milne had obtained a piece of land and a house. The land lay just outside the Tranquerah Gate. Originally it had been the property of a former harbourmaster of Malacca named Mr. Alam. In his absence Mr. Alam had given power of attorney to Tambi Ahmad Sahib, a member of the Tamil community who was well-known in Malacca. The place was where the Anglo-Chinese College now stands. Mr. Milne had negotiated for and bought some land at Ujong Pasir. This he exchanged for the piece of land mentioned above.⁹ The new land was a strip about seventy yards broad and very long, extending to the river. But the house was an old one. Mr. Milne moved there from his quarters in the Fort. The twin brothers William and Robert were very intelligent for their age. They and the girl named Celia made up Mr. Milne's three children. Every day I used to go to teach them. The twins were especially friendly towards me and every day I used to take them to my house where they sometimes had a meal. So they became fond of me and I also became fond of them.

Mrs. Milne was a fine woman, good at making friends, well-mannered, pleasant-looking, and generous to the poor. She employed a Chinese woman to mend her own and her children's clothes. One day this Chinese woman came to her and said "Yesterday my child was attacked and nearly killed by a *puntianak* and a *polong*." Mrs. Milne did not know the words *puntianak* and *polong*, and however hard the woman tried to make her meaning clear by gesticulating with her hands and by word of mouth still Mrs. Milne did not understand. So they both came to the room where I was writing and asked "What is meant by a *puntianak* and a *polong*?" I laughed and explained clearly to Mr. Milne the names of all the ghosts believed in by Chinese and Malays who are ignorant and superstitious, legacies from the time of our forefathers which have persisted down to the present day. I know

⁹ Actually this plot of land, which was on the slopes of St John's Hill, and too far away from the town to be convenient for a school, had been granted by the Government of Malacca in May, 1815 (see note 38).

not how many there may be. Their number I am unable to say. Their full nature I cannot explain. But I will mention them briefly:¹⁰ devils,¹¹ familiar spirits, vampires, birthspirits,¹² jinns, ghost-cricket,¹³ the Spirit of the Sunset, the Spectre Huntsman,¹⁴ forest gnomes, were-tigers,¹⁵ graveyard spectres,¹⁶ spirit-birds, ogres and cannibal giants,¹⁷ the rice bogey,¹⁸ apparitions, jumping fiends, the ghosts of murdered people, birds of ill omen,¹⁹ elementals, disease-bringing

¹⁰ Abdullah's list of the terms used in the very extensive demonology of Malaya requires a word of introduction. Historians recognize three phases in the cultural development of the Malay people: (1) the period of primitive paganism, of beliefs in the spirits of the sea, mountains, trees etc, (2) the period of Indian influence, which introduced the mythology of the Hindus, (3) the period of Islamic influence which added jinns, whose existence the Koran admits, the four Archangels and various prophets. But at best this is a definitive classification of cultural influences that became interwoven.

¹¹ *hantu shaitan*; satans, fiends of hell, according to Muslim beliefs. The Devil himself is *Iblis*.

¹² *pénanggalan* (from *tanggal*, that which has become detached) described by Clifford (1897: 231), Bird (1883: 354) and others as the wraith of a woman who has died in childbirth. It flies through the night, a grisly head with viscera trailing behind it, to torment children. Abdullah identifies it with the *puntianak*.

¹³ *pélésit*, believed to appear as a cricket or grasshopper, which sucks the blood of a pregnant woman (see Wilkinson, 1906: 31). Swettenham says that it is to be identified with the *bajang* (1895: 197), a familiar spirit which by an appropriate ritual can be enslaved to do its master's bidding. See also note 19, below.

¹⁴ *hantu pemburu*. The story of the Spectre Huntsman, who rides through the forest with his face turned upwards to the sky, spear in hand and dogs at his heels, is known throughout Malaysia. According to one account anyone who hears his challenge will die (Winstedt, 1951: 34). See Clifford's story, *Alone: Early days in Borneo* (1926: 242-43).

¹⁵ (*harimau*) *jadi-jadian*. Were-tigers are mentioned by de Eredia (Mills, 1930: 41), and the reis the well-known story of the Dato Paroi who commands an army of were-tigers in Nègri Sèmbilan (Winstedt, 1924: 269). The power of transforming themselves at will into were-tigers is ascribed to the men of Korinchi, a district round Mt Dempo, in Sumatra. The shaman, or medicine man, often claims to be in league with a tiger-familiar. See the *Were-tiger* in Swettenham's *Malay Sketches* (1895: 62-77).

¹⁶ *hantu bungkus*, an evil spirit which haunts graveyards and is so tied up by its funeral-wrappings that it can only move by rolling over and over on the ground. *bota*, a forest demon that deludes hunters with hallucinations of gorgeous palaces and lovely female forms (Maxwell, 1907: 147).

¹⁷ *gér-gasi*, half-human forest spirits of Hindu mythology represented in Malay folklore as tusked ogres that feed on human flesh. *raksasa*, a race of cannibal giants ruled over by Ravana, according to the Indian Puranas. A tribe of *raksasa* are mentioned in the Kèdah Annals (*Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*) which tell of Raja Bèrsiong, a king of Kèdah who grew tusks and became a *raksasa*. See also Skeat, *JMBRAS*, 1953: 142.

¹⁸ *Nenek Kèbayan* (= *Nenek Kèmang*), pictured as an old woman with bent back and haggard face who sows weeds in the rice-fields.

¹⁹ *bajang*, the long-clawed one, whose claw marks are seen on the thighs of women after childbirth (Wilkinson, 1932: 124). According to Skeat (1900: 321) it may take the form of a *musang*, and is sometimes spoken of as the female counterpart to another vampire-spirit, the *lansuir*.

ghosts, scavenging ghosts, *afrit*,²⁰ imps, each with its appropriate means of exorcism. There are also a great many occult arts the details of which I cannot remember, such as magic formulae to bring courage and subdue enemies, love philtres,²¹ invulnerability,²² divination,²³ sorcery,²⁴ rendering a person invisible,²⁵ for blunting the weapons of one's enemies, or for casting spells on them; charms to induce oblivion or to summon up the fighting spirit, and I know not how many more like these. All these magic arts have their devotees, some with their own lodges and others with their own practitioners who recognize a particular kind of sickness and the cure for it. Each of them can work some special mischief on mankind.

When Mr. Milne heard this he was greatly surprised and said "You know all about these beliefs?" I replied "Sir, all these things if I were to explain them would take up a large book. But its contents would be futile and altogether useless. Intelligent men do not wish to hear of such things, thinking them ridiculous." Then he said "Very well. Tell me only about birth-spirits. I would like to hear about them. I will write your account in English so that white men shall know how misguided are those that put their faith in them." Then I drew a picture of a woman, only her head and neck with entrails trailing behind. Mr. Milne told a Chinese to cut out the picture for a printing block and asked that the story would be put in a magazine called the *Anglo-Chinese Gleaner*.²⁶ I said "Sir, listen to the story of the birth-spirit. Originally it was a woman who practised the art of the Devil

²⁰ *afrit*, infidel jinns regarded by Muslims as very evil, and associated with the powers of darkness. See Lane, "Modern Egyptians," (Vol. 1: 285), and the Koran, Sura 27, verse 39.

²¹ *pengaseh*, consisting of scraps of often meaningless writing wrapped up and worn on the person. Winstedt mentions a love charm made by rubbing musk on a girl's handkerchief (1939: 130), and Rentse quotes a number of others from Kelantan (1931: 146-57).

²² A period of ascetic abstinence was thought to be a necessary preliminary to immunity against enemy attack: see Clifford's comments on a Pahang chief who claimed this power (1899: 176). Bird mentions a stick with a snake-mark on it, which was believed to make its possessor invulnerable and invisible (1883: 228-9).

²³ *késaktian*, supernatural power to work miracles. *Sakit* was an attribute of the Hindu gods. Malay saktism survives in *seance* performances like the *main puteri* of Kelantan.

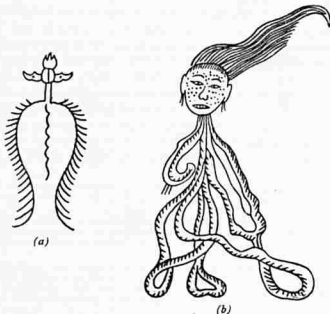
²⁴ *tuju*, sympathetic magic; spell-casting by pointing out the victim, as in piercing a wax figure of him: see Skeat (1900: 556-79).

²⁵ *halimunan*. Malay literature contains many references to the power of making oneself invisible, e.g. the Baghdad saint who was given a magic wand by the Devil (Winstedt, 1938: 34-5). The attainment of invisibility is one of the aims of the *Suluk* ceremony of Aceh (Archer, 1937: 103).

²⁶ The magazine produced at the Anglo-Chinese College was called the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, and contained contributions by the missionaries on a variety of topics. Begbie (1834: 460-64) says that the only account he had seen of the *pénanggalan* and of the *polong* were found in the second volume of the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*,

in whom she believed and to whom she devoted herself day and night; until in fulfilment of her promise to her teacher that she would achieve the power of flight her neck became detached, hovering with her entrails trailing behind, while her body remained where it was. Wherever there were people whom she wished to torment her head and entrails flew through the air on her way to suck the blood of those people. Those whose blood was sucked died. Drops of blood and water fell from her entrails, and if they touched a man he was afflicted with a severe illness in which his body wasted away: The birth-spirit

at pages 73 and 139, in two papers, signed *Sianu* (Anybody). In a footnote he mentions his belief that this was the pen name of Thomsen who had sent his communications from Singapore, although Abdullah leads us to suppose that Milne wrote it, or at last had a large hand in its publication (see page 118). The authorship



Malay demons: illustrations from Sianu's notes in the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, Volume 2. (a), the polong (April, 1819: 73), and (b), the penanggalan (July, 1819: 140). The latter was apparently drawn by Abdullah to illustrate the text in the magazine (see Introduction, this journal, p. 11, above).

and date of the articles on Malay demonology would be of interest in so far as they might throw some light on the movements of the two Malacca missionaries to Singapore, a point on which Abdullah is very vague.

Begbie (1834: 450-57) gives abridged versions of the articles on the *penanggalan* and the *polong*. Although they are in substantial agreement with what Abdullah says here, they contain some material not mentioned by Abdullah, who presumably was not the missionaries' only source of information.

likes to drink the blood of a woman with child. This is the reason for hanging *jeruju* leaves²⁷ on the doors and windows of houses where a woman is confined, or placing thorns round the place where a woman is in labour, to prevent the birth-spirit coming in to drink her blood. For they say the birth-spirit is afraid of thorns on which its entrails may catch. There is a story that a birth-spirit once came to the house of a certain woman in the middle of the night wishing to drink her blood. But its entrails caught on some thorns near the fence, and there it remained until daybreak. When people saw the birth-spirit they killed it. In the house of a person who turns into a birth-spirit there is kept a basin or jar of vinegar which it uses to bottle its entrails. When the entrails leave the body they swell up and cannot go back again. After they have been bottled in vinegar they shrink and then can return into the body. There are many people who have seen a birth-spirit flying, with its entrails streaming behind it. At night the entrails glow like fireflies. This is the story of the birth-spirit as I have heard it from old men. But I do not believe a word of it. May Allah discountenance such evil.

They say that the familiar spirit is brought into being by taking the blood of a murdered person and putting it in a bottle.²⁸ It is blessed and incantations, of what kind I know not, are read over it following a set prescription. Some say that it is invoked for seven days, others for twice this period, until it makes a noise inside the bottle like a young bird. Then the owner cuts his finger and inserts it into the bottle where it is sucked by the spirit. A man who so treats the spirit becomes its father, or if a woman its mother. Every day he gives his blood to it to suck. The object in doing this is to gain the spirit's favour. For instance if the man is angry with someone he orders the spirit to go and possess him, that is to say to bring a sickness on him. Or if one man has a grievance against another he goes secretly to the house of a man who keeps a familiar spirit and gives him a certain sum of money and asks him to loose the spirit. This is the purpose for which it is kept. Those tormented by the spirit, whether young girls or adult women or men, scream incessantly not knowing what they are doing. They tear off and cast away their clothes, biting people and hitting out blindly at them. Some do all sorts of irresponsible things.

²⁷ *jēruju*, (*Acanthus ebracteatus*), a plant with white flowers and hard, prickly leaves like holly.

²⁸ *polong*, a familiar spirit pictured by Malay superstition as a bottle-imp fed on blood by its owner who uses it to persecute his enemies. See Bird (1883: 354), and Clifford's story of a Sultan of Perak who was afflicted by a *polong* (1913: 62-80). It is often identified with the *pēlenit* (note 13, above), which Skeat says is its plaything (1900: 329).

So men skilled in the art of healing are summoned. They come. Some recite incantations above the sick man's head, some squeeze his thumbs and apply ointment. When the right medicine is found words come to the sick man's lips 'Let me alone, I want to go home'. The medicine man replies, 'I will not let you go unless you tell me who sent you here and for what reason you have come and who is your mother and who is your father.' Sometimes the spirit is silent, not wishing to admit and declare who its parents are. Sometimes it confesses, saying 'Let me go. My father's name is So-and-So. He lives in such-and-such a village, and my mother's name is So-and-So. The reason I came here is that someone went to my parents asking help and such-and-such a sum of money was given because they had a grievance against this man', or any other reasons it may choose. Sometimes it tells lies, giving fictitious names because it wants to conceal the names of its parents. When they have discovered the identity of the person who sent it and his reasons for sending it, it is allowed to go, and forthwith the sick man recovers consciousness and is in his right mind again; although he is racked by the sickness and his body is weary. In some cases, on the other hand, when a familiar spirit persecutes a man it will not confess. The afflicted man screams incessantly in his pain for a day or two. Then he dies. After he is dead masses of clotted blood come out of his mouth and his whole body turns a livid blue colour."

Then Mr. Milne replied "Let me put the story of the birth-spirit into English and I will include it in 'The Gleaner'," and he added smiling, "Very foolish are those who believe in such things."

There are many races in these parts who believe in all kinds of impossible things and who waste much money in paying men to perform stupid and useless ceremonies. Everyone cherishes his own particular wisdom. Some hope for power to win people's affections, some to will them into obeying their commands, some to captivate women, some to kill their enemies. Once I believed such things myself, being afraid of them, because from my youth up I had heard of these matters and people tried to frighten me. But they are all old wives' tales. Since I have gained knowledge and a little wisdom and have studied books, and especially since I have had occasion to associate myself with intelligent people like the white men, I have known for certain that all these beliefs are groundless and nothing more than sheer deceit.

In my opinion nobody should place any confidence whatever in the superstitions of these foolish and ignorant men, who believe in familiar spirits and birth-spirits and other things I have mentioned. For such

things are the creations of men unfaithful to Allah and the Prophet, who do not understand the ways of Allah and that it is He alone who has power over everything that can bring good and evil. If we believe that any other being has power to do anything at all then certainly such a being cannot come of Allah, and all his works are deceitful and wicked. Such people grope this way and that, believing this, believing that, like a blind man who has lost his stick. Indeed a very long time ago I myself dabbled several times in such things, paying a fair sum of money and applying myself diligently to finding out the truth about the mysteries I have mentioned. Even when I was thoroughly familiar with the ritual of these arts I never experienced anything real and clear enough to secure my conviction. In a thousand trials one might produce a positive result; and this, not because of the power of devils but because of the credulous and trusting nature of those taking part, Allah opening the way for their desires to be granted. But of a truth I found that the rites they performed were nothing more than idolatry, and we know indeed that idols are made of earth and stone, wood, gold or silver which have no power over mankind for good or evil. It is because of the faith and credulity of the worshippers that Allah opens a way for their desires to be granted, while these foolish people suppose that it is the work of idols. So it is with all the ghosts and demons already mentioned. I found in them fraud, deceit, trickery, legerdemain. Therefore I make bold to swear in the name of Allah "None of this is true, only the most patent wickedness in this world and in the world to come." Men who hold to these practices and act in this way and approve of such things will be judged like those who make Allah into two gods. For truly it is none other than Allah who can bring good or evil, life or death, happiness or misery to His servants. If there were any other more powerful than He the world and all that is in it would immediately perish.

Now I must return to the affairs of Mr. Milne. A few days after he moved to his new house, Mr. Thomsen joined him. But Mr. Thomsen still had no teacher, for nobody dared go near him when they heard of his behaviour. So he went to Mr. Milne and asked that I should teach him. As he was coming down from the verandah he met me on the stairs and greeted me. I at once returned his greeting and he said "Are you angry with me?" I said, "No sir. Are you well?", to which he replied "Yes." When I met Mr. Milne he said "Mr. Thomsen has just left, he has asked me if you will go back and be his teacher." I replied "Sir, have all the expert teachers in the Settlement already been called upon by him? Why does he now ask for me? Most fervently

I ask your pardon, sir, I am much afraid that it would mean daily arguments." Mr. Milne replied "I have already spoken to him about it, and he says he had now realized his fault and will accept what you say." I replied "Sir, make him promise firmly that he will not be the judge of my own language. Whatever I teach him let him follow it. Then if I teach wrongly I will take any blame." All these words of mine Mr. Milne wrote in a letter. He said "Take this to Mr. Thomsen in his room." So I took the letter to Mr. Thomsen, and when he had read it he said "Come and be my teacher again, I will accept whatever you believe is correct." I replied "Very well as long as you will not quarrel with me as you did before. I cannot bear it," and he said "Very well."

From that day onwards I taught Mr. Thomsen again for a long time, some six or seven years. I noticed his behaviour was greatly changed from what it had been before. Yet in spite of the change he was very slow in learning Malay idiom, and a trace of his original accent still persisted. When he made a translation from English into Malay he was in the habit of following English idiom so that it was only a partial translation from English into Malay and the construction sounded very strange in the Malay language. Several times I intervened to stop him doing this, but still he was unable to find the right idiom. This alone formed my daily task, translating from English into Malay and from Malay into English and correcting Mr. Thomsen's mistakes in speech and in writing. When he saw that he had made a large number of mistakes he would just explain to me the meaning and I would put it into Malay.

One day he said to me "Please make lists of Malay words and I will supply English equivalents. We can compile a Malay and English word-book which will be a great help to Englishmen wishing to learn Malay and to Malays wishing to learn English." I said "Very well, sir" and applied myself to finding words and arranging them under various headings, such as the sky, the earth, the moon, the sun and so on, until about a month later I had listed all the words we wanted, some two thousand of them, each under its appropriate heading and section. I showed them to Mr. Thomsen and he was very pleased saying, "This is what I wanted." Then he entered the English equivalents. The reason for my taking such trouble over this word-book was that I wanted to learn English. The book was known in English as a Vocabulary. It was in manuscript only, not in printed form, for at that time the printing-press had not yet reached Malacca. In fact I had never seen one.

A few days after Mr. Milne had moved house Dr. Morrison came to Malacca and lived with him.²⁹ Every day morning and evening Dr. Morrison learned the Chinese language and its written characters, for which he used a Chinese plume. There was not, I think, a single white man at that time more accomplished in the Chinese language and calligraphy than Dr. Morrison. Mr. Milne took lessons from him. Incongruously, he wore English dress. But if he had worn Chinese costume no one would have recognized him for a white man. The reason I say this is that in his behaviour, speech, habits and mannerisms, and the things in his room, he was just like a Chinese man. I was surprised to see how a man can grow into the part in life which he is accustomed to assume. Because of this, a man who is wise enough to associate himself with all that is best in life will assuredly acquire virtue. May it be his everlasting possession. Dr. Morrison's character I saw to be that of an upright man, clever at gaining people's confidence. Whenever he spoke it was in a gentle voice and he gave much good advice. From him I learnt much about the English language and the art of translation from one language to another. Under him I studied the Gospel of St. Matthew in English with the aid of a commentary. He told me that originally the Gospel had been written in the Hebrew language and that many years afterwards it had been translated into English. Much of its meaning was lost in English, for

²⁹ This was Dr Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China. Born in 1782 he was ordained and went to Macao in 1807. There within twelve months, despite the difficulties already mentioned (note 1), he had opened the first Protestant mission school in China. In 1809 he took on the duties of translator to the East India Company. The merchants of Macao, afraid of the harm which the propagation of his Christian ideals might do to their trade, treated him with coldness and suspicion. The Directors, however, printed at the Company's expense his *magnum opus*, a Chinese dictionary on which he worked for six years. Between 1815 and 1819, he collaborated with Milne on a Chinese translation of the Old Testament. He also published many religious tracts and a travel book, printed by Milne at the Ultra-Ganges Mission press in Malacca (Horne 1894: 134-5). To Morrison's energy and drive, the Anglo-Chinese College largely owed its inception.

In 1820 he began corresponding with Raffles about the projected Singapore Institution, advising strongly that the Anglo-Chinese College should be amalgamated with it. This idea was eventually dropped, in spite of a memorandum supporting it from Morrison, who visited Singapore in March 1823, which was read out at the opening of the Institution (see note 1, under Chapter 15). Later in 1823 Morrison spent two or three months on a visit to the Anglo-Chinese College, and it was then that Abdullah met him. From 1824 to 1826 he was in England recruiting missionaries for the Far East and again in personal contact with Raffles. Like Sir Stamford Raffles he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. On his way back to China, Morrison stopped at Singapore but could do little to revive interest in the Singapore Institution on which, during Crawford's residency, all work had been stopped (see note 3, under Chapter 15).

For the next eight years in Canton Morrison had to face increasing hostility from Chinese officials. In 1833 there was a rising of the Catholics against him, during which all his publications and his printing press were destroyed. He died in June 1834. His eldest son John Robert, born in Canton in 1814, became Colonial Secretary of the new Colony of Hongkong in 1842.

the English language was not so rich as Hebrew in words to express its meaning. For this reason, he said, anyone wishing to translate something into any other language should first learn the language in which it was originally written. If not there would certainly be much controversy and difference of opinion among scholars of the language. The meaning of most of the English words which are of special interest in books Dr. Morrison explained to me.

Some days later another missionary came, named Mr. Slater:³⁰ he had white hair and pale eyes. A little later still came yet another missionary named Mr. Ince,³¹ a young man, good-looking and very clever. He it was who brought with him a certain kind of machine which is made by scientists in Europe. It had many parts. There was a glass wheel in which a liquid was placed. Then it was rotated very fast. If we touched the wheel while it was spinning sparks jumped out of our hands. Mr. Ince brought out two brass chains which he fixed to the wheel. Then he told men and the Chinese teacher Lee Sin Sang to hold the chains firmly our hands. We did not know what was going to happen. I thought he was simply asking us to help him. Suddenly I jumped, feeling as if I were going to faint. I was so frightened that I subsided onto the floor because my limbs felt weak. In my excitement I really thought I was going to die. If I had known what would happen a reward of a hundred dollars would not have induced me to touch that chain. As for the Chinese teacher, words fail me. He almost collapsed and was speechless, his face as pale as that of a corpse. Mr. Milne and Mr. Ince laughed heartily to see us both in this state, and said "Do not be afraid. There is nothing to worry about. This is a kind of medicine. The power which drives the machine is called in English electricity."³²

Mr. Ince also took some very small white pebbles, the size of particles of gravel, and placed them in a flame with a hot blast. They melted to form a liquid like gruel. Then he poured out the liquid to form a vitreous flux in any shape he liked. As for Mr. Ince's school work he was told by Mr. Milne to teach the class conversation, reading and writing. With him I studied English grammar.

³⁰ John Slater went to Malacca about April 1818, but left a year later to open a mission in Batavia. He left the East in 1823.

³¹ John Ince went to Malacca at the beginning of 1818, but soon left for Penang where he worked with Beighton (note 34, below). He died in Penang in 1825.

³² The machine was some kind of "doubler", perhaps an improvement on Nicholson's doubler of 1787. Abdullah's note of its use for medical purposes is interesting. Modern electrotherapy depends on the induction coil, which was not invented until thirty years later.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Medhurst²³ arrived with his wife and his step-son named George. His wife was not a European but a half-caste from Bengal or from southern India. I realized this because of her proficiency in speaking Tamil. My view, if I am not mistaken, is that she was older than her husband. Mr. Medhurst was by temperament a most enthusiastic teacher. He also looked after the printing press and other things. As soon as he arrived in Malacca Mr Milne asked me to teach him Malay conversation and reading. After learning for a short while he was able to read and speak a little. Then he began to learn Chinese. I saw that he had a logical mind and a clever head. Anything that was taught him he learnt quickly. Mr. Beighton²⁴ then came to Malacca. He was told by Mr. Milne to learn Malay, but after he had been studying for a few days he left for Penang. In the same month there arrived some printing materials and a printing press, with a printer. The man in charge was named Mr. Huttman, and six Bengalis under him worked the press. The compositors were a middle-aged man named Addington and a young man named Waugh. The Malay letter-types arrived at the same time. The like of these, as well as other printing apparatus I had never seen in my life before. When I saw them I was amazed to think how the inventiveness and ingenuity of man have produced machines to do such work, and I called on Allah saying "If we marvel at created things, how much more should we reverence the Creator."

When the box of letter-types arrived Mr. Milne told me to pick out and group all the different letters. Then he explained how to make separate compartments for the different letters, and to the best of my ability I drew out a design for a Chinese carpenter. Then Mr.

²³ Walter Henry Medhurst was born in 1797. At the age of nineteen was sent out to China as a printer for the London Missionary Society. On the way he stopped for a few weeks in Madras and married the wife whom Abdullah mentions. He reached Malacca in 1817 (before Slater and Ince, not after as Abdullah says), and was ordained in 1819. In 1820 he opened a mission station in Georgetown, Penang, and the following year went to Shanghai. There he found he could accomplish nothing in the face of the determined opposition of the Peking Government, and in 1822 he went to Batavia to help Slater. He soon gained a great reputation for his imperturbable good humour and kindness and for his skill as an amateur doctor—see Tyerman and Bennet's account (1840: 199) of their visit to him in 1825.

In 1828 he made a short tour of the native ports on the east side of the peninsula as far north as Patani. In 1836 he retired to England to write missionary books in the vernacular languages, but two years later went back to Java. In 1842, following the opening up of China after the Nanking Treaty, he moved to Canton. Thereafter he worked for a newly opened L.M.S. mission in China for fourteen years. His son, later Sir Walter Medhurst, was one of the founders of the British North Borneo Company.

²⁴ Thomas Beighton was a contemporary of Ince at Malacca. In 1826 he went to the Georgetown Mission in Penang, where he became a firm friend of the exiled Sultan of Kedah (see note 2, under Chapter 16). He started a printing office for publishing religious tracts, and worked in Penang until his death there in 1844.

Medhurst taught me how to arrange the letters, how to hold the block and how to set the pages so that the printed sheets could be folded properly one after the other. After three or four months of practice in all these steps I could do the work on my own without his assistance. As time went on I became more and more conversant with the technique of printing, and knew how to avoid slips when operating the press itself or in setting the type, or in using too much or too little ink.

The first order that Mr. Milne gave us for printing in Malay was the Ten Commandments given by God to the prophet Moses on Mount Sinai. After it was finished we printed the list of two-thousand words in Malay and English called a Vocabulary. When it was finished Mr. Thomsen said "Let us try to put our English arithmetic book into Malay, so that our pupils will find it easy to study in the school." I replied "Yes sir, there is no arithmetic book in Malay and I shall be pleased if we can produce one." That very day I started to translate the arithmetic book into Malay and this was my work every alternate day. One day I would work on the Malay translation and the next day set up the type for the press. Thus I finished the translation. But there were not sufficient types for the numerals, of which many appeared in the English original. Then Mr. Thomsen showed me how to cast type both in letters and in numerals. The required design is first cut in iron to make a punch, following which the punch is hardened. It is then hammered into copper to form a mould into which molten type metal is poured from a crucible, any surplus metal being cut away with a knife to level it off.³⁵ The material used for making the type is not ordinary tin but an alloy of tin and other metals.³⁶ By the grace of Allah I learned to perform all these operations myself and it was I who made up the types for figures and letters wherever there were deficiencies at the time. After this there were many books printed in Malay type, for example a specimen conversation with a washerman and with a bootmaker in English and Malay;

³⁵ Mr Studley Read of Malaya Publishing House, Singapore has kindly given me information for this and the following note. He says: "The method of type casting is difficult to follow without knowing the early development of such work in Malaya. The following process was used in Burma much about the time of which Abdullah writes,

"The method was to cut the character in iron to form a punch having the letter or numeral in relief. The punch was then hammered (or pressed) into copper to form a mould, or matrix, the sides of which were built up to form the body of the type. When the mould was complete, type metal was poured in from a crucible. after which the type was trimmed with a knife or file. The iron punch was hardened by heating and immersion in cold water."

³⁶ "The average formula for type metal is 87% lead, 10% antimony and 3% tin. The lead forms the base of the metal, the antimony hardens the mixture and the tin keeps the mixture clean" (Studley Read, personal communication).

and *Bustan Arifin*, the Malay name of an English "magazine". And there were many other books useful to schoolchildren and story-books that we translated from English into Malay. I cannot mention their names here, for the list is too long. Both my hands were full with work at this time, teaching Malay to the missionaries, making types and setting up print. So I asked Mr. Thomsen to get another man whom I could train to share this work, which I alone had not time to do. He replied "Yes. You shall train a young Eurasian lad named Michael." I had much difficulty in teaching him for he was thick-headed and did not know the letters. After six or seven months he had learned a little and could slowly set up the type though he was distressed when he realized his lack of skill.

Mr. Milne received instructions from his Society to provide a building for the College (which is still situated in Malacca). There was much difficulty in its construction, for the site was crowded with coconut palms which had to be cut down, requiring no small number of labourers. Most of the woodwork of the building was of *merbau*. When everything was ready Mr. Milne invited all the important people and white men in Malacca, some fifty or sixty persons, to a gathering at six-o'clock one morning. Assembling there they buried their contributions of money, altogether seventy or eighty dollars, in a hole scooped out in a stone below the door. Then they all raised the door into position³⁷ and Mr. Milne, coming forward and striking it with his hand, declared that the place was 'The Anglo-Chinese College',³⁸ the name by which it has been known ever since. This done,

³⁷ In *Hikayat Abdulla* there is a facsimile reproduction of a page of Abdullah's manuscript covering this passage, which the author gave to J. T. Thomson. This enables a small portion of the printed text to be compared with an earlier version of Abdullah's work. The printed text says *mendirikan pintu*, which can only mean "to erect the door." Thomson's version has *mendirikan pintu serta terdiri*, which Thomson renders simply as "stood round the door." Further on (page 95) the earlier version has *ménjadi Inggeris* (Thomson: "to be made English of") instead of *dimasukkan Inggeris*, which I have translated "to embrace Christianity." For a discussion of texts see Introduction pages 23-26. Thomson's book is the subject of an interesting article by Sheehan (*JMBRAS*, 14, (3), 1935: 226-9), in which, however, he does not comment on these discrepancies.

³⁸ Begbie (1834: 368-9) and Newbold (1839: 181-87) give between them a good picture of the Anglo-Chinese College in the 1820's and 30's, although Begbie is unreliable on certain details. There are also several references in the Straits Settlements Records. Bought in exchange for the land on St John's Hill (see note 9) the site was in the Tranquerah district, fronting the shore. A picture in Begbie's book shows a large double-storeyed house with tiled roof, shuttered windows and an outside staircase leading to the top floor on which were the missionaries quarters. The ground floor housed the school, the printing office and the library. In the grounds there was a botanic garden.

The premises were formally opened by Major Farquhar on 11 November, 1818, in the presence of Timmerman Thyssen, the Dutch Governor of Malacca after the restoration. Dr Morrison had given a thousand pounds, and a hundred pounds a year for five years. Begbie mentions a fall in the enrolment of Chinese pupils after

all the visitors returned to their homes. It took about a year to complete the building at a cost of I know not how many tens of thousands of dollars. Mr. Milne moved into it from his old house, which was then pulled down and the place levelled to make a courtyard in front of the new building.

At that time a great many Chinese, Eurasian, and Malay children studied at the College and there were perhaps as many as ten children already fluent in reading and writing English. For the first time in Malacca the majority of people knew how to speak English, and those of Dutch extraction who lived in Malacca changed their customs and language, their clothing and the habits of their race, men and women alike copying English ways of life.

Many times I was asked by the missionaries to persuade Malay children to go to school and learn reading and writing, both in Malay and in English. But because of their ignorance and their belief that they would be introduced to English ways they were reluctant to come, thinking that they would be forcibly compelled to embrace Christianity. Frequently I used to remind them, telling them "The English have no intention whatever of converting anyone to Christianity against his own wishes. Their only desire is for you to learn and understand your own language and perhaps English. Later on this will be very useful, for if you have been educated you can all earn your living with ease. You can also learn arithmetic. Will it not be useful to you all? For if you cannot do accounts how can you engage in trade, buying and selling?" But however much advice I gave them they paid no attention. They grew suspicious of me, believing as they did that I wished to do them harm, and in their hearts they came to hate me. Behind my back they went to rouse my father, urging him to stop me going to learn English and saying, "In a short while he may follow English beliefs and lose faith in his own religion." My father was angry and stopped me saying "I do not wish you to go and learn to speak and write English, for not a single Muslim does so. Besides, many people say that such work is not right, that is to say, it will destroy your faith." When I heard these words I bowed my

the first year, and the place seems to have been more important and successful as a mission centre than as a school. Its affairs were managed by a Committee of five trustees, who in 1827 appealed successfully to the Malacca Government for a monthly grant of \$100 after Morrison's contribution had ceased. About this time the College was taken over completely by the London Missionary Society.

In 1822 David Collie (see note 7 under Chapter 22) succeeded Milne as Principal of the College, and remained there until his death in 1828. Then there was a succession of heads. Only the last of them, the famous James Legge, who undertook the closing of the College and the opening of its counterpart, the Anglo-Chinese Seminary, in Hongkong in 1843, was of outstanding merit.

my head and tears came to my eyes as I thought, "Whence does this mischievous tale-telling come? A little while ago my father liked me to be educated, but now he is angry because I wish to learn good things." So I replied "What is the reason, father, that you forbid me to study?" He said "Because many people have told me that you will certainly come to harm by learning English and following the white man's teaching." I replied "Is it not right that we should adopt good customs and renounce bad ones? If a man passes from ignorance to enlightenment is his reputation damaged? Do not listen to the tales of fools for they bear me a grudge because I have urged their children to study. It is not better to study than to dwell in empty idleness? My father replied "These days you are glib of tongue and I cannot argue with you. When you were small it was I who taught you, now it is you who wish to teach me. You think that I am afraid of you." And I said "To say nothing of my present station in life, even if I were a prince, you my father would still have the right to cane me." When he heard this he went into his room to fetch his whip to thrash me. When I saw my father's anger I at once ran and fell at his feet. For it was an idiosyncrasy of my father that however angry he might be, if I fell at his feet begging his pardon his passion would subside. Then he said "Do not learn English. I will introduce you to the merchants who deal in cloth, and you can learn how to do trade." I replied "That is well, but I implore you most earnestly to let me continue my studies for a little while so that I may reap the benefit of them." So I went back again to my studies, and I told Mr. Milne and Mr. Thomsen all about how people had incited my father against me. They said to me "Do not be afraid. This afternoon we will go and see your father." When afternoon came Mr. Milne and Mr. Thomsen went to my house to meet my father. They said to him, "Do not worry about your son Abdullah. We will look after him well. And do not listen to the words of foolish people for Abdullah will become fluent in English and Malay if he studies for a little while longer. He is the only one we have found among the Malacca folk who shows promise of being able to study and become a teacher of the Malay language. Wait a while and you will understand how useful his knowledge will prove." And from that day onward my father was reconciled to this point of view and was not angry with me for studying.

The people who had come worrying my father wore sullen faces and were at their wits' end because their schemes had failed. Besides, they did nothing but eat and sleep all day having not proper work, while Allah had granted me profitable employment which brought me in money and opportunities for study. The grudge these people

bore me grew and grew because I was teaching Malay to all the missionaries and Englishmen, and because I could understand English. But they could not find a way to do me any harm. They called me Padre Abdullah which they thought was a discreditable and shameful designation. They reviled me because I stood in well with the white people, and considered it a sin that I should teach these men our language. All this abuse and jealousy was, I suppose, because they were ignorant and I was well-informed, for how can an ignorant man become the teacher of missionaries and white men? To do that a man must of necessity be educated. I must beg the indulgence of all my readers and assure them that I am certainly not praising my own ability. On the contrary I make no claim at all to any great virtuosity. As the Malays say, "If you cannot get rattan any root will do" or again "Where there are no eagles the grasshoppers declare themselves to be eagles." That was my position. Although everyone was spiteful and envious I did not care. As the Malay proverb says "However many times the dog may bark at the mountain it will not fall down," and also "If the tree is well and firmly rooted what has it to fear from the storm?"

After six or seven years' work with the missionaries my understanding had improved. There were many books which I had translated into Malay, and others done by the missionaries which I had corrected. But often the missionaries took me to task saying "Why do you not marry? It is a bad thing that you should remain a bachelor like this for your parents are old. Two or three times they have said that they would like you to get married but that you are unwilling." I replied "How can I marry, for I have no money and as you yourself have seen my house is already old and shabby, so how could we hold the wedding celebrations?" Mr. Milne said, "Do not worry. Whatever the expenses of your wedding I will give you the money. Never mind the cost. We will have some small repairs made to the house so that the wedding may be held in it." Mr. Milne at once sent for my father and said "Now you can settle the question of Abdullah's marriage" and my father replied "Thank you sir, day and night there has been no other thought in my mind but this, for he is my only child. My wife and I are already old people and we would dearly like to see him marry, but every time I have tried to settle the matter he has been unwilling." Mr. Milne said "I have just had a talk with him and is willing. You should make the arrangements at once."

My father went home and a week later arrangements for the marriage were settled, for I had been engaged for the past two years. Then my father went to tell the missionaries. Mr. Milne and Mr. Thomsen came

to my house and called a Chinese builder, telling him to put it in order. Anything that was in poor condition the builder was to repair, and they ordered several pieces of furniture to be fetched from their own houses. When the house was ready they gave fifty dollars to my father for the wedding celebrations. Those who still cherished a grudge against me looked pale when they saw the missionaries themselves coming to my house and directing the workmen. Then my father gathered all his family and relations, including my half-brother from Sungei Bharu. When they were all assembled I presented my father with two hundred dollars, which each of my cousins spent according to his pleasure. The balance my father himself spent, because he was so pleased that his only child was at last being married.

On the evening when the first henna-staining ceremony was concluded Mr. Milne and fifteen other white men and their wives came to a meal at my house. All the tables and chairs and the servants who laid the table were theirs. Only the refreshments were my responsibility. There were many different kinds of food laid out on the table; four roasted capons, four fried ducks, a goat cooked in Indian fashion, chicken soup, various vegetables, cabbages, eggs, brinjals, pilau rice and all sorts of cakes and preserved fruits. The room upstairs had been hung with all sorts of decorations, a ceiling canopy with a flower pattern painted on it and curtains of rich drapery. All sat down and enjoyed themselves eating and drinking. Many were the people who became increasingly annoyed with me because they saw that I had invited white men to my house. But I did not care; for, as the Malays say, whosoever digs a pit will fall into it himself. I sat and ate with the guests. After the meal perfumes were handed round. Everyone thanked us and wanted to go and meet my wife. They were all taken to her house by Mr. Milne. When they met her each of the guests greeted her. This was the first time that my wife had ever seen English people. But from then onwards she was not frightened or shy like other women who dash away terrified when they see the English. But all these white men were good people, understanding our ways of life and modes of greeting.³⁹

³⁹ Abdullah mentions only one of the wedding ceremonies by name, the first henna-staining of the bride's feet and hands (*bérhinai kéchil*). It is not surprising that as a pious Muslim he says nothing about the (Hindu) presentation of the bridal pair to the guests (*bérsanding*). It is not to this feast, to which in modern times all friends and acquaintances of the two families are invited, that Abdullah refers, but to a preliminary party for the missionaries which was given in his father's house, in spite of the fact that he speaks of *istéri-ku* (my wife). It is obvious when writing this part of the book his thoughts were mainly about the missionaries. Nowhere does he mention his wife's name.

After our marriage Mr. Milne came to the house every four or five days and met my wife. To the pair of us he was just like a father, my wife mentioning all my shortcomings to him and likewise I my wife's, when he would instruct us and give us his counsel. Thus my wife and I always loved each other well. When the first child came people feared that my wife would die, so difficult was her labour. Then Mr. Milne came bringing Dr. Chalmers, who was moved by Allah to bring medicines and to watch by her side until the living child had been safely delivered from its mother.

After my marriage Mr. Milne allowed me one month's holiday. I did no teaching or ordinary work. Only when there was any printing to be done he would send for me to come for a short while to look over the work. Anything that was wrong I put right. When this was done he would at once tell me to go home. This is the act of a gracious person, one who knows how to win the affections of men and how to appreciate their feelings. Such a person I call good. Mr. Milne's kindness, his consideration, his guidance, his affection, all were bestowed in full measure upon me. To my dying day I shall never repay him. May Allah bring prosperity upon his children unto seven generations. This is the measure of the debt which I owe him. As the Malay proverb runs "A debt of gold may be repaid but a debt of gratitude we carry with us to the grave."

At that time Mr. Milne was appointed Principal of the College and neither Mr. Thomsen nor the other missionaries put into operation any schemes of their own without Mr. Milne's knowledge. During that period a son was born to Mr. Milne. The Resident, Mr. Farquhar, named the child after him, calling him Farquhar. Not long afterwards it came about that Mrs. Milne died and was buried in the Fort. I noticed that after her death Mr. Milne lived in sadness and was less keen on his studies and his teaching work, and eventually he fell ill of a colic. As time went on he became more and more ill, until his body was weak and thin as a skeleton. The Doctor said "Every day go into the sea and drink as much salt water as you are able." He did this every day, taking me with him when he went. Sometimes he vomited from drinking so much salt water. I sat by his sickbed while he grew worse and worse. Then he died. As he was nearing his end, he said to Dr. Chalmers "When I am dead cut open my chest and look inside." After he had died the doctor opened up his chest and found that his liver was honey-combed with holes like a bees' nest. In it there were two or three stones about the size of soya beans. I cannot express the depth of my grief at his death: it was as if it had been the death of my own father. My wife too wept without ceasing

for seven or eight days at the memory of Mr. Milne's fine character. But what more is there for me to say? He had reached his allotted span of life.

There remained my regular employment teaching Mr. Thomsen, who became Principal of the College for a short while. Not long afterwards Mr. Thomsen sailed for Europe to take home his wife who suffered from chronic ill-health. He left me to look after all his work, and the entire printing outfit he delivered into my charge.

Six or seven months later Mr. Thomsen returned to Malacca. He said his wife had died at sea some four or five days before reaching England. He brought back with him many tools like files and borers and so forth, all for making types. Because of these new implements it was with added zest that I applied myself to the work of printing.

Now I watched Mr. Thomsen's method of working. Whenever he translated from Malay into English he altered the sense in many places, not like his previous endeavours, for he had returned to his old ways. I made corrections to all those phrases which followed English idiom and sounded awkward to the ear of a Malay. Some he adopted but others not. Because he was so contentious his mistakes in the translation of the Gospel have been allowed to remain to this day. I will briefly describe them. Mr. Thomsen had said to me one day "Now I want to do a revision of the Gospel according to St. Matthew from Javanese Malay into proper Malay. For at present there is only a Dutch version which is not in correct Malay. Let us therefore rewrite it changing all the phrases which are unidiomatic." I replied "If, sir, you wish to change the wording of the book you had better explain the meaning carefully to me until I have grasped it, and then I can supply the Malay words. Do not force suggestions on me but be patient. Moreover, I would like a promise that you will not dispute anything which I consider correct." "That is agreed," he said.

I started to revise the work but I felt that he cramped my efforts, not giving me a chance to make corrections, for he really could not fathom the nuances of Malay style. We came to the second verse of the first chapter which says "Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren." And I said, "People will not understand your word *peranak* for "Begat." He replied "What is the correct word?" and I said "*Ibrahim beranakkan-lah Isahak*," or "*Di-peranakkan-lah oleh Ibrahim akan Isahak*," that is the proper Malay idiom, sir." He said, "That would make Ibrahim a woman," and I replied "Everyone in the world will be able to understand it. The person who bears a child is a woman; that is to

say, it means the wife of Ibrahim." "I cannot allow that translation," he said, "Because it is a departure from the sense of the English word 'begat', which is to be understood as *pĕranak*."⁴⁰ We were involved in some argument over this because he could not comprehend proper Malay idiom, even to the extent of declaring that Mr. Marsden's dictionary was wrong because the author followed that idiom. In the event there are hundreds of places in the Gospel according to St. Matthew where the idiom is incorrect.

I have given only a brief summary of the words which passed between me and Mr. Thomsen owing to his obstinacy and his very inadequate understanding of Malay. So there remain several obscure renderings for which I will not quote chapter and verse, for readers of this book will perfectly well understand. But if they come across any mistakes in the Gospel according to St. Matthew due to Mr. Thomsen's clumsy renderings in the Malay language, they should kindly remember I was acting under instructions and could do nothing to add or remove a single word without Mr. Thomsen's full authority. I myself have fully realized that in this Gospel there are many awkward-sounding passages, and words used in impossible contexts. Because of these solecisms people are liable to misconstrue the sense. But what could I do, especially as I did not know the original language of the Gospel which, I believe, is a translation from the Greek? If it had been partly at least in English I would have understood a little. I hope that in view of all these troubles my readers will not heap insult and calumny upon my reputation on the grounds that I was Mr. Thomsen's teacher. I would not suggest for one moment that I am an expert or incapable of making mistakes, for it is my nature always to be prone to error. I will not hide the fact that I am liable to make mistakes. Yet in spite of this, God willing, in the Malay language at any rate I should be able to recognise and distinguish the right from the wrong, for it is my own language. Moreover I have studied it and not merely picked it up by ear from place to place or by copying other people.

⁴⁰ After censuring Thomsen at some length for his obstinacy Abdullah, at last gives an illustration that proves his point. The derived forms from *anak*, a child, commonly found in Malay are:

bĕr-anak, *bĕr-anak-kan*, to bear a child (*active*),

di-pĕr-anak-kan to bear a child (*inversion* into idiomatic passive, literary usage).

These forms are idiomatic, the affix *bĕr-* and *-kan* not necessarily denoting voice although *-kan* normally forms an active verb. The form *pĕr-anak* is not found and a Malay, if he gave it any meaning at all, would probably take it for "cause to bear." The prefix *pĕr* often though not always makes a causative verb. But its use in this sense is properly restricted to certain words and Abdullah would not allow an ugly sounding neologism. It is not surprising that Thomsen's pedantic distinction between *begat* and *bear* was anathema to him.

After we had finished revising the Gospel according to St. Matthew, Mr. Thomsen said to me "Let us revise the translation of the Acts of the Apostles." I replied "Very well sir, but I felt deeply hurt when we revised the Gospel according to St. Matthew. There are many places where the text rendering does not accord with my idea of the translation, and they have stuck in my mind. But I will do it if you like. It may be our intention to make improvements but I do not know what we shall achieve." He replied "The other book contained some very difficult words so if there are minor errors who will notice them? The Acts of the Apostles is only like an action story and you will find it easy to correct." I replied "You must not call it easy. I have already read the Dutch version, but I do not understand a word of it for it does not follow the normal sequence of Malay words." He said "Let us try." So I set to work to revise it, with the same results as before. I will not give a lengthy account of the circumstances. I tried my hardest to infuse into the translation a character sufficiently Malay for it to be at least intelligible. Thus I went over it each day a little at a time. For I had much other work to do, so that I accomplished it only after delays and many arguments. It was still Mr. Thomsen's habit always to be guided by English or other languages in his Malay translation, paying no attention to Malay idiom. Therefore people quickly recognize any work done by Mr. Thomsen, the words only being in Malay, the construction in English which does not resemble Malay style. This is a most important consideration in translating from one language to another.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles were first printed in Malacca. The calligraphy, letter-combination, and spelling were all my own work. Since then editions have been printed I know not how many times in Singapore and in Malacca. I have noticed that in them from beginning to end there are hardly ten consecutive words without a mistake, so full are they of errors in spelling and letter-combinations, impossible combinations being inserted and correct ones omitted. Ill-read teachers are always complacent, being content merely to receive their pay. They do not work to any pattern or precept, for instance where *alif* should be put in and where it should be left out; likewise also for *ya* and *wau*. They change these letters about without understanding the root and derivation of the words. If the root word contains an *alif* this must be inserted in a word derived from it—but not for these people. Some of them put in too many *alifs*, some too few, and others alter the system of letter-joining. If this goes on for another twenty years or so Malay writing, its spelling, its letter-joining, its structure and its rules, will certainly

be lost. In the end it may be that one man's writing cannot be read by another, because everyone alters the spelling following his own system, some adding letters and others leaving them out. There are also certain people who, because they do not understand how to read Malay, insert *wau*, *ya* and *alif* for greater ease of reading, as though they themselves claimed to have made the sky, the moon and the sun. It is all due to the fact that the white man is dull in learning and the Malays slow in teaching. They wish to turn a donkey into a horse and so bathe and rub it with soap in the belief that it will become one, not realizing that a horse is always a horse and a donkey always a donkey. Verily, this is the good which comes from employing teachers and writers whose fees are low. They easily turn donkeys into horses. My own view is that really they do not wish to study the Malay language but to ruin it. I realize that they do these stupid things so that others, as they suppose, may follow them. Then people will call them clever for being original. They do not realize that if by chance such work is seen by a real scholar he at once knows for certain that it is done by an ignorant man who, having no education, tries merely to use his native wit. As the Malays say "If you cannot improve a thing, at least do not damage it." Do you see what this means? If you are not clever enough to make a thing better at least do not bestir yourself to spoil it for perhaps in time to come someone more learned than you will be found to improve it. Would you not feel ashamed if a real scholar were to see the Gospel with its wrong spellings, letter combinations and other strange words which nobody has ever used before? What do you suppose people will think? For this book incorporates beliefs in which the Christians put their trust and which they hold in high esteem. Should it not be a place where men can find a model of good writing, in the spelling of words and in the letter-combinations, and where they can obtain or borrow the finest phrases? If you treat the book thus, as if you had no respect for it, neither will others who see it pay it any respect, for they will realize that the author is foolish and inconsistent, a man of no education. It is not just a matter of the spelling and the joining of the letters. The whole meaning is often wrong, as far perhaps from the original sense as the earth from the sky. I cannot say whether or not this is the case for I am an ignorant man, and do not know the original words. But so far as I understand them the meanings given are wrong.

See for yourself in the edition of the Gospel which Mr. Thomsen printed in Singapore, page 201 verse 28 which reads as follows: "Then Simon lifted up the child of Jesus in his hands and praised God." This serious mistake comes from the fact that English idiom has

been followed, the words being put one after the other into Malay without regard for Malay idiom. The English words, as I understand their meaning, if put into Malay would have to read like this: "Simon lifted up the child, that is, Jesus." At least, this is what I imagine because I have never yet heard in the religion of Islam, still less in the Christian religion, that Jesus was married, so how did the child come about?⁴¹ I found this phrase in the Gospel according to St. Luke but I am unaware who was the teacher that taught this, or whether it was the result of an argument. There are mistakes in hundreds of places, which I shall not mention in this short outline. To mention them all would take ten of these pages. I only wish to bring them to the notice of my future readers. I will return and tell of my doings in Malacca while I was working as a teacher and instructing Mr. Thomsen: that is to say, in making translations from English into Malay.

10. Colonel Farquhar's Search for a New Settlement

While I was thus engaged a rumour was heard in Malacca that a small English vessel had been captured by pirates between Penang and Malacca. There had been an English woman on board who was carried off to the south by the pirates, the boat having set out, it was said, from Penang. The rumour spread round. Two or three days later the news came that Colonel Farquhar was going to take an English ship to look for this woman. He took with him four or five Malacca-born Malays and a Malay writer named Enche' Yahya bin Abdul Wahid, also known as Enche' Siang. All these people sailed from Malacca. The real reason for the Resident's departure nobody knew, it being understood by all the Malacca folk that he was going to search for the English woman. So I will give no account of it, because I was ignorant of the circumstances. When the travellers had returned to Malacca, I was answered with knowing smiles. "They are not looking for any English woman. That story was falsely spread about, so that nobody should know that the English wanted to go and look for a place to found a settlement."⁴²

⁴¹ *anak Isa*, the phrase used by Thomsen, could only mean "the child of Jesus" as Abdullah says. It is a principle of Malay construction that the first of two such words placed together denotes the subject, the second the attribute or modifier of it. In no circumstances can the second word stand in direct apposition to the first. To obtain the right sense some such phrase as Abdullah's *anak ia-itu Isa* (the child, that is Jesus), or *anak yang bernama Isa* (the child named Jesus) must be used.

⁴² Everyone, even the credulous Abdullah, obviously knew that the story of *Madam Inggérís* was pure fiction. Farquhar had been in correspondence with Sir Stamford Raffles about likely places for a settlement.

Colonel Farquhar first went to Siak for a conference with the ruler, asking for land to found a settlement at Tanjong Jati.^{2*} But its disadvantage was that during the north-east monsoon the seas were very rough and ships and cargo boats could not lie at anchor there. So it would not do. Then he went to Daik. I do not know what counsel he held with the Yamtuan Muda. Next he came to the Karimun Islands where he went ashore and made a tour of the place and its mountains. He liked the position. But when he went to look for an anchorage he found coral and rocks everywhere, with no suitable place for ships to anchor. He took soundings round the island and found that the water was very deep. There was no place where ships or boats could shelter from wind and storm, and if there was a slight error in navigation they were liable to strike reefs. For these reasons the place was unsuitable and he returned to his ship.

Then he sailed for Johore. On arrival he went ashore and looked round the district. What he thought of it I do not know. He returned to his ship which then sailed for Malacca. On the very day he arrived back he gave authority to Captain David³ to act as his deputy in Malacca. When this had been settled he sailed away once more, resolved to find a place to build the settlement.

The Treaty of Vienna had restored to Holland all her former colonial possessions except Ceylon and the Cape. Relieved of his post in Java in 1815, Raffles had gone back to England (see introduction p. 3). In 1817 he came back to take charge of the struggling English station at Bencoolen in Sumatra, where for more than a year he watched with much misgiving the gradual extension of Dutch suzerainty over the Malayan Archipelago. In October, 1818, he went to Calcutta, but could not entirely convince Lord Hastings, still less the Court of Directors in England, of the danger of allowing further Dutch encroachments. But he did get official permission to establish a station at the southern end of the Straits of Malacca provided he gave no offence to the Dutch.

Meanwhile the Penang merchants had petitioned Government to make trade treaties with the kingdoms bordering the Straits to protect their interests, which would be jeopardized by the retrocession of Malacca. Wright (1908: 20) says that on 19 July, Farquhar left Malacca for Riau. Then he went to Lingga where he concluded a treaty of commercial alliance with the Yamtuan Muda, and on to Siak for a similar treaty with the Sultan. These successes he announced to the Dutch on his return to hand back Malacca to them. Winstedt (1932: 78-80) agrees in the main with this account and adds some details. As soon as they had reoccupied Malacca, the Dutch made overtures to the Yamtuan Muda, culminating in a treaty in November under which he accepted a Dutch Resident and garrison (see note 5, below).

² Tanjong Jati, a headland on the north-west corner of Bèngkalis Island, about sixty miles west of Batu Pahat. The residence of the Sultan was at Siak Sèri Indrapura, about fifty miles up the Siak river, in Sumatra.

* See Map I.

³ This would, of course, be an English officer and it would be interesting to know his name. Abdullah writes here *Daud* and later *Daus*, which Braddell and J. T. Thomson (1874: 97 & 127) render as Davis, but it cannot have been the Lt C. E. Davies who married Farquhar's youngest daughter in Singapore in 1820, as he did not reach Malaya until November, 1819, and was never in Malacca.

Two days after Mr. Farquhar had sailed from Malacca there arrived two large ships and a small Dutch boat, carrying the Governor,⁴ his secretary and officers, and filled with Dutch and Javanese soldiers fully equipped with all their stores. They had come to receive back Malacca. At that time the majority of the Malacca folk of all races were glad that the Dutch were taking back the Settlement, for they thought they would be better off than under English rule. But they did not realize that the newcomers were leeches who would suck the very blood from their bodies.

Then my heart was sorely grieved when I thought how useless had been my arduous and diligent study of the English alphabet and language for so long in the past. For if there were no Englishmen in the Settlement to whom could I sell my services?

Furthermore I knew not a single word of Dutch. I felt ashamed to look all the Malacca folk of Dutch parentage in the face, because they reproached me for learning English and for liking Englishmen. They were all smiles, delighted that their own kin whose language they understood were coming back. There were many who said to me "What good to you now is your learning of English? Would it not be very useful to learn Dutch? For many of the Dutch wish to learn Malay and this place will remain in Dutch hands for ever. When I heard these things I turned them over and over in my mind, and occasionally regretted my learning of English. But then I felt as if someone was rousing me from sleep and saying: "Put your trust in Allah, the Lord who gives to His servants their daily bread and who is not to be comprehended by any living creatures. He cares not for the affairs of the English and the Dutch. His ways are incalculable."

The Dutch officials arrived while Farquhar was away in Riau and the official handing-over ceremony was delayed until after he returned to Malacca in September. The Dutch were in no hurry to repossess Malacca, with its fortifications destroyed and its trade eclipsed by that of Penang. But the prize was still valuable, and in 1818 the Dutch Commissioners were ordered to take it over. Farquhar handed over in person on 21 September, but he did not leave for Penang until the end of December.

⁴ This was Timmerman Thyssen who had been an important merchant and a close friend of Raffles during the occupation of Java. After becoming Governor of Malacca he lost no time in re-establishing Dutch trade in the Malay Peninsula. His aggressive tactics persuaded the Sultan of Selangor to sign a treaty giving the Dutch a tin monopoly, and with the same object in mind Thyssen made a treaty with the chiefs of Rembau. He was indignant at Raffles's founding of Singapore, and tried to enlist the help of Colonel Bannerman, the Governor of Penang, against the intruder. To give a semblance of legality to the trade agreements which the Dutch had forced on the Yamtuan Muda at Lingga, Thyssen seized the regalia of the Sultan of Johore, and in 1822, with the assistance of the Bugis, installed Abdul Rahman as Sultan in Lingga (see note 3, under Chapter 11).

On his way to Siam John Crawford stopped for four days at Malacca and was hospitably entertained to supper and a ball by Thyssen, whom he had known in Java (1830: 53). Thyssen's rule in Malacca is described in Chapter 12.

On the arrival of the ships and the Dutch boat the passengers disembarked and took up their residence at Bandar Hilir. But no retrocession of the Settlement had yet taken place for the Resident was away. Five days later the Resident Mr. Farquhar returned and gave authority to Captain David to hand over the Settlement of Malacca. That very night Mr. Farquhar sailed away again.⁵

At seven o'clock next morning the Dutch entered the Fort under an officer and band playing drums, pipes and other instruments. The Governor and his Secretary carried the Dutch flag and all the officials carried drawn swords in their hands. When they had formed up on the hill before the flagstaff the English party under the Commander and his officers with a band in attendance, drew their swords and stood at attention. First the English flag was hoisted and the drums and pipes played a melody which touched the hearts of those who heard it. I noticed that the English looked grieved and sorrowful, like men doomed to die, and their faces were pale. A short while afterwards, perhaps ten minutes, the flag was lowered. Two parties of soldiers were drawn up near the foot of the flagstaff, an English party and a Dutch one, on opposite sides. The people of the Settlement stood in packed ranks to watch the ceremony. Men representing the four races read addresses, each in his own language. Then the Dutch flag was hoisted and the Dutch band struck up with loud music. Then about ten minutes later the Dutch flag was lowered. I noticed that the two parties faced each other angrily as though they wanted to commit murder. Their faces wore a sullen expression, as of tigers waiting to spring. All had unsheathed their swords and held them in their hands. Then both flags, the English and the Dutch, were hoisted together. After remaining up for a minute or two they were both lowered, then again raised. This was done three times. Then the English flag alone was slowly lowered. At that moment I saw tears welling up in the eyes of several Englishmen as the band played slow music which sounded like the voice of a person in mourning.

When the English flag had reached the foot of the flagstaff proclamations in each of the four languages were read out.

⁵ Winstedt (1932: 78-80) quotes the *Tuhfat'ul-Nafis* as saying that after the Dutch Treaty with the Yamtuan Muda, Farquhar returned to Lingga to upbraid the latter for his weakness. I am unaware of any evidence that Farquhar made a second journey to Lingga at this time, though he was apparently away from Malacca, after 11 November (opening of the Anglo-Chinese College, see note 39, under Chapter 9) and before 23 December when he left Malacca for Penang.

"Be it known to you all in this country that this Proclamation is read in witness of the fact that the King of England in Council, with his Parliament, affirms that this Settlement of Malacca has been handed back by His Majesty's Government to the Dutch Government."

After the Proclamation had been read the English troops under their officers returned to their quarters. The Dutch troops led by their officers proceeded to take over duty at all the posts previously manned by the English.⁶

The new Dutch Governor was named Timmerman Thyssen, his Secretary Bamgoor, and his principal civil officer Major, a Frenchman.⁷ The same day the new Governor moved into the English Resident's house. His Secretary lived inside the Fort, in a house facing the sea. It had an armed guard stationed at the gate. The rank and file of the newcomers were all Javanese and Madurese.

11. The Founding of Singapore

I must return to the story of Colonel Farquhar's voyage in his ship. He ordered the ship to the Straits of Singapore. The reason he set a course for Singapore was that he had known Tengku Long, the son of Sultan Mahmud, since the days when he lived in Malacca.¹ and

⁶ Farquhar's garrison orders are quoted by Newbold (1839: 128-9), and show that Abdullah's account of the handing-over ceremony is correct in all details.

⁷ *nama kepala orang besar ra'ayat-nya itu Major, ia-itu orang Féransis*. Major was not a proper name, but the title of a senior official of the Dutch civil government, who was next in importance to the Fiscal and the Shahbandar and had a seat on the Council: cf Schouten's Report (*JMBRAS*, 14, (1): 118).

¹ *Tuan Farquhar lama sudah bersahabat dengan Tengku Long . . . tatkala masa ia di-Melaka juga*. This is translated to retain the ambiguity over the antecedent of *ia* (he). The effect of *juga* (he also) is to suggest that Abdullah is referring to Tengku Long. But in fact Tengku Long went to Malacca for the first time sixteen years later (see Chapter 24): and against Abdullah's charge of bribery is the official statement which Farquhar made later that he had had no dealings with Tengku Long, and had never seen him before they met in Singapore. But there was an impression of some prior understanding between the two, and this may account in part for the most surprising blunder in the whole of Abdullah's book, where he says that Raffles was not present at the original Singapore landing. His account of the landing is discussed in note 1 of Chapter 13.

Farquhar was waiting in Penang to take ship to Calcutta and then England when Raffles arrived from Calcutta on 31st December, 1818, with the letter asking to him to take temporarily the post of Resident in the new port to be founded. Raffles had drafted his own instructions from the Governor-General, which were first to settle a dispute in Aceh, and then to look for a site for the proposed settlement. The Penang Government was asked to assist him, but Colonel Bannerman, fearful of provoking the Dutch, and not wishing to see another trade rival to Penang, counselled caution and put every possible obstacle in Raffles's way. Finally when Bannerman, thinking Raffles was going to Aceh, advised him to wait for a reply from India, he left at once for the southern end of the Straits. His six vessels cleared from Penang without disclosing their destination and his note reached Bannerman the morning

I have heard it said that in the past Tengku Long had received a great deal of money from Colonel Farquhar. Evidently even as long ago as that Tengku Long had promised to give the Island of Singapore to the English. All the more reason then for Colonel Farquhar's going to meet him in Riau to make him implement his promise. Only when the agreement has been concluded had a return been made to Malacca to hand over to the Dutch, as has been related. Colonel Farquhar described fully his action and conversation with Tengku Long in a letter which he sent to Mr. Raffles while he was in Penang. Mr. Raffles passed on the information to the Governor-General of India. A letter of reply came from India "If you wish to found a settlement at Singapore you may do so. The East India Company will not stop you. But it will not provide the expenses of the initial settlement. These must be borne jointly by you and Colonel Farquhar. If a settlement should be established the Company will consider the question of costs." Mr. Raffles had intimated to the Governor-General that he must discuss the project with Colonel Farquhar, and added "We intend at all costs to found a settlement on the Island of Singapore." Then Mr. Raffles came to Malacca. After they had reached a definite decision he told Colonel Farquhar to sail to Singapore and make whatever arrangements were necessary before he arrived. For Mr. Raffles was going to Acheh under the orders of the Governor-General to settle a dispute between the ruler of Acheh and his kinsmen, the men of Acheh Pidir wishing to start a fight with those of Telok Semawi. They had sent a letter to India asking for help in settling their quarrel, and Mr. Raffles had been told to assist them. So he sailed for Acheh. Then Colonel Farquhar sailed for Singapore, as already related.

On arrival he went ashore from the ship's landing-boat together with the Malacca men whom he had taken with him. He reached the open space on which they have now built the Court² and found it

after they had sailed. They did not advertise their intentions to the Dutch by calling at Malacca on the way, as Abdullah claims: possibly he was confused by the two small survey vessels which called in there northward bound early in January. Needless to say, Raffles and Farquhar were not required to defray any part of the cost of the expedition directly, though it is possible that no hire was paid for the *Ganges*, and it is true that some of Raffles's expenses on this trip were disallowed by the Directors and he was asked to refund them. After deciding that the Karimun Islands were unsuitable the partly moved to Singapore Island, en route for the Johore River. They anchored off St John's Island early in the afternoon of 28th January, 1819, and later that day Raffles landed near the mouth of the Singapore River, on the north bank (see note 2, following).

² On the north bank of the Singapore River, somewhat between the ground behind the present Assembly House and the quay end of Halpike Street. The core of the Assembly House is formed by the private residence which G. D. Coleman built for the merchant John Argyle Maxwell in 1826-27. It was taken over by Government on a fifteen years' lease for use as a Court House and Public Offices before completion,

covered with myrtle and rhododendron. On the side facing the river were four or five small huts with six or seven coconut trees planted beside them. There was also a slightly large house built of attap, the residence of the Temenggong. Colonel Farquhar walked round and peered at him, then ran off to tell the Temenggong.

A little later the Temenggong came out armed and followed by four or five of his comrades to meet Colonel Farquhar. At that time of day the heat was oppressive, and Colonel Farquhar had gone and sat down in the shade of a eugenia tree which stood in the middle of the open space. When the Temenggong reached Colonel Farquhar he saluted him and proffered his hand, which Colonel Farquhar shook several times. Then he led him up into his house. There Colonel Farquhar spoke of his object in coming, telling all about how originally he had received a letter from Mr. Raffles at Bencoolen authorizing him to find a good place for a settlement, for His Majesty's Government had handed over Malacca to the Dutch Government. Colonel Farquhar added "If perchance the English were to found a settlement here it would be a great help to all the Malay people in their trade. Besides, in time a great many white merchants would come here to trade." Colonel Farquhar counselled the Temenggong in the most honeyed phrases to soften his heart, as one who offers lumps of sugar to chew. The Temenggong replied "Sir, I am an exile parted from my real home in Riau. You must know how it is the custom of Malay rulers to magnify their own importance. Therefore I withdrew myself to this Island in the middle of the sea, which in fact is my own lawful inheritance. For under the customs and laws of the Malays it is the Temenggong who holds power over all these islands, the real sovereign, Sultan Mahmud, being dead. He had two sons; Abdul Rahman, and Husain who possessed the title of Tengku Long; but neither of them is of full royal birth. Since the death of the Sultan there has been much argument among the chiefs in Daik and in Riau and in Pahang over who shall be appointed by the Bendahara to succeed, for they are both children of the late Sultan. Tengku Puteri, the widow of the late Sultan, wishes Tengku Long to succeed while some of the chiefs wish to have Tengku Rahman. For these reasons there has been a conflict of opinion. Tengku Abdul Rahman has taken offence and gone to Trengganu, while Tengku Long remains in Riau. That is how the

and Maxwell never lived in it. By the late 1830's it was inadequate for all requirements, and in 1839 a one storey building was erected alongside it, roughly where P.W.D. Building now stands. This was used first for the assizes of November, 1839, the Recorder, Sir William Norris presiding (*Singapore Free Press*, 28 November, 1839). "Where they have now built the Court" suggests the later building rather than the earlier one, but they were very close to each other.

whole affair started, sir. All the regalia of the kingdom have fallen into the hands of Tengku Puteri, the late sultan's widow." When Colonel Farquhar heard the Temenggong's words he smiled saying "Tengku, all these facts are known to Mr. Raffles and he will put them right."³

Then Colonel Farquhar quickly changed the subject and said "Tengku, by what name is this nearby hill known?" and he replied "For ages past it has been called the Forbidden Hill." Colonel Farquhar asked "Why is it called the Forbidden Hill?", and the Temenggong replied "There is a story dating from the kings of ancient times, that it was on this hill that their palace was built. So it was forbidden for any man to ascend the hill except at the ruler's command or summons. For this reason it was known as the Forbidden Hill.⁴ Behind it is a stream known as the Forbidden Stream, for it was the place where the consorts and the wife of the king used to bathe, and no one was allowed to approach."

Then Colonel Farquhar said "My purpose in coming here, Tengku, after consulting Mr. Raffles and subject to the will and pleasure of Tengku Long, the son of Sultan Mahmud of Riau and Lingga, is to secure the handing over of the Island of Singapore to the East India Company for a station, which shall be a means of resurrecting the

³ Changes of dynasty and the vicissitudes of war had so weakened the power of the Riau-Johore rulers that they were now vassals of a Bugis overlord, whose title was Yamtuan Muda, in Riau. The Temenggong, the second most important state official in the days of the Malaccan Sultanate, had become (in name) the semi-independent ruler of Johore and the adjacent islands. The late Sultan Mahmud Shah of Riau had died suddenly in Lingga in 1812, leaving two sons by his commoner wives who were of Bugis descent, and no "legitimate" heir. He had not nominated his successor, as in the absence of a fully royal child, Malay tradition required him to do. But Begbie says (1834: 71-84) and Winstedt (1932: 74-5) brings evidence to confirm, that he had intended that the elder son Tengku Sulong (Tengku Long, alias Tengku Husain) should succeed him. This had the support of most of the Malay chiefs, including the Bëndahara, whose daughter Tengku Long had married. But in the absence of Tengku Long in Pahang, the Bugis Yamtuan Muda, seeing in the marriage an unwelcome accession of power to the Malay party, at once advanced the younger son, Tengku Abdul-Rahman, as Sultan in Lingga. Backed by the Bëndahara, Tengku Long returned to Riau and began to assemble forces to attack Lingga, but withdrew when Adrian Koek warned the Bëndahara not to interfere. A fourth wife of Sultan Mahmud Shah, Tengku Hamidah (called Tengku Puteri), refused to surrender the regalia, without which no Sultan could be properly installed according to Malay custom, until compelled to do so by Thyssen (Note 8 under Chapter 1, and note 4 under Chapter 10). Thus all the real power remained in the hands of the Yamtuan Muda, and it was certain that the Dutch would interpret their 1818 treaty as covering Singapore. Raffles therefore set about making treaties with both Tengku Long and the Temenggong, after which, as it was argued, any claim the Dutch had over Singapore would rest on a treaty with a spurious sultan.

⁴ *Bukit Larangan*, a roughly circular hill about 150 feet high standing near the mouth of the Singapore River on the north side. Fort Canning was built on it in 1859. Crawford who visited Singapore in 1822 gives a good account of the archaeological remains on the hill (1830: 68-69).

line of the ancient kings and a clear proof of the goodwill of Tengku Long, and yourself towards the East India Company. Meanwhile until Mr. Raffles arrives here let us both discuss what would be suitable remuneration for Tengku Long and yourself, so that we can draw up an agreement between the two parties concerned; that is, the East India Company, and Tengku Long and yourself. What do you think of my proposal?" When the Temenggong heard this he remained quiet for a while, not uttering a word. Then he said "Sir, I am a vassal of Tengku Long. If this matter has his consent then I am agreeable." Colonel Farquhar replied "If then you would indeed be willing, as you say, let us draw up a written agreement." The Temenggong said "What need is there of my signature, sir? My word is sufficient." Colonel Farquhar replied "It is the custom among us white men to have a signature so that we shall not alter our covenant." Then he turned to Enche' Siang and said "Write a form of agreement in accordance with Tengku Temenggong's directions." In a moment the agreement was drawn up, following the words already mentioned above, that is to say "This agreement witnesses that the Temenggong is pleased to be on terms of friendship with the East India Company and is willing, provided that Tengku Long consents, to give the Island of Singapore to the English, that is to say to Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar, to found a station."⁵ Then they affixed their signatures, and Colonel Farquhar grasped the Temenggong's hand and shook it warmly saying "Tengku, this day onwards we are joined in a bond of friendship which cannot be broken till the end of time."

This done Colonel Farquhar said "Tengku, I would like to unload the tents from the ship. Where is the best place for us to pitch them?" The Temenggong replied "Wherever you please" and Colonel Farquhar said "I think the best place is here on this open space." Then boats came from the ship and the men on board disembarked carrying tents and all their equipment. Some were told to cut down the bushes, others to put up the tents. In about two hours time the camp was pitched. Then they were told by Colonel Farquhar to dig a well beneath the eugenia tree. The water in the well was used by everyone for drinking. There were thirty Malacca men, and at night they took it in turns to go on patrol round the camp.

⁵ . . . *membërikan Pulau Singapore ini . . . akan di-përbuat mërèka itu nègèri.* Abdullah says that it was a gift of territory, although Raffles's instructions were only to found a trading settlement. Raffles's Preliminary Agreement with the Temenggong on 1 February, 1819, stipulated only that the East India Company had the right to set up a factory, and that the Temenggong would not allow any other power to establish itself on the island.

Next morning early Colonel Farquhar gave orders for the erection of a flagpole about thirty feet high. After it had been raised the English flag was hoisted, by the sea shore. At that time no food was obtainable, so Colonel Farquhar gave twenty dollars to his men saying "Go and buy food for us to eat." But although they searched they found nothing at all, and all the food they had was that which came off the ship. There was money to spend but nothing to buy with it. There were two or three small huts near the Temenggong's house where the people ate young shoots, dried fish, fried sago and occasionally rice. At the end of Kampong Gelam there stood two or three huts of the Sea Gypsies, the Orang Laut* of the Gelam tribe, who spent their time making awnings and sails from the bark of the *gêlam* tree. For this reason the place was called Kampong Gelam.*

Now at this time the seas round Singapore so far from being navigated freely by men, were feared even by jinns and devils, for along the shores were the sleeping-huts of the pirates. Whenever they plundered a ship or a ketch or a cargo-boat, they brought it in to Singapore where they shared the spoils and slaughtered the crew, or fought to the death among themselves to secure their gains.

The Sea Gypsies in their boats behaved like wild animals. Whenever they saw a crowd of people coming, if there was time they made off quickly in their boats: if there was not time they leapt into the sea and swam under water like fish, disappearing from view for about half an hour before coming to the surface as much as a thousand yards away from the place where they entered the water. Both the men and women behaved like this. As for their children words fail me. Whenever they saw anybody they would scream as though death was upon them, like someone who catches sight of a tiger. All these people brought fish for the Temenggong to eat. None of them knew any way of catching fish except by spearing them. The fish most frequently caught by spear was the *tenggiri* though occasionally they would get other kinds, for instance dorabs. The fish in Singapore were stiff and hard like buffalo hide for they were not a common article of food. Fish

* The Orang Laut (Men of the Sea), Orang Sêlat (Saletes, Cellates, Men of the Straits) or Sea Gypsies as they are variously called, are small communities of Aboriginal Malay fishermen who inhabit the bays and shallow seas from Tenasserim to Java and Borneo. In racial type they have been compared with the Selung of the Mergui Archipelago, the Biduanda of Nêgri Sêmbilan and the Jakun of Johore. In the Riau Archipelago their clans were ruled by batins, petty chiefs who acknowledged the overlordship of Johore. The batins' authority continued under British rule in Singapore. Nieuhoff in 1660, Navarette in 1669 and Careri in 1695 all comment on the primitive habits of the Saletes (Sheehan, 1934: 79, 91 & 105). For further comments on the Orang Laut see Chapter 13, pp. 161-2.

* See Map V.

were very plentiful and large ones were found close in shore. Shell-fish abounded on the edge of the sand, floating in pools, and could be collected in basketfuls.

The Temenggong ordered the Sea Gypsies to sell fish to Colonel Farquhar's men. Although they did come bearing fish it was with great reluctance, and they were astonished at the sight of the tents and men wearing clothes and so on. Whatever price was offered for the fish, or if it was bartered for a little tobacco or rice, they would take it and go away. Whenever they came Colonel Farquhar gave them money and clothes and rice to make them more amenable, for he saw that they wore no clothes. After this had gone on for a day or two they became fearless enough to rub shoulders with the newcomers. Only the children remained wild, to such an extent they became ill with fright at the sight of people. One child was even drowned at sea off Telok Ayer because he was so frightened when several men walked near his boat that he instantly jumped into the water, at the time when it was high tide. They waited but he did not appear again, and was lost after being carried out to sea by the current.

It was Colonel Farquhar's habit to go for a walk every morning looking round the district. It was all covered with thick scrub. Only in the middle of the open space already mentioned were there no thick bushes, but only myrtle, rhododendron and eugenia trees. On the side nearest the shore were many kinds of trees, *ambong-ambong*, *melpari*, *bulangan* and scattered tree trunks. On the opposite side of the river there was nothing to be seen except mangrove trees, *bakau*, *api-api*, *buta-buta*, *jëruju* and strewn branches. There was no good piece of ground even as much as sixty yards wide, the whole place being covered in deep mud, except only on the hills where the soil was clay. There was a large rise, of moderate elevation, near the point of the headland at the estuary of Singapore River.

In the Singapore River estuary there were many large rocks, with little rivulets running between the fissures, moving like a snake that has been struck. Among these many rocks there was a sharp-pointed one shaped like the snout of a swordfish. The Sea Gypsies used to call it the Swordfish's Head and believed it to be the abode of spirits. To this rock they all made propitiatory offerings in their fear of it, placing bunting on it and treating it with reverence. "If we do not pay our respects to it" they said "When we go in and out of the shallows it will send us to destruction." Every day they brought offerings and

placed them on the rock.⁷ All along the shore there were hundreds of human skulls rolling about on the sand; some old, some new, some with hair still sticking to them, some with the teeth filed and others without. News of these skulls was brought to Colonel Farquhar and when he had seen them he ordered them to be gathered up and cast into the sea. So the people collected them in sacks and threw them into the sea. The Sea Gypsies were asked "Whose are all these skulls?" and they replied "These are the skulls of men who were robbed at sea. They were slaughtered here. Wherever a fleet of boats or a ship is plundered it is brought to this place for a division of the spoils. Sometimes there is wholesale slaughter among the crews when the cargo is grabbed. Sometimes the pirates tie people up and try out their weapons here along the sea shore." Here too was the place where they went in for cock-fighting and gambling.

One day Colonel Farquhar wanted to ascend the Forbidden Hill, as it was called by the Temenggong. The Temenggong's men said "None of us have the courage to go up the hill because there are many ghosts on it. Every day one can hear on it sounds as of hundreds of men. Sometimes one hears the sound of heavy drums and of people shouting." Colonel Farquhar laughed and said, "I should like to see your ghosts" and turning to his Malacca men "Draw this gun to the top of the hill." Among them there were several who were frightened, but having no option they pulled the gun up. All who went up were Malacca men, none of the Singapore men daring to approach the hill. On the hill there was not much forest and not many large trees, only a few shrubs here and there. Although the men were frightened they were shamed by the presence of Colonel Farquhar and went up whether they wanted to or not. When they reached the top Colonel Farquhar ordered the gun to be loaded and then he himself fired twelve rounds in succession over the top of the hill in front of them. Then he ordered a pole to be erected on which he hoisted the English flag. He said "Cut down all these bushes." He also ordered them to make a path for people to go up and down the hill. Everyday there was this work being done, the undergrowth being slashed down and a pathway cleared.

At that time there were few animals, wild or tame on the Island of Singapore, except rats. There were thousands of rats all over the district, some almost as large as cats. They were so big that they used

⁷ *todak* is a small swordfish which skims along the surface of the water with its snout in the air. In the *Sejarah Melayu* (ed. 1909: 57-8) is found the well-known story of the swordfish attack on Singapore. The place was saved by a boy whom the Raja, afraid of his cleverness, then had put to death. Possibly the rock which the Orang Laut held in such dread was connected with this legend.

to attack us if we went out walking at night and many people were knocked over. In the house where I was living we used to keep a cat. One night at about midnight we heard the cat mewing, and my friend went out carrying a light to see why the cat was making such a noise. He saw six or seven rats crowding round and biting the cat; some bit its ears, some its paws, some its nose so that it could no longer move but only utter cry after cry. When my companion saw what was happening he shouted to me and I ran out at the back to have a look. Six or seven men came pressing round to watch but did nothing to release the cat, which only cried the louder at the sight of so many men, like a person beseeching help. Then someone fetched a stick and struck at the rats, killing the two which were biting the cat's ears. Its ears freed, the cat then pounced on another rat and killed it. Another was hit by the man with a stick and the rest ran away. The cat's face and nose were lacerated and covered with blood. This was the state of affairs in all the houses, which were full of rats. They could hardly be kept under control, and the time had come when they took notice of people. Colonel Farquhar's place was also in the same state and he made an order saying "To anyone who kills a rat I will give one *wang*." When people heard of this they devised all manner of instruments for killing rats. Some made spring-traps, some pincer-traps, some cage-traps, some traps with running nooses, some traps with closing doors, others laid poison or put down lime. I had never in my life before seen rats caught by liming; only now for the first time. Some searched for rat-holes, some speared the rats or killed them in various other ways. Every day crowds of people brought the dead bodies to Colonel Farquhar's place, some having fifty or sixty others only six or seven. At first the rats brought in every morning were counted almost in thousands, and Colonel Farquhar paid out according to his promise. After six or seven days a multitude of rats were still to be seen, and he promised five *duit* for each rat caught.* They were still brought in in thousands and Colonel Farquhar ordered a very deep trench to be dug and the dead bodies to be buried. So the numbers began to dwindle, until people were bringing in only some ten or twenty a day. Finally the uproar and the campaign against the rats in Singapore came to an end, the infestation having completely subsided.

Some time later a great many centipedes appeared, people being bitten by them all over the place. In every dwelling, if one sat for any length of time, two or three centipedes would drop from the attap

* "He reduced the reward by half" (Shellabear, 1917); Farquhar's first offer had been *sa-wang*. See note 17, under Chapter 6.

roof. Rising in the morning from a night's sleep one would be sure to find two or three very large centipedes under one's mat, and they caused people much annoyance. When the news reached Colonel Farquhar he made an order saying that to anyone who killed a centipede he would give one *wang*. Hearing this people searched high and low for centipedes, and every day they brought in hundreds which they had caught by methods of their own devising. So the numbers dwindled until once in two or three days some twenty of thirty centipedes were brought in. Finally the campaign and furore caused by the centipedes came to an end, and people no longer cried out because of the pain when they got bitten.

12. The Dutch in Malacca

This is an account of what happened in the Settlement of Malacca which had been handed back by the English to the Dutch. Every day the Dutch made changes in the methods of administration, the system of government and the laws of the English. In doing so they inflicted great hardship on the poor for every day people were obliged to pay money. Taxes were increased; that is to say, imposed on things which had not been taxed by the English. Eventually a man could not even sink a new well without a tax being demanded, and people who built houses were also taxed. I cannot remember all the things for which a tax was payable, like boats going to sea which paid tolls, and the like.

There was a man named Bamgoor, the Secretary.¹ He was a leech drinking the blood of Allah's servants. He employed four policemen, all of them like rampant leeches. Wherever they encountered man or beast they sucked his blood as if they hoped soon to grow into pythons. They used to make it their business to spy on people's houses and when they found anyone suffering from mild scabies they would magnify the condition saying "In a short time you will develop open sores" and behaving very aggressively. Through fear of them the man would give them money, and they desisted. The policemen would then go and tell their friends who in their turn would come round pestering the same person and again money would be given. Thus were the servants of Allah oppressed in those days in Malacca. All with one accord cursed and swore, groaning under these daily impositions which were endless, not just once in a while. When Bamgoor came out of the Fort riding his horse there was everywhere a general rush for home to get brooms and to start sweeping in front of the houses, until

¹ *sa-orang sekretaris-nya yang bernama Bamgoor*. The senior executive official to the Governor, and secretary of the Council. (See Chapter 10, page 139.)

the noise of sweeping rent the air. Because people were afraid of being fined, whenever Bamgoor went there was the sound of people sweeping. Yet when he had gone home three or four people would be fined. This happened every day until Bamgoor himself came to be known as Mr. Sweep. When people wished to speak of Bamgoor by name they simply said Mr. Sweep and everyone understood. In all parts every race cursed and reviled him. As the Malays say, "The knife and the chopper are blunt indeed compared with a man's tongue."

According to the accounts I have heard all these deeds of the Dutch were prompted by a desire for general cleanliness. With this aim I strongly sympathize and am in agreement, if the intention is to stop people living from day to day in squalor and filth on the land, in their homes, and in matters of food. No doubt the Dutch action was right, in order to give warning of these matters to the Malays and other races. But in fact the things done by the Dutch in Malacca went much further than is customary in the matters I have mentioned, their bullying and oppressive behaviour waxing stronger and stronger every day. Because of this they antagonized all the servants of Allah, though these lacked the power to take their revenge. But they put their cause before Allah and it came to pass, by the will of Allah, that before three months were out Mr. Sweep became ill and almost demented, crying out continually in fear and declaring that people had struck him. Many doctors prescribed medicines but still they did him no good and he only cried out the more. Left to himself he used to have fits, falling down and trying to run away. One night while everyone slept he jumped from an upstairs room and fell into the road below. Thus he died, carrying with him an evil reputation.

The events I have mentioned should be taken as a warning by men of understanding, making it clear to them that the vengeance of Allah does not come by means of sticks and stones and weapons but in ways which no man can foresee. Whosoever does good is rewarded with good and whosoever does evil with evil.

When the people of Malacca heard that Mr. Sweep was indeed dead they lifted up their hands to heaven saying "So be it, Ya Allah. Yet is it not enough. When the Dutch Governor himself is dead then only will there be peace in Malacca." After Mr. Sweep's death his family sailed from Malacca home to Batavia. It was said that his wife died on the voyage and that one of his children was very ill all the way to Batavia.

Then news was heard in Malacca that the English had obtained a place in the Straits of Singapore, where they intended to found a settlement. The majority of people did not believe it, some saying

"This information may be wrong. Perhaps the English put in somewhere merely to look round the place." Others said "If the English have opened such a settlement it cannot succeed, because the cost would be no small matter and the English are not mad to throw away willingly so much money." Many were the opinions held by the Malacca folk, each according to his own ideas. They all aired their feelings but their words lacked conviction. After two or three days a boat arrived carrying news that Colonel Farquhar was definitely in Singapore, that he was founding a settlement, and that many Malacca men were with him. All the people off the boat said that anyone who took food like chickens, ducks, any kind of fruit and the like would make a big profit. Even so there were still not many people who believed. Then a day or two later there came another boat bearing a letter from Colonel Farquhar to his agent in Malacca asking him to send on his baggage. All the Malacca men with him had sent letters to their relations asking them to send food, chickens and ducks to Singapore. It was stated in the letters that Colonel Farquhar was in Singapore and had raised the English flag there. But, said Colonel Farquhar, a decision had not yet been reached as to whether the place would be made into a settlement. When Mr. Raffles arrived there would be definite news.

On hearing this news many people wanted to go taking food to Singapore. But at that time the pirates were as irrepressible as young chicks, even taking fishing boats from Malacca harbour. Every day one could see them passing from west to east and from east to west taking no notice of the Dutch. Because of them some people who wished to go were afraid. Nevertheless some food-carriers did set out because they heard that their profits would be large, and they gained a profit many times over when they reached Singapore. Others heard of this and were keen to take goods there; some wanted to work as labourers, others to set up shops. The news spread all over Malacca. When the Dutch heard the news that the English were proposing to make a settlement at Singapore their hearts were afire with anger and their bowels full of spite for, they thought, if this settlement at Singapore really does succeed Malacca may become desolate.² And

² The first agreement with the Témenggong was for a trading post only, though Raffles in his proclamation of 6 February, 1819, called Singapore an *establishment*. His action produced frenzied outbursts from the Dutch on just the grounds he had expected (see note 3 under Chapter 11). Thyssen wrote protesting to Bannerman who supported him in a despatch to Hastings in India. To Farquhar's urgent request for reinforcements, Bannerman at first turned a deaf ear. But the Governor-General, to whom the Board of Directors in London had given discretion to act as he thought best, temporized and rebuked Bannerman in a despatch which so surprised him that he at once sent the required troops to Singapore.

all the while people were taking food and poultry to Singapore. The Dutch were angry and would allow nobody to take anything to the Straits. Any vessel intending to make for the Straits they confiscated. Many were the people who sustained losses through seizure. In spite of these acts people continued to take away goods secretly and when the Dutch came to hear of it they confiscated their property and charged the owners under the law, some being imprisoned and others fined. They detailed a sailing-boat to stand guard at the estuary of the Malacca River, with orders to capture any vessel making for the Straits.³ Nevertheless there were many who sailed. Those intercepted were all arrested and those that escaped went on their way.

Any who encountered the pirates were slain to the last man, except those that jumped overboard who suffered only the capture of their boats. Scores of boats belonging to the people of Malacca were plundered. Sometimes their crews alone returned with just their shirts on their back. Some boats disappeared entirely with all hands, some were taken to other countries and sold, some had their cargoes looted and were then sunk. Fighting sometimes broke out between the two sides and many were killed before they could disengage and run. This was the way in which each man chanced his luck.⁴ Especially feared by people making their way to and from Singapore at that time was the Kukup Strait* for it was infested with pirates. They used the Kukup Strait because it was like the room of a house, offering protec-

The margin of safety was slender. Hasting's despatch cancelling Raffles's instructions had been on its way when Raffles left Penang, and Lt Crawford, who arrived back at Malacca on 9 February, found a furious Thyssen talking of sending an armed force to Singapore. But he says that by 27 February, when he was there again, Thyssen had so far calmed down as to allow one of Farquhar's ships to revictual in Malacca although, according to Abdullah, he strictly forbade all emigration to the new settlement.

Soon the storm began to subside. Raffles had declared Singapore a free port before he left for Bencoolen. The volume of trade attracted to the settlement in the first few months of its existence led to recognition of its value. But it was not until the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 that all Dutch claims to the island were formally renounced.

³ *Ka-Selat*, i.e. the Straits of Singapore to the south-east of Malacca.

⁴ The East Indian Archipelago with its numerous islands divided by narrow sea channels and creeks was the ideal hunting ground for pirates who roamed unchecked over the whole area. The best organized and most dangerous were the Lanuns of Mindanao and the Balanini of the Sulu Sea, who used long fast rowing boats and had their hide-outs in mangrove swamps, where punitive expeditions could not follow them. Their rivals, the Malays and Saletes, had their exchange market on Bulang Island south of Singapore, where they disposed of slaves and booty. By preventing the free passage of boats from port to port the Dutch trade monopoly gave an impetus to piracy, which the Malay regarded as a respectable means of earning a livelihood—see the conversation between Raffles and the two Singapore chiefs on page 163.

* See Map 1 (P. Kukub).

tion from the strongest gales. Sailors wishing to protect themselves from the wind used to enter the Kukup Strait where they were seized by the pirates. For the pirates could see them but they could not see the pirates. So they suddenly came upon the pirates and fell an easy prey to them. It was at that time that about forty Malays from the Javanese quarter of Malacca, all of them very young, set out in search of Singapore in a boat. They were lost without trace. Not one of them has been seen up to the present day. They were killed to the last man in resisting their attackers, and no news has been heard of them.

However, although the voyage was full of dangers hundreds of the Malacca folk left for Singapore, every man wishing to earn his living; particularly because of the hardships of unemployment in Malacca and the injustices of the Dutch which I have mentioned. People therefore went to try their luck in Singapore, some as labourers cutting the jungle or building houses, others as shopkeepers and merchants, even the idlers and shirkers, each with his own particular line of business. Nevertheless people in Malacca were still doubtful whether Singapore would become a permanent settlement. Food was most difficult to obtain in Singapore, a chicken costing two rupees and a duck when available one dollar. An egg cost one *wang* and a guava fruit one *wang* and eight *duit*. Money was abundant but food was not available because the Dutch would not allow the Malacca boats to sail. Whenever a fully laden boat arrived from Malacca everyone crowded round it and snapped up goods for which they paid exorbitant prices, a pineapple at seven *wang* and an over-ripe durian at two silver rupees. I myself used to purchase durians at this price time after time. Everything was very expensive.

Now it came to pass by the decree of Allah the Most High upon His servant that Timmerman Thyssen the Dutch Governor of Malacca died.⁵ Then the penalties, the confiscations and the fines were eased a little and the Malacca people ceased their cursing. They could breathe a little, for the rigour of the law was relaxed. But the Governor died with an evil reputation all the same. Many rich men had been ruined by lending him money and he owed large sums all round the Settlement, having squandered much of the government's wealth and having obtained much on promise of repayment. After his death his house and property were auctioned, but the amount sufficed to pay off less than one part in ten of his debts. The rest was lost without hope of recovery. The people of Malacca at that time had become parched like fish dried in the sun, so difficult had they found it to

⁵ Timmerman Thyssen died on 15 January, 1823 (*East-Indian Register*, 1825 (2): 530).

earn their living when no foreign boats called at the port and English ships did not enter it. People of means had lived on their capital having no alternative. Their homes, their parents and their families were there, so what else could they do? Whether they liked it or not they stayed there, like tigers chewing earth. If they had not had these responsibilities, they would have fled immediately from Malacca. Besides, rice was becoming more and more expensive as time went on, and people in Malacca were very short of it.

Verily everyone should offer thanks a thousandfold to Allah, whose grace is overflowing and who has pity on His servants, on that at a time of severe drought in Malacca He visited the Straits with the rain of plenty, because the English had founded a settlement at Singapore. So might people find calm and leisure to earn their living there; the rich after the fashion of the rich, the poor after the fashion of the poor, each man could maintain himself according to his station in life. For at that time the merest rubbish from Malacca taken to Singapore could be turned into money; all the more so goods of the best quality for people of other countries had not yet heard that Singapore was indeed becoming a settlement, and therefore foreign boats did not dare to enter. In addition there were the pirates, bold as young chicks, so that unless the boats were large ones and their crews fully-armed and determined men the owners could not go there. At that time there were not many of the Malacca folk who owned boats of the type we now call ketches, luggers, schooners and the like. Only a few individuals owned boats and their hire was costly. If a large number of people wanted a passage to Singapore the fare was three dollars a head, the passengers providing their own food. There was still a majority of people who thought that the Singapore settlement was only a temporary one and would not last long, believing what the Dutch were saying, in Malacca that "Singapore cannot be made into a settlement." Allah knows best.

13. The Treaty with Tengku Long

Now I will return to the story of Singapore. Colonel Farquhar had reached an agreement with Temenggong Abdul Rahman stating their intention to go and invite Tengku Long, the son of Sultan Mahmud, from Riau to Singapore. But they did not dare to do this without the knowledge of Mr. Raffles who at this time was still in India.

Sometime later Mr. Raffles came from India with four ships and two small ketches. On his arrival Colonel Farquhar and the Temenggong went out to meet him at sea. When they reached him he greeted

them with the greatest respect. Then they both described how matters stood. When Colonel Farquhar spoke of the proposed invitation to Tengku Long to come from Riau, Mr. Raffles exclaimed in surprise "Have you not done this already?" Colonel Farquhar replied "We wished to consult you first, for this is an important matter." Then Mr. Raffles said "Yes do it, but select reliable men so that the secret does not leak out. I wish Tengku Long to be here in three days. I will not go ashore until he arrives." Colonel Farquhar and the Temenggong set off at once for the land. As soon as they went ashore they sent for Raja Embong. Now Raja Embong was a relative of Sultan Mahmud and a kinsman of Tengku Long. After he had come all three of them conferred together in the Temenggong's house, and Raja Embong was told to go to Riau and bring back Tengku Long in three days' time. He was not to let the secret out for they were afraid that if it came to the ears of the Dutch they would not allow Tengku Long to leave. He was to bring Tengku Long by any means he could, even if he had only one shirt to his back, and to say that Mr. Raffles invited him and awaited his arrival in Singapore. This settled, Raja Embong embarked at once in a small boat and set sail for Riau.¹

After a day and a night at sea he reached Penyengat, Riau, at midnight. Raja Embong landed and went in to see Tengku Long. He said "Mr Raffles and Colonel Farquhar and the Temenggong Abdul

¹ All modern accounts agree that Raffles played the dominant role in the Singapore landing, and in the negotiations which followed. The official memoranda of Bannerman, Hastings and the Court of Directors leave no room for doubt. A copy of the preliminary agreement signed by Raffles and the Temenggong is extant; and there are also two eye-witness accounts of the landing of varying value, (1) by Wa Hakim, a batin of the Orang Laut (Haughton, 1882: 285-6), (2) by Lt Crawford, B. M., commander of the second survey ship in Raffles's flotilla, who most providentially kept a diary covering the period November 1818 to April 1819.

Why then does Abdullah assert so positively that Raffles was not there at the first landing, on 29 January 1819? The two personal experiences he has related so far, the plague of rats and centipedes, suggest a growing township at a somewhat later date. We may accept his statement that he reached Singapore with Thomsen after the founding. His version of the landing is not, therefore, an eye-witness account. He has said (page 139) that Farquhar left in one ship, as he did, while here he speaks of Raffles coming in six ships: five ships, in fact, of the convoy proper left Penang under Raffles's orders, together with a sixth which did not come straight to Singapore. But the vessels travelled independently to the Karimun Islands to join Capt'n Daniel Ross, and they joined up again there, making a total of seven vessels, not six. Abdullah has kept separate two components of the voyage from Penang, which actually merged before the flotilla reached Singapore. In giving credit to Farquhar, he even says that it was at Farquhar's suggestion that they looked at Singapore Island: this of course, was not so: the suggestion was made by Capt'n Daniel Ross, and Raffles himself had the place in mind as a possible site, though he cannot have known of the ease with which it could be approached.

Actually as soon as the position of the various chiefs was clear to Raffles he at once sent Farquhar to Riau. The latter was still away when, according to Lt Crawford, Tengku Husain suddenly arrived at Singapore on 31 January. Raffles recognized him as Sultan, and concluded the Treaty which was signed on 6 February, by which time Farquhar had arrived back.

Rahman ask Your Highness kindly to go to Singapore for they wish to make Your Highness Sultan." They talked the matter over, just the two of them, without interruption. When Tengku Long heard the news he was surprised, and he pondered it for a while. Then he sent for Enche' Abu, a man whom Tengku Long trusted like his own minister of state. His title was Enche' Abu Puteh. Tengku Long called him to his house where they discussed what was the best thing to do, for Tengku Long was suspicious. He feared that he was being deceived by Mr. Raffles who would seize him and take him to India. Then Enche' Abu made a proposal agreeing with Raja Embong's, saying 'Your Highness's servant is at your service all will do whatever is Your Highness's pleasure, but I consider that our brother Raja Embong intends no harm whatever to Your Highness.' After a moment Tengku Long said "Very well, if that is so go quickly and fetch my *kéris*. Let us leave at once. Make no mention of the matter. If anyone asks say I am going fishing." Then his foster-mother came down with a box of his clothing, and an attendant and Enche' Abu went down into the boat. There was no time to take any more stores on board, so Tengku Long ordered another boat to follow on the next day carrying his food; and the cutter and two other boats, a fishing boat and one with the front shaped into a dragon's head were to be rowed to Singapore.

While they were sailing Tengku Long kept repeating to himself the words of Mr. Raffles inviting him to Singapore, for he was still doubtful about them as I have said above. The next day the boat bearing the provisions caught up with them in the Lobam Strait.* They sailed on for two days before reaching the Temenggong's landing-stage at Singapore. The Temenggong and Colonel Farquhar came to receive Tengku Long and as they got into the boat Colonel Farquhar said: "Let us go and meet Mr. Raffles on the water, for he does not wish to come ashore until you arrive." Tengku Long said "Very well" but his heart was in a flutter for he thought he would be made a prisoner. Tengku Long and Colonel Farquhar went on board together and the boat was paddled out to sea flying a yellow flag.

Seeing them approach, those on board Mr. Raffles's ship prepared to receive them, and when they had come alongside the ship Mr. Raffles himself extended his hand to Tengku Long, and salutes were fired by the many ships and ketches. Mr. Raffles treated Tengku Long with the greatest respect and honour. He showed all four of

* See Map I.

them to their seats. Enche' Abu Puteh sat behind Tengku Long, and Raja Embong a little further off. Mr. Raffles then began to speak, smiling with infinite charm and bowing his head repeatedly, his words sweet as a sea of honey. Not only the hearts of men but the very stones themselves would have melted at the sound of his words, spoken in dulcet tones gentle enough to banish every anxiety and suspicion which might linger still deep down in the minds of his listeners. The waves of doubt which swept over the rocks of anxiety were calmed, the storm-clouds and the darkness that presage a tempest, all vanished; until day appeared serene and gentle breezes played from the garden of friendship, and suddenly there rose the full moon shining radiantly as on the fourteenth night of the month² to reveal the honesty and sincerity of Mr. Raffles towards Tengku Long. In a brief moment all his sorrow turned to joy and his face brightened with relief. One glance showed Mr. Raffles the change in Tengku Long's demeanour, and at once he rose from his chair and shook hands with him. Then he led him into his private room and shut the door. They conversed together, the two of them, in the room, and nobody knew what secrets they were discussing. I cannot say what passed between them. If I were to know the subject of their conversation I would certainly write of it in this book. Allah alone knows. A moment later both of them came out smiling broadly, shook hands with each other and descended into the boat, where Colonel Farquhar and the Temenggong joined them. The ships' captain and men carrying all their stores, their equipment and their weapons also went on board.

Arrived at the Temenggong's house Tengku Long put on royal garments while Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar together with the ship's company and the Malacca men gathered and stood waiting in the middle of the open space. A table was placed in position with chairs on either side, and a line of sailors was drawn up to right and left. Then out came Tengku Long with the Temenggong and Raja Embong, accompanied by numerous Malay followers bearing a yellow umbrella. As they approached, by the will of Allah there came a shower of rain while the sun shone, which the Malays take to be a propitious omen. Mr. Raffles quickly came forward to receive Tengku Long, and together they went into the tent. Even so Tengku Long was still afraid, thinking that Mr. Raffles was deceiving him and

² *térbit-lah bulan purnama empat-belas hari bulan*, a well known Malay metaphor for feminine beauty. As used here, however, it does not sound too blatant a cliché. In this short allegorical passage Abdullah tries to imitate the style of classical works like the *Bustanu's-Salatun* (ca. 1638).

wanted to take him off into captivity in India. As he was walking along he said to Enche' Abu "Do not move from your place behind me."

Mr. Raffles seated Tengku Long in the middle, while he stood on the right and Colonel Farquhar on the left. All the white men raised their hats and folded their arms as they greeted the Sultan.³ When they were ready a young Englishman stepped forward wearing a cocked hat with bird-of-paradise plumes⁴ and the uniform of an officer, thick gold braid covered with a shoulder-cloth, and stood in the centre in front of the table. He produced two scrolls, one in English and the other in Malay. Standing to attention he saluted the Sultan. Then he read the English version to the assembly. After he had finished reading Enche' Yahya came forward and read the Malay version. This is what it said, "Be it known to all men that the Governor-General of India has appointed Tengku Long to be Sultan of Singapore and all the territories comprised in it, with the title of Sultan Husain Shah ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Mahmud." Then all the white men saluted the Sultan and paid their respects to him, after which the ship's guns fired many times. Then the Temenggong, Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar escorted the Sultan back to the Temenggong's house, where Mr. Raffles saluted and said good-bye, shaking hands with him and the Temenggong before returning to the ship. When Mr. Raffles had gone the Sultan said to the Temenggong "Build me a palace for I wish to bring my wife and all the royal household from Riau."

To return to Mr. Raffles, the next day he brought all his belongings ashore. An attap house was built for him where he took up his residence with his brother-in-law, Captain Flint, whom he appointed harbour-master.⁵ The remains of Mr. Raffles's house can be seen to-

³ *Yang di-pertuan*, the title of the ruler, now used of Tèngku Husain for the first time. Crawford gives details of the ceremony; the artillery pieces drawn up and the sepoy guard firing a salute, the Sultan's bodyguard with their "pikes decorated with stained hair and feathers," the ships hung with flags, and the tented village.

⁴ *Chèpiau lipat di-atas-nya ada berbulu burung chèndèrawasih. chèndèrawasih* is from Skr. *chandra wangsa*, moon-born. The bird-of-paradise is found only in the Aru Islands and New Guinea. Mythical powers are attributed to it in old Malay romances. Crawford says that the English version of the treaty was read by Capt. Crosby to the assembled company, which included some thirty Europeans; then a Malay translation was read by the Sultan's secretary, "the best dressed man among them [the Malays]."

⁵ Capt. Flint, R.N., had commanded a ship on the Java expedition. In Malacca he had married Raffles's eldest sister, Maryanne, and they were together in Java until 21 October, 1813, when they returned to England, in connection with an appeal he had submitted to the Court of Directors. Flint arrived back in Java on 31 July 1815, and made a second visit to England in 1817. At the end of 1819 he came out east again to take up the post of Master Attendant in Singapore, which Raffles had reserved for him. He lived at first in a house near the river mouth, the upper floor of

day at the end of Tanjong Singapura where Mr. Johnston's warehouse now stands.⁶ Colonel Farquhar built himself a house on the field in front of the "Court", that is, in front of the present Tranqua eating-house. It was an attap house, with walls of palm-netting. The angseña trees now standing on the open field were planted by him, having been collected out at Tanjong Keling and brought in Raja Haji's boat from Malacca. After Tengku Long's installation as Sultan Mr. Raffles gave him a present of a thousand dollars and some lengths of black and yellow cloth, and fixed his allowance at \$416/25 cents a month. The Temenggong's allowance was to be one half of this, \$208/12½ cents a month. The same day an agreement was reached between the East India Company and the Sultan in which it was stated that Tamils and Bengalis would come under control of the Company, and Chinese and Malays under the control of the Sultan. It was further provided that the revenues of Singapore, whatever the amount, would be divided into two parts, the Company taking half and Sultan Husain Shah half.⁷

A few days after the allowances and the agreement about the Settlement had been concluded Mr. Raffles sailed to India leaving Colonel Farquhar as Resident, Mr. Flint as Harbour-master, and Mr. Bernard, Colonel Farquhar's son-in-law, as Magistrate in Singapore.⁸ Singapore at that time was like the sun when it has just risen,

which Raffles used as an office in 1822. From the latter part of 1823 he and Maryanne lived in a house which they had built on Mt. Sophia. He died at sea off the China coast in October, 1828, while on his way to the Cape on sick leave.

⁶ Tanjong Singapura was a small promontory on the south side of the river, later levelled on Raffles's instructions (see page 164-5). Andrew L. Johnston came to Singapore in 1819, and founded a merchant house which lasted until 1892. From 1829, when C. R. Read joined his firm, he lived in the first house up the river, on ground rented from Flint, where the premises of Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co. now stands.

⁷ Under the preliminary Agreement of 29 January, 1819, the Temenggong was to receive an annual payment of three thousand dollars, in return for which he allowed the English the sole right to maintain a factory anywhere within his territory. Farquhar arrived back from Riau on 3 February, with a declaration of the Yamtuan Muda's neutrality and the information that the Dutch had as yet laid no claim to the island of Singapore. The Treaty of 6 February made the Sultan an annual allowance of \$5,000 and confirmed the Temenggong's allowance, besides giving him half the dues levied on shipping. The Treaty remained in force until 1824 (see note 2, under Chapter 22). Raffles substantially increased the allowances in 1823: see this Chapter, page 163 and note 15, below.

Abdullah is wrong in quoting the Temenggong's allowance at the lower figure of \$2,500 per annum, and in giving half the shipping dues (the "revenues" of Singapore, *hasil negeri Singapura ini*) to the Sultan instead of the Temenggong.

⁸ Francis James Bernard, Farquhar's son-in-law, came on the expedition from Penang in his own vessel, the *Ganges*, 130 tons. He acted as Master Attendant until May 1820, and subsequently was put in charge of the police, a force whose strength was very inadequate for a number of years. It was as police officer and clerk to the magistrates that he figured in the notorious case of Sayid Yasin (see page 169, ff.). Abdullah is wrong in calling him a magistrate.

waxing stronger and stronger as it gets higher and higher. Merchandise poured in like a torrent. Merchants came from different countries, more because they wanted to see the new settlement than because they wanted to trade. A brimming tide of goods flowed in from every country, for instance European articles of indescribably fine workmanship; things which our grand-parents never saw, like mounds of vegetables, and all kinds of other products sold cheaply by auction in four or five different places every day of the year. When an auction sale was to be held it was the practice at that time not to sound a gong or to notify each householder but to post scores of notices at the street corners saying "To-morrow at 10 a.m. an auction sale will be held at premises of Mr. So-and-So", and mentioning the type of goods to be sold. The port of Singapore was crammed full of shipping, ketches, sloops, frigates, two-and-a-half masters, schooners, junks from China, Annam and Siam, and boats from Borneo.

Although the population was so large there was not yet a single house built of stone. Then houses were all built of attap. The first stone house, the old police station, was put up by Mr. Methven, an English merchant who retired soon afterwards to England. This building became the police station, that is to say, a place where charges could be made, although before that Mr. Bernard had built an attap hut for use as a charge room, in the Temenggong's district. This was the very first police station in Singapore.

All the inhabitants were dismayed by frequent incidents, houses catching fire, robberies taking place in the high noon, people getting stabbed. When morning came people would be found stabbed and wounded to death. The Temenggong's men, the Sultan's men and the foreigners of all races went about fully armed; some of them robbed people in broad daylight, some broke into houses and stole people's property, for they were afraid of nothing. For the settlement was not yet on a sure footing, the number of white men was not yet large, Indian troops had not come and there were only four or five policemen. Every day it was the Temenggong's men who started brawls, for their attitude towards the Malacca men was like that of tigers towards goats. The Malacca men were unarmed, knew nothing of dagger tactics, and had never seen bloodshed. In any kind of clash between the Malacca-born, whether Chinese, Malays, or Indians, and the Temenggong's men Colonel Farquhar always took the side of the former for he realized that their nature made them shy of fighting with weapons, but that when it came to using fists none of the other races could stand up to them. The two sides were always at loggerheads, and on many occasions violent quarrels flared up

between them, not individual combats but free-for-all fights, when a man of one side harboured a grievance against a man of the other. If they had not all been afraid of Colonel Farquhar they would have gone on killing each other every day without stopping.

When the Settlement of Singapore was about four months old I arrived with Mr. Thomsen from Malacca. I found that there were no houses yet on the far side of the river. It was covered with jungle, mangrove trees and mud. People lived only on the near side. Sultan Husain Shah was just starting to build his palace at Kampong Gelam. But the area was covered with mangrove and there was no means of approach over the land. People going to Kampong Gelam, used only the route along the shore. They feared the journey through the swamp, though they had some fear also of the shore route.⁹

The Sultan's entire family in Riau, his attendants, his household and entourage, moved to Singapore together in hundreds of boats. Some lodged with the Sultan, some with the Temenggong, and others opened up new ground inland, everyone choosing according to his own wishes.¹⁰

Every day without ceasing murders took place along the road to Kampong Gelam. There were policemen on duty here and there but they themselves were often murdered. Colonel Farquhar employed no small labour force cutting down the bushes and cleaning away the scrub bordering the road, making up the surface, and repairing the Company's houses, each section having its particular task. All the workmen were Malacca Malays who lived in crowded quarters up against a *nibong* fence near the Temenggong's premises. They built themselves an oratory, that is a house for prayer, round which were grouped the huts in which they lived. Their headmen was Enche' Yahya who was known as Enche' Siang.

Some eight months after the settlement had started the fishing fleet came from Malacca to fish in Singapore waters.

Most commonly caught were dorabs for they were an easy prey, never having been fished with hand-lines before in the whole history of Singapore. The fishermen used to stand out 120-180 yards from the shore. When the Singapore people saw the Malacca fishermen making much money by hook-and-line fishing they also began to fish with hook-and-line like the Malacca folk. Previously they had

⁹ Kampong Gelam was a small village in which lived a few families of Malay fishermen, to the north-east of the settlement, near the mouth of the Rochore River. Access to it was by a narrow mud-path through a swamp impassable in wet weather.

¹⁰ Before 1819 an area two or three miles inland, where the Singapore River became a narrow stream, had been occupied by Chinese. They cultivated gambier, and paid a land rent to the Temenggong.

known no method of catching fish other than by spearing them. When the Singapore Settlement was a year old there came a certain Malacca man named Haji Mata-mata. He constructed large fish-traps with rows of stakes called *bélat* and *kelong*. Other people built *jérmal*.¹¹

In the first *kelong* which was put up, off Teluk Ayer, they caught no small number of *ténggiri* fish; in fact, such vast surfeit that the fish could not be eaten and had to be thrown away. Their roes were taken out, put in barrels containing salt, and sold as a regular commodity to ships. The people of Singapore were surprised to see the number of fish caught in this way. The place where they built *kelong* was at Teluk Ayer Poing, near Tanjong Malang.* It became well-known. One day Colonel Farquhar and his children went to see the men catching fish. As they arrived at the line of stakes men were scooping out the fish. Now the fish in the trap were in three layers; at the bottom fish already dead, in the middle fish almost dead and unable to swim, and on the top fish alive and swimming. One could see their heads as they lay piled on top of each other. Colonel Farquhar seeing this wanted to catch some fish himself, and he seized several in his hand. His daughter also wanted to catch a fish. She picked up one by its tail but it flipped round and bruised her hand which swelled up. So they returned home.

In the days before the Malacca folk came to Singapore the Sea Gypsies did not know how to use oars, using only light paddles to manoeuvre their canoes,¹² for they had never seen men using oars. They very seldom encountered strangers. Boats using paddles dared not venture on the high seas because the Singapore Straits were notorious for the pirates which infested them. Only when the Malacca folk came did the Sea Gypsies start making oars, copying the Malacca oars. In their largest boats they did use oars of a sort, known as broad oars or Malay oars, but these could not be used to exert so much force as the Malacca kind. Neither the men nor the women knew how to wear proper clothing. They wore only a small piece of cloth of nondescript colour and indescribably offensive smell which they

¹¹ The distinction between a *jérmal* and *kelong* is one of locality rather than kind. The word *jérmal* is used all along the Straits of Malacca to describe a certain kind of large marine fish-trap into which the tide carries the fish along lines of converging stakes planted in the water (see Winstedt, 1925: 14-5). *Bélat* is a similar device employing trellised screens.

* See Map V.

¹² *tiada-lah Orang Laut itu tahu memakai dayong-dayong di-pérah, melainkan ia berkayoh dan méngumpul dan memakai kolek sahaja . . . berkayoh* means to propel a small boat with a single-bladed paddle; the paddler makes a wide sweeping stroke bringing the paddle in to the side of the boat thus straightening it on its course but taking off most of the way. *Méngumpul* is to propel by resting the paddle on the gunwhale and levering it outwards. The *dayong* is an oar for rowing.

kept on wet or dry. They did not know how to live on land or make houses. All their lives they spent in their boats, in which they were born, became wedded, and died. One could recognise them, male or female, by the waddling gait they adopted whenever they walked on land, because they were accustomed only to sitting in boats. As for their religion it was Muslim in name only for they did not behave at all according to the laws of Islam.

Since Singapore has become a settlement chintzes from Europe have been used as bathing clouts, broadcloths as trousers, Bugis satins and the *batek* silks of Java as hats. People carry silk umbrellas in their hands and wear leather sandals, and talk fluently in English, Benggali and Tamil. If an Englishman addresses them in Malay they reply in English.

As for the things I have mentioned above, I am astonished to see how markedly our world is changing. A new world is being created, the old world destroyed.¹³ The very jungle becomes a settled district, while elsewhere a settlement reverts to jungle. These things show us how the world and its pleasures are but transitory experiences, like something borrowed which has to be returned whenever the owner comes to demand it.

But let me return to the story of Singapore. As for Sultan Husain Shah, in the absence of Mr. Raffles Colonel Farquhar paid him every month the allowance according to the settlement made by Mr. Raffles. The Temenggong also received his share. But the Sultan said that the amount was insufficient for his needs owing to the large number of people for whom he wished to provide, because they depended on him for support. He made this known to Colonel Farquhar because he was short of money. Colonel Farquhar authorised him to receive the revenues of the opium farm lease in order to augment his income. In the outcome he gained a sum of \$800 a month, that is, Rs. 1,600. This arrangement remained in force for several months until Mr. Raffles returned from India.

As time went on the numbers of foreigners and white merchants greatly increased and the fame of the Singapore settlement spread far and wide, confirming the fact that it was a permanent settlement. Many people from other countries moved to Singapore, and some gave agencies to traders in Singapore, sending in goods from various places. All these factors increased the population of the settlement, which became filled with various races plying their different trades

¹³ *ke'ubahan dunia ini dengan kenyataan ada-nya, daripada tiada di-adakan, daripada ada di-tidakkan.* cf. Abdullah's observations on the destruction of the Malacca Fort, pp. 61, ff., and note 11, in Chapter 4.

and crafts, all of them living in Singapore. Among them there were poor men who became rich and some who brought capital of tens of thousands of dollars from their own countries only to lose it all and become beggars. Everyone traded on his luck for, as we say, "If you have the luck of coconut fibre you float, if of a stone you sink."

Sultan Husain Shah again came and reported that his allowance was insufficient. This time Mr. Raffles was there with Mr. Farquhar, the Temenggong came too with the elders and the palace guards, and all the Sultan's followers were there. When Mr. Raffles heard their complaint he pondered for a while thinking the matter over. Then he replied in these words: "Your Highness and Tengku Temenggong, I have a scheme which will bring Your Highness much profit and will make Your Highness's and the Temenggong's name well-known everywhere. There is a friend of mine in India who is very rich, the head of a firm of English merchants, whose name is Mr. Palmer.¹⁴ I could write him a letter asking him to send to Your Highness goods up to any amount Your Highness may wish, and Your Highness can take a commission on the sales, and build premises anywhere Your Highness wishes for an agency house as the English merchants do. For here the local races, the Bugis, Malay, and Brunei merchants would prefer to trade with Your Highness than with the white men or the Indians or the Chinese. I will provide the money to put up the house and will make you a sketch showing how it should be built." When the Sultan and the Temenggong heard Mr. Raffles's words they laughed and said "It is not the custom of rulers to engage in trade for they would lose dignity before other rulers." When Mr. Raffles heard this the look on his face changed and his brow was dark, though he was smiling as he replied "Your Highness, I am surprised to hear of such an extraordinary custom. Why should trading be so wicked that it brings disgrace when piracy brings no such disgrace?" The Sultan replied "Piracy is our birthright and so brings no disgrace. Even so, those who take part in acts of piracy are not Malays by descent." Mr. Raffles replied "Very well, if you are not willing the matter is closed. Please consider carefully, Your Highness and the Temenggong, how much money will be enough for you each month so that you will not have to bring any more of these

¹⁴ Born in India in 1766, John Palmer built up the world-famous agency house of Palmer & Co., with branches in Penang, Singapore and Java. Called by Warren Hastings the "prince of merchants", he exercised much political power through friends in high places. He disliked Raffles, whose policy seemed likely to disturb his business, and took Farquhar's side in the controversy over Singapore. Ultimately his firm came to grief, though it was not in this firm that Raffles later lost his savings amounting to £16,000. See Wurtzburg, *JMBRAS*, 22, (1), 1949: 182-83.

complaints that your allowance is insufficient." They did not reply. Mr. Raffles asked the question a second time. Then Enche' Abu Puteh replied "Sir, I reckon that \$3,000 would be sufficient." Mr. Raffles retorted "Even \$10,000 will not be enough if it is recklessly squandered. Your Highness and the Temenggong, please go and think over carefully in the next day or two how much you will need each month." The Sultan and the Temenggong said "Very well." When Mr. Raffles came from India he had made a present to the Sultan of a very fine horse and carriage, costing in India one thousand two hundred rupees. Three days later the Sultan and the Temenggong with all their followers came to the house of Mr. Johnston where Mr. Raffles, Colonel Farquhar and Mr. Flint, Mr. Raffles's brother-in-law, were gathered. It was then and there settled by Mr. Raffles and the others that the Sultan would receive one thousand Spanish dollars a month and the Temenggong seven hundred, and these allowances remained in force until Mr. Crawford came to be Resident of Singapore.¹⁵

There is a story about how Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar together debated the best way to enlarge the Settlement. Colonel Farquhar considered that Kampong Gelam should become the business quarter, that is to say a tradings centre with markets and so forth. But Mr. Raffles thought that the business quarter should be on the near side of the river.* Colonel Farquhar said "This side is very unsuitable as the ground is all muddy and the water is not good. It will be very costly to reclaim the land. Besides, where can we obtain sufficient earth for banking?" Mr. Raffles replied "If Kampong Gelam were to become a business area this side of the river¹⁶ would remain unimproved for as long as a hundred years." Each of the two men held firmly to his own opinion, the one saying this the other that, each trying to find support for his view. They thought the matter over for three days. Then it occurred to Mr. Raffles that the small hill near Tanjong Singapura might be broken up and the earth used for banking on the near side of the river. The next day the two of them considered this idea and agreed to it. The people must have

¹⁵ Raffles paid two visits to Singapore, after 7 February, 1819: the first, 1-29 June 1819, on his way back to Bencoolen, and the second, from 9 October, 1822, to 9 June, 1823. At the end of 1820 Farquhar, yielding no doubt to pressure, legalized gambling and opened farms, paying one-third of the profits to the Sultan and one-third to the Temenggong.

* See Maps V and VI.

¹⁶ *di-sabèrang sini*, the near side of the river, was on the south-west side. In 1822-23 Raffles planned a commercial centre round the area where Raffles Place now stands, but the work was actually carried out under Crawford, in 1823-24.

been amazed to see the work being carried out. The next day men under the orders of Mr. Raffles and Mr. Farquhar came round calling for Chinese, Malay and Indian labourers, and some two or three hundred labourers were paid one rupee per head per day to dig and carry the earth. There were men breaking up rocks, for many very large rocks lay about. Every man had his task. There were scores of overseers, looking like men going to war. Labour became more and more expensive from day to day. Every afternoon sacks of money were brought to pay the workmen. Twice a day Mr. Raffles used to appear on the ground directing the workmen and besides this there were many people supervising them at work. Colonel Farquhar too was there early every morning without fail to divide up outlying sections of the land. Part was sold by auction and part was given away free as long as it could be cleared quickly, for the whole place was covered with scrub.

One day Colonel Farquhar said to me "You had better get yourself a piece of land in Kampong Gelam, for a business area will grow up later there." So I obtained a piece of land and had an attap house with timbered walls built on it. At the time however I was frightened to live there because the place was surrounded by jungle.

After three or four months the hill was flattened out and all the muddy pools, narrow water-channels and swampy ground were levelled off. There remained a few huge rocks, some as tall as elephants, and others even larger. These rocks were very useful, for the Chinese came in scores and broke them up for house building. There was no payment for the work, for everyone rushed to ask for the stone which was just given away.

It was then that they found at the point of the headland a rock lying in the bushes. The rock was smooth, about six feet wide, square in shape, and its face was covered with a chiselled inscription. But although it had writing this was illegible because of extensive scouring by water. Allah alone knows how many thousands of years old it may have been. After its discovery crowds of all races came to see it. The Indians declared that the writing was Hindu but they were unable to read it. The Chinese claimed that it was in Chinese characters. I went with a party of people, and also Mr. Raffles and Mr. Thomsen, and we all looked at the rock. I noticed that in shape the lettering was rather like Arabic, but I could not read it because owing to its great age the relief was partly effaced.¹⁷

¹⁷ *oleh tērsangat lama tenggēlam-tenggēlam timbul huruf-nya.* Thomson gives "as the stone had been so long exposed to the tides" and seven lines further down "under the action of the tide" for *timbul tenggēlam*. But this is clearly unacceptable. Abdullah

Many learned men came and tried to read it. Some brought flour-paste which they pressed on the inscription and took a cast, others rubbed lamp-black on it to make the lettering visible. But for all that they exhausted their ingenuity in trying to find out what language the letters represented they reached no decision. There the stone rested until recently with its inscription in relief. It was Mr. Raffles's opinion that the writing must be Hindu because the Hindus were the oldest of all immigrant races in the East, reaching Java and Bali and Siam, the inhabitants of which are all descended from them. However, not a single person in all Singapore was able to interpret the words chiselled on the rock. Allah alone knows. It remained where it was until the time when Mr. Bonham was Governor of the three Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Mr. Coleman was then engineer in Singapore and it was he who broke up the stone; a great pity, and in my opinion a most improper thing to do, prompted perhaps by his own thoughtlessness and folly. He destroyed the rock because he did not realize its importance. Perhaps he did not stop to consider that a man cleverer than he might extract its secrets from it, for I have heard it said that in England there are scholars with special knowledge who can easily understand such writing, whatever the language or race. As the Malays say "If you cannot improve a thing at least do not destroy it."¹⁸

has mentioned above that the inscription was "scoured by water" (*sudah bekas haus di-makan ayer*) but this must certainly refer to rain-water. In neither place is the word for tide or sea used. Both descriptions referred to in the next note mention the action of water, but neither says that the rock was covered by the tide. The original engravers would be likely to select a rock above high water level. Much better is Shellabear's translation "owing to the great length of time the letters were pitted and lumpy," but I think that *timbul* and *tenggêlam* are meant to refer to the degree of relief or cutting, rather than the crests and troughs of the lettering.

Sir Richard Winstedt has suggested to me that the expression under note should read *oleh sebab tersangat lama tenggêlam, tenggêlam-timbul huruf-nya*, "owing to great length of time the rock had sunk (in the mud), only some of the lettering was still in relief." It is a more likely Malay idiom, and Jawi writing is not able to distinguish between the two ways of punctuating the sentence. The fact that the earliest Jawi text has been reduplicated from *tenggêlam-tenggêlam* does not necessarily invalidate Sir Richard's view. Elsewhere there are several passages in which can be traced, with fair certainty, mistakes made by copyists when Abdullah's book was in the manuscript stage. Nowhere is there any mention of the inscription having been buried below ground level, or of its having come to light only after the rock had been cleaned: in fact, all the statements are to the contrary. Perhaps the sentence, re-written as Sir Richard suggests, means "being old the characters were some worn down, and some in high relief," which has the virtue of agreeing with other writers on the subject.

¹⁸ The rock was blown up by the Settlement Engineer when the river mouth was being widened, about January, 1843, in spite of the protests of James Low, who saved several fragments, one of which is now in the Raffles Museum. The demolition was not, of course, the work of G. D. Coleman. He was not in Singapore in January 1843: it was done on the orders of Captain Stevenson, who was then acting as Settlement Engineer. It is interesting to note that no name appears in Thomson's

When all the swampy low-lying ground and pools of muddy water had been banked up, the land was marked out and sold by auction. If anyone wishes to know the site of the hill which Mr. Raffles broke up to make banks for the watery morass on the near side of the river, it is at the end of Tanjong Singapura in Lorong Tambangan.* They laid out a garden there, planting all kinds of flowers and trees. I heard it said that they meant to have a house built there containing a statue of Mr. Raffles, as a reminder to all people that it was he who had done such great work. I do not know why the project was dropped but at the present time there is only the garden, which is opposite the premises of Mr. Spottiswoode and Mr. Connolly.¹⁹

At the time when they were auctioning land Mr. Raffles said to me "You should take up four or five pieces of land here, for in the future the place may become densely populated." I replied "Sir, where can I get money enough to pay the price of the land, for I notice that a single piece of land sells for as much as \$1,200 or \$1,150 and how shall I find the money to build a stone house?" Mr. Raffles smiled when he heard my words and said "Don't you worry about money. You can settle that later, as long as you take the land first." But in my stupidity and ignorance I thought that if perchance I should run into debt it might be difficult for me to return when I wished to Malacca. And at that time it was easy enough to make money in Singapore. It was my practice to return home to Malacca for six months at a time and I thought that if I acquired land and built a house I should certainly not be able to go back there. Moreover, I did not believe for a moment that Singapore could become so densely populated, nor did I realize that the land was being auctioned for nothing, no money being taken. It was an auction in name only. Later I saw that in selling in this way Mr. Raffles was being very

translation of this passage; it looks as if Abdullah inserted Coleman's name erroneously, when revising his manuscript for publication by North. The rock was discovered in 1820 by labourers working under Captain Flint. Two contemporary descriptions, by Crawford in January, 1822 (1830: 70-71), and by Tyerman in September, 1825 (1840: 211), agree that the rock had been split into two halves about ten feet square which faced each other at an angle. The inscription, engraved in rounded letters about $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide, was on one of the two inner surfaces, which had been artificially smoothed, but it was so weathered as to be indecipherable. Brand, a naval surgeon from H.M.S. *Wolfe*, took a reputedly careful copy, and described the rock as of coarse red sandstone. Krom concluded that the inscription was in Majapahit Kawi, older than 1361.

* See Map V. The term Lorong Tambangan has disappeared.

¹⁹ Wm Spottiswoode and John Connolly reached the Settlement early in 1824, after an unsuccessful attempt to sell their cargo on the Sumatran coast. From 1844-49 the firm acted as agents for the P. & O. Company. John Connolly died in Singapore in the latter year, and from then onwards the firm was known as Wm. Spottiswoode & Co.

shrewd, for if the land were merely given away free it would be grabbed by poor men who might never be able to afford to build houses of stone. Therefore the lots were auctioned for a high price so that only rich men would buy and they would build quickly. So it came about that because of my lack of foresight and my stupidity I did not follow Mr. Raffles's advice when he told me to take up land, and now I regret my mistake. But to what purpose, for as the Malays say "Realize your mistake in time and you may still gain something, realize it too late and you gain nothing."

After that Mr. Raffles moved house to the top of Bukit Larangan (The Forbidden Hill) because many white men came wanting to put up houses.²⁰ Instructions were given to clear the ground all round the hill. The men came across many fruit-trees as large as durian trees, six feet or more round the trunk. But owing to their great age their fruits were no larger than a durian just after the flower has faded. There were *dukus*, and lime trees and pomelo trees with fruit no larger than dwarf lime, and many other kinds of fruit like *langsats*, and fruits with a bad smell like those of the *pétai* and *jèring*.

All the time that Mr. Raffles lived in Singapore he retained those interests which characterized him, as I have already related, when he lived in Malacca. He employed four men to whom he paid ten dollars a month each to go in search of things he wanted and rare objects. In Singapore he obtained even greater numbers of these than he had in Malacca.

One morning Colonel Farquhar went for a walk by the side of Rochore River* taking his dog with him. The dog took to the water in the river when suddenly it was seized by a crocodile. A moment later Colonel Farquhar was told that his dog had been eaten by a crocodile, and he ordered the men who were there to put up a dam blocking the river. The crocodile was hemmed in by the obstruction and speared to death. It was fifteen feet long. This was the first time that people realized there were crocodiles in Singapore. Colonel Farquhar ordered the crocodile's carcass to be brought along, and he hung it on a fig tree by the side of the Beras Basah river.

²⁰ Between Raffles's second and third visits to Singapore his bazaar area south-west of the river grew rapidly, and a residential district was beginning to be formed on the opposite side. At the end of 1822, an earth road led to the top of the hill where Raffles built a large wooden bungalow, which later became the first Government House. Round it he planted the first botanical gardens containing cloves and nutmeg, the parent plants of later estates further inland. The old fruit trees described by Abdullah were found by Farquhar in 1819, and may have been the descendants of orchards planted in the period round 1600, when there was a trading station here. For accounts of early town-planning in Singapore, see the References to Chapter 14.

* See Maps V & VI.

14. Colonel Farquhar Stabbed

I will now tell the story of how Colonel Farquhar came to be stabbed. It happened in this way. There was a certain Sayid, a native of Pahang, named Sayid Yasin, who journeyed doing trade between Singapore and Pahang. He had obtained goods on credit from Pengeran Sharif Omar, a native of Palembang, who was in partnership with Sayid Mohammed Junid. Sayid Yasin still owed the balance of a debt amounting to about \$400. On his arrival Pengeran Sharif had asked for its payment and this request had caused bad feeling between them. Pengeran Sharif then took out a summons against him, and the case went before Colonel Farquhar. When the charge had been examined by Colonel Farquhar it was clear that Sayid Yasin did still owe to Pengeran Sharif a further \$400. So Colonel Farquhar said to him "What offer are you prepared to make now? When will you pay the money?" Sayid Yasin replied "At present I have no money. Wait till next year and I can pay." But Colonel Farquhar said "It is not for me to say. You must ask Pengeran Sharif, and if he is willing I will grant a postponement." Pengeran Sharif replied "I cannot allow any further postponement for I wish to settle with my partner Sayid Mohammed Junid." Colonel Farquhar said to Sayid Yasin "If you can find some one who will act as surety I can release you. If not you will be locked up." Sayid replied, "Where can I get a surety for I am a stranger here?" Pengeran Sharif declared "Lock him up, sir, if he does not pay the money or find a surety, for I know that he has money and that he is deliberately refusing to pay." Then Pengeran went home. Sayid Yasin was taken by Mr. Bernard, the magistrate, and put in gaol at about two o'clock in the afternoon. Now when he was admitted to the gaol he was not examined to see whether or not he was carrying arms. He was in fact carrying a *keris* which he had secreted inside his coat.¹

After he was admitted to prison, at about five o'clock the same afternoon he went to find Mr. Bernard and said "Sir, I wish to go and arrange a postponement with Pengeran Sharif," to which Mr. Bernard replied "All right then. I will tell a policeman to follow you"

¹ The *keris*, a short dagger with a straight wavy blade and an ornamental handle, is always associated in the western mind with private vengeance, the sudden, stealthy attack of one individual upon another (see note 10, under Chapter 6). For the defence of his own life, if not for criminal purposes, everyone in the lawless Malay states of Abdullah's time carried a *keris* hidden in the folds of his sarong on his left side, ready for a quick draw when the need arose. The affray described in this chapter occurred on 11 March, 1823, after Raffles's regulation forbidding the carrying of weapons had been introduced. Abdullah makes it clear that even at this early stage Sayid Yasin was contemplating cloak-and-dagger tactics. For a note on F. J. Bernard, the officer in charge of the police from 1820-24, see note 8, under Chapter 13.

and he called a constable, a Hindu, and told him to accompany Sayid Yasin. Evening was drawing on when Sayid Yasin reached the premises of Pengeran Sharif whom he intended to kill. The constable who went with him remained at the gate of Pengeran Sharif's compound while Sayid Yasin went in alone. When Pengeran Sharif saw Sayid Yasin's determined approach he ran into his room, locked the door and descended from the back of the house to the shore. He made his way to the house of the Resident Colonel Farquhar, and told him that Sayid Yasin had been to his house brandishing a *kēris* in his hand. By this time darkness had fallen.

Meanwhile Sayid Yasin stood waiting for Pengeran Sharif who did not appear. So he then left the house. On his approach the constable said "Come on, quickly for it is already dark." Hearing this Sayid Yasin stabbed him and with one blow knocked him sprawling by the gate dead. Then Sayid Yasin went back again into the house to look for Pengeran Sharif whom the still meant to kill. But the Pengeran not daring to return, was still at Colonel Farquhar's house.²

At seven o'clock that evening I was walking along on my way to give a Malay lesson to Mr. John Morgan.³ When I was half way there I met Colonel Farquhar with his son Andrew⁴ and his son-in-law Captain Davies,⁵ accompanied by four soldiers armed with muskets moving behind them and by a man carrying a lantern in front. Pengeran Sharif was with them. When Colonel Farquhar saw me hurrying along he said "Where are you going?" I replied "I am making for Mr. Morgan's house." He said "Don't go there. Come along with us for there is a man who has run *amok* in Pengeran Sharif's house." So I went over to them and we set off together. When we

² There are many accounts of the *amok* state among eastern peoples, and even nowadays it is by no means unknown. The stimulus which apparently induces the condition may be a very slight one, the death of a relative, the provocation of an insult. There is usually a period of incubation during which the person broods on the wrong he thinks has been done to him, reaching a state of mind in which his moral, but not his reasoning, sense is impaired. He may plan the attack with a fair degree of cunning, aimed at ensuring its success rather than avoiding detection. Then he works off his vengeance by a murderous assault on all who cross his path. Wallace (1880: 175) compares the state of mind with that which produces *hara-kiri* in Japan, and Boden Kloss (1923: 254) has drawn attention to a resemblance between the *amok* and the *piblokto* state of the Eskimo.

³ In a list of Singapore residents ca. 1822 (Campbell, 1915: 622) John Morgan appears as "brother of A. Morgan, both partners in Paton, Morgan & Co., Batavia 1822-8." He was a magistrate under Raffles's proclamation of 1823. He left Singapore about 1827.

⁴ Andrew Farquhar, the only recorded son of Wm Farquhar, was a merchant in Singapore from about 1821. In January 1828 he became Coroner. He died at Batavia, where he had gone on a visit for his health, early in 1829. His widow remained in Singapore, and later married again.

⁵ Captain C. E. Davies. See Chapter 10, page 138 and note 3.

arrived at the gate of Pengeran Sharif's compound we all went in and searched the house through to the back. But nobody was there. Colonel Farquhar said to Pengeran "Where is Sayid Yasin?" He replied "Sir, he was here but a short while ago." Although we had all gone inside nobody had noticed that there was a dead policeman by the side of the outer gate. We all went into the house again, then Colonel Farquhar came out to the road. He thought for a while, then returned to give another thorough search to the whole house and kitchen. After that he came out again. He went in and out three times but found no one.

Now Sayid Yasin seeing several people approaching went and concealed himself underneath an outhouse, which stood in the centre of the yard underneath a wild mangosteen tree. When Colonel Farquhar was satisfied that a search of the house had failed to find anyone, he went outside and walked up to the bridge.⁶ I followed him, wanting to see what would happen. Immediately a thought struck him and he said "Let us go back to Pengeran Sharif's house." So everyone returned and went inside the compound. When we reached the centre of the yard Colonel Farquhar prodded with stick under the floor of the outhouse. I was standing close by. Then suddenly a hand emerged from beneath the outhouse as Colonel Farquhar leant on his knee, and a glancing blow struck him in the breast, across the top of his coat and shirt. Blood spurted out and he cried "I have been wounded." I jumped forward. Blood poured out and covered my coat. Then he fell to the ground. I caught hold of him, and Andrew Farquhar seized his sword and struck out at Sayid Yasin, gashing him from mouth to ear. The soldiers, arriving on the scene, lunged at him with their bayonets as he ran past leaving them holding their rifles. Captain Davies, seeing all this happening, ran to the soldiers' quarters leaving us all behind. At that time the soldiers' quarters were on the field in front of the place where the Court now stands. Sayid Yasin died at once. Colonel Farquhar was unable to walk because he was faint from loss of blood. Those of us who had remained there with him, Andrew Farquhar, the lantern-bearer and I supported him to Mr. Guthrie's house opposite where, we laid him on a couch.⁷

⁶ In a letter to Farquhar, dated June, 1819, Raffles had advised him to provide a circular carriage road round the cantonments with a bridge to connect them with the bazaar area. Both were completed by August, 1823.

⁷ Alexander Guthrie founded the firm of Guthrie & Co., in 1820. He served on the police force committee after 1821, and his large house, situated near the present Supreme Court, was a good palace of refuge for the wounded Resident and his helpers who feared civil disturbances.

Meanwhile a great hubbub arose, mingled with the noise of people running hither and thither. Colonel Farquhar's daughters came and wept bitterly when they saw his plight. At the same moment Dr. Montgomerie arrived.* I noticed that he brought a long silver needle with which he probed Colonel Farquhar's wound. He turned to Colonel Farquhar's children and said "Do not cry, the wound is not serious. It is only superficial, not deep, and will heal." He opened a small phial which he held to Colonel Farquhar's nose, and Colonel Farquhar revived. Then he opened his clothing, washed away the blood and applied ointment. The affair having become known the house was crowded with people. All the white men came and stabbed and hacked at the corpse of Sayid Yasin until it was so disfigured as to be unrecognizable.

Then some three or four hundred armed soldiers came running up, not having had time even to put on their uniforms. Some were without tunics, some wearing only loin-cloths and others hatless. All were clutching their rifles. Some had their powder-flusks slung over their shoulders, others were carrying them in their hands. Behind them a squad of soldiers ran past pulling twelve guns already loaded. All the soldiers surrounded the fence which ran round the Temenggong's enclosure and mounted the guns on the side facing his house. Other soldiers rushed up holding flints in their hands and stood there, only waiting for the order to touch off the guns, while Captain Davies ran hither and thither with his men. There was no moon that evening and hundreds of candles, rushlights and lanterns were lit. There was confusion and turmoil throughout the night. People on the further side of the river came to the scene. Not a single one of the Malays was to be seen, all of them having been chased away by the soldiers.

Mr. Raffles rushed up out of breath and dismounting from his carriage ran inside to see Colonel Farquhar. When he saw that Colonel Farquhar was still alive he drove off to view the corpse. A crowd of people carrying flares accompanied him to Pengeran Sharif's compound. Suddenly Mr. Raffles's foot knocked against the corpse of the dead policeman behind the gate, and alarm spread when it was stated that it was a policeman who had been killed. Then Mr. Raffles carrying a candle went to see Sayid Yasin's body. He asked the people there "Who is this man?" None of them knew who he was. He came to me and asked "Do you recognize this man?" I replied

* Dr Montgomerie reached Singapore in May 1819. He was Surgeon-in-Charge and Farquhar's senior civil officer. He left in 1826 but came back as senior surgeon in the Straits Settlements in 1834. He retired in January, 1844. He is remembered chiefly for his interest in agriculture, and was in charge of the spice plantations in the Botanic Gardens until they were closed in 1826.

"No sir." I had been acquainted with Sayid for we had conversed together at the time of his court case with Pengeran Sharif. But the body had been so slashed that it could not longer be recognized and I did not know who it was. Mr. Raffles was obviously suspicious that it might have been the Temenggong's men who stabbed Colonel Farquhar. Two or three times Captain Davies came to Mr. Raffles to ask for permission to fire the guns but Mr. Raffles said "Wait a while."

At last Mr. Bernard arrived coatless, having run across from the side of the river. As soon as he saw the dead policeman he recalled how Sayid Yasin had left on the pretext of asking for a postponement of his debt. So Mr. Bernard ran to look at the corpse which he identified as that of Sayid Yasin. His face paled at the thought of his indiscretion, and he went to find Mr. Raffles and saluted him saying "The dead man is Sayid Yasin. This afternoon he asked my permission to go and ask Pengeran Sharif for a postponement of his debt. I sent this policeman with him." When Mr. Raffles heard this his anger flared up, and he clenched his fist and made as if to strike Mr. Bernard in the face, knocking his hat on the ground and saying, "Just remember this. If Colonel Farquhar dies I will have you hanged in Singapore." Mr. Bernard fell on his knees before Mr. Raffles begging his pardon. Everyone now knew that the dead man was Sayid Yasin, and that it was he who had stabbed Colonel Farquhar and not the Temenggong's men.

From time to time Mr. Raffles went in to see Colonel Farquhar, who was now able to speak, although the doctor had not left his side. After a while Mr. Raffles came downstairs and ordered some men to go and find a blacksmith. Four blacksmiths soon appeared, and Mr. Raffles drew in the sand a design looking like a frame as high as a man. He said to them: "Make a frame quickly, this evening. I wish to have it by seven o'clock tomorrow morning." The blacksmiths went back at once to do as Mr. Raffles had told them. The same night Colonel Farquhar was taken home. He was helped out and into his carriage, accompanied by all the white men. Mr. Raffles told Captain Davies to order the guns and the soldiers back to their quarters. After that four convicts came carrying ropes with which they tied up Sayid Yasin's body by the legs. They dragged it to the middle of the open space where there was a guard posted, and dumped it on the ground.

The next morning Mr. Raffles went to Colonel Farquhar's house. By this time Colonel Farquhar was able to sit up. Later on there was a gathering of Sultan Husain Shah and the Temenggong with their ministers and elders, and all the white merchants and thousands of

the other races attended. When they were assembled Mr. Raffles took the chair and said "Your Highness the Sultan and Tengku Temenggong, what are the customs and laws of the Malay people in the event of a commoner thus committing treason against his ruler?" The Sultan replied "Sir, Malay custom would require that he and his family and relations be killed to the last man, his house uprooted, roof to the ground pillars uppermost, and the soil on which it stands thrown into the sea." When he heard the Sultan's words Mr. Raffles replied "That is unjust. Whosoever commits an offence deserves to be punished. But why should his wife and children, who are entirely innocent, also be put to death? Now shall Your Highness and Tengku Temenggong and all of you at this meeting hear that under the laws of the English a traitor must be hanged. If he is no longer alive but dead he may still be hanged, but the Company will make his wife and children an allowance until she remarries or they are old enough to earn their living. That is the law of the white man." Then he ordered Sayid Yasin's body to be brought and placed on a buffalo cart, and to be drummed round the town with a proclamation saying "Come, all of you, and see that this is the man who committed treason against his ruler, and this is his punishment: though he is dead his body is still condemned to be hanged." When this had been announced all round the Settlement the body was taken to Tanjong Malang, which lies at the end of Teluk Ayer, where it was strung up on a wooden gibbet erected there, placed in the iron frame already mentioned. The body remained there for ten days or a fortnight, until only the bones were left. Then the Sultan asked Mr. Raffles for the corpse. It was given to him and he buried it with lustration and prayers.⁹

Now I will return to the story of Singapore which was becoming more and more thickly populated on both sides of the river. Men building houses looked as if they were going to war. Some were carrying wood, some building earth banks, others working on half-built walls, everyone busy occupying land. One day there was a

⁹ If Raffles's object lesson to the local races seems an unnecessary piece of savagery, it may be recalled that the last man in England to be publicly gibbeted in chains after execution was James Cook in 1832. The ceremonial lustrations performed by the Sultan were calculated to cause an upsurge of popular feeling, as indeed they did. This is clear from the account of the affair by Colonel Nahujs (Miller, 1941: 195), who was in Singapore some months later. He says that while the body was hanging up, local feeling was intense and the Europeans, garrison and civilians, as well as the Chinese who were on their side, went about armed day and night. On the third day Raffles judged it wiser to have the body taken down and handed over to the Sultan. Thomson wrote that Sayid Yasin's grave at Tanjong Pagar had at one time been a local shrine and place of pilgrimage: presumably he meant at Tanjong Malang.

quarrel between the Temenggong's men and the Malacca folk, the former drawing their *kēris* in a threatened attack. One of the Malacca men named Shaikh Ali, an Arab, had struck out at a man who had been in the act of stabbing him, and caught him in the arm. The blow fell with such swiftness that the man's shoulder muscles stuck out and his *kēris* dropped into the water. He ran back to the Temenggong's place and called up his comrades, and in a few moments hundreds of men came out brandishing their weapons and rushed upon the Malacca men to kill them. There was a great hullabaloo. Colonel Farquhar arrived with Dr. Mongomerie to stop the fight but the people refused to stop and at length they could face the mob no longer. So Colonel Farquhar gave the signal and the soldiers formed up in line with loaded rifles, only waiting for Colonel Farquhar's order to fire. When the people saw this they stopped their murderous attacks, although they were still spoiling for a fight with one another. Every day without ceasing, not just once in a while, there were outbreaks of violence among the men whose sole occupation was to create a breach of the peace. However many times Mr. Raffles ordered that the Temenggong be informed about his men they still persisted in their behaviour, until at last the Temenggong himself complained to Mr. Raffles "Sir, very wicked indeed are those men of mine. However many times I become angry and forbid them to cause a disturbance they still do not listen to me. If this were happening in a Malay state I would certainly have them put to death."

Because of these occurrences Mr. Raffles considered that it was dangerous for the Settlement to have the Temenggong living in it, because there were daily fights. He consulted Colonel Farquhar as to how they might move the Temenggong away. When they had made up their minds what to do they both called one day at the Temenggong's house and had a talk with him. Mr. Raffles said "Tengku, I notice that your compound is very narrow and cannot hold many people because it is hemmed in by people living on both sides of it. Moreover it is difficult for your womenfolk to go about the roads because the place is right in the middle of a cosmopolitan district. In my opinion it would be a good thing for you to look for a place a little further away so that you and your household can all be on your own, not mixed up with other people. Please think where there is a suitable place and let me know. Then I will provide the expenses of clearing the site and will also pay a reasonable amount as compensation for the houses of those who move from here to the new place." The Temenggong replied "Very well sir, I will think where there is a good place. I believe that Telok Belanga would be best, but wait until

I have been to see it." After this Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar returned home.

Now in my opinion these words of Mr. Raffles must have sounded sweet to their ears: that is, when he told the Temenggong to look for a place where he and his womenfolk could live in comfort, and when he said that he would pay the expenses of making the new site and compensation for the breaking up of the houses, and in all the advice he gave. All this was, in the words of the Malays, "Putting bananas into a man's mouth while sticking thorns into his back." Indeed it is obvious that in Mr. Raffles's mind there was a firm resolve to drive out the Temenggong. But if the Temenggong perceived this he would take it badly. Through tact and commonsense Mr. Raffles avoided betraying his purpose by even so much as a furtive glance or a raised eye-brow, and the Temenggong was quite unaware of the deception.

I will tell of the place where the liquor store belonging to the East India Company now stands by the side of Enche' Siang's house and on the right of the large bridge. Formerly it was thickly covered with thorny shrubs. It was the place where the Malays had buried their dead for ages past. Mr. Raffles thought that it was not right for the dead to be buried in the centre of the Settlement, and he brought the matter to the Temenggong saying "Tengku, if I may I wish to move the bones of the dead to another spot, for the present site I want cleared for a place on which people may have houses put up." When he heard this the Temenggong's face changed colour as he said "Very well sir." But he paid no attention to Mr. Raffles's words. Mr. Raffles waited and waited making no move. Finally he ordered the Company's convicts to cut down the shrubs and level the place, and wherever dead man's bones were found they were put into sacks and thrown into the sea.

Next I will describe how the Temenggong moved house to another place. Mr. Raffles waited and waited and still the Temenggong did not move. Then one day he said to him "What news of your new place, Tengku? Is it ready yet?" The Temenggong replied "How can it be made ready sir? The workmen will have to be paid, for if not how can they get food?" Mr. Raffles said "Very well. If the men work quickly how long will it take to make the place ready?" The Temenggong replied "If a large number of men are employed the work will soon be finished." Mr. Raffles said "All right then. I will give you a thousand dollars, but I want the work finished in ten days or a fortnight from now. Do not let there be any further delays." At once he ordered a thousand dollars to be sent to the Temenggong, and about one month after receiving the money the Temenggong moved to Telok

Belanga. As for the houses of the men who went with him Mr. Raffles paid to some a hundred dollars, to others fifty or sixty. There were sixty or seventy households in all, friends of the Temenggong who went with him to Telok Belanga. Others journeyed up the river to make new settlements, or went to live in Kampong Malacca* or betook themselves to Tanjong Katong and Telok Kurau.

After the Temenggong's move to Telok Belanga there was a lull in the disturbances in Singapore, although the Sultan's and the Temenggong's men and other Malays continued to go about armed. At the slightest provocation or quarrel they would draw their weapons and start fighting, a few being killed or wounded. Mr. Raffles therefore said one day to the Sultan and the Temenggong "I would suggest to Your Highness and Tengku Temenggong that the practice of wearing arms is a wicked one, hated by men of all races especially the English for much mischief occurs because of it." On hearing Mr. Raffles's words the Sultan looked angry and said "Sir, it is the birthright of the Malay rulers that cannot possibly be changed. To their subjects going about unarmed would feel like being without clothes." Mr. Raffles smiled when he heard this and said "Well then, Your Highness, I will allow twelve of your most responsible followers and twelve of the Temenggong's to be armed, and those twenty-four alone may wear their arms anywhere they wish. Every one else is strictly forbidden to carry arms." Mr. Raffles discussed his proposal with the Sultan and the Temenggong. The next day it was proclaimed with beating of gongs round the Settlement "Nobody may carry arms in the Settlement of Singapore except twelve of the Sultan's men and twelve of the Temenggong's. If any person other than these carries arms by day or by night his weapons will be confiscated and he will be punished." This order caused mounting dissatisfaction among the Malays until I heard grumbling on all sides, on account of the wicked custom which prevailed among the Malays who supposed that if they were unarmed they were not true men. But the practice of not wearing arms gave pleasure and freedom to the Malacca men for it had been their custom all their lives, and it did not make them feel self-conscious.

In my humble opinion the white man's custom which forbids the wearing of arms is an excellent one for it possessed many advantages. A man carrying a weapon will inevitably want to use it and will stab at anything, be it man or beast. When a weapon is attached to a man's person he is conscious all the time of its presence. In illustration of this one has only to notice how in the Malay States, where weapons

* See Map VI.

are habitually worn, men daily engage in stabbing affrays and run *amok*. But I give a thousand thanks to Allah that in my own country of Malacca it is unusual to hear of a single case of this kind in a year. All these evil things are caused originally by the indiscriminate wearing of arms. It is right to wear arms in time of war or when there is reason to fear wild animals, but quite superfluous at other times. The wearing of arms leads to pride, self-aggrandizement and a disinclination to work, factors which impoverish and weaken a country because there are too few at work. I realize that in the minds of the Malays who live under the dominion of England or of Holland there is dissatisfaction and annoyance when they are forbidden to carry arms, because they think that they have indeed lost the respect enjoyed by their forefathers. But this only shows how ignorant they are, how unreasonable is their resentment.

One day Mr. Raffles entertained all the white men and the merchants and ships' captains, together with the Sultan and the Temenggong and their officials. They all assembled at Mr. Raffles house on the hill. All the food for the Malays was prepared at the Temenggong's house at Mr. Raffles's expense. When everyone had finished eating and drinking Mr. Raffles came and sat down with the Sultan and the Temenggong and other Malay guests. He said "Your Highness and Tengku Temenggong, I have in mind a certain scheme which is of very great importance. I would like to tell Your Highness and these gentlemen about it." The Sultan replied "What is it sir?" Mr. Raffles said "One of Your Highness's children, and one of the Temenggong's children, together with two or three of the children of Your Highness's ministers in attendance, I would like to send to the Governor-General in India¹⁰ so that they may learn to speak and write English, as well as arithmetic and other subjects. Then they will not grow up in ignorance like the Malays who are not fond of learning. While they are yet young they will learn quickly, and in a matter of four or five years time they will be educated. Later Your Highness's son may make a wise ruler in succession to Your Highness, a man not to be deceived by others. Look at Singapore now. Various races are all engaged in trade. Is there a single Malay merchant? The Malays are unable to take part in important business, primarily because they do not know how to keep accounts and how to write. If Your Highness's children were to learn arithmetic and other subjects the idea of education would certainly spread to other Malays. I should be very pleased if all of them were educated." The Sultan held his peace for

¹⁰ *Tuan Gèneral Bènggala*, the Marquess of Hastings. The event described took place at the end of 1822.

a moment, giving no reply. Then he said "Very well sir. Please wait while I think it over for a few days. Then I can give you my answer." Mr. Raffles said "Your Highness need not worry about the fare for the voyage or the cost of the child's education. I can speak to the Governor-General about it, and he can place a fine house at your son's disposal and a clever teacher for his studies." Then the Sultan and the Temenggong with their followers all returned to their homes.

About a fortnight later the Sultan met Mr. Raffles at Colonel Farquhar's house, for that day a case was being heard about a Malay who had run *amok* in Kampong Gelam. When the case was over Mr. Raffles enquired "Your Highness, what have you to say about the matter we discussed the other day?" The Sultan remained quiet for a moment and then replied "Sir I cannot accept your offer. I have discussed it with my wife but she will not be separated from her child. But I consider, sir, that if there were a school in this Settlement I could let my children go to it." When Mr. Raffles heard these words his expression changed as he replied "What more can I do? With all my heart I desire to see an improvement in the lot of the Malay people. But if Your Highness does not wish it, it is Your Highness's loss and later Your Highness's son may grow up as ignorant and unprincipled as the other Malay rulers."

I feel quite sure that the Sultan's folly and lack of foresight must be obvious. How kind and generous was Mr. Raffles's offer of help in educating those children, so that they might understand and gain a knowledge of the arts and sciences, which would broaden their outlook. Consider, my readers, who else would have been willing to undertake the responsibility and cost? Supposing we of our own free will desired to send our children to India would it not cost us many thousands of dollars? And would they be given the same consideration as the Governor-General's own children, with the convenience of a house to live in like the Governor-General's own house? If the Sultan and the Temenggong had let their children go as Mr. Raffles wished, by now they would assuredly be fitted to occupy the high offices of their fathers, and they would not be out of touch with the affairs of the world. They would not be as you see them now, trees in the forest swayed by every wind that blows. It is often said by foolish people "What is the good of all this learning, for it is useful only in this mortal world?" I would reply to them: "Your words lack vision, for it is enjoined in many books that we should try and better man's estate, that is to say, study the arts and arithmetic and the like. If this is not correct your words are truly spoken, and you should follow the way to eternal life with single-minded devotion. But it is the truth." It

makes my heart very sad when I see the state of mankind that lives neither for this world nor for the world to come, content merely to gratify its own sensual pleasures. There is an Arab saying "*Jahil Merakap*" meaning "Ignorance piled on ignorance", or people who are doubly ignorant; first because they have no understanding, and second because when men try to enlighten them they do not care to pay attention. Once indeed I was far more ignorant even than these people. But suddenly it was as if a cat jumped on me, I started up from my sleep, and a cock crowed to herald the dawn of understanding.

15. The Founding of the Singapore Institution

To return to Mr. Raffles. When he heard the Sultan's words mentioned above he let the matter rest. His inactivity was not like that of a spade which crumbles away to rust but that of a potato, having the seed of future growth. In fact, Mr. Raffles's silence was more eloquent than our armchair speculations.

One day about a month later he invited the Sultan and the Temenggong and all the white men to Colonel Farquhar's house at ten o'clock in the morning. They all gathered together there, although nobody knew what Mr. Raffles's intentions were or why he had called them to a meeting. When they were all seated, the Sultan and the Temenggong with their elders and their ministers, Mr. Raffles entered and greeted the two chiefs with due deference. Then he took his seat in the middle of the company facing the Sultan. He proceeded "Your Highness and Tengku Temenggong, and gentlemen who are present at this meeting, I have a certain proposal upon which I wish to act, a project which may be of advantage to us all and to our children and grandchildren. For we, the living, must sooner or later die. If our deeds are good they will assuredly be acclaimed good by future generations; if bad, they will be declared bad. Therefore let us, during our own life-time, leave a good name to those who come hereafter. It is my intention to build a place of learning for all races where they may study their respective languages under their own teachers, and those branches of knowledge which will be of greatest benefit to each of them; not religious studies, but literature, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and the like.

It is my special wish that the Malays shall have facilities for study through the medium of their own language. Nevertheless, every subject shall have its proper place in the curriculum. The pupils will not pay the teacher's salary or any other fees, but will be able to learn

free of charge. For as time goes on the population of this country will grow and grow and if there exists an institution of this kind it will be easy for people of all races to receive an education. What do you all think? Is my proposal a good one or not?" The Sultan and the Temenggong replied "A very good one, sir. Our children will all be able to come and study." All the white men approved Mr. Raffles's idea. Then he said "That being so let us decide how much money each one of us is to contribute towards the cost of the proposed building:" and they replied "Yes, each can give according to his means."¹

Then Mr. Raffles took a piece of paper and pen and ink and himself wrote the list of contributions. First he wrote a sum of \$2,000 in the name of the Honourable East India Company, then \$2,000 in his own name. Then he asked smiling "How much may I write down for your Highness? Two thousand dollars?" The Sultan replied in a loud voice, laughing, "I am a poor man sir, how can I find \$2,000?" Mr. Raffles said "Your Highness should give more than I because this project will be of greater value to the Malays than to the English. All right then, I will put you down for \$1,000," then turning to the Temenggong "You also, Tengku, one thousand dollars." Colonel Farquhar subscribed a thousand dollars, Dr. Morrison two hundred and Mr. Raffles's wife two hundred. Then all the other white men subscribed each according to his means. The total reached was \$17,500.²

After all subscriptions had been collected the money was funded. Meanwhile Mr. Raffles was meditating what would be the best site

¹ Raffles had stated his views on Malay education to Abdullah in Malacca (Chapter 6, page 79). On his second visit to Singapore he had drawn up a minute showing that education of the local people was not only a matter of expediency but a moral duty laid on the colonizing power. The objects of his proposed institution he summed up as: (1) education of the sons of the "higher order of natives", (2) instruction in the vernacular languages for all those requiring it, (3) collection of the scattered literature of the country. In laying down that the cost should be a charge on the community he was anticipating policy in England by nearly thirty years.

The speech mentioned in the text was delivered by Raffles on 1 April, 1823. There was to be a department of rural philosophy (science) and of natural history; a literary and moral department for the Malays, Siamese, Bugis "and other kindred peoples"; also one for the Chinese to be furnished by the incorporation of the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca, an idea put forward personally by Robert Morrison (see note 29, under Chapter 9), who had reached Singapore, on his way home from Macao, the previous month. A European principal would teach English to teachers and selected students. The education, as Abdullah says, was to be secular and open to pupils of all religions. No student would be obliged to take part in Christian worship.

² In addition Raffles promised on behalf of the East India Company a maintenance grant of \$300 per month, and a free gift of land for building, as well as endowments from other land in the town. He appointed a Board of Trustees to administer the Fund.

for the institution. One afternoon he and Colonel Farquhar went for a walk together and were talking to one another as they walked along. When they came to the Beras Basah River they both stopped to have a look at the place. It had once been a sand spit; that is, a place where there were sand banks, with a few small trees growing on it. Then they both returned to their homes. But the next morning men came to cut away the brushwood and level the site. Four or five days later mounds of stones and lime appeared and the carpenters started shaping planks of wood for the various parts of the building. About a month later the walls were rising from the ground all round the building.

It was at six o'clock one morning in 1823 that all the white men, the Sultan, the Temenggong and the Malays, gathered together outside the building. There was a block of stone in which a cavity had been cut and lined with iron plates, and this was fitted in position underneath the door. A moment later Mr. Raffles arrived and as he came up people crowded round him. He took a golden rupee out of his purse and placed it in the stone. Other white men also put money into it, to the total of some eighty or ninety dollars. A Chinese smith melted some tin and welded a cover on the hole so that nobody could ever open it. Then the stone was placed under the doorway. As the door was raised into position a salute of twelve guns was fired from the hill. After this Mr. Raffles gave a name to the building, "The Institution." The work of putting up the building proceeded. In the course of its construction three of the Chinese workmen fell from the top, because the scaffolding gave way, and were killed when they struck the stonework and cracked their heads open.³

One day during the season when the Bugis come to Singapore I saw fifty or sixty slaves male and female being led by a Bugis man round the town; among them were old and young, some carrying babies, some sick. They were herded along by a Bugis driver, holding in his hand a cane with which he struck at them here, there and everywhere.

* From letters he wrote to his cousin, Dr Raffles in England, it is clear that Raffles had already selected the site where Raffles Institution now is, and that his plans for financing the Institution were almost complete, when he made his announcement of 1 April, 1823.

John Crawford who became Resident after Farquhar, considered Raffles's scheme too lavish for the finances of the Settlement, and when he authorised payment of a grant it was for the establishment of elementary schools. G. W. Earl, who paid several visits to Singapore between 1832 and 1834, describes the dilapidated shell of a building and notes (1837: 350-1) that the money originally subscribed had been found insufficient to complete it. Governor Fullerton proposed turning the building into a church, but he was dissuaded by Dr Morrison. Subsequently Alexander Guthrie revised the terms of the foundation, collected further subscriptions and completed the building. It was finally opened as a school in 1837, but it was not until 1920, that Raffles's ambition was realized and it became fully maintained by Government.

I went up to the man and said "Of what races are these people?" and he pointed them out to me saying "This is a Mangarai family. Here's man from Mandar." He added "If you go out into the harbour there is a boat which arrived yesterday carrying three or four hundred slaves." Feigning interest I asked: "What price are these, and what price are those?" He replied: "These are forty dollars and those thirty dollars each." Then I continued on my way.

The next morning early I went out in the harbour to have a look. When I reached the boat, I found it full of slaves, about three hundred men, women and children. Some of the women were heavy with child, that is to say their hour had almost come, and seeing them my heart was moved with compassion. Hundreds of Chinese came to make purchases while I stood watching this pitiful sight, seeing pregnant women gazing at me with tear-stained eyes. It brought tears to my eyes also when I thought "Who are their husbands?" and when I saw the cruel way in which these slaves were treated. They were being handed rice in coconut shells and water in bamboo scoops just as one gives food to dogs. When I went down inside I saw many women, some mere girls, some adolescent and other already grown up. Some were fair, other dark. They were all shades of colour. There were some who did not understand Malay, with frizzy hair and black faces. Only their teeth showed white. They had fat stomachs and thick lips. The man who owned these slaves behaved like a beast, shameless and without fear of Allah. The younger girls hung round him while he behaved in a manner which it would be improper for me to describe in this book. For anyone who wished to buy these slave-girls he would open their clothing with all manner of gestures of which I am ashamed to write. The slave dealers behaved in the most savage manner, devoid of any spark of feeling, for I noticed that when the little children of the slaves cried they kicked them head over heels and struck their mothers with a cane, raising ugly weals on their bodies. To the young girls, who were in great demand, they gave a piece of cloth to wear, but they paid no attention to the aged and the sick. The greatest iniquity of all that I noticed was the selling of a woman to one man and of her child to another. The mother wept and the child screamed and screamed when she saw her mother being taken away. My feelings were so outraged by this scene that, had I been someone in authority, I would most certainly have punished the wicked man responsible for it. Furthermore those in charge of male slaves tied them round the waist like monkeys, one to each rope, made fast to the side of the boat. They relieved nature where they stood and the smell on the boat made one hold one's nose.

The majority of the female slaves were Balinese and Bugis. They were bought up by men of all races, Chinese, Indians, Malays, who took them to wife and whose numerous progeny are here to the present day. There were also Malay boats bringing slaves from Siak. A great number of them came from the hinterland of Siak, from Menangkabau and from Pekan Baharu. They were all being herded into Singapore, driven along the road and beaten with canes like goats being taken to market. That is how slaves were sold in those days both in Malacca and in Singapore, like a cattle market. I went back to the town and told Mr. Raffles all about what I had seen. He replied "That business will not last much longer for the English are going to put a stop to it. It is a wicked thing and many people have gone and made reports about it to Parliament in England demanding that the slave trade shall cease," and he added "It is not only here that this sinful business goes on. To England too boatloads are brought from other countries, and thousands of the black men are turned into slaves. Then they are put up like goods for sale in all the countries of Europe. If we live to be old we may yet see all the slaves gain their freedom and become like ourselves."⁴

16. The Letter From the King of Siam

One day there came a letter written in Malay, sent by the King of Siam to Mr. Raffles. The words contained in the letter merely expressed the wish of the King of Siam to be on friendly terms with the East India Company. But the King much magnified his own importance and lauded the greatness of his kingdom. I noticed that the paper on which the letter was written had only three corners, the fourth corner being torn across the edge. When I had read the letter Mr. Raffles asked me: "What is the meaning of the paper lacking a corner?" I replied: "I do not know sir, I have never seen anything like it before. As for the missing corner it seems that it has been deliberately torn off, and not that the sheet originally had a torn edge." Mr. Raffles said "Think hard, why should the corner be torn?" But I still replied "I do not know sir" and Mr. Raffles went on, "this is a mystery so

⁴ By 1823 the first stage in the suppression of slavery, the abolition of slave markets and the trade in slaves, was nearing completion. Lord Glenville's Bill had been passed by Parliament in 1807 and Brougham's in 1811. The law, however, was frequently evaded. After a renewed appeal in Parliament by Buxton and Wilberforce in 1821, public conscience gradually awakened to the realization that the only way to stop the trade was to forbid all ownership of, and traffic in, slaves. It is to these deliberations in Parliament, probably, that Raffles refers in his conversation with Abdullah. In 1833, Lord Grey's Ministry carried the total abolition of slavery, by manumission of slaves over a period of the next seven years.

deep that even you do not understand it, so I will give you the explanation. In his pride and arrogance and stupidity the King of Siam thinks that his own kingdom is the whole world and that other countries are merely as the small piece of paper he has torn off."

When I heard Mr. Raffles's words I was filled with the utmost astonishment that he should understand such mysteries. At once the thought entered my mind that here indeed was a wise man, for now there were two matters in which I had known him discover a deep significance not realized by others. First, long ago in Malacca he had detected the forged letter of Tengku Penglima Besar, which was said to be a letter from the Susunan of Bantaram; and second, he had gathered the real import of this letter from the King of Siam. Both these instances have remained in my memory and I have written an account of them in this book of mine in the hope that my readers will appreciate glimpses of a wise man, and how he attained greatness, honour, riches and a high reputation; not because he was handsome or born of high estate but because of his wisdom and knowledge. For when Mr. Raffles was still young he worked in an office as a writer just like many other men. But his commonsense, his foresight and his great knowledge led to his talk with the Governor-General of India when he put forward his view that Java could be taken. So the Governor-General placed the arrangements in his hands. In his wisdom he made his word his bond—the hall-mark of a truly great man.¹

Afterwards he said to me "I would like you to write a letter in reply to the letter of the King of Siam. I will tell you what to say and you can then compose a letter in the appropriate style." I replied "Yes sir." Then he said "Sit down for a moment," and he continued with a smile "I would like to humble the King of Siam a little because he so openly displays his self-importance. You will understand me best if I use this story as an illustration. Once there was a child who after his mother bore him saw only one thing in his life, a cock. After seeing the cock he became blind in both eyes. He was looked after by his parents until he came of age. He would hear people relating all sorts of things like this "The kingdom of England is now very large." The blind man would say "Is it as large as a cock?" They replied "Go on with you, it means that the population is very big." Then the blind man said "Are the inhabitants of England as numerous as

¹ *Maka oleh bijaksana-nya itu perkataan-nya di-jadikan-nya kota. Maka itu-lah tabas yang bernama laki-laki yang bijak ada-nya.* This is a rather obscure literary expansion of the current Malay aphorism *barang yang di-hata itu-lah kota. Sabas* (more usually *shabash*) is a Persian word meaning "Be joyful." It is found in Malay literature in the sense of "Excellent, well done."

the feathers of a cock?" Again, they might say "The English are very good fighters," and the blind man would say "Are they as good as fighting-cocks?" Or again "The English are very enterprising" and the blind man said "Are they as enterprising as cocks." When they said "If you hear the noise of their guns it is enough to kill you" the blind man asked "Is the noise as great as that of a cock crowing?" And so it went on. All the sayings and news the blind man heard he compared with that cock, for it was the only thing he had ever seen. If he had seen any other things he could have used them for comparison. That is the King of Siam's position. Because he has never seen other countries and other kingdoms and their huge fighting forces he thinks that his country is the only country and his kingdom the only kingdom in all the world, like the blind man who had seen only a cock. If he were to see countries as large as England and other great powers and realize how enormous they are, how wealthy, how populous, how powerful their armed forces, then at last he would understand that his own country is a small spot on the surface of the earth." When he had finished telling this story he said "Go and write the letter. The ship sails to-morrow afternoon. There is nothing to say except to send reciprocal greetings from the East India Company to the King of Siam. As presents there are two boxfuls of assorted broadcloths and five pieces of gold-embroidered muslin."² When I heard Mr. Raffles's words my heart was filled with apprehension and I felt very depressed. As a vessel is weighed down by a full load, so was my heart heavy at the thought of my task in composing the letter. Moreover Mr. Raffles had asked me to write in gold ink. However, with the help of Allah and blessed with the good training given by my teachers, by about midnight I had finished writing the letter, with its full contents and the proper spacings and margins, all in gold ink. The lettering seemed to glitter and sparkle in the

² By the beginning of the 19th century the power of the Burmese kingdom had declined, and Siam had so far regained its independence as to plan aggression against the northern Malay States. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah, the ruler of Kēdah, had been sending tribute to Siam in formal acknowledgement of his vassalage, but he thought that the 1786 Treaty under which Penang had been ceded made the English his military ally. The East India Company, however, recognised no obligation to interfere when, in 1821, Siam invaded Kēdah and Perak, laid waste the country and forced the Sultan to take refuge in Penang. Meanwhile the Supreme Government in India had sent an embassy to Siam under John Crawfurd with the object of improving trade relations between the countries and securing amelioration of the humiliating way in which English merchants in Bangkok were treated by the ministers of Prince Kromchiat, who headed a powerful political aristocracy at the Court of Ayuthia. Crawfurd accomplished little (1830; (1): 268; (2): 156-57). He says that the Siamese were so arrogant as to fancy themselves "nothing less than the first nation on earth." About this time Kromchiat became King of Siam and it was probably he who wrote the letter to Raffles, encouraged by the success of his uncompromising attitude toward Crawfurd and the Penang Government.

light. Since then I have seen none other so fine and so beautiful in all my life.

The next morning at ten o'clock I carried the letter up the hill. Mr. Raffles was pacing up and down his veranda at the time. When he saw me coming he put his head out of the window and said to me "Why are you wasting time? Go quickly and write the letter. The boat sails this afternoon." I replied "It is already finished, sir. I have brought it with me." He showed his surprise and said "Quickly then. Bring it up." He came to the top of the steps and waited as I ascended. When I reached the top I showed the letter and he said "The gold lettering looks very beautiful. Is this the letter to the King of Siam?" I replied "It is, sir." He continued "You have done it as quickly as that? Please read it to me." So I read it. When he had heard it he laughed so loudly that his wife came out and asked "What is amusing you so much?" Mr. Raffles told her the words of the letter and she also joined in the laughter. At the end he said "Right, Enche'. That is what I wanted. Fold it in the proper way³ and wrap it in yellow cloth." After the letter had been tied with yellow ribbon Mr. Raffles wrote down the address, and I handed the letter to him.

A few days later Sultan Husain Shah, wishing to build a mosque in Kampong Gelam, came to see Mr. Raffles about it. Mr. Raffles approved the Sultan's proposal. He gave him a present of money I do not know how much it was.⁴

17. How Mr. Raffles drew up Laws for the Singapore Settlement

The Settlement of Singapore had become densely populated¹ and Mr. Raffles drafted laws clarifying the regulations and the procedure for their enforcement which were needed in the Settlement to protect

³ *Lipat-lah saperti ada-nya*. Thomson (1874: 168) translates this "Now fold it according to custom," and he comments; "The mode of reply, cannot be considered otherwise than childish and unbecoming an English Governor." Wilkinson (1925: 22-3) speaks of Raffles sending a letter "impeccable in tone but written on a torn sheet of paper as though the addressee was not a person of sufficient importance to justify the epistle being recopied, and the story has been repeated so often as to suggest that it was one generally accepted at the time. But the evidence for it rests solely on the reading of *adat-nya* as his (i.e. the King of Siam's) custom. The antecedent King of Siam has not been mentioned for several sentences back and such a reading would be foreign to Malay idiom. Obviously Abdullah put into the letter something rather derogatory to the King of Siam, and it was this which gave Raffles such amusement. Apparently Thomson thought it was the story of the blind cock.

⁴ Raffles promised him \$3,000, in the name of the East India Company. This was in June, 1823, just before he returned to Bencoolen.

¹ At the time of the original settlement the population in the neighbourhood of the Singapore River was about 150-250. In June, 1819, Raffles wrote in a letter to England that over 1,000 immigrants had already arrived, mostly Chinese. The

its inhabitants from danger and crime. He drew up several sections in English dealing with penalties for infringing the regulations, which were then translated into Malay. After this he told Mr. Thomsen to print them. Now at that time there were not enough types for much printing, only a very small number in Mr. Thomsen's hands. Mr. Thomsen knew that I had learned how to make types in Malacca, so he told me to make up the deficiency. For two days I sat making types. Then they were ready, and the printing was done, fifty copies in Malay and fifty copies in English. A friend of mine set up the type, a young Eurasian name Michael. At last at three o'clock in the morning all was finished, for the same morning, which was the first day of the new year, they wanted to publish the laws. Work went on and on and the perspiration poured off us. Eyes drooped and stomachs felt the pangs of hunger, all because the task had to be finished that night. For Mr. Raffles had insisted that it be ready by the next morning. And the next morning the notices were posted in every quarter of the town.

From the time that these notices were posted all the laws and regulations of the Settlement were fixed. Everyone was delighted to hear the laws and regulations which Mr. Raffles had introduced. Only certain of the Chinese did not like them, for under them gambling was forbidden. Therefore many of the Chinese sighed and drew deep breaths. There was a grim look on their faces as they grumbled and abused Mr. Raffles for preventing them from gambling.

In my opinion such people are foolish and lacking in sense. Mr. Raffles's measures forbidding gambling were good and just, adopted after he had given full thought to the matter and for many reasons. First, people were protected against ruination, for it is obvious that gambling ruins people, deceives them and puts wicked ideas into their minds. Gambling is the mother of vice, and of her three children the eldest is named Mr. Liar, the second Mr. Thief and the third Mr. Thug; and it is these three persons who ruin the world. Had Mr. Raffles entertained any thought of personal gain would not the proceeds from the annual sale of gambling farms have brought him in many tens of thousands of dollars? Why did he not want them? Why did he gave up for nothing a means of gaining so much wealth? If it had been the Malays who ruled Singapore they would certainly have made revenue out of the gambling. They would not then have

population in 1821 is said to have been 4,727 (including 2,851 Malays, 1,159 Chinese and 29 Europeans). By 1824, at the first proper census, the Malays had increased to twice, and the Chinese to three times, the 1821 number, and there were 74 Europeans.

said "Money can be used only in this world and is of no value in the world to come." But if they are told that their children should occupy themselves in learning useful things they do say "What is the use of learning such things? They are of value in this world alone, not in the world to come." But look at Mr. Raffles. Was it not his aim to promote the welfare of all people, both in this world and in the world to come? Truly the people who enjoy gambling do tremendous harm to all mankind as well as to their own selves in this world and in the world to come.²

As long as Mr. Raffles was in Singapore I felt at ease, for he understood my full circumstances. It was through his agency that I turned my knowledge to good account, and he it was who introduced me to all the white men. He it was who vouched for my proficiency and good character both to the officials and to the merchants. He it was who first told me to teach Malay to the white men. He did this in his usual way, arranging for each of them to do an hour's study a day and to pay me \$10 a month. At that time most of the white men were learning Malay and I taught six or seven a day. There were some who came to my house and others who invited me to their's. Besides this I earned money writing letters to the Malay rulers from the English merchants, as well as traders' bills and notices of auctions. Times were not then as they are now. If there was to be an auction anywhere notices in Malay, Chinese, Tamil, and English were posted up all over the town saying that on such-and-such a day and at such-and-such an hour there would be an auction at the premises of Mr. So-and-So, and stating the goods which were for sale. Many Chinese trading with the Malays dealt with them through letters and notes of hand, all which I wrote myself. Chinese trading with English merchants would call me in as an interpreter, for the English did not understand Malay nor did the Chinese understand English. I interpreted between the two parties and received a commission from them, and from some of them the promise of a share in any profits they made. At that time Allah granted me many openings to earn my living but through diffidence and lack of enterprise I did not care to catch the rain which fell so plentifully, for I thought that it would go on falling for ever. I forgot the changing fortunes of this

² See note 15 under Chapter 13. In his reply to Farquhar's Memorial of 1824, Raffles shows (Boulger, 1899: 350) that his firm decision not to allow any form of licensed gambling in Singapore had the support of the Governor-General in Council. Nonetheless gambling was revived under Crawford, although the magistrates strongly opposed it (Miller, 1941: 195).

world and that if perchance there came a period of drought I should be in difficulties, when so far from rain falling even the wells might run dry of water.

I have spoken of my lack of enterprise and confessed my diffidence. It happened that after eight or nine months' sojourn in Singapore I returned home to Malacca for two or three months. All my Singapore earnings ceased and the money I had gained was all spent. After it had all gone I returned to Singapore. Many English merchants tried to help me start in business and some promised to give me a thousand or two thousand dollars, which I could use without paying interest, to induce me to settle down permanently in Singapore and bring my family. Believing that the prospects were good I tried my utmost to persuade my family to move. But I could not succeed. When everything in my house had been packed, the baggage tied up and my wife was due to sail to Singapore in two day's time many of our relations, men and women, came to us. Some wept, others, gave advice, each according to his mood. They behaved as if grief would kill them, until my wife changed her mind and my heart relented. So it came about that I did not take my wife but sailed by myself. When I reached Singapore I found my house unrecognizable for it had not been regularly occupied, and I was vexed at the thought of living in it on my own. The idea worried me more and more, so I sold the house to Mr. Hay. If from that time onwards I had lived permanently in Singapore my life would certainly have been different. But by the will of Allah who knows all things, seen and unseen, it was not to be. As the wise man has said, "One handful does not fill a bowl."

Now the misery I suffered must be that of any intelligent man placed in the same position as I was. Let him indeed draw from this story of mine a lesson to eschew evil superstitions like those of the Malacca people who thought it ignoble and undignified to take respectable women away from their own country. People called it "gadding across the ocean",³ and used to draw attention to it, giving it the wrong interpretation. Verily, such foolish ideas originated in the minds of ignorant and unenlightened people. They certainly do not come from books or the precepts and injunctions of our religion. It is stated in many books that wheresoever the husband goes his wife should properly accompany him, so that the pair of them may be protected from the dangers of this world and the next; most

³ *Melangkah lautan*, lit. "stepping across the ocean, bestriding the ocean." Abdullah probably left for Malacca at the end of 1820.

important of all, from adultery, collapse and sudden death, and in matters of food, dress and the like. It is because of these wicked practices that such foolish beliefs still persist. Moreover there were no other people working in the same circumstances as myself or whose education matched mine. If there had been many men in the same position as myself one person would assuredly have followed the example of another. As for Chinese women in Malacca at one time they held to this custom, not one of them moving from the place. But when large numbers of young Chinese started working in Singapore and one took his wife with him others followed suit, until to-day it has become the practice for Chinese women to spend part of their time in Malacca and part in Singapore. It is not a matter for embarrassment or comment for they all do it.

Now at last I was like a man jolted out of his slumbers. At the time when a copious rain fell I had not cared to take my fill of water, and now so far from there being heavy rain it was not even the gentlest of showers; and there was I, greatly exercised to catch water in drops. In spite of this setback I prayed with my heart full of hope to Allah who makes the rain of His bounty to fall upon every man according to his deserts, not a drop more and not a drop less than is his due. And I give countless thanks to Him in that now my original portion in life is restored to me. My passion and greed roused me to thoughts of a greater gain than was my proper due and that was the reason I slept during the rain of plenty. Only when it ceased to pour on me did I awaken from my sleep, so that I would receive only my rightful share of it as my daily due.

18. Mr. Raffles Returns Home

One day Mr. Raffles said to me "In three days time I shall be sailing. Please pack all my Malay books." When I heard this my head was in a flurry and I felt faint as I asked "Where are you going sir?" He replied "I am going back to Europe."¹ When I heard him say this I could not bear to think of it for I felt as if I would be losing my own father and mother, and my eyes filled with tears. When he saw me crying his face reddened and he dabbed his eyes with a handkerchief saying "Do not cry. If my life is spared, I shall come back to Singapore one day. I am returning home now for I have had a difference of opinion with Colonel Farquhar and it is a matter which

¹ All the principal citizens of the Settlement had arranged a big civic farewell for Raffles, and it is difficult to believe that Abdullah had not heard about his departure until three days before it took place.

I wish to settle. If it is settled I shall come back. May your life be happy. Do not worry, for we shall meet again in the future. Wait while I write you a letter, which you must keep carefully, and as long as the English are in Singapore or in Malacca show the letter to the chief officer, whoever he may be, and you will get employment." I replied "Sir, I do not like working in the police court for I have to administer oaths to people."² Mr. Raffles said "The job of giving the oath you can pass on to somebody else and the Company can pay him a different salary." I replied "I will consider it later, sir." He went on to say "Perhaps you should give this up, and instead keep in touch with the English merchants so that you can get employment with them. I will give you a letter to Mr. Queiros so that you will receive a good salary. However, I think that sort of work is very tiring and that you will not be able to stand it. It would be better for you to go on with your writing and to teach Malay to the English." I replied "I will do whatever you think best, sir." Then he called me into the room at the side and said "Open these three cupboards which are full of Malay books, and wrap them carefully in this waxed cloth. Then please pack them in these four leather cases." In addition to the books there were all sorts of curios from Java and other places. When he had shown me everything he went out. With my own hands I packed his books, manuscripts and collections of verses. The books bound in volumes alone came to about three hundred, besides many unbound books and other items loose, in rolls, and in sheets. I filled three leather cases each six feet long with Malay works alone. After that I packed two more cases with letters and books from Java, Bali, and Celebes, besides puppets, pictures, articles used in different crafts and pastimes, and writings on palmyra leaves.³ These occupied three or four cases. Instruments of the Javanese orchestra entirely filled one large chest.⁴ There were thousands of different creatures whose insides and bones had been taken out and which had been stuffed with cotton wool, so that they looked just like living animals. There were two or three chests filled with many kinds of birds which

² Wilkinson (1922: 64-5) points out that the Malays have the greatest respect for the sanctity of an oath, provided it is properly binding "by God" or "by the name of God." I swear "in the presence of God that I will do etc.," is an evasion condemned by the Prophet. It seems that Abdullah's objections were on some such grounds as this.

³ This form of Javanese calligraphy was done by writing with a fine needle on the dried leaves of the palmyra palm, *Borassus flabelliformis* (Jav. *lontar*, *rontal* = Kel. *tal.*), using dyes extracted from certain leaves. Preserved specimens show very intricate penmanship.

⁴ The famous gamelan orchestra dates back to a period before the first Indian traders came to Java.

had been treated in the same way. There were hundreds of bottles, large and small, tall and short, filled with snakes, centipedes, scorpions, worms and so on. All the bottles contained spirit to preserve the specimens from decay. These also looked just as though they were alive. Two more chests were filled with coral, built up from thousands of shells and tiny molluscs of different kinds. Mr. Raffles prized all these specimens very highly, more than gold or diamonds. From time to time he came in to look at them for he was afraid of their being damaged or crushed. When they were all ready the chests were lightered out to the ship. The barges on which they were loaded were twenty in number as well as smaller boats and ferry-boats. When all his baggage had been placed on board he called me the next morning to his writing-room and said "Here you are. Take this letter and keep it carefully together with the one I gave you in Malacca. When from time to time new officials arrive here you should show the letter to them and they will look after you. If you take up work at the police court show this letter to whoever is Resident in Singapore and you will get a salary higher than other Malays. I do not like to see you feeling sad. If my life is spared I will find a way of coming back to Singapore. If I should die, may you ever prosper. I advise you to learn English thoroughly and become really fluent. Here is another letter for you. After I have sailed take it to Mr. Queiros and he will give you \$200. Take it and spend it. If I do return here I want to write many books about the countries in these parts. In these books I will mention your name and the help you have given me in the Malay language and arts, and I will speak fully of your proficiency so that the white men will know who you are and have confidence in your work." I stood speechless as I took the letter and my tears flowed unheeded in the anguish of my heart, because separation from Mr. Raffles was like the loss of my own father. My sadness was not due to the fact that I had gained such benefits from him nor because of his greatness and pre-eminence, but because of his courtesy and understanding. Every word he spoke was honest and sincere. Never once did he magnify his own importance or belittle that of others. These are things which have remained in my memory up to the present day. Many are the men who have reached high estate, who are outstanding, very wealthy or very handsome to look at. But a nature so good at winning the affections of others and so noble as that of Mr. Raffles I have never found. Even should I die and return to this world in another life I should never again meet such a man. My affection for him has prompted me to compose these verses.

The plover seeks the wayside tree,
 The *rambai* in green pastures grows,
 Mr. Raffles — wise is he,
 How well the hearts of men he knows.

The *rambai* in green pastures grows
 Delicious fruits the taste beguile,
 How well the hearts of men he knows
 How natural his charm and smile.

Delicious fruits the taste beguile
 Like bramble with its prickly hairs.
 How natural his charm and smile,
 The grace his wife so nobly shares.

Like bramble with its prickly hairs,
 The lane with trailing branches strewn.
 The grace his wife so nobly shares
 Unites them as the sun and moon.

When I had taken the two letters Mr. & Mrs. Raffles went out into the harbour accompanied by crowds of all races,⁵ I do not know how many there were. I went with them and as soon as we reached the ship Mr. and Mrs. Raffles went on board. The ship was about to weigh anchor when Mr. Raffles called me and I went into his cabin. I noticed that his face was red and that he was wiping the tears from his eyes. He said to me "Go home and do not be sad. If I live we shall meet again." Then his wife came in and gave me \$25 saying "This gift is for your children in Malacca." When I heard her words I felt quite overwhelmed by the kindness of both of them. I received the gift with thanks and shook hands with them both in tears. Then I went back into the boat. When it had been paddled some way off I looked over my shoulder and saw Mr. Raffles gazing out from a window. I waved and he raised his hand in reply. Then his ship hoisted sail and was gone.

The next day I took the letter Mr. Raffles had given me and showed it to Mr. Quieros.⁶ He read it and said "Please give me a receipt and

⁵ Abdullah does not distinguish between Raffles's second wife Lady Sophia (née Hull), whom he had married in London in January, 1817, and his first wife, who had died in Java.

⁶ Claude Quieros was a protégé of John Palmer (note 14, under Chap. 13). The young man's father had long been a friend of Palmer's: about 1819 he fled to Lucknow to escape from his creditors (and died there about 1823). Palmer did not desert his friends in adversity: in the hope of helping the family he tried to set Claude Quieros up in business in Singapore, in partnership with Andrew Farquhar, but nothing permanent came of it.

I can let you have the money." I wrote out a receipt to say that on such-and-such a day of the month I had received \$200 from Mr. Queiros. It was with a heavy heart that I took the money, for the memory of Mr. Raffles was still with me. Since the day he sailed I have never felt really happy. Indeed, my life has been full of sorrow.

For some time after the departure of Mr. Raffles Colonel Farquhar was Resident of Singapore.⁷ In any matter of great importance he acted in the same way as Mr. Raffles had; that is to say, he consulted Sultan Husain Shah and the Temenggong about the decision he was to make. The laws and regulations of the Singapore Settlement remained in force as they had been fixed by Mr. Raffles, Colonel Farquhar making no further changes in his enactments.

After some days I was still feeling unsettled because I was always thinking about Mr. Raffles. So I went back to Malacca. However some two months later I again returned to Singapore, and when I arrived I received news from Colonel Farquhar who told me "The ship carrying Mr. Raffles home to Europe sailed from Bencoolen one afternoon, and the same evening it caught fire with the loss of all the goods on board. Nothing was saved. But Mr. & Mrs. Raffles are safe, having escaped with only the clothes in which they stood."⁸ On hearing this my imagination reeled to think of all the works in Malay and other languages, centuries old, which he had collected from many countries, all utterly lost. Not a trace of them was left, for they were all in manuscript. Had they been printed there would still be a record of them. I thought too of all the remarkable objects Mr. Raffles had, to say nothing of his personal belongings. I recalled Mr. Raffles's promise that he would write books about the countries of this part of the world and that he would mention my name in them. All his material was lost. The more I thought about these things the more depressed I became. For it was a great loss indeed to European scholars because it had been Mr. Raffles's intention to write many books, one about Celebes, one about Borneo and one about Singapore and to give an account of many matters of great importance. Now all the manuscripts and his English translations were lost. But then I recollected how thankful we should be to Allah that at least his life had been saved.⁸ Allah exercises His power over His servants in

⁷ This is bad error. Raffles had suspended Farquhar at the end of April (1823), just before Crawford arrived to replace him as Resident. Crawford was in charge after Raffles's departure.

⁸ Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles left Bencoolen on the *Fame* on 2 February, 1824. Soon after dusk when the ship was about fifty miles out to sea, a fire was started through the carelessness of a steward. The fire soon enveloped the whole after-part

divers ways. Sometimes the unforeseen occurs and sometimes the expected does not come to pass. Allah fulfils His purpose⁹ in His own way.

19. Colonel Farquhar Returns Home

Not very long afterwards Colonel Farquhar wanted to return to Europe, and news of this spread round. When they heard it everyone in Singapore was sorry, for he was a good Resident and knew how to cherish the affections of his people. All the Malacca folk were especially sad because to them he was like a father. From the time he became Resident in Malacca right up to the time of Singapore he had never hurt people's feelings or done the smallest disservice to anyone of any race whatever. He was very fond of his people and showed them much consideration and kindness. So all the people were fond of him, and yet they respected him for the fairness of his rulings. If there was one feature of his character which was commendable above all others, it was that in all his actions and decisions he made no distinction between rich and poor, treating everyone alike. Most other people in high positions paid more attention to the rich than to the poor, treating the poor harshly and the rich with favour. Doubtless men who act like this can quickly become rich by taking a great many bribes. But such conduct may well lead to the hottest flames of hell. May Allah keep such temptation as this away from all upright and virtuous men: the temptation which makes people so greedy and covetous of material wealth that in exchange for the honours of this mortal world they forego life in the world to come.

The people in the Settlement of Singapore were all ready with presentations, festivities and boat processions with much music-making. On the day before Colonel Farquhar left thousands came to see him. Some wept in genuine regret because they were mindful of his fine character; others shed false tears to save their faces, so that people might know that they were on friendly terms with the Resident.

of the ship. Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles were saved without injury, but all their possessions were lost. They reached England at last in August, 1824. It cannot have been Farquhar who gave Abdullah the news of the disaster. He left Singapore at the end of December, 1823. Apparently Abdullah has confused Crawford and Farquhar here.

⁹ Raffles bought a house in London and spoke of entering public life. In 1825 he founded the Zoological Society. But anxiety disturbed the peace of his retirement. He had to give much thought to careful refutation of "Farquhar's memorial." The East India Company withheld his pension, and claimed from him a refund of certain sums of money he had paid in the Company's name. He lost £16,000 in a bank failure in Java. Worn out by recurrent bouts of fever he died in July 1826, on the eve of his forty-fifth birthday.

Some brought different kinds of gifts, the Chinese following their national custom, the Malays following theirs and the Indians theirs. Each giver wrote his name on his present and some were rewarded with cloth and others with rare objects of European workmanship, each according to his status, for Colonel Farquhar understood their feelings. There were some who did not have a dry eye for the whole of those two days. To everyone who came to see him he gave advice and good counsel saying: "Take care of yourselves. Do not be like me. Perhaps I can help and advise you. I am now returning to my home, but if my life is spared I will come back again to Singapore." While he was talking tears came into his eyes because he was so sad to be leaving Singapore. That day a great many poor people gathered at his house asking for alms, and he directed that to each was to be given according to his need. His children too shared his grief.¹ There were provisions of all kinds, preserved fruits, pickles, sweetmeats, I know not how many hundreds of jars and bottles, all of them stacked up in heaps—just gifts, all of them, from people.

The next morning people of all races put out in their boats, gaily decorated with flags flying, bands playing and laden with presents. There was the sound of Chinese music, Malay music, Indian music and Javanese music. The noise of guns being fired and crackers being let off added to the cacophony as they all tried to follow Colonel Farquhar's boat. When the white men and leading citizens saw how men of all races were paying such respect and according such honour to Colonel Farquhar some among them were pleased. But there was one who begrudged him these honours saying "What good is it to do him honour for it is not he who is the chief man in Singapore, and he can no longer do whatever he pleases here?" But another answered "We honour him not because he is a great man or a little man, or rich or poor, but because of the fine services he has given for it is that alone which all of us remember with gratitude." So then the man kept quiet, for by that time Mr. Crawford had already arrived to take over the government of Singapore. But when he saw what was happening he was astonished, and felt very embarrassed because nobody recognized him or noticed his presence, or paid any attention to him.¹

¹ When the success of Singapore was assured the Governor-General approved a new scheme for its administration, drawn up by Raffles. Crawford arrived on 28 May, 1823, and Raffles handed over in person to him. But Farquhar still refused to accept Raffles's orders, and left only after he had been officially told from India that his resignation, tendered in 1820, had been accepted on 21 March (1823). His presence for the next six months in the Settlement gave Crawford good cause for the embarrassment which Abdullah notes.

After he had had breakfast at his house Colonel Farquhar went down accompanied by thousands of people to the water's edge. They all saluted him and he said good-bye to each one in turn. It was two hours later that he got on board the ship's boat, and there were tears in his eyes as he raised his hat and called good-bye four or five times to all the people who had come with him to the shore. The hundreds of boats already mentioned followed behind his boat to the mingled strains of music. He was much moved at this demonstration and sat with bowed head. The boats fired their guns and let off crackers, and there was much singing, beating of gongs and playing of violins,² each race after its own fashion, the Chinese after theirs, the Malays after theirs and the Indians after theirs. The uproar on the water was deafening. At last the ship was reached. Colonel Farquhar embarked and the boats gathered round. Those accompanying him came on board to say goodbye and he received each of them in turn with kind words to gladden their hearts, and with all manner of friendly counsel. He treated them as a father his own children, until tears came to their eyes and to his also. At last they took their leave and returned to their boats. Then all the vessels left for the shore. After they had departed Colonel Farquhar came to the ship's side and raised his hat, waving good-bye to them four or five times. The people waved back in acknowledgement, shouting "Good-bye, sir. May you have favourable winds. You can return to your homeland and meet your parents and all your relations. May your life be spared so that you may return here and become our ruler again." Colonel Farquhar waved his hat three times more from the ship which then raised sail and left. All those who had come to see him off went back to their homes. They all felt very sad and during the next two or three days everywhere I went I heard people mentioning the names of Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar as very fine men. Many people testified to the reputations these men bore, to their fine characters. All the events I have described must surely be a lesson to men of wisdom and understanding, illustrating the references I have made to people of good character and profound learning and the stories I have told about them. I have done so in the hope that such people will emulate their conduct, their manners, their courtesy and their intelligence. As the wise man has said "It is better to die with a reputation for good than to live with a reputation for evil."

After the departure of Colonel Farquhar Mr. Crawford took over the government of Singapore. Although the Settlement had a Resident

² *biola* (=Port *viola*), a European-type violin which was fretted, as distinct from a *rebab*, a cruder type with a small sounding-box, which lacked frets.

it looked and felt as though it had none. For as the Malay verse says "Can ten scattered stars shed the same light as a single moon?" I noticed that Singapore at that time was like a woman whose husband has died, her hair unkempt, her face sad, like one who dwells in sorrow because her glory has gone from her. Intelligent people, and those able to use their imagination will understand clearly the significance of the similes I have used. But those in the same humble position as myself often say it is all the same whether a man is good or bad, as long as there is rice in the cooking pot and their bellies are full. Or, as they say "Ten ships may arrive but the dog still wears a rag round its tail," meaning "Whoever goes and whoever arrives to be our ruler what do we care?" They assume that they will go on living the same sort of lives as before. I would liken them to a tree which bears no fruit. Of what use is it to mankind except to be cut down and chopped up for firewood?

20. The Doctor's Cure for a Hydrocele

There came a time when I was working for Mr. Thomsen as well as teaching Malay to most of the white merchants. Owing to the excessive heat in Singapore I fell sick with a very painful hydrocele which sometimes prevented me from walking more than a short distance. Two or three times a week the pain would come, until it became so bad that I was unable to rise from my sleeping mat for two or three days on end. At the time I was teaching one of the merchants in Mr John Morgan's house. On one occasion the sickness came and for three whole days I was unable to walk. The following day there was a slight improvement and I walked slowly to Mr Morgan's house. As I reached the top of the steps I saw a white man reclining on a couch on the veranda reading a book. He seemed to be new and I did not recognise him. I bid him good-day as I went in. When Mr. Morgan saw me he said "Why are you so thin? You look to me as if you are ill." I told him about my indisposition, which was of long duration, and about the many Malays, Chinese, and Indians who had prescribed medicines which had not, however, cured it. As time went on it grew worse and worse, and it was giving me very great pain.

On hearing what I said he went and spoke to the man who was lying on the couch. Then he called me over to him. The man lying down said "May I examine you?" He took me into his room and examined me. Then he said "I can soon cure you of your trouble." I was excited to hear this and asked him, "Please give me some medicine so that I will soon get well." But he replied smiling "It is not

medicine you need but to have the fluid drained off. Then you will be well at once." I replied "Any number of people have given me medicine. But they say that it cannot be cured because of the pus which fills it." He felt it with his hand and said "Whoever says it is pus is a fool and does not know what he is talking about. In India there have been hundreds of men with hydroceles ten or twenty times as large as yours. After I drained off the fluid, two or three bottles full, they became well again."¹ I asked "How do you drain off the liquid?" He replied "I shall make a small cut. You will feel no pain. And the liquid will come out." When I heard him say that he meant to cut it I was afraid I might die, but he said "Do not worry. If you die as the result of this operation I shall be hanged in Singapore. I give you my word. I shall be liable for a fine of a thousand dollars in the magistrate's court if you die." But when I heard what he said I thought to myself "Even if you give a hundred thousand dollars it is not the same thing to me as my life."

Then I left him and went to find Mr. Morgan who asked "What did the doctor say?" Then I learned for the first time that he was a doctor. I told all that he had said to me. Mr. Morgan said "Where else would you be so lucky as this for he is a leading doctor? He has come here on a holiday. A thousand doctors in these parts are not his equal in skill. He is what is called a *general doctor*.² You may be confident that whatever he says is right, for he is an expert. He has already performed many wonderful cures. You should do exactly as he says." After hearing this I was still in two minds, wishing to be cured but fearing the operation.

Then I went back to the doctor. He said "Do you wish it done at once?" I replied "Please wait, sir, while I go and tell Mr. Thomsen for I am in his hands," and he said "Very well then. But make up your mind quickly for I will be sailing in three days' time." I said "Very well sir, I will go home now." He came with me as far as the steps. I noticed that he walked with a slight limp. This I saw as we

¹ A hydrocele is an effusion of serous fluid between two layers on the inner lining of the scrotum, which are normally in apposition. It may follow inflammation in that region, but the general cause is unknown. Hydroceles are not normally infected, and it seems clear that Abdullah, who was inclined to magnify his own physical suffering (see Chapter 9, p. 122), did not feel the intense pain to which a septic condition would give rise.

² *General Doctor*. I can find no other reference to this man, who must have been either a medical officer, in the army, with the rank of General, or a civilian doctor of equivalent rank employed by the East India Company.

This episode cannot be dated with any certainty, except that it must have been before 1828. Twice the author refers to his parents as living. They may have died in 1826 (see note 9, under Chapter 1). Morgan was residing in Singapore only from 1822 to about 1827: Thomsen left about 1834.

went along together. When he saw me staring at his legs he said with a smile "Why are you staring at my legs?" I replied "Nothing, sir, nothing at all." But he let down his stocking and I saw that a wooden stump was fixed to his leg as far as the knee, jointed so that he could bend his wooden knee just as we can our own knees. He said "This leg of mine was smashed when it was hit by a cannonball during one of the campaigns fought by the English in India. I cut off the remains of the leg and fitted this wooden stump." Great was my surprise to see the white man's power. Life alone he cannot restore but all else is possible to him.

I said good-bye to him and went to find Mr. Thomsen to whom I told everything that I have related here. He said to me "Where else would you find such good fortune? If anyone else was recommended to have this operation done the doctor would ask I know not how much as his fee, for he is a *general doctor*, that is to say one who is very skilled in medical matters. Go and have it done at once before he sails." But I replied, "I am very much afraid that disaster may occur." He said "Do not be afraid. For if he is no good how is it that the East India Company pays him a salary of thousands of dollars a month? You may take it from me that there is nothing to be afraid of." In spite of his reassuring words my heart was still afraid and I went home in a state of great anxiety.⁴

All night long I sat thinking it over. There were friends of mine living together in my house. I told them all that had happened and when they had heard me they said "Don't you do it. With these white men it is an even chance: if you die you die and if you live you live." And they went on "If this story were to reach your parents and your wife in Malacca it would cause them a great deal of suffering." They said many other things to increase my fears and I felt sorry that I had mentioned the matter to them. So far from giving me good advice they only made me more afraid. I lay thinking that night until half past two in the morning. Then an idea occurred to me "If I have lived my allotted span of life I may die to-day or to-morrow." So I took a piece of paper and made a will, appointing Mr. Thomsen as my executor, and saying that if my hour of death had come I left all my possessions to Mr. Thomsen, my agent, who would send them to my

³ *di-putar-nya sêkêrup pisau itu maka mata pisau itu pun tinggal-lah di-dalam. sêkêrup* is from Dutch *sohroef*, a screw-nail. *sêkêrup pisau* is a good description in Malay of a combined trocar (a parallel-sided spike about 2" long with a sharp point at one end and a handle at the other) and cannula (a thin-walled metal tube fitting closely round the spike of the trocar).

⁴ Probably mercuric chloride: Abdullah mentions no colour.

wife and children in Malacca. I added that I drew up this document of my own free will.

After writing my will I laid down after a while until dawn broke. Then, inviting a friend to come along with me as my sponsor, I went to Mr. Thomsen and showed him the will which I read out. He said "You have no need to look as far ahead as that. Nothing will happen to you." So I went away.

I found the doctor pacing up and down his veranda. When he saw me coming in the distance he went quickly and waited at the top of the steps for me to come up. Looking at me he said "You wish to have it done then?" I replied "Yes sir." He went at once into his room and opened a box. In it I saw scores of knives of different kinds arranged in rows, some with sharp points, some bent and some like cock's spurs and saws. He said to me "Sit down and don't be afraid, it will take only a moment." Then I said "There is a friend of mine outside. May he come in please and watch the operation?" The doctor said "Yes certainly. Tell him to come in." After my friend had come in, while we were talking, I notice that the doctor had taken a fine lancet and was testing the sharpness of its point with his finger. He said, "Let me have a look," then added as he was looking "Do not be afraid, you can watch at the same time." My body was shaking with fright while I watched him slowly insert the knife. It felt like ants biting. Then he unscrewed the handle leaving the blade sticking in my flesh.³ Liquid matter poured out into a basin which the doctor placed underneath to catch it. After the fluid had been draining off for a quarter of an hour he told me to walk up and down, liquid continuing to pour out all the while. When the flow ceased he took a piece of cotton wool, soaked it in some lotion and applied it to my skin.⁴ The pain went away and I felt in normal health as before. I noticed that the liquid was quite clear like water, odourless and colourless. I cannot describe my relief now that it was all over. I felt like a dead man who has come to life again. Then the doctor said to me "Go and show this to your Malay friends and tell them to hang this liquid in a skin. Then let them apply their medicines, for I should like to see the medicine which is powerful enough to draw off the fluid. If the sick man is given medicines to drink it is certain that more and more water will accumulate in the swelling. Take the fluid back and show it to Mr. Thomsen," and he went on "How do you feel now?" I replied, "There is no pain at all, only a slight tingling feeling." He said "Do not worry. You are all right now."

Then I took the fluid in its basin to Mr. Thomsen. He was greatly surprised and said "I have never seen anything like it in all my life.

How does the pain feel now?" I replied "It has gone and I feel well once again." I took the fluid home and called many Malays, Indians, and Chinese. To them I showed it, relating the full story. They listened with the greatest amazement and were full of admiration. I made up two bottles of the liquid filled to the brim, and sent them to my parents in Malacca with a letter telling them all about my operation from beginning to end. Great was their astonishment when they heard about it, and many people went to my house in Malacca to see the bottles of liquid. But they all said "His mind accepts the ways of the white man. If it had been any of us we would rather have died of the disease than summon up the courage to do what he did."

The next day I went to find the doctor. When he caught sight of me he laughed saying "So Abdullah is not yet dead." He saw that my trouble was cured. As he examined me I noticed that the place where he had made incision had moved up. He had cut lower down, but the skin had shrivelled and caused the scar to rise. He said to me "I am sailing to-morrow but I will give you a letter in case in about three months' time your trouble returns, as it may. If it does, show this letter to a doctor here and he will make you well again." I took the letter and thanked him profusely for his help. I felt that if I had been a rich man I would have given him as much as \$500 for having cured my pain.

He was sailing away the next morning, and I bought three hundred mangosteens and four jars of preserved fruits and took them to him as a present. But he laughed and said "I do not wish you to give me these. Whatever you spent on buying them I will pay you back. It was not for all these that I cured you." He took out his money and wanted to pay. But I was so unwilling to let him that tears came to my eyes while we were talking, and I implored him again and again. When he saw what my feelings were he said "All right then. Do not be sad, I will accept these gifts of yours," and he went on "I see you are a person who knows how to return the kindness of others." I went with him as far as the ship. When we had arrived I said good-bye to him. Just before the left he gave me a musical box saying "You can amuse yourself with this." I accepted it, for fear of offending him. So I thanked him and went home. He sailed that same night.

The news that I had been cured of my illness spread round Singapore and Malacca and the next day two of the Malacca men, of Indian parentage, and a Chinese came to find me and asked to be taken to the doctor. I said "Yesterday he sailed for Europe."

They had been hopeful, and one of them wept because he had suffered pain from the disease for many years. A week later came two men from Malacca who were also suffering from the same complaint. They heard that I had been cured and wished the doctor to do the same for them. They also wept when they heard he had already gone.

After about three months the pain returned and I told Mr. Thomsen about the letter the doctor had given me. He said: "Take the letter to a doctor." I showed the letter to a doctor and when he had read it he did as it directed him. About one and a half bottles full of liquid came out. He applied a red-coloured liquid which hurt so much that I felt I was going to die.⁵ It flowed out in clots with the pus, and then he applied ointment. The pain was removed and by the grace of Allah has not returned again up to the present time. The doctor instructed me to wear short pants for walking out of doors in the daytime, for the place is very hot and this causes many cases of hydrocele. It was in Singapore, he said, that I had acquired it.

21. The Thian Tai Huey Society in Singapore

Mr Crawford had not long been Resident in the Settlement of Singapore when news was first heard that the Chinese of the Thian Tai Huey Society, who lived in the interior of Singapore Island, intended to launch an attack on the Settlement. There were many thousands of these men, not just a small number. Some of them owned plantations of pepper, gambier and other crops, but the majority lived by robbery, piracy, and murder. Almost all of them smoked opium, to say nothing of their fondness of gambling. They all lived deep in the jungle which stretched almost all the way across to the other side of the island. At the head of the Society was the master; under him were four captains, and under them the section leaders. Below the section leaders were scores of satellites who looked after the rank and file and caught people, forcing them to join the Society by ordeals, by oath-taking and by the drinking of blood. People unwilling to join they tortured, impaled, or locked up in confinement, and if still unwilling they at once put them to death. If it please Allah I will give an account of all that they did at their meetings for I myself went to the place and saw what happened with my own eyes. I struck up an acquaintance with a young Chinese from Malacca who had taken part in the activities of the Society, for I wished to find out for certain

⁵ Probably an alcoholic solution of iodine which, with mercuric chloride, was in use as an antiseptic long before 1830.

all about the secrets of their work. Of the reports I heard about them some were true and others false.¹

A very strong rumour went round that the Thian Thai Huey men were going to make an attack on the Settlement. A great many robbers went about here, there and everywhere, and some broke in and robbed houses even in broad daylight. I made enquiries from my young Chinese friend and he said "Yes, it is true. They intend to do what you say, but they are not yet ready to act. In spite of this they have already sent a letter to Malacca to their comrades there, and to Penang asking what plan of action they propose and therefore their campaign is held up. But do not mention this information to anyone for I am under an oath of secrecy and if the master were to hear of this he would certainly have me put to death." I promised that I would keep his secret, provided only that I could learn about the Society's work. For since my boyhood days I had heard of the Thian Tai Huey but did not know about its activities. I was confused because some said one thing and some said another, and so I thought it best to find out the truth. I said to him "My friend, where do these people live?" and he replied "Right in the interior of Singapore Island at a place called To Tangling." "How many do they number in all?" I asked, and he replied "On Singapore Island alone, in the interior and in the Settlement, there are about eight thousand men,² and more at Malacca, Sungai Ujong, Lukut, Linggi* and Penang, all of them in the Society." I said "Can we go and see the place where they live?" He replied laughing "What good would it do you to go that far? Are you not afraid of meeting your death?" I replied "I only want to see the place. What is there to be afraid of? If you die

¹ The powerful Thian Tai Huey was a Chinese society which had existed for nearly a thousand years. At first it taught the universal brotherhood of man through mutual aid. After the Tartar invasion of China in the seventeenth century it became an underground movement plotting a Ming restoration. Whenever the Chinese went abroad the Society followed, organizing its numbers into lodges affiliated with headquarters in China. In Singapore the Society's political motives could find no practical expression, but it remained a mutual aid society, supporting lawless and criminal elements against the established government. Murderers were seldom caught, for Chinese immigrants were too frightened of the vengeance of the Society to give information.

Blythe (1947: 107) mentions a riot between rival Chinese factions in 1824, but Abdullah here seems to speak of a concerted raid planned by the Thian Tai Huey lodges. Low's journal mentions the *Teon Tay Hueh*, having 5,000-6,000 members, and says that the governing Council consisted of four officers representing the tribes of Amoy, Kheh, Teochew and Macao (Cantonese).

Huey means a confederacy or widely spread society held together by ties of racial kinship. Such ties often cut across the guilds or *kongsi*, which the overseas Chinese formed to protect their trading interests.

² Marriott's population table gives for the number of Chinese living in Singapore in 1824 . . . 3,317, in 1825 . . . 3,828, in 1826 . . . 4,279, in 1827 . . . 6,088.

* See Map I.

then I shall die too." My friend replied "Very well. If you feel like that, in three days' time I shall be going there myself, for there are five new members waiting to be admitted to the Society, so we can go and watch what happens. But we shall have to spend the night there and come back the next day." After I had heard his words a thought entered my mind and I wondered how far I could trust the statements of this opium-eating Chinese, and what would become of me if anything untoward were to happen, for I had no experience of the place to which we were going. But although this is what I was really thinking I said to him in reply "All right then, I will go," for I was nevertheless extremely keen to be there and see with my own eyes.

Now I had some very good friends, young Chinese, in the merchant community, and I told them of my intention to accompany the man into the interior to see the places where the Thian Tai Huey men lived and the things they did. But one said to me "At present everyone is frightened of the Thian Tai Huey, so how do you expect to go? You may get killed. Whom can we trust?"⁸ My heart trembled to hear this and I said "Why should they kill me, for I shall be carrying nothing of value?" Then he said to me "Call the man whom you are to accompany and bring him here so that I may speak to him." So I went and asked the young Chinese to meet my friend and he came with me. When they met my friend asked "Enche' Dollah is to go with you to Tangling?" He replied "Yes." Then my friend said "Look after him well. If anything happens to him we shall know that it was your fault." He said "Don't worry about that, for if there is killing we shall both be killed together."

Two days later, early on a Saturday morning at five o'clock, the Chinese came and called me saying "I have brought bread and some brown sugar and bananas for you to eat." I put myself in the hands of Allah, and set out wearing a pair of old, very torn trousers, a dirty old shawl and a frayed handkerchief tied round my head. With me I took one rupee, a small knife, a pencil and a piece of paper. Six of us went off together, five Chinese and myself. The way we went did not follow a beaten track but cut across country, going over and under trunks of trees and zigzagging through swamps and standing water. I asked my companion: "Why is the ground in such a state? Can it not be improved? And would that not make it easier to go to and fro?" He roared with laughter and said "If there was a good track would not everyone use it? Police, soldiers and white men could go along it. And if there were any lawbreakers about would they not be speedily caught?" When I heard his words I realized that this was

indeed the stratagem of robbers, to make policemen afraid of visiting the place.

All along the way we met Chinese coming and going. I noticed that they all recognized my young Chinese friend. So I said to him "How is it that you are acquainted with all these men?" He laughed and said "Do you not know that I have been appointed one of the Society's guards?" When I heard this my heart missed a beat, for I was afraid that perhaps he meant to play a trick on me. Was he then taking some part in this meeting? But all these thoughts I kept to myself. Wishing to find out about their secrets I asked him as we walked along. "Can other races become members of the Society?" He replied "Certainly not. They are afraid of people allowing news to break out, and if Malays or Muslims were admitted they would not reverence their ancestors, and could not drink liquor or blood. Fancy your asking that." On hearing this my suspicions were confirmed.³ Then my young Chinese friend said to me "Now Enche' Dollah you must pretend you are a country yokel. Do not speak. Keep absolutely quiet. Now that we are already close carry this bundle and also this umbrella, so that I can say you are a poor Malay who has come begging for alms and that I fell in with you on the way." To this I agreed.

The time was now past mid-day and still we had not reached our destination. I had already begun to feel hungry and said "My friend I am feeling hungry. Let us eat the bread." But my friend replied "We are quite near a Chinese plantation where we can stop." So we walked on and on, and presently came to a gambier orchard where crowds of people were to be seen. Hearing the noise of people approaching some dogs rushed out, about ten of them, and tried to bite us. Then my young Chinese friend shouted out the name of the owner, and he came out. After meeting us he invited us to come in and sit down. His men came crowding round and stared at me asking in Chinese, "Who is this man?" My friend replied "He is a stranger who has just arrived and is begging for alms. I fell in with him on the way." They gave us pumpkin and roasted potatoes which I ate sitting beneath a jack fruit tree. My Chinese friend went off to eat his meal with the owner. While I was eating I noticed many weapons stacked against the wall inside the house. I counted ten large shields, an iron trident and about twenty short daggers and six or seven pairs of the white man's trousers folded in creases looking

³ At the time all members of the Society were bound together by strong ties of race. But later new lodges, the Flag Societies, which accepted others besides Chinese became powerful in Malaya (Stirling 1925: 57-61).

as if they had just been laundered. I was much perturbed at the sight of the trousers for it seemed obvious to me that they must be the white man's belongings stolen from him. I made a mental note of all these things, though I pretended not to be aware of anything. I wanted a drink of water and pointed my hand at my mouth. They offered me some water. But I did not accept it for I saw that all their cups were very dirty and smelt strongly of liquor. The Chinese crowded round me looking at my headdress and pulling my beard. But I did not resist them, for at the time I was very frightened, my friend being still in the middle of his meal. After a little while he finished eating and we moved off.

At about four o'clock in the afternoon we reached the encampment. I saw three large huts, each at least 180 feet in length, inside which men swarmed like maggots. As we were approaching them my Chinese friend said to me "Keep quiet and pretend you are a poor yokel." A moment later some twenty dogs came rushing out at us. It frightened me to see so many animals, but my friend shouted to a man in the hut who came out and called them off. In front of the doors of the hut large trenches had been dug, about twenty feet wide, crossed by wooden planks. When people had gone across to the other side they would lift away the planks so that nobody else could cross. When they saw my friend approaching three men came carrying planks which they laid across the trench and we walked over. When we reached the further side we found two or three holes which they had made and marked with signs. One of the men led the way in, for anyone not knowing it would certainly have stumbled into one of the holes. The depth of the holes was about eighteen feet, and in them they had put loose brush-wood covered with dried banana leaves. The top was strewn with earth so that it looked like firm ground.

When I reached the hut I peeped inside. There were hundreds of lamps burning and on all sides men smoking opium. Round the outside of the hut were piles of wooden stakes with one end sharpened to a point. Inside the hut there were weapons arranged in rows. The stakes were for hurling at people. Scattered about were shields and daggers, and also wooden spears six feet long with their points sharpened like bamboo sticks, stacked in sets against the wall. I asked my friend with some diffidence, "Is this the place?" and he replied "Yes, this is one of them. There are five or six more, bigger ones than this, a little further on. But this evening everyone will meet here. This is where the initiation takes place. You can watch during the night. They have recently found five new men for admission.

People in Singapore are very persistent in spreading rumours about the Thian Tai Huey men and in abusing them, so that men have to be forced into joining the Society." I asked "Where can we spend the night?" He replied "I will arrange to use my friend's room over there."

As evening was drawing on they sounded a bamboo gong, the noise of which could be heard a long way off. Soon all the men had returned to the hut. I estimated that the occupants of the three huts numbered five or six hundred, and out of this number there were less than twenty who were not smoking opium. Practically all of them smoked it. When they had all returned the noise was deafening, like people fighting a battle. Then I was taken by my Chinese friend to one side of the hut where I found a mosquito-net ready, for it was a room used by a writer of the Society: and there I remained. My friend gave me a little rice in a banana leaf with some slices of cooked fish and two bananas, which I ate so that I should not be hungry during the night. A little later he came to me and said "Stay here, Enche'. Here is a hole in the wall through which you can watch from this side. Keep very quiet. In a short while those men will be here." I said "You will come here," and he replied. "Do not be afraid, Enche' Dollah. I am here to keep watch at the meeting. I must be in the hut without fail, for it is for that purpose that I am present. I will come to you from time to time and nobody will dare to do anything to you." I replied "Very well then."

By about seven o'clock they were all gathered together eating, drinking liquor, and causing so much disturbance that they might have been staging a fight. This went on for an hour. Then gongs were sounded and drums beaten, making a great din, and they all sat themselves down in rows. I scanned the men's faces, red as hibiscus flowers because of their drinking, as they all sat facing the idols of their ancestors. In the centre was one who was the master. He came forward and sat down on a high chair. Then two men came and stood on his right and two on his left. After that eight men holding drawn swords took up their positions to the right and to the left of him. Others came forward and lit pieces of paper in front of the shrine. Then eight men with drawn swords came on dragging a man with them. As for the man they were leading, his hair was dishevelled and he wore no shirt but only a pair of trousers. As he came before the master he bowed his head low to the ground while the sword-bearers on the master's right and left shouted and brandished their swords about his neck. For a moment all were silent, not a word being spoken. Then another man came and stood beside the first one while the

master asked him this and that, speaking in Chinese. I have made enquiries since and have discovered that the substance of what the master said to him was "Who are you and from what part do you come? Who are your parents? Are they alive or dead?" The person standing beside him interpreted all the master's questions to the man whose head was bowed to the ground. Then the man replied "My name is So-and-So. I come from such-and-such a country, and both my parents are dead." Even if his parents were alive it were well for the man to say they were dead; for it was the rule that while his parents were alive no man was accepted into the ranks of the Society, whose members were in the position of men dead to the world. The master went on "Are you prepared to swear that your parents are dead?" and the man said "Yes." He performed his oath by burning paper in front of the altar and declaring that his parents were dead. Then the master said to him "Why have you come here?" to which he replied "I wish to join the Thian Tai Huey Society," which means "The Earth and Sky Society," that-is-to-say the society of eternal brotherhood, in death as in life.⁴ The master said "You are a liar. You do not mean it truly in your heart," and the man replied "I will swear that it is true." The master said "Swear it," and the man burnt pieces of paper, at the same time taking the oath following his words. When that was over the master said "Do you know what are the rules of the Society?" to which the man replied "Yes I do. It is to swear allegiance by the drinking of blood." "What else?" demanded the master, and he went on "I must not reveal any of the secrets to men outside the Society. If I do I am willing to be put to death." "Is that right?" said the master "Are you willing?" "Yes," he replied "I am willing." Then a bowl containing spirit mixed with a few drops of the blood of each person present was brought before the shrine by an attendant who carried a knife. The attendant took the knife and made a small cut in the man's finger. The blood flowed out and was caught in the bowl. Then the master said "Drink—before the idols of our ancestors." The men drank a cupful, then the master and all the others drank a little each.⁵ Then the master said "Go

⁴ The Society was known at different times and in different places by various names, the White Lotus, the Heaven and Earth or Hung League, and the Triad Society.

⁵ The Triad ritual and initiation ceremonies have been described by Schlegel in a survey of secret societies in the Far East; by Pickering (1878: 63–84; 1879: 1–18); and by Purcell (1948: 164–7). The nature of the Thirty Six Oaths varied, but the general trend was mutual help, absolute secrecy, and respect for womenfolk. The blood of the initiate was mixed with that of a decapitated white cock in a drinking cup. In one respect Abdullah was misled. It cannot have been a condition of membership that a candidate's parents were dead. The Society built on the bonds of

to-morrow to the writer and ask for a book in which you will find all the ceremonies, the signs and the tokens of our brotherhood. Pay him one dollar." At length the master rose from his seat, came down and himself raised the men from his prostrate position. Now he could take his place beside the master. Before his admission into the Society he had been accounted its enemy. In the manner described they admitted four men as members of the Society that night. The proceedings, all that I saw of them, I have described. Then my Chinese companion came to see me. He said "See all you wish," and then went away again.

After these four men had been admitted they led in a fifth man whose hands were bound together with cord. When he was brought facing the master he was ordered to bow, but he remained standing. A man came forward and struck him ten or twenty times with a bamboo cane. Then he was asked "Do you wish to become a member of this Society or not?" But the man remained silent. Then he was asked the same question again. The third or fourth time he was asked he replied "No." The master glanced up at the men carrying swords and they all brandished their weapons making as if to cut off the man's head. I expected him to be killed. But the master stopped them and questioned him again, and again he said "No." Then the master ordered him to be thrown face downwards on the ground, while two men flogged him on the back with bamboo canes until he shrieked in agony. A man came and asked him whether he wished to join or not, but he still refused. Then the master said "To-morrow morning take him away and kill him." He was shut up for the rest of that night and the next day he was put to death for refusing to join the Society.

In this fashion they had assassinated scores of men, all of them forcibly abducted by night from Singapore, for this was how the Society's men set about enlarging its membership. As for those already admitted as members, if they broke their oaths of allegiance or revealed any of its secrets to men outside the Society they were put to death without mercy. Wheresoever they went, if the Society was established there they would assuredly be killed.* Every member of

filial piety felt by every Chinese and extended them to cover the whole *Huey*. Abdullah had learnt a few words of Mandarin from Milne's teacher in Malacca (see pp. 108-9), but he can have understood scarcely a word of what was being said at the ceremony.

* L. A. Mills says (1925: 207) that for many years after 1819 the bodies of Chinese were found in Singapore and in Penang with the mark of the Triad Society neatly carved upon them. Chinese who had been persecuted by the Society dared not complain of the wrongs inflicted upon them.

the Society kept a book in which were written the forms of ritual, rules of discipline, recognition signs, and regulations concerning food and dress. When he arrived in a place where he knew nobody, there were special signs he had to give to make himself known to people as a member of the Society. There were other things of this kind. I shall not describe them in detail.

When the scene I was watching at last came to an end it was about two o'clock in the morning. They blew a note on a bamboo tube and each man present left to go about his business, some to smoke opium, some to sleep and some on their raiding expeditions into Singapore. My Chinese friend came to me and seeing me still up he said "You are not yet asleep, then?" I replied "I am not sleepy though Allah alone knows how frightened I feel." He sat down with me and talked of the events of the night, speaking slowly in whispers. He said "To-night two hundred men have gone into Singapore to search for food." When I heard this I became all the more afraid, and my heart trembled as I wondered how long it would be before dawn came and I could go back quickly from this accursed place, which terrified me. The building outside the place I occupied was full of men gambling and two or three times there was fighting during the night. I said "My friend, let us start back to-morrow morning while it is still dark." He replied "Very well then."

Waiting there I felt as if my sight would leave me and for a while I lay in a stupor. At about four o'clock I heard the loud noise of men approaching. I roused my friend and said "What is all that noise outside?" He replied "Keep quiet. It is the people who went to Singapore last night returning." Hearing this I almost died of fright and prayed for the dawn to come quickly. A little later in the first light of dawn I woke my friend. But he would not get up, saying "Wait a little longer." I urged "This is the best time for us to set off, while the sun is not yet up." Then he got up said "Shall we not have something to eat?" But I answered "We can go as far as those plantations and eat there." For myself I felt that if only we escaped from this dreadful place it would be enough. But my Chinese friend went to meet the master. I know not what they spoke about during their conversation. Then he came back and I asked him "What have you been talking about for such a long time?" He replied "Nothing of any importance." The subject of their conversation is one thing that I did not discover, but apart from this he told me everything just as I have recorded it above.

After that we set off together, I and my friend. As we walked along he said "You know that all the men who went into Singapore last

night blackened their faces with charcoal." I asked "Why did they do this?", and he replied "So that nobody could recognise them." I asked him "To whose house did they go last night and what did they obtain?" He replied "You were so eager about our return that I had no time to ask them: and afterwards they were still sleeping." But I was thinking "In the name of Allah, pray, when shall we reach Singapore?" But although the experiences I had been through had given me cause for much anxiety what more could I do now that matters were outside my control?

We walked along and presently at about eleven o'clock we came to a Chinese plantation. We stopped there a few moments. Then we continued on our way. As for the journey I will not described it in detail. Indeed I cannot bring myself to think of it. In all my life I had never seen such a difficult track. Sometimes I sank in the mud up to my thighs. Six or seven times I fell over, and so did my friend. I was amazed to think how the robbers made the journey there and back in the pitch blackness of the night. Allah alone knows. I felt in my heart that if in the twinkling of an eye I could be transported into Singapore I would be willing to pay even ten dollars. It was after three o'clock when by the grace of Allah I arrived safely in Singapore, hungry and tired out.

As soon as I was back in the Settlement I heard news that the previous night some Chinese had descended on Kampong Gelam, about two hundred of them, all with blackened faces. They were armed and carrying lines of flares, looking like men moving in procession. They robbed the house of a Roman Catholic priest who lived by himself, with no friend on the premises but only his cook. When the robbers had gained entry by the stairs some of their comrades kept watch by the outer fence and some at the back, while the rest raided his belongings. They found the priest asleep. One man went and pinned his arms and legs while two others carrying daggers held them to his throat saying "Where are the keys of your boxes?" The priest showed them the keys, and they opened his boxes and took whatever money was in them. His clothes they scattered all over the floor and his lamps they smashed. When they had finished those on guard blew their whistles and all went outside except the men pinning the priest, who held on to him. Only when their comrades were far away did they release him and run. This was the account I heard people give of what the robbers did. Once I was in Singapore my conscience would not let me keep to myself the story I had heard. So I went to find Mr. Crawford, and I told him all about what I had done and what I had seen, just as I have related above. When he had

heard me he was astonished and said "How did you dare to go and risk your life in such dangerous circumstances? It is lucky indeed that you were not killed. Who can tell what might have happened?" I replied "If I had not done as I did I should never have known for certain, because everyone has a different story to tell about the Thian Tai Huey. Now I have seen for myself and I am no longer under any misapprehension." He said "Yes, that is also the white man's attitude," and went on "Last night some Chinese robbers went to the house of a Roman Catholic priest in Kampong Gelam." I replied "Yes, sir, I have already heard so. But how can you suffer such things to happen?" Perhaps this very house of yours, sir, will be raided in the same way." Mr Crawford replied "That is true, but I think the terrain is too difficult for people to go and arrest these men and therefore we must put up with them until the path is improved. But I will order a constable and a police patrol to go and watch for them." I replied "That is good, sir. If the matter is allowed to rest they will always be behaving like this." Then I said good-bye. Mr. Crawford went to the police station and I returned home.

The same afternoon I heard that while I had been at home Mr. Crawford had ordered twelve policemen armed with pistols, daggers and some with *keris*, together with two constables, to go and see if they could find any evidence or anything of the property of the Catholic priest. They set off for the interior fully equipped and when they reached the Chinese plantation half-way along the route, the place where I had stopped for food, they saw a Chinese just risen after a sleep. He was walking out of his house to wash his face which had been blackened by smearing with charcoal. They arrested him and brought him back to Singapore. He was taken to the police station and questioned, but he pretended he was dumb and unable to utter a word. However much they interrogated him and bullied him to force him to speak he refused to answer. He was ordered to be put in the lock-up at Telok Ayer, for it was already getting towards evening. That same night at about two o'clock some two hundred of his comrades came down from the interior armed and broke into the gaol. They held their weapons ready, some standing guard by the steps and others in the middle of the road. All the police in charge of the gaol ran away to save their own skins. The constables who lived on the top floor of the building jumped from a window and escaped. The Chinese smashed open the building, grabbed their comrade and took him quickly back to the interior. Meanwhile the policemen and the constables had gone to the police station and gathered a force together. Not one of them remained at his post.

When people in the Settlement heard of the affair there was mounting alarm. At night they sat guarding their houses not daring to walk about outside. It was at this time that a new regulation was published putting police on guard along every highway at night. Every two or three nights the raiders came. One night the Chinese of the Thian Tai Huey descended on Kampong Dhobi, near Kampong Gelam, two or three hundred of them armed and carrying torches and flares. There were policemen on night duty there, but when they saw what was happening they ran away. Thirty or forty of the Chinese stood on guard with their weapons at the end of the lane and all the rest broke into the *dhobi* lines. They smashed open the boxes, and some took away the clothes. They tied the owner of the building to a post and demanded his keys. Then they ransacked all the other boxes and took away the laundered clothing. People living in the neighbouring houses did not dare to open their doors and come out when they heard the hubbub. One person shutting his door had two of his fingers cut off. He hurriedly locked the door and sat down cowering with fear. To their heart's content the robbers grabbed whatever took their fancy, going from one house to the next. They had looted three houses when their comrades on guard at the end of the lane blew their whistles and as soon as they heard the sound they all made off at once, except those on guard at the doors of houses. Where three had been before only one remained, and where four had been two remained. Then when all the rest had got away whistles were blown again and only one man remained on each door, the others leaving at once. Then whistles were blown once more and all those left behind ran off in pursuit of their comrades.

When people noticed that the houses were quiet and there was no longer the noise of men outside, in fear and with great caution they began to open their doors a little and to wave sticks in front of them to find out whether anyone was still there. When they did not encounter anyone they came out one by one shouting. Then at last all emerged carrying torches and flares, and with their arms, and went to the houses of their friends who had been robbed. They found them still tied to posts, their belongings strewn about the ground, their boxes broken wide open, everything scattered in indescribable disorder. They were released from their bonds and a general hubbub ensued. Then at last the police arrived and made a pretence of searching high and low, though Allah knows how frightened they were, feeling as if they would like to find refuge in the very wombs of their own mothers. Events like this happened

continually, sometimes by day and again the same night, sometimes once a day.⁷

About a week later a gun belonging to the East India Company, which used to be fired at eight o'clock at night and at five o'clock in the morning, was suddenly found to have disappeared. At that time it stood near the shore opposite the place where the English church has now been built. A sentry armed with a musket guarded the gun, the sepoys taking it in turns to go on duty. What caused such surprise was the fact that the gun with its guard and their arms were all missing and nothing has been heard of them from that day to this. People believed that it was the work of the Thian Tai Huey.

About a fortnight later a large Siamese sailing-ship tried to come into the Singapore anchorage. But owing to strong headwinds it had to anchor out at sea off Tanjong Katong. One night the Thian Tai Huey Chinese and hundreds of their followers came out in boats. They climbed onto the vessel and ran *amok*. Many of the crew were killed, and the rest fell into the water. The attackers unloaded the ship's cargo into their boats, and when these were full they made off for the interior, taking a course round to the other side of the island. After two days those of the crew who had fallen into the sea were nearly all dead. Only four men reached the shore alive. They went to the police station and reported all that had happened. The magistrate ordered a search to be made of the vessel. The police went and examined it, and found six or seven dead bodies lying on the deck. They bore marks of having been hacked and stabbed and were already decomposing. The vessel itself was drenched with blood, and cargo lay scattered in all directions. Crates had been split open and all their contents rifled. The police were ordered to bring the vessel into port, under escort. There they examined it to see if they could discover who the robbers were, in case the vessel had any marks on it or other evidence. But after a thorough search none could be found. For about a month the vessel was held while enquiries were being made, and it was then handed back to those of the crew who were still alive.

I will not give a lengthy account of the activities of the Thian Tai Huey men in those days in Singapore. They were quite unrestrained,

⁷ G. W. Earl describes the raid on the dhobi lines (1837: 369-71). A party of about 50 Chinese descended on the village, put the Bengalis to flight and made off with "a fair proportion of the wardrobes of the European ladies and gentlemen." A. J. Kerr, who afterwards became Registrar of the Singapore Court, collected a small band of Malays and ambushed the retreating robbers. They dropped their bugles on the path and much of the stolen property was recovered the next morning.

free to do exactly as they liked without shame or consideration for others. The lives and property of a great number of Allah's servants they took with violence. There were hundreds of business premises and private houses raided by them, which I need not mention. I have given here only a short summary. Nevertheless the officials who had control of the Settlement took no action. They just went out every day in their carriages as usual, for their tables were replete with food, their houses brightly lit by many lamps, and they lived on their salaries of thousands of dollars a month. They tolerated the unjust tyranny of the Chinese in an English settlement because their salaries were paid from the funds of the East India Company. A long time ago I learnt that in countries inhabited by other races, like the majority of the Malay States, China, Arabia and so on, robbers, thieves and assassins are numerous. But at that time in the English settlement of Singapore the Chinese robbed with unbridled licence in any quarter they pleased. Then the five o'clock gun sounded, I was startled from my reverie and a thought came to me. The reason why the Chinese could behave as they liked was the absence of a road along which the white man could lead an armed force to their hide-outs. It was, I believed, for that reason that the Company tolerated their misdeeds. Otherwise these Chinese would have been destroyed long ago by the Company. Mr. Crawford did start to drive a road towards the interior. But in those days not many of the Company's convicts has yet come to Singapore. It was therefore difficult for the Company to start a project like this or to get it done quickly.*

* John Crawford was born in 1783. After serving for six years as an army doctor in India he went to Penang in 1809. He accompanied Lord Minto on the expedition to Java and held various appointments there, including British Resident at Djok-djakarta, until 1816, when he returned to India. His government mission to Siam in 1822 has already been mentioned (Chapter 16, Note 2). His account of his *Embassy to Siam*, written in diary form has some comments on Singapore where he stopped from 19 January to 22 February, 1822.

Crawford was dour and close-fisted, justifying his parsimoniousness in public matters on the grounds that before ratification of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty in 1825 Britain had no valid title to the Settlement, and that one of the objects in transferring control to the Bengal Government was to make it pay its way after three years of lavish expenditure. One of his first acts was to negotiate with the Sultan and Tēmenggong the Treaty discussed by Abdullah in the next chapter. He reintroduced gambling farms under a system of licences, brought in a modified system of land tenure, and established proper law courts.

In spite of Abdullah's strictures it was with a deservedly enhanced reputation the eyes of the Bengal Government that Crawford left Singapore in August, 1826, on recall to India. In 1830 he retired to England. In 1868 he became first President of the Straits Settlements Association, and died in London the same year. He was an acknowledged Malay scholar and published several works, the best known being his *Descriptive Dictionary* of 1856.

22. Mr. Crawford and Sultan Husain Shah

There was a dispute between Mr. Crawford and Sultan Husain Shah which originated in this way. The allowances granted by Mr. Raffles had been fixed by him at a thousand dollars for the Sultan and seven hundred for the Temenggong.¹ Regularly every month they received these amounts up to the time when Mr. Crawford became Resident of Singapore. Then on one occasion when the time came and the Sultan's representatives arrived to draw the money Mr. Crawford said to them "At present the Company is short of money. Wait another month or two until money comes from India." They took Mr. Crawford's message back to the Sultan who held his peace.

When the next time arrived and the men went again to ask for the money Mr. Crawford returned the same answer as before. They returned and told the Sultan who was surprised, thinking it most improbable that the East India Company could be short of money and wondering whether there might be some hidden purpose in the delay. He possessed himself in patience although he was heavily in debt and had pawned his property for the money. Indeed he was seriously in need of it. For three consecutive months Mr. Crawford gave the same reply, and the time had come when the Sultan could wait no longer. One day he and the Temenggong visited Mr. Crawford at his house on the hill. On their arrival Mr. Crawford greeted them, shaking hands and then showing them to their chairs.

Now I must ask the indulgence of those white men who read this book of mine, for I know that many who read it will be acquainted with the character and temperament of Sultan Husain Shah. At the time when he came from Riau to Singapore he was not fat but of average proportions. However, when he had become Sultan his body grew plumper and plumper as time went on. His obesity became so exaggerated that he looked almost square in shape, combined as it was with his lack of height. He became no longer recognizable, with his small head and neck buried under so much fat that it looked as if he had no neck; his round face, squinting eyes, button nose, wide mouth, spreading chest, paunch distended with layers of flesh, thighs which met in the middle, spindly legs without any flesh, splay feet and raucous voice which jarred on the ears. Whenever he sat down it was his nature to fall into a doze and snore. When he spoke people

¹ The circumstances that led to the payment of these allowances are given in note 7, under Chapter 13. Information given by Abdullah on page 277 shows that at the time of his consultations with Crawford Sultan Husain Shah was 48 years old.

not used to hearing his voice were alarmed at the way he snapped and snarled. His body was sallow in colour. I need not go into further details, for there are many who were formerly acquainted with him and who saw his manner and behaviour. Never in my life have I met another man as fat as him, to the extent that he had not the power to support himself on his legs. I do not think that such fatness as this can be at all healthy or comfortable for the body, causing as it must the greatest inconvenience in everything one does.

To return to my story of the dispute between Sultan Husain Shah and Mr. Crawford, when the Sultan and Temenggong arrived Mr. Crawford received them. He paid due respect to the Sultan and offered them chairs. After they had been seated a moment the Sultan said "At present we are severely pressed for lack of money. Why is it that for the last three months you have not paid us our allowances?" Mr. Crawford at once replied "Your Highness and the Temenggong will fully appreciate the circumstances in which I am placed. I can do nothing at all without authority. I have received instructions from the Governor-General of India authorizing me to ask that full control of the Settlement of Singapore be transferred to the East India Company, so that there is no longer a divided control. For difficulty is caused by the fact that Your Highness controls one part and the East India Company the other. This is His Excellency's proposal to Your Highness and if Your Highness is agreeable to such an arrangement the Company will make Your Highness a monthly allowance of \$1,300, and to the Temenggong \$700 a month. Furthermore the Company will make an immediate grant of \$30,000 to Your Highness and \$15,000 to the Temenggong. If Your Highness wishes to move to another country the Company will give \$30,000 in addition. The agreement shall be that the allowance is payable during your lifetime only and Your Highness's heirs will not receive it."

When the Sultan and the Temenggong heard Mr. Crawford's words they looked at each other for a few moments in silence. Then

* In August, 1824, Crawford made this new Treaty with the Sultan and the Temenggong under which Singapore and the adjacent islands were ceded to the English for ever. The two chiefs were supporting a host of friends and followers in the safety of the growing Settlement. They now realized the value of the prize they held and made a hard bargain with Crawford. The Sultan received \$33,200 and \$1,300 a month for life and the Temenggong similarly \$26,800 and \$700. The East India Company also agreed to pay the Sultan \$20,000, and the Temenggong \$15,000 for their lands and houses if they wished to leave Singapore.

The figures quoted for the amounts to be paid to the Chiefs are those taken by Mills and Winstedt from Aitchinson's Treaties. Abdullah has confused the *ex gratia* payments made to the two Chiefs with the amounts fixed as their compensation. The Sultan's he puts at the slightly lower figure of \$30,000. His story of the trick played by Crawford to force the Sultan's hand is not supported from any other source.

the Sultan said "Very well. We will think over this matter to-night, and we can give you our answer tomorrow." Mr. Crawford replied "Certainly, Your Highness." He saw the Sultan out to his carriage. Then the Sultan returned home to Kampong Gelam and the Temenggong to Telok Belanga. They both gave the most careful thought to the matter that night, and the next day a member of the Sultan's staff came to Mr Crawford and said "The Sultan and the Temenggong agree to your proposal of yesterday." Mr. Crawford was pleased to hear this; because he had secured everything he wanted and because his reputation would be enhanced in the eyes of the Company owing to his good services. He quickly wrote out drafts of the treaty on thin parchment which looked like paper. Then he said to the Sultan's representative "Give my compliments to His Highness and say that if he can arrange to come here at ten o'clock to-morrow we can settle the matter." Then the man returned to convey Mr. Crawford's words to the Sultan.

At ten o'clock the next morning the Sultan and the Temenggong came up the hill in a carriage. On arrival they were greeted by Mr. Crawford and invited into his house where they sat down. After they had been seated for a few moments Mr. Crawford said "Is it true that Your Highness is ready to accede to the wishes of the Governor-General?" The Sultan said "It is true." Then Mr. Crawford asked the Temenggong who also gave his assent. After that Mr. Crawford took the two pieces of parchment out of writing-box saying "This is a copy of the agreement for Your Highness and this one for the Temenggong. May Your Highness be pleased to listen while I explain its provisions to you in Malay; 'This document is to certify that I, Sultan Husain Shah ibn Al-Marhum Sultan Mahmud Shah, ruler of the Kingdoms of Johore and Pahang, whose sovereignty extends over the Settlement of Singapore, do sincerely declare in this treaty that of my own free will I have ceded this Settlement of Singapore and all authority over it to the East India Company. And the East India Company promises that if I wish to move from Singapore to another country it will give me \$30,000 and similarly \$26,800 to the Temenggong. Further, the East India Company promises to pay me a monthly allowance of \$1,300, and to the Temenggong \$700, and that this allowance shall be made to me every month for as long as I live. This agreement is concluded in the Settlement of Singapore on August 2nd 1824'." After Mr. Crawford had read the agreement and explained its meaning in Malay the Sultan gave his approval and placed his seal on the parchment. Then the Temenggong did likewise. When they had finished signing the treaty twelve guns fired a salute

from the top of the hill as a token of goodwill. Then the Sultan and the Temenggong returned home. Just as they were going the Sultan said to Mr. Crawford "When can we take the money?" and Mr. Crawford replied "Tomorrow Your Highness can give orders for someone to fetch the money." Then the Sultan and the Temenggong returned to their homes.

The next day the Sultan's representative Enche' Abu Puteh came to receive the money. When Mr. Crawford had calculated the total debt which the Sultan owed to Mr. Raffles there still remained due to the Sultan a sum of \$20,000. From this were to be deducted sundry amounts which he owed to the East India Company. The whole of the balance was handed over to Enche' Abu Puteh. The money was presented to the Sultan, and only when he saw the amount did he realize and regret his mistake in surrendering the Settlement of Singapore. From that time onwards the monthly allowances of \$1,300 to the Sultan and of \$700 to the Temenggong, up to the death of Sultan Husain Shah in Malacca,³ were neither increased nor reduced. If it please Allah I shall have more to say about them later on.

About five days after the agreement had been concluded Mr. Crawford ordered gongs to be sounded all round Singapore and in Kampong Gelam and a proclamation read: "Be it known to all men in this Settlement that full judicial and legislative control throughout Singapore has passed to the East India Company, and that neither Sultan Shah nor the Temenggong retains any power. The Sultan can make no order except on the authority of a magistrate." When the Sultan heard what the town criers were saying he realized at last that he was in the position of a man bound hand and foot. As the Malays say "To repent in time is gain, to repent too late is of no avail."

About a month later, one morning at about half-past five, there arrived twenty-seven girls, young and beautiful to look at. They were all slaves of the Sultan. They came to the police court to make their complaints. One of them bared her back and showed the criss-cross weals of a cane. Others showed marks of hanging and of being burned with firebrands. One said "Every day we are punished by being given insufficient food and clothing. Some of us are branded on

³ The Temenggong died at Tèlok Bèlanga in December, 1825, and was succeeded by his second son Tèngku Chi' or Tun Ibrahim (see Chapter 24, page 298, and Chapter 25, note 19), who was allowed a reduced allowance of \$375 a month. The Sultan lingered on for ten years more, moving to Malacca in 1834: Earl (1838: 383) gives a picture of him as he was in his latter days. Sultan Husain Shah's estate was divided up between his heirs in 1897. Of seven surviving beneficiaries, two still own the old palace premises in Kampong Gèlam: Tèngku Husain a great-great-grandson, and Tèngku Muda Muhammad a great-grandson who was at one time Private Secretary to H.H. the Sultan of Trèngganu.

parts of our bodies," and another "There are three or four of my companions whom *Che' Përèmpuan* has ordered to be killed because she is jealous and fears that His Highness will take them as secondary wives.⁴ These young girls made all sorts of other complaints at the court, things too improper for me to mention in this book. Mr. Crawford gave a ruling. He said to them "Nowadays every one of you is free to go wherever she wishes, and nobody can order you about or do any harm to you." After that they betook themselves to different places, some going with policemen, some with Indians and Chinese, and others to the houses of the white men. They surrendered themselves to anyone who would give them food and clothing.

At two o'clock that afternoon the Sultan in person came to the court to meet Mr. Crawford. When he arrived Mr. Crawford went to receive him and led him to a chair. The Sultan said "Mr. Crawford, what right have you to set my slave-women free? They have all left my household. They are in bond to me as debt-slaves. There was an agreement between myself and Mr. Raffles that my slaves and all my other followers would not come under the control of the Company." Mr. Crawford replied "As for any agreement between Your Highness and Mr. Raffles I do not know of it. But I have received instructions from the Governor-General of India that nobody in any English settlement, wherever it may be, may own slaves. All slaves are now free, and anyone buying or selling them will be severely punished. Furthermore, it is not right to inflict suffering such as branding and indiscriminate flogging on human beings. I hear that murders have taken place in Your Highness's precincts, and if I receive definite information about them those who committed the murders will certainly be put to death." The Sultan said "Your have no right to set free my slaves;" to which Mr. Crawford replied "If I have no right Your Highness had better write a letter to the Governor-General in India or send a boat to enquire whether it is on my own responsibility or at the bidding of the East India Company." When the Sultan heard this he rose and returned home in his carriage without saying good-bye or asking any more questions.

About a month later orders came from India to make proper thoroughfares and to improve the roads in Singapore, and to straighten

⁴ Sultan Husain had married twice. His first wife was Raja Bulang, the daughter of the Tèrnènggong Engku Muda of Riau, whom he married in 1811, and his second Wan Esah, a daughter of Tun Koris, Bèndahara of Pahang, whom he married in Pahang in 1812. Raja Bulang was of royal birth, both Engku Muda and the Sultan being great-great-grandsons of Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah, who reigned in Johore 1699-1719. The title *Che' Përèmpuan*, if indeed Abdullah intends it to be a title, could only apply to Wan Esah, who was not of royal birth. It may simply mean "our mistress."

those which were winding. So proper highways were constructed. When they were about to start road-making in Kampong Gelam it was found that the road would pass through the middle of the Sultan's domain. Mr. Crawford directed that the Sultan should be told of their intention to make a road through the centre of his district on the instructions of the Company. When the Sultan heard this he was angry and tried to oppose it. Seeing the Sultan's attitude Mr. Crawford the next day ordered the men to break down the Sultan's wall by force. The Company's convicts smashed down the wall and levelled it to the ground, to build the road which exists there at the present time. The result was that the Sultan's domain was cut in two, part of it on one side and part on the other, with the road running through the middle.⁵ When the Sultan saw that it had been achieved by *force majeure* he held his peace and said never a word, for he knew that he was no longer possessed of any authority in the Settlement of Singapore. As the Malays say "The tiger is feared because of his teeth; if he no longer has any teeth what reason is there for people to be afraid of him?" The Sultan's plight was only a trivial matter in the eyes of the white man.

It was during Mr. Crawford's time that all the roads in the Settlement were widened and levelled. Along each road they placed a notice board on which its name was written in English letters. Where the ground was undulating it was made flat and directions were given to build embankments over muddy swamps. For now for the first time convicts of the East India Company were coming to Singapore in large numbers. Roadwork schemes which had lapsed previously were now put in hand. The whole length of the present road which goes inland as far as Bukit Timah was made in Mr. Crawford's time, although it was not then so wide nor the surface so even as it is now. Mr. Crawford also acquired much land for himself in the commercial quarter. Then he built a great many lodging houses, and right up to the present time people have been paying rents on them to his agent.

I noticed that Colonel Crawford was by nature inclined to impatience and outbursts of temper. He did all his work slowly, without hurrying. He was conscientious as well as capable, and he was also a man of education. Yet in spite of this he was fond of material wealth. He was tight-fisted and gave himself airs. His temperament made him intolerant of listening to long-winded complaints. Neither had he the ability to enquire fully into peoples' affairs. He preferred short,

⁵ The road lay approximately on the alignment of the present Victoria Street, and was at first called Rochore Road. At Kampong Gelam in 1831 extensive draining and banking operations were undertaken to develop the village.

abbreviated statements of fact. Malays and other races which live in the east enjoy long dissertations and repetition. For this reason I heard many Malays and Chinese grumbling because they felt aggrieved in that their course of action had not been arrived at with their own consent but had been dictated to them.

It was during Colonel Crawford's residency that several young English merchants came out to Singapore, ten or fifteen people altogether. Not one of their number knew a word of the Malay language and Allah brought it about that I taught them Malay up to a point where they were able to engage in trade and in buying and selling with all the races here in the east. When their studies were finished each of them would give me a written testimonial to show that they had taken lessons from me. One of those who studied Malay at that time was a young man named Mr. Dougall, a writer for Mr. John Morgan. He was a bright pupil who had in him the promise of a scholar. After learning the Malay language and Arabic writing for about three months he could read all kinds of written documents, books and letters sent from various countries. He could write letters to other people, though I provided the models for his composition, which was not his own. I questioned him on all the most uncommon words in the letters and he understood them. I was astonished to see how clear was the mind of this young man. Not one person in a thousand has such a good memory and ability to recollect facts. I asked Mr. Morgan "Who is this man and who are his parents? Are they famous people? Is he a member of your family?" He replied, "His parents are poor but well-read people and they have apprenticed this son of theirs to me so that he may be trained, while I make him an allowance for food and clothing," and he added "Why do you ask?" I replied "This young man may become a fine scholar. I have never before found anyone who studied Malay so well that in three months he could read; certainly not a European who begins by not knowing one word of it." Mr. Morgan laughed to hear my words and said, "It will be to your own credit if he does well." I replied "Sir, look after him." The young man treated me with the greatest courtesy and was good at gaining my confidence. He followed conscientiously all that I told him. When he saw me approaching in the distance he would get up quickly and come out to greet me with a friendly look on his face. Did he make a mistake in his work I would just pause to glance at him and he would realize it and correct it of his own accord. If there was any word whose meaning I had already explained to him, no matter how long afterwards I asked him about it, I would just say "Think" and in a flash he would answer correctly, almost shedding

tears for shame. These things made me grow very fond of him, because I recognized in him a fine nature. I found his manner so unlike that of other young men who like to joke and play the fool. Indeed his behaviour was like that of someone much older, so attentive was he to his studies. I asked him "How old are you?" and he replied "In three months' time I shall be seventeen." When I heard his words I was surprised to see how the youth of this European so belied his mature outlook, and I became very attached to him.

The time came for me to return to Malacca as I had promised. Just as I was about to sail the young man came to see me off. He seemed sad at my leaving. He said 'I hope you will return very soon,' and wished me a safe voyage. After spending two months in Malacca I returned to Singapore. I went to Mr. Morgan's house to meet the young man, bringing with me from Malacca a Malay writing-pen which he had asked me to get. When I saw Mr. Morgan he said "Mr. Dougall died only ten days ago." The news dumbfounded me and for a moment I was silent with grief, feeling as if it had been the loss of my child. I said "What was the cause of his death?" and Mr. Morgan replied "He had a headache for three days. A doctor was called who said that his brain had been affected, and that was why he died."

My readers must appreciate the reason for my telling the story of a young man's ability and enthusiasm for learning, his good nature, his clear mind and intelligence so rare that after three months' study he had reached the stage when he could read Malay script and write letters and translate them into English, and of his character which so easily gained him the affections of other people. He was not like the ordinary young man who has just reached the age of sixteen or seventeen, and if Allah had spared his life he would certainly have reached the heights of Malay scholarship. Truly his was a fine character, to all young men an example to be followed, a lesson to be learnt and a model to be copied, to enable them to develop powers of understanding and memory which will stand them in good stead.

But you, my friends who read this book, do not on any account misunderstand what you have heard about the young man I have mentioned being able to write letters after only three months' study of Malay. You may think that the Malay language is very easy to learn and that this is why the young man was able to write and to read it in three months. But please note carefully what I have said above: not indeed that he himself wrote the letters which he sent to the Sultan and other people but that I provided models for the letters which he merely transcribed. When I say that he was able to translate into

English I mean that I first taught him all the meanings of the words one by one. Only when he had understood them could he put them into English. I have said that he could read books and letters in Malay but it was utterly without comprehension of the words he was reading. He merely pronounced the sounds. Then I gave him their meanings one by one. Now the reason I am making all this clear is that I hear most white men, who have no experience of learning the Malay language, claiming that it is easy and can be picked up in a short time, unlike other languages which are very difficult. Such a view is entirely mistaken. For they have not understood proper Malay idiom and have not made their way over the difficult ground it covers. Once they did so they would certainly see and appreciate how thick the bushes are, how sharp the thorns that lie hidden between the blades of grass, where one false step means a prick in the foot and one wrong turn a stab in the hand. The majority of people who have ventured on this ground, hearing the stories of others, have supposed that the going would be easy. They have entered it running and the thorns have pierced their limbs until their flesh has become inflamed and swollen beyond recognition. Then painfully they have made their way out to go in search of a man who knows the right cure for them. After they have been treated by an expert they advertise their own deeds saying "I have started through the jungle and across the plains of the Malay language. There is no danger at all." They do not realize their mistake. Although cured of their ailments they retain the scars all over their bodies, and it is apparent to all that these are people who have not known how to proceed in the proper way, and so their bodies have been torn to shreds by thorns.

This analogy serves to illustrate the position of the man who declares that the Malay language is easy, and who thinks himself good at it when he can speak a few words to his employees, his cook and his groom, and can read a little. When he translates English into Malay he is unaware that only the individual words sound like Malay, the idiom being English. When a Malay reads the work he is at his wits' end, being unable to fathom its meaning because it is not in his own idiom. Is such an accomplishment of any value? Then thousands of copies are printed, a waste of money and paper and energy. As long as it can be called Malay it is considered good enough, no matter whether people understand it or not. I declare on my oath that I have myself made corrections to a great many documents written by men who claimed that they were proficient in Malay. Yet for all that I put right the mistakes in the individual words and changed the language in which they were expressed the structure of the sentences remained as

before, in the idiom of English. Wherever people see books or letters written thus they know for certain that the work has been done by a white man or other foreigner, not by a Malay.

All you people who read this book of mine must understand the meaning of the metaphor I have used in the illustration above, so that you will put no trust in the words of the man who declares himself proficient in Malay, and who says that it came easily to him, before you have ascertained whether his writing follows the proper Malay idiom. For in the Malay language there lie hidden certain important features which I have already outlined on page eight of this book* . . .

You must know that from the past right up to the present time the English have been improving their language day by day. They have simplified its structure, cut away its accretions, and discarded its useless forms. Its pathways have been made clear and the words classified each with its appropriate rule for use. English is like Malay in having borrowed words from other languages and incorporated them in itself. Therefore it is in my opinion a very easy language to understand; so easy that a carriage could be driven along its paths in midnight darkness because they are all so carefully marked out. But this Malay language of ours is surely like a large forest full of thick undergrowth, prickly thorns, tangled roots and matted brushwood strewn in the way, its paths tortuous, its ground hilly. The further one goes the muddier becomes the way because the rain, beating down on the ground, has sloughed it up. For ages past has any living person tried to put in order or to map out its roads and their boundaries? The majority even of the people born in this forest are caught by the thorns and stumble hither and thither falling head over heels in the mud. How much more those born in foreign countries and other climes who have never heard the Malay language spoken in their own land? They come to this country copying and picking up a smattering here and there, and then they become assertive, saying that Malay is easy to learn and that they can understand it. Is not such talk an outrage to one's intelligence? They like to indulge in fruitless argument so that people will think them clever, and when a firm yes or no is required they start a long rigmarole.

Now I will return to the story of my own doings. For a period of about three years I had regular employment teaching Malay to the the young English merchants newly arrived in Singapore. I have no time to mention all their names, for they were numerous, but among them were: Mr. Boustead, Mr. Benjamin Butler, Mr. Sykes, Mr.

* At this point the author repeats, with minor variations, the classification of Malay syntax which he has given on p. 53.

Read, Mr. Patton, Mr. Arthrington, Mr. John Morgan, Mr. Kerr, Mr. Watt, Mr. McDonagh, Mr. Forbes, the two Armstrong brothers, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Martin, Mr. Gurney, Mr. Dyce, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Gilbert McMicking and Mr. Cretempin. I know not how many hundreds of white men I taught, English and French. I do not remember their names. There were also ladies, English and American, and young girls among those I taught in Singapore. As for the lessons I gave to the merchants, they merely wished to speak Malay for the purpose of carrying on their trade, and some to be able to read their correspondence. They did not want obscure, rare or courtly words, the language of literature or of royalty, or special expressions belonging to Malay prose or verse. They learnt only the common language of the kitchen and the market. They did not even wet their feet, still less immerse themselves, in the niceties of the language. So they did not understand how prefixes and suffixes should be used. It was good enough for them if they could use expressions like *lu, goa, bikin rumah, bilang sama dia, pergi dapat itu wang* and the like, as long as people understood it would do. But the proper Malay idiom is not like this, and it is necessary to know every word and its appropriate affix like *mēm, pēm, pēn, tēr, kan, nya, lah, di, tah, kah, pun, sakalipun* and many others which are used in Malay, each having its particular usage, force and nuance.⁶

While I was thus engaged in teaching in Singapore a letter reached me from Malacca, from Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Kidd and Mr. Collie.⁷ They all urged me to return to Malacca because at the College there was no teacher who understood both English and Malay and there were Malay pamphlets and text-books which the missionaries wished to study. I replied from Singapore saying "My position at the moment

⁶ Bazaar Malay differs from good colloquial and literary Malay in having a smaller vocabulary, with many words borrowed from foreign sources, and using the root form of verbs. A form of bazaar Malay was spoken in cosmopolitan Malacca long before the port came into English hands. *Sama* and *punya* follow Chinese idiom. Abdullah puts crude bazaar Malay into the mouths of Raffles, Farquhar, and Milne. Literary and to some extent colloquial Malay uses certain affixes which may profoundly alter the meanings of words to which they are joined. A good conversational style depends more on the correct appreciation of the niceties of Malay idiom than on the use of compound words.

⁷ James Humphreys was sent out to the east by the London Missionary Society in 1821. Soon after he reached Malacca he was appointed Resident Chaplain. In 1826 he built the first Protestant Chapel in Malacca (see Chapter 23, pages 230-1). He helped Collie with the Malay side of the work at the Anglo-Chinese College. Abdullah says that Humphreys went home soon after the opening of the Chapel, but Lovett gives 1828 as the date of his retirement.

Samuel Kidd came to Malacca as an L.M.S. Missionary in 1824. Begbie acknowledges help received from him in writing "The Malayan Peninsula", and it was presumably under Kidd's direction that Abdullah sorted out Milne's papers. Lovett says that Kidd returned to England in 1832, owing to ill-health.

is that so far from being free to return to Malacca it is difficult for me to spare the time even to eat my meals, because the merchants are always coming to me wanting to learn Malay. But Allah willing wait a while and if an opportunity presents itself I can come back." Every three or four months further letters came from the missionaries pressing me to come back. In one letter they said "Have you forgotten Dr. Morrison's and Mr. Milne's kindness in teaching you? Now that you have become an educated man you no longer pay any attention to the College at Malacca. When there is work to be done at the College and we send for you, you refuse to come." Now I remembered how kind Mr. Morrison and Mr. Milne had been to me. So on that very day I asked leave of the Singapore merchants to go to Malacca, and I showed them the letter which had come from Malacca. They looked glum but having no option they let me go. So I gave up my work in Singapore and went to Malacca.

They were pleased to see me back in Malacca and said "If we had not mentioned the names of Dr. Morrison and Mr. Milne, you would certainly have refused to come." I replied "Sirs, what could I do? My body is one. How can it be divided in two?" That very day I busied myself looking over all the Malay documents in the library which dated from Mr. Milne's day and various Malay books which had been preserved from former times. I catalogued them all in order, entering up any omissions. Some had been translated into English by Mr. Kidd. After that Mr. Humphreys wished to learn Malay and I taught him for about a year. Then when he could read Malay writing and speak a little he gave it up to learn Chinese. In his place Mr. Kidd took Malay lessons from me. Only Mr. Collie did not learn Malay but Chinese alone. In addition to this the missionaries put me in charge of the printing press, the Malay, the Chinese and the English sections, to supervise and improve its work, because none of them understood how to do printing. Occupied as I was in doing this I was not able to leave Malacca although many letters came from the Singapore merchants strongly urging me to return. I mentioned this to Mr. Humphreys but he refused to let me go, saying "Those people in Singapore, they are all very wealthy. Can they not find the cleverest

David Collie joined the staff of the Anglo-Chinese College in 1822 and worked among the Chinese. He is mentioned by Tyerman and Bennet as having hospitably entertained them during their tour of L.M.S. missions in the Far East. He showed them round the College, of which he was then principal, in January, 1826 (1840: 222). According to Thomson's manuscript (see Introduction page 23), Collie married in Malacca shortly afterwards, but this statement is not found in the printed texts of the *Hikayat Abdullah*. Lovett says that Collie died in Malacca in 1828, in good agreement with Abdullah's statement on page 239, that he died sometime before the Kampong Gëlam fire of 1830. Also see notes 21 and 23, under Chapter 23.

of teachers? Why must they have someone from Malacca?" He went on "Wait a little longer here, for I can find no reliable person to work at the College and in the printing room. If you go away the work will have to be left. The College will pay you here the same amount as you earn in Singapore." So I remained in Malacca working for the College; that is, translating from English into Malay, as well as teaching and supervising the printing work.

23. The English Chapel in Malacca

I will now give an account of the chapel, that is to say, a place of worship for the white men, in Malacca. The principal sponsor of the scheme was Mr. Humphreys. The site on which the chapel was built was originally called Kebun Ketek.* It adjoined my house on either side and had been owned in my father's time by a Malay named Enche' Tahir. He had sold it to an Indian named Tambi Muhammed Sayyid, who in turn had sold it in my own day to an Arab named Shaikh Alik, a *khatib* of the Indian mosque. The *khatib* now wished to sell the land and I brought news of this to Mr. Humphreys. I told him further that the price asked for the land was \$400. For a long time past the Chinese in Malacca had set their hearts on acquiring this piece of land, wishing to include it in the grounds of their temple. If the Chinese heard the news they would certainly buy the land. So Mr. Humphreys and I went along at once and bought the land for the price mentioned above.

The land stood in front of the building in which the Chinese kept their images and this was the reason they so much desired to possess it. It was about forty yards wide and slightly more in length. Only a day or two after the sale had been concluded workmen had the materials ready to start building the chapel. When news of this reached the wealthy Chinese and the *Kapitan China* they all came in a body to find Mr. Humphreys and to ask for the land. Some wanted to give twice the price Mr. Humphreys had paid, some even three times. But Mr. Humphreys would not part with the land. The next day other Chinese came offering to exchange this piece of land for a piece in another district. They offered money in addition but still Mr. Humphreys was unwilling to dispose of it. Therefore the Chinese were much distressed, for the land stood right in front of their temple and they would be in serious difficulties. For every day they used to beat gongs, let off a great many crackers and burn paper with a great deal of noise; and if the white men had a church there all this would

* See Map IV.

certainly be stopped. Moreover it was the custom of the Chinese to site their temples, wherever a good place could be found, so that they faced towards China. If a building or wall of any kind was put up in front of a temple the view would be obstructed, and this was considered unlucky. Because of this I have myself heard the Chinese say that Mr. Humphrey's action in building the chapel or church in front of their ancestors' shrine has caused the power of their idols to be broken so that none of the China-born immigrants can become rich in Malacca, but only the Chinese who have been born there. This is what they believe, for I heard it from the mouths of the Chinese themselves just as I have recorded it here.¹

In spite of all their offers and stratagems to gain possession of the land the Chinese did not succeed. Then the land was cleared of trees and the chapel built. It was rectangular in shape. The method used in building the Chapel was that adopted by Mr. Milne when he built the College. When the time came to erect the gate all the important people in Malacca were invited, and each of them placed money below the gateway. Then Mr. Humphreys declared that the building was to be named "The Malacca Chapel."² After it was completed the Resident and all the high-ups in Malacca with their families and womenfolk came to pray there every Sunday evening. It became a regular practice in Malacca for all the Chinese Christians to attend the service there from eight to nine o'clock on Sunday morning from ten o'clock until twelve, and at one o'clock they went to the large church in the Fort. Then from three to four o'clock all the Dutch-born and the Protestant women attended the Chapel. At times when repairs of any kind were being done to the large church, such as white-washing or repairing broken stonework, everyone used to go to the chapel.³ Before the chapel was built the carriages of the white men never ventured through the district. But since the chapel has been there the place has been crowded with many carriages standing in the middle of the road, and children can no longer play in the road because of the multitude of

¹ Tyerman and Bennett (1840: 222) censure "the chagrin of the idolatrous Chinese" but Thomson (1874: 215) in sharing Abdullah's sympathy with them mentions the high-handed attitude of the sponsors of the chapel and the police.

² Begbie (1834: 369) describes the Chapel as a "neat but commodious building." It was built and maintained entirely by voluntary subscriptions. Tyerman and Bennet (*loc. cit.*) record the laying of the foundation stone. Tyerman made a speech in English, Humphries in Malay and Collie in Chinese to a large gathering. There was much resentment among the Malays "that they should be thought to need the instructions of the English Missionaries."

³ Details of the Chapel services provided by Begbie (1834: 369) so closely resemble those given here by Abdullah that they afford some support to Abdullah's claim that he gave Begbie information which was included in "The Malayan Peninsula". Abdullah's is the fuller account. See page 264.

carriages and people walking to and fro. The greatest hardship of all fell on the Chinese because from that time on they were not allowed to make any noise by beating gongs in their temple. Police were on duty there to stop them, and even to prevent passers-by talking too loudly, day and night.

Not long afterwards Mr. Humphreys sailed home to Europe leaving Mr. Kidd and Mr. Collie in Malacca. Work on the Malay side and in the printing-room at the College was now much reduced in volume, for these two missionaries were interested only in teaching and translation work in Chinese. Their time was spent teaching the Chinese children English and Chinese. So I asked their permission to return to Singapore. They saw no way of refusing, although they gave their approval with some reluctance because they had hoped that I would remain for all time in the employment of the College. I promised them that if there was any work for me to do at the College they had only to send me a letter and I would come back. Then I sailed for Singapore.

After I had arrived the usual business men came to me to learn Malay and I gained regular employment. I found that the Resident Mr. Crawford had already returned home to Europe and in his place was Mr. Prince. Not long afterwards he left and was replaced by Mr. Murchison. Then after a few days came Mr. Presgrave, a man who walked with a limp.⁴ After him Mr. Bonham became the first Governor of the three newly created Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca.⁵ Mr. Wingrove became a Commissioner, and it was after his departure that Mr. Church became Resident Councillor

⁴ John Prince was in charge of Bencoolen, from the time of Raffles's departure until the station was ceded to the Dutch under the 1824 treaty. After spending two years in Penang he succeeded Crawford as Resident Councillor in Singapore until his retirement in April, 1827. John Fullerton, a former Madras civil servant, was the first Governor of the combined settlements of Malacca, Penang and Singapore (1826-30). He lived in Penang, and only visited Singapore for the twice yearly meetings of the Council. His proposals for a new land tax were vigorously opposed by Chinese plantation owners. He set up a Recorder's Court in Singapore, and made proposals for the settlement of the land problem and the creation of a police force in Malacca. His part in the Naning War is given later in this chapter (note 45).

Kenneth Murchison assumed duty as Resident Councillor Singapore in November 1827, in succession to Prince. He tried to find both legal and practical means of stopping the growing menace of piracy and pressed for the use of very fast native-rigged boats. He was Governor of the Straits Settlements from 1833-1837, in succession to Ibbetson.

Edward Presgrave was a magistrate in Bencoolen, and later assistant to the Resident, Singapore (1825-26). He acted as Resident Councillor between Crawford's departure and the arrival of Prince (in 1826), and for four months in 1829 when Murchison visited Batavia.

⁵ . . . *maka baharu-lah tuan Bonham mējadi raja tiga buah nēgēri*. . . . To conform with historical fact the best sense of this passage would be *After him came Mr Bonham [as Resident or Assistant Resident] who is now [at the time of writing] Governor*

of Singapore.⁶ During Mr. Church's tenure of office Mr. Fryer came to deputize as a Commissioner. But shortly afterwards Major Low came and Mr. Fryer went to Penang as the magistrate across the water at Prai.⁷

But let me return to a description of the time when I had come back from Malacca to Singapore and was giving Malay lessons to the English merchants. There came an English merchant named Mr. Maxwell, and him also I taught Malay. After he had been in Singapore a short while he built the present Court House, which the East India Company rented from him.⁸ At that time the white men had just started to build houses of stone in the middle of the open ground, and some had stone houses along the roads leading to Kampong Gelam. All the undergrowth and bushes along the Kampong Gelam road had been cleared away.⁹ At that time merchants in Singapore were making great profits out of the high prices being paid in Europe for tortoise-

of the three Settlements. Bonham left Singapore early in 1843, and was subsequently succeeded as Governor of the Straits Settlements by Col. Butterworth, by which time the first draft of Abdullah's autobiography had been completed.

Samuel George Bonham was appointed to the Bencoolen service in 1818, at the age of fifteen. In 1822 he was transferred to Singapore, where he became assistant to the Resident. He remained in the Straits Settlements and deputized for Governor Murchison during part of 1834, before replacing him in 1837. Bonham is described as an upright man with a more liberal outlook than his predecessors. He allowed the unofficials a freer voice in the administration. To encourage agriculture he introduced a system of land tenure with 99-year leases and a low quit rent. His ability, and his knowledge of Chinese, led to his appointment as Governor of Hongkong, 1848-54. He was made a Baronet on retirement.

⁶ Thomas Church had been an assistant magistrate at Bencoolen. In 1828, while assistant Resident Councillor of Malacca, under Garling, he negotiated with the ruler of Naning. He retired in 1835 but came back again two years later as Resident Councillor, Singapore, serving under Bonham and Butterworth until 1856.

Abdullah uses *polis* in various places to mean gaol, police lock-up, police station, police court, magistrates' chambers or any court of law with limited jurisdiction. The most likely meaning of *képala polis* is head of the police force, and presumably this passage refers to the period when Wingrove was Asst. Resident Councillor.

⁷ Fryer succeeded Newbold in Malacca in 1830 (see page 258), and was transferred to Singapore in 1837 or 1838.

Captain James Low was serving in Penang at the time of Burney's 1825 Treaty with Siam. In 1826 he was sent on a mission to advise the Sultan of Perak on his relations with Siam. He returned, having concluded a treaty which was considered to bind the Bengal Government beyond its intentions. For this and for the armed destruction of the forces of a notorious pirate on the Kurau River, he was suspended, but he was reinstated in 1827, on the recommendation of Fullerton.

⁸ John Argyle Maxwell, a merchant with considerable holdings in Java, arrived in Singapore early in 1822. He was in the settlement intermittently until 1827 or 1828; about three years later he disposed of his interests in Java and retired to Scotland.

⁹ Earl (1838: 347-9) gives a good description of the town of Singapore in 1835. He mentions "On the opposite [north] bank of the river a smooth road [this was Beach Road] runs along the shore of the harbour to Kampong Gelam, a village occupied by 4,000 Chinese, Bugis and Malays. Fronting the sea are the villas of the principal Europeans, large and handsome buildings with green verandahs and venetian blinds."

shell, \$1,200 or more per picul being offered for it in Singapore. Foreigners made much money, and among the Malacca-born Chinese many were comfortably off. For the first time the English bought gambier, antimony and dragon's blood¹⁰ which they shipped to Europe. From Europe too all kinds of foreign merchandise began to come in, like printed satins, glass ornaments and new types of plates and cups the like of which had never been imported before.

In that year too the news was heard that steamships were really coming to Singapore. True, we had heard about them before, but to everyone they were merely like stories in a book of fiction. There was a rumour but no visual proof, and I was therefore sceptical. They made no impression on the minds of those who heard about them. As the Malays say "True in fable but not in fact." The same year a picture of a steamship appeared in Singapore and the most trustworthy men who had seen them and sailed in them spoke to me with absolute assurance. Therefore I believed that they really did exist although I was trusting only a rumour, not yet having seen what they looked like. In spite of this I used to tell all my friends about the skill and ingenuity of the white men, the things I had seen and had heard intelligent Englishmen discuss until I came to the subject of steamships. Then my friends became angry and argued with me, calling me a liar and saying "You always magnify the prowess of the English and tell us the most impossible things," and some of them ridiculed me for telling them that steamships really existed.¹¹

What if I had told them that there was in England a thing called gas by means of which thousands of English homes could be illuminated without the use of wicks and oil?¹² Or that there were vehicles driven by steam for a distance of many miles in the space of one hour?¹³ Or that there was a tunnel nine hundred feet long running into and out of the earth in London; above the ground a large river

¹⁰ *batu Sératak*, stibnite or impure antimonite oxide. There are extensive deposits in Borneo. Earl (*ibid.*: 311) says the ore was used locally for painting flowers on fabric.

jérang, dragon's blood, a resinous exudation coating the fruits of certain rattans, particularly *Daemonorops draco*, and used at one time medicinally and for colouring lacquers.

¹¹ The first steam vessel to reach Singapore was the paddle-steamer *Vander Capellen*, 17-19 April, 1827. Prior to this, in 1826, there was talk of obtaining a steam vessel for use in the Straits, and Flint was elected chairman of a committee set up to look into the matter. For an account of the early steam vessels in these waters, see *JMBRAS*, 27, (1), 1954: 120-62.

¹² The first street gaslights in London were installed by Winsor in 1807. Westminster Bridge was lit by burners with a pipe supply in 1813.

¹³ The Stockton-Darlington Railway was opened in 1825, and the famous race for a prize of £500 offered by the railway company was won by Stephenson's *Rocket* in 1829.

on which many ships sailed, below it people travelling in coach-and-pair and also shops?¹⁴ Or that in England some clever person had made an automaton so good at playing draughts that thousands of men who had played against it had been unable to win.¹⁵ Or that there was a kind of fire-balloon which could carry people upwards into the sky?¹⁶ Or the thousands of other amazing things about which I had heard? If I described any of these things to the Malays or other races here they would certainly have stopped their cars and slapped me on the face, saying "What a big liar you are." So far from such things as these being accepted by any of the Malays, the Chinese or the Indians, they would not even believe me when I said that there were lions alive in England, replying that lions no longer existed on the earth at the present time.¹⁷ How astonishing it is to think of the arguments my words provoked when I said that lions had been brought from other countries to England and were looked after by people there. To the end everyone disputed this, saying "Nonsense." So at last I replied "If it is nonsense then let us say it is nonsense. I am wrong, you are right. I lose, you win."

There were many other arguments between me and my friends: for instance, when I told them of the teachings of learned men who understand the theory of the earth's structure, that it is really spherical. My friends opposed the view I put to them saying "That theory will not do, for none of us have ever heard of such a thing before and our grandparents did not hold to it." However many proofs I gave them of the fact that the earth is a sphere they still would not believe it. Each of them told whatever story pleased him. Some said that the earth had seven corners, others that it had four. Even when I said that many of the white man's ships had sailed round the world they still remained unconvinced.¹⁸ As for eclipses of the sun and moon there was much argument among my friends, each of whom had his

¹⁴ The Thames Tunnel running from Wapping to Rotherhithe (1,200 feet long) was begun in 1825 and finished in 1843.

¹⁵ Perhaps Abdullah was told of the robot chess player invented by Kempelen, a Swiss watch-maker, which for many years puzzled and astonished Europe. It was not a true automaton for ingenious mechanical contrivances concealed the human operators.

¹⁶ *satu jênis têng*. Perhaps the *Nassau Balloon* designed by Charles Green, the most famous of British aeronauts, in 1836. It made several flights, including one of 500 miles from England to Germany. Or Alexander Gordon's fire balloon sent up from the beach at Teluk Ayer in 1837 (see *JMBRAS*, 1954: 149).

¹⁷ The Zoological Gardens in London were opened to the public in 1828.

¹⁸ In Arab astronomy *falak* (Ar. *falaka*, to be round) means one of the seven layers or vaults of heaven, each of which contains one of the Heavenly Bodies. *Ilum falak* comes, therefore, to mean the study of astronomy as contrasted with *ahl'mujum* the study of astrology, which is discountenanced by Islam. Abdullah uses the term in a loose sense to mean western cosmography and geodesy (*deri hal bumi*).

own ideas. Some said that the moon is eaten by a snake because there is a saying in everyday use "Like the moon eaten by *Rahu*," *Rahu* being an Indian word for snake. Therefore this fallacy has persisted up to the present time in the Malay expression "The moon eaten by a snake." Others said that the moon is sick, or that it is falling into a sea of mud, and all kinds of other falsehoods. I have noticed that in the Malay States whenever there is an eclipse people beat loudly on gongs, or pound mortars, or fire guns so that the snake hearing the noise will let go of the moon. I have heard men and women screaming during an eclipse "Oh *Rahu*, release our moon." I observed the action of a man in the hinterland of Malacca. During an eclipse he struck his finger-nails together, and when I asked "What is the meaning of this?" he answered "This noise can be heard up in the sky."¹⁹ I burst out laughing, unable to contain myself any longer, at such a gross absurdity.

I explained to my friends what causes eclipses of the sun and moon. When the sun is in line with the earth and the moon, so that its rays are intercepted by the earth, the moon appears dark, sometimes only a small part of it, sometimes a larger part and sometimes the whole. Similarly for an eclipse of the sun, when the moon comes between the earth and the sun it hides part of the sun, or sometimes only a small fraction of it, from our eyes. But my speaking to these people was like a man pouring a cupful of fresh water into the ocean, as if that would make seawater fresh! My words were as much good to them as the cupful of water. I questioned the Chinese who was Mr. Milne's teacher. His answer was "There is a dog tied up in the sky, and whenever he escapes he runs after the moon to eat it." The Siamese say that the sun is wedded to the moon and that it pursues the moon which flees in shame. The sun catches the moon, and this is why it appears dark. The Hindus say that the moon is swallowed by a snake. Different races each have their own ideas and superstitions.²⁰

The Malay cosmogony pictures the seven regions of the earth not as spherical shells, but as circular strata like the seven *dvipas* of the Brahmins. The application of three-dimensional geometry even to the simplest facts of geography requires powers of spatial vision which Abdullah's uneducated friends could hardly have possessed. Thomson (1874: 220) considers that Abdullah had "apprehended the theory" of the earth's sphericity, which is not surprising as it was widely accepted in America at this period.

¹⁹ The expression "the moon being eaten by *Rahu* [Skr. snake]" is commonly used by Malays in the sense of beauty in distress. The idea of the sun or moon being swallowed by a monstrous serpent during an eclipse is very common among Malaysian peoples. In many parts of the Far East gongs are still beaten to drive away evil spirits during an eclipse. Clifford (1897: 50) gives a vivid account of the consternation caused by a lunar eclipse at Pekan in the year 1887.

²⁰ The Astronomer Royal tells me that there were four total or nearly total eclipses of the sun visible in Malacca between 1800 and 1830. They occurred in 1807, 1810, 1817 and 1821. Abdullah was certainly in Malacca on the first three occasions,

A letter came to me from Mr. Collie in Malacca to say "Mr. Kidd has gone home to Europe but another missionary named Mr. Hughes will arrive in a few days. If you can possibly manage it you had better return at once to Malacca for there is much work to be done at the College." I replied "At present I have a great deal of work to do in Singapore but when Mr. Hughes has arrived I can come."²¹

During that year in Malacca a large number of children of all races died of smallpox. The number of deaths approached several thousand. The white men had given instructions that people were to be vaccinated. Many people had themselves vaccinated but as it was not properly done the epidemic became all the more severe. A section of the people were unwilling to be vaccinated. They said "Our forefathers never did this, and it may well give the disease to those not yet affected." Although the children of many of them died some still put no faith in vaccination, for they said "If our child has reached his promised span of life he will die just the same whether he is vaccinated or not."²² Opinions differ but I for one do not believe this. For Allah has given us the means to help ourselves and it is most improper for us not to use it. For every disease, is brought on by a cause specific to it. There is the disease, and there is a remedy appropriate to its nature. If a sick man does not look for a remedy he is giving up the means to help himself and his death is an unnecessary sacrifice, equivalent to his taking his own life, for he says "Allah has brought the disease and he will himself provide the remedy." At that time every house in Malacca was filled with parents bereaved at the death of their children and grandchildren.²³

In the same year a European ship came to Singapore and remained there about four months. Its task was to sail the waters round Singapore and to take soundings of the depths all along the sea routes.

possibly also on the fourth. But references here to Milne and his Chinese teacher make it likely that it was the 1817 one that Abdullah remembers in the preceding paragraph. It occurred in mid-afternoon on 16 May. Thomsen was interested in the aboriginal tribes, on whom he wrote an article, and it is quite likely that Abdullah saw the eclipse while he was visiting the hinterland of Malacca with the German missionary.

²¹ Thomson's translation has an interpolation at this point: "and he himself (Mr Collie) had married in Malacca. . . ." See note 7 in Chapter 22.

²² Malays believed in a malignant spirit which caused small-pox (see Wilkison, 1932: 112). In their view Abdullah's advocacy of vaccination amounted to heresy. The lymph imported from Bengal was not unnaturally often inactive, and it was not until Dr Simon started manufacturing it in Singapore in 1892 that vaccination became a general practice.

²³ At this point Thomson's translation interpolates a paragraph "After a while news came to Singapore that Mr Collie was very sick at Malacca and six days after this further news came that he had died between Muar Hill and Batu Pahat." See note 7, under Chapter 22.

It used to stop at each of the islands and remain there for a day or two charting the rocks, the shallows and the deep channels. Every ten days or fortnight it would return to Singapore to take on food and water before setting off again. One day I met the pilot of the vessel and with some hesitation ventured to ask him "What is your ship doing, spending so long here going out and coming back again?" When he heard my words he stared at my face for a moment. Then he said "You are perhaps a merchant, or an Arab?" I told him what my work was and where I came from, and then at last he smiled and said "You are evidently a person of much imagination for you are well acquainted with the English language. I have lived here for the last four or five months and nobody has yet asked me what I am doing," and he went on "This ship belongs to the East India Company. Our orders were to come here and make a survey of the shipping routes, the seas, the islands, the shallows, and to find out how deep the water is and whereabouts the shoals are and the deep channels along which ships can pass. We keep a chart in the ship and as soon as we have returned to Europe many copies of this chart will be printed and then sold to people coming to these parts." Then I understood the real purpose of the ship and was amazed to see the white man's care and thoroughness, examining as he did the sea and all the islands and spending much money on probing their secrets.

From that day he and I became firm friends, and daily as he passed he would stop at the house where I lived and look for me. In him I found a fine character and spirit, as of an educated man, unlike ordinary seamen with their crude, licentious and drunken behaviour. He was clever enough to know about the eclipses and the stars and how to measure distances and heights. His name was Mr. Smith. He used to take me for walks and ask questions about the history of the Settlement and of Malacca; who were the rulers, how this island became a settlement and so forth. He said "If my captain would release me I should be glad to remain with you so that I could learn Malay and get to know everything about the countries here in the east."

When he came the next day he brought me a present of a silver watch. He said "This is a gift from me, so that when you look at it you will remember me. To-morrow I am leaving for good, on return to Europe." When I heard his words I felt a great sympathy for him now that he would be going. Quickly I opened my box and took out a *keris* that I used to wear, an ivory one-piece blade.²⁴ This I gave him

²⁴ Literally "a wavy *kēris* of a kind with the collar-guard in one piece with the blade" (*iras* = the same material), as distinct from one with the collar-guard made separate-

saying "And here is a keepsake from me." I also gave him two Semarang mats with large flower patterns on them. He took the *keris* and mats and was, I saw, quite unable to express his delight. He grasped me by the hand and said "If you are really my friend tell me how much this *keris* cost you to buy." I replied "It is a good make and originally I paid \$12 for it, but since then I have had the blade sharpened and the sheath repaired." Hearing this he felt in his pocket and taking out \$20 gave the money to me. But I handed it back to him saying "It is not for the sake of money that I give you this *keris* but as a token of our friendship. You have given me a watch from your belongings and I give you a *keris* from mine." He put the money away and thought for a moment. Then he continued "To think that I have been here now for five months. If I got to know you well I should learn a great deal from you." I noticed that he looked sad, perhaps because he wanted to give something more to me but was uncertain what to do. So I said "My friend, do not worry. While we yet live we may meet again," and he held his peace for a while as though not wanting to reveal his feelings. He had been with me from about eleven until two o'clock when he took his departure. He grasped my hand and shook it, saying "Good-bye." I accompanied him to his boat. He sailed that night. A character and disposition such as his have been made the subject of a Malay proverb which runs "A real jewel does not lose its lustre even when it falls right into the mud," for such a fine man still displays good manners and behaviour for all that he looks poor and in rags.

Now I will return to the story of my own doings. I had been in Singapore for some time and had already heard that Mr. Collic was dead, and furthermore had received several letters calling me back to Malacca for the College was without a teacher. I debated whether I would return to Malacca. But by the will of Allah I fell sick with an attack of malaria so severe that I could not touch my food nor even lift my head up. But all my belongings were ready packed and I was only waiting for a passage in a ship.

At that time I was lodging in Singapore in a merchants' house and it was the month of the Chinese New Year. On the 13th day of the month there were crowds of children throwing fire-crackers, and the older Chinese were playing about with lion masks, and sparring to the din of loud music. At about half-past seven that evening there was sudden stampede and people shouted "Fire!" At that moment I was

ly and fitted to the blade, which is *ganja* (= *kanja*) *rawan*. A *kêris* can be straight or have any uneven number of curves; the *kêris sêmpana* was one having, one, three or five curves.

lying on my sick-bed on the balcony. I raised my head from the pillow and through the window I saw the lurid glare of flames, with cascades of fire falling here and there. I jumped up like one bereft of his senses and ran to the window, then fled downstairs clad only in the night-shirt I was wearing. All my goods and chattels, my boxes of clothing, my writing-case and all sorts of rare things which I had bought off Chinese merchantmen, as well as eight baskets of oranges, the letters which Mr. Raffles had given me and several other books and documents, and a box containing loose money to the value of \$350, all of these were left behind. But at the time I felt like one deprived of all power of thought. I did not give a single thought to my belongings, for I was terrified by the sight of fire bursting out in flames as high as a mountain, and by the ominous sound, like the crash of thunder, of the explosions. I dropped to the ground feeling not in the least ill or tired. I had suddenly found my feet again. At once I looked up and saw that the fire had already reached my house. Then only did I remember my letters, my boxes of clothing and my other belongings, and I made haste to get back into the house. But suddenly some gun-powder in a house nearby blew up with a roar like thunder, scattering bricks and pillars and some bales of cloth which rolled in all directions, and the whole house collapsed and came tumbling down. I ran away gasping for breath and frantic with anxiety to think how unlucky I had been to have lost so much and to have felt so ill and troubled.

A vision of billowing flames meets my eyes,
This sudden disaster my reason defies,
The fire grips the houses in greedy embrace
And devours like the vulture the spoils of its chase.

Proud walls fall to ashes in the heat of the blaze,
Whose radiant brightness bedazzles the gaze.
With the roar of the tempest the flames leap and start.
Bringing fear and dismay to my fluttering heart.

Like bundles of paper my clothing was caught,
The oranges burst like a cracker's report.
My possessions all lost, worked they never so fast.
To grab what they might ere the fire had passed.

Like a river of flame from the crucible, flowed
The dollars I saved, and poured down to the road.
Who can reckon the cost of the things which they stole,
When robbers had entered and taken their toll?

The trinkets for home which I meant to take back,
The cups and the plates, had been ready to pack.
I sighed for the havoc destruction had wrought,
My heart weighed with sadness, where turn for support?

I cannot describe how I felt when I realized what had happened. I just remained there sitting in the middle of the road. I was all the more terrified because my body was already weak from the fever. I felt inside my shirt pocket and found a biscuit and a pencil. The biscuit I ate because for several days past I had taken no food owing to the fever. I ran to the street corner and I found a piece of Chinese paper the kind used for wrapping tea leaves. I picked up the piece of paper and carried it with me as I went about. By the grace of Allah the fever and the sickness had now left me. It was my panic which cured them, certainly no other medicine. Everything I saw, everything I heard, everything I found, and all my feelings in the turmoil of the fire, I wrote on the piece of paper. I composed a poem about the whole affair, from the start of the Chinese New Year up to the end of the fire and finally the apportioning of all that was saved from the burnt out houses, which took place in the gaol. This poem has already become widely known. I printed it in Arabic and in romanized Malay. It is known to all the inhabitants of Singapore and Malacca. I called it "The Ballad of the Fire of Singapore." At the time I saw all manner of valuable property and merchandise lying strewn in the middle of the road where people trampled on it as if it were rubbish. Their feet waded through it. Some people were robbers, others were themselves robbed; some looted and others were the victims of looters; some used violence, others suffered it; some people wept and others laughed. A box of opium lay with its contents trailing along the ground like a stream of liquor flowing down to the sea. All these things I mentioned in the poem, which I made into a book.

Although I enjoyed composing the poem all I had left to me was the garment I was wearing, and that only through the grace of Allah working His power and His will upon His servants. I give countless thanks to Allah in that He preserved me from the perils of the fire while I calmed my anxiety by writing the poem. I resolved to do this in order that generations after me might know all about the bitterness I have endured amid the pleasures of this world, and how severe the storms and heavy the seas I have encountered in my voyage through life, and what terrible things I have seen in Singapore. So I remained

a while in Singapore to see what would be the outcome of the fire, so that I could write of it in my poem.²⁵

About two months later I went home to Malacca, because several letters had come to me from my wife. For everyone in Malacca had heard it said that I had been ill and had not managed to escape the fire in which I had been burnt to death. So they were all very unhappy.

After I had been in Malacca for a month the English came suddenly to take the Settlement out of the hands of the Dutch. This was in the year 1823, Malacca having been exchanged by the English for Bencoolen. Now at last I noticed that all races in Malacca were pleased, for they had tasted the bitter nastiness of Dutch rule. At the time when the Dutch had taken over Malacca from the English the majority of people had felt glad because they thought that the Dutch were much better people than the English. But they had now felt the iron hand of the Dutch and welcomed the return of English rule.

Then the settlement of Malacca returned a little more to normal, like a sick man who has just recovered his strength, for Allah had

²⁵ For many years there were no proper housing regulations in Singapore, and fires which were especially frequent at the Chinese New Year used to devastate the flimsy closely-packed wooden huts in the non-European quarters of the town. At least six serious out-breaks are on record over the period 1830-50: (1) At Chinese New Year in 1830 near Commercial Square (now Raffles Place), (2) in 1835 near Cross Street, (3) in 1836 in Kampong Gélam, (4) in 1843 at Telok Belanga, (5) in March 1846 in Market Street, (6) on 12 February 1847, at Kampong Gélam.

Buckley describes the 1830 fire (1902: 209-10), drawing his information from the *Singapore Chronicle* and official sources. He says that it started at about 8 p.m. on a Sunday in February. Some barrels of gunpowder exploded, starting fires on the opposite side of the road, gangs of looters ransacked every house and Chinese coolies carried away a broken chest of opium, etc.; all in such agreement with Abdullah's account that the identification may be accepted.

In Chapter 26 (page 299) Abdullah tells of Governor Butterworth (1843-55) personally helping to put out a big fire in Kampong Gélam—apparently the one which started in the afternoon of 12 February, 1847—and adds "I have mentioned all his deeds in the poem (*shaer*) I composed about the fire in Kampong Gélam." Winstedt (1939: 118) translates two verses of this poem which give a good pen picture of Butterworth. But Winstedt is clearly mistaken in calling this the *Shaer Singapura* (or *Kampong Gélam*) *Terbakar* and in suggesting that it was the fire of 1847 in which Abdullah lost all his belongings. There must have been two sets of verses written at two different times. Thomson also is wrong in saying that Abdullah must be referring here to the very big fire of 1847. Chapter 26 was a later addition, written between 1846 and 1849, after the original version had been given to Thomson; but it is difficult to see how a poem about the 1847 fire could have been published and have "already become widely known" in so short a time. It is impossible that the whole of the passage under reference, which fits well into the context could have been put in later; and hardly likely that part of one poem, written eighteen years later would have been interpolated after the rest had been written.

There is no mention of Kampong Gélam in this passage. In 1830 Malacca Malays avoided this neighbourhood and kept to the south side of the River. Abdullah's lodgings with the merchant are more likely to have been near Commercial Square. If, as Abdullah says, his poem of 1830 became well-known, it may have been combined with the one of 1847 in later editions. Both fires took place at Chinese New Year.

brought the Settlement of Singapore into being. Many of the Malacca people, Chinese, Malays and India-born settlers, went to earn their living in Singapore. Moreover the English ordered all undeveloped land and areas covered with jungle to be cleared and gave instructions that everybody should plant rice and garden produce. In the time of the Dutch nobody had been directed to plant rice for ages past, for the Dutch wanted to promote sales of rice from Java and it had therefore become a permanent practice up to this time for people to eat rice imported from other countries. In former times the inhabitants of Malacca had had work to do and the rich had greatly outnumbered the poor. Its fame spread far and wide as a great port and a place to which produce was brought out merchant came in large numbers so the inhabitants did not feel the need to earn their living by their own toil. Since the English have occupied Malacca they have ordered plantations and rice-fields to be opened up and cultivated and jungle to be cleared away so that the people may have easy means of growing food and earning their living. Those in the Settlement who had some capital bought rice-fields, while those who had none of their own worked hard felling trees and cutting down bushes, some taking up a half or a third part of a rice-field as tenants, until the exports of rice from Malacca grew to hundreds of tons a year. Thus the people could earn their living calmly and without great hardship. Perhaps one man in a hundred did not plant rice but found some other means of livelihood. These were the people living in the town of Malacca. As for those living outside it, everyone without exception owned market gardens, rice-fields, or estates large or small. The majority of men who went to Singapore to earn their daily bread left their families and dependants behind. Many Malacca people owned sailing boats and other vessels which they made available for charter to and from Singapore carrying various kinds of foodstuffs: fruit, poultry and so forth. Some of these took a day and a night, others two or three days to go there and back. I felt that because of this Singapore was in close touch with Malacca. Every day news passed between the two Settlements, not like the old days when one had to wait for a ketch or a ship or some very large vessel before getting any news.

After spending a short while in Malacca I returned to Singapore to resume my employment. I found that Mr. Prince who had been Resident had already left and that in his place Mr. Murchison governed Singapore. They had begun to repair all the bridges in Singapore, putting in stone where formerly there had been wooden poles and planks. The magistrate's court was moved to the place which it now occupies. Furthermore it was then that the first judge, known as the

Recorder, came to preside over the Court of the three Straits Settlements.²⁴ One heard for the first time the expressions "Grand Jury" and "Petty Jury", that is twenty-four men, twelve sitting on the right of the judge and twelve on his left. The evidence given and the reports made by people, and the statements of their witnesses, all were taken down in writing by the judge. After he had finished he read them out in full before the jurymen. If the case was an important one involving the death penalty of banishment to Bombay the evidence was brought before the "Grand Jury" who considered it and determined whether the accused should be put to death or banished. But the opinion of the twelve men had to be unanimous. If some of them said that a man was guilty and others that he was not guilty the judge could not accept their verdict. Only when they were all agreed could the judge pronounce sentence on the accused person. The conditions of a jurymen's service were that he should be a trustworthy and responsible person, capable of weighing up the affairs of men in his mind. In the presence of the judge they all took an oath, declaring that their verdict and their weighing of the evidence would be unbiassed. Only then were they accepted by the judge. If the case was a minor one involving, for instance, debt or assault and so on the evidence was brought before the "Petty Jury". Again, their opinion had to be unanimous and they were not allowed to temporize. If they were not agreed they were ordered by the judge to resolve their differences of opinion until they were of one mind, for then only could he accept their verdict and pronounce appropriate sentence on the offender. The Recorder in Singapore was named Mr. Malkin, and the Registrar Mr. Kerr.

For the first time I saw several men hanged in Singapore. Before the arrival of the judge anyone convicted of a capital offence was sent to another country and put to death there. In my opinion this procedure was unwise because the punishment could not be seen by the people of the place in which the man committed his crime. So they would be encouraged to commit crimes themselves, not knowing whether the death penalty was really carried out or not, and in any case soon forgetting the incident. Whenever there was a hanging in Malacca or in Singapore thousands of people flocked to see it. Some wept with fear and others trembled in their bones at the sight. Most

²⁴ The first Recorder for the combined settlements, Sir John Claridge, reached Penang in August, 1827, but was soon in disagreement with Fullerton and was recalled in 1829. The next, Sir Benjamin Malkin arrived in 1833: liked and respected by all, he was a man of wide legal knowledge. He left to become Chief Justice of Calcutta in 1835. The defect of the Recorder's Court was that the Governor and officials were Judges higher in rank than the Recorder, thus combining the judicial and legislative functions of government and putting the only trained lawyer in a dependent position.

people were suitably chastened, not forgetting it for a long time afterwards. It was a lesson to all men to see that this was the penalty exacted for the misdeeds of wicked men. I noticed that after there had been two or three hangings, whether in Malacca or in Singapore there were fewer cases of people running *amok* or committing murder or piracy. Therefore let us not be unduly alarmed when we see the violent storms, the lightning and thunder of the human scene, for although they bring perils and fear yet do they benefit mankind in clearing the air of its evil-smelling pollutions, for it is these which visit mankind with all kinds of social maladies. Let peace and prosperity prevail among men.

After I had spent about nine months in Singapore a letter came from Mr. Hughes, a missionary in Malacca, calling me back there, for he had just arrived from England. There was nobody with a knowledge of Malay who could teach English. So I returned there and on arrival resumed work at the College, teaching Mr. Hughes, helping with the printing and so forth. It was Mr. Hughes' practice to discuss with me beforehand anything which required to be done at the College. Then only did he have it done. My impression of Mr. Hughes was that his character did not suit the part of a missionary very well, that is to say in his way of walking and his general behaviour and his rather bluff manner which was unlike the gentle conduct of Mr. Milne and Dr. Morrison. But he was very kind-hearted and polite, and his face held a friendly look. It was his custom to smile whenever he was speaking, and he was generous and understanding. I marked that his knowledge was not very profound. He easily forgot things and his memory was poor. He was not diligent in his work, but he was very courteous to others. Although he learnt to read Malay writing and speak a little he did not understand the meanings of words. He learnt Malay for a year and a half.²⁷

I studied English grammar every day intending to apply it to the Malay language. The reason I found it very useful was that there is no such thing in Malay and most Malays therefore go and study Arabic grammar, which is so unusually difficult that not one person in a thousand really masters it, especially as it is not their own mother-tongue. Because of this, I thought, if there were a Malay grammar-book would it not be a fine thing and a great convenience to the Malays? Children in school could then be taught the Malay language.

²⁷ Josiah Hughes was in Malacca from 1830 to 1840. His jovial manner earned him the disapproval of Garling, the Resident Councillor, who recommended his removal in 1835. But it won the approbation of the Dutch residents who successfully petitioned the Malacca Government to retain him. He died in the cholera epidemic of 1840.

When I say that I would like to compile a grammar of the Malay language, I do not mean one like that produced by the Dutch who translated the Gospel into Malay some centuries ago, or the similar one by Mr. Robinson who applied the grammatical rules of English and Latin and other languages to Malay without understanding its idiom. The Malay style was clumsy, as a man might use a pounding-rod to dig out thorns. There were such expressions as "*yang kēsamunan*", "*bērķesamunan*", "*yang ķejabatan*", and he wrote "*bērķejabatan yang ķejalanan*", "*bērķejalanan*", and so on.²⁸ I noticed that in the old Dutch translation of the Gospel the particle "*lah*" had been everywhere used to denote the past tense. It was thought that it had the same meaning in all contexts. It was not realized that this particle "*lah*" has many uses without the sense of the past tense.²⁹ I noticed too that in the Gospel according to St. John, translated by Englishmen who claimed a knowledge of Malay, were written words like "*ķeshorgaan*", "*ķebuangan*", "*ķemudaan*". These translators applied rules of English grammar to Malay without realizing that such words are not permissible in the Malay language and that people merely laugh and make jokes about them. Further, it is a sure sign that the person who did the work had no understanding of Malay style, for he used impossible words. If "*ķeshurgaan*", can be used why not "*ķēnērakaan*", "*ķēbumian*", "*ķēlangitan*", "*ķēakhiratan*"? What I would like to do in making a Malay grammar is to take words from the Malay language itself and classify each of them according to its type, the rule governing its use, and its position. This would allow us to follow proper Malay idiom, preventing each person drawing on his powers of invention, one man saying that this is right and another that. Both are wrong for each presumes to be his own judge, like a country without a ruler where everyone claims that he is the ruler. I have found indeed that neither in reading Malay nor in writing it is there any uniformity, because there is no rule to serve as a guide. Besides, there are the wretched and ignorant people who have no aptitude for or understanding of their own language. They see that others do a certain thing and they do the same, not knowing the reason, or whether it is right or wrong. In this way mistakes are piled one on top of another. Would that by the grace of Allah there might appear a sole arbiter in

²⁸ Abdullah seems to have three objections: (1) the introduction of *yang*, as being redundant and not equivalent to *bēr-* in its possessive sense, (2) the indiscriminate use of *bēr-* before substantive forms (*bērķesamunan*, piratically inclined: *bērķejabatan*, holding an appointment: *bērķejalanan*, bound on a journey), (3) the use of neologisms like *ķesamunan*, *ķejabatan*, *ķejalanan*.

²⁹ The suffix *-lah* may be (1) a particle emphasizing the word to which it is attached, (2) (in dialect) an enclitic form of *tēlah* denoting a past tense.

all these matters, to help His foolish servants embroiled in their senseless arguments so that they could arrange the Malay language and its literature in a form to be followed by all who come hereafter, to their infinite profit and advantage.

Do not misunderstand me. If there is to be a grammar of the Malay language it can only simplify the words. Do not imagine that by using it you would become a good writer. Whatever rules are set down, there will always be many words which do not follow them. In a hundred words, for instance, there may be only seventy which come under a certain rule and thirty which lie outside it. Supposing a rule is made about how the particle *ke-* should be used with *-an*, which is a suffix, in words like "*kěadaan*" and "*kětiadaan*". The white men say "If you have a word like "*kěadaan*" why not also "*kě'yaan*", "*kěbukanan*", "*kěpěrkiraan*", "*kějalanan*", and so on, for the rule we learnt can be applied wherever we please." Very well then try doing this in your own language. Suffixes, for instance. Try putting them in all words. Why can you not do this? If there is a reason why you cannot do this you should then realize that the purpose of a grammar is only to lighten a little the task of expressing ourselves in any language. Even if one were to make the most exhaustive search for words which lie outside the compass of any rule, and to explain in a grammar how each one of them is to be used, foreigners would still not be able to use Malay words without assistance. How foolish therefore are the white men who argue daily with their Malay teachers, saying that this is right and that is wrong because the grammar-book says so. You must remember that every race is the judge of its own language. For all these reasons, then, do not labour under the impression that the Malay language is very easy.

My reason for mentioning all this in my book is that day and night my heart is filled with ambition to carry out this project. If Allah should spare my life I propose at all costs to lay the foundations of such a work, even if I am not in the least a suitable person to do it, if only for the reason that I view with real concern the attitude of my Malay brethren, not one of whom shows the least interest in or inclination towards it. Their position is that of men in deep sleep unaware that the need exists. Should Allah require my life of me, I dare to hope that whoever feels a responsibility towards the servants of Allah will build up the structure as I had intended on those foundations. It is my fondest hope that this will be done, so that the Malay language, its writing and spelling, shall no longer remain in such a confused and topsy-turvy state.

Now I will return to the story of Mr. Hughes' studies. About two years later Mr. Evans started taking lessons also, but the lessons I gave them were lessons only in name. They could make no good use of them because they took no real interest. Then Mr. Evans asked me to teach his only son named Edwin for a while.²⁰ This was their attitude towards their Malay studies. As long as they could read and speak a little it was enough. They had not mastered even one part in a hundred of the Malay language. If they had translated tracts or text-books into Malay then they would assuredly have come across many thousands of words of which they had never even heard, let alone understood their meanings.

As for most of those I saw learning Malay, when they could read a little anything they found written in Malay they would translate into their own language. They must surely find this easy because the language was their own, the one whose idiom they understood. Therefore it should be simple, so they thought, to translate into it from other languages.

My advice to a person learning Malay is that when he can read Malay letters he should start to translate words and passages which are found in his own language into the one he has newly learnt. The meanings of the words he uses must express the sense of the passage, and at the same time the Malay words he chooses must follow correct Malay idiom. When he can do this without the assistance of his teacher, then at last he may rest satisfied that his studies have been completed. Such scholarship and erudition can be of the greatest value for its own sake and for passing on to others. It may be likened to a seed of good quality which will assuredly grow wherever it is planted, producing flowers of fragrant perfume and fruits which are delicious to the taste. This is the standard of scholarship which, if it should please Allah to bring it about, I would like to apply to the Malay language.

After Mr. Hughes and Mr. Evans had concluded their studies I made preparations to return to Singapore. But suddenly one morning one of the Benggalis came bringing me a letter in English which read as follows: "Mr. Newbold presents his compliments to Enche' Abdullah Munshi, and asks him to come to his house if convenient at eleven o'clock this morning." I said to the Benggali: "Yes I will. Please give my compliments to Mr. Newbold." Then I went to his house, which stood almost opposite the College. When we met he

²⁰ John Evans went to Malacca in 1833: he was principal of the Anglo-Chinese College at the time of his death in the cholera epidemic of 1840.

greeted me with a friendly look on his face and conducted me into his writing-room saying "Are you well?" I replied "Quite well, sir, thank you." Then he continued "I have heard many Malays saying that you are used to teaching white men and are good at Malay composition, and that you understand English as well as knowing Hindustani and Tamil." I replied "Sir, it not I who is clever. Perhaps you mean someone else. I am far from being a clever man. Besides, I am still a young man. As the Malays say "If you have no rattan any root will do." I am like that root, sir. And, as the Malays also say, "In a place where there are no eagles the grasshoppers claim that they are eagles." He studied my face carefully and said "Are you not named Abdullah? And your father Abdul Kadir? And did you not work for Mr. Raffles?" I replied "Yes, sir, that is quite right." He laughed saying "I have sent for you because I have much work to be done. I have already asked three or four people but I find that they are not capable of doing this work of mine. I think you will suit me because you understand English." I replied "Please sir do not make fun of me," but he continued, "Rich men, I have always found, do not like to admit that they are rich. So it is with clever people also."

While we sat talking I noticed that he was a well-informed man, and and I saw many signs of his wide learning. He took out all the notebooks in which he had made collections of words taken from Malay romances and poems, and from several letters of ancient date, and showed them all to me saying "Enche', please explain to me the meanings and ideas of the words in English." I replied "Sir, with very advanced English I am not well acquainted. I can manage elementary English. Do you have a dictionary?" He at once rose and opened his box, out of which he took two volumes, a dictionary and a grammar-book.²¹ He laughed as he said "I have already offered these to the teachers who came to me but they said "These are the white man's books. What good are they for the Malay language? Now I will ask you whether these books are of any use." I replied "To me, sir, they would be most useful, with my incomplete grasp of the English language." He replied "That is true and shows that you have been accustomed to doing this type of work." Then I said "Let us try it first, sir, for a day or two." So I started work by explaining the meanings of words to him one by one. I cannot recall the names of the

²¹ Nieuhoff, who visited Malacca in 1660, mentions a Malay dictionary published by the Dutch (Sheehan, 1934: 78). The first Malay-English dictionary was Thomas Bowery's in 1701. Abdullah probably refers to Marsden's dictionary and grammar of 1811-2 (see note 3, under Chapter 1).

various documents which we consulted for words. All of them he wrote down, a smile on his face all the time. Occasionally in the case of very uncommon words I would use the dictionary to make sure that the word I chose agreed with the meaning given. When he had finished writing everything down he said "This is how I want it done. Will you come for two hours every day?" I replied "Sir, in two days time I am due to sail for Singapore where there is a great deal for me to do." He replied, Enche', you must not go for I have much work on hand. Do not worry. I can pay you whatever your employers in Singapore pay." I said "Very well, let me consider it this evening and to-morrow I will give you my answer." I said goodbye and went home, and while I was going home Mr. Newbold went to Mr. Hughes and told him about my intending to leave. A little while later they came round to my house, and Mr. Hughes said to me "What is the use of your going to Singapore? Is it not fortunate that Mr. Newbold wishes to study? He is very pleased with you and the task he has set himself may well last as long as three years. He wants your services and asks me to dissuade you from sailing. He is a fine man. I also have some work for you." So I replied "Very well sir. If you have come to the conclusion that I should not go away the matter is settled."

Even day I used to go to teach Mr. Newbold and to write for him. The writing I did was on various topics. As will be well-known to my readers it was Mr. Newbold's intention to compile a work in English about the Malay peoples of these parts, their customs, history and antecedents, the implements they use, their stories and poems and so on. He even wanted to know the kinds of damascene used on a *keris*. Mr. Newbold was very kind-hearted towards his fellow-men. Everyone like his politeness and courtesy, which he showed even more towards me than towards his own people. One day he invited me to go to a Chinese temple which he wished to see, and he asked all about the idols, and the legends about them and the customs of those who worshipped there. All these matters I noted in writing. Then he enquired about the Chinese society called Thian Tai Huey, its ritual and its origins. Then he enquired about astronomy, whether there were people who could tell at what times eclipses of the sun and the moon would occur. I called a man who understood these matters, named Jamal Muhammad bin Nur Muhammad Surati, and explained in English what he said for Mr. Newbold to write down. I was never away from Mr. Newbold. Wherever he went he took me with him. His daily work was the study of esoteric rites and the special ceremonies performed in the different States. Although he was in the

service of the East India Company he occupied himself as well with the private interests I have mentioned.³²

One day he invited me to go with him to Alor Gajah. He said "We can go with Mr. Barchi Westerhout to Gunong Panchur* and see the Jakun."³³ So at six o'clock the next morning we set out together. Each of us was on horseback. We carried with us native-grown tobacco and white arsenic³⁴ as presents for the Jakun, for these are the things they like. Not even a gift of gold will delight them more. About four o'clock in the afternoon we reached Alor Gajah and spent the night there. The next morning we proceeded on our way with a band of Malays who acted as our guides. After reaching the foot of Gunong Panchur we climbed steadily for some time until we arrived at our destination.

We had brought with us a young Jakun, who had lived among the Malays and who understood Malay, to act as our interpreter. We stopped to rest ourselves while this lad went off into the jungle to call the Jakun. He carried a bamboo stick with holes in it on which I heard him produce a note by blowing. A moment later seven Jakun, men and women, old and young, came in view. I was quite astounded at their appearance as I first saw them, from a distance, and I praised Allah saying, "Such is The Greatness, O Lord, that Thou has created the human race in different types, each with its own qualities of mind and body." The first thing I noticed was that in their general bearing they were human beings like ourselves, but that in their habits they were hardly even as animals. For animals at least know how to keep themselves clean, which the Jakun certainly did not. Their hair was like coarse plaiting, not the colour of human hair but plastered with earth mixed with green sap which made it look like

* See Map IV.

³² Lieutenant T. J. Newbold, an officer in the 23rd Regiment Madras Light Infantry, came to Malacca about 1829, and took part in the Naning War. In 1833 he was in charge of a military post at Kuala Linggi.

³³ The name Westerhout was well-known in the last century as that of a prominent Singapore and Malacca family of Dutch extraction. J. B. Westerhout who had been in Malacca during the short period of Dutch occupation 1818-24 was appointed Superintendent of Naning to collect tithes and take a census in November 1832. In 1843 he was Assistant Resident at Tranquerah. The Malays called him *Tuan Barchi*, a name which Blagden (Winstedt, 1934: 67) derives from the Dutch *Bartje* (= Bartholomew, his second name) and Cardon (1940: 138) from *Ba Chi* (= *Baba Kéhil*).

Modern ethnologists accept broadly the classification of the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula given by Skeat and Blagden (1906: 21). Abdullah's Jakun were those known in the literature as Mantra.

³⁴ *tembakau Jawa*. Colonel Nahuijs (1939: 198-9) mentions the large volume of trade in Netherlands tobacco at Singapore in 1824.

carangan is used as an ingredient in poisoned darts (see note 39, below).

the bark of some tree. Their heads were crawling with maggots and lice. Allah alone knows how many. They wore neither skirt nor coat, in fact not a stitch of clothing on their bodies except a piece of bark-cloth the size of one's hand which they put round their loins. Untidy hair disfigured their cheeks and chin, for never in their lives had they plucked it or shaved themselves. Their skin looked utterly unlike that of human beings. It seemed to be covered with layers and layers of earth and tree-sap. Water from the corners of their eyes coursed down their cheeks. Each of them carried on his back a basket filled with various kinds of food. In addition, they each wore two small quivers slung below the armpits. Over their shoulders they carried a bamboo blow-pipe, and tied round their waists a piece of bamboo as thick as one's thumb containing darts and *upas*-poison. They came along in single file but when they saw us they did not dare to approach any nearer. At once I went forward holding in my right hand a pen dipped in ink and in my left hand a roll of paper, so that I could write down anything I heard or saw, as I had promised Mr. Newbold in Malacca. Several times we called the Jakun to come close to us but they would not do so. They remained huddled together by the side of a durian tree, each man clasping his neighbour while the small children clung round their mothers' necks. Their eyes had a wild look in them as though they were ready to bolt. As they chattered to one another they sounded to me like birds twittering. I wrote: "Kaakak-kaakak-kang-king-cha-ku." This represents the sound though I have no idea what the words or their meanings really were.²⁵

Then the young Jakun lad came back to us and said "These men are too frightened to come near us. They have noticed the red coat this man is wearing," and he pointed at Mr. Newbold. Mr. Newbold took his coat off and then all three of us went towards the Jakun. When they saw us coming they hugged each other all the more frantically than ever, bunching tightly together. The gift of tobacco and white arsenic which we had brought were set down in front of them, and the lad told them "These are presents from his white man." Then for the first time I noticed the women smile and they all looked us squarely in the face. Up to that moment they had sat with downcast eyes. I saw them reach for the tobacco which they placed in their mouths, chewed up and swallowed. After a while Mr. Newbold said to me in English

²⁵ The Mantra were an Aboriginal Malay tribe, resembling the Malays in their physical features; see Logan (1847: 294) and Miklucho-Maclay, who visited Fr Borie's Catholic Mission at Ayer Salak in 1874. Abdullah's people on the slopes of Gunong Panchur may have lived further from civilizing contracts than those attending Fr Borie's mission, but they had easy access to Malacca and some racial and cultural fusion must have gone on all the time.

"Sit here with there people and make notes on their language, their method of counting and their customs. I am going to have some food." Then he went back with Mr. Barchi Westerhout. When the Jakun saw that the two men had gone they were at last willing to talk freely to each other, laughing all the while.

I had brought with me a booklet containing a list of words in their language, like a dictionary. It has no name in Malay but is known in English as a "Vocabulary". I asked what words the Jakun used for things to do with the earth and the sky, and they told me. Some of their speech-sounds resemble Malay and others Portuguese.³⁶ When we came to the name for God they said "Deus". The sound of this word suggested strongly to me that the Jakun are probably descendants of half-castes born after the Portuguese had taken Malacca from its Malay ruler. Later with the help of the Dutch Malacca was recaptured by the Malays and the half-castes were slain wherever they were found. I believe that in the face of persecution they fled into the jungle and their long existence there has reduced them to this wild state. For right up to the present time there are churches of theirs in the hinterland of Malacca at a place called Pengkalan Tampui: and their graves, some with inscriptions on the stones in their own writing, lie in stretches of jungle.³⁷ I noticed that their profiles are not at all like those of the Malays or other races, but rounder like those of the Portuguese Eurasians. Because there were so many features which showed likenesses when I compared them I came definitely to the conclusion that these people must be of Portuguese ancestry. But indeed Allah alone knows and a better judgment can be given by someone who had made a deep study of this people's antecedents.³⁸

³⁶ Mantra word lists show many Malay words, some current, others archaic and no longer in everyday use. Skeat and Blagden (1906: 483-6) have found Sémang, Negrito and Malay words in Newbold's vocabulary of the Orang Benua (1839: 422-34).

³⁷ *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe* (Our Lady of Guadalupe) is shown on de Eredia's map (1613), and is described by Schouten (Leupé, 1936: 112 & 132) as a stone structure, with two altars, on the left side of the river about four miles from Malacca. In a review of the evidence for Portuguese settlement in the hinterland, Cardon (1940: 108-43) says that in 1588 there were settlers as far up as Pengkalan Naning. Their numbers rose after 1666 when Governor Bort started his open persecution of the Roman Catholics (Bremner, 1927: 86). It is not true that the Malays, who gave only dilatory assistance to the Dutch in their nine-months' siege of Malacca in 1640-1, "recaptured Malacca with Dutch help."

³⁸ This theory, which Abdullah is credited with having originated, was strongly championed by Fr. Favre (1848: 237 ff.), a priest of the Paris Foreign Missions who travelled in Nègri Sémilan and Johore. But his anthropology is just as vague as Abdullah's, neither of them published a word list, and the word *Deus* is insufficient to establish the hypothesis. "If any of them (the Mantra) were descendants of the Portuguese refugees, something should have remained of their Catholicism and of their Lusitanian culture" (Cardon, *loc. cit.*). The aborigines borrowed Sanskrit words as well as Portuguese.

After that I began to ask them about their marriage customs. They told me: "When a Jakun woman is continually followed wherever she goes by a man it is a sign of their betrothal and is accepted by their parents and friends. They wait until the season when the fruit of the *tempui* tree ripens and then the people gather together from all quarters and go into the jungle to pick it. From it they make an intoxicating liquor. Then they go out to catch wild animals, monkeys, pigs, large snakes, anything they find. They collect them in open places or on hills and make a bonfire. Then all the Jakun of the forest roast the animals and cook yams. They have a feast with much food and drink and noisy merry-making. The bride is given liquor until she is completely drunk, and is dressed for the occasion. Her clothes are thoroughly impregnated with capricum and put on over her neck with various flowers and leaves of the forest. Then the people go out to look for a place where there are small ant-hills and they stand by these while the bride is made to run round them. The bride-groom is also dressed in similar fashion and is told to chase his bride round and round the ant-hill. Because she is very drunk the bride soon falls and is caught by her man and all their friends shout with delight. Then they return home while the newly-wedded pair go into the forest. This is how marriages are celebrated."

I enquired about what happens when one of their number dies and they said "If a friend of ours, or one of our parents or family dies we at once leave the body there and move off quickly to another place. The corpse remains there until it rots away or is eaten by animals. We do not like to pass by that place again for it has taken the life of our comrade."

After that I asked them "What do you do when a child is born?" They told me "When a woman is about to have a child, by day or by night, a big fire is made with burning faggots. After the flames have died down the embers are removed, leaving hot ash. There the child is born. After delivery the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife and the child is rolled over and over in the warm ash. The mother then takes some of the ash and smears it over her body. The child is wrapped round with leaves or bark-cloth, placed in a basket and taken into the jungle. The food which the mother eats she chews in her mouth and gives portions to her child while she suckles it. When the child has grown larger and is two or three years old she begins to teach it to climb trees. When it can climb she teaches it to move along the branches, then to use the blow-pipe, to go on journeys and other necessary things. Then she takes the child with her wherever she goes, into the jungle or up into the mountains."

Then I asked them "Have the Jakun any religion or gods and so on?" They replied "We neither know nor understand anything at all of these matters. We only know how to look for daily food and how, once a year during the season when the *tempui* fruit ripens, to make liquor from it. Then it is that each of us brings all kinds of animals which we roast and eat, for it is our day of festival."³⁹

I looked in the baskets which they carried on their backs and saw the following things: several monkey's hams, two or three bits of roasted yam, three strips of python skin, some salt, a pounding-board, a few turmeric stalks, a blow-pipe filled with dry tobacco, four pieces of Indian potato, a handful of limes, a few *kandis* fruits and green bananas, and two areca nuts—all of these in a simple basket. Each of the men carried a section of bamboo about six inches long, hanging below the armpit and filled with ground up pepper seeds and salt. Anything they ate they dipped into the bamboo scoop before putting it into their mouths.

Then I enquired about the use of *upas*-poison. What was its strength? How it was prepared? What animals were immune from its toxicity? They told me "Even if the animal or person at whom we fire is a very long way off the merest scratch, no bigger than the prick of a needle, will cause death if the poison reaches its blood. Only the elephant is immune when it is hit, because its skin is thick and there is a large amount of water in its stomach, so that the *upas* is absorbed too slowly." I asked "Are the Jakuns ever eaten by tigers?" and they replied "It happens only occasionally when our vigilance is relaxed and there is not time to fire a dart at them, for wherever we are the tiger has not the courage to lurk in the jungle near us, because it is afraid of our poisoned darts." The term *ipoh* is derived from the name of a tree, the *ipoh* tree. This is the tree whose latex they gather and mix with various kinds of poison and with extracts of roots and other ingredients whose names they would not tell me. They did say that they included white arsenic.⁴⁰ Then I asked them "How many tribes

³⁹ This part of Abdullah's account fits the Bésisi tribe better than it does the other Jakun sub-groups. The Bésisi were indifferent to religion, left their dead without burial and built tree-huts. The Jakun believed in a future life of the soul and built elaborate graves. Skeat & Blagden specifically mention *warang* as an ingredient of Bésisi dart-poison, but not of the Mantra poison described by Vaughan-Stevens (*ibid.*: 318-20). Yet the Bésisi inhabit the flat area near the coast and are never found in the hills. Perhaps Abdullah, casting his memory back over fifteen years, is confusing what he was actually told at the time with what he was told later by Newbold about the kindred tribes.

⁴⁰ The bamboo blowpipe, found also among the Batak of Palawan (Cooper Cole, 1946: 82), and the Punans of Sarawak (Andreini 1927: 77) is mentioned by de Eredia and by Odoric. All accounts tell of the losses which d'Albuquerque's men suffered in 1511 from the Malacca Malays' poisoned darts.

or groups of Jakun are there?" They replied "There are many of them; first Benua, second Jakun, third Sakai, forth Udai, fifth Akek, sixth Raayat. The Benua people were the original inhabitants of the country, which was afterwards occupied by other races or ruled by alien chiefs.⁴¹ In fear of them the Benua people had fled into the jungle, and in the course of several centuries their customs, language and style of dress had changed. Their conditions of life had so altered that they were now afraid of meeting strangers. As for the Jakun, they were like ourselves, and the Sakai ways of life were also like our own, although they usually lived in the tops of trees and whenever they saw another human being they fled like wild animals. The Udai too were human beings but the Jakuns never saw them and so were unable to talk about them, knowing nothing of their mode of living. However, they lived in the deep fastness of the jungle so that they would not meet other human beings, and there were none of them in in this part of the jungle.

I went on to ask them "How do you make your home? Did you originally have houses or fixed places of abode?" They replied "The original Jakun inhabitants have always made their dwellings against the trunks of trees in the forest. Wherever we wish to spend the night we just gather some leafy branches and fashion a shelter over ourselves, and lie down for the night. The next morning we move on in search of food. If the place is infested with savage animals we climb up a tree to sleep, for frequently our comrades have been caught by tigers while they slept between the buttresses at the foot of a tree. But nowadays most of the Jakun know how to build huts to live in, though these men come from other parts, and are not the original Jakun."⁴²

The blowpipe is a characteristic Indonesian weapon used to shoot birds and small animals in the jungle. Six to eight feet long with a built-up mouthpiece it is held by the user with the butt end up to his mouth. The dart, the sharpened midrib of a palm leaf, is expelled by a sharp puff. The accuracy of aim is remarkable. See accounts by Barbe (1851: 487-8), and Skeat & Blagden (1906: 254-336). The poison in which the darts are dipped is prepared by warming the latex of the *ipoh* tree on a wooden spatula over a smoky fire until it is of the consistency and colour of black treacle. It is mixed with ingredients to hand, and when cool hardens into a cake.

⁴¹ *Orang Benua* (lit. *Men of the Continent*) is a loose term for the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula, but Abdullah here probably means the Biduanda. The Sakai are recognized by modern anthropologists as a distinct racial group, but the other three tribes named by Abdullah have not been clearly defined. *Akik* is another term for *Orang Laut*, and *Udai* seems to be the name of a semi-negrito tribe of Johore. By *Orang Raayat* Abdullah means those Aboriginal Malays who acknowledged the Malacca chiefs as their rulers.

⁴² Caldecott (1912: 63) describes four types of Mantra house found in Jebebu; a small circular hut, a low shanty built on a slope, a triangular hut with a raised sleeping bench, and a tree-house. None of these are the crude affairs which Abdullah describes, and it is difficult to believe that these "original jakuns" did not build some kind of semi-permanent hut. Only the Negrito is a hutless nomad.

I noticed that they were all covered in filth from head to foot. I asked them "Do none of you ever wash or remove all this dirt?" They replied "We Jakun never bathe in water and only when it rains do our bodies get wet. If we were to have a proper bath and wash away the dirt we should without doubt fall sick, for this has been the custom of us all since the birth of our race."

Then I went on to ask about different things I had heard people say about the Jakun, that they were highly skilled in the art of making potions which can drive a man mad or cast a lethal spell over him, or make one man hate another. My readers will understand, of course, that I did not for a moment believe such nonsense. It is obviously a made-up story, a lie and a fraud without any truth in it. They replied "That is quite right. Many people of our race are skilled in these occult arts, for they do indeed keep familiar spirits upon whom they can impose any task they wish. There are many who know how to treat a sick person. All our medicines are obtained from vegetable roots and leaves, and many Malays come to our encampments asking for them."

While I was sitting writing and asking questions Mr. Newbold and Mr. Barchi Westerhout called me and said "It is past five o'clock. Let us go at once and we can reach Alor Gajah." I hurriedly bundled together my writing materials and we moved off, the Jakun returning to their jungle.

Mr. Newbold became friendly with the Jakun, and a fortnight after I had returned to Malacca they sent him a blow-pipe and *upas* poison, and some darts. He at once took a dart, placed some of the poison on it, and fired at a dog to test it. The dog died almost at once, its limbs twitching with the rigour of the poison. If the poison is as powerful as this when it reaches the blood, how much greater would its effect be if it was accidentally eaten by human beings? May Allah preserve us from such a misfortune for truly this *upas* is the most powerful of all poisons known to the Malays.⁴³ The Jakun about whom I have written in the book about my sea-journey, called "The Voyage of Abdullah", lived up-country in Pahang. They collect and bring ivory, resin and rattans for sale or barter with the Malays of that state, with whom they are in close touch. They have learnt to speak Malay and they dress like Malays, and in these respects present a striking contrast to the Bukit Panchur Jakun whom I have described above.

⁴³ Opinions vary on the toxicity of *upas* poison (*antiaris toxicaria*). The extravagant claims of Foerish (Gimlette, 1923: 173) can be discounted, but several accounts agree that it may be dangerous even to human beings. Gimlette (loc. cit: 180) says that taken orally it is harmless but injected under the skin it causes violent intestinal paralysis.

I must return now to the story of the things I did with Mr. Newbold. I was with him for about three years working on his Malay word-lists and translations. By the end we had obtained the names of all Malay sweetmeats with their ingredients and relishes whose methods of preparations we noted in full. We did this jointly, working together in perfect concord, each respecting the other's intelligence. We never had a single difference of opinion. On the contrary, I agreed with whatever he said and he with whatever I said. We worked together with the harmony of a ruler and his chief minister, from the beginning right up to the end.

Suddenly there came an order from the East India Company directing Mr. Newbold to leave. The official appointed in his place was Mr. Fryer. The thought of leaving Malacca made him very sad. I will give a summary of what he said just before he sailed. He shook hands with me several times. The day which had started with fine weather became over-cast, and from clouds heavy with rain there fell a slight drizzle, underlining the mood of a man leaving the scene of his affections. He let go of my hand and wiped away the tears in his eyes. Then he went into his room and with due solemnity brought out a gift for me saying "Do not forget me. This is a souvenir from me for your children." He also gave me a letter and said "Show this to Mr. Fryer and he will take you on." That same day he went on board the ship and sailed. May it please Allah to grant that I meet again so noble a friend.

After Mr. Newbold's departure Mr. Fryer sent for me and proposed that he should learn Malay. So I stayed for yet a further period in Malacca to teach him. There were two or three other officials also learning at the same time. Mr. Fryer soon learned to read manuscripts and speak Malay for he was fully conversant with the Persian alphabet. This made it easy for him to read Malay which uses the same script. Moreover he understood Hindustani, so that by using the two languages English and Hindustani I was able to explain everything to him. After I had been teaching him for about eighteen months he was able to translate a little from English into Malay, and he translated a number of Persian stories into Malay with my assistance.⁴⁴

I asked Mr. Fryer's permission to return to Singapore because many of my European and Chinese friends were calling me back. But he would not let me go. However, a month or two later after continued entreaties he of necessity agreed and I sailed for Singapore.

⁴⁴ Fryer—see this Chapter, page 233, and note 7.

After I had been working for about four months in Singapore there was great excitement caused by tidings that the English intended to make war on the Penghulu of Naning. This created a sensation among the Malacca people living in Singapore, all of whom wanted to return to look after their homes. I was one of those who returned. When I reached Malacca I found the place in great confusion. All the people went about armed ready to protect themselves, and stood nervously on the alert. Many and varied were the rumours I heard. Some said "In two days' time the people in the interior intend to come in and put Malacca to the sword." Others cried "Look, there they are! thousands of their men have arrived." Then they rushed out and brandished their weapons, making their children cry and falling over and jumping up again in their stampede. The noise of doors and windows slamming was like a storm raging. Innumerable weapons made their appearance. Men shouted "Look over here!" and others said "No, over there!", to the accompaniment of such din and confusion that even the Company's guns were taken from inside the Fort and sent chasing about here, there and everywhere. In the end nothing happened. It was only a false alarm, like people fighting in their sleep. The Company ordered everyone to remain on guard in his compound, and at night to put lighted lamps at every entrance. Most of the people who lived in districts outside the Settlement hurriedly moved into it. Property owners found somewhere to store their possessions. At that time everybody in Malacca, I noticed, carried weapons and in blacksmith's shops crowds were busy repairing and sharpening them in odd corners. In particular, almost everywhere one went people were having sheaths made for their daggers.

Just as I reached Malacca Mr. Lewis the magistrate with several officers and Indian soldiers with guns and rifles, and a force of several hundred men at his call, set off to attack Naning. Three days after the expedition had left there was great consternation in Malacca and on the morrow Mr. Lewis came rushing back to Malacca looking as if he had escaped death by inches. All the officers and soldiers withdrew in haste to Malacca, having been surrounded by the upcountry people who took them so completely by surprise that they lost their guns, rifles, tents, ammunition and the Company's equipment. All of it had been left behind and every scrap taken by the upcountry people. Allah knows best.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ William Thomas Lewis had been in Bencoolen from 1806 to 1824. Fullerton appointed him head of the Malacca Land Department in 1827, and he carried out an important survey of land for agricultural development. He was also Chief Police Officer and superintendent of the gaol and the fire station (Dickinson, 1941: 251-59). In 1830 he convinced Fullerton that Naning was part of Malacca territory,

I think that anyone who hears stories about the war between the English and the Penghulu of Naning will certainly want to know the history of the Penghulu, who he was and why there was a war. With this in view I have taken the utmost pains to find a genealogy of the Naning rulers; one arranged in proper order which goes back to the earliest times and is complete down to the present day. This genealogy I reproduce without alteration or amendment below this ruled line.⁴⁶

Genealogy of the Rulers of Naning

The overlordship of the territory of Naning dates from A.D. 1641, the year in which the Dutch captured Malacca from the Portuguese. At that date there was no single ruler of Naning. Instead there were four tribes which had held dominion over it from early Portuguese times. In the year 1642 A.D. the Governor of Malacca, a man named Pantos, ordered three commissioners to go together to Naning and appoint a ruler. The names of the officials who went were Mr. Souza,

against the opinion of Garling, the Resident Councillor. Only after the first abortive Naning expedition was Lewis's view proved to be wrong. In 1840 Lewis became Assistant Resident Councillor and in 1855 Resident Councillor of Penang. He retired in 1860 after a unique record of over 50 years service in Bencoolen and the Straits Settlements.

In 1643 the Dutch had invaded Naning and compelled this small state to pay annual tribute to Malacca. In 1765 they had commuted it to a nominal payment of 400 gantangs of rice, and they seem to have claimed only a very vague suzerainty over the state. In 1801 Colonel Taylor had expressly reaffirmed the tribute clause in the Dutch agreement, but in 1807 Farquhar had waived payment, in exchange for jurisdiction over capital cases in Naning.

In 1827 Abdul (Dul) Sayid the Penghulu of Naning had asserted his independence of Malacca and had violently opposed Lewis's agents sent to collect the tithe claimed under the old agreement (calculated at \$4,500, a useful revenue for the furtherance of Fullerton's development schemes for the Settlement). Summoned to meet Fullerton in Malacca, he had refused to come and had obstructed officials in his territory. He listened to the bad advice of Dutch officials and took Raja Ali, the ruler of Rémbau, as his ally. Actually Fullerton, though still convinced of legal rights, had submitted the case to the Court of Directors in London. But the two years' delay in replying was interpreted by Abdul Sayid as a sign of weakness, and by 1831 war was unavoidable. The consternation in Malacca at this time, described by Abdullah, is testimony to the effectiveness of Abdul Sayid's guerilla tactics.

The first expedition in July 1831 ended in failure and humiliation, with an underlying note of comedy: see Begbie (1834: 151-260) and Winstedt (1934: 66). Too late the Dutch archives in Malacca were then searched and evidence found proving the commuting to nominal tribute in 1765. In 1832 a strong force pushed its way cautiously through twenty miles of jungle and tardily forced Abdul Sayid, whom his Rémbau ally had now deserted for the British side, to accept terms.

⁴⁶ There are several genealogies of the Nègèri Sémblan settlers in "Papers on Malay Subjects, 2nd Series." See especially Nathan & Winstedt, "Johol etc.", 1920. Nathan and Winstedt say that families of four different tribes came to Malacca and Batu Tiga from Minangkabau, Sri Mèlènggang, Tiga Batu, Tanah Datar and Mungkal. The Sri Mèlènggang settlers went first to Tanah Bisa, a locality later called Naning, which in Khassi means "up-river" (cf. Janing, in Ulu Perak).

Mr. Mendes and Mr. Francisco Pingero.⁴⁷ When they reached Naning they said to the people "We come here with instructions from the Governor of Malacca to appoint a ruler. All you Naning folk should hold counsel together and whoever is liked and favoured by everyone, his name should be reported to us." After all of them, the very old and the young included, had debated the matter they said: "We should like Datok Seraja Merah of the Biduanda tribe to be our ruler." Then the three Commissioners appointed Seraja Merah penghulu and he it was who became the first penghulu, from the Biduanda tribe, of Naning. He went down for an interview with the Governor of Malacca, who gave him a seal of office as the ruler of Naning.⁴⁸ Sometime after he died and was succeeded by his sister's son who became the second ruler. He also received the title of Seraja Merah, and was of the Biduanda tribe. While he was ruler of Naning the Malay Kapitan was a man named Datok Arum.

Now there was a certain man called Genta Di-langit who had abducted one of the wives of the Sultan of Johore and carried her off to Muar. The Sultan of Johore wrote a letter to the Kapitan Datok Arum in Malacca telling him "to tear away the pig's hide which covers his head, and rub him with ashes till his face is black." Datok Kapitan Arum summoned Juara Megat with a message asking "Can you put this Genta Di-langit to death?" Juara Megat came to him and said "If you order me, Datok, I will kill him." Kapitan Datok Arum gave Juara Megat a *keris* for a weapon, and he went and killed Genta Di-langit, afterwards carrying the woman back to the Sultan of Johore. The Sultan rewarded him with gifts of a dagger, a pair of slaves, a coat and a soft powder to sprinkle on his hands and feet. These favours he accepted.⁴⁹

Now the Penghulu was advanced in years and his memory had grown dim. Datok Kapitan Arum therefore went to see the Governor

⁴⁷ The first Dutch Governor of Malacca, who relieved Caartekoe the field commander in 1642, and held office until 1646, was Johann van Twist (Schouten's Report, Leupe, 1936: 70). The three Portuguese Commissioners, whose services were retained by the Dutch to restore damaged buildings and roads, are all mentioned by name in Schouten's Report (*loc. cit.*: 116-8).

⁴⁸ Governor Bort (Brenner, 1927: 55-70) describes the 1641 Treaty and its sequel. The Naning people chafed under Dutch subjection and did not pay the tribute demanded, or hand over the Christian slaves. The Dutch "Naning War" was remarkably like that of the English nearly 200 years later. A small punitive expedition was massacred in 1644, and a large one two years later brought the Penghulu Raja Merah back to Malacca. It may be to this occasion that Abdullah refers, for Raja Merah was formally reinstated as ruler of Naning in return for guarantees about the behaviour of his people.

⁴⁹ Newbold gives a full account of this incident (1839: 217-21), and adds some details about Juara Megat's choice of a weapon, his pursuit and capture of *Délangit* at Muar, and the rewards bestowed on him by the Sultan.

of Malacca, a man named Willem Pasham, in the year 1703 and asked him to appoint Juara Megat ruler of Naning. The Governor of Malacca acceded to Datok Kapitan Arum's request and the Penghulu of Naning willingly offered his insignia of office to Juara Megat, who received the title of Seraja Merah. He was the third ruler, his tribe being the Samelenggang. After ruling Naning for some time he in his turn died and was succeeded by his sister's son named Gegah, the fourth ruler. After ruling Naning for some time Penghulu Gegah, who was the second ruler coming from the Samelenggang tribe and the fourth ruler in line, died and was succeeded by his sister's son Maulana Garang who became the fifth ruler and the third from the Sameleggang tribe. The sixth ruler was named Janggut, the seventh Timba, the eighth Anjak who died in the year 1803, the ninth Dul Sayid who was appointed by Colonel Taylor the English Resident of Malacca. At that time Enche' Mahmoud was the Malay Kapitan in Malacca. Dul Sayid held office until the year 1831. He it was who would not carry out the instructions of the East India Company about the collecting of taxes in Naning.⁴⁰

It had been the custom from ancient times for the territory of Naning to make annual payments according to its means to Malacca. It might be in rice or poultry, fruit and the like, and it was sent to the Governor's house. In the year in question the East India Company wanted one tenth of all the produce of Naning and its dependent villages. Naturally the ruler of Naning felt this demand to be excessive. And because he clung to the old rights of inherited property established by his forefathers he refused to comply with it. The East India Company therefore sent an expedition against him. A large number of officers, soldiers, and civilians were killed on all sides, and fighting went on for more than a year. In the first attack by the Company in the year 1831 its forces were beaten and fled in retreat to Padang Pasir.

At that time the Resident of Malacca was Mr. Samuel Garling, and his senior officer, the Governor of the three settlements of Penang,

⁴⁰ Matrilineal descent followed the ancient Minangkabau law and custom (*adat berpateh*). This customary law often ran counter to Islamic law, which weakened the strong ties of kinship and mutual help which the tribal law had created in these small communities. Wilkins (Hunt, 1921: 23) says that the inheritance laws in Naning remained much as they had been in the Padang Highlands of Sumatra several centuries before. Newbold (1839: 222) mentions that Abdul Sayid succeeded his uncle Anjak in 1801, and was confirmed in his appointment by Colonel Taylor.

In translation I have condensed the passage under note, which repeats the formula "sister's son . . . died after being ruler for sometime . . . the ruler to come from the Samalenggang tribe."

Singapore and Malacca, was Mr. Ibbetson.⁵¹ This Mr. Garling went to Naning and installed new penghulus, fifteen in number, in the territory; (1) the penghulu of Ikan Lemak, named Bilal Mania, of the tribe of Batu Belang; (2) of Piku, named Marrat, of the tribe of Batu Belang; (3) of Malkek, named Maulana Sultan of the tribe of Batu Belang; (4) of Taboh, named Safar of the tribe of Sa-malenggang; (5) of Lendu, named Kiman of the tribe of Tiga Batu; (6) of Ayer Pa'Abbas, named Dul of the tribe of Anak Melaka; (7) of Berisu, named Aludin of the tribe of Anak Melaka; (8) of Sungai Siput, named Laut, of the tribe of Sa-melenggang; (9) of Padang Sebang, named Kuroh, of the tribe of Tiga Nenek; (10) of Tanjong Rimau, named Lengkar, of the tribe of Tiga Batu; (11) of Pulau, named Talib, of the tribe of Mungkal; (12) of Kemuning, named Udin, of the tribe of Sa-melenggang; (13) of Batang Melaka, named Kujak, of the tribe of Mungkal; (15)* of Tebong named Dul Kunchi, of the Biduanda tribe. After the appointment of these penghulus the chiefs of the four tribes which had shown their disloyalty (1) Datok Mem-bangun of the tribe of Tiga Batu. (2) Andeka Maharaja, of the tribe of Anak Melaka, (3) Raja Nangkaya of the tribe of Sa-melenggang, (4) Orangkaya Kecek of the tribe of Mungkal, were all removed from office by Mr. Ibbetson. On the first of November 1832 Mr. Ibbetson and the Resident of Malacca Mr. Samuel Garling handed over the government of Naning to Mr. Barchi Westerhout.⁵² On the 4th of February it came to pass through the greatness of Allah the Lord Of All Creation that Dul Sayid came and gave himself up to Mr. Westerhout who brought him before Mr. Garling in Malacca. He was ordered by the East India Company to live quietly in Malacca and given an allowance of thirty rupees a month. So far he has bought himself a piece of land in Kampong Gajah Berang and has settled permanently in Malacca with his wife and family.⁵³

⁵¹ Samuel Garling became Resident Councillor of Malacca in 1828. He had all along held, in opposition to Lewis, that the inhabitants of Naning were independent and not subject to Malacca taxes. But the harm was now done, and it was left to him and Governor Ibbetson (Fullerton's term of office ceased in 1830) to make the final arrangements for a pyrrhic victory. For further information about Garling see Chapter 24, pages 278-9.

* The author omits (14).

⁵² Naning was first offered to Raji Ali in return for his services. He refused politely; it was then decided to make it a part of Malacca territory, and Westerhout was appointed Superintendent of the district.

⁵³ T. Braddell (1856: 194 ff.) says that Abdul Sayid was given a free pardon, a house and gardens in Malacca and liberty to live there so long as he did not intrigue or try to run away, and a pension of one hundred rupees a month. He became a successful merchant and doctor, trading on the veneration in which the Malays held him. He died in 1839 "in an odour of sanctity" (Mills, 1925: 127).

By the time I had finished taking note of the preparations that were made and the people who took part in the affair, I had seen soldiers from Bengal and from Madras, dressed in the different kinds of uniform which they wore. There were some who twisted their bodies as they fired their rifles, and others who fired lying face downwards on the ground: and there were some who took part in skirmishes round the stockades. A ship arrived bringing hundreds of huge oxen with long horns; such enormous animals had never before been seen in Malacca. They were used to pull carts, commissariat wagons and the guns. Their appearance caused such a stir that children used to shout when they saw them "Look. Here come the Long Horns."

The Naning war is a drawn-out story of which I give here only a brief account. It is not my intention to describe it but only to supply some information, so far as it goes, about the origin of the war and its cause, and the events which led up to it. It was an important affair and must be well-known to everyone, so there is no object in my enlarging on it. For at that time there was an officer named Mr. Begbie who has written a book in English about the Naning war. In it there are parts where I gave him some assistance, in Malay genealogies and the history of the Malay states and of Malacca, and in certain place names. On all these matters he took material written by me and used it in his book on the Naning affair.⁵⁴

24. Sultan Husain Shah

When all strife had ceased in the Settlement of Malacca and peace had been restored after the Naning war I returned, as was my custom, to Singapore. When I reached the Settlement I heard all sorts of rumours about things going on in the Sultan's palace, to the effect that the Sultan was fond of a young Malacca-born Indian whose name was Abdul Kadir bin Ahmad Sahib, from the country of Muhammad Bandar.¹ This Abdul Kadir enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan to such an extent that he was given a place in the palace as though he

⁵⁴ Begbie was an artillery officer in both Naning expeditions. He is said to have spent three years examining Dutch records in Malacca in preparation for his book, "The Malayan Peninsula", published in 1834, but it received a very hostile review in the *Singapore Chronicle*. Possibly he had offended the editor, J. H. Moor, who was in Malacca until the end of 1829, and had strong views on the Naning question (see *JMBRAS*, 26, (1): 1953). Begbie acknowledges help received from Samuel Garling, Samuel Kidd, Josiah Hughes and "Ensign Newbold". Of Abdullah he says not a word: see note 3, on p. 231 above.

¹ *Muhammad Bandar*. Possibly Abdullah's literal rendering of Muhammadpore (*pura* = Skr. town), in India.

were one of the royal family. Such conduct appeared most improper² in the eyes of the chief ministers and the royal household, who one and all treated Abdul Kadir with increasing suspicion. Had they been transformed into tigers they would instantly have broken his neck. Worse still, since the arrival of Abdul Kadir the Sultan rarely treated his ministers and attendants with the kindness he had shown before. It was Abdul Kadir alone who gained in royal favour and to his counsel, good or bad, the Sultan deferred. With everything he said the Sultan agreed. The Sultan indeed lost all sense of his responsibility to the world. True, I was only in the position of one who glimpses dark reflections in a mirror. Yet I did hear all kinds of rumours and stories which it is not fitting or seemly that I should mention in this book. For Allah the Most High understands best all these strange happenings. It may be merely that everyone bore Abdul Kadir a grudge because he stood so high in the Sultan's favour, or because while he was there the Sultan seemed to have no further use for anyone else; or perhaps the rumours and the tales people told were really true. From Allah no secrets are hidden and I know not but that He may be pleased to make known things which are not clear to me. Wicked are those who go on making accusations against another man without knowing the truth. The mischief they do is much greater than that done by the accused himself.

These disgraceful and unsavoury tales about the Sultan became such common knowledge among all races in Singapore and Malacca that the situation became intolerable. The Sultan's followers began plotting among themselves to murder Abdul Kadir. But to do it by day was to risk being caught by the Sultan, and it could not be done at night when Abdul Kadir was always inside the Sultan's palace. Either way the plan seemed doomed to failure. After another discussion the leaders among those in the plot went and laid the Abdul Kadir affair before Mr. Bonham in the Court, adding "It has brought shame upon us all and if the Sultan does not get rid of him you must not think it wrong of us to court his death." Mr. Bonham and Mr.

² *sumbang-lah*, revolting, especially of incest. The story tells of alleged intimacy between Abdul Kadir, a commoner, who presumed thereby to gain access to the highest court circles, and the royal Tèngku Përba, the Sultan's surviving wife and mother of his three children. Under Malay law marriage prohibitions extend to foster-children, and this in Abdullah's eyes made the offence especially grave.

According to Winstedt (1932: 89) it was Tèngku Përba who got Abdul Kadir, the son of an Indian mercantile friend, to manage the affairs of state, to counteract the Sultan's indolence and dependence on unreliable advisers. The rumour of adultery, in which there was apparently no truth, was started by the discontented Tèngku Abdul Jalil, her eldest son, when he found himself out of favour.

Wingrove³ brought to the Sultan's notice the fact that his own people were complaining, and advised him strongly to get rid of Abdul Kadir. But the Sultan replied "It is Abdul Kadir who helps me in everything I do and who lightens the tasks of my office. All my followers are trying to ruin me and bring about my downfall. None of them has any regard for the privacy of my palace or my powers as a ruler." When the Sultan's people found that their scheme was not going to work their mounting anger burned ever stronger and stronger in their hearts, to such a pitch that Abdul Kadir did not dare to go outside the palace, so afraid was he of them.

Matters continued thus until one night about a hundred people assembled together, having discussed with their leader their determination to reach Abdul Kadir inside the palace. They all remained standing about in small groups. News of this reached the Sultan's ears and he discussed with his wife and Abdul Kadir how some stratagem might be found for bringing about Abdul Kadir's escape. "For" he said "I have heard a rumour that to-night they are going to break in." After they had sat for a while in thought an idea came to them. They dressed Abdul Kadir up in woman's clothes, and arranged for a horse and carriage to be made ready. By that time many people had already assembled outside the palace. But suddenly the Sultan came down carrying his *keris*, and when they saw him they all shrank back. At this moment two women emerged; one was Abdul Kadir dressed as a woman, the other the Sultan's wife. All three of them climbed into the carriage and were away. The onlookers stood speechless, too afraid of the Sultan to approach the carriage. Then some said "Surely that was Abdul Kadir?", but others exclaimed "No, impossible." So the people in the carriage made good their escape. Then some of the men said, "Come. Let us beat the horse's legs and drag Abdul Kadir out." Meanwhile as they hesitated arguing among themselves the carriage made good distance, and now at last they realized with regret that Abdul Kadir had escaped them. The carriage reached Singapore and there Abdul Kadir alighted at the house of one of his friends. Then the carriage turned back and went to Kampong Gelam, carrying the Sultan and his wife.

For about two days Abdul Kadir remained in hiding and then he found refuge on a sailing-barge belonging to Baba Hok Guan. He kept up his female disguise, asking a certain Tamil man to stay with him, for if it became known that he was Abdul Kadir nobody would dare to aid his departure. The news had already spread round Singa-

³ For biographies of Bonham and Wingrove see Chapter 23, page 232 and notes 5 & 6.

pore that Abdul Kadir had run away and people were on the lookout for him. While he was on the barge people thought he was a woman, and only when the boat had put to sea did they discover his real identity. By that time he was on his way to Malacca.

After Abdul Kadir's departure the Sultan in Singapore behaved like an old hen who has lost her young. He was moody and uncertain in temper. He hated all his former associates more than ever and sat about looking as if he were heart-broken. But letter after letter passed between him and Abdul Kadir in Malacca. At last, taking his whole family, his wife, his two sons and his four daughters he left Singapore in a boat called *Julia* belonging to the ruler of Kedah. His journey lasted from the 5th day until the 11th day of June in the Christian year 1834. After five days at sea he reached Malacca and took up residence at Bandar Hilir.⁴

From that time on Abdul Kadir became as the ruler himself, the Sultan agreeing with everything he said. His position allowed him the free run of the Sultan's palace, like a man living in his own house. The Sultan's monthly allowance of \$1,300 all went into the hands of Abdul Kadir, and I do not know what immense sums ran like water through his grasp. The amount received from the East India Company each month was not enough. There remained sums owing of hundreds of dollars every month. The Sultan's possession went to the pawn-shop in their thousands: things made of gold almost by the sack-load, diamonds seemingly in handfuls, fine silks by the score, all were pledged away for paltry sums in cash, some indeed representing a total loss. Ants and lice, insects that live in the crevices of wood and in holes in the ground, all came out to gorge themselves on this abundant feast. Anyone wishing to see Abdul Kadir was granted an audience as if before the Sultan himself. He would raise his hands in obeisance and stand facing Abdul Kadir. Abdul Kadir never walked on foot but used a carriage and horse by day and by night. Sometimes he dressed like a Tamil, at other times like a Malay ruler.

When the Sultan came from Singapore he brought ten men and ten or twenty women in his party. They noticed Abdul Kadir's behaviour and if they had had the power they would not have hesitated to take his life. But because they greatly feared the Sultan they nursed their grievances in silence. They feigned respect to his face.

⁴ At this time Kedah was fully under the tutelage of the Siamese Chau Phya, and in 1831 the ex-Sultan Tajuddin Salim Shah had been induced by Governor Fullerton to settle in Malacca. There he continued to plot and intrigue with his followers and pirates in the Straits of Malacca for the recovery of his kingdom.

When they saw him they did obeisance as if to the Sultan and humoured him. But in their hearts they sought a good opportunity to murder him.

After this had gone on for some time, it happened one night that Abdul Kadir was about to walk down the palace steps—the time was about eight o'clock—when he was stabbed in the shoulder-blade by a young Malay with a *kéris*. The blade went through his body. As Abdul Kadir was struck he crumpled up on the ground, while his assailant ran away. The sound of someone crying out was heard in the house above and the Sultan and his wife ran down and found Abdul Kadir, who was unable to utter a word. They carried him upstairs, the blood streaming all the time as if someone had slaughtered a buffalo. The Sultan at once sent out a call for the English doctor in the town. He came and immediately examined the gaping wound. He said "If the weapon had struck a little higher it would certainly have pierced the muscle of his heart. At it is, it is nothing much. If he has enough vitality he will recover." He applied ointment to the wound and as the blood stopped flowing Abdul Kadir recovered consciousness and was able to use his voice. He was asked who had stabbed him and replied "Si-Banchul is the name of the man who stabbed me." The Sultan ordered a search to be made for him, but he was not to be found, for all were of the same mind about the affair and kept their knowledge to themselves.

After three or four days Abdul Kadir recovered. The Sultan turned all his followers out of his house. Not a single Malay was retained. All his employees, watchmen, coachmen and the like, were Tamils. Abdul Kadir, quite recovered and able to eat and drink, was given by the Sultan the title of Tengku Muda Abdul Kadir.⁵ They were fearful of living at Bandar Hilir, which was far from Malacca, in case there should be a repetition of the incident. So they moved into Malacca, to Kampong Bèlanda* where they rented the premises of Adrian Minjoot. Some days later it was stated that the Sultan had married his daughter Tengku Andak to Abdul Kadir, although Abdul Kadir was already married with six or seven children. When this news was heard everyone in Malacca was amazed.

Mark well, my friends, how great is the wisdom of Allah in working His purpose among men. The worm had swallowed the serpent. Now is it not truly surprising that a worm should swallow so large an animal as the serpent? As the saying is,

⁵ *Tengku Muda*, the title of the heir apparent to the Johore throne.

* See Map II (Kg. Bèlanda).

Come, gather creepers from the tree
And viands for the roast-pot bring.
A serpent from the China Sea
Is seized by a beetle on the wing.

I meditated for a while how true it is that no man can resist the will of Allah. The child of a king may be called a princess but in the end she falls a prey to a man of lowly estate. I was reminded of the saying,

In forest fastness snaps the twig,
At Malim Sidi's ford it breaks,
The regal elephant, though big,
Is caught by the lowliest of snakes.

It is right that we should accept these remarkable happenings as something to be remembered, a lesson that we should make allowance for human frailty when we see how great is the power of Allah working His will upon His servants. How strange it is to see a sultan of proud ancestry and powerful withal, who receives an allowance of \$1,300 a month, with a palace, a royal chamber and a host of subjects, abandoning them all and betaking himself from country to country, giving his daughter in marriage to a Tamil-born commoner who is already married with six or seven children. As far as I know, under the laws of the Malay rulers or those of the kings of England or the Emperors of China such a thing is never permitted. There is neither harmony nor equality when the blood of the common man is matched with that of royalty. But such precepts are readily forgotten. For Allah rewards the sins of men not by scourging with rods or chastisement with canes but with slow retribution. Without their realizing it or understanding its cause such men meet with sudden disaster.

It is no light tyranny that has been exercised by the Malay rulers, apart from a few who were good. Women and children who caught their fancy they have abducted by force as though they were taking chickens, with no sort of fear of Allah or regard for His creatures. They have often murdered men whose offences in no way merited death, just as they would kill an ant. They have plundered the property of other men, killing the owners or dragging them off into captivity. If they owe money they refuse to pay it. They are very fond of gambling, cock-fighting, opium-eating and keeping a host of slaves. These are the men who reduce the servants of Allah to run, attacking them with violence and, as is the custom in Brunei and Kutai, even looting the ships of white men and killing those on board.

They send the royal spear to a house demanding the owner's goods with threats, and take away his womenfolk by force. There are many other disgraceful practices apart from these, which I feel too ashamed to mention in this book. Besides, they despise the servants of Allah, human beings like themselves, and look upon them as dogs. When they pass by on the road they order everyone to stay by the roadside, in the mud and the filth. They keep young girls by the score, sometimes more than a hundred, as concubines in the palace. They have relations with a girl once or twice and then for the rest of her life she cannot marry another man. If a man marries her not knowing her circumstances he is put to death. If one of her parents is sick or dead she cannot visit her home without her master's permission. She is kept without sufficient food or clothing, and is turned into a mere drudge. But to a woman who excites her master's passion any wish she expresses will be granted. Even if she says murder it will be done. It is obvious that the things I have mentioned are simply means of gratifying the ruler's lusts. They are neither right nor in accordance with the laws of Islam, nor are they approved or condoned by public opinion. They are done just to suit the ruler's own pleasure. Sometimes he has ten or twenty children. One or two of them may be good but the rest behave like devils. Their manners are like beasts' because when they were young they were never taught proper behaviour by their parents. They have always followed their own desires and have grown used to the wicked ways of cock-fighting, gambling, opium-eating, fornication, piracy and murder. When they are grown up however wicked the things their father did they themselves may be three times worse. As for the poor people who are the victims of this oppression, this injustice, this tyranny, they are in no position to make any complaints, save only to Allah who sees and hears all the agony and misery of mankind. May it please Him equitably to avenge them in the fullness of time for all their suffering.⁶

Such men as these have never yet wakened to a realization of their true position. For is it not clear enough that the judgement of Allah is already upon them? Was there not a time when half the world was under Malay dominion and rule? There are many books and records which tell of the rulers of olden times, how great and powerful

* The despotic rule imposed by their nobles on the Dayaks of Borneo, resulting in the wholesale sacking of villages and abduction of slaves, is attested by Spenser St. John, Admiral Keppel and others (see Mills, 1925: 240). The rapacity of the Malay Chiefs and the degradation of their subjects is one of the main themes in *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah* (see Chapter 25, pp. 290-1 & note 11). Robbers and pirates could escape the consequences of their crimes by claiming the patronage of their chiefs to whom they became *hamba raja* (bondsmen).

they were, how rich and full of wisdom. Why have their lands been despoiled by Allah ere now, and passed into foreign bondage. Is it not because of extreme injustice and tyranny that Allah has weakened them and enslaved them under alien rule? If such wickedness and corruption continue for long Allah alone knows in what state they will be by the end. Ignorant and undiscerning though I may be, it seems clear to me that the very name of the Malays will be lost to the world, for there are many books I have read which say that Allah sets his face against all tyrants.

It is from the example of these men that I draw the conclusion that whosoever incurs the displeasure of Allah must in the course of time be brought low. Even in my own lifetime there have been several Malay principalities which I notice have come to ruin. Some have reverted to jungle where the elephant and the tiger roam, because of the cruel injustices of their rulers and chiefs; not merely distant places but, for example, Selangor, Perak, Kedah, as well as Padang, Muar, Batu Pahat, and Kesang, and many others like them. Once they were rich and flourishing states with a large population. Now they are states only in name. Some have become waste land. Their former inhabitants have moved to other districts and other countries. Those that remain live in poverty, having enough food for only one day out of three. All their misfortunes and troubles are the outcome of the rapacity of their rulers and the depredations of their chiefs.

At one time Padang was a densely populated area.⁷ There were many wealthy people there, and a variety of merchandise came from it. Dried areca-nuts were exported by the hundred thousand and by the ton. Every year cargoes of areca-nuts were taken to Ceylon and India; also ivory, gums, and rattans. The Malacca folk ate no durians except those which came from Padang: so much so that thousands of Padang durians stacked in heaps used to be offered for sale at two or three cents each. Mangosteens were in such quantities that five or six sheds were built on Malacca to store them, and five or six sold for one cent. Duku fruits appeared in such incalculable numbers that no one could count them, and the ground in that part of Malacca was actually raised in height because of the skins peeled off duku

⁷ Padang was a district stretching from the slopes of Mt Ophir southwards to the Linggi River. The once powerful kingdom of Johore had collapsed more than a century before Abdullah's time. Riau-Johore was ruled in effect by Bugis overlords until split in two by the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. The Selangor royal house was of Bugis descent. By 1820 Perak had come under the strong influence of Siam through its vassal Kedah, and parts of west Pahang and north Johore were partitioned off into small predatory chieftaincies.

fruits, mangosteens, durians and limes from Padang. I know not how many hundreds of other fruits came from there. Their number was uncountable. In fact I myself have been in an orchard of mangosteens and durians where if one climbed a mangosteen tree one could move a distance of two or three miles through the branches, because the trees grew so close together. When there was a general fall thousands of durians dropped to the ground in a single night. I am speaking only of those ripening in cultivated plantations at a time when those growing on the hill had not fallen. The hill was called Bukit Muar.* Allah alone knows how many durian trees there were on it for the orchard had been planted by men of old. At the season when the trees were in fruit the Padang folk spent all their time cutting away the undergrowth, and when the fruit fell everyone joined in the picking. Many of the Malacca merchants became wealthy trading in Padang exports and many thousands of dollars were collected every year in duty. I have given only a brief account, but sufficient to show how comfortable and easy a life everyone led, peaceful and happy and moreover prosperous, in the days when Sultan Mahmud ruled Lingga, Riau and Pahang. His suzerainty extended over Padang, Muar and Batu Pahat and in justice, equity and mercy he cherished all his people.

After Sultan Mahmud had passed away the royal princes came, I know not from what parts, to Padang.⁸ Within two or three days some two or three of them had arrived. On reaching the shore they ordered their spears to be sent inland to demand rice, chickens, anything their fancy suggested. Alas for the poor Padang folk! They were extremely naive. When they heard a ruler's or prince's name mentioned they respected him as if he were Allah. They trembled in their bones, and they made a point of giving him everything he demanded. He would pay them not a cent in return, before taking his departure. Ten days or a fortnight later four or five more of the princes came and made demands. Some of them went inland on their own and foraged for goods like robbers, taking anything they liked as if it were their own property. The owners just blinked their eyes, the stupid people, keeping quiet because they were overawed by the name of royalty. The princes, who had no shame or fear of Allah and His creatures, or of eating things forbidden by Islam, did whatever pleased them. The behaviour of some of them was like that of beasts as they chased and ravished the daughters of the villagers. Then they

* See Map IV.

⁸ Sultan Mahmud Shah of Riau-Johore died at Lingga in 1812 (see note 3, under Chapter 11). Abdullah makes extravagant claims about his power.

took their departure. Later still others came. Nothing they wanted could be refused. If anything was refused, or they were obstructed, they murdered and burnt down the houses. In the end even the villagers' coconut trees were all felled and the core of the fruits removed. Thus were the servants of Allah brought to ruin through injustice and oppression, driven out piecemeal from their dwellings and fields to wander at large, some into debt-slavery and bondage, thousands of them scattered over the face of the earth. Their villages became jungle, the abode of the tiger and the elephant, and remain so to the present day. Does not Allah know of all this tyranny and evil? And will He not punish such men for their deeds?

My readers should know about another strange practice in which, so I have heard, only the Malay rulers indulge. It is not a custom permitted to the followers of Islam, nor is it found among any other of the races which inhabit the world. It is an invention of the Devil, pandering to the sins of the flesh. If the chiefs take away the daughters of ordinary folk to force them to become their mistresses they will obviously not have the girls' consent, still less that of their parents. So they bring pressure to bear, telling the parents to take their daughters to their houses. Then the chief calls some dull-witted teacher or *labai*,⁹ who is ignorant of the true religion of Islam and greedy for personal gain, and orders him to marry the woman to his *kêris* which stands in his place. An attendant is present wearing the *kêris* and holding a large water-vessel and tray of betel-nut. The priest, a very fiend of hell, for fear of his chief celebrates a marriage between the woman and the *kêris*. Is such a marriage legally binding? What written law is there which says that it is? Indeed, the outcome of such practices will be a superfluity of illegitimate children. Because of the circumstances in which they were born these children will behave like the Devil how has no fear of Allah and His Prophet, and has no feeling of compassion towards mankind. Is it not right that such unfair treatment should be punished by Allah with disaster?

Take heed, you tyrants and oppressors, if you continue behaving in this manner Allah will surely send down fire from the sky to consume and destroy you. Have you not heard how in days of old there were companies of false prophets. Because of their oppression, their tyranny, their treachery, some were destroyed by Allah in a whirlwind, others consumed by fire which He sent down from the sky, others

⁹ *labai* (Telugu, *labbi*. = levite); southern Indians connected by family associations with religion. In Malay folk-tales these wandering "holy men" are often the subject of ridicule and contempt.

drowned by flood. All kinds of disasters, the curse of Allah, have followed in the way of oppressors and tyrants because they are His enemies.

One other extraordinary custom about which I heard came from a man who was himself a victim of its injustice in Reteh. He told me "Whenever a prince of the blood comes to Reteh everyone who lives there is obliged to go before him bearing presents. Then each man returns to his home while the prince remains. Every day he tells his slaves to go and ask for this and that, and off they go. They take away anything they come across, seizing fowls and goats, climbing coconut and areca palms, and so on. Nobody dares to accost or obstruct them, for they carry the prince's spear. When they notice anyone casting a reproving eye upon them they come stealthily at night while he is asleep and slit open the binding which holds the ladder to his house. Then they return to their boats and say 'In So-and-So's house there is plenty of rice and many goats.' The next morning very early before the owner of the house is awake the slaves of the prince return and make a pretence of going up into the house. Of course they fall down, then they go running back to the prince and tell him 'You told us to go to the house of So-and-So but as we were climbing the ladder it broke and we fell.' The prince is enraged and says, 'Take my spear and demand forty dollars as a fine. Accept no refusal.' His slaves are highly delighted as they go back bearing the spear and say 'The prince demands a fine of forty dollars.' This sum must be handed over, even if the owner has to sell or pawn his goods. If he does not do so his children are seized and sold or hired into bondage, and thus the prince gets his forty dollars. This is the wicked and unjust way in which the princes behave. If news about the deeds of his children reaches the ruler's ears he thinks little of it, treating it as a laughing matter. He does not dare to look into it closely in case his children become discontented or run *amok*.' These goings-on I would liken to fire; the friend of man when small, who knows but that it may become his foe when it has grown large. These outrages bring harm upon all the servants of Allah. It is as if their perpetrators believed that Allah has entrusted to their hands the keys of the kingdom of this world. So they just indulge their pleasures. But if you wish to live the life eternal and if it is true, as Allah has said, that every living thing must suffer death in the end, then most assuredly you cannot escape judgement on the Last Day. Good will be rewarded, wickedness punished. Are your ears deaf or your eyes blind? Have you not seen and heard how the white man's laws and judgements operate? Before sentence of death is pronounced on a man who has obviously

committed a capital offence and deserves to die he is first tried, with thorough enquiry into the facts, due consideration of the charge, the arguments of counsel and the hearing of witnesses. Even if, after the evidence has been impressed on the minds of the twelve jurymen, they all agree in finding him guilty the judge tries his utmost to find means of saving the man's life. Only if a point is reached when there is no other course left is the sentence pronounced on him a sentence of death. God save Queen Victoria.

Now I will return to the story of Abdul Kadir who received the title of Tengku Muda. It had been quite easy for a commoner to become a ruler. What an extraordinary thing to happen! It reminds me of Chinese beliefs about death. When a Chinaman dies his brothers and sisters make paper models of his house, his belongings and his carriage ready for travel, and boxfuls of paper money. Then they burn them all and say "The dead man has got his house with him, and can easily make use of his carriage." With equal ease did Abdul Kadir become Tengku Muda. The people of Malacca blinked their eyes when they saw what had happened. Sometimes he wore Tamil costume, sometimes the dress of a Malay ruler with a *keris*, a *sarong* of golden silk, a coat with tight sleeves, and a kerchief of gold-embroidered cloth. The two sons of the Sultan both dressed in Tamil fashion, wearing wide trousers and Indian gowns. It was a further source of amazement to people to see Malays looking like Tamils and a Tamil looking like a Malay, for the two children were not yet grown up. The Sultan ruled only in name. It was Abdul Kadir who ran the affairs of state, in everything to do with the collecting and spending of money.

One day not long afterwards Abdul Kadir called me to his house. His attendant came to summon me saying "Tengku Muda invites you to his house." So I made my way there. When I arrived Tengku Muda greeted me with due respect and we sat down together. Then he said "I was anxious to invite you in, my friend, to ask to have a seal made for me." I replied "I know nothing about them." He said "Do not hide anything. For many people have told me that you made a seal of office for Mr. Raffles, and several others for the Malay princes." I asked him "What shall be the wording on the seal?" Then he produced a piece of paper on which was written "ALWATHIK B'ILLAH TENGKU MUDA ABDUL KADIR IBNU'S-SULTAN HUSAIN SHAH".¹⁰ I smiled when I saw the wording, to think that he has acquired a new father; as the Malay proverb says "The buffalo gave the milk

¹⁰ "He-who-trusts-in-God Tengku Muda Abdul Kadir the son of Sultan Husain Shah."

but the cow gave the name to it." He saw me smiling and said "Yes. We who know its meaning find it amusing."¹¹ He thanked me profusely and I wrote the words in the form used for the seals of rulers. A goldsmith made it up into a seal the size of a silver dollar, and whenever Abdul Kadir sent a letter he used this seal on it. It was a source of amazement to people who laughed and poked fun at such a patent absurdity.

Nevertheless, although he did all the things I have mentioned and behaved in the way I have described, Abdul Kadir was very good at treating people with due respect, and he knew how to gain their confidence. When he addressed people he used the forms *Enche'* and *Tuan* in the right contexts. Therefore most of them spoke well of him, seeing that he knew how to humble himself. Such modesty and charm would never be found in Malays, so far as I have noticed, only in Tamils. Indeed Abdul Kadir was himself Tamil-born. That is why he was good at winning the loyalty of others, so that many people were fond of him. How true is the saying of the wise man "A fine nature and good manners are the balm which soothes the hearts of all mankind."

A few days after this Tengku Sayid came from Muar to Malacca because his father the Temenggong of Muar had died. He asked the Sultan to appoint him Temenggong. After Tengku Sayid had spend several days in Malacca, on the fifteenth day of the month of Safar in the Mohammedan year 1251 he was promoted by Sultan Husain Shah, to the office of Temenggong of Muar and given the title of Temenggong Seri Maharaja, replacing his father in that office. On the occasion of his appointment he invited many people to an entertainment, and I was one of those who sat down to the feast. Mr. Samuel Garling, the Resident was guest of honour.¹²

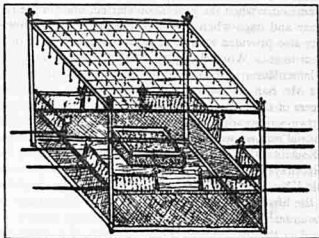
The Sultan moved to a house in front of his old house, which he let to the wife of Kraal, and there he remained. All his maids-in-waiting whom he had brought from Singapore had left one after the other and he now kept only his Tamil retainers, men and women, for at that time the life of Abdul Kadir was still like an egg balanced on the point of a horn and he did not dare to leave the house at night.

¹¹ *Sama kita tahu akan herti-nya tērsenyum itu.* The meaning of the text is not entirely clear. It might be "I [or we both] understand the reason for your amusement."

¹² Newbold (Moor, 1837: 74) says that Konik, the third Tēmenggong of Muar, died in 1830 and was succeeded by his son as *Dato Said*. But there is no reason to doubt Abdullah's statement that he himself was an eyewitness of the celebrations and the date he gives, March, 1835, may be accepted. For information about Garling see Chapter 23, pp. 262-3 & note 51.

Many of the Malay princelings and their court attendants came to Malacca to see the Sultan but were not allowed into his presence.

It came to pass that not long afterwards the Sultan fell sick. After five or six days illness he died on the twelfth day of December 1835,



Usongan raja di-raja, the drawing of the hearse used at the funeral of Sultan Husain Mohammed Shah, at Tranquerah, on 12th December, 1835, from the 1849 edition of the *Hikayat Abdullah*.

leaving this mortal world for the world eternal. Three days later he was carried in state according to the ceremonial custom at the funerals of rulers called *Angkatan Raja Diraja*. Here is a drawing of the carriage which was made of wooden planks wrapped all over with yellow cloth and decorated with fragrant flowers. At the four corners of the hearse stood men holding plates full of flower petals mixed with gold and silver confetti and saffron rice. These they scattered on the ground as the procession moved forward. There was much noise as the people scrambled for pieces of gold and silver. Thousands of all races followed the procession, and as for the people who carried the hearse there were eighty paid bearers, who each received one rupee, besides many others who gave their services free as helpers. A large yellow canopy surmounted the hearse.¹³

¹³ The traditional ceremonial at a ruler's funeral was from Abdullah's description strictly followed, the large hearse carried on men's shoulders, the distribution of largesse to the crowds, the decorations and the paid mourners. For further details see Caldicott's account of the funeral of an Undang of Jelebu (1912: 52), and Bryson and Blleloch's description of the funeral of the Yamtuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan in 1933 (1936: 273-4).

As the hearse was being carried along the guns on the Fort fired one round every five minutes, until the burial ground was reached. I counted a total of fifty-nine rounds fired, one for each year of the Sultan's life. The East India Company provided a guard of honour of twenty-four Indian soldiers who stood to attention and fired a salute three times; once when the procession started, once in the middle of its journey and once when it had reached the burial ground. The Company also provided a band of twelve men who beat drums and other instruments. When they played there was a sound as of voices in deep lamentation which stirred the hearts of all who heard it. The Resident Mr. Samuel Garling and the magistrate, the high officials and officers of the Malacca garrison, all accompanied the procession to the graveyard, wearing white sashes across their bodies. The name of the burial ground was Tranquerah. It stood in the compound of Abdul Kadir's father, Tambi Ahmad Sahib. The person who read the burial prayer at the side of the Sultan's grave was Khatib Mahmoud bin Khatib Musa, who was the *Khatib* of the Indian Muslims.¹⁴ During the life-time of the Sultan it had been this *Khatib* who had been summoned when there was any religious ceremony to be performed in the royal house. There was indeed a Malay *khatib* in Malacca and a Malay mosque. But the Sultan had never been there to pray. Neither did he consult the Malay *khatib* in any matter concerning his welfare. There was a younger brother of Khatib Mahmoud named Haji Abdullah who taught the Sultan's two sons to read the Koran.

After the funeral the usual daily ceremonies following the death of royalty were performed. For many months the Koran was recited daily at the grave. An attap shed was erected over the grave, and inside it were placed lighted lamps and candles. From the time of the Sultan's death the Sultan's followers, all his household, Abdul Kadir and the princes went into mourning. They went about bare-headed following the custom of the old Malay rulers.

Not long after the Sultan's death news reached Malacca that Tengku Abdul Jalil the son of the late Yamtuan, who was in Pahang, and Tengku Chi' the son of the Temenggong of Singapore,¹⁵ and

¹⁴ At the graveside the bearers take the body out of the large coffin, which is not buried, and place it in a cavity in the trench shored up with timber, so that when the hole is filled in no earth will rest on the body. The winding-sheet is loosened and sometimes an inverted wooden box is placed over the body. The *khatib* recites the *talkin*, an exhortation to the dead man to prepare himself for his examination by Munkar and Nakir, the two Angel-Interrogators of the dead. The dead man is believed to raise himself on his elbow to listen to it.

¹⁵ Tengku Chi', better known as Temenggong Tun Ibrahim (Daeng Ronggek), was the successor to the chieftaincy, his father Temenggong Abdul-Rahman having

the princes of Riau were coming to Malacca to remove the body of the late Sultan. They wished to take it to Riau for burial beside his father, the late Sultan Mahmud Shah. When this was made known in Malacca some were afraid that it might provoke a disturbance, for rumour had it that these people were going to remove the body by force, whether the consent of the Sultan's children and of Abdul Kadir was given or not. A few days later Tengku Abdul Jalil and Tengku Chi' came to ask for the Sultan's body. They went to see Mr. Garling and explained to him the purpose of their visit. They were followed by several members of their party. I saw that all of them were in mourning and had no head-dress, out of respect for their dead ruler. Mr. Garling arranged a go-between to negotiate with the wife and children of the late Sultan. But these people refused to allow the princes' request. Mr. Garling informed 'Tengku Abdul Jalil and Tengku Chi' of all that had been said. For the late Sultan's wife had refused to meet them and as for Abdul Kadir his attitude towards them was unspeakably hostile. When they realized that they would not be able to carry out their intention they returned to Singapore, and some to Riau. The rest can be described briefly. The late Sultan's wife and Abdul Kadir moved to Liri, a place near Tanjong Keling about four miles outside Malacca; and it was there that, sometime later, Abdul Kadir the so-called Tengku Muda died.

By the twelfth day of October 1835 I had completed a translation from Hindustani into Malay of a tale called the *Pancha Tandëran*,¹⁶ or in the Malay language *Galilah dan Daminah* a very fine literary work. I did it with the help of a friend of mine who was good at Hindustani. His name was Tambi Mutu Berpatar and he lived in Kampong Masjid Keling, a part of Malacca.

I familiarized myself with the story and took great pains in translating it, because I found in the book a number of anecdotes, and words, phrases, metaphors and allegorical expressions which would add to the reader's knowledge and erudition and stimulate his interest. Naturally the story and the episodes in them are pure fiction. You should not pay much attention to them. I would never counsel you

died ten years before, and his eccentric elder brother, Abdullah, having declined office. He was not formally installed as Tëmenggong Sri Maharaja until 1841. See note 19, under Chapter 25.

¹⁶ Of Brahmin origin, the Panchatantra or Five Moral Tales were first compiled in the 4th century A.D. They were translated into many languages. Versions appeared in Europe as the Fables of Pilpay and in Persia and India with added stories from the Mahabharata. Winstedt (1939: 81-5) mentions three Malayan rescensions of which Abdullah's, from a south Indian source, differs markedly from the other two. Galilah and Daminah are two jackals, really minor deities in disguise, who by telling resourceful stories set the animals of the jungle against each other.

to accept them as true. Do I not realize that the works of man never achieve the perfection of truth? My intention is that you shall gather the dream of the work and discard the dross.¹⁷ The wrong view is taken by teachers who demand the burning of most of the ancient manuscripts and stories from all over the Malay States on the grounds that they contain solecisms and false doctrine. Why should you believe the falsehoods in them? Let them remain where they are. But you should pay attention to the language in which they are written, the beauty of its structure and the fineness of its words, so that you may gain a vocabulary of expressions for writing books which are true in fact and may ultimately be of real value.

The same year in which I finished translating *Galilah dan Daminah* into Malay I went to Singapore again as had been my custom in the past. About a month after my arrival Mr. Boustead¹⁸ came to see me. He brought with him a document written in English, a form of agreement drawn up at a council of the merchants of all races in Singapore. The council was known in English as the Chamber of Commerce, which is in Malay "*Perhimpunan Saudagar*." The agreement contained about twenty-six clauses in all, but I will not give them in detail clause by clause for the wording was lengthy. I make only a passing reference to them. Since they refer to matters of the greatest importance to the English and other communities they must be sufficiently well known already. So I need not quote them. Mr. Boustead wanted a translation of the document in Malay. I translated it, setting out the rules, the procedure, the objects and financial obligations of the organization, each fully and in its proper sequence. The next day very early in the morning hundreds of merchants of all communities in Singapore gathered together in the upper room of Mr. Armstrong's house. They sat down at a long table. Then one of the English merchants stood up and read before the meeting a copy

¹⁷ At this point there is a long interpolation in Thomson's translation. It introduces Dr North for the first time (see Introduction page 24, and Chapter 25, page 287 & note 7) "So I forewarn all such as wish to see and read the above work (*Galilah dan Daminah*) that I have placed it in the hands of Dr. North an American, one who bathes to his heart's content in the sea of Malay language; for he is an especial disciple of mine, in whom I have the greatest trust in translating English into Malay according to the correct idiom."

¹⁸ Edward Boustead came to Singapore in March 1828, and later established the well-known firm that still bears his name. He was popular for his sporting and philanthropic activities. In 1835 he helped to found the *Singapore Free Press*, a paper started in opposition to the *Singapore Chronicle*, which had passed into the hands of J. F. Carnegie, of Penang. He lived for a time in the house which afterwards became the main building of the old Hotel Europe. He went to China in 1843, and finally retired in 1850, but remained actively interested in Singapore affairs and was a committee member of the Straits Settlements Association on its foundation in 1868. He died in Liverpool.

of the rules while everyone listened. When he had finished reading it in English I was called up and asked to read the Malay translation. I read it from beginning to end. Then everyone stood up and gave a vote of thanks to Mr. Johnston for he was the man mainly responsible for starting the Chamber of Commerce which has continued its work in Singapore right up to the present day.¹⁹

Another similar organisation was also started in Singapore, confined to merchants of Chinese nationality. It was called "*The Keng Tek Kongsi*." Originally it had thirty-six members. Each of them paid \$100 into a trust, and they appointed a president to whom they pledged themselves as by close ties of kinship. The undertaking given by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce was this. If it should happen that one of its members became poor or destitute without means of recovery the interest accruing to the trust could be spent in supporting him, and his wife as long as she did not marry again, and his children until they came of age. A man was appointed as their writer and four men as trustees for the fund with others who stood surety for them. After the original thirty-four members, many others subscribed to the fund. Interest was allowed to accrue and as time went on the fund grew larger and larger until it has now reached a substantial sum.

At that time in Singapore the trade of most of the Chinese merchants fell away and many of the white merchants too lost money to them. Many Chinese were locked up because they owed tens of thousands of dollars. Then their creditors would confer together and agree to sell up what property there was belonging to the debtor and the amount would be shared, to each man a small portion.

25. The English Church in Singapore

This is the story of the English Church in Singapore. The place where it was built was in the middle of that piece of open ground which, when I had first set eyes on it, had been bare of jungle and tall trees, being covered with low shrubs and myrtle and rhododendron bushes. After Mr. Farquhar had spent a few days clearing the land it had been occupied by Indian troops and their officers. They had

¹⁹ Raffles's Charter of Freedom had remained unassailed since 1823. But by 1835 the flood tide of trade expansion had begun to slacken, hampered by heavy Dutch duties on English goods, and by increasing direct trade between England and China. The need for closer co-operation between Singapore merchants began to make itself felt. The outcome was the founding of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce at the meeting described by Abdullah, which took place on 8 February, 1837. The resolution was put by A. L. Johnston and seconded by Thomas Scott.

remained there up to the time when Colonel Crawford was Resident.¹ It was only then that the troops were moved away to a site on Telok Belanga Road. There they built themselves a camp, with quarters of stone for the officers. In the meantime the open ground remained empty. It was used for horse-racing, and in the evening the white men used to go for walks there. Then soon afterwards one man after another built himself a house on the site. At the time of which I speak six or seven houses of the white men stood there.²

Now we pass to the year 1838 when Mr. Bonham was Governor and Mr. Wingrove was Superintendent of Police in Singapore. It was in that year that the English residents of Singapore first announced their intention to build a large church. Before this there had been a small church built by Mr. Thomsen, where all the Englishmen used to go and pray. After the decision to build had been taken everyone subscribed whatever he could afford. The East India Company gave a grant, and Englishmen in many parts of the world gave sums of money. Then work began on the church. Mr. Coleman was architect and he built the church just as it is now.³

Now listen, my readers, while I tell you something of the stupid superstitions of men; that is, of the Malays, Tamils and Chinese in Singapore and in Malacca. When they had finished building the church there was a wide pathway running by its side. Several of the East India Company's convicts used to stand there guarding church property. The convicts were given instructions to stop people going near the church. Four entrances had been made and the precincts had been fenced round with bamboo stakes. Now although people going inside were stopped by the guards they did not listen and walked on. The convicts were angry that nobody paid attention to them, and when they saw anyone walking inside the fence they chased him with

¹ The small force sent from Penang to reinforce Farquhar early in 1819 had not been increased during his residency, though Raffles had given instructions for the building of fixed defences and extra billets. The soldiers were housed under canvas or in attap huts on the Esplanade. Colonel Nahuijs (Miller 1941: 196) speaks of two companies of Bengalis and a detachment of twenty-five European Artillery as the establishment in 1824.

² Colonel Nahuijs (*loc. cit.*: 194) says that about thirty European houses were there in 1824, with a circular carriage-way (the Esplanade) running between them and the sea.

³ The L.M.S. Chapel built by Thomsen in 1822-3 stood at the corner of Bras Basah Road (then called Church Street) and North Bridge Road. After Bishop Wilson's visit to Singapore in 1834 subscriptions were collected for building a proper church, from designs submitted by C. D. Coleman. At the end of this paragraph J. T. Thomson's translation has the following interpolation: "But he [Coleman] placed on top of the pediment a cross—that is, a post with three branches made out of lime—at which, I have heard, many of the English were not pleased, as this was following the custom of the Nasrani [Roman Catholics]."

sticks and drove him out. This frightened people who ran away thinking that the guards were going to kill them. One day four or five people making for Singapore from the direction of Kampong Gèlam were chased in this way. They fled in all directions shouting "The Company's convicts are trying to kill people."

During the next day or two all sorts of rumours were afoot. Some people said "The Resident has ordered that people are to be killed, and their heads taken as food for the devils which haunt the church. For, it is said, he has dreamed that devils have entered the Church and are demanding human scalps, and if they are not provided he and his chief officials are bound to be killed." Others said "There is a hole inside the church and into it are thrown all the heads." Yet others said "Several people have lost their children, killed by the Company's convicts." One or two people had made reports to the police who paid no attention to them, merely saying: "If you can find the killer bring him here." But people said "All the officials are privy to this business and that is why they do not listen to us." All manner of foolish and slanderous talk passed from mouth to mouth until the whole Settlement knew about it. People were frightened and would not let their children out on the road, and those who walked about went warily, ready equipped and armed.⁴

In every house which I entered and met people, I was asked the one question, "Is it true or not?" I laughed as I told them: "The report is false, a hundred times false. It is quite contrary to the principles of the English, and to their laws and regulations, to allow such a thing. Neither do they believe at all in devils or dream about them. Have you not realised this after we have been living so long under English rule? Supposing a man has committed murder, wherever he may fly for refuge or however many thousands of dollars he may pay to buy others off the English do not countenance it. In the end he will be condemned to be hanged. If they cannot find the man at first, even war or the spending of large sums of money does not deter them. Only when they have found their man are they satisfied. It is quite unbelievable that in the middle of their own territory they should order their convicts to kill scores of people and put the heads inside their

⁴ There is only legendary evidence for head-hunting in the Malay Peninsula. But in South East Asia from Assam to Borneo it had a religious purpose, the replenishment of the tribe's spiritual vitality at times of epidemics or bad harvests when its stock was supposed to be low. Heads so taken form a *motif* in Sumba textiles. Sanctified by tradition and sometimes associated with cannibalism, it provided a reason for raids which the tribesmen regarded as crusades. It was not altogether surprising that the same practice should be attributed by recent Singapore immigrants to the Church of England.

church! How foolish and wretched are the people who believe such things and all this talk about them."

However, there was one old man whose white hairs betrayed his feeble-mindedness and disregard for the truth. He said: "The rumour is quite true because recently someone met one of the Company's convicts lying in wait in the dark at Kampong Gëlam." I replied "If that is so the convict probably wanted to steal or was running away. Who can tell?" The man went on "Last night at about one o'clock in Tëklok Ayer one of the Company's convicts chased a Chinese and tried to kill him. There was a great stir and people brought out their weapons as if they were going to war." I was amazed to hear this news for it was apparently true. Others also had heard it, and those who had were not just common folk of no education. So I wondered if after all it might be true and felt very ashamed in front of my friends. I kept quiet and refused to argue with them any longer. But I remembered what I had heard.

That afternoon I made it my business to take a walk as far as Tëlok Ayer to enquire into the matter, whether it was really true or not. When I had looked into it thoroughly I found that, as the Malay say, "The stories were more precious than the facts," and that the rumour was obviously untrue. The Chinese there said that it was not a convict of the East India Company but a policeman who had struck a Chinese pedlar because he was making a noise shouting his wares in the middle of the night. The policeman twitched him with a cane and he ran away shrieking. Everyone was terrified thinking that the convicts were coming, and there was a great stir when the cry went up: "The convicts are after a Chinaman!" That was all that really happened. A small matter had been magnified into a *cause célèbre*. The minds of these folk were such that a rumour once heard stuck fast. Not one of them questioned it. All accepted it.

A big commotion occurred one night in the bazaar quarter, which was always crowded at night with Tamils sleeping in the open, even down to the edge of the shore. At about two o'clock in the morning a Tamil wishing to relieve himself got up and in the darkness collided with the legs of his neighbour who was asleep. The startled man, seeing a man standing over him, screamed out loudly that one of the Company's convicts had come to cut off his head. There was general confusion. Everyone started clambering up and running about in the dark, falling head over heels. Some cut their faces open, or ran into blocks of stones and bruised themselves. Four men fell into the river. Excitement became intense and people opened their doors brandishing arms. Policemen were running about and people shouted "A

Chinese has run *amok*" or "Four or five men have lost their heads. The convicts have cut them off." The noise of Tamil voices in uproar sounded like thunder and caused much disturbance in the middle of the night. Some were weeping and some shouting. The noise brought the white men out to discover what was happening. All the time the man who at the beginning had wanted to go to relieve himself was standing there shouting "It is not one of the Company's convicts. It is only I. Do not be afraid," but in the confusion no one paid any attention to him. Some said "I saw the convict fall into the river. He has swum over to the other side." Others said "He was carrying a long dagger." Before long a crowd of white men came to investigate. They found that the whole story was nonsense, with not a grain of truth in it, just the invention of men who had worked themselves into a frenzy, like people afraid of walking in the jungle because they think every leaf that rustles in the wind is a tiger. That is exactly how they behaved. Although the story was untrue there were people who believed it and fear reigned on all sides. The talk one heard was of nothing but the convicts.

About a week later I received a letter from Malacca. It was from my wife. I took it out of its envelope at once, and when I saw what she had written I laughed aloud. For the letter said that my wife was living in fear and misery, keeping her door locked day and night, for news had been heard in the town that the convicts were coming to Malacca to capture heads. One man said that he had himself seen thirty convicts who had arrived carrying a large barrel in which to put the heads. They had been ordered up by the authorities in Singapore because not enough heads could be got there. Therefore everyone in Malacca was at present keeping on the alert and nobody dared to go about at night, for many people had encountered the convicts here and there. These convicts lay in wait with their arms, and indeed there were people who had lost their children, and some old people missing. My wife implored me with all her heart not to go about at night in Singapore and to take good care of myself, for they had not yet collected enough heads to give to the church. She added "I have already ordered a blacksmith to fix a strong iron cross-piece to the door for fear the convicts may break in. Furthermore I entreat you, if possible, to stay close at hand, within the boundaries of the Settlement."

When I had finished reading this foolish letter I made haste to answer it, telling my wife the real origin of the rumour. And I counselled her saying "Do not for one moment believe such stories. They are quite untrue, for I am in a position to know what is really happen-

ing. It is the same in Singapore where people are driving themselves mad listening to such rumours." I explained in my letter about the laws and customs of the English, which would never allow such things to be done. The English do not believe in ghosts or devils and other such unreal things, or dream about them. Neither did it please them that one man should kill another without good reason; much less did they order the taking of heads. How foolish and miserable are those that believe such things. Furthermore I told my wife; "Show this letter of mine to all our relations in the neighbourhood so that they do not let themselves be worried."

When things had quietened down I returned to Malacca because I heard that my daughter Siti Lela was seriously ill. Two or three days after my arrival in Malacca it came to pass by the will of Allah she was gathered in His mercy. We were most grieved at her loss, especially her mother, for we had been very fond of her. She was just eight years old and had been well advanced in her studies. She was a bright child, good at remembering things, and also most affectionate towards her parents. And so I had loved her very much. After her burial at the Indian Mosque on the west side I used to visit her grave every day in my sorrow. After it had become my fixed habit to do this, visions of my daughter would appear to me in my mind's eye. One evening at about half past seven I went by myself and sat by the side of her grave weeping. While I was looking fixedly at the grave I suddenly saw my child playing on the sand. I ran forward to embrace her, only to find nothing there but sand. Then I realized that it was the devil, in her likeness, trying to do me harm. From that very moment I repented of my wickedness before Allah and tried no more to feel sad or to weep for my daughter. I went home and implored my wife to cease from her weeping and sorrow, and I told her all about my vision. My beloved wife asked me for a word of good counsel that would solace her. In deference to her wish I began to familiarize myself with all the books whose names I have mentioned in this tract of mine. And even though I am by no means an expert in such writing, yet I placed my trust in Allah and prayed to Him with all my heart that He might guide me in my work, however unimportant it might be, to banish sorrow that kills the wish for food or sleep. Then I occupied myself composing a short tract which I called in Arabic "*Dawa'i l-Kulub*," meaning "A Balm For The Heart." In it I related stories of the honour paid to parents whose children died before they came of age; and of the delight which parents who have lost their little ones will know on the Day of Resurrection, and of the great wickedness of parents who cherish their grief and sorrow and who lament their

loss wearing deep mourning, and who behave in other ways which are forbidden by the laws of Islam. When I had finished the text I read it to my wife. By the grace of Allah she recovered her spirits and forgot her sorrow at our daughter's death. Since then the text has been borrowed by many people whose children have died and several have made copies of it.

At this time the news reached Malacca that many American missionaries had arrived in Singapore and wished to learn Malay.⁵ I changed my mind and decided to return to Singapore because I wanted to see what the Americans looked like. Did they look like Englishmen or like the dark-skinned races? For in all my life I had never seen an American in the flesh. I had however heard the name. It had been said by the English that the home of the American nation was an island in the middle of the sea, far away; and that this island was the place to which criminals used to be banished from England. For this reason the population of the island had become very large. This is what I had heard from several Englishmen.

In four or five days' time I sailed to Singapore. One day I went to meet one of the American missionaries named Mr. Tracy.⁶ When I met him I noticed that in appearance, speech, colour of skin, manners and clothes he was in no way different from an Englishman. At the time he was staying in Mr. Thomsen's house. I talked to him and found that he was mild in manner and courteous in speech. He enquired of me whence I came and what was my work and I told him all about my life from beginning to end. Then he said to me: "There is a friend of mine, named Mr. North, who is very anxious to find someone who knows Malay, as he wishes to learn." A moment later Mr. North himself came in. I noticed that he too was no different from any Englishman.⁷ I sat down and talked to Mr. North.

Then Mrs. Tracy and Mrs. North came in and I saw that they were just like Englishwomen. They were gentle by nature, friendly

⁵ Several missionaries from America were already working in Singapore in 1834, when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a station there for printing religious books and trading missionaries. Most of the men were in transit for other parts of the East (as Abdullah says on page 290), but Tracy and Travelli were on the station staff for five years, and North for seven.

⁶ This was Ira Tracy (1806-75) who was transferred to Singapore in 1834, after spending a year in Canton. He was put in charge of the printing. He met the lady missionary who became his wife after working in the Settlement for about nine months. In 1839 illness compelled them to find a healthier climate. After spending two years in India, they returned to America. A brother, Joseph Tracy, was in Singapore from 1836-1837.

⁷ Alfred North (1807-69) was by trade a printer. Like Walter Medhurst he had been attracted to missionary work and after ordination came to Singapore in February 1836. For the next seven years he was in charge of the Mission printing-press, the largest in Singapore. Keasberry (see note 9 below) helped him in his work

in manner and in their conversation. All this I noted and compared with what I had been told about Americans. After it had been settled that I was to teach Mr. North, I used to go to and fro between his house and mine every day to give him his lesson. I also taught Mrs. North and Mrs. Tracy, each at the times arranged.

One day when I was sitting talking with Mrs. Tracy, I asked her about America. What were its origins and how had it become so highly populated? In reply she told me about her country, saying "My ancestors were all English. Four of them, gentlefolk of good character, had a difference of opinion with the people in England over a question of our religion. For that reason they left the country and sailed away in search of a place in which to settle. They reached the continent of America. At that time it was covered with thick forest. There were people living in it, primitive man like the Jakun, and warlike in habit. When the newcomers had established themselves they set to work to build houses and settlements and to open up plantations. So more and more people came over until they formed a large community. News of this was heard in England and many more people from that country came over to settle. Thus the population swelled. Then after a time war broke out between the English and the Americans because the Americans did not wish to obey the laws of the English which would have placed upon them duties and taxes heavy to bear. The Americans refused to accept them, and refused to remain under the sovereignty of England. So there was a great war in which the Americans were very nearly beaten. It was only owing to the bravery of one of the American leaders, whose name was Washington, that in the end our country was not defeated. For that reason the Americans have held a celebration from then until now, once a year on the anniversary of Washington's birthday. Since that time there have been no more wars up to the present day."

When I heard the whole story and saw that its truth was borne out by the character of these American people I questioned the account given by those who had said that it was people banished from England who were sent to live in America. I considered the matter carefully and came to the conclusion that the people who had gone from England originally to found America must have been specially chosen and of good reputation. I say this because I know well that if the seed is not good when it is planted a fine tree can

between 1837 and 1839. North was the best Malay scholar among the missionaries (see note 17, under chapter 24). When the Board moved to China in 1834 he went to Madura, where he taught in a small mission school opened in 1844. He returned to America in 1847.

never grow from it. As the Malay proverb says "Can clear water ever flow from a tainted well?" or again "If the water at the source of the stream is muddy, muddy it will also be in the lower reaches," meaning that if in the past the people who founded America were bad, bad also would be their descendants.

By this time a certain missionary named Mr. John Stronach had come to Singapore.⁸ Soon afterwards, at the beginning of 1839, came Mr. Benjamin Peach Keasberry from America bringing with him his wife, an American. It was their intention to enter mission service, on the education side among the Malays. At first they were not connected with the service of the English missionaries but did all their work entirely on their own. When Mr. John Stronach saw the fine character, the enthusiasm and the industry of Mr. Keasberry he suggested that Mr. Keasberry should join his missionary society. Mr. Stronach wrote a letter to England and it was received by his society. Then Keasberry joined in its work. Mr. Keasberry became the Malay teacher and Mr. Stronach the Chinese teacher. Many were the textbooks produced by Mr. Keasberry, who translated them from English into Malay. And he has been teaching Malay children up to the present time.⁹

⁸ John Stronach and his brother Alexander came to Singapore as L.M.S. missionaries in 1838. Both devoted much of their attention to the Singapore Institution which had just been opened as a school. John Stronach was the real founder of the Chinese Christian Church in Singapore which flourishes today. He shared in the general move to China and was in Amoy when his brother joined him in 1846. For the next twenty years they worked together in various parts of South China where John died in 1876.

Thomson's translation omits the whole of this paragraph, which is found in all the later texts.

⁹ Benjamin Peach Keasberry (1811-75), son of an Indian Army colonel who had held a residency in Java under Raffles, was first a merchant in Singapore, and then a clerk in a Batavia firm, before deciding to devote his life to missionary work. At Medhurst's mission in Java he learnt printing and bookbinding. In 1834 he went to a college in America, and then came back to Singapore after ordination to work with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1839 he left the Board to join the London Missionary Society and opened a small school in Rochore where he taught printing. It came to an end after four or five years, but thereafter, inheriting the goodwill of the American Board's printing establishment after the Board had moved to China, he printed numerous books and tracts at the press in Battery Road.

By this time his chief interest was the education of the Malays and when the L.M.S. moved to China he severed his connection with the Society to devote himself to this work. He had opened a free boarding school for Malays at Mount Zion, in River Valley Road, the pupils not being required to profess Christianity although there were compulsory Bible classes. The school received a government grant, supplemented at first by mission funds, which were increased by a contract for printing government forms. The T'éménggong Tun Ibrahim sent his two sons to this school at Butterworth's suggestion (see Chapter 26, page 304). In the Straits Settlements Records (EIC. Rec.,: 190-92) there is a letter by Governor Butterworth which gives an account of Keasberry's Malay School; and an interesting biography of Keasberry by the Revd W. Murray (1919: 237-8) contains an appreciation of his forty years' work in Singapore.

I was employed teaching these men and their wives. Some time later several more American missionaries arrived and these I also taught. A little later still came Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, and Mr. and Mrs. Youngblood, and I became their teacher. But I taught these men and their wives only on the instructions of Mr. North. A little later Mr. Travelli arrived and I taught him also, up to a point where he could speak Malay, read books, and attempt a little translation from English into Malay. But although these people learnt Malay it was a subject outside their main field of study, for they would shortly be sailing.¹⁰ As for Mr. North he was interested in Malay idiom, the sounds of the language, its proverbs, metaphors, hyperboles and the figures of speech used by Malay people. He collected many books, stories and poems. It was through the study of these I think, that he gained such a fine understanding, as I remember it, of the language. Many of his compositions I translated into Malay; about the western sciences, stories of the skill, the industry and the enterprise of the people of Europe; about the nature of the physical world, the atmosphere, the invention of steamships and steam engines, the making of gas, water supply systems in America, the uses of steam, the whaling industry, and all sorts of other things about science and western civilization so that the Malays could understand them and make new things.

While I was in the employment of Mr. North and Mr. Travelli I returned home several times to Malacca. One year I even went to Pahang, Trengganu, and Kelantan taking a letter from Mr. Bonham to the ruler of Kelantan. We travelled in two cutters, one belonging to Mr. Scott, called *Maggie Lauder*, and the other to Mr. Boustead, called *Waterwitch*. I will not give the details of the trip. If anyone wishes to hear the story of my voyage, I have written an account of it from the time of my departure from Singapore up to the time of my safe return. It has been made into a book, printed by Mr. North with opposite pages in Arabic and romanized script. I called the book "The Story of the Voyage of Abdullah." All the printed copies have

¹⁰ Frederick B. Thomson (1809-48) came to Singapore in September, 1838. He stayed only a few months before going to Batavia. Mrs Thomson died of fever in Java, but Thomson married again in 1840. For the next seven years he worked among the Dayaks in Borneo. Disease again took its toll: his second wife died in 1844, and he himself in 1848, while on the way back to America to recruit workers for his mission.

William Youngblood (1800-59) came to Singapore in December, 1838, but the next year he and his wife went to Pontianak. There they both worked in a mission school until 1849, when ill-health compelled them to return to America.

Joseph C. Travelli (1809-ca 1887) arrived in Singapore in December, 1836. Helped by his wife he spent the next four years in charge of a mission school for Chinese boys in the town. He and his wife returned to America in 1841.

now been bought up, and if you happen to read one you will find out about the customs and affairs of the Malay princes, the condition of their countries and how the inhabitants live. I the book I have written with authority on these subjects. I have received a letter from Paris to say that there is a man who has translated the story of my voyage into French.¹¹

My wife had been listening to a tale people told about my having been captured by pirates. Some said I had been killed in a war in Kelantan. The vagueness of these rumours gave my friends much anxiety. When at last I arrived back the people of the district and all my old acquaintances came to visit me and to enquire about my trip. I read them the story of my voyage and they gasped filled with amazement at the customs, the behaviour and the repressive laws of the Malay rulers, which are so very different from those of the white men.

After spending a few days in Malacca I returned to Singapore. I found that Mr. North had moved his home to Kampong Boyan. It was there that, with Mr. North's help, I revised the Malay translation of the Gospel according to St. John, for in the old translation most of the phrases were ungrammatical and many words misrepresented the original sense. It was because of these mistakes that we went over it again. Besides this I was occupied printing an edition of the "*Sējarah Mēlayu*" and with other duties as well.¹²

It came to pass by the will of Allah that I fell sick with malaria. As the days went by I became worse and worse, my worries increased by the fact that I was living away from home. I grew weaker and

¹¹ In his popular work *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah*, Abdullah describes the journey made by him up the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in 1837. There was civil war in Kelantan, and the contending parties had seized four *sampan pukat* belonging to Singapore merchants. After letters had brought no redress, certain of the merchants sent a mission to obtain the release of their property. Abdullah was engaged to act as interpreter.

Abdullah's main interest is in the incidents of the voyage, the delays due to storms and fear of pirates, the hostility of the armed natives of Pēkan, the appalling conditions of misery and squalor in which the Malay *ra'ayat* lived, the evils of debt-slavery and the *hamba raja*. He does not say what was the result of the mission, which obtained from the Sultan of Kelantan a promise of freedom of movement and protection for Singapore cargoes visiting Kelantan ports, a promise which was, of course, broken a few years later.

¹² The *Sējarah Mēlayu* (Malay Annals) and the *Bustanu-Salatin* (Garden of Sultans) are the main Malay sources of the ancient history of the country. The earlier chapters of the *Sējarah Mēlayu* were written in the 15th century probably in Malacca, the later before 1535. A copy found its way to the Johore Royal court at Pasir Raja, where it was revised in 1612 by the Bēndahara Tun Sēri Lanang (often described as its author) at the request of the Sultan. His object was to provide support for the dynastic history of Malacca and Johore kings, and to acclaim the greatness of the Bēndahara line. This revised text was the one used by Abdullah. It has been published since then in numerous editions. See Winstedt (1938: 1-41).

weaker until I could neither eat nor sleep. The thought came into my mind "If I am going to die let it be in the bosom of my one family." I asked Mr. North's permission to go, and he had no option but to give it. The same day, with the fever on me, I set sail in a cutter for Malacca. Wind and rain sprang up during the voyage and my condition became worse. On reaching home I collapsed with a severe recurrence of the attack. Those in my house were much distressed, and soon it was crowded with people who treated me with various herbs. At last I revived. But the fever lay heavy upon me and I could neither eat nor sleep, believing as I did that I was on the point of death. Owing to the sharpness of the fever I was from time to time deprived of all power of thought. At about three o'clock in the morning I asked for pen and ink and paper. My wife wept bitterly believing that I was about to die. With shaking hand I drew up my will stating my debts and my assets, my household effects and each item of my personal belongings. I gave authority to two men to act as my executors after death and to dispose of all this property according to the terms of my will. When I had finished writing the document I handed it, together with all my keys, to my wife. When dawn came I was exhausted beyond all feeling. I felt hot because my hair was very long. I had not shaved since leaving Singapore because people would not let me. They said "It may cause a relapse." But I replied "Let me. Even if I die let me shave. Because of this long hair I cannot sleep." So I was allowed to shave. But all the time the thought was in their minds "He will certainly die." Then my body felt a little more comfortable. My eyes became drowsy and I slept a while. All my relations had gathered at the house. But by the kindness of Allah, and because my life had not yet run its allotted span, I became a little better. After about four months I was fast recovering. Soon Allah restored health to my body and my spirits regained their former strength.

When with the help of Allah I had completely recovered one Thursday night my wife was confined with child. All through that night neither of us slept. On the Friday morning at half past six, on 8th May 1840, her child was born, a son. But a moment later the will of Allah was fulfilled and my wife passed away, leaving this mortal world for the world eternal, the reward of martyrs. How can I describe my feelings at that moment, how find words to tell in this book of mine of the full measure of my anguish and sorrow, the agony my heart bore? As a piece of glass smashed against a rock so was my heart crushed and broken. Men are shipwrecked at sea. I felt as one shipwrecked on land. Once long ago had Allah brought us together,

me and my beloved wife, and now suddenly, like a chicken snatched away in the talons of an eagle, she was gone from me. All the greater was my sorrow when I saw my children crying plaintively for her, distraught like young birds who have lost their mother. Above all I saw my household thrown into confusion, like a country that has no ruler, every man doing as he likes. My newborn child cried to be given milk. My belongings lay strewn about in disorder. Now at last was my wretchedness revealed to me. My home was stripped of its brightness. The pangs of misery surged in my breast. The world loomed dark and cheerless before my eyes. Dark clouds grew apace, heavy with rain which poured upon me. As I raised my hands to the sky this was my brief prayer: "Allah! Be it my most earnest hope and prayer to Thee, who hast separated me from my beloved wife, that, if Thou art willing, on the day when all mankind must rise from the dead Thou canst bring us together again." At three o'clock in the afternoon my wife was buried at the Indian mosque on the west side. Afterwards I returned home to nurse the pain of my wounded heart. I cried in anguish as I offered a prayer to Allah "May it please Thee to wipe away these heavy and bitter memories from my heart." If it had not been for the help of Allah I would assuredly have fallen into the snares set for me by the Devil. Although the wound has healed its scars still remain. I felt that I could no longer face living in my house, in which I seemed to see continually the face of my wife. For in it were all the things she had made, and the clothes she wore, to remind me all the more of her. I was so obsessed by these memories that after about ten days my body still felt lifeless and my mind adrift. The idea came to me that it was no good my living on in this fashion and that it would be better if I sold all my belongings and household property, to set my mind at rest so that I could move with my children to Singapore. When I had made up my mind, on the morrow I packed up my possessions. Then on a certain day I sold them all by auction. I waited for a few days to collect the money for them. Then I sold my house, very cheaply for I could no longer bear to look at it. It had cost me \$1,700 to build such a fine house of stone, and I sold it for \$500. Then I sailed to Singapore in the hope of finding a house there to live in. One of my friends, who showed me consideration and kindness as if he were my own brother, gave me lodgings in Kampong Malacca. I built myself a house there, my children joined me from Malacca, and I settled in Singapore.

From that time on I was in constant employment writing and giving lessons to the Englishmen and to Mr. North. I also taught Mr. Keasberry and translated books from English into Malay. There

was a hymn-book with tunes, a story-book entitled "Henry and His Nurse" and others about the creation, the nature of the universe, the firmament and the sun, the moon and the stars. There was one called "The Birth of Jesus." And there were several other short pamphlets.

One day Mr. Stronach sent for me and asked me to help him revise the Gospel which had been translated by Mr. Thomsen. It was full of mistakes. It contained incorrect renderings of the original meaning and its style was poor. These defects had arisen because of Mr. Thomsen's obstinacy and lack of understanding. I agreed to do what Mr. Stronach proposed and started afresh on the Gospel as though making a new translation, for Mr. Stronach was a good Greek scholar, besides knowing some Malay and also Chinese. He was exceptionally good in his own language, that is to say English. In addition there were many books of reference which were helpful to us; that is, commentaries in which learned men had expounded the sense, the real meaning and the intention of the Gospel story. It was therefore an easy matter to revise the text, and to rewrite it in the proper Malay style. Nevertheless there still remained a few obscure phrases. For the missionaries did not approve of my changing a number of expressions which are not normally used by Malays. Examples are: *kerajaan shoorga*, *mulut Allah*, *anak Allah*, *Bapa-mu yang ada di-shoorga*, *kéhidupan yang kekal*, and so on.¹³ They must necessarily sound awkward in the ears of any Malays who hear them in time to come. If the missionaries, that is, Mr. Stronach, Mr. North and Mr. Keasberry, choose to put these mistakes right, very good. If they do not do so I am absolved from any blame on their account, and people will not be able to cast aspersions on my reputation or say that the expressions I used were wrong. For once before I had suffered from Mr. Thomsen's pigheadedness when we were translating the Gospel. He ordered me to use expressions not permissible to Malay idiom, and people still speak of me as his teacher. They do not realize that he refused to use the phrases given him by his teacher, preferring to display his own cleverness. The result was that people found fault with me, and now I was afraid for my reputation and did

¹³ These phrases offend against Malay propriety rather than Malay idiom. The first word is an anthropomorphic and mundane word which Malays found it difficult to imagine in association with the second, and savouring of blasphemy.

Kerajaan Shurga, Kingdom of Heaven.

Mulut Alah, Mouth, (Word) of God.

Anak Allah, Child of God.

Bapa-mu yang ada di-Shurga, Your (Our) Father which art in Heaven.

Kéhidupan yang Kekal, Life Everlasting.

not wish to be caught a second time. As the Malay saying goes "The mouse-deer may forget the trap, but the trap does not forget the mouse-deer."

One day when I went to give Mr. Keasberry his lesson he showed me an ingenious device, a copper sheet about a foot long by a little over six inches wide, on which was a picture or imprint of the whole Settlement of Singapore in detail, the shadows appearing in relief.¹⁴ Looking at the picture I saw that it exactly reproduced, without the smallest deviation, the view of Singapore as I knew it. I was greatly surprised and said to him "Sir, what is this marvel and who made it? He replied, "This is a new invention of the white man. There is a doctor on board an American warship here who has with him an apparatus for making these pictures. I cannot explain it to you for I have never seen one before. But the doctor has promised me that he will show me how it works next Monday." I was delighted to hear this for I could go and see it with him.

The following Monday I was teaching him when suddenly, at about mid-day, in walked the doctor himself. He was welcomed by Mr. Keasberry who introduced me to him saying "This is my teacher." I shook hands with him and we exchanged a few words. Then Mr. Keasberry said "My teacher here is very keen to see this device of yours, and to understand how you make pictures of Singapore." He replied "Then he shall see for himself. Let us go to the top of Mr. Bonham's hill,¹⁵ for it is there that the apparatus is kept." At once Mr. Keasberry rose and went to call Mr. Stronach. He said to me "Go and wait on the hill. In a few minutes I will come on by myself." So I walked up the hill, and the others joined us there. I saw the doctor go into a room and bring out a box. The box had an attachment like a telescope. The lens, about the size of a cent piece, could be pulled outwards. It had two components, the larger one inside. This larger lens magnified anything seen in front of it. One side of the box could be opened and closed. Then the doctor went and fetched a metal plate about nine inches long by six inches wide, thin and brightly polished. He rubbed the surface with a certain kind of reddish-coloured power until it was a dull brown all over. Then he took a bowl which had been filled with another kind of powder, black in colour. He held the polished plate about four inches above the

¹⁴ *Tetapi bayang-nya itu timbul tenggelam*: the shadows standing out in high relief, i.e. on the prepared copper plate the dark patches stood out while the high lights were indented as troughs.

¹⁵ See note 5, under Chapter 23. The governor's residence was on the hill until 1859, when Fort Canning was built.

powder. After about ten minutes he lifted up the plate, and its colour had turned to a reddish gold. He took the plate and put it into the extensible box, which he then placed with the side of the apparatus with a sliding lens in the direction in which he wished to take the picture. The image of the scene passed through the lens and struck the plate. He said "In strong sunlight it takes only a moment, but in a dull light it takes a little longer." After this he took the metal plate out and we noticed that there was nothing visible on it at the time. He then took it to a place in the shade and washed it with a chemical solution. Now he had a kind of frame with a vessel containing quicksilver fitted underneath it. He mounted the plate in position on top of the vessel, about six inches above the surface of the quicksilver. Below the vessel there was a spirit lamp which he lit. The quicksilver soon became hot and gradually its vapour rose and was allowed to condense on the plate for a certain length of time. Now the chemical with which the plate had been treated had etched all the parts on which light had fallen, while it had not affected those parts on which no light had fallen. After a timed interval the plate was lifted out and at once we saw a picture of the town of Singapore imprinted on it, without deviation even by so much as the breadth of a hair, a fine reproduction of the actual scene. The plate with the picture on it was used as a block, and by contact with its surface prints were easily taken which faithfully reproduced the original without variation.

I asked the Doctor "Is it possible to make larger pictures than the one you have here?" He replied "Yes, as large as you like. The size depends on the size of the instrument. If it is large the image received on it will also be large." This amazing apparatus was originally the invention of a Frenchman. It was then copied by the English and by other European nations. It was only recently that the art of making pictures in this way was discovered, not more than four or five years ago.¹⁴

¹⁴ By 1838 Louis Daguerre (1789-1851) had perfected the Daguerrotype form of heliography. He made exposures on an iodized silver plate that had been fumed with mercury. The plate was developed by placing it over a cupful of mercury, fixed with sodium thiosulphate (hypo) and toned with gold chloride. Abdullah makes quite a successful attempt at scientific explanation. He mentions stages in the processing and developing of the plate; the polishing of the plate (made of *tēmbaga*, which usually means copper or brass) with an abrasive powder; the formation of a thin layer of iodine, which in solid form has a black metallic appearance and requires gentle heating to sublime it, on the surface of the plate; the use of "a chemical solution", perhaps potassium bromide which was used from the beginning in developers to increase sensitivity; the fuming of the plate with mercury vapour, which etched the iodized silver surface wherever the rays of light had struck it; the taking of contact positives off the finished plate. To get a sharp image accurate focussing was important, a point which Abdullah correctly notes. He also shows that he understood broadly the optical principles of the camera.

On the 3rd of August 1841 several of the leading and most respected Englishmen living in Singapore summoned me to go with them and see a very large steamship which had just arrived. Its name was the *Sesostris*¹⁷ and it was carrying a very important official called a Plenipotentiary who was going out to relieve Captain Elliott in his appointment in China. He was a minister of the British government concerned with relations between China and England.¹⁸ So I accompanied these white men. When I saw the ship I was struck with astonishment at such a wonderful sight, a gift bestowed by Allah upon man for his thought and enterprise. When I had seen all I wanted of the ship and the strange things in it we all got back into our small-boat. I was sitting in the bows, thinking all the while of the things I had seen. Suddenly one gentleman shouted to me in joke "Enche", you must write an account in Malay of all that we have just seen so that the Malays will know about them." But at the time it was an effort to frame a reply. I just said, in an off-hand way "Allah being willing I will do so." But the promise I had given weighed heavily on my mind, for I had undertaken to do my friend's bidding. Nevertheless, even though I may have been a most unsuitable person for the task, with the help of Allah I wrote down all about the steamship, everything I saw and heard and all my feelings from beginning to end, whether right or wrong. It was printed by Mr. Alfred North and formed a book about a thumb's breadth in thickness, after he had included in it some extra pages on the various uses of steam, and about steam engines, locomotives and so forth. If anyone wishes to see this book of mine it is at present in the hand of Mr. Keasberry. No doubt he can obtain it from him.

¹⁷ The *Sesostris* was a newly built steam vessel used as an armed trooper. The first of the Opium Wars in China was approaching a climax when she reached Singapore, where she seems to have waited for some little time while the battle squadron which was to bombard the coastal ports of China was being formed (see note 8, under Chapter 26). There is an account of the earlier steam vessels reaching Singapore in *JMBRAS*, 27, (1), 1954: 120-62 (*passim*).

¹⁸ Sir Charles Elliott (1801-75), a nephew of Lord Minto, spent thirteen years in the Royal Navy before 1834, when he became secretary to the newly appointed Trade Commissioners for China, subsequent to the East India Company losing the monopoly of the China trade. On the death of Lord Napier in 1837, he became chief plenipotentiary in Canton, at a time when the controversy over the opium trade was coming to a head. His hand was forced in 1839 by an order from the Peking Government to seize all foreign-held stocks of opium. To prevent the English trading in goods of any kind, war junks blockaded Canton, and to avoid a massacre Elliott advised merchants to comply with the order. Open war started in January, 1840, when Elliott seized the Canton Forts and moved up the Yangtse River. Hostilities were protracted, because after each successful engagement Elliott paused to negotiate. By the end of the year he concluded an ill-advised preliminary treaty with Peking. It was soon broken when the Chinese again blockaded Canton, which had to be ransomed. Elliott was recalled and replaced by Sir Henry Pottinger. See note 9, under Chapter 26.

Some little time afterwards 'Tengku Chi', who was known as Daeng Ganggek, was installed by the Datok Bendahara of Pahang as Temenggong in Singapore in place of his father Temenggong Abdul Rahman.¹⁹ The installation took place on the hill at Telok Belanga in the presence of Mr. Bonham, Governor of the three Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca.

26. Governor Butterworth

On the 28th of August 1843 Mr. Butterworth arrived with his wife in Singapore to become Governor of the three Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. There had been a strong rumour that after Mr. Bonham had returned to Europe Mr. Blundell would be made Governor. He had reached Singapore four or five days previously. Then Mr. Butterworth came and was made Governor. I do not know the reason for it.¹

Immediately after his arrival he occupied a rented house called "San Jose". He had not been there very long before he sent for me one day saying he wished to learn Malay. So every day I used to go and teach him. After six or seven month's study he could read letters written in Arabic script, but he was not a very fluent speaker, because he had so much work to do that he had very little time to learn. I found him a very polite and courteous man, kind by nature, and I noticed from the attention he paid that he was intelligent and well-educated. I admired the character of his wife, her charm, her modesty,

¹⁹ The name was Daeng Ronggek (see note 15, under Chapter 24), Daeng being a title of Bugis chiefs. The Sultan of Lingga, who was a protégé of the Dutch died in 1830, and Sultan Husain Shah did not wish to trespass upon the disputable nomination rights of his successor. Bendahara Tun Ali of Pahang was present at the installation in Singapore of Temenggong Tun Ibrahim, which took place on 19 August, 1841. Temenggong Ibrahim was a man of intelligence and enterprise, who earned the friendship of Butterworth and many influential people in Singapore. In 1855 he became *de facto* ruler of Johore, whose commerce he was doing so much to develop, when Sultan Husain's rightful successor, the weak-willed Tungku Ali, ceded full sovereignty over the State, in return for recognition as Sultan of Muar and payment of a fixed allowance. The part played by Temenggong Ibrahim in the suppression of piracy is described in Chapter 26.

¹ Edmund A. Blundell was at this time Resident Councillor at Penang, having been a civil servant in the Settlement since 1821. He was expected to succeed Bonham in 1834, but did not become Governor until Butterworth's retirement in 1855, although he acted for him for two years (1852-54). Colonel William John Butterworth's open and friendly nature, his ability to listen to both sides of a question and then act quickly on his decision, soon removed the atmosphere of unpopularity at which Abdullah hints. He took a keen interest in education. Only the scant support he received from Bengal prevented him mediating in the affairs of the ruling houses of Nègri Sèmbilan and Perak in time to stop civil wars which interfered with the trade of Singapore merchants. He was a stickler for etiquette but scarcely deserves Winstedt's description of "military dandy."

her courtesy to everyone. My heart warmed to them as I thought how fortunate were the people of Singapore in having a good governor who understood how to win the confidence of his people. I understood the reason inasmuch as I saw how well-suited they were to each other by character and temperament, he and his wife whom Allah had joined in wedlock, as sugar mixes with milk or gems fit into a ring. It is a wise saying "A good tree must in the end produce good fruit." Of course this is just giving my own view. I do not know whether it is right or wrong. Perhaps future generations can decide that.

The traits in his character which enable me to call it good are these. First, he was clever at gaining the support of the people of the Settlement, and he interested himself in all that went on, for instance in theatrical performances and the New Year festivities and so forth. He patronized them to bring pleasure to others. Although he realized that such things were of no importance he knew how to gain popularity. Second, I noticed he was keen on making improvements in the Settlement, for instance in the roads and lanes.² He had the wells at every road junction put into working order so that outbreaks of fire in the Settlement could be brought quickly under control. Third, I had personal experience of his fine sense of duty when, on the occasion of the great fire in Kampong Gëlam, he himself seized a water-pump and ran hither and thither, his clothes smothered in dirt, to find water to quench the fire. I have mentioned all his deeds in my poem about the fire in Kampong Gëlam.³ I have lived a long time in Singapore but seldom have I seen other governors who did the things he did. It is these things which lead me to say that good fruit may come from a good tree. Mr. Butterworth was particularly well-disposed towards Malays. He helped those upon whom disaster had fallen. Parties of people who had been robbed by pirates he had taken into Singapore, where he restored their peace of mind by giving them money and gifts to cheer them up. It was deeds such as these which were remembered and acclaimed by the Malays.

But by far his greatest and most important work was, I consider, this. Not one of the residents or governors who had come to Singapore since the time of Mr. Raffles had made the seas safe in these

² Sir Roland Braddell, writing in lighter vein of "The Merry Past" in Singapore (in Makepeace *et al.*, 1921, (2): 483-91) has given a fairly good account of the topography of the Settlement in the 1840's. Butterworth's house, San José, mentioned above, was near River Valley Road.

³ See *Shaer Singapura Tërbakar*, Chapter 23, page 241 and note 25, above.

parts, that is to say round Singapore, Malacca and Penang. It was Governor Butterworth who had the initiative to rid the seas of their grave dangers. Before his time, although there were many boats which plied between the three Settlements, pirates were as daring as young chicks, to the extent that even fishing boats lying in the anchorage at Malacca used to be seized by them. A voyage from Malacca to Singapore was looked upon almost as a journey to the grave, for there were thousands of Malacca men of all races who had died and whose goods had been lost through piracy on the sea while they were on their way to Singapore. There was, it is true, a governor in Singapore and residents in Malacca and Penang. But these had magistrates' courts and a police force and held jurisdiction only over their Settlements. They had no time to listen to the troubles and tales of woe of those who had been the victims of robbery on the sea.⁴ Only Governor Butterworth found time to attend to them. So Allah moved his heart to find a way of removing this danger from the seas. In this he was assisted by English warships which boldly chased the pirates and put a stop to their depredations. May Allah preserve Queen Victoria on her throne. I give a thousand thanks to Allah for the peace and happiness of life under the English flag and under the rule of a Governor who is so wise.

These services and the Governor's fine sense of duty led to his becoming very closely acquainted with the Temenggong Seri Maharaja until they were on terms of real and sincere friendship, each holding the other in high favour. The Temenggong submitted entirely to the Governor's direction and the Governor extended to him the most openhanded kindness, treating him as his own father. The fact that the circumstances I have mentioned brought these two men into such close contact enabled the Governor to find out the names of all the pirate chiefs. The Temenggong laid his plans exactly as the Governor wished. Wherever there were pirate nests concealed in places too difficult for the gunboats and steamships to reach the Temenggong was called upon for help. And he never failed to search them out with all the resources at his command. In this way the Governor brought to an end the dangers from piracy. In fact, nowadays the pirates cannot even make gunpowder. It was made known to the public that anyone giving first-hand information about pirates

⁴ This was quite true. As Sir Benjamin Malkin the Recorder pointed out in 1833, the Resident Councillors had no jurisdiction outside their Settlements, the matter having been overlooked when the Charter of the Straits Court had been framed. In 1835 a memorial was drafted to the Governor-General in Council by the Singapore merchants asking for effective measures to be taken, and two years later Letters Patent were issued granting Admiralty jurisdiction to the local Court.

would be given a reward. All the pirate chiefs best known and most notorious for their misdeeds in these parts were caught through the services of the Temenggong, and their centres destroyed by warships. Some of them were hanged. Others, like the seven well-known pirate chiefs and many more whose names I do not know, were banished to Bombay.⁵

The real and valuable help given by the Temenggong to the government in the way I have mentioned was reported by the Governor to the Governor-General of India. The Governor-General was pleased and appreciated the Temenggong's work. So he sent the Governor Mr. Butterworth a special award, asking that it be presented to the Temenggong Seri Maharaja. When it had been delivered to the Governor in Singapore news at once spread round the Settlement there had arrived some mark of distinction from India for the Temenggong, but what it was no one knew. The Governor announced the presentation to the Temenggong and fixed a day for it. A great many people were waiting to see what form the presentation would take and how the occasion would be celebrated.

On the first day of September 1846 the ceremony was held as arranged, on Government Hill at the Governor's residence. On that day thousands of all races crowded the hill; large and small, old and young, men and women, the lame with sticks, the blind led by hand, the rich in their carriages and the poor on foot. Tents had been put up on the hill where all sorts of entertainments were on view. There were girls dancing in Malay fashion and in the style of Kelantan,⁶ and music-making with harmonicas, fiddles and other instruments. The crowds grew and grew. The leading officials and representatives

⁵ The suppression of piracy was not so easily accomplished, nor did Temenggong Ibrahim play quite so decisive a part in it, as Abdullah suggests. In the 1820's spasmodic efforts to fight the pirates had been unsuccessful. In 1836, as a result of a petition from Singapore, the Bengal Government sent an armed frigate under Captain Chads, and he and Bonham were made joint Commissioners for the control of piracy. The Straits Marine reinforced with three gunboats was placed under their command. In 1837 the naval force in the Straits was permanently increased, so that the advantage gained could be pressed home, and by the early 1840's the dangers had been greatly reduced. But there was an increase in the number of attacks made on native shipping between 1843 and 1846 which Governor Butterworth, with the Temenggong's assistance, was able to overcome. By 1850 the advent of steam-vessels, able to navigate independently of wind and tide, and built to penetrate the pirates' hide-outs in the river estuaries, had almost eliminated the danger along the sea routes.

⁶ The *budak joget* were troupes of dancing girls attached to a Malay court. Muslim opinion, wherever it is strict enough, has forced a change in the character of these dances, purging them of any tendency to licentiousness. Possibly Abdullah intends a difference of this kind between *joget melayu* and the less inhibited *joget Kelantan*.

of the merchant communities, white men, Chinese, Arabs, and Indians, all were there. A major and another officer wearing very smart uniforms marched up in command of a large column of Indian soldiers, who formed lines on either side of the road as far as Government House. All the leading officials were already in their places. Then came the Tengku Temenggong himself in a big carriage drawn by



The drawing of the state sword presented to Temenggong Ibrahim on 1 September, 1846, printed in the 1849 edition of the *Hikayat Abdullah*.

two large horses. He was accompanied by the Sultan of Lingga and Tengku Ali, the son of the late Sultan Husain Shah. The carriage passed between the two long lines of soldiers and reached Government House. As it did so the guns fired a salute, I know not how many times. As they left the carriage the three men were greeted by the Governor. He conducted them up onto the verandah where everyone was standing in front of a portrait of Queen Victoria. At the same time four men carried up a case containing the sword whose picture is given on this page. The sword was lifted out by the Governor, flashing brightly as the rays of the sun caught its shining surface. Then Mr. Henry Hewetson, the Malay interpreter, came forward to translate the speech of Colonel Butterworth to the Temenggong and to all those present.

These were the words inscribed on the blade of the sword.

"In the year 1845. This is a gift from the Lord Lieutenant of the Bath, Governor of the three Settlements of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca to the Temenggong Seri Maharaja of Johore in token of the meritorious service rendered by Seri Maharaja in stamping out piracy, a task much appreciated by the Government of India."

and this was the speech given by the Governor:

"My friends and all of you who are gathered here to attend this ceremony, you all know for what purpose we are assembled this

day. I need not remind you of the many acts of robbery, violence and murder committed against men of all races living in these parts by our enemies, the Lanuns or pirates. You have all heard about the might and bravery of the men of the East India Company's gunboats who succeeded in driving away the pirate fleets. We should be truly thankful that now we so seldom hear any stories of piracy in these parts. Even the occasional pirate craft which does still venture to come out is caught at once by the Company's boats, thanks to the assistance given us by the Sultans of Lingga and Pahang and Trengganu, and more especially by the Temenggong Seri Maharaja of Johore. Now it is to the Temenggong that I am directed to present this sword as a special award from the East India Company for the great service he has rendered us in stamping out piracy. I give it as a mark of the honour which he has deserved of the Company. It is with pleasure, therefore, and in all sincerity that I now present this token of the gratitude of the just and generous East India Company. Be it understood by all the Malay and Chinese people present at this ceremony that it is the wish of the Company that you should dwell in peace and quiet, benefiting and prospering through the trade which has now opened between all the neighbouring islands. As long as there are pirates and enemies of the State it is impossible for us to enjoy peace of mind. For this reason I ask you all to go on helping us by discovering and reporting news of pirates and our other enemies. If they appear in the straits near Singapore anyone bringing news of them will certainly be rewarded by the East India Company."

After the Governor had finished speaking the Temenggong Seri Maharaja was presented with the gift with much ceremony and expressions of gratitude. These are the words he spoke in reply:

"I must truly say how very grateful I am to His Excellency the Governor Colonel Butterworth for the high honour which he has paid me, and also to His Excellency the Governor-General of India, in that he has graciously approved my actions and the small services by which I have been able to bring pleasure to mankind. To-day you have presented me with a truly magnificent and beautiful gift. Wearing it will fill my heart with pride and my office with a greater dignity; a treasure to be handed down for my sons and grandsons to wear. I thank the Governor for his kind words of praise. Indeed great is the embarrassment I feel in

countenancing the high compliments which His Excellency has paid me. I can say no more except that they will remain firmly fixed in my memory for ever. I am pleased to bear witness to the Governor's diligence and enterprise which has done so much to benefit us all. These virtues may well be held up to the admiration of future generations, providing them with a lesson illustrating the deeds of a great leader who always had the interests of both the rich and the poor at heart. Truly he is a wise and farsighted ruler. May he remain our ruler for ever so that the Lord whose providence directs the religions of Islam and of Christianity may cherish and guide him in all good works. Amen."

After the Temenggong had received the award he became all the more devoted and loyal. He submitted entirely to the Governor's wishes and obeyed the directions of the government in all matters.

The fact that the Governor was on terms of such close friendship with the Temenggong prompted him to take the Temenggong's two sons and place them in Mr. Keasberry's school so that they could learn to read their mother tongue Malay and also English, and to write them.⁷ The news of this very important event spread from west to east, an example, an object lesson for men of the future to follow. I will liken it to perfumes of sweet fragrance. Whosoever embraces them feels stimulated, revived in body and joyful in mind. The Governor too in his virtuosity and his fine character I would liken to a tree whose branches spread out in the middle of a field. Its leaves are green. The scent of its flowers is sweet. Its fruit is a delight to the taste, and many are the servants of Allah who sit under its shade in the heat of the day; many also are those who give thanks to find a place of shelter and repose. This is the poem I have composed about it:

The loosened tie-ropes do not raise
Nor lift the cradle in your hand.
So kind and noble are his ways,
So wise his rule in all the land.

Nor lift the cradle in your hand,
Nor cut the slender thread in two,
Now wise his rule in all the land,
How well his people's hearts he knew.

⁷ The elder son was Tungku Abu Bakar, the father of the present Sultan of Johore, born in 1833, who succeeded Tēmenggong Ibrahim on the latter's death in 1862.

Nor cut the slender thread in two
While yet the spinner winds the skein.
How well his people's hearts he knew,
What joy and gladness reigned again.

A ribboned tassel in a bowl,
With single cord the maiden plays,
His life's work done—achieved his goal.
To sweep the pirates from the bays.

With single cord the maiden plays,
A cedar branch she holds before.
He swept the pirates from the bays
The seas are safe from shore to shore.

A cedar branch she holds before;
Aflame, its brightness hurts the eyes.
The seas are safe from shore to shore
May God reward his enterprise.

One day a rumour was heard in Singapore to the effect that the English intended to go to war with China because the Chinese treated English people in their country with great injustice. On many occasions, so I heard, they had murdered Englishmen, sometimes slicing off their ears or cutting off their noses, or using other forms of violence. A second reason was that the Chinese would not give them permission to sell opium in China. These injustices were such that the English could no longer tolerate them. So they prepared for war in China. War equipment and fighting troops of all kinds went there, sailing ships and steamships, units of cavalry, and so on. Rumours of all these preparation reached the Settlement. Among the local races nobody at all believed that the English would prevail against China, least of all the Chinese who laughed uproariously when they heard that England meant to attack their homeland. They said "The English must be mad. Even if they send a thousand ships they still cannot win. There is no need for the Chinese even to offer resistance. If they just sit still and let the English kill them, in ten years the work would not be finished." Yet others, reputable and influential men, declared "All the Chinese have to do is to relieve themselves and they will drown the English." Some one else said "These English must have no sense at all. They are going to offer up their lives to the Chinese for nothing. And this is not the first occasion. Scores of other times the English have tried to beat the Chinese but have not succeeded. And now they are looking to bring

disaster upon themselves." At the time wherever I went I heard nothing but this kind of talk. Meanwhile many ships called in every day, all bound for China.⁸

About a fortnight later news was heard that the English had attacked Canton. Then another ship brought information that Canton had fallen and that the English ships had moved on to attack places above it.⁹ Sometime later we heard that all these places had fallen and that agreements had now been made between the Emperor of China and the Queen of England. But even when true and authentic news came there were Chinese in Malacca and in Singapore who sat like the frog under the coconut shell. Not one of them was willing to believe the news. They said "This is all a nasty rumour spread by the English. How could the English reach the Emperor's lands and how could their ships enter? If they did they would certainly be smashed to bits." I had not the authority to argue with these stupid people and I merely said "All right then, if it's wrong that's that! In a few days' time you will hear whether it is right or wrong. Wait until you get letters from your own people."

About a fortnight after I had said this there came letters and newspapers from China stating that the war was over and that the Chinese were willing to submit to the terms offered by the Government of England. They had been defeated and were paying as a war indemnity the sum of twenty-one million dollars. After I had read the news I made my way the same afternoon to the Chinese who had declared it to be wrong. I noticed their faces fall when they saw me coming. They besought me to sit down, and deliberately I did so, as I said "Have you had any letters yet from China? What is the news? Have all the English been ground to dust?" They laughed and replied

⁸ See note 18, under Chapter 25. When fighting started again in January 1841 it was realized that an all-out campaign would be needed to bring the Peking Government to terms.

⁹ This, the second attack on Canton, was accomplished by landings up the Yangtze River under Sir Hubert Gough. Meanwhile English warships patrolling the river and coast forced open the blockaded ports. Canton capitulated after a heavy naval bombardment, as Abdullah tells us in the next paragraph, although the war was by no means ended.

Sir Henry Pottinger began his career as an officer-diplomat in India in 1804. After taking part in the Afghanistan and Baluchistan expeditions of 1810-11, and the Mahratta wars of 1822, he became political agent in Sind in 1836. Returning to England in 1840 he was created a baronet. He accepted the offer of the post in China vacated by Sir Charles Elliott, and reached Admiral Parker's flagship, the *Cornwallis*, about a month before hostilities ceased. In that month the China ports were captured and a drive towards Nanking forced the Peking Government to surrender. After the Treaty of Nanking, Pottinger became the first Governor of Hongkong (1842-6). He died in 1856.

"Some Chinese passengers on a ship came in yesterday. They told us "It is true that China has been defeated and has paid a very large sum of money to the English. That is why the English have stopped fighting. If the money had not been paid the English would have carried war into the Emperor's country. Their ships had reached it and were waiting to proceed." I said "Those Chinese of yours must have invented a foul story. The rumour is a lie. Good gracious, the English were waiting, I thought, to be ground to dust or to be drowned by the Chinese relieving themselves." They laughed as they said "We are amazed how clever the English are," and they went on, while we listened, "There is an island in the river near Canton. For the last two years our countrymen have been working on it. Eight hundred guns were mounted on it. It was very strongly fortified. But when the English came sixteen of their warships formed up in line and shelled the fort. In the space of two hours the fort was blown completely to bits." I said to them "Now you know what the gentleness of the English really means" and they replied "It was true, Enche', what you told us some time ago, and we are truly astonished."

Five days later the official news came, saying that a treaty had been drawn up by Sir Henry Pottinger in the province of Nanking, in the Admiral's ship name the *Cornwallis*. It was dated 29th August 1842, and arranged the terms between the Queen of England and the Emperor of China. The treaty was concluded in the presence of three envoys of the Emperor of China, the first named Ke Eng, the second Li Po and the third Niu Kin. Its terms were as follows. First it is the wish of the Queen of England and the Emperor of China to live on terms of friendship and goodwill with one another for ever. Second, the Emperor of China shall pay to the Queen of England a sum of twenty-one million dollars this year and during the next three years until it is fully paid. Third, the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai shall be opened and declared free for the use of the English; a consul, the representative of the Queen of England in those places, shall be appointed to make regulations governing trade and his authority is paramount. Fourth, the island of Hongkong is ceded to Her Majesty the Queen of England, Queen Victoria, in perpetuity. Fifth, all Englishmen and members of other races under the protection of the English shall be allowed freedom from restraint by the Chinese. Sixth, the Emperor himself will give a letter under his signature and seal stating that he pardons all those of his subjects who have sided with and worked for the English. Seventh, there shall be direct exchange of letters between the chief ministers of China and

of England on terms of equality. Eighth, when the Emperor of China shall have been pleased to carry out the provisions of this treaty he shall pay six million dollars of the amount mentioned above to secure the withdrawal of the fleet of warships from Shanghai and Nanking. But Chu San, the Island of Kiang Siu and Shanghai shall remain occupied until the indemnity has been paid in full. Only then will all these five places be officially opened.¹⁰

Next, the treaty was sent to Peking and the Emperor's signature obtained, on 12th September 1842. It was then sent to England to receive Queen Victoria's seal on 31st December 1842.

Now I will set upon this story of my life the seal of profit and peaceful enjoyment for both sides; to myself, the author, and to those who shall read it or listen to it. Nevertheless I do indeed confess humbly and with bowed head that in it there must be many mistakes, blunders and things I have overlooked, and for these I ask the pardon and forgiveness of my readers, white men and others. For I am an ignorant man, having no special wisdom, skill or authority. I depend upon Allah and ask His help, inasmuch as it will be clear that my object in writing this book is to be of service in several ways. First, so that the younger generation may learn about the events of the past. Second, to furnish examples and illustrations of the activities, the behaviour, the character, the industry and the diligence of the great men whose names are mentioned in it, and of the great affection with which their names are recalled by those who have lived after them. Third, so that this generation may shun the evil things of this world and the next, as seen in the behaviour and character of wicked men whose names are also mentioned, and may realize in what bitterness and contempt such men are held by people now living. Fourth, as a guide to all those who are starting their study of the Malay language, that they may gather something of its syntax its, system of affixation and of sentence construction, its reduplications, its euphony and so on; and also that they may be made aware of its idiom, its proverbs, its poetry, and its similes and metaphors as used by the Malays.

Should Allah grant me life long enough it is my hope to continue this story of mine in a second volume. May it please Allah to grant

¹⁰ Abdullah obviously makes use of an authoritative source for his information. The Treaty of Nanking, concluded on 29 August, 1842, provided for direct negotiation between English and Chinese officials of equivalent standing, and the imposition of a fair tariff. The Kiang Siu islands lie in the Yang-tse River estuary.

all my wishes, just as I have here stated them. And may the cool blessings of peace and safe repose ever remain with me and my readers. Amen.¹¹

¹¹ *sějok dingin sělamat sěntausa sějahtěra kědua fihak-nya. Amin.* Some romanized texts transcribe this wrongly as *sějok dindind* which in the context is meaningless.

In writing the greater part of Chapter 26, Abdullah has made use of written records. At Keasberry's mission school he would have had access to newspapers and other documents describing contemporary events, and no doubt he received help from the missionaries in selecting his material. His account of the presentation ceremony on 1 September, 1846, is certainly a later insertion, since there is no reason to doubt his concluding statement that the first draft was finished in May, 1843. Indeed from the final paragraph on page 274 about Tun Ibrahim onwards the text reads almost like a piece written in the first instance at the request of the missionaries, and later expanded with a few personal digressions and inserted at the end before the final manuscript went to the press. See Introduction pages 22-4.

The date of printing given by Abdullah in the next paragraph is *tujoh belas hari bulan jamadi'l-awal sanat 1265 bulan March*. The Muslim date corresponds with 10 April, 1849.

This book, The Story of Abdullah, was finished in Singapore in the district of Kampong Malacca on the 3rd of May 1843, and was printed in Singapore in March 1849.

Volume II¹

When I had finished the first volume of this book, for some little time I gave myself up to thought because I felt that the period of my lifetime had witnessed so many wonderful changes and new things which our grand-parents had never seen. Such events provided me with much food for meditation. I viewed with particular disfavour the lives led by the Malays and the circumstances of those with whom I had been acquainted. I had observed their conduct, behaviour and habits from my youth up to the present time and had found that, as time went on, so far from becoming more intelligent they became more and more stupid. I considered the matter carefully in my mind and came to the conclusion that there were several reasons for this state of affairs, but that the main one was the inhumanity and the repressive tyranny of the Malay rulers, especially towards their own subjects. The point had been reached at which their hearts had become like soil which no longer receives its nourishment, and wherein therefore nothing at all can grow. Industry, intelligence and learning cannot flourish among them and they are simply like trees in the jungle falling which ever way the wind blows. I noticed that they were always ruled by men of other races, small fry whose only value is to provide food for the big fry.

I have mentioned the injustices of the rajas because it is always the custom of the Malay ruler to despise his subjects, as though he thought of them as animals. Whenever a common man meets his ruler he is obliged to squat on the ground in the mud and filth. If the ruler desires the daughters or chattels of ordinary folk he just seizes them, with no sort of fear of Allah and without sparing a thought for the poor people. The laws and punishments which he imposes on his subjects depend solely on his own private whim. Those who find

¹ There is little reward in trying to guess the material which Abdullah might have included in his Second Volume, had he had the time and inclination to write it. It would have covered a period of eight years from 1846 to 1854 when Abdullah left Singapore for Mecca (see Introduction p. 19). Under Butterworth's governorship the town limits were widened and roads were laid across the swamps to the east and the west. Prosperity returned after some early setbacks, the new port of Hong Kong proving a partner in the commerce of the East rather than a rival for it. Abdullah continued to help Keasberry in expanding his educational missions, and was for a short time on the teaching staff of the Singapore Institution.

The earliest printed texts of *Hikayat Abdullah* include the author's *Bab Yang Kédua* as a short epilogue to his main work. In it he once again upbraids the Malays for their shortcomings, all of which he attributes to their lack of interest in education. He says nothing that has not been said before. But age has taught him tolerance, and he is less uncompromising in his condemnation of the Malay attitude of mind.

In an attempt to achieve a consistency of style impossible in the main book I have given a freer translation of the text in this section.

favour with him he treats kindly, and the wicked behaviour of his own kith and kin at the expense of the common people he condones and hides. He keeps hundreds of debt-slaves, men who have brought ruin to the common folk, murdering people with no more compunction than killing an ant. The rulers make no attempt to protect their subjects, only themselves.

All this has happened because the people have been lacking in education. They may wish to acquire knowledge but they do not possess the right tools, so that the results look clumsy in the eyes of men. And any efforts they make serves only to compromise their reputation because it invites the spiteful attentions of other people.

Another factor is the inability of the Malay rulers to look after their children when young. They allow them to do anything they like, give in to their every wish, and pay no attention to instructing them in the humanities, in modesty or a sense of shame, or in the elements of culture and courteous behaviour. All they do is to find small girls as playmates for their children when they are young and as their mistresses when they are older. They give them a *keris*, and the people of the country stand in wholesome respect and awe of the rulers' children, not daring to refuse them anything. Fathers compete with their children in gambling and cock-fighting, giving them money if they require it. If the father smokes opium so does his child, and the older the child grows the more scandalous does his behaviour become. Then only does the father wish to stop him because of the hateful things which people are saying about him. But so far from his own father being able to stop him not even ten of his elders and betters can make any impression on the child. Then at last is the country with its people consumed in the fire of such wickedness. As the Malay proverb says "If the bamboo shoot be not cut when it is young what is the good of it when it is large and tough?" and also "A small fire is our friend, a large one our foe."

Many are the places and lands which have been destroyed by the depredations of the young scions of the ruling house, whose rapacious hands can no longer be tolerated by the people. Other races, the English, the Indians, the Arabs or the Chinese, do not conduct themselves or behave in the manner I have described. Only the Malays. Among all these other races the ruler's children are expected to be well educated and very intelligent. Their parents compel them to study under threat of punishment, and to avoid contamination with evil things in any form, so that their good example may be emulated by their subjects who look to them for guidance. I am indeed amazed. If our rulers themselves are ignorant and uneducated how can

they rule their people and administer their countries? And if they are wicked how can they expect to make their people good? If the Malay rulers do not keep their own children under control but allow them to prey upon the common people, how can they themselves exercise their authority over the people? The wicked children of the rulers are like wild tigers who after the death of their fathers will despoil the servants of Allah. As I understand it the object of a fence is to prevent animals from entering and destroying the garden. But if the fence itself proceeds to destroy the garden what will be its final state? Allah has created rulers that they may cherish mankind. He has ordered them to do good and forbidden them to do evil. If they or their children oppress and harm the people what will become of them in the end? Will not they, their countries and their peoples alike, face ruin and disaster?

As it is, under Malay rule ordinary folk cannot lift up their heads and enjoy themselves, and dare not show any originality for it is forbidden by the ruler. Wishing possibly to build themselves finely decorated houses of stone they are afraid to do so. They are afraid to wear fine clothing, shoes and umbrellas in case these are taboo. They are afraid even to keep fine clothing in their houses because it is said that such things are the perquisites only of royalty. Rich men especially live in perpetual fear and are fortunate if their only losses are their belongings. For indeed their very lives are in danger. Means are found whereby such men may be penalized and mulcted of their belongings. If a man is reluctant to lend any of his most cherished possessions, it is accounted a serious offence. And once he has given them up they are lost for ever. He will never see them again. A beautiful young girl in his house is like a raging poison, for it is quite certain that the ruler will take her as one of his wives with or without her guardian's permission. This practice more than any other arouses the hatred of the servants of Allah. I heard of one courageous man who refused to part with his daughter. The ruler ordered him to be murdered on some pretext, and then took the child away. All such acts as these are forbidden by Allah and His Prophet and incur the censure of mankind throughout the world. There is only one being who looks with favour upon them; the Devil, the enemy of Allah, who in company with all his followers will be consumed in the eternal flames of hell.

Another failing commonly found among the Malays is their inability to change or modernize their ideas or to produce anything new. They utterly refuse to abandon superstitions of the past. It is not their religion which compels them to stick to valueless customs,

which make them more and more stupid and ridiculous in the eyes of other races. It would be no crime to give up these ignorant practices which bring them no gain, and which only their innate conservatism compels them to retain on the grounds that they have inherited them from their forefathers. If it is our duty to follow the customs of our ancestors, then will it not equally be the duty of our descendants to follow ours? And would you yourself claim to be perfect; just in all your actions and an expert in all branches of knowledge and learning? I cannot believe for a moment that you would dare to claim this. And if you say to me "Let me always remain in my present way of life" I would reply "Have you ever heard about the ancient history of the English, about a time when they were ten times more ignorant than you are at this moment. They wore animal skins, lived in mud huts, daubed their arms and legs with blue paint, walked about with dishevelled hair, made human sacrifices to their heathen gods, and indulged in all sorts of other barbarous practices. But as time went on their children substituted new customs for these superstitions, until they progressed to the state in which you find them to-day, I know not whether by accident or design. See for yourself the civilization of the English to-day. Are they clever or ignorant? If you say that your present customs are good ones and do not need to be changed then the English should return to painting their limbs blue and to discarding their present forms of clothing in favour of animal skins. They should smash up their houses and live again in mud huts. They should abolish steam-power and return to dug-outs and canoes, throw away their compasses and limit their journeys by water to the shallows and rivers. Do you really wish to retain your ignorant practices as a heritage for your descendants until the end of time? Do you really believe that conditions in which you live at present are a fitting inheritance for your children, a way of life worth their while to follow? I do not for a moment believe that you really maintain this, for you yourself realize your own shortcomings. But what are you going to do? For you persist in following the customs, however bad, of your ancestors. It is your fond hope, I know, that come what may your children will be wise and rich and good. But if now you sow in them the seeds of ignorance and sloth, how can they become wise and industrious? For as a man sows so shall he reap. If the seed is good the plant will be good; but if bad, bad.

Man has been created by Allah as a sentient being, capable of thinking, of using his intelligence and moral judgement. Is it not fitting that we should make use of these faculties? We should exercise our powers of discrimination, holding on to the things which profit us

and shunning those which bring evil. But such ideas are sadly lacking in the mentality of the Malays, who do not use their minds but are content to pursue the pleasures of the moment and to copy forever the customs of their ancestors. If we ask them "Why is it that you live in such dreadful ignorance, and why do you refuse to learn wisdom and how to use your intelligence," they will reply "What can we do? We are poor people and this is how we have to live." But their poverty of mind is the result of their lack of education, which is itself due to their unwillingness to learn. There are many factors which prevent them from studying and working hard. First, their elders never did so in the past and they themselves are therefore reluctant to start. Second, their rulers and officials and other people of high rank never do so, so neither do they. Third, they are ashamed to be the first among many to start a new fashion. That is why everyone persists in doing what his neighbour does, without using his own common sense. The longer they do this the worse their position becomes. So far from advancing they slip backwards, and their minds, instead of becoming keener, grow duller and duller. Their wits, having no whetstone on which to be sharpened, are devoured by rust until they are quite useless for any purpose whatever. Finally they become like a piece of land trodden under foot by mankind in its march along the path of progress.

Great is my astonishment to see the conditions under which the Malay people live. They do things which no other race in the world would ever do. Has any other race in the world so far forgotten its own language as to have no place at all where that language is taught? Only the Malays, I notice, take no interest in their own language. Because their forefathers did not study Malay they dare not start now. Amazing indeed! For every day they speak Malay, in all their dealings with each other they use Malay, letters sent from one country to another are written in Malay. But they do not wish to learn the language itself. I doubt whether one man in a hundred understands the language, and even if there are as many it is not by dint of diligent study but by slavishly copying other people's ways. If anyone questions them about the use of a certain word, its origin, or why it is employed in a particular place, they are speechless with surprise for they have never had a teacher, being content merely to imitate others. Is it right that hundreds, nay thousands of men should grow up not knowing how to read or write or do simple sums? It makes them look ridiculous in the eyes of other races who cheat them over measurements and weights and computations, and in general wherever writing is involved.

Other races of this world have become civilized and powerful because of their ability to read and write and understand their own language, which they value highly; for instance the Arabs, the English, the Chinese and the Indians. All these people pay close attention to their own language, whose vocabulary and richness of expression is thereby increased as time goes on. Truly it is language which civilizes man and improves his knowledge and understanding, directing all his energies and raising the level of his own culture besides imparting it to others. By means of language alone can the secrets of the human mind be revealed. A great nation necessarily has a fine language, in which all matters pertaining to this world and the next can be given expression. Such a nation has words to describe activities and to evoke any kind of concept. It can regulate its life through the medium of language, affording an opportunity for men to gain untold wealth, honour and power. And such a language is of the greatest benefit to them in this world and the next. Is it not worth your while to pay some attention to it? If you could have asked the Malays of old times, "Are you sufficiently educated now, and would you be glad to see your children grow up in the way I have described," they would, I feel sure, reply "No." And they would be very sorry that they had taken no interest in matters of such importance and benefit to them.

Is it wrong for children of the present generation to study branches of knowledge which were quite unknown to their forefathers? On the contrary, the sudden lapse of the descendants of wise and learned people, of good character, into ignorance and sin—that, I consider, is what is really wrong and discreditable. A young tiger that turns into a kitten deserves our scorn, but the kitten which becomes a tiger is admired and receives the acclamation of all, and lucky indeed are those who enjoy such good fortune. But I find everyone behaving as if he were entirely contented with his lot in life and disinclined to improve it by any kind of education. His attitude of mind is that of the frog beneath the coconut shell who thinks that the shell is the sky. It is a most serious misapprehension, for the Malays themselves do realize their own shortcomings and ignorance. But because they are afraid to tamper with the customs of their fathers they continue to waste their time in idleness. With their own eyes they have seen many new and wonderful ideas, the works of man which are a source of amazement as well as of profit and advantage to us all, and yet they are unwilling to benefit by them.

If indeed they are aware how dull-witted and lacking in education they are, what should be the most suitable time for them to make a change for the better? Surely while they are still young? For this is

the time when their minds can be trained and developed. A tree whose branches grow and multiply when it is young, spreading out far from the trunk, will likely bear much fruit when it is fully grown. Human beings are like that tree. People who receive any kind of education when they are young will assuredly reap the benefit when they are older. Yet I notice that the people I have mentioned display not the slightest anxiety for their children, letting them do exactly as they fancy. They indulge in petty mischiefs and cover themselves with mud playing up and down the lanes. In my opinion the children cannot be blamed, for they see and copy the example set by their parents. The parents know how to bear children but not how to educate them, and their final state is like the tree with poisoned branches, anyone partaking of its fruit becoming ill and afterwards regretting his action. I have given only a brief account of these matters. But it is my greatest hope that these people will take to heart the advice I have offered them.

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5. MAJOR FARQUHAR IN MALACCA

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Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 53-54 & 57-58); Nunn, *ibid* (1921, (1): 77-78); Winstedt (1932: 78-87); see also the references under Chapter 19, covering the later period of his work in Singapore. *The Pawang*: Skeat (1900: 56-61, 153-55, 409-55 & 568-78); Wilkinson (1906: 77-78); Maxwell, W. G. (1907: 298-306); Gimlette (1923: 16-38); Winstedt (1925: 41-51); Winstedt (1925a: 1-8); Winstedt (1951: 8-10). *Tranquerah*: Bremner (1927: 69-72); Cardon (1948: 104-13).

6. MR. RAFFLES IN MALACCA

Stamford Raffles and his wife in Malacca: any representative bibliography on Raffles would be out of place here, and the references that follow give only the better known sources of information for the period up to 1811; for the period 1811-26, the reader is referred to these works, and others given under various heads in the Chapter References that follow; Newbold (1839, (1): 127); Boulger (1899: 12-18, 36-93 & 183-84); Egerton (1900: 20-25); Buckley (1902: 2-3); Swettenham (1906: 63); Campbell (1915, (1): *passim*); Cross in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 34-36 & 44-50); Mills (1925: 49-50); Winstedt (1932: 80); Furnival (1944: 67); Coupland (1946: 9-68); Hahn (1948: 59-79). *Malay Poetry*: Bird (1883: 30); Wilkinson (1907: 44-58); Woolley (1927: 366-69); Overbeck (1934: 108-11); Winstedt (1939: 96, 125-41 & 149); Hamilton (1941); Winstedt (1947: 142). *Siak*: Winstedt (1932: 51-56); Wurtzburg (1938: 124). *Mataram*: Raffles (1830, (2): 155-70); Boulger (1899: 90 & 138-41); Furnival (1944: 18 & 32-35); Cooper Cole (1946: 24-25). *Sayids*: Winstedt (1918: 49-54); Wilkinson (1922: 1-5); Winstedt (1934: 140-44); Linehan (1936: 41). *Sir Samuel Auchmuty*: EIC Rec. (A. 9: 142); Boulger (1899: 128-30 & 133); Campbell (1915, (1): 325-28); Hahn 1948: 94-95).

7. LORD MINTO IN MALACCA

Lord Minto: EIC Rec. (A. 9: 137-41); *ibid* (A. 63: 27); Raffles (1830, (2): 260); Boulger (1899: 75-139); Dictionary of National Biography, under Elliott, Sir Gilbert.

8. TENGKU PANGLIMA BESAR

Royal Yellow; *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (1909 ed: 63-64); Wilkinson (1932: 88); Ghazalli (1933: 278); Braddell (1939: 187); Winstedt (1951: 36). *The Java War, 1811*: Raffles (1830, (1): xxiii); Raffles (*ibid*. (2): 253); Trotter (1887: 151-52); Boulger (1899: 97-103); Egerton (1900: 50-59); Campbell (1915, (1): 328); Hahn (1948: 91-96). *Perfumes, ambergris, etc.*: Mills (1930: 43 & note 171); Hamilton (1933: 139-43).

9. THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE

Malay Writing and Grammar: Maxwell, W. E. (1892: 48-52 & 54-58); Shellabear (1901: 75-135); Winstedt (1925: 33-43, 106-12, 160-61 & 80-100); Zainal-Abidin (1928: 81-104); Winstedt (1941: 227-33); Lewis

(1947: passim). *Dictionaries and Grammar*: see Chapter 23, References. William Milne: EIC. Rec. (68-69); Crawford (1830, (1): 51-53); Tyerman & Bennet (1840: 222); Horn (1894: 130-34 & 138); Lovett (1899, (2): 411-13, 420-24 & 429-36); Boulger (1899: 188 & 332); Buckley (1902: 54-55); Murray in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 235); Raffles, Lady (1830: App. 33-34); Earl (1837: 392-93); Thomson (1874: 124); Lovett (1899, (2): 434, 439 & 743); Buckley (1902: 55, 77, 106, 122 & 106). *Dr. Robert Morrison*: Townsend (1888); Horne (1894: 130-42); Lovett (1899: 399-428 & 616-23); Boulger (1899: 332); Buckley (1902: 54-55, 122 & 214); Bazell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 428); Hanitsch in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 520); Chelliah (1948: 38); see also Enc. Brit. & Dict. Nat. Biog. *The Anglo-Chinese College and Malacca Missionaries*: EIC. Rec. (O. 1: passim); EIC. Rec. (B.9: 42-43); EIC. Rec. (C.6: 67-71); Begbie (1834: 268-169); EIC. Rec. (R.3-6: passim); Newbold (1939, (1): 181-87); Tyerman & Bennet (1840: 200-03, 211 & 222); Horne (1894: 136-38 & 309-11); Lovett (1899, (2): 423-28, 433-39, 449 & 743); Buckley (1902: 214, 321 & 347); Bazel in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 249); Chelliah (1948: 38-39 & 84-87). *W. H. Medhurst*: Tyerman & Bennet (1840: 199); Newbold (1839, (2): 57-58); Horne (1894: 306-07, 313-16 & 322); Lovett 1899, (2): 57-58); & 509-14); Buckley (1902: 214 & 321); Murray in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 237-38. *Malay Demonology, Polong and Familiar Spirits*: Begbie (1834: 350-58); Bird (1883: 354); Swettenham (1895: 196-97); Skeat (1900: 320-25 & 329-31); Marriott (1903: 209); Clifford (1913: 62-80); Gimlette (1923: 42); Wilkinson (1932: 124); Winstedt (1951: 25). *Penanggalan and British Spirits*: Begbie (1934: 450-58); Bird (1883: 354); Clifford (1897: 231); Skeat (1900: 327-28); Marriott (1903: 209-10); Maxwell, G. (1907: 121-24); Winstedt (1951: 24-25). *Jinns, etc.*: Swettenham (1895: 147-60); Skeat (1900: 93-99); Maxwell, G. (1907: 22-24 & 147); Gimlette 25-31); Winstedt (1925: 6-12 & 354); Clifford (1926: 242-43); Winstedt (1929: 439-40); Winstedt (1931: 460-66); Rentse (1936: 288-301); Winstedt (1951: 97-192). *Giants*: Blagden (1894: 44-45); Braddell (1937: 80-98). *Were-tigers*: Swettenham (1895: 62-77); Skeat (1900: 159-65); Maxwell, G. (1907: 269); Winstedt (1924: 269); Wilkinson (1939: 136-37); Cooper Cole (1946: 119); Winstedt (1951: 57-58 & 61). *Malay Demonology, General*: Swettenham (1895: 147-60); Skeat (1900: passim); Wilkinson (1906: 18-32); Wilkinson (1932: 106-14); Coope (1933: 264-72). *Malay Charms*: Bird (1883: 228-29); Clifford (1899: 176); Skeat (1900: chap. 5); Gimlette (1923: chap. 3); Linehan (1930: 316); Rentse (1931: 146-57); Coope (1933: 264-72); Archer (1937: 103); Winstedt (1938: 34-35); Winstedt (1939: 13). *Malay Marriages*: Bird (1883: 327-28); Swettenham (1895: 8-9); Clifford (1897: 128-31); Clifford (1899: 147); Skeat (1900: 364-96); Clifford (1904: 40); Wilkinson (1922: 49-56); Overbeck (1925: 22-30); Wilkinson (1925: 20-39); Winstedt (1929: 448-50); Ghazalli (1933: 283-85); Sheehan & Abdul-Aziz (1936: 205-21); Winstedt (1951: 115-23).

10. COLONEL FARQUHAR'S SEARCH FOR A NEW SETTLEMENT

Retrocession of Malacca, 1818, and the search for a new Settlement: EIC. Rec. (B.5: 21-26); Newbold (1839: 127-34); Thomson (1874: 174); Boulger (1899: 293-303); Egerton (1900: 171-77); Buckley (1902: 21); Wright (1908: 20-21); Wurtzburg (1925: 105); Mills (1925: 52-56); Winstedt (1932: 71-83); Coupland (1946: 90-97). *Timmerman Thyssen*: Crawford (1830: 53); Boulger (1899: 232 & 316); Winstedt (1932: 82-83); Winstedt (1934: 66); Winstedt (1934a: 10 & 64); Linehan (1936: 57).

11. THE FOUNDING OF SINGAPORE

The Singapore Landing: Raffles, Lady (1830: 375-78 & 398); Crawford (1830: 400-01); Begbie (1834: 71-84); Newbold (1839, (1): 277-78); Haughton (1882: 285-86); Read (1883: 282-83); Boulger (1899: 306-07); Egerton (1900: 178-88); Buckley (1902: 28-34); Swettenham (1907: 68-69); Mills (1925: 56-60); Winstedt (1932: 75-75 & 81-83); Winstedt (1933: 165); Coupland (1946: 95-98); Hahn (1948: 277-86); Crawford (passim). *Fort Canning*: Crawford (1830, (1): 68-69); Buckley (1902: 573, 675 & 686); Sĕjarah Mĕlayu (1909 edn: 30-33); Winstedt (1928: 1-4); Winstedt (1932: 6); Wilkinson (1935: 17-20); Linehan (1947: 117-18). *The Sword-fish Rock*: Logan (1851: 319); Sĕjarah Mĕlayu (1909 edn: 57-58). *Sea Gypsies (Orang Laut)*: Crawford (1830, (1): 65-68); Logan (1847: 302-04); Wallace (1880: 607-33); Skeat & Ridley (1900: 247-50); idem (1904: 128-29); Skeat & Blagden (1906: 21 & 87-89); White (1822: 56 et seq. & 157); Wilkinson (1926: 25); Wilkinson (1932: 49); Wilkinson (1932a: 101); Sheehan (1934: 79, 91 & 105); Wilkinson (1934: 41); Wilkinson (1935: 21); Leupe (1936: 101 & 212); Cooper Cole (1946: 113).

12. THE DUTCH IN MALACCA

Events after the Singapore Landing: Boulger (1899: 312-30); Egerton (1900: 181-98); Buckley (1902: 35-61); Cross in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 60-62); Mills (1925: 58-62); Winstedt (1932: 86-88). *Piracy in the East Indies*: Raffles, Lady (1830: 45-46 & 63-64); Begbies (1834: 263-69); Moor (1837: 31-33 & App. 141-43); Earl (1837: 312-16); St. John (1849: 251-60); idem (1852: 479-67); Crawford (1856: 353-55); Wallace (1840: 341 & 436); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1821, (1): 21 & 177-78); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1821: 290-97); Mills (1925: 214-38); Winstedt (1934: 67-71); Braddell (1937: 31); Wurtzburg (1938: 121).

13. THE TREATY WITH TENGKU LONG

Treaties relating to Singapore: Boulger (1899: 321-14); Egerton (1900: 179-83); Buckley (1902: 35-40 & 160-63); Blagden in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 9-10); Maxwell & Gibson (1924: 115-22); Mills (1925: 57-58); Winstedt (1932: 195); Crawford (passim); Miller (1941: 195); Coupland (1946: 96-97). *The Singapore Monolith*: Crawford (1830: 70-71); Tyerman & Bennet (1840: 211); Thomson (1874: 166); Sĕjarah Mĕlayu (1909 edn:

40-41); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 573-76); Wilkinson (1935: 8 & 20); Bland (1837: 680-83); Laidlaw (1848: 66-72); Crawford (1856: 402); Rouffaer (1921: 35-67). *Farquhar and Crawford*: EIC. Rec. (A: passim); EIC. Rec. (L. 10-20: passim); Buckley (1902: passim); Miller (1941: 193). *Capt'n William Flint*: EIC. Rec. (L. 3: 195-96); EIC. Rec. (L. 12: 50-53); Raffles, Lady (1830: 438-43); Boulger (1899: 17 & 54); Buckley (1902: 53, 56, 64, 74 & 107); Campbell (1915, (1): 622). *Sultan Husain Shah (Tengku Long)*: see References under Chapter 22.

14. COLONEL FARQUHAR STABBED

The Amok State: Earl (1838: 377); Wallace (1880: 175); Bird (1883: 355-57); Swettenham (1895: 3-4 & 38-43); Clifford (1897: 78-95); Maxwell, G. (1907: 204-05); Sējarah Mēlayu (1909 edn: 110); Boden Kloss (1923: 254); Wilkinson (1925: 28-29); Wilkinson (1925a: 21-22); Griffith Williams (1937: 130); Miller (1941: 195). *Dr. Wm Montgomerie*: Buckley (1902: 56, 76, 275 & 401-05); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 488 & 517); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 483-87). *Alexander and James Guthrie*: Buckley (1902: 65-66); Campbell (1915, (1): 622); Bazell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 435); Makepeace in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 195). *Singapore Town Planning*: EIC. Rec. (L. 10-20: passim); Crawford (1830, (2): 386-87); Earl (1837: 347-51); Boulger (1899: 332-33); Buckley (1902: 58-59, 206 & 387); Campbell (1915, (1): 623); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 469-71 & 475-76); Miller (1941: 194); Pearson (1953: 43-55). *John Morgan*: Buckley (1902: 164); Campbell (1915, (1): 622).

15. THE FOUNDING OF SINGAPORE INSTITUTION

The Singapore Institution: EIC. Rec. (A. 47: 85-86 & 98-100); Raffles, Lady (1830: 532-33); Earl (1837: 350-51); Boulger (1899: 332 & 335); Buckley (1902: 122-33); Bazell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 427-43); Barnaby Leicester in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 426-27); Wilkinson (1932: 118); Hough (1933: 166-70); Miller (1941: 197). *The Slave Trade in the East, 19th Century*: EIC. Rec. (C. 1: 67-71); EIC. Rec. (L. 12: 88, 153 & 230-38); McNair (1878: 193-95); Wallace (1880: 311-12); Maxwell, W. E. (1890: 247-97); Boulger (1899: 360); Buckley (1902: 360); Winstedt (1934: 91); Kennedy (1942: 93); Furnivall (1944: 191); Hahn (1938: 300-01 & 310); Barnaby Leicester in Makepeace et al. (1921: 525).

16. THE LETTER FROM THE KING OF SIAM

Relations between the East India Company and Siam: Crawford (1830, (1): 268; (2): 156-67); Clifford (1904: 119-23); Swettenham (1906: 45-54); Mills (1925, 128-35); Winstedt (1934: 64-68); Rentse 1934: 58-60); Winstedt (1936: 181-83). *Raffles's Letter to the King of Siam*: Thomson (1874: 168); Wilkinson (1925: 22-23).

17. HOW MR. RAFFLES DREW UP LAWS FOR THE SETTLEMENT

Population of Singapore, 1819-27: Singapore Census Reports, 1824-27; Buckley (1902: 76-77, 154 & 207); Marriott (1912: 31); Campbell (1915, (1): 622); Marriott in Makepeace et al. (1921: (1): 341-45 & 355); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 492); Bartley (1933: 177). *Gambling Farms*: Raffles, Lady (1830: 541-44); Cavanagh (1884: 256); Boulger (1899: 360); Buckley (1902: 60, 63, 112 & 141-44); Swettenham (1906: 83); Winstedt (1932: 86-87); Miller (1941:195).

18. MR. RAFFLES RETURNS HOME

Mohammedan Laws, Oaths: Clifford (1913: 159-86); Wilkinson (1922:: 64-65). *The Gamelan Orchestra of Java*: Wallace (1880: 103); Wilkinson (1932: 86); Wilkinson (1934: 8); Kennedy (1944: 82-83); Braddell (1947: 165); see also Chapter 19, References, Musical Instruments. *Raffles, Return to England, 1823*: Raffles, Lady (1839: 544-45); Boulger (1899: 344-36, 341-52 & 364-85); Egerton (1900: 233-51); Buckley (1902: 106-40); Swettenham (1906: 72-77); Cross in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 63-68); Coupland (1946: 122-36); Hahn (1948: 314-25).

19. COLONEL FARQUHAR RETURNS HOME

William Farquhar in Singapore, 1821-23: EIC. Rec. (A.32: 425129 & 485); EIC. Rec. (A.33: 148-54); EIC. Rec. (L.10-20: passim); Boulger (1899: 32819); Egerton (1900: 217-18); Buckley (1902: 105 & 121); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 78-79); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 244); Makepeace in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 228 & 451); Mills (1925: 62-63); Bartley (1933: 177); Miller (1941: 195-97); Coupland (1946: 96-101 & 114-16); Hahn (1948: 279 et seq). *Musical Instruments*: Bird (1883: 20); Clifford (1898: 26); Wilkinson (1925: 42); Balfour (1903: 12-13); see also references under Chapter 18, the Gamelan Orchestra.

21. THE THIAN TAI HUEY SOCIETY IN SINGAPORE

Gambier Plantations in Singapore: Anon in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 376); Bartley (1933: 177); Miller (1941: 193). *Chinese Secret Societies*: Earl (1837: 369-72); Pickering (1878: 63-84); idem (1879: 1-18); Buckley (1902: 213, 235, 2 & 365); Swettenham (1912: 295-304); Mills (1925: 206-13); Blythe (1947: 107-09); Purcell (1948: 164-67). *John Crawford*: Crawford (1830, in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 245-47); Stirling (1925: 57-61); (1): 64-72); Buckley (1902: 140-1); Campbell (1915, (1): 378); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 79-80); Lornie in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 303); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 79-80); Lornie in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 303); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 487); idem (1921, (2): 56); Mills (1925: 64-70); Winstedt (1932: 87); Linchan (1936: 66).

22. MR. CRAWFURD AND SULTAN HUSAIN SHAH

Sultan Husain Shah and Tēmenggong Tēngku Abdul Rahman: EIC. Rec. (A. 39: 264-74); Begbie (1834: 72-82); Earl (1838: 383); Thomson (1874: 200-05); Buckley (1902: 22 & 44-45); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 58); Mills (1925: 57-58 & 65-67); Winstedt (1932: 73-90); Winstedt (1933: 165); Crawford (passim); Miller (1941: 195); Sunday Times, 29 August 1948, report on heir's claims. *Early Merchants in Singapore*: EIC. Rec. (N. 1-4: passim); Buckley (1902: passim); Makepeace in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 166-230). *The Treaties of 1824*: Moor (1837: 172-74); Buckley (1902: 140-41); Maxwell & Gibson (1924: 123-24); Winstedt (1932: 87). *John Crawford*: see references under Chapter 21, passim. *Missionaries to Malacca*: see references under Chapter 9, passim.

23. THE ENGLISH CHAPEL IN MALACCA

The Christian Chapel in Malacca: Begbie (1834: 369); Tyerman & Bennet (1840: 222); Thomson (1874: 215); for missionaries to Malacca, see references under Chapter 9. *John Fullerton*: Buckley (1902: 194 & 206); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 82); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 82); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 167 & 379); Mills (1925: 59, 87 & 92); Winstedt (1934: 67); Winstedt (1934: 64-65); Dickinson 1941: 251-52). *Edward Presgrave*: EIC. Rec. (A. 24: 456); Buckley (1902: 194 & 198-202). *Kenneth Murchison*: Buckley (1902: 194, 205, 222 & 231); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 83-84); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 167 & 170); Winstedt (1932: 92). *Samuel George Bonham*: Buckley (1902: 141, 193, 219, 235 & 383-84); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 81-85 & 120); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 284); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 294-95); Mills (1925: 93-94); Winstedt (1936: 185). *Thomas Church*: EIC. Rec. (O. 4: passim); Buckley (1902: 235); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 86); Lornie in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 309); Hanitsch in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 524); Mills (1925: 122); Winstedt (1934: 65-66); Dickinson (1941: 257-58). *Major James Low*: EIC. Rec. (D. 6: 269); EIC. Rec. (B. 9: 339-40); Buckley (1902: 366-67); Nunn in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 86-87); Mills (1925: 154-59); Shaw (1926: 1); Winstedt (1936: 70-73); Quaritch Wales (1940: 3-4). *Antimony Ore in Sarawak*: Earl (1837: 311); Hose (1929: 196); Braddell (1941: 38); Banks (1947: 33). *Steamers in the East Indies*: Buckley (1902: 183, 204 & 308); Braddell in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 168); Melville in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 108-09). *Muslim Beliefs about the World*: Thomson (1874: 220); Bird (1883: 21); Skeat (1900: 5-6); Maxwell, G. (1906: 301); Wilkinson (1906: 33-34); Winstedt (1925: 28-38); Braddell (1937: 65-66); Rodwell (1943: 52 & 33). *Eclipses*: Thomson (1874: 220); Clifford (1897: 50-51); Skeat (1900: 11-12); Wilkinson (1906: 44); Wilkinson (1926: 49); Haji Abdul Majid (1928: 41); Overbeck (1929: 373-74); Cooper Cole (1946: 71). *Smallpox*: Wilkinson (1906: 44); Brooke in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 490-92); Wilkinson

(1932: 112). *Fires in Singapore*: Buckley (1902: 209-10, 304 & 443); Halifax in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 336); Winstedt (1939: 118 & 131). *Malay Dictionaries and Grammars*: Marsden (1811: intro); Mee (1929: 316-27); Sheehan (1934: 78); Maxwell, C. N. (1936: 130); Zainal-Abidin (1941: 15-16); Wilkinson (1941: 101 & 105). *Lt. T. J. Newbold*: Begbie (1834: x); Newbold (1839: passim); Bird (1883: 210); Skeat & Blagden (1906, (2): 484-85); Winstedt (1934: 16); Cardon (1940: 138-39). *Barchi Westerhout*: Begbie (1834: 247-48); Newbold (1839: 233-34); Carlos in Makepeace et al. (1921, (1): 366); Winstedt (1934a: 67); Cardon (1940: 138-39). *Mantra, the Jakun, Origins, Customs, etc.*: Raffles, Lady (1830: 17); Begbie (1834: 3-19); Moor (1837: 255); Newbold (1839, (2): 422-34); Logan 1847: 294-95 & 328-31); Favre (1848: 237-68); Maxwell (1885: 218-19); Machado 1902: 29-33); Skeat & Blagden (1906, (1): 21; 67 & 73-75); idem (1906, (2): 173-74 & 484-86); Evans (1915: 101-08); Blagden (1917: 177-80); Winstedt (1925: 8-19); Wilkinson (1931: 68-71); Cardon (1940: 108-09); Cooper Cole (1846: 111-20); Winstedt (1950: 7-15 & 18). *Blowpipes, Darts, etc.*: Barbe (1851: 487-88); Clifford (1899: 82); Skeat (1900: 582); Clifford (1904: 37); Skeat & Blagden (1906: 254-68 & 306-68); Sĕjarah Mĕlayu (1909 edn: 125-26); Caldecott (1912: 53); Gimlette (1923: 172-81); Andreini (1924: 77); Wilkinson (1925: 2); Wilkinson (1911: 14-15, 29-34 & 53-54); Mills (1930: 31, 145); Cooper Cole (1946: 99-100); Hill (1948: 54). *W. T. Lewis*: Mills (1925: 96, 105 & 119); Dickinson (1941: 255-59). *Naning, History, Wars (1831-31)*: EIC. Rec. (O. 3-4: passim); EIC. Rec. (A63-66: passim); Begbie (1834: 51-62 & 151-260); Newbold (1839, (1): 225-34); Braddell (1856: 194-216); Thomson (1874: 285); Swettenham (1906: 83-84); Wilkinson (1911: 26-29); Nathan & Winstedt (1920: 46); Wilkens (1921: 23); Mills (1925: 22); Bremner (1927: 55-70); Leupé (1936: 69-145, passim); Winstedt (1934: 64-68). *Portuguese Churches in Malacca, Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*: Bremner (1927: 86); Mills (1930: 207); Leupé (1936: 92-93, 112 & 132); Cardon (1940: 108-43).

24. SULTAN HUSAIN SHAH

Sultan Husain Shah and Abdul Kadir: Logan (1855: 422); Winstedt (1932: 89); Winstedt (1936: 182-84); Miller (1941: 195); see also references under Chapter 22, Sultan Husain Shah. *Genealogy of Johore Rulers*: Moor (1837: app. 74); Winstedt (1932: 30-31); Winstedt (1932: 134). *Piracy in Brunei*: Hunt (1822: 37-58); Mills (1925: 239-42); Hughes-Hallett (1940: 34-35). *Debt Slavery, Hamba Raja*: Bird (1883: 149 & 357-59); Maxwell, W. E. (1890: 247-97); Clifford (1897: 19); Clifford (1913: 123-25); Wilkinson (1922: 36); Winstedt (1934: 36); Wilkinson (1935: 27); Linehan (1936: 61-62, 107 & 128); Taylor (1937: 5); Miller (1941: 206-07). *Pancha Tanderan, Hikayat Galilah dan Daminah*: Winstedt (1923: 50-55); Winstedt (1939: 81-85). *Muslim Funerals and Burials*: Bird (1883: 315); Caldecott (1912: 52); Wilkinson (1925: 50-62); Wilkinson (1932: 119); Bryson & Blleloch (1936: 273-74); Sheehan & Abdul-Aziz (1936: 219). *Edward*

Boustead: EIC. Rec. (N. 4: 141); Buckley (1902: 206-08, 301-5 & 313-14); Makepeace in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 189 & 283-320, passim). *Singapore Trade, Chamber of Commerce*: Earl (1837: 417); Buckley (1902: 313-17 & 424); Darbshire in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 33); Melville in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 104 & 113); Makepeace in Makepeace et al. (1921, (2): 196).

25. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN SINGAPORE

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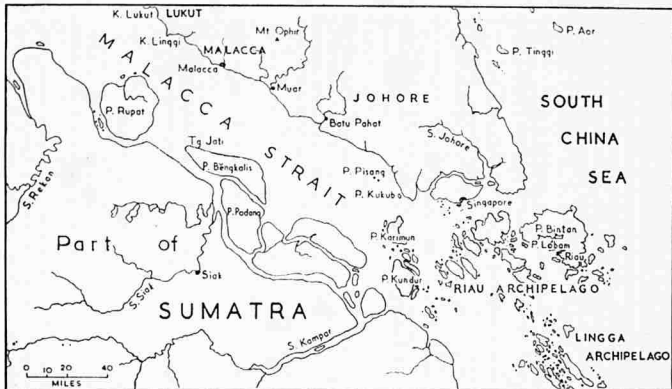
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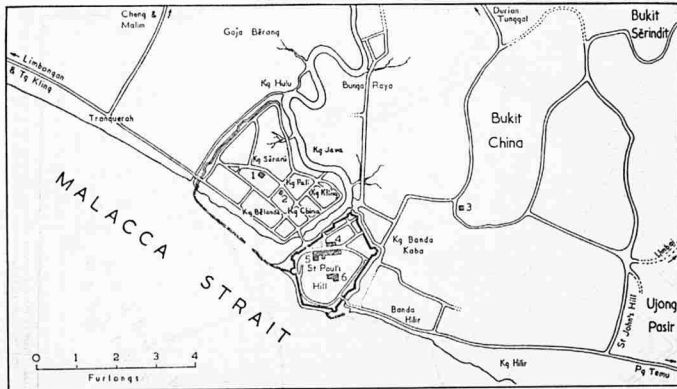
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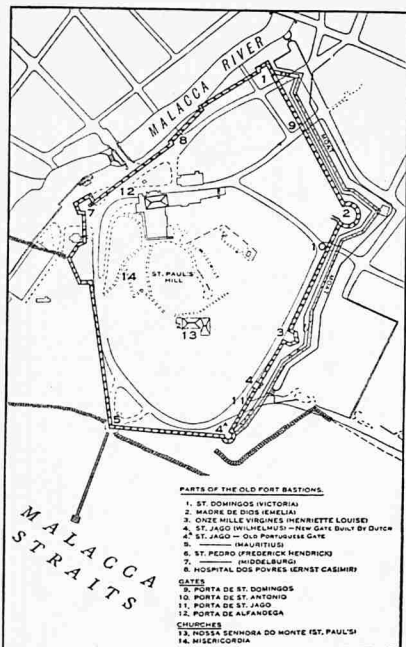
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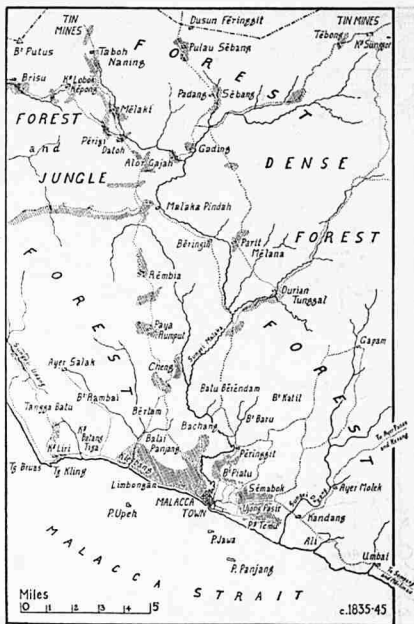
Map I. The southern end of the Malay Peninsula and the islands to the south of it as far as part of the Lingga Archipelago, redrawn from Hind 1080, section Singapore, 2nd edition, 1941.



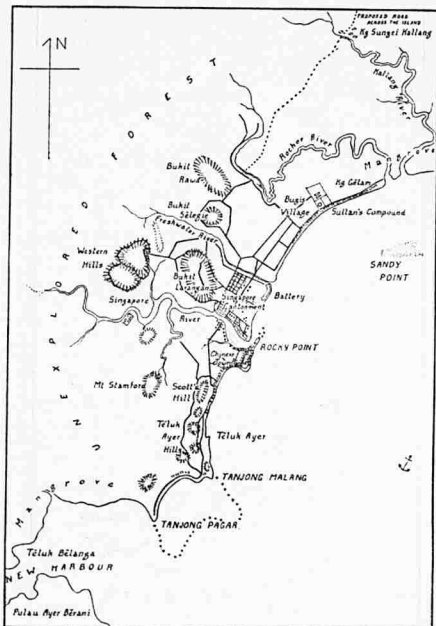
Map II. The town of Malacca and surrounding countryside, about 1800 A.D. The numbers refer to, (1), the Chinese Temple (Cheng Hoon Teng) in Temple Street; (2), the Indian Mosque, Kg. Pali; (3), the Chinese Temple (Po Swa Teng) at Bukit China, built about 1795, for the observation of burial rites; (4), Christchurch, the Dutch church, built in 1753; (5) the Stadt-house; and (6) the ruin of the Portuguese church, *Nossa senhora do monte* (St. Paul's).



Map III. Plan of the old fort at Malacca, showing the positions of the gates and bastions: reproduced from FMS Surveys map, 562/1929.



Map IV. The environs of Malacca town and the Sungei Malacca, north to Taboh Naning, about 1835-45: a reconstruction based on various maps 1834-56 (see p. 333, above). The patches of diagonal shading represent approximately the areas shown under *padi* by Begbie (1834).



Map V. The town of Singapore, and environs, about 1822: a reconstruction based on an MS map, probably by Capt. James Franklin, and other contemporary documents.



Map VI. The town of Singapore, and environs, about 1835. Facsimile reproduction of the plan published by Newbold, in 1839, and copied from the map lithographed in Calcutta by J. B. Tassin, in 1836, for publication in Moor's "Notices of the Indian Archipelago", Singapore, 1837.



Map VII. Part of the town of Singapore, 1842-43: detail reproduced from the map by John Turnbull Thomson, dated 11 April, 1843, and lithographed in Singapore.

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