

RAJA BILAH AND  
THE MANDAILINGS  
IN PERAK: 1875-1911

Abdur-Razzaq Lubis & Khoo Salma Nasution

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This book is dedicated to the memory of  
Muhammad Dahlan Harun @ Muhammad Dahlan Loebis,  
and Teh Puasa binti H. M. Salleh.

This work was made possible by a grant from The Toyota Foundation from 1997-1999, which enabled the authors to carry out research on the 'Penghulu Papers'. The grant also enabled us to retrieve reference materials, conduct interviews and make field trips to various states in Malaysia as well as to Medan and Mandailing in Sumatra. It also allowed us to make presentations of our findings at several seminars and conferences.

The 'Penghulu Papers' consist of family documents belonging to Raja Asal, Raja Bilah and Raja Ya'qub, kept in the Rumah Besar in Papan, Perak. The documents date from the 1870s to 1940s.

In the words of Annabel Teh Gallop, Curator for Indonesian and Malay, The British Library: 'It is rare to find such a cohesive collection of Malay manuscripts documents, covering the activities of three generations of a family of Penghulus, still intact in private hands. I have been able to personally inspect copies of approximately 150 documents which have been transliterated in Romanized Malay, and can confirm the importance of the contents. To the best of my knowledge, no comparable collection of Malay manuscripts of this nature is held outside Malaysia, although there may be smaller numbers of similar documents in the National Archives of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur'.

*Letter, Annabel Teh Gallop, Curator for Indonesian and Malay, The British Library, to The President, The Toyota Foundation, 16 May 1997.*

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## PREFACE

Abdur-Razzaq Lubis and his wife, Khoo Salma Nasution, have made a major impact in the field of Malaysian historiography. Their contributions to the enrichment of Penang's historiography in particular have matched those achieved by scholars attached to universities in both Malaysia and foreign countries.

They have also done very useful work on Perak, and Abdur-Razzaq has spent many years studying the Mandailing community of which he is a member. The present work is a result of many years of sheer hard work. He has discovered private documents and, at the same time, examined official sources.

This is a history of the community in late 19th century and early 20th century Perak. It is even more of a biography of the very well-known Mandailing leader - Raja Bilah. In the process, Abdur-Razzaq also provides a useful picture of the development of tin mining in the Kinta district beginning from the mid-1880s. In all three respects, Abdur-Razzaq's study can lay claim to being a pioneering work.

It may be mentioned in passing that the movement of population from Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula occurred from very early times but among the various groups that have crossed the Straits of Melaka, the Minangkabau and the Acehnese are among the best known today. Indeed the Minangkabau founded the kingdom of Negeri Sembilan in the early 18th century and it has survived to this day. The Acehnese, for a little over a century after the conquest of Melaka by the Portuguese, had a major impact on the history of Kedah, Perak, Pahang and ancient Johor (Johor Lama). The Dato Balai Maharaja Lela (Pandak Lam), implicated in the assassination of J.W.W. Birch, the first British Resident in Perak, was of Acehnese origin.

Among the other Sumatran groups present in the Peninsula, the Mandailing, Rawa, Kerinci, Kampar, Bangkahulu, and Batu Bahara were among the more prominent. All these were conspicuously present in Selangor, while Perak and Pahang also

hada a fair share of the first four-mentioned groups. One area in Perak was actually named Kampar which today is one of the larger towns in the state. It is pertinent to note too that there is still a sizeable concentration of the Rawa in Gopeng, Perak.

But there have been few studies of these groups and most historians hitherto have tended to classify them simply as 'Malays'. Without providing here a more elaborate account of the historical presence of these groups, it may be mentioned that the study of the Peninsular Malay society would be grossly inadequate if no particular attention is paid to the very heterogeneous nature of the Malay population which today includes, among various smaller groups, those of Pattani, Boyan, Javanese and Banjarese descent.

*Raja Bilah and the Mandailings in Perak* adopts the traditional narrative approach. It is pregnant with information about the activities of the Mandailing when they moved in larger numbers to Perak. At the same time, there is also a plethora of information on mining activities in the Kinta district. It confirms, for instance, what has been speculated for some time, that a very substantial portion of the successful Chinese miners in the Kinta were Kah Ying Chiu Hakka. Equally important is an account of the attempts by the Mandailing to participate in the mining sector. But they failed to emulate the Chinese.

This work is a noteworthy example of how Malaysia's local history can be written if the historian is prepared to do field work diligently. And it needs to be added that the lack of local studies has been one of the more obvious shortcomings in Malaysian historiography. Malaysia's cultural diversity demands that more micro-studies should be undertaken without which the macro-view can be seriously flawed. Theories, usually based on speculations and assumptions, are hardly a substitute for accurate information. And when dealing with human affairs, theories, unlike in the physical sciences, cannot be demonstrated to be true by experiments under controlled conditions. They have therefore no predictive value.

Abdur-Razzaq's study also demonstrates that history encompasses more than just politics and economics for it is also indispensable in any attempt to study ethnicity. Moreover, it provides a perspective of the differential development experienced by particular geographical localities which have an important bearing on the present. It is hardly possible to understand any society without first understanding the complex matrix of its foundation and subsequent evolution. No society of course is totally stagnant if it survives, but the rate and nature of development and change are necessarily unique.

One normally expects high quality historiographical studies from members of the university academic community. Abdur-Razzaq operates outside that domain. Yet the quality of his work is in no way inferior. The energy and drive that he has displayed will in the years to come, one can safely venture to say, lead to many more significant contributions to historiographical scholarship. He has indeed set a high standard for even university dons to emulate.

Dato' Dr. Khoo Kay Kim  
 Professor Emeritus  
 Dept. of History, University of Malaya  
 August 2002

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my grandparents, the late Muhammad Dahlan bin Harun @ Muhammad Dahlan Loebis and his wife Teh Pusa binti H.M. Salleh, who transmitted to me the knowledge and legacy of the Mandailings, especially that of Raja Asal, Raja Bilah and Raja Ya'qub. As the eldest son of the eldest son, I had the privilege of their affection and attention. I owe a lot to them and I profoundly love them. As a child and a teenager, I grew up with them during family holidays and school breaks, when they would tell me stories about the Mandailings. These stories kept me enthralled, and sustained my interest in the Mandailings in the years ahead. I carried these stories with me, not quite knowing their significance, until I started research for this book.

My grandmother was from the ruling Mandailing family, being the great-granddaughter of Raja Bilah of the Nasution clan. My grandfather was the grandson of a *datu* of the Lubis clan. The *datu* (bomoh or pawang in Malay parlance) is the Mandailing medicine man or magician who can recite charms and concoct cures for all kind of ailments, from their indigenous knowledge of herbs.

My grandfather always looked up to my grandmother and adored her. Though he was the companion chosen for my grandmother by her granduncle Raja Ya'qub, my grandfather was always conscious that his wife came from a ruling family, whereas he was but an impecunious scholar.

A *murid* (disciple) of the Sufi teacher Tok Kenali of Kelantan, and then a student at the Madrasah Al-Mashoor in Penang, my grandfather was considered an *ustadh* (a man of Islamic learning) by many, although privately, he told me that he did not deserve the title. He was a modest and simple man, who loved to cycle for miles to have his coffee at the Kopi Hailam (Hainanese coffeeshop), even in the Chinese new villages. People called him Mamak Guru (Uncle. The

Teacher). He passed away at the age of 90 years old in 1999, while my grandmother passed away at the age of 92 years old in 2003. They were buried next to each other in the Muslim cemetery in Chemor (al-Fatihah).

Secondly, I would like to thank Khoo Salma Nasution, my loving and understanding wife and co-author, who all these years (more than 7 in all), suffered financially whilst I researched the manuscript in between jobs as a freelance writer, researcher and activist. She encouraged me in my pursuit of the 'Alam Mandailing'. My grandfather told me that if I wanted to marry a Chinese woman, I should marry a Nyonya from Penang or Malacca, as he had the impression that they were cultured and refined. Since marrying Salma, we have collaborated in many enriching and rewarding life projects, including having three lovely children. Salma knows that this book is not the end of this exercise - there is the story of Raja Asal and Raja Ya'qub to tell!

Thirdly, I would like to thank another member of the Khoo clan - Prof. Dato' Khoo Kay Kim, who lent his good word of recommendation when Salma and I applied for the Toyota Foundation research grant to study Mandailing migration. Prof. Khoo has always had a good opinion of me and has been most encouraging and helpful. In spite of our lack of academic credentials, he threw his weight behind us. Prof. Khoo set us, especially me, on an academic journey of no return. For that, I am ever grateful to him. I hope this book stands proof of his good judgment and does him proud.

Thanks are also due to Dr. Muhammad Bukhari Lubis, the then Vice-President of IMAN (Mandailing Welfare Association of Malaysia) for his support of this project. The author (Abdur-Razzaq Lubis) was once the editor of IMAN's newsletter.

My in-laws also deserve special thanks for being there for my family. I hope this book makes up for their 'sacrifices' and pays for their 'investment' especially in their son-in-law, who is always in dire straits. I hope they see this book as their deserving bonus.

Particular mention is due to Drs. Z. Pangaduan Lubis, who introduced me to the world of the Mandailings in Sumatra. Drs. Z. Pangaduan Lubis, an anthropologist, has been studying Mandailing language, folklore and cultural history for more than 20 years now. He was my teacher, guide and companion on my 'incursions' into the Mandailing homeland. My uncle Raja Syahbudin bin Raja Abdul Jalil, the former *kepala desa* (village headman) of Pasar Maga, Mandailing, who had maintained ties with his relatives in Perak over the decades, helped me piece together the history of the two branches of the family in Malaysia and Indonesia. The great deeds of Raja Asal and Raja Bilah have become legend in the Mandailing homeland. Addressing the need to preserve the Mandailing legacy at Papan, Perak, Raja Syahbudin reminded us, 'perjuangan nenek moyang kita janganlah di-sia-siakan' (let not our ancestors' struggles be for nothing).

I would also like to thank Dr. Annabel Teh Gallop who, having seen and read the 'Penghulu Papers', wrote in support of our application to the Toyota Foundation about the significance of the documents with regard to 'Malaysian' historiography. We are encouraged by the fact that her interest in our work has never wavered.



The 'Penghulu Papers' - documents kept in the Rumah Besar in Papan, Perak, covering three generations of Mandailing noblemen, namely Raja Asal, Raja Bilah and Raja Ya'qub, from 1870s to the 1940s, together with *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya* (by Raja Ya'qub), became the basis of this book. I would like to thank my uncle the late Mohd. Shahr Kamaruddin alias Ridwan for allowing me to have access to the family collection. The Jawi documents were transliterated by Haris Hussin, Husnan M. Lubis and my mother Zaleha Bidin. These papers are now kept in the National Archives of Malaysia, Perak branch.

Dr. Geoffrey Wade assisted us in our research and book loans when he was a lecturer at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). Although he is now in Hong Kong University, he remains strongly supportive of our work and sends us research materials from time to time. Peter Zabielskis deserves special mention for scouring the libraries in the United States and Europe for materials on the Mandailings. The artist Alan Flux sought out 19th century materials from various libraries in England. Alan was also kind enough to present me with his painting of the Rumah Besar in Papan.

Those who have helped me along the way include Yeap Ee Ban, Cheong Fong Loon, Law Siak Hong, Raimy Che-Ross, Dra. Hanizah Jonoh, Hareesh Chhabra, Teh Ewe Hooi, Dr. Barbara Leigh, Dr. Michael van Langenberg, Dr. Gijs Koester, Dr. Radin Fernando, Dr. Yasin Dutton, Gwyn Jenkins and her father Roy Jenkins, Drs. Zulkifli Lubis, Haji Abdul Aziz Lubis and his wife Kak Salmah, and the late Haji Mohd Yusof Nasution. Librarian Shahliza bt. Adanan of the National Library; Associate Professor Ahmad Tajuddin bin Rasdi and Syed Ahmad Iskandar Syed Ariffin, from KALAM, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM), assisted me with access to documents.

I would also like to thank the many lecturers and librarian friends at Universiti Sains Malaysia for their assistance. I beg their pardon for not mentioning each of them by name.

I wish to record my gratitude to those who were willing to be interviewed for this book on both sides of the Straits of Malacca (Malaysia and Indonesia). They offered me insights into a world that has now disappeared.

Not least, our thanks to The Toyota Foundation for giving us the grant to conduct research for this book. Our appreciation also goes to two Toyota Foundation officials, Etsuko Kawasaki and Yumiko Himemoto-Hirashi for their understanding and patience: always 'hearing us out'.

Others I would like to thank are Henry Barlow who read the first and final draft of this manuscript and the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for agreeing to publish this book.

If I forgot to mention others who feel that they have helped me in one way or another, please forgive me as it has been a long, long time.

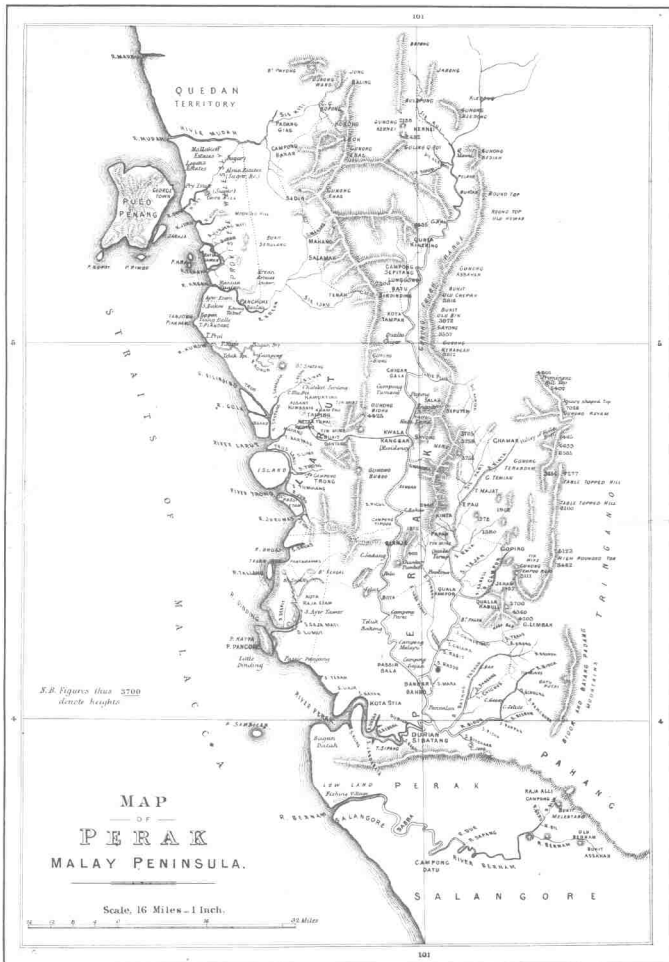
I thank you all and I hope this book will be as meaningful to you as it is to me.

*Abdur-Razzaq Lubis*

# BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**Abdur-Razzaq Lubis** is the project leader of the Toyota Foundation funded research grant project from 1997 to 1999. The project research covers Mandailing migration from their homeland in Mandailing, Sumatra to the peninsula in the 19th century, as well as their indigenous or traditional system of governance and cultural heritage. The research is conducted under the 'Grant-Making Focus' of 'projects initiated and carried out by indigenous researchers'. Abdur-Razzaq Lubis is the author of the website 'Horas Mandailing' at [www.mandailing.org](http://www.mandailing.org). In 2001, he was awarded an Asian Public Intellectual (API) Fellowship grant by The Nippon Foundation.

**Khoo Salma Nasution**, the co-author, is the co-researcher in the Toyota Foundation funded project. She is the Honorary Secretary of the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) and the editor of the Asia & West Pacific Network for Urban Conservation (AWPNUC) Newsletter. A Penang Nyonya, she was installed into the Nasution clan, which makes her a Mandailing by *adat* (custom).



S.E. Figures thus 2700  
denote heights

MAP  
 OF  
**PERAK**  
 MALAY PENINSULA.

Scale, 16 Miles = 1 Inch.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Miles

# RAJA BILAH AND THE MANDAILINGS IN PERAK: 1875-1911<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Raja Bilah<sup>2</sup> was the leader of the Mandailings<sup>3</sup> in Perak from the 1870s until his death in 1911. Born around 1834, Raja Bilah migrated from Maga, Mandailing Julu (Upper Mandailing), Sumatra, to the Peninsula, following in the footsteps of his legendary uncle Raja Asal.<sup>4</sup> Raja Bilah was a *Namora* (nobleman), the son of Raja Todung Barani and the grandson of Raja Ter'ala (also written as Ter'ali) Kali Sakti, likely to have been a Padri judge.<sup>5</sup> Raja Bilah was from the Nasution clan, the ruling clan of Maga, while his mother was from the Rangkuti clan.

Raja Bilah's uncle Raja Asal was undisputedly the greatest Mandailing leader on this side of the Straits of Malacca.<sup>6</sup> His people consisted of hundreds of Mandailing who had migrated *en masse* to escape the aftermath of the Padri War (1821-1837)<sup>7</sup> in Sumatra and to make a better life in the Peninsula. Raja Asal led the Mandailings through three civil wars and times of great hardship, from the 1840s until his death in 1877.<sup>8</sup>

This work however focuses on Raja Bilah who took over the mantle of leadership when Raja Asal passed away, and became the first British-appointed Penghulu of Papan in the state of Perak. In contrast to Raja Asal, Raja Bilah was fortunate to lead the Mandailings in better times, when his people succeeded in making a permanent home for themselves in the Peninsula.

Although it is beyond the scope of the present work, it is necessary to include here a brief overview of the Padri War, the exodus of the Mandailings from Sumatra, and the career of Raja Asal in the Peninsula, simply as a foreground to Raja Bilah's emergence as the leader of the Mandailings and his appointment as Penghulu of Papan.

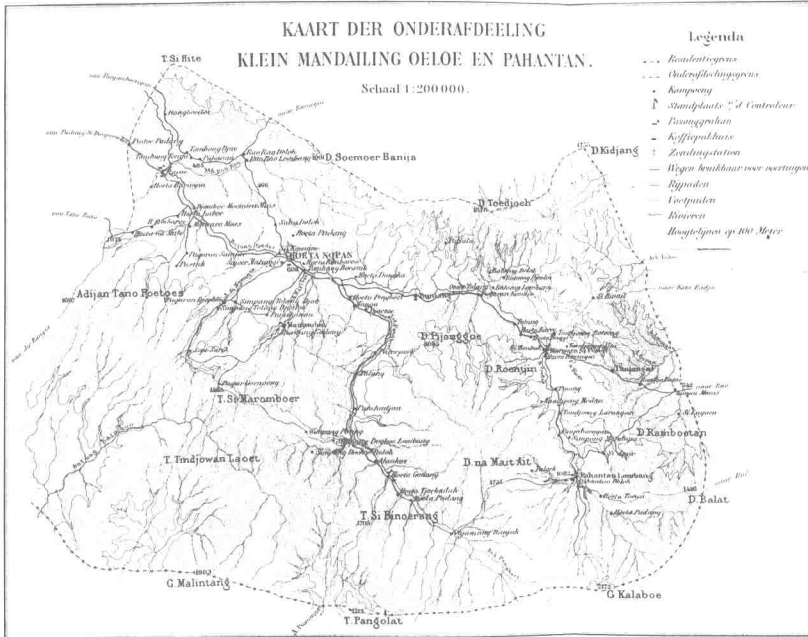
Opposite page: Map of Perak, late 19th century. Author's collection.

# KAART DER ONDERAFDEELING KLEIN MANDAILING OEOLE EN PAHANTAN.

Schaal 1:200 000.

### Legenda

- Reizendtergrens*
- Onderafdelingsgrens*
- Kampwng*
- Standplaats van Controleur*
- Postwng*
- Kyfftopakhuys*
- Zandmystation*
- Wegen bruikbaar voor overtuigen*
- Rijpaden*
- Voetpaden*
- Buizen*
- Hoogtelijnen op 100 Meter*



# THE PADRI WAR AND RAJA BILAH'S MIGRATION TO THE PENINSULA

The most important exodus of the Mandailing people,<sup>1</sup> from their homeland in the northwestern part of Sumatra to the Peninsula, took place during and immediately after the Padri War.<sup>2</sup> In 1820, Padri forces from Minangkabau influenced by Wahabi religious ideology, invaded the Mandailing homelands to the north. The ferocious and prolonged war threw the homelands into chaos.

During the Padri War, many Mandailing groups became Muslim, while retaining their strong customary law (*adat*)<sup>3</sup> and kinship institutions. Possibly influenced by Hambali or Maliki traditions, the Mandailing practice of Islam gives prominence to customary law and usage ('urf) as a form of public good, hence the saying, 'custom alongside religion' (in Malay, *adat berdampingan dengan agama*; in Mandailing, *ombar do adat dohot ugamo*).<sup>4</sup>

The Mandailing kinship system is based on the institution of *markoum sisolkot*, consisting of customary ties between two or more inter-marrying clans, which though patrilineal, demand that the wife-giving clan be honoured and served. *Markoum sisolkot* literally means, 'other clans other than our own, and our own clan'.<sup>5</sup> The key concepts are *marga* (patriclan),<sup>6</sup> *kahanggi* (lineage), *mora* (wife-giving clan) and *anak boru* (wife-receiving clan).<sup>7</sup>

Every Mandailing individual belongs to a patriclan (*marga*), and marriages within the clan are prohibited. The maintenance of extensive genealogies (*tarombo*) allows individuals to establish their identity as well as their relationship to others. The Mandailing also strongly identifies with his or her settlement of origin, so much so that when two Mandailings meet, they first and foremost ask which settlement the other is from.

Mandailing society is governed by a council of the *Namora-Natoras*<sup>8</sup> (The Nobles and The Elders), who are guided by customary law and bound by the

Opposite page: Map of Mandailing Julu (Upper Mandailing), 1896.

Source: door H. Ris, de Onderafdeling Klein Mandailing Oeloe en Pahlantan en hare Bevolking met Uitzondering van de Oeloe's in Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde, Vol. 46, 1896.





The Bagas Godang in Huta na Godang, Upper Mandailing, late 19th century. The architecture, especially the roof, shows Minangkabau influence. The symbolism in the *Bindu Matogu* gable represents the Mandailing's philosophy of life. Mounted on the horse is the local Raja surrounded by his people.

Source: von Joh. Thiessen, *Pakanten ein Merkwürdiger teil Sumatra's*, Verlag Zum Vorteil der Missions-Arbeit, 1910.

Opposite page: (top) A scene in Maga. The building on the left is the Sopo Godang (Council Hall), where the *Namora-Natoras* hold their meetings. The *Sopo Godang* has no walls so that the proceedings can be seen and heard by all parties concerned. The two persons in headgear and overcoat are members of the council. Their 'uniform' was designed by a Dutch Assistant-Resident. By the 1840s the chiefs had already adopted Malay dress, and by the 1890s the men were wearing Malay or European-style clothing. Traditional buildings were also losing their distinctive character. The volcano Gunong Sorik Marapi can be seen in the background.

Source: von Joh. Thiessen, *Pakanten ein Merkwürdiger teil Sumatra's*, Verlag Zum Vorteil der Missions-Arbeit, 1910.

Opposite page: (bottom) Group photograph of the Mandailing community in Sayurmaincat, near Kota Napan, the 'capital' of Upper Mandailing, early 20th century. Raja Junjungan Lubis, the leader of the community, is seated fourth from left.

Courtesy of the family of Raja Junjungan Lubis, Sayurmaincat, Mandailing.

obligations of kinship; *adat* and kinship guaranteeing an individual's place and rights within the society. Mandailing settlements have been characterized as 'village republics', which expand through the creation of autonomous new settlements that are nevertheless 'tied symbolically, politically, and by kinship, to the old'.<sup>9</sup> While the *Namora-Natoras* is headed by a Raja (*Namora*), the consultative process is upheld and decisions are made collectively by the governing council. Unlike the Malays, the Mandailings never had a Sultan, although a Minang-style 'Yang Dipertuan' was introduced by the Dutch in the 19th century.

The Mandailing homeland was under Padri domination for about a decade, during which time some Mandailing settlements opposed the Padri while others took the side of the Padri. Some Mandailing leaders even became famous



Padri generals. In an attempt to check on Padri expansionism, Raja Gadombang, the Raja of Huta na Godang in Upper Mandailing went to Rao on the northern frontier of the Minangkabau lands, and asked the Dutch to put his realm under Dutch rule in 1832.<sup>10</sup>

Soon disillusioned with Dutch rule, Sutan Mangkutur, the brother of Raja Gadombang, rose against the Dutch in 1839-1840 but the rebellion was put down.<sup>11</sup> In 1842, another rebellion broke out in Mandailing against the Dutch, but was nipped in the bud.<sup>12</sup>

The traditional leadership of the Mandailing settlements, called the *Namora-Natoras* by that time offered resistance to Dutch rule,<sup>13</sup> and to counter this, the Dutch backed rival leaders favoured by them, thus creating a split in the communities. Under Dutch colonial rule, many restrictions were introduced, and the Mandailings were forced to plant coffee and other cash crops under the 'cultuurstelsel' system of forced cultivation.<sup>14</sup>

The Padri War as well as subsequent Dutch rule resulted in destruction of habitat, hardship and political conflict and unrest, directly or indirectly triggering the large-scale migration of the Mandailings to the Peninsula in the 19th century, led by their leaders the *Namora-Natoras*.

In earlier times, many Mandailings, as well as the Minang and Rawa, who were miners in their homeland, had sojourned (*merantau*) to the Peninsula attracted by tin and gold mines.<sup>15</sup> The Mandailings had a tradition of 'Pai Kolang', by which they meant sojourning to the west coast of the Peninsula, including present-day Klang.<sup>16</sup>

However, the migrations caused by the Padri War were unprecedented in scale and in the impact they had on the Peninsula. The classic pattern of Mandailing migration within and without Sumatra was 'merantau [of the] whole clan at the same time under united command'<sup>17</sup> of the leadership of the *Namora-Natoras*. In fact, two or more clans usually migrate together in order to maintain the kinship system of *markoum sisolkot*.<sup>18</sup>

Many Mandailing sojourners had already been fighting for years in the Padri War. As a militant force competing with the locals and other *orang dagang* (foreign traders) for control of mines and water ways, the Mandailings were implicated in at least four civil wars in the Peninsula – the Rawa War in Sungai Ujong (1848),<sup>19</sup> the Pahang War (1857-1863),<sup>20</sup> the Selangor War, also known as the 'Perang Kelang' to the Malays and 'Porang Kolang' to the Mandailings (1867-1873),<sup>21</sup> and the Perak War (1875).<sup>22</sup>

Around 1840, Raja Asal son of Raja Ter'ala, a *Namora* (a nobleman) of the Nasution clan, from the settlement of Maga in Upper Mandailing, travelled to the Peninsula, escorted by his followers. Raja Asal left Maga out of hatred (*kasumat*) for the Dutch and to avoid conflict with his relations.<sup>23</sup> In spite of Raja Asal's strong claim to the Rajaship of Maga, the Dutch had backed his relative for this position.<sup>24</sup>



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محمد ازف هاري بود که در سنه ١٢٩٤ هجری قمری در کلبه ای که در راون  
 افتد سیهامه گن هم در کلبه ای که در راون افتد سیهامه گن  
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 افتد سیهامه گن هم در کلبه ای که در راون افتد سیهامه گن

Arriving in Raub, Pahang, at the age of around 40, Raja Asal met with a group of Mandailing *Namora-Natoras* as well as other Sumatrans.<sup>25</sup> Due to his reputation as an outstanding Raja in the homeland, Raja Asal was soon acknowledged as the leader of the Mandailings in Raub. Raja Asal's home, Maga, was in Mandailing Julu (Upper Mandailing or 'Lesser Mandailing').<sup>26</sup>

When the Pahang War (1857-63) broke out, the Mandailing and their Rawa allies took the side of Wan Mutahir against Wan Ahmad.<sup>27</sup> Raja Asal was named in *Hikayat Pahang* as the leader of the Mandailings during the Pahang War ('kepala orang Mendeheleng').<sup>28</sup> Family oral tradition has it that Raja Asal married Wan Puteh,<sup>29</sup> a relation of Wan Mutahir, and as a consequence of the tradition of Mandailing loyalty to the in-law's family, Raja Asal and his Mandailing followers were dragged into the civil war.<sup>30</sup>

Defeated in Pahang, Raja Asal and his followers fled to Selangor, where the Mandailings as well as other *orang dagang* were already well-established.<sup>31</sup> Here the Mandailings had been mining tin and enjoying prosperity for decades.<sup>32</sup> In the late 1850s, a Mandailing leader, Raja Brayun, had been instrumental in the installation of the Raja Abdus-Samad to the Selangor throne.<sup>33</sup> Skilled in harnessing the river through dam-building, the Mandailings opened up many new tin-mining settlements - Ampang (which means 'dam'), Bonus (Kampong Bharu today),<sup>34</sup> Gerongkang, as well as settlements in Ulu Langat and Kajang.<sup>35</sup>

In the 1860s, a Mandailing tin merchant named Sutan Puasa of the Lubis clan 'founded' Kuala Lumpur.<sup>36</sup> Sutan Puasa became one of the wealthiest merchants and foremost community leaders of Kuala Lumpur for the next forty

#### Translation

2 February 1868, letter in Jawi, from Raja Asal to Sultan Abdus-Samad of Selangor, requesting a loan.

Year 1284

On the 8th day of the 10th month, at that time, I, Raja Asal deputize Raja Bilah my son who will ask for money from your Lordship the Ruler of Selangor, to the amount of five hundred ringgit \$500, because of my debts to the White Men and Chinese and Malays, in order that the creditors may be paid. Clearly authorized. End.

And (by) the Books (Allah has revealed)

Muhammad, Clerk.

years or so. In Selangor, Raja Asal, Sutan Puasa and Yap Ah Loy became business partners.

It was in Selangor that Raja Asal asked his nephew Raja Bilah to join him. About 1860, Raja Bilah arrived and met his uncle in Hulu Klang with the other Mandailing *Namora-Natoras*.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that Raja Bilah spent some years in East Sumatra, before coming to the Peninsula. Raja Bilah's presence in Selangor was noted in a historical account by a Kerinchi migrant named Abdullah Hukum, who recalled that around 1859 or 1860, he took a contract job to make bunds for Raja Bilah.<sup>38</sup> Soon afterwards, Raja Bilah sent for his wife Enche Nai'mas and their eldest daughter Raja Rabiah. Enche Nai'mas (also called Ungku Nai'mas) was the daughter of Maharaja Mandailing of the Rangkuati clan.<sup>39</sup>

Raja Asal had no children of his own, and so regarded Raja Bilah as his own son. By the same token, Raja Bilah, who had left his father behind in Mandailing, looked up to Raja Asal as his own father, in keeping with Mandailing tradition, whereby the uncle is often charged with raising the nephew, so much so that the nephew's relationship with his uncle might be even stronger than his relationship with his own father.

In 1869, Raja Asal introduced Yap Ah Loy to Sultan Abdus-Samad, requesting the Sultan to help settle a Chinese dispute.<sup>40</sup> Raja Asal's relationship with the Bugis ruler was close enough that, when in financial straits, he turned to Sultan Abdus-Samad for a loan. He sent Raja Bilah as his representative, bearing a letter dated 2 February 1868, which reveals that Raja Asal had accumulated debts to the 'White Men and Chinese and Malays'.<sup>41</sup>

The Jawi letter, penned by a scribe named Muhammad, was stamped with Raja Asal's ten-sided seal. In the document, Raja Asal refers to Raja Bilah as his son. The letter showed that Raja Bilah was completely trusted by his uncle Raja Asal in money matters.

In 1867, fighting between Raja Mahdi and Raja Abdullah had already broken out, and the Mandailings again found themselves implicated in another civil war. The Mandailings fought out of loyalty to Raja Mahdi, the patron of the *orang dagang*, and also in order to protect the tin mines and settlements they had developed. According to a Kerinchi account, the Mandailings were led by

Raja Asal, Raja Bilah, Raja Othman, Raja Ira, Samripun, Sidi Raja, Raja Bernang and Sutan Puasa. Those who became commandants were all Mandailings, such as Imam Perang Raja Berungun,<sup>42</sup> Imam Perang Seri Handalan,<sup>43</sup> Panglima Raja, Panglima Muda Segara, Imam Perang Sebahgidad, Panglima Muda and Imam Perang Malim.<sup>44</sup>

While not much is known about Raja Asal's role in the Pahang War, in contrast, writings on the Selangor War from Bugis, Malay, Kerinchi, Chinese and British sources, are full of details on the involvement of Raja Asal and the Mandailings in that episode. Raja Asal and Sutan Puasa were allies of Yap Ah Loy, and even played an instrumental role in Yap Ah Loy's installation as the third Kapitan

China of Kuala Lumpur and leader of the Fei Chew Hakka.<sup>45</sup> During the Selangor War (1867-1873), alliances were grouped and regrouped, each side experiencing episodes of victory and defeat. The final alliances were only clear towards the end of the civil war - Sultan Abdus-Samad, Tengku Kudin and the Kedah Malays, the Pahang Malays and Minangs, Yap Ah Loy and the Fei Chew Hakkas on the winning side, backed by the British, and Raja Asal and the Mandailings, the Rawas and the Kah Yeng Chew Hakkas on the losing side. The family chronicle put it very concisely.

By a decree of God, there arose a mischievous quarrel between Raja Mahdi, the place of refuge for the foreign traders, and Tengku Diyauddin of Kedah, the Viceroy of Sultan Abdus-Samad of Selangor. The fight started in 1867 and lasted until 1873.<sup>46</sup>

Towards the end of the Selangor War, the Mandailings suffered great losses and became desperate. After the fall of Raja Asal's bases in Kuala Lumpur and Ulu Langat, the Mandailings retreated and fled to Perak.<sup>47</sup> The Mandailings were perceived as such a political threat that Sultan Abdus-Samad declared them a menace and ordered their extermination.<sup>48</sup> According to the family chronicle,

In the chaos, Raja Asal put it to Raja Bilah and all the relations, elders and followers - that they could not stay in that place any more, as they could not even buy food. Therefore, they migrated together to the state of Perak.<sup>49</sup>

This account implies that the Mandailings practised their tradition of governance by consultation. They made a collective decision and moved to Perak, together with the women and the children.

In their flight, the Mandailings passed through Gombak, Bandar Liam, Hulu Selangor, and reached Hulu Bernam on the border of Perak and Selangor. From there they made their way to Sungkai,<sup>50</sup> and then downriver to Chikus. They mined in Chikus,<sup>51</sup> not far from Batang Padang, but were disappointed with the poor mines.<sup>52</sup>

## RAJA ASAL AND RAJA BILAH IN PERAK

It was under these circumstances that Raja Asal met the Perak British Resident J.W.W. Birch, slightly less than a year before the latter was assassinated at Pasir Salak. Raja Asal approached Birch in Batang Padang on 7 December 1874.<sup>1</sup> Birch, who had just been appointed the first Resident for Perak, was touring the state and meeting the local chiefs. In the morning, Birch had just issued a warning against a local chief, Tengku Panglima Besar, commonly known as Raja Ngah<sup>2</sup> of Bidor, a cousin and follower of Raja Ismail, formerly a Sultan before the Pangkor Treaty.

There had previously been some trouble in Kinta between Raja Ngah and a Mandailing entrepreneur named Kulop Riow,<sup>3</sup> who developed Gopeng and Sungai Raya. Kulop Riow already had Mandailing and Chinese miners working under him in Gopeng in the early 1870s. In 1873, possibly as a punishment against Kulop Riow for evading the heavy tin duties, Sultan Ismail seized 30 to 50 baharas of tin from the Chinese miners in Gopeng, who subsequently petitioned the Straits Government for compensation.<sup>4</sup>

When he was Sultan, Ismail had also 'threatened to kill Kulop Riow for having built a road and imported a few hundred Mendelings (sic) from Sumatra to open mines at Sungai Raya, because, he said, roads and mines attracted Europeans; he seized all the tin and imposed such heavy taxes that the mining population fell from more than two thousand to four hundred'.<sup>5</sup>

Swettenham wrote in his journal about 'Kooloop Riow', stating that he,

... with 'S[ultan] (sic) Abdullah's permission and that of R. (sic) Ismail, opened mines at Gopeng, but that seeing Kooloop Riow was prospering and had built many good houses at the place, he became extremely jealous and sent R. (sic) Ngah to attack him...'<sup>6</sup>

Raja Ngah apparently also had Mandailings on his side, notably one Raja Uteh. Therefore Birch's notice of 7 December 1874, which issued a warning to 'all the evil persons' who were with Raja Ngah, also referred to the latter's 'Rawa, Mendiling (sic) and Samatra (sic)' followers.<sup>7</sup>

After only one meeting with Raja Asal, however, Birch gained a totally different impression of the Mandailing and Rawa people. As Birch recorded in his diary,

Raja Asal came to see me from the mines at Killien Bahru, he is a very nice spoken old man he has I believe great influence among the Mendiling men in which country he was a Rajah. He can command he tells me about 200 or 300 and could collect a great many more because all the Rawa men would rally to him.<sup>8</sup>

Raja Asal asked Birch for monetary assistance and sought permission 'to take his men and settle at Slim where he is sure he could soon make a first rate profit by tin and good gardens etc'.<sup>9</sup> Raja Asal offered to be 'responsible for the peace', to do anything required of him, and even 'to assist the government'. As a result of this meeting, Birch recruited Raja Asal to check on Raja Ngah.<sup>10</sup>

Birch so trusted Raja Asal that when the Selangor authorities got wind that Raja Asal might have been involved in troubles in the state, Birch wrote that he was 'quite willing to be responsible...for Raja Asal'.<sup>11</sup>

Raja Asal and his followers settled down to mine at Slim.<sup>12</sup> However by October 1875 they ran short of supplies.<sup>13</sup> According to the family account, while waiting for the padi harvest, the men and their families suffered great difficulty and hardship. 'Foodstuff could not be bought although each of them had money in the pocket'.<sup>14</sup> As the chief, Raja Asal had the duty, as 'the well that does not dry up', to ensure that his people did not go hungry.<sup>15</sup> If no food was available, his people might have been forced to leave Raja Asal in spite of their loyalty to him. Thus Raja Asal instructed Raja Bilah to go to Penang to try and buy rice and provisions there.<sup>16</sup>

Raja Bilah travelled downstream to Durian Sebatang and proceeded to Bandar Bharu to meet up with Birch. He caught up with Birch while the latter was sailing down Sungai Bemam. On 15 October, Birch had had an audience with Raja Itam,<sup>17</sup> chief of Bemam, and later in the day, Raja Bilah approached him. Birch wrote in his diary,

Rajah Asal's nephew came to see me with 36 piculs of tin he had brought down, the first result of his having tried to settle himself with his men and try to take industrial habits and give up his predatory life.<sup>18</sup>

Raja Bilah complained that Raja Itam had detained his tin and had warned him not to tell Birch about it, promising to see what he could do only after Birch had gone. From his diary, it is clear that Birch approved of Raja Bilah's honest endeavours, but disapproved of Raja Itam's taxations. Birch was willing to go out of his way to help Raja Bilah. 'I told him that I would delay going out

as I had intended and would ship his tin and give him passage to Penang'.<sup>19</sup>

The very next morning, Birch 'took in Raja Asal's tin'<sup>20</sup> and sailed on, discussing matters with Raja Bilah on the way.

Raja Asal's nephew tells me that a great deal of red gum comes from Rotan Jernang, and there is a great quantity at Gunong Berang, if we will only make the Sakkais work, or give orders that they may work for anyone.<sup>21</sup>

Birch gleaned some valuable information from his new informant about the possibilities of obtaining economic forest products, in this case 'dragon's blood'<sup>22</sup> which was extracted from Rotan Jernang for use in medicines and varnishes. Raja Bilah may have been asking Birch to overrule Tok Sampoh<sup>23</sup> who apparently held sway over the Orang Asli, preventing them from taking up work for anyone else.<sup>24</sup>

Birch did not proceed to Penang but stayed behind in Bandar Bharu, a decision that would change the course of Malaysian history. Before parting ways, Birch gave Raja Bilah a letter in Jawi to ensure that he would not be harassed by the Malay chiefs of Sungai Bernam on the way back from Penang.<sup>25</sup>

British Resident, Perak.

This is to notify Raja Hitam and Raja Endut<sup>26</sup> and Dato' Sampok at Slim that Raja Bilah has hereby obtained permission to pass through Sungai Bernam, free from all taxes on goods and other such from Penang. This is to notify (the above) that this notice should be obeyed and should not be transgressed.

Bandar Bharu:

Written on 19th October 1875, which is the 18th day of Ramadhan 1292

Signed

J.W.W. Birch

Chinese chop

Malay chop

After obtaining the letter, Raja Bilah went to Malacca first, probably to sell his tin, then sailed to Penang. While in Penang, he heard news about Birch's assassination at Pasir Salak on 2 November 1875, and the fighting and chaos which had broken out subsequently.<sup>27</sup> Under instructions from the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir William Drummond Jervois, the battleship 'Egeria' was 'employed in blockading the coast of Perak from the Laroot River to the Bernam River inclusive'.<sup>28</sup> This blockade meant that Raja Bilah would not be able to make his way back to Slim.

In Penang, Raja Bilah had no choice but to appear before Governor Jervois pleading for permission to bring foodstuff back into Kuala Bernam. After being thoroughly investigated and interrogated by the Governor, he was issued a pass. Raja Bilah then rented a schooner named *Bintang Timur*, navigated by a Malaccan captain Enci' Muhammad Katas, and set sail for Slim. He arrived safely, and reported to Raja Asal. The much needed foodstuff and provisions

were distributed to Raja Asal's people, who received them with much gratitude and stayed with Raja Asal.<sup>29</sup>

After Birch's murder, Frank Swettenham was made a Deputy Commissioner to Perak to assist in the pacification of the country and the capture of those thought to have been responsible for Birch's death.<sup>30</sup> Among the wanted men was Raja Ngah, over whom Birch had earlier asked Raja Asal to keep under surveillance. In a letter received by Swettenham on 24 January 1876, Raja Asal reported that Raja Ngah had been sighted at Bidor, probably asking Swettenham if he should take action against the Malay chief. Swettenham replied immediately with a letter in Jawi, sending a consignment of arms and asking Raja Asal 'to do the job at once'.<sup>31</sup>

#### Important

Signed  
Frank Swettenham

This letter from us Tuan Swettenham at Bandar Bharu to be handed safely to our friend (sahabat beta) Raja Asal who is at Slim.

After that, the matter. Therefore our friend's letter has reached us safely. Therefore we now deliver a consignment of guns, gunpowder and kip<sup>32</sup> into Raja Asal's hands, if the one sent reaches you. Therefore we ask our friend to do the job at once. Therefore we hereby inform our friend, there is no other sign of friendship (almahabah) only many salutes to our friend. Adanya.<sup>33</sup>

Raja Asal and his followers carried out the assignment at Perlak in Sungkai. Panglima Besar (Raja Ngah) and one of his warriors Panglima Raja resisted being brought before Swettenham. A fight broke out, and one of Raja Asal's men Ja Bidun<sup>34</sup> was wounded, but they managed to send the Perak warriors packing to Pahang.<sup>35</sup> Raja Asal reported the success of the mission to Swettenham at Durian Sebatang on 15 February 1876.

Raja Asal arrived to tell me he had driven Raja Ngah from Songkei wounding two men and killing one. He took 2 elephants, which he gave to me. I ordered him to send them to Kinta.<sup>36</sup>

Two weeks later, on 16 March 1876, Swettenham issued a note in English to Raja Asal stating that 'Raja Asal and Che Ismail<sup>37</sup> are allowed to work tin mines (Except at Pappan) between Kinta<sup>38</sup> and Blanja'.<sup>39</sup>



## PAPAN MINES

Papan was eventually awarded by Swettenham to Raja Asal, for Sir Hugh Low, as the new British Resident of Perak, wrote in his letter to the Colonial Secretary dated 26 July 1877 that:

Raja Asal would seem to have been already sufficiently rewarded, as he says Mr. Swettenham gave him the sole right of mining from the Papan Mines to the mouth of the Kinta River, an immense concession and, as far as I have seen, containing the most productive tin mines in the State.<sup>1</sup>

This was confirmed by J. Douglas in a letter dated 14 September 1877, to the Colonial Secretary, who wrote that:

Raja Asal has been most handsomely rewarded by the gift of the Papan mines by Mr. Swettenham to him - they are probably the richest mines in the Malay Peninsula.<sup>2</sup>

Governor Sir Frederick Weld's despatch dated 13 August 1881 to Lord Kimberley revealed that the former Governor Jervis had personally approved the award of the mines to Raja Asal in recognition of his services in the Perak War. 'Raja Asal, was permitted by Sir W. Jervis to work some mines abandoned by those who had opposed the British troops in Perak'.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that the mines given to Raja Asal formerly belonged to ex-Sultan Ismail, who had been deposed under the Pangkor Treaty of 1874. Sultan Ismail was known to have owned at least four mines, the most valuable being at 'Pappan'.<sup>4</sup>

Papan was originally a lumber town. 'Papan, plank; village so named because formerly they used to make planks there,' recorded Jacques de Morgan in his survey of the Kinta valley.<sup>5</sup> The Malay word 'Papan' means plank, whereas the Cantonese name for 'Ka Pan' means 'first wood'.<sup>6</sup> According to oral tradition,

chengal was sawn here in the 1840s from timber extracted from the jungles of Ulu Johan upstream from Papan.<sup>7</sup> The sawn timber was transported to Pangkalan Pegoh, a river port on a tributary of the Kinta river. The chengal woodcutters were said to be Malays while the sawyers in Papan Town were Chinese. The presence of a Chinese settlement is testified by the existence of a Goddess of Mercy Temple in Papan established in 1847.<sup>8</sup>

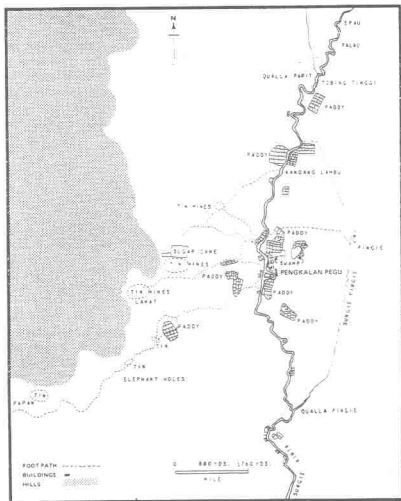
The *Tarikh Raja Asal* cites the award of the mines at Kinta as a watershed in the fate of the Mandailings.

Therefore because of Raja Asal's deed it was decreed by God that this should be the way he and Raja Bilah and their followers gained entry into the Kinta district.<sup>9</sup>

Raja Asal was also given four elephants by the government to be used for transport. The elephants were named Kulub Pileh, Kulub Bidur, Itam Pingat, and a female elephant. Swettenham had asked Raja Asal to send these elephants to Kinta. These elephants were subsequently returned to the government as the costs of their upkeep exceeded their benefit.<sup>10</sup>

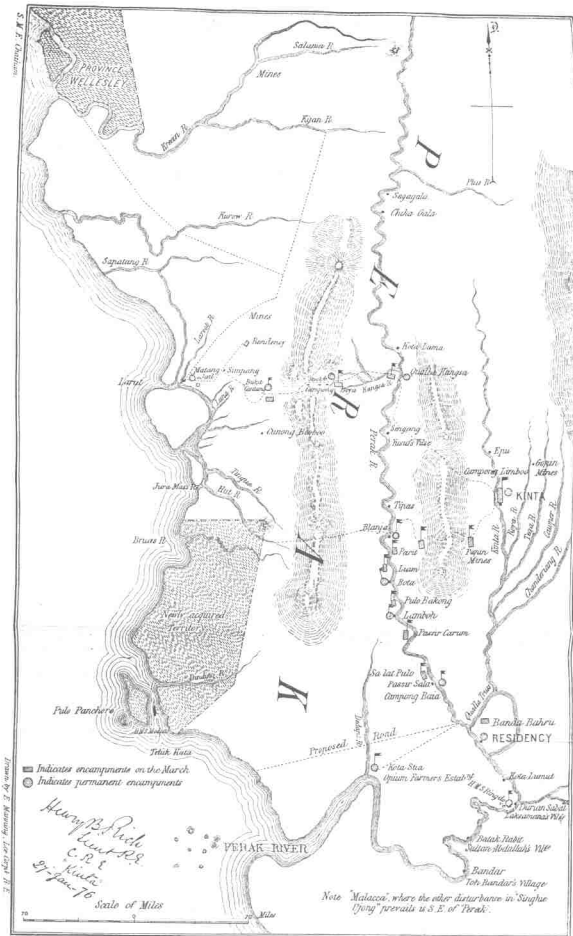
*Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya* describes the hardship the Mandailings went through to migrate to their "promised land" in Kinta. No longer in hiding from the Malay or British authorities, Raja Asal, Raja Bilah and their followers uprooted themselves again and moved from Lower Slim to Durian Sebatang. From there, some of Raja Asal's followers migrated to other places such as Malacca, Batu Pahat (possibly in East Sumatra), Asahan in East Sumatra and Selama in Upper Perak.<sup>11</sup>

From Durian Sebatang, Raja Asal's people journeyed upriver into Sungai Kinta. The passage was difficult because at the time Sungai Kinta was obstructed with thorny undergrowth. According to family oral tradition, Raja Asal met Raja Idris (later Sultan) around Kampar. Raja Idris, who had heard of Raja Asal's reputation as a miner, offered them a place to shelter and settle at Changkat Piatu.<sup>12</sup> Two months after they started their journey, they arrived in Pangkalan Kacha, a landing-stage on Sungai Kinta which served as the river port for Papan. Pangkalan Kacha was just downriver from Pangkalan Pegoh, the first British station in the Kinta valley.<sup>13</sup>



Ex-Sultan Ismail generally resides at Blanja, as his new mines are more accessible from there, but his family all reside at Kinta, at the head of the river of that name, to which he goes overland by elephants from Blanja<sup>14</sup>.

Source: P.L. Burns (ed.), *The Journals of J.W.W. Birch First British Resident to Perak 1874-1875*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1976, p. 390.



Raja Asal's people cleared the land at Pangkalan Kacha and established a settlement there. There, each of them built their own homes. The family chronicle records that 'Encik Muhammad Egek, a compassionate man, helped them get timber to furnish their houses'.<sup>14</sup> The first place where the Mandailing men and women cultivated padi was called Ladang Lebar (Broad Field). They also planted fruit trees, and while waiting for the orchards to bear fruits they were engaged in mining.<sup>15</sup> Pangkalan Kacha was the first Mandailing settlement in Kinta, and it later became known as Changkat Piatu.<sup>16</sup>

Before long, children were born to three of the families at Pangkalan Kacha. The first was Bainah daughter of Raja Banding, a Mandailing leader in Ampang during the Klang War. The second was Raja Muhammad Ya'qub son of Raja Bilah (born on 7 Rejab 1294 / 18 July 1877). The third was Abdul Kadir son of Dato' Stia Raja. They were the first three Mandailing children to be born in Kinta. Raja Bilah's third child Raja Kamariah, was also born in Pangkalan Kacha.<sup>17</sup>

Raja Asal opened mines (klian) at Papan, at Dendang near Sungai Terap and at Pulau near Sungai Raya.<sup>18</sup> The family chronicle describes the Mandailing's mining activities at Raja Asal's mines, which were all worked by his own followers employing indigenous methods, involving the use of *tong*, *kua-kua*, *teku* and *Relau Semut*.<sup>19</sup>

Raja Asal had been in Kinta for only slightly more than a year when he passed away on 14 November 1877. He had lived long enough to see the birth of Raja Ya'qub, but not to see the Mandalings prosper in their new home.

In this mining enterprise, Raja Asal was unfortunate in that he never made a profit but always made a loss. Under these circumstances, the decree and order of God fell upon him on 8 Zulkaedah the year of 1294 H. He returned to the mercy of God and was buried at Changkat Piatu (previously known as Pangkalan Kacha), on the banks of the Kinta River.<sup>20</sup>

Swettenham believed that 'Raja Asal was ruined by the venture and is stated to have committed suicide in consequence'.<sup>21</sup> Of course, his descendants denied this as an outrageous allegation and maintained that Raja Asal died of old age.

According to Mandailing custom, when a Raja passes away, a grand funeral is organised to honour him. The *Namora-Natoras* are summoned, and a caretaker Raja is elected to preside over the funeral rites. Hence the saying, 'A Raja dies, a Raja lives.' The entire community is mobilized to carry out this elaborate funeral. The deceased Raja is laid in a coffin, which is then put on a stretcher (*roto*). The *roto* is carried in a solemn procession, with standard-bearers, to the burial site, accompanied by a dirge (*bombat*) solemnly played on the ensemble of the nine great drums (*Gordang Sambilan*), and the firing of guns and cannons. The mourning period (*mardangol*) lasts for at least one month and ten days, at the end of which a ceremony to 'remove sand from one's eyes' (*patar-tar rihit tingon mata*) is conducted to signify the end of the mourning period. After this, a ceremony is held to install the Raja's successor.<sup>22</sup>

Opposite page: Map of Perak drawn by E. Manning, Lance Corporal, Royal Engineers in 1876, showing the Papan mines as 'Papi Mines'.

Source: Rich, Henry B (Lieut.), A Short Account of the Campaign in the Malay Peninsula, including the operations in Perak and Sungie Ujong, November 1875 - February 1876

Raja Asal was buried at Changkat Piatu. Today, his tomb is still visited by Mandailings from all over Malaysia and Sumatra, as Raja Asal is revered as the legendary leader of the Mandailings even amongst present-day Mandailings.<sup>23</sup>

Raja Asal's death left Raja Bilah in 'adversity and poverty'.<sup>24</sup> Raja Asal left behind his widow, Wan Puteh, without any children of his own. His nephew Raja Bilah was his sole heir and successor. Now a mature man in his mid-40s, Raja Bilah assumed the mantle of leadership of the Mandailing people. He also inherited Raja Asal's massive debts.

The government took account of Raja Asal's liabilities which amounted to \$3,500, and made Raja Bilah responsible for their repayment. Raja Asal had died intestate, leaving financial burdens which threatened to ruin his family.<sup>25</sup>

Sir Hugh Low, who had taken office as Resident of Perak earlier in the year, was not about to let that happen. Low made it his business to get to know the local 'Malay' leaders and to co-opt them if possible. Managing the finances of the Perak government efficiently and prudently, Low was afterwards known as the administrator who got Perak out of its enormous war debt.<sup>26</sup>

After investigating the matter, the Resident sent an authorisation letter in Jawi to Raja Bilah appointing him the successor of Raja Asal and making him executor of the latter's estate.<sup>27</sup> He set out Raja Asal's affairs very clearly so that Raja Bilah knew exactly where he stood.

#### Authorisation Letter

From us (kita) Tuan Hugh Low Resident of Perak to Raja Bilah. Firstly, Raja Bilah is authorised to take charge of the assets of the late Raja Asal who died without leaving a will. Raja Bilah is allowed to claim all monies and goods which others owed to Raja Asal, and upon the receipt of these monies he should deposit them with the Magistrate of Kinta who is stationed at Pangkalan Pegoh.

The second matter, as for the waters of Sungai Johan and Papan, these belong to the Government of Perak but have been placed under Raja Asal's jurisdiction - no one should divide or make use of the waters from the two rivers save with the permission of Raja Bilah and the concurrence of the Magistrate of Kinta.

Thirdly, as for the mines in Pulau, those mines are presently owing to Raja Asal approximately eight hundred ringgit, the Government shall give the agency to anyone who wants to re-work the mines, on condition that he pays into the estate of Raja Asal three hundred and fifty ringgit, and if he pays the amount, the houses shall be rented to him and all the furnitures shall belong to him.

Fourthly, the other mines which were opened at Raja Asal's expense, but are presently not worked for lack of manpower, these can be worked and profited from by anyone who pays (the estate of) Raja Asal adequately for the houses and furnitures.

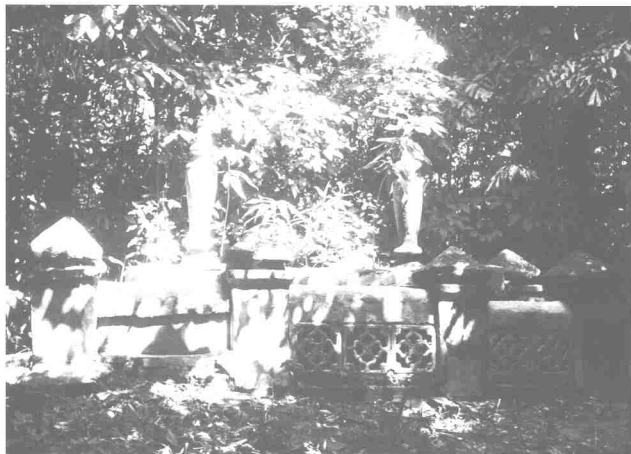
Fifthly, the Dendang mines, from the past, and for several generations, have belonged to Hussain's wife from her ancestors, therefore Raja Asal had no right to work there save with the permission of the heirs of Hussain's wife.

Sixthly, the Magistrate of Kinta is empowered to issue passes to allow people to carry arms<sup>28</sup> while in the jungle, but in applying for the passes, they must have a letter from Raja Bilah or Dato' Damang stating that the bearer should be given a pass. Hal inilah adanya.

From this authorization letter, it is clear that Hugh Low had a close working relationship with Raja Bilah. In issuing the 'authorisation letter', Low made certain decisions concerning Raja Asal's estate, rather than allowing the estate to be settled according to Islamic law of inheritance (*fara'id*). Low's action went against the grain of the Pangkor Treaty that precluded the 'advice' of the British Resident 'touching (upon) Malay Religion and Custom'. What is meant by 'Malay Religion' is, of course, Islam.

Since his arrival in Kinta, Raja Bilah had been buying tin ore from the area around Pangkalan Pegoh, Papan and Sungai Johan in Kinta. In his determination to pay off his debts, Raja Bilah also worked the mines and planted padi. Apart from taking care of his people, he now had two children to feed. He thanked the Almighty that he and his people had enough to eat despite the consuming debt repayments.<sup>29</sup>

Raja Asal's mausoleum in Changkat Platu (Solitary Hillock), previously known by the name of the river port Pangkalan Kacha. (Courtesy of *Muzium Negara* (National Museum).)



About two weeks after Raja Asal's death, Raja Bilah received a letter in Jawi dated 30 November 1877 from Captain Robert Bruce, Assistant Police Commissioner in Perak, who was stationed at Pangkalan Pegoh.

This letter is from me (sahaya) Tuan Bruce Magistrate to our friend (sahabat beta) Raja Bilah The Noble at Pangkalan Kacha. The following matter, I therefore inform our friend if any fights break out in Pangkalan Kacha or Papan. I do not know of other people (who could handle the matter). Demikian adanya.<sup>30</sup>

Since the Mandailings played a role in securing Kinta during the Perak War, the British saw it fit to appoint them as native peace-keepers, filling in the power vacuum that arose after ex-Sultan Ismail was ousted. Bruce regarded Raja Bilah as the only person he could rely on to help the police keep order in that part of Kinta.

Raja Bilah took the police magistrate's instructions very seriously, to the extent of moving from the Mandailing settlement at Pangkalan Kacha to the mining town at Papan, which had a mainly Chinese population. He was accompanied by his pregnant wife Enche Nai'mas, their children, Raja Rabbiah, Raja Ya'qub, a new-born baby girl Raja Kamariah, and their extended family, Raja Asal's widow Wan Puteh, her niece Wan Mariamah, and Abdus Salam, another member of Raja Asal's family.<sup>31</sup>

Up till now Raja Bilah's life in the Peninsula had been filled with warfare, financial losses and spiritual hardship. But now the Almighty showered him with mercy.<sup>32</sup> Raja Bilah was one of those Kinta chiefs who were fortunate to be in the right place at the right historic moment, when the Perak government was very anxious to stimulate the development of Kinta. It was just the beginning of a tin boom which would produce untold wealth for the miners, the revenue-collectors and the state of Perak.

# RAJA BILAH, COLLECTOR OF TIN DUTIES

From the beginning of his term in 1877, the Resident of Perak Sir Hugh Low set out to cultivate friendly relations with the Ruler and chiefs,

to seek their help in all matters and give them a real interest in the Government; then to organize the various offices - Lands, Customs, Mines, Public Works, Magistrates' Courts, Surveys, and whatever he found necessary for a satisfactory system of administration'.<sup>1</sup>

The Resident's task was to ensure that all revenues should be collected by government officers, in the name of the government, and be paid into a government treasury. As Swettenham noted,

That in itself was a very unpopular measure, only carried into effect by the "peaceful persuasion" of an armed police force. The result was that every chief in the country was immediately deprived of his income, and the Government had to provide for him by giving him a fixed allowance at least as large as the income he had hitherto enjoyed.<sup>2</sup>

During the Perak War, all the native rajas who were hostile to British rule had been forcibly removed or pensioned off. The old chiefs who were not inimical to the British regime were co-opted into the administration, together with incomers like Raja Bilah. Hugh Low noted that Kinta was "inhabited by a very conservative population of Malays, who did not at first approve of the introduction of strangers, the clearing of rivers or construction of roads,"<sup>3</sup> but five years later he was able to report,

this feeling has now almost entirely died out, and there is now no more energetic chief than Toh Domba of Sungai Raya, while the Dato Panglima Kinta is settling an European Company at one of the richest mines, and all the rest of the population are rapidly following their example.<sup>4</sup>



In order to establish colonial rule and facilitate the development of Perak, Low had to organise a complete Penghulu establishment to take charge of local government and to collect local revenues.

Perak was divided into districts, and in each district there was one or more European magistrates, and usually one or two native magistrates with limited jurisdiction. The districts were again sub-divided into *Mukim* (parish) and villages with their own headmen, called *Penghulu*,

and these most useful officers were armed with a commission setting out their manifold duties, which mainly consisted in keeping the peace, arresting offenders, and sending them to the nearest police station; reporting accidents and the outbreak of infectious disease, collecting land and other revenues, settling small disputes, and dealing with minor offences within their very limited power as magistrates.<sup>5</sup>

The Penghulu, or 'village headman', was the lowest level office and the only position perpetuated from the pre-colonial system of government. He was responsible for a 'mukim', traditionally the area served by a single mosque but now a division of local government consisting of a chief village or township, and a small number of subsidiary villages or hamlets. The crucial innovation was that the Penghulu was now no longer answerable to traditional Malay authority but to a British district officer.<sup>6</sup>

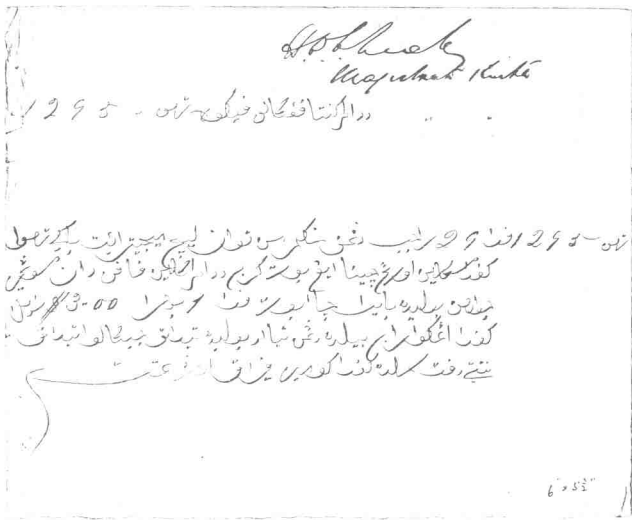
Penghulus were formally appointed to the various districts of Upper and Middle Perak at a Perak Council meeting of 1878, and by the next year the system had been established for the whole state, with 42 Penghulus and 12 Assistant Penghulus in all.<sup>7</sup>

Swettenham had earlier recommended to the Governor of the Straits Settlements Sir William Drummond Jervis that the government rely more upon local Penghulus, who would be generally more acceptable to the local population, rather than a police force which would be expensive to maintain. He also warned of the dangers of police-Penghulu rivalry.<sup>8</sup>

The Perak police force at the time consisted of Sikhs and 'foreign Malays'. Governor Jervis wanted the Perak police force to be recruited from the 'Malay race' for the purpose of collecting information and taking on jungle work, and recommended 'Manila men, Javanese, Malays from Province Wellesley, Malacca, Quedah (sic) and Salengore (sic)' for the job, considering it undesirable to employ 'natives of Perak'.<sup>9</sup>

Discovering that many of the Malay and Sikh police were diseased, and that they were furthermore unpopular with the local inhabitants, Low decided to retrench a large part of the force.<sup>10</sup>

Raja Bilah, first recruited by the police as a peace-keeper, became a strong ally of the police in enforcing the law. He was responsible for settling problems and small quarrels, not only amongst the Malays but also amongst the Chinese settlers. Crime was rampant under Kinta's frontier conditions. In 1878, the Perak State Council expressed concern over 'the frequency of night robberies



in the various kampongs'. A regulation was passed by which any person found out of doors after 9 p.m., without a torch or other light might be arrested or fined-up to \$6.25.<sup>11</sup>

In maintaining the safety and security of Papan, Raja Bilah had to count on his followers for assistance. Drawing upon traditional allegiances, the *Namora-Natoras* are empowered to mobilize the *ulu balang* (warriors) and the citizens of a *huta* or *banua* (Mandailing settlement) to be in a state of readiness for the defense of their settlement.<sup>12</sup> Raja Bilah's fighting force was made up of those who were previously with Raja Asal in the Klang War. A descendant of Raja Bilah recalled that, although there were not many of them, 'They were tough indeed', possessing martial arts skills and spiritual sciences (*ilmu kebal*). In addition to those staying around Raja Bilah's residence, there were others who lived and looked for tin nearby. Their energies were only called for by Raja Bilah when he needed them, especially at night.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore (Raja Bilah) carried out whatever government orders were issued by the Magistrate of Kinta, with utter loyalty and to the best of his ability.<sup>14</sup>

In doing so, Raja Bilah found favour with H.W.C. Leech, a police magistrate of Kinta stationed at Pangkalan Pegoh. Leech had been in Perak since 1876, and

↳ Translation

29 July 1878, notice in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate H.W.C. Leech to Chinese miners, to pay tax (chabut) to Raja Bilah.

In Kinta District, Pangkalan Pegoh, year 1295

Year 1295 on 29 Rejab<sup>1</sup>, by the order of Tuan Leech Magistrate informing all the Chinese who are working in the district of Papan mines and Johan River: that duty (chabut) can be paid on every bahara \$3 rial to Engku Raja Bilah, without fail, if not, (they) will be found guilty by the Perak Government, End.

Raja Bilah, The Penghulu of Papan

1 29 July 1878

was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Police under Jervois' scheme for reorganising the police force.<sup>15</sup> Raja Bilah later accompanied H.W.C. Leech in an expedition to Slim and Bernam.

It was Leech who first authorised Raja Bilah to collect tin duties, from which he would be paid commission. The *Tarikh Raja Asal* recounts this as a means of deliverance.

By divine mercy, the government helped Raja Bilah and opened a way for him to find respite in the repayment of Raja Asal's debts.<sup>16</sup>

Leech first issued a public notice in Jawi, dated 29 July 1878, instructing

all the Chinese who are working in the Papan mines and Sungai Johan River, (to) pay duty (chabut) on every bahara \$3 rial to Engku Raja Bilah.

He added that it would be considered an offence by the Perak Government not to do so.<sup>17</sup> This was followed by a second notice issued by Leech on 27 October 1878. The notice instructed

all the Malays and Chinese who are working the mines in the district of Papan and Sungai Johan, (that they) should pay duty (chabut) on every bahara of tin \$3 rial to Raja Bilah as was previously paid to Raja Asal before.<sup>18</sup>

This letter for the first time mentions 'Malays' as miners, although the miners in that area were mainly Sumatrans. The letter also confirms that the previous collector of tin duties was Raja Asal, and that Raja Bilah had been appointed as his replacement.

The second notice was issued after a customs policy had been formalised by the Perak State Council in September 1878. The Council adopted a memorandum 'for the guidance of Penghulus and Officers in charge of the collection of customs'.<sup>19</sup> The memorandum specified in detail how duty on tin should be paid at the district customs house. Every consignment sent down the river was to be accompanied by a certificate of its origin and quantity, and the name of the person to whom the royalty or percentage was due. The Penghulus were entitled to a percentage and mine owners were entitled to royalties (*hasil tanah*) recoverable from the district treasury. As an incentive for the Penghulus to encourage tin mining in their districts, the regulation adopted in September allowed salaried Penghulus to recover 10 per cent commission, and unsalaried Penghulus to recover 20 per cent commission, on duty paid on all tin exported from their districts. The Penghulu's job was to sign and chop the certificate, keeping a copy of it, and when the consignment arrived at the port of shipment, the same particulars were to be entered in a book of accounts to be kept there, and the certificates retained as vouchers. The Penghulus were also required to issue notices for new mines after the district officer had granted a lease or license.

As Swettenham later put in perspective,

All the States depended for their revenue upon the tin mines, and it was of the first importance to provide regulations to govern the mining industry.

16

DEPARTMENT

Received from Raja Biela

the sum of \$ 100.00/100 on hundred  
and cents

being for collection on behalf of  
late Raja Asal.

Dated 12th Decr 1879

H.W.C. Leech

131

GOVERNMENT OF PERAK.

Intestate Estate DEPARTMENT

Received from Raja Biela

the sum of \$ 282.85 dollars two  
hundred eighty two & cents

being for eighty five only for  
collection on a/c of Intestate  
estate of Raja Asal.

Dated 9th Nov 1881

R.D. Hewett

and to supply the miners with means of transport in the shape of roads and navigable rivers.<sup>20</sup>

According to Raja Bilah's grandson Haji Abdullah, Raja Bilah's job then was to buy up tin from the tin-smelters around Papan, take it by sampan to Pangkalan Pegoh, and then put it in a boat (*bahara*) to be transported to Teluk Mak Intan (Telok Anson). The tax (*chabut*) on tin, at \$3 a bahara, was to be paid to the Magistrate H.W.C. Leech. One boat carried 4 pikuls.<sup>21</sup>

Another grandson Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin related that when Raja Bilah was living in Papan, he worked small scale-mining at the Johan river. From these mining works, Raja Bilah had some success and then set up a settlement near Papan. As strangers in a foreign land, the Sumatrans who were bound by ties of kinship, as well as common *adat* and language, lived together in the same area and formed a close-knit community.<sup>22</sup>

Raja Bilah's followers addressed him as 'Engku', and referred to themselves as 'hamba' (your slave). The Chinese there considered him the leader of both the Chinese and the non-Chinese. The Malays of Kinta on the other hand considered Raja Bilah an *orang dagang* (a foreign trader).<sup>23</sup>

When Raja Bilah first moved to Papan with his family in 1878, he built a 'rest-house' (*rumah rehat*) to stay in. With his income as collector of tin-duties, Raja Bilah was still struggling to pay off Raja Asal's debts to the Perak Government. As magistrates of Kinta, Leech and his successor R.D. Hewett watched Raja Bilah come into the office regularly over the next few years, bringing whatever money he could scrape together to make the payments into the account of 'the intestate estate of Raja Asal'. A receipt issued at the end of 1881 may have recorded one of the last payments towards clearing the debt.<sup>24</sup>

In 1882, Raja Bilah must have been pleasantly surprised to learn that, as the heir to Raja Asal, he was to receive \$700 from the government. This payment was a belated reward to Raja Asal from the state of Perak, for services rendered during the Perak War.<sup>25</sup>

Left: 12 December 1879, receipt issued by the Government of Perak to 'Raja Biela', signed by H.W.C. Leech, acknowledging payment of \$100 towards 'collection intestate estate late Raja Asal'.

Right: 9 November 1881, receipt issued by the Government of Perak to 'Raja Biela', signed by R.D. Hewett, acknowledging receipt of \$282.85 towards 'collection on a/c Intestate estate of Raja Asal'.



Called the 'Rumah Asal', the original residence of Raja Bilah (built circa 1880s) still stands in Papan today. It is connected to the Rumah Besar (built in 1896) by means of a covered staircase.

The Malays recognize such houses in Perak, without front verandahs, as 'rumah Mendeling'.

Photograph by Khoo Salina Nasution

So Raja Bilah gave a feast within his means, built a mausoleum and erected a tombstone for Raja Asal, although the feast was not as it should be, for Raja Bilah was not in a position to do better. After that, Raja Bilah felt a little more at ease and he continued to work the mines.<sup>26</sup>

In that year, 1882, Raja Bilah built a more substantial house in Papan. He chose a hillock as the site of his permanent home when after three years of sinking holes to prospect for tin in that place 'not even a coconut shell of tin ore was found'.<sup>27</sup> This referred to a common method of prospecting, by sinking boreholes in search of tin alluvial and using coconut shells as a measure.

Raja Bilah's house, which resembled a Raja's house in Mandailing, was probably constructed by his followers. It was erected on a simple rectangular plan, and faced east. Built of chengal and other timbers, unplanned logs were used as beams. Simple cross lattices served as vents above the windows and doors. The hipped roof, now of corrugated metal, could originally have been made from ijok, attap or some other natural material. In the Mandailing homeland in Sumatra, a traditional Raja's house and other notable buildings would have sweeping roofs with pointed ends, made of ijok. However, by the late 19th century, the architecture of Mandailing houses had been modified through Dutch colonial influence.<sup>28</sup>

Raja Bilah's house was partly raised over a fish pond or *robat*, a typical feature of houses in the Mandailing homeland.<sup>29</sup> Fresh running water, conveyed from a spring in Bukit Kacha by means of wooden troughs,<sup>30</sup> was used for ablution and bathing and then fed to the pond. On the north side, a bath house was



built over a platform (*pelantar*) with open slats over the pond. A separate area next to the pond was used for washing and this was drained by an open ditch (*parit*).

Although the *tobat* at Papan has fallen into a state of disrepair, the evidence of a well-planned water system is still clearly visible. Mandailing water technology, such as is commonly found even today in the Mandailing homeland, involves the construction of empondments and drainage systems, separating clean water from foul, and channelling a pure source of water for drinking, washing, bathing and ablution purposes.

The Raja's *tobat* is called *tobat bolak* (great pond). At least once a year, usually before a big feast, the community would get together to harvest the fish and clean out the *tobat* (*mabungkankas tobat*). Part of the catch would be used for the feast, and the rest given away to the community.<sup>31</sup>

Raja Bilah and his wife Enche Nai'mas had two more children after moving to Papan, a daughter named Raja Sitiawan, born in 1883, and a son named Raja Shahabuddin, born on 1 Safar 1302 H (20 November 1884).<sup>32</sup>

Part of the Rumah Asal was raised on brick piers over a *tobat* (fish pond), a typical feature of traditional Mandailing settlements. The *tobat* in Papan has fallen into disuse.

Photograph by Khoo Salina Naurton.

## EXPEDITION TO SLIM & BERNAM

Raja Bilah accompanied the Magistrate of Kinta H.W.C. Leech in an expedition to explore the Slim and Bernam rivers in March 1879. It was Leech's second geographical expedition, the first being to explore the Kinta valley in August 1878.<sup>1</sup>

In the earlier expedition, Leech set out with two pioneer coffee planters from Ceylon to explore the hills around Sungai Raya and south to Bujang Malaka.<sup>2</sup> He visited and described the country around 'Gopeng, the most important mining centre on this side of the country, employing 700 or 800 Chinese,' and remarked that Papan was 'one of the most important mining settlements', its port of embarkation being Pangkalan Kacha.

Leech was perhaps the first to comment on the fairly intensive 'Malay mining' methods used in the Kinta Valley after the Perak War, during a period when Chinese miners and 'Malay miners' could be observed working side by side, and the methods could be compared. By that time, tin-mining in Larut was virtually the exclusive domain of the Chinese.

Studies on Malay mining in Kinta in the 1880s have substantially relied on several European accounts on the subject, namely by H.W.C. Leech, J. Errington de la Croix,<sup>3</sup> Jacques de Morgan<sup>4</sup> and A. Hale.<sup>5</sup> Judging from the areas documented, the miners encountered by these Europeans were largely, if not exclusively, Mandailing miners and their co-workers.

According to Leech, the 'Malays' mine stream-tin chiefly by sluicing the alluvial deposits, while hardly touching the true ore-bearing stratum or 'pay dirt', which is what the Chinese usually mine for. Tin prices were at a trough in 1878, but, 'notwithstanding the present depreciated price of tin, both Malay and Chinese miners are making money, which speaks for itself as to the richness of the deposits.' He further observed,

a stream is just as necessary to the Chinese as it is to the Malays; the latter use the water to remove the soil, and the former pump the water out of their mines with a very ingenious water-wheel; there are consequently large tracts where neither can work, and in these there exists the opening for European enterprise... when the present miners, with their rude appliances and wasteful methods of mining and smelting, can make a good profit, what would not more scientific methods do?<sup>6</sup>

After the success of the first expedition, Leech undertook another expedition with a third coffee planter from Ceylon in March 1879. While Leech was looking for coal deposits, and the planter for coffee-growing soil, Leech's observations revealed a great deal about the distribution of the Orang Asli and Sumatran settlers in the Perak interior.

Raja Bilah, who was Leech's guide this time, took him on a tour of the Mandailing settlements along the tributaries of the Slim and Bernam rivers. Their first stop was at Kampong Trola. The village is on the Trola River, a tributary of the Slim, which is a tributary of the Bernam. The Sungai Bernam forms the boundary between Perak and Selangor. At this place, Leech noted,

there is a colony of trading Malays settled, which has been here for the last four or five years; they came originally to collect gutta and other jungle produce, and liking the look of the place have settled permanently ...<sup>7</sup>

The 'foreign Malays' at Kampong Trola included a large number of Mandailings who settled there after fleeing the Klang War 'four or five years' ago. These Mandailings must have established a working relationship with the Orang Asli in the Slim area, most probably the *Seng-oi* (Senoi), in order to collect gutta percha and other jungle produce.<sup>8</sup>

At Kampong Changkat along Sungai Bernam, Leech met the Penghulu Datoh Sampoh, who collected Orang Asli guides for the expedition. This was the same Datoh Sampoh mentioned in the restraining order issued by Birch against taxing Raja Bilah for bringing supplies upriver to Slim.<sup>9</sup> And now, five years later, Raja Bilah showed up to see him with a British policeman and magistrate! No doubt, Datoh Sampoh would have extended a better reception to Raja Bilah this time.

Raja Bilah then took Leech to Slim, where the Mandailings had created settlements very similar to those in their homeland in Upper Mandailing. By this time, Leech was fully informed about the identity of the 'foreign Malays':

I saw a number of very flourishing kampongs... situated on spots of high ground surrounded by stretches of wet padi land irrigated by a number of small streams flowing from the hills to the East. The large majority of the inhabitants are foreign Malays, principally Mandailings, and their style of cultivation is certainly superior to that of the Malays in other parts of Perak, for which they reap their reward in the crops they get. The average yield, they tell me, from the wet padi land is of 800 to 1,000 gantangs of padi to the orlong, this, be it remembered, from land cultivated year after year without manure.<sup>10</sup>





Map showing Bujang Malacca, Bidor, Tapah, Slim and Bernam. Sungai Bernam formed the boundary between the states of Perak and Selangor. Mandailing settlements were found along Sungai Trola and Sungai Bil, two tributaries of Sungai Slim. Sungai Slim and Sungai Berang (Berong, Behrang) are in turn tributaries of Sungai Bernam.

Source: Map of the Malay Peninsula, 1887. Published under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society. (In 1887, it was reported that a map of Perak (was) constructed, showing a portion of the coast, the principal roads, some of the rivers, the position of the towns and villages and the general features of the country, and all the trigonometrical stations. Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1887, p. 13.)

Leech even noticed a boat which had come from Kuala Bernam upriver to Slim to buy rice and concluded that the Slim settlements were growing more than they consume. "In no other part of south-eastern Perak is this the case". He continued with an account of an episode which could only have been related to him by Raja Bilah.

...it must, however, be borne in mind that tin-mining is the principal industry on the other rivers and that no tin has been worked on the Slim since the disturbances consequent on the murder of Mr. BIRCH, not through the failure of the mines, but because the miners were obliged to leave at that time, as the blockade prevented their getting supplies brought up to them. When peace was restored, Raja ASAL, who was the leading spirit of these miners, got certain concessions at Papan, on the West of the Kinta river, and all the miners followed him there, where, they say, the ore is more plentiful, but more difficult to work.<sup>11</sup>

Leech then reported his companion's experience of working with Orang Asli porters, probably of the Seng-oi (Senoi) group.

Raja BILA (sic), a Mandailing man, and the head of the traders in the Kinta district, who accompanied me, was formerly engaged working tin here (at

Slim), and he informed me that his people had no difficulty in getting Sakeis to carry rice up to, or tin down from, the mines, which I subsequently ascertained were about fourteen or fifteen miles distant at an elevation of over 2,000 feet...<sup>12</sup>

Leech then crossed two tributaries of Slim, 'the first, Sungei Bil, was a mountain torrent full of rocks', very similar to the landscape in Upper Mandailing, and 'the second was a navigable river, the Sungei Berong, on which a colony of foreign Malays have settled, and appear to be in a very thriving condition: where they are settled the country is flat, and they cultivate a good deal of wet padi.'<sup>13</sup>

Next, Leech came to Kampong Bemam, which he estimated to be about 20 miles from Kampong Changkat on Slim:

Kampong Bemam is a large village on the northern side of the river, said to contain about eighty families, nearly all foreign Malays, who came as traders and have settled permanently. The attraction which first brought them here, was tin-mining, which ... has ceased on the Perak side since Raja ASAL left.<sup>14</sup>

Rathborne, a British surveyor and planter who later visited the village of Ulu Bemam in the 1880s had this to say.

The village of Ulu Bemam is situated in a beautiful and broad valley through which the Bemam river flows, the boundary between the states of Selangor and Perak, and its inhabitants were foreign Malays, who appeared prosperous and well-to-do: their houses were nicely built, and the turf between them was kept closed cropped by the many goats and buffaloes that roamed at large, whilst here and there a clump of bamboos broke the uniformity of the level sward.<sup>15</sup>

The Mandailing's superiority in rice cultivation could be attributed to practices in the Mandailing homeland, which went through an agricultural revolution under Alexander Philippus Godon (1816-1899), the Dutch Assistant Resident of Mandailing-Angkola (1848-1857).<sup>16</sup> From Leech's encounter with the Mandailings, he came to the conclusion that

the men, like most other foreign Malays in the peninsula, come from the Dutch colonies, and whatever else may be said of the Dutch rule in Malay countries, it appears to make traders and colonists of the people under its influence.<sup>17</sup>

During this memorable trip, Raja Bilah had taken the opportunity to revisit the followers of Raja Asal who had stayed behind around Slim, learning about their progress and at the same time updating them on the new developments in Kinta. At the conclusion of the Klang War, the Mandailings and their Sumatran allies who fled Selangor made for the hills, generally keeping to the interior of Lower Perak, away from the established Malay settlements downriver. The fugitives settled down where few Malays would venture - in Orang Asli territory. Having lost the rich alluvial mines of Klang, they were now forced to mine at high elevations, under conditions probably not unlike those of the gold mines in Mandailing.<sup>18</sup>

## 'MINES ARE IN FULL SWING'

Opposite page: 'Itinerary in the State of Perak and Geological Profile', map by de la Croix.

Source: J. Errington de la Croix, *Les Mines D' Etain de Perak (Presqu'île de Malacca)*, 1882.

During the slump period, hundreds of Chinese had already moved south from Larut to the new mines in Gopeng and Papan.<sup>1</sup> In 1880, the price of tin was on its way up again. By then, Gopeng

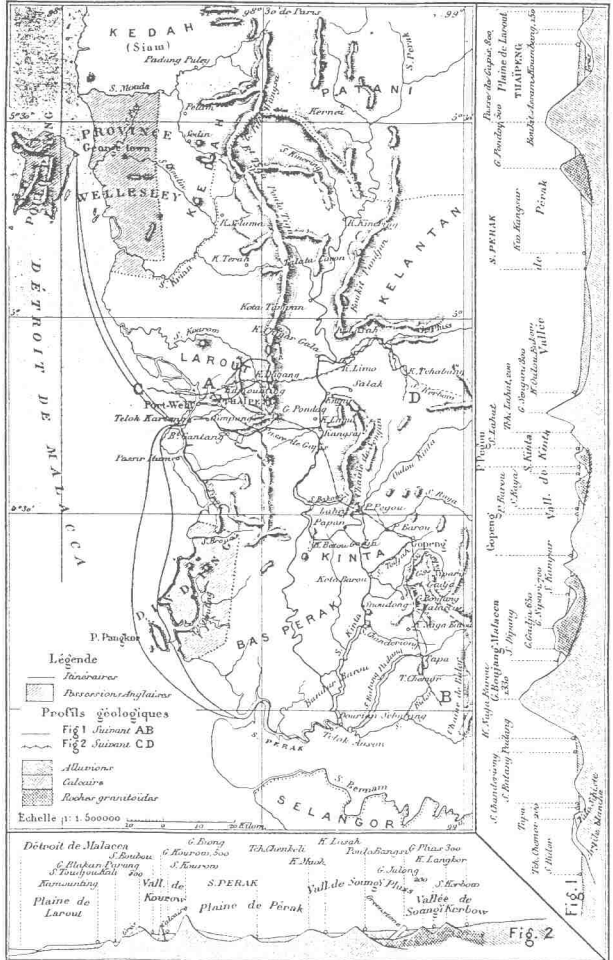
already (had) a considerable Chinese settlement, notwithstanding the difficulties of transport, everything having to be carted over a road ... to a spot on the Kinta river that was accessible to small steam launches and fair-sized cargo boats. This village has grown into considerable dimensions, notwithstanding its having been twice gutted by fire.<sup>2</sup>

In 1882, the Governor of the Straits Settlements Sir Frederick Weld made an official tour of Perak, accompanied by William Maxwell, then Assistant Resident of Perak. They visited Gopeng, which was 'in the centre of a large mining district'.

About fifteen hundred Chinese here: we were met by a great crowd, and the usual accompaniment of crackers. Received deputation, and inspected tin mines, which extended to a great distance in all directions.<sup>3</sup>

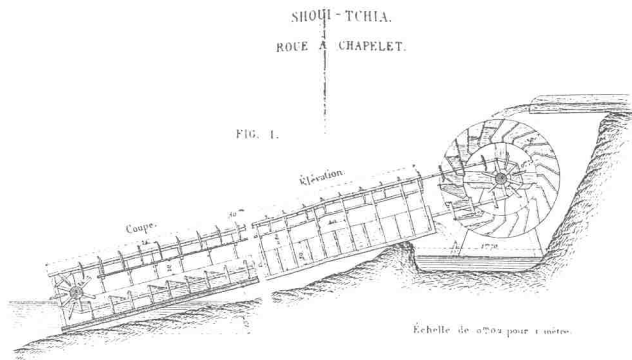
Conditions prevailing in Kinta were still rather primitive and Weld and his two daughters had to undertake most of the travelling by elephant. Weld's diary details how they rode to the bank of the Sungai Kinta, where they had to transfer to canoes, arriving at Batu Gajah in time for lunch with the Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett and his family. There they inspected the new line of road from Batu Gajah to Papan, one of the first roads to be built in the Kinta Valley, before mounting on their elephants again, 'and after a rather hot ride on a good road reached Papan, where we were met by a crowd of miners, and volcanoes of crackers'.<sup>4</sup>

At Papan, Weld called upon Raja Bilah, who had just been appointed a salaried Penghulu at the beginning of the year. Passing the night, Weld 'slept in the balek (sic), that was the 'court-house'. He thought it worth noting that 'a little



Dessiné par J. Heuzar.

Gravé par Edouard Lesne, Desfont, Rocher.



Wooden chain pump used by Chinese miners to drain the water from the mines.

Source: J. Errington de la Croix, *Les Mines d'Étain de Pérek (Presqu'île de Malacca)*, 1882.

boy, son of Raja Bilah, insisted on giving me a tame black monkey'.<sup>5</sup> The little boy was Raja Ya'qub, Raja Bilah's eldest child who would one day succeed him as Penghulu. Weld visited Papan again on his tour of Kinta in August the next year, a visit which Raja Ya'qub remembered.<sup>6</sup>

The Perak Resident Hugh Low sought to attract European enterprise to develop tin-mining in Kinta. It appears that he had entrusted Raja Bilah with the duty of showing prospectors around. According to *Tarikh Raja Asal*, it was Raja Bilah who showed the potential tin-mining sites to the Europeans who pioneered the 'Lahat French Tin Mines'.<sup>7</sup>

J. Errington de la Croix, 'a highly accomplished and eminent Civil Engineer', representing the Société des Mines d'Étain de Perak, first came on a 'scientific mission to the Peninsula' in early 1881.<sup>8</sup> He reported that at Papan,

Thirteen mines are at present in full swing, and occupy five hundred men, Chinese and Malays.<sup>9</sup>

De la Croix noted a Chinese population of 234, which implies that the rest of the miners were 'Malays'. With the superior skills of the Chinese miners, Papan was proving to be one of the most productive mining areas in Kinta. The Sumatran miners who worked alongside the Chinese paid a percentage in order to benefit from the latter's organisation of drainage.

Klian Johan, worked by Chinamen, is the most important of all and is probably the deepest mine in the whole State, attaining a depth of fifty feet. On each side of that mine, Malays are also carrying on works to the same depth, but unable themselves to put up a proper draining apparatus, they have made with their more industrious neighbours a contract by which

they are allowed to let their water flow into the Chinese mine on condition of paying one-tenth of their whole produce.<sup>10</sup>

Among various accounts of mining in Kinta in the 1880s, such a symbiotic working relationship between 'Malay miners' and Chinese miners was observed not only in Papan, but also in Gopeng, Kampar and other mining settlements.

The Chinese miners working alongside Raja Bilah's mine were the same Chinese who fled Selangor together with Raja Asal. Their leaders were Hew Ah Ang, Wong Koon and Jin See.<sup>11</sup> Hew Ah Ang was a Hakka Chinese from Kar Yin Chew. According to the *Tarikh Raja Asal*, he opened a mining operation in Papan, which employed a wooden chain pump to drain the water. De la Croix confirmed this with his observation, 'The pumping of the water is managed by means of a Chinese water-wheel...'<sup>12</sup>

In de la Croix's opinion, however, most of the mines were being superficially worked because the surface water was inefficiently drained. For example, the lower part of the Papan valley was often flooded, and it was impracticable to work in the centre of the valley where the richest deposits lay because of the difficulty of drainage. The discharge of silt from the *lampau* mines must have raised the river beds, and the deforestation of hill land further contributed to the problems of flooding which continue to plague Papan town to the present day. De la Croix clearly saw that there was scope for European technology and expertise.

After this expedition, de la Croix went on to establish what was known as the 'French Tin Mining Company' at Lahat, and became its director. The Resident of Perak appreciated the pioneering investment by the French capitalists of the *Société des Mines d'Étain de Perak*,

whose representatives, when no English firm would come to our assistance, accepted my invitation to visit the country, and applied for, and were granted, a concession of land on favourable terms (and) is now ... raising tin ore in large quantities, and have determined to extend their operations.<sup>13</sup>

De la Croix's scientific report on the potential of the Kinta valley attracted other European mining interests. The second European mining company to establish itself in Kinta was the 'Perak Tin Mining and Smelting Company', better known as the 'Shanghai Tin Mines', formed with capital raised by W.V. Drummond and a few enterprising merchants from Shanghai. Low reported that the company had

commenced tin-mining on an extensive scale at Papan in Kinta, under circumstances which promise excellent results, the land being most favourably reported upon by independent and competent authorities.<sup>14</sup>

A Mandailing observer Abu Bakar, noted that J. H. Hampton, manager of the Shanghai Tin Mines, was 'the first white man to open a *lampang* tin mine in Papan Batu Gajah in the district (*kejahan*) of Kinta in 1884 directly in front of Papan town'.<sup>15</sup> The person who first showed Hampton the mining site in Papan was none other than Raja Bilah,<sup>16</sup>

## RAJA BILAH, THE PENGHULU OF PAPAN

After several years of keeping the peace and collecting tin duties, Raja Bilah was officially appointed a salaried Penghulu in 1882. This is recorded in the *Tarikh Raja Asal*.

Meanwhile on the 1 January 1882, the Government made Raja Bilah Penghulu of Papan and he received a letter of authorisation (*surat kuasa*) from His Highness the Regent of Perak Raja Muda Yusuf and from the British Resident Hugh Low, as stated in his letter of authorisation dated 3rd March 1882, and he received a salary of \$25 monthly and commission from the customs duty (*hasil-hasil chabut*) 10 ringgit out of 100 ringgit.<sup>1</sup>

While the appointment was indeed an official recognition of Raja Bilah's position and capabilities, it may also have meant that Raja Bilah's commission on state revenues was being adjusted from 20 per cent, to which he was entitled as an 'unsalaried Penghulu', to 10 per cent. The Perak Council, trying to cut down the staggering Penghulu revenues in the richest tin mining districts, continued to make such adjustments over the years.

The historian Sadka outlines the Penghulu's scope of responsibilities in the new administration.

Of the penghulu's multifarious duties, the most important were the maintenance of order, the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue (land rent on smallholdings, passes for timber cutting and gutta collection, fishing stake licences, and the *kerah* tax).<sup>2</sup>

The *kerah* tax, or corvee labour, was the most unpopular regulation introduced by the Perak government, and was to lead to general unrest in Lower Perak.



نورتنس گوب رسالان

در عزم کیتان در وی پنهلوانج مودا کوسف از السرحوم سلطان محمد شاه بجهت  
 نیکو تیارق و بشتر خوشن مشواره عشق کل میر نو نوب 25 ذی 1297 هجری اولی فیفوار 1880 / یا نیت  
 در 17 هجری اولی ایع الاولی 1297 از هیئت من حکم این مملوک کتوب کتد او رشع در عالم نیکو ذوق این  
 اذ فین کل بریک بشبویه هو ما حلان بدخ مساوه انوکون درونک بارخ جیف تسان بقفا توه ذلیله ایش  
 هنر ذقن بریک سناج مونا شین ساروه نقصیه لکوز ذقن لیم کدر ذقن مغر کتا کن فاکورن شهر سدان جیک  
 سیدیه در ایشارام باریشیتا ره غر کتا کن فاکورن انبیل در حلقه اوله هر طرف ان لورغ سفره کتوب لیمو  
 1297 هجری اولی 17 ذی القعدة 1297 هجری اولی 17 ذی القعدة 1297 هجری اولی 17 ذی القعدة 1297 هجری اولی

Translation

25 February 1880, notice in Jawi, issued by the Government of Perak in the name of the Raja Muda Yusuf of Perak, instructing the people to fence their crops.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

With the decree of the Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja Muda Yusuf ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Muhammad Syah Regent of the State of Perak.

What has been decided in a meeting with all the members of council on 25 February 1880, that is on 17 Rabiul Awal 1297, that judgment is hereby made known to all the people in this State of Perak.

Concerning all those who have made hill padi, and rice fields or orchards of any crops that should be safeguarded, each and everyone should not be negligent about protecting it by fortifying their fences. Furthermore, whosoever among them has not fortified their fences, when intruded upon by others' livestock such as cattle, the fault is (not only) with the owners of the livestock, for it is also due to the negligence of the cultivators.

So it is.

As the country became more developed and the administration more complex, the role of the Penghulu evolved accordingly.

The penghulu was the agent of the government in the villages. He was the source of information about daily life in the village; he chronicled births and deaths, movements of people, disputes and crimes in a monthly report for the district officer. He was the channel through which government instructions were conveyed, and also through which government assistance was extended in the shape of advances to settlers. He was responsible for local obedience to government orders; he was required to collect children for vaccination and encourage their attendance at school, and see that government forestry regulations and planting timetables were followed. He was responsible for keeping public order and settling disputes. He found labour for local road work and river clearing and was often himself the contractor for minor public works. These were his responsibilities; though it would clearly have been an exceptional penghulu who was able to carry them all out.<sup>3</sup>

In the early years of colonial administration in Perak under Hugh Low, new laws and regulations were gradually being formulated. Even the most minor disputes were brought up to the Perak Council, which then made rulings on them. In one instance, Penghulus were required to communicate an Order-in-Council to the cultivators in his *mukim* that the onus was upon the cultivators to fence up their rice fields and orchards, in order to prevent intrusion by others' livestock.<sup>4</sup>

Husbandry continued to be a matter of interest to the highest authority. In later years, Cecil Wray, District Officer of Kinta, in a letter dated 10 September 1900, asked Raja Bilah to make a count of livestock, 'buffaloes and cows -



### Translation

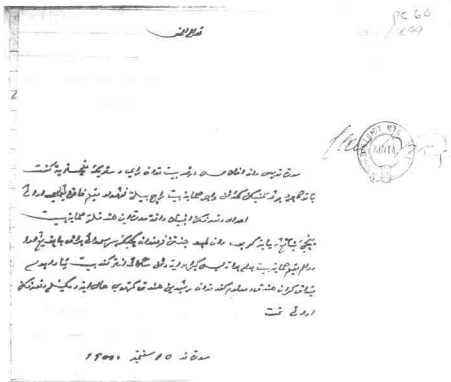
10 September 1900, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to enumerate livestock.

His Word is the Truth.

An honest and sincere letter from us Tuan Wray District Magistrate of Kinta Batu Gajah, which is to be presented before the countenance of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu of Papan Parish, The Noble.

In defining the matter, when this letter is received our friend that is, buffaloes and cows - male female big small - altogether how many there are in our friend's parish. Please make the list speedily, send it to us without fail because it is to be reported to the Tuan Resident who wants to know about this matter. It is thus explained. End.

Written 10 September 1900.



male female big small', mentioning that the Resident himself had asked for the report.<sup>5</sup>

Serving as an arm of the colonial administration, the Penghulu was at the beck and call of his superiors in Batu Gajah. Raja Bilah's letters and documents, which have been preserved in the Rumah Besar, show some of the myriad tasks he was expected to undertake. All the official documents were in Jawi script.<sup>6</sup>

The Penghulu had to labour over extensive paperwork, assisted by a Penghulu's clerk, as the most minor communications between Papan and Batu Gajah were made in writing.<sup>7</sup> The Penghulu might be reprimanded by the District Officer if he did not ensure that submissions forwarded by him were presentable: 'And when composing a letter the next time, (when) starting to write, please make it lucid and not messy – as it is, it is impossible to read'.<sup>8</sup> He was expected to keep a log book<sup>9</sup> and update accounts regularly.

When Raja Bilah was distracted from his duties, he was prompted by Haji Muhammad Saman, the clerk to the Acting Magistrate J.B.M. Leech, in the Batu Gajah Office. On 8 June 1885, Raja Bilah received two letters from Haji Muhammad Saman, the first a gentle reminder to submit the accounts,<sup>10</sup> and the second, an exasperated letter issuing Raja Bilah an ultimatum to carry out the Acting Magistrate's order to help prepare the fire brigade to look for a lost buffalo calf.<sup>11</sup>

As Penghulu, Raja Bilah's areas of responsibilities included public health. In 1885, Perak saw a 'more than usually severe epidemic' of cholera, resulting in the death of 'two Europeans and 280 Natives, mostly Malays'.<sup>12</sup> In response

↳ Translation

3 July 1885, letter in Jawi, from Cecil Wray in Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to get the boss of a sick Chinese man to report to him, and to investigate the construction of a house on Taukeh Chong Kooi Yan's land

Honest and sincere letter from us Tuan Wray at this time in Batu Gajah to our friend Raja Bilah The Noble with peace. The matter is as in our friend's letter, (which) together with one sheet of the Chinese man's letter, has already reached the Tuan Doctor.

And when composing a letter the next time, (when) starting to write, please make it lucid and not messy - as it is, it is impossible to read. And when receiving this letter, apologies are requested as far as possible, this sick Chinese, who is his Taukeh? Please send news to us.

And further, this Taukeh Chong Kooi Yan says he has land which was acquired from Ong Kooi. Now there is a Chinese man who built a small house here. Could our friend check, ask the Chinese to come and see us promptly. So it is thus. End. On 3 July 1885.

MS 41 HAL

تعالیه

صورة ندي... (Jawi script text) ...

MS 68 HAL 685

↳ Translation

8 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk Haji Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, regarding search for a lost buffalo calf.

His Word is the Truth. Ayahanda Engku Raja Bilah The Noble with peace.

The matter is to Tuan Leech Acting Magistrate of Kinta (who has) instructed the Tuan Engineer to inform Ayahanda, asking to prepare the fire brigade for use, and to look for the buffalo calf, using the brigade. Up till now not a thing has Ayahanda prepared. If for some reason Ayahanda is not there, the fire brigade can still be deployed ... Anakanda is not going to discuss the matter anymore, in that, if there is any loss in the matter, Ayahanda bears the cost. Anakanda knows not. This, Anakanda Clerk at Batu Gajah, notifies. End.

8 June 1885. Signed Haji Muhammad Saman, Clerk.

تعالیه

اينها انك... (Jawi script text) ...

اير... 1885... (Jawi script text)



٥٠٤١

قول الحق



سورة نوره ان اخلصه من ورنه بيت نوان سبيل ماچ  
 واستر به ليشترى نشت بانوا جرمي كيشين كلفون وجرم كمانه  
 شرح بيلو نيهو لو مينه خانق فرود  
 احوال و نسيه نوان بيله ورنه سورة لرون يوم همامه بيت يون بس  
 نانه كفته ما تان و فرج بلوم سر جود كيد في نيكه ستادو معلو مينه ثمانية  
 بيت براف بايقه كوراك نيلم بايقه ساھو سفره نيشر سورة لرون بعد بيت  
 ورنه ركنون و مكينج معلو مينه فرود كانه

نور سورة نوره ٢ مارچ ١٨٩٧

Translation

2 March 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, requesting a list of those who have not been inoculated for small-pox.

His Word is the Truth.

An honest and sincere letter from us Tuan Cecil Wray, District Magistrate of Kinta Batu Gajah, which is to be conveyed before the countenance of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu of Papan Parish:

In defining the matter, when this letter is received, could our friend make a list of places and names of those persons in our friend's parish who have not been inoculated with the packet of antidote. How many altogether, could you promptly inform us of the aforesaid. Thus it is hereby notified. End. Written on 2 March 1897.

قول الحق

٥٠٤٢

سورة نوره ان اخلصه من ورنه بيت نوان سبيل ماچ  
 نانه كفته ما تان و فرج بلوم سر جود كيد في نيكه ستادو معلو مينه ثمانية  
 بيت براف بايقه كوراك نيلم بايقه ساھو سفره نيشر سورة لرون بعد بيت  
 ورنه ركنون و مكينج معلو مينه فرود كانه

نور سورة نوره ٢٢ جون ١٩٠٣

Translation

22 June 1903, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer R.C. Grey to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to enumerate leprosy cases in his parish.

His Word is the Truth.

An honest and sincere letter from us Tuan R.C. Grey District Officer of Kinta Batu Gajah. Hopefully the thing is conveyed before the audience of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish The Noble, safely.

In defining the matter, so it is greatly hoped that our friend will check, how many people are afflicted with leprosy in our friend's parish, make a list enumerating them, send it to us promptly. State their names and who are those caring for them, or if they are not being cared for.

That is all. End. Written on 22 June 1903.

allowed to die of beri-beri in the more distant Kongsis, although the headmen, when such cases come to the knowledge of the Magistrate, are severely punished.<sup>18</sup>

In a letter dated 2 March 1897, Cecil Wray requested Raja Bilah to make a list of names and places, identifying those in his parish who have not been inoculated for small-pox.<sup>19</sup> Swettenham later wrote,

With great difficulty, and the assistance of a legal enactment, the people have been compelled to submit themselves to vaccination, with the result that smallpox, once the greatest scourge of the country, is now almost unknown.<sup>20</sup>

Translation

2 August 1904, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer F.J. Brewster, asking Raja Bilah to collect and submit local place names.

MS 8 44C 1904

His Word is the Truth.

An honest and sincere letter from us Tuan E. J. Brewster District Officer of Kinta Batu Gajah conveyed before the audience of our friend, Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish The Noble, safely.

In defining the matter, when this letter is received it is greatly hoped that our friend can help to inform us of the names of places or districts, or names of mountains, hills and hillocks or rivers, streams and other names, of whichever places have names by which people call them, in our friend's parish. A list should be made mentioning the place names. Send it to us promptly. It is thus defined. End. Written on 2 August 1904.

قوله الحق

سنده نده دادانكه و درر ايت تا ناه اجه و جه و در نده سزاي اوتيس  
 ايت تا ناه اجه و درر ايت تا ناه اجه و جه و در نده سزاي اوتيس  
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 سنده نده دادانكه و درر ايت تا ناه اجه و جه و در نده سزاي اوتيس

District Officer  
KINTA.

1902

قوله الحق

MS 7 44C

Translation

10 September 1902, letter in Jawi, from Collector of Land Revenue Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to investigate whose plot of land is marked 'B' on the map.

His Word is the Truth.

Honest and sincere letter that is from us Tuan Collector of Land Revenue Kinta (Osborne?) hopefully coming before the audience of Paduka our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Mukim Papan with peace.

The matter, we define when Paduka our friend receives this letter, hoping Paduka our friend could kindly inspect, whose land is marked 'B' on the map which is accompanying this. And when Paduka our friend knows whose land it is, hopefully (our friend will) inform us promptly. So it is. End. Written on 10 September 1902.

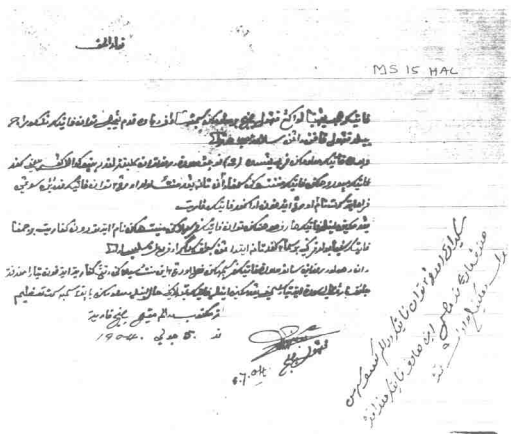
قوله الحق

سنده نده دادانكه و درر ايت تا ناه اجه و جه و در نده سزاي اوتيس  
 سنده نده دادانكه و درر ايت تا ناه اجه و جه و در نده سزاي اوتيس  
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 سنده نده دادانكه و درر ايت تا ناه اجه و جه و در نده سزاي اوتيس

The Land Revenue  
Kinta

1902

Another letter from the District Officer of Kinta R.C. Grey dated 22 June 1903 asked Raja Bilah to list the names of persons in his parish inflicted with leprosy, checking whether they were cared for.<sup>21</sup> Leprosy is not indigenous to the Peninsula, but was probably introduced by Chinese lepers. A census of lepers taken in Perak found almost a hundred Malay lepers. 'Malays have a great horror of, and loathing for this terrible disease', and were convinced that the malady was contagious. The Perak State Council passed a measure to relocate all lepers to an uninhabited island at the mouth of the Perak River. The Colonial Office however disallowed compulsory segregation based on advice from the highest medical authorities in England that leprosy was not contagious. Fifteen years later, the Colonial Office reversed their decision, citing a change in leading medical opinion, but not before a few more locals had contracted the disease.<sup>22</sup>



↳ Translation

5 July 1904, letter in Jawi, from Luah Kang Penghulu Blanja to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to send his people down to Parit to inspect the land, to fulfil an order by Collector of Land Revenue Kuala Kangsar to demarcate boundaries.

His Word is the Truth.

Your wretched slave, Luah Kang Penghulu Blanja, conveying salutations, your servant appears before The Noble My Lord, Tengku Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan, with safety (and) peace.

After which your slave conveys, about the previous 2 letters from Tuan Collector Land Revenue Kuala Kangsar which has reached your slave, asking your slave to determine the land boundaries asked for by the people of My Lord in the district of Sungai Perak, along with the names of these people (which) are with me in Parit.

Thus, herewith I hope, to ask My Lord to invite those named to come down to Parit to meet your slave so that we can go together to the land as soon as possible and resolve (this matter). So be it.

And prior to that, a letter your slave presented regarding these people inviting them to come to Parit, even that did not receive any reply. Perhaps the letter did not arrive. Thus I add this matter, declaring many salutations as well as respects.

Recorded in the Blanja Parish, Parit, 5, 7, 04

(Signature) Penghulu Blanja

If My Lord's people have difficulty coming here at this time, hope your slave receives a reply thus. So it is. End.

A page from Raja Bilah's log book, August 1901.

MS 14 HAL 1901

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Translation

From the month of August year 1901

- 1. August J. M. I. Raja Bilah, am at home.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.

I Raja Bilah went to the Batu Gajah Court to see the trial of my son Haji/Muhammad Ya' kub (Penghulu Papan's clerk). After that I returned to Papan. Later in the day, a letter from Tuan District Magistrate arrived asking (me) to summon a Chinese, Lim Siew and Alang Lim as well as his child, Putih.

8 I went to see Lim Siew (and) asked him to appear before Tuan District Magistrate Batu Gajah bringing along (the child Putih) and I went to change, then (I went) to get Alang Lim asking him to appear before Tuan District Magistrate at Batu Gajah on 7 August.

5 So on Wednesday, I went before Tuan District Magistrate Batu Gajah informing (him) about Alang Lim and his child Putih. Then I returned at 12 noon.

I Raja Bilah am at home.

3 A letter from Tuan District Magistrate Kinta arrived, asking to check whether Alang Lim and his child have left, or not, for Kuala Kangsar, and if not yet, then they should be asked to appear before the Raja di Hilir. So I asked my clerk to ask Alang Lim and his child to go together to Kuala Kangsar to appear before Raja di Hilir. So he answered that he has nothing to do there. So (as to) what the Tuan District Magistrate had instructed me, I have told him the response of Alang Lim.

1907

MS 25 HAL.

ذوالحجہ

سورج جس انخلاص روزہ بیت سید، بعد پرستارہ شستہ دستہ بن او نیر  
 براس نہاریہ صاحبہ اور مدائن شہزادہ کھنڈ سرینارڈ صاحبہ  
 بیت لاج بیلہ فہولہ نائن بیلہ مانن دین سید  
 اخلاص بیت مدائن سنون وارقدہ سرینارڈ صاحبہ بیت بیہ تار  
 عد حاریدلہ جرن تہ ۱۹۰۷ء سد صلہ بیت شہزادہ نادر انڈیہ  
 درالوجی مکہ اندہ بیت محمد کندیہ سرینارڈ صاحبہ بیت اللہ  
 حالہ تانہ ج صلحہ بیہ تہ دین تانہ شامہ و فراہ ابنہ حاریدلہ  
 بیت دکن صاحبہ بیت بیلہ لڑکہ برسمہا بیت مالیتہ تانہ بیہ سید  
 ایتہ نہ تہ لکھ تانہ ۲۰ جون ۱۹۰۷ء  
 دکن بیلہ بیت ابریشکن دکن تانہ جلالہ

Translation

23 July 1907, from C.W. Bresland Assistant District Officer Bruas at Parit to Raja Bilah, about overlapping claims of ownership of Haji Salleh's land in Parit.

His Word is the Truth.

Honest and sincere letter from us C.W. Bresland, Assistant District Officer, Bruas at Parit, Hopefully delivered by God to the audience of Seri Paduka our friend, Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan The Noble, at Papan with peace.

The matter we notify, as with our friend Seri Paduka's letter dated 20<sup>th</sup> July year 1907, we have received, and understand whatever is recorded in it. So herewith we inform Seri Paduka our friend, the matter of Haji Salleh's land that overlaps with Ngah Ahmad's land in Parit. We hope that our friend will go with us to view the said land on the morning of Tuesday 23 July 1907. Thus we accompany with salutations as well. So it is.

The District Officer frequently relied on Penghulus as a source of local knowledge. The District Officer of Kinta E.J. Brewster in a letter dated 2 August 1904, asked Raja Bilah to supply the names of places, districts, mountains, hills, hillock, rivers and streams, presumably for a geographical survey.<sup>23</sup> The Collector of Land Revenue Kinta, in a letter dated 10 September 1902, requested Raja Bilah to identify the owner of a plot of land marked 'B' on an enclosed map.<sup>24</sup> The acute shortage of personnel in the Land Office meant that the Collector of Land Revenue often had to rely on the Penghulu to carry out some field work, and also to use his traditional authority to deal with the indigenous population.<sup>25</sup>

Demarcation of boundaries was an important land matter often requiring the mediation of Penghulus. Raja Bilah's influence over his people is indicated in a distressed plea from Luah Kang (Luakong), the Chinese Penghulu of Blanja at Parit.<sup>26</sup> In a letter dated 5 July 1904, Luah Kang turned to Raja Bilah to send his people down to Parit 'to inspect the land, to fulfil an order by the Collector of Land Revenue, Kuala Kangsar, to demarcate boundaries'.<sup>27</sup> It appears that some people had applied to the Collector of Land Revenue in Kuala Kangsar to establish the boundaries of their land in Parit, along the banks of the Perak River. Land along the Perak River 'although but of small value while inaccessible becomes very valuable as soon as roads or mines are opened near them'.<sup>28</sup> The Collector of Land Revenue had written twice to the Penghulu of Blanja, giving him the names of those concerned, and asking him to attend to their request. The Penghulu of Blanja in turn had written to those named inviting them to come to see him in Parit, but did not receive any response whatsoever. He gave them the benefit of the doubt - 'Perhaps the letter did not arrive'. As



a last resort, the Penghulu of Blanja turned to Raja Bilah to use his leverage with his people. In a postscript, he added obligingly that 'If My Lord's people have difficulty coming here at this time, hope your slave receives a reply thus',<sup>29</sup>

Possibly as a sequel to the Penghulu of Blanja's dilemma, Raja Bilah wrote to the District Officer on 20 July 1907 asking for some clarification about land belonging to a certain Haji Salleh.<sup>30</sup> He received a reply from C.W. Bresland, Assistant District Officer of Bruas at Parit, informing him that Haji Salleh's land overlapped with Ngah Ahmad's land in Parit. In order to resolve the question, Bresland proposed that 'our friend will go with us to view the said land on the morning of Tuesday 23 July 1907'.<sup>31</sup> This correspondence illustrates the speed with which the bureaucracy dealt with administrative matters, as well as the efficiency of their courier service, in spite of their very basic infrastructure. Raja Bilah wrote to the District Officer on a Saturday, he received a reply on Monday, confidently proposing that the land be viewed on Tuesday morning.

# RESISTANCE TO CORVEE LABOUR IN LAMBOR

The Perak Council made two important resolutions in October 1882. The first was to order the compulsory manumission of slaves and bond-debtors by the end of the following year.<sup>1</sup> The second was to impose corvee labour on 'all persons of Malay race, foreign or native, above 15 years and below 50 years of age, in the State of Perak'. With the exception of persons paying rent to the State for cultivated land, all Rajas of the royal family and mosque officials, every Malay person was required to labour gratuitously for six days in a year, but could claim exemption by paying a rate of 25 cents a day to the government, which effectively amounted to a poll tax of \$1.50 per person. The poll tax (*hasil kelamin*) was meant to replace the corvee labour (*kerah*) which used to be imposed by the Malay chiefs on their subjects in the past.<sup>2</sup>

The subject of introducing a poll tax was first raised by the Resident at the Perak Council in 1878 but was opposed by the Malay representatives. The Resident said that it was time for the Malays to pay tax to support the state administration, pointing out that the Chinese were already making a sufficient contribution through various taxes.<sup>3</sup>

In 1880, when the Council received news of the British Government's decision that the state of Perak should contribute \$250,000 to the expenses of the Perak War, Low again pressed for a decision on the poll tax.<sup>4</sup> The Resident justified it by saying that the Malays of Perak were now settled and prosperous and could well afford the poll tax, and that even with this imposition, they would still be better off compared to the way they were once subjected to arbitrary and oppressive duties and forced labour under the former Malay chiefs. Furthermore, the revenue would be used towards paying the allowances and pensions of the Malay chiefs.

When Weld visited Perak, he had discussions with R.D. Hewett, the Kinta Magistrate, and William Maxwell, Assistant Resident of Perak, about 'forced labour, pensions to the lesser officers in native states and other matters'.<sup>5</sup> By the time the poll tax issue came to a vote at the end of 1882, the government was having difficulty getting enough cheap labour for its ambitious development projects, so it was decided to employ corvee labour for its public works, which could be commuted by payment of a tax. As an incentive to Malay cultivators, those who paid tax for cultivated land were exempted from this imposition.<sup>6</sup>

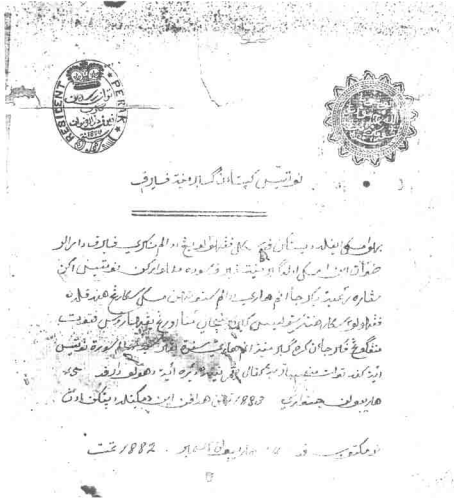
The Penghulus were instructed to make a list of all persons in their district liable to this tax, and when the services of the men were required, the Chief Officer of the district would require the Penghulu to send the men, and their labour should be superintended by the Penghulu or his deputy. As his fee, the Penghulu would be entitled to receive from the government 10 per cent of the value of the labour rendered, that is, 15 cents per head. Government notices dated 14 December 1882 were issued to all Penghulus, including Raja Bilah, stating that the Government of Perak had earlier issued a notice ordering six days corvee labour per year.

So now the Penghulus are required to send a census list enumerating those who are eligible to bear the six days government corvee labour as stated in the notice letter to the Tuan Magistrate head of the parish administering the district before 15 January 1883.<sup>7</sup>

Raja Bilah had one month to complete the census. He probably had little difficulty enforcing the order among his followers in Papan. Tin was fetching a good price, and the Sumatran miners would rather pay the small tax than lose six days work on the mines when the weather was good. Furthermore, many of the Mandailings were also cultivating rice and would therefore be exempted from the tax. It should be noted here that many Mandailings migrated from Sumatra to evade compulsory labour (*rodi*) imposed by the Dutch. However, in comparison to the maximum of 52 days a year of *rodi* exacted by the Dutch,<sup>8</sup> the British requirement of 6 days a year seemed quite reasonable.

Already in 1877, the Perak Resident Hugh Low had met with the Raja Muda Yusuf, Shaik Ma Taib, and others in Kota Tampan, including the Penghulus from neighbouring villages, and consulted them about the introduction of taxes, in particular land rent and 'Asil Klamim' (poll-tax). Low was pleased to report that 'after an hours (sic) discussion (all) of them entirely agreed to support them in place of being harassed with the old irregular taxes and demands' from which Low guaranteed they would be free. Among the chiefs he consulted was 'Jah Disa Mandailing' (Ja Desa) who had come to Upper Perak with Che Karim in early 1876 to pursue ex-Sultan Ismail, and then remained to guard the stockade at Kota Tampan with money and arms supplied by the Assistant Resident at Larut'.<sup>9</sup>

However, the order aroused great dissatisfaction in some other parts of the state, especially in Lambor. The Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Frederick



#### Translation

14 December 1882, notice in Jawi, issued by the Government of Perak, to all Penghulus requiring them to make a census of those eligible for corvee labour.

#### NOTICE OF STATEMENT GOVERNMENT OF PERAK

That so this is stated to all Penghulus in this State of Perak Darul Ridzuan so the Government of Perak has issued a notice in order to instruct the people to work six days in a year. So now the Penghulus are required to send a census list enumerating those who are eligible to bear the six days government corvee labour as stated in the letter of notice to the Tuan Magistrate, head of the parish area of administration, before 15 January 1883. It is so stated.

Written on 14 day of December 1882. End.

Weld, later reported that

the people of the Mukim or sub-district of Lomboh, on the Perak River, having refused to pay a tax imposed by the State Council, threatened armed resistance, refused to meet the Resident unless by proceeding as an armed body to Kwala Kangsa (where the Resident was), and declared that if they were defeated they would disperse in small bands and harry the country.<sup>10</sup>

In a sitting of the Legislative Council in July 1884, Weld mentioned the Lambor incident.

The progress of Perak is unprecedented; a slight difficulty lately arose in one district (owing perhaps to its containing many of the relations and former dependents of the murderers of Mr. Birch, the first Resident, and to want of intercourse with European officers) when armed resistance was threatened to a tax imposed by the State Council.<sup>11</sup>

Weld neglected to mention the unpopular subject of corvee labour, which may have raised some eyebrows back in Britain. Instead he named as the major contributing factor: the introduction of compulsory manumission, a reform which was likely to be supported by the British government and public.

One of their reasons for refusing to pay the tax was the manumission of slaves, and this is noteworthy, as though the manumission of slaves is being now rapidly carried out and accepted generally in the best spirit, it shows what might have been expected if it had been at once carried out in an arbitrary manner on our first arrival in the country.<sup>12</sup>

Weld also cast aspersions on the recalcitrants by pointing out,

The village of Lomboh is in Lower Perak, a little above the place where Mr. Birch was murdered, and its people are connected with some of the Seychelles exiles (Sultan Abdullah and his men) and were implicated in the matter. They have since been quiet, but have not had very much intercourse with Europeans.<sup>13</sup>

Weld recounted how at first Mr. Denison, the Superintendent of Lower Perak, 'Raja Dris, Raja Makota, and other leading Malays', had 'used every endeavour to convince them of the reasonableness of the demands of Government and of the folly of resistance.' Then when the Perak Resident Hugh Low descended to Lower Perak on 2 May 1883,

the Penghulus of Lomboh visited him, but could do nothing with their people, who obstinately refused to listen to those who went to reason with them, amongst whom were the Penghulus of Syong, the Regent's district, and of Kota Lama (the village that rose on General Colborne during the war and nearly took his life), beat the mosque drum at their approach, and prepared all for resistance. After giving full warning, Mr. Low had no alternative but to exhibit force, for to have yielded to threats would have destroyed all the good work we have done in civilizing and pacifying the country.<sup>14</sup>

The family version of the event, contrasting the defiant Malays with the loyal Mandailings, begins at the point when the Perak Resident resorted to a show of force.

Hence in mukim Lambur, the Malays refused to pay a poll tax which was specified as commutation for six days work, that is, each person had to pay \$1 a year. Then came an order from the Government, that is, from Tuan Resident Perak summoning Raja Bilah together with a hundred of his Mandailing followers, ordering them to go to Lambor to help the Government in this matter.<sup>15</sup>

The Resident must have known that Raja Bilah could be relied on to provide the British with immediate reinforcements, as the Mandailings had ready fighting men. The order dated 5 May 1883 was sent by the Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett, asking Raja Bilah and his men to appear in Kota Bharu the next day,

Word of Truth

Sincere letter from us (beta) Tuan Hewett Magistrate of Kinta at Kota Bharu to our friend Raja Bilah The Noble with peace.

The matter, when our friend receives this letter, that instance should our friend together with our friend's people, Mandailing scions (anak Mandailing) one hundred in all, without delay, please come to Kota Bharu



deep contrition and promising most humbly never to repeat the offence, but to petition in a quiet way if any future occasion should arise. Mr. Low personally received their submission at their village, and on their plea that they were "poor ignorant jungle people," he withdrew his warrant for the arrest of the ringleaders, and admitted all concerned to pardon. Not only was order restored, but even cheerfulness and cordiality at once prevailed.<sup>18</sup>

Raja Bilah, who had previously entertained Weld in Papan, was the only 'Malay chief' named by Weld for his part in suppressing the malcontents.

...it is most gratifying to observe the readiness with which the Malay Chiefs came forward to assist, Raja Biela (sic) bringing 35 fighting men, and the devotion they showed Mr. Low insisting, for instance, on coming into his boat as he passed a place whence they thought it likely that he might be fired upon.<sup>19</sup>

The 'Military Expedition to Lambor' cost the Perak Government a whopping \$38,110.20.<sup>20</sup> Possibly in recognition of Raja Bilah's loyalty and services rendered during Lambor incident, Raja Bilah's salary was increased from \$300 a year to \$360 a year in 1884.<sup>21</sup>

A version of this episode told by Raja Bilah's grandson Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh suggests that the Lambor rebellion was instigated by Acehese refugees living by the Perak River. Raja Bilah was said to have been sent by Raja Idris to Lambor 'to advise the Acehese refugees to change their attitude towards the Perak government because this was not the Dutch government ruling Aceh'. The Acehese, who were then still at war with the Dutch, may have held a strong antipathy against the British, for not coming to the assistance of Aceh, or for appearing to take the side of the Dutch. For Sumatran migrants living in Perak, the issue of corvee labour in Lambor must have come as a stinging reminder of Dutch corvee impositions in their homelands.<sup>22</sup>

In 1884, the kerah tax was reduced to 'one dollar per head, a commutation of four days corvee levied on all Malays between the ages of fifteen and fifty who do not already contribute to the revenue an equivalent sum in land rent'.<sup>23</sup> Raja Bilah was instructed by Kinta Acting Magistrate J.B.M. Leech in a letter dated 27 June 1885 to make a census, categorizing those who own village lands and padi fields and those who did not, as the land-owners would be exempted from the six days' corvee labour.<sup>24</sup> The unpopular poll-tax was finally abolished in 1891.<sup>25</sup>

# TOK STIA RAJA AND THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF BATU GAJAH

The development of Kinta began with the building of roads. The commonest type of road then in existence were bridle paths, which were six feet wide and unmetalled. While tin was at the time conveyed by elephants through the jungle, they would soon be carried by bullock-cart on new cart roads.

As long as they were negotiable by the slow-moving bullock-cart, the roads largely followed the natural terrain, so that some were winding and indirect. A road was no sooner completed than small houses, plantations, and fruit and vegetable gardens sprang up along its whole length. When funds were available and the traffic showed that the road was proving its use, it was widened and metalled, villages sprang up beside it, and all the land served by the road appreciated in value.<sup>1</sup>

Reporting on his survey of 1881, de la Croix mentioned that

Excellent roads will soon join the two important districts of Gopeng and Papan to Sungai Kinta, which is the great artery of the country, and give them a new impulse.<sup>2</sup>

These were the first roads to be built by the British after the Perak War, signifying the importance of the two mining settlements. The two cart roads ended on the bank of the Kinta River, boosting the settlements of Kota Bharu and Batu Gajah, two settlements located at junctions of land and river transport.<sup>3</sup>

The longest cart-road (about 10 miles long) was built from Gopeng to Kota Bharu, the largest pre-1874 kampong in the Kinta valley, at the confluence of the Teja and Kinta rivers.<sup>4</sup> The construction was being financed by an extra \$2 duty a bahara, which the Chinese miners had indicated they were willing to contribute for the purpose.<sup>5</sup> Soon after the road was completed, the administrative centre of Kinta moved from Pangkalan Pegoh to Kota Bharu.







Tok Stia Raja, of the Rangkuti clan, was the chief of the Mandailing in Batu Gajah. The picture is captioned: 'Dato' Stia Raja Bin Bendahara Raja, 1806-1926'.

*Photograph displayed in the Rumah Kuning, before the latter was demolished in 1997.*

At the same time, a four-mile cart road was being made from Papan to the confluence of the Raya and Kinta rivers, not far from the confluence with Sungai Terap. Where there was previously only a small kampong at Batu Gajah,<sup>6</sup> now a modern hamlet was being established to serve as a strategic river port. In 1881, Hugh Low reported that a sum of \$849 was paid

to the inhabitants of Batu Gajah for the destruction of many fine fruit trees and the appropriation of their lands ... The spot selected by Mr. H.W.C. Leech as a river port is most convenient to the mines of Papan and its neighbourhood and has already become a considerable trading station, from which the amount paid will be recovered by the sale of building sites for houses and shops for the traders resorting to it.<sup>7</sup>

The Perak Council minutes also mentions that the Government purchased land in early 1881 for the purpose of establishing a trading village from which supplies could be sent to the mines of Papan, Siputeh and other places in Kinta, and from which tin might be exported. The site proved healthy and convenient, and land was sold to traders, who built twenty or more good houses on it.<sup>8</sup> Some of the earliest houses are still standing in the old section of Batu Gajah town.

*Opposite page:* The earliest cart roads in the Kinta Valley were built from the most productive mining settlements to the nearest river ports - from Gopeng to Kota Bharu (10 miles) and from Papan to Batu Gajah (4 miles). Soon afterward, the roads were extended, one linking Kota Bharu, Gopeng and Kuala Dipang and another linking Batu Gajah, Papan, Ipoh, Chemor and Enggar (Enggor) near Kuala Kangsar. Also shown on this map are elephant paths and surveys for railway routes from Ipoh to Telok Anson and Lumut.

*Sources:* Map of the Malay Peninsula, 1891. His Excellency Sir Frederick A. Weld, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements, published under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society.



The grand old man Tok Stia-

Raja with male family members and followers. At centre is a chair with a rubber sheet draped over it - this could have been the first rubber sheet produced by the estate. The signage reads, 'Malayan Estate', 'Batu Gajah, Perak', 'F.M.S.'. The photograph shows one of the early timber shophouses in Batu Gajah.

*Photograph displayed in Rumah Besar Raja Bilah.*

The Kota Bharu site soon proved malarial, and in 1884,

The Head Quarters of the Kinta Magistrate were moved from Kota Bharu, the station first selected but found unhealthy and unsuitable, to Batu Gajah, which is probably the finest site for dwelling houses in the State. Police Station, Hospital and Quarters for all Officers were erected on the new site and occupied.<sup>9</sup>

A Malay vernacular school had been established at Kota Bharu in August 1884, but was 'poorly patronised'.<sup>10</sup> When the school was moved to Batu Gajah the next year, it had an enrolment of 19 students. The District Magistrate promised that 'as soon as the convenient building is provided greater results will appear'.<sup>11</sup> Before long, the 19 students sat for examinations in Standards I, II, III and IV, obtaining 85 per cent of passes.<sup>12</sup>

Penghulus actively encouraged attendance and set an example by sending their own children to school. In 1886, Raja Ya'qub was sent by Raja Bilah to the Malay School at Batu Gajah. His first teacher was Haji Abdur-Rahman bin Fakir Muhammad. As this was the only government school in Kinta at the time, even the Malay chiefs in Ipoh sent their children here.<sup>13</sup>

In 1887, the Batu Gajah Mosque was built through the efforts of Dato' Amar Pandak Akhat, Tuan Haji Abdul Qadir, Pandak Taha bin Mohammed and Kerani Wahab, who raised public subscriptions for its construction. It was a timber mosque, accommodating about 50 people.<sup>14</sup>



Among the traders who settled in Batu Gajah in response to opportunities provided by the British were a group of Mandailings headed by Dato' Stia Raja, better known as Tok Stia Raja, of the Rangkuti clan. His father was Bendahara Raja,<sup>15</sup> a Mandailing leader who first settled in Selangor during the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1826-1857) and then in Pahang, where Raja Asal met him in the 1840s.<sup>16</sup> The relationship between Tok Stia Raja's family and Raja Asal's family went back to the Mandailing homeland. In Maga, Tok Stia Raja belonged to the Rangkuti clan which was the wife-giving clan (*mora*), while Raja Asal belonged to the Nasution clan which was the wife-receiving clan (*anak boru*).<sup>17</sup>

Tok Stia Raja was said to have been born in Klang in 1806. As a Mandailing leader, he was together with Raja Asal and Sutan Puasa during the Klang War (1867-73).<sup>18</sup> Tok Stia Raja followed Raja Asal to Perak, where he settled down as a tin-merchant and shop-keeper in Batu Gajah. Raja Abu Bakar, a notable Mandailing who spent some years in Selama and finally settled down in Batu Gajah, was an in-law of his.

Tok Stia Raja had three wives, marrying the second and third wife only after the death of the first. He had eight children by each wife but altogether seven died in infancy.<sup>19</sup> Tok Stia Raja built three large houses for his three families. The most famous was the Rumah Kuning, which has been demolished. One other house is still extant.

Tok Stia Raja's mansion, the Rumah Kuning in Batu Gajah, demolished in 1997. There remains one last bungalow built by Tok Stia Raja, currently used by Indian scrap collectors. Photograph by Khoo Salija Nasution.

The second child and eldest son Abdul Kadir was born in Pangkalan Kacha. He was a childhood friend of Raja Ya'qub son of Raja Bilah. Abdul Kadir and his younger half-brother Yeop Abdullah Sani married two daughters of Haji Muhammad Bashir. Tok Stia Raja's second daughter Alang Rahimah, also known as Selangit, married Raja Ya'qub and became known to Tok Stia Raja's family as 'Opah Papan'.

In his old age, Tok Stia Raja's spirit of enterprise and innovation continued to bring opportunities to his people and to Batu Gajah. Two examples will be quoted here.

During the Tin Rush of 1891, Tok Stia Raja started a scheme which was described as 'one instance of the extraordinary development which has taken place in the district since the "lanchut kechil" has come into general use'.<sup>20</sup> As Collector and Magistrate of Kinta J.B.M. Leech went on to elaborate.

the land immediately behind the station at Batu Gajah ... was looked upon as useless for tin land, owing to want of water. Then a Malay named Siti (sic) Raja asked my permission to dam a small stream which runs through it. I gave the permission and the dam was made, with the result that there are now 80 wash-boxes at work, employing over 1,000 Chinese coolies, 900 acres of land have been applied for in the immediate neighbourhood, and there will in all probability be 5,000 coolies at work before the end of the year.<sup>21</sup>

Again, Mandailing dam-building technology had made idle land productive, and Batu Gajah reaped the reward for this.

Around 1896, Tok Stia Raja became one of the first 'native cultivators' to take up rubber-planting. A photograph shows Tok Stia Raja proudly posing with his family and followers, showing off a rubber sheet produced from his plantation.

Tok Stia Raja died in Batu Gajah in 1926, it is said, at the ripe old age of 120 years. Haji Abdul Kadir inherited a great deal of wealth from his father. He owned many shophouses in the old quarter of Batu Gajah, which is now referred to as Pekan Lama. Unfortunately he borrowed on mortgages to the chettians and ultimately lost much of the family properties.<sup>22</sup>

# THE PAPAN MOSQUE AND ISLAMIC ADMINISTRATION

While it was the Mandailing warriors who led their fellow Sumatrans in times of war, in religious matters they looked to the Minangs for leadership and instruction. Since the Padri days, Muslims from the Mandailing homeland who wished to gain an Islamic education would attend the religious schools in Minangkabau, to the south of Mandailing country.

The religious leader of the Sumatrans in Kinta was Shaikh Muhammad Taib, a Minang. He was described as a wise old man, courageous and invincible.<sup>1</sup> Due to his extraordinary influence with both the Perak Malays and *orang dagang*, the Perak Resident Hugh Low saw that the Shaikh would be useful as a counterbalance to Raja Yusuf and Raja Idris and for that reason nominated him to the Perak State Council in 1879. Low observed that the two Rajas

show a very strong feeling of jealousy against Ma Taib as being a foreigner, but it really arises from his being clever enough to gain influence...<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Low made the Shaikh the Chief Qadi of Perak, overriding Raja Yusuf's own candidate.<sup>3</sup> With their Padri history, the Minang religious teachers would have no respect for royal adat and privileges. During his first year as Perak Resident, Low wrote in his journal,

Shaik Ma Taib is dead against employing the Rajas and I know all the people are altogether against any native having magisterial or governing (powers). It (is) under the circumstances very difficult to establish a native government.<sup>4</sup>

Raja Idris was not in awe of Shaikh Muhammad Taib's religious leadership and furthermore resented the latter for meddling in the affairs of his constituency. There was clearly no love lost between the two.

Shaik Ma Taib says Dris is hated at Kampar. Dris says Shaik Ma Taib has been interfering there.<sup>5</sup>

Hugh Low believed in flattering the royals while isolating them from their people.

I told Shaik Ma Taib I intended R(aja) Dris to live at Syong (that is, at Kuala Kangsar) which he highly applauded and recommended that all the Rajahs should be as much as possible collected there, which had also suggested itself to me, as they will be under observation and less able to be mischievous than when scattered about the province.<sup>6</sup>

The people were instead to be administered through district officers and local Penghulus.

Given the circumstances, Raja Dris probably felt that Kinta should have its own Qadi, one that was not as influential and opinionated as the Shaikh. Returning from a visit to Kinta, Raja Idris told the Perak State Council in 1882 that

many complaints were made to him of the inconvenience caused by there being no judge capable of hearing matrimonial cases in Kinta, Kampar or Sungai Raya.<sup>7</sup>

It was in March 1884 that Raja Bilah received a letter from Tuan Alimud Fadzil Shaikh Muhammad Taib, the head of religion (*kepala agama*), giving him two orders to carry out.<sup>8</sup> The first was to request the appointment of a Qadi for Kinta. The second was to build a mosque in Papan as there were already more than enough Muslims there to warrant the building of a local mosque.<sup>9</sup> The family chronicle confirms that Raja Bilah accepted the order and carried out the two matters.

Sheikh Ma Taib was living in Tanjong Bharu in Lower Perak, and the people of Kinta had to travel a great distance downriver to take their problems to him. The Chief Qadi felt that this arrangement was causing great hardship for the Muslims living upstream. He therefore asked Raja Bilah to confer with the chiefs (*dato'-dato'*)<sup>10</sup> of Kinta about applying to the government to make Haji Abdul Kadir Mandailing the Qadi of Kinta so that he might carry out the Islamic law in that district.<sup>11</sup>

Soon afterwards, Haji Abdul Kadir received his appointment as Assistant Qadi of Kinta, the highest religious post for the district. He was first based in Kota Bharu and then moved to Batu Gajah, where a Syariah court was established.<sup>12</sup> The appointment of a Mandailing Qadi indicated the predominance of the Mandailings among the other Sumatran groups in Kinta. During this period, the Mandailing ulama would have been more familiar with the complex issues arising from the way which the Mandailings practised their culture and customs, alongside with their Muslim faith. Abdul Qadir was instrumental in establishing the mosque in Batu Gajah.<sup>13</sup>

The second task, of building a mosque, would take Raja Bilah another four years to carry out. In 1888, the Masjid Papan was completed and the first Friday prayers were held. Raja Bilah had done his duty as leader (*amir*) of the Muslim community by providing the land and establishing a house of worship. The mosque was built in the character of the mosques in Mandailing. It

Opposite page (top):  
The Papan Mosque, built in 1888, was restored/reconstructed by the Muzium Negara in 1999.

A number of traditional Mandailing-style mosques were built on the west coast of the Peninsula, particularly in Perak and Selangor, but very few have survived the onslaught of Moghul-style mosque architectural fashion.

The Papan Mosque could well be the only extant 19th century Mandailing mosque of that scale, whether in Malaysia or Indonesia.

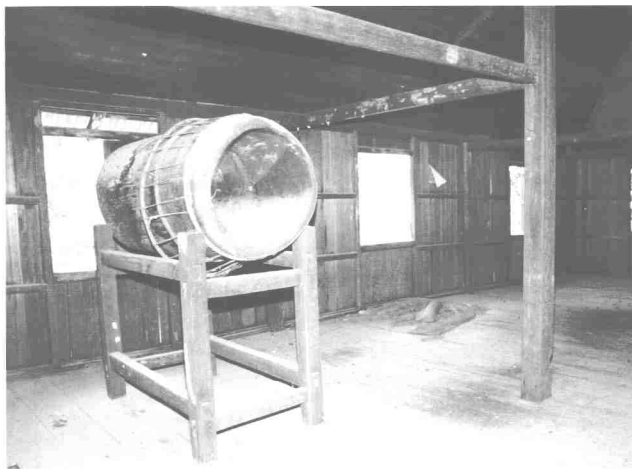
Opposite page (bottom):  
The entrance to the mosque.

Photographs by Khoo Salma Nasution









was a large timber hall raised on pillars, with a full bay for a *mihrab*, and a double-tier hipped roof capped by a finial.<sup>14</sup> The mosque would have been the first public building for the Muslims in and around Papan and an object of much local pride.

Prayers were announced by the beating of the drum (*tabuk*) followed by the Bilal calling out the *azan*. One of the first muezzins (Bilal) of the Papan Mosque was Haji Muhammad Salleh Bilal, a close friend of Raja Bilah. Haji Muhammad Salleh was the son of Ja Baltuk (Lubis), the Mandailing who opened Bonus near Ampang in Selangor.<sup>15</sup> The first religious teacher at the mosque, who presumably also doubled as the leader of congregational prayer (*Imam*), was a Minang named Tuan Haji Muhammad Said Talu.<sup>16</sup>

The Imam was probably the most important man in the village, next to the Penghulu. In Papan, a Mandailing Penghulu and a Talu Imam provided the leadership for a mixed population of immigrant Sumatrans, which included a sizeable community of Talus from northern Minangkabau. Religious instruction such as Qur'anic recitation would have been conducted in the mosque and, following both Minang and Mandailing tradition, the parish bachelors would also sleep there.

In addition to being the founder of the Masjid Papan, Raja Bilah also endowed a piece of burial ground at Changkat, the hillock near the Rumah Besar at

The *tabuk* (drum) and stand. The drum of a Mandailing mosque is similar to the biggest drum of the Gordang Sambilan.

Opposite page: (top left) The carved frame of the doorway leading from the *serambi* to the main prayer hall; (top right) the mosque interior, with Victorian lamps; (bottom) The carved *mihrab* and *mimbar*.

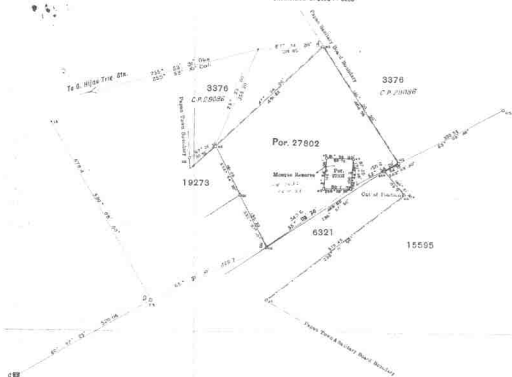
All photographs by Khoo Saima Nasution.

PLAN  
of Portions 27802 & 27803  
TOWN OF PAPAN  
DISTRICT OF KINTA

Scale 2 Chains to an Inch

Surveyed for C. of T. & Reserve Plan purposes

Subdivision G. 2122 P. 4162



PORTION	AREA	R.T.
27802	0a. 0r. 01p. (2 017 Acres)	95 23
27803	0a. 0r. 14p. (0 017 Acres)	

CO-ORDINATES

Origin-Topk			
	J	IV	
A	44047.34	34509.98	
B	44719.40	34739.20	

Initial Station: Orig. Az. C-D

Second Class Survey

Drawn by *Ng*

Examined by *Ampalawual*

Charred by *Khong Huan*

Plan approved *Alvin Perry*

Registered *J.S.*  
4.4.53

Del. Book Vol. 61 pp. 89 & 90

I hereby certify that I have examined the boundaries delineated on this plan and that they are correctly located on the ground and marked as shown hereon.

Date

Settlement Officer

R.S.  $\frac{3}{93}$  K.L.D.  $\frac{410}{22}$  APP. 8/1

Sheet No. 158-1-11

Certified that this plan correctly represents a survey completed E. 3 12 by me personally, in accordance with the regulations of the Survey Department of the Federated Malay States, and that the Boundary Marks have been properly placed and numbered under my supervision.

Survey Paper No. 877. K.  $\frac{7}{33}$

Field Book 1784 Pages 10-16

Surveyor.

Plan No. **27278**

J.L.O. 419<sup>B</sup>  
33

5009  
22



ورثه خاں امجد لوہ نگری  
سرکار اوقاف

انگريزي

کينٽا ۾ مقبوت سگيمان فصل 9 ايريج ۾ تانہ تانہ 1911  
درمعال مستقبل تانہ ان قلموتان کرجان

بھوا مقبوت سگيمان کواس بقدر سوت فصل 9 ايريج ۾ تانہ تانہ 1911 سن  
توان رسيدن فيرق تله ميستان اوله سگيم تانہ تانہ قان سفري بقدر کور دالم دفتر  
رناوه اين وان سوره ابتدائي راسين سوت تانہ نمبر 27278 ۾ سگيم ندمال اوقاف  
قلموت تانہ تانہ جهاهن کنت تله جهاهين تانہ ايريج تانہ سجدت سمبهيج باکي  
ايريج ۾ اساز رجکالي اوله فقهر لو مقيم بلجا ان امام مسجد قان

متر 32  
16-11-23

جدول تانہ اين

جهاهن کنت دائره قان فاني نمبر 27278 لوت نمبر 27803 لواس ۵۰۵۰۵  
سماز اوتار لوت نمبر 27802 ۾ نمبر لوت نمبر 27802 ۾ سلات لوت نمبر  
27802 ۾ بارت لوت نمبر 27802  
کين کينٽا ۾ اين دکواران مقبوت سگيمان فصل 9 ايريج ۾ تانہ تانہ 1911

۱۹۲۵ ۾ ايريج ۾ نمبر

نزهت بي. د. بلو. ايليس  
سگيم ندمال اوقاف  
متر

Translation

3 November 1923, Gazette of the Federated Malay States in Jawi, declaring the site of the Papan Mosque as prohibited land (waqf).

Gazette of the Four States Government (Federated Malay States), Perak State

Declaration in accordance with section 19 land law the year 1911 pertaining to the taking of land for government purposes.

Number 7623.16.11.23

That in accordance to the powers provided for in section 19 land law year 1911, so the Tuan Resident of Perak has stated there is a piece of land in Papan as recorded in the register below and the said letter marked on the aforesaid land survey plan number 27278 in the Survey Office, Kinta Territory, has become a prohibited land, the site of the mosque, a place of worship for Muslims cared for by the Penghulu of Blanja Parish and the Imam of the Papan mosque.

Schedule for this land

Kinta Territory, Papan District plan number 27278 lot number 27803 area ARP 0.0.14 northern border lot number 27802 east lot number 27802 south lot number 27802 west lot number 27802. So this declaration is issued in accordance with section 19 land law year 1911.

Taiping 3 November 1923.

Tuan B.W. Ellis  
Secretary Resident  
Perak

Papan. Raja Bilah had the burial ground at Changkat surveyed in 1894, at considerable expense.<sup>17</sup> The revenue survey and demarcation throughout Perak state had just come under the coordination of the Lands Department surveyor, resulting in more standardized land documentation.<sup>18</sup> In 1901, Raja Bilah had the burial ground gazetted as religious charity land (waqf). Respecting his father's wishes, Raja Bilah's son Raja Ya'qub, had the mosque site surveyed and gazetted as religious endowment land (waqf) in 1923.<sup>19</sup>

The Papan Mosque would have been the centre of Hari Raya Idul Fitri and Hari Raya Haji celebrations, and these Muslim festivals occasioned large gatherings among the Mandailingings. In 1894, the District Officer J.B.M. Leech observed a Hari Raya Idul Fitri gathering in Copeng attended by at least two thousand 'foreign Malays', most likely referring to Mandailing and Rawa migrants.<sup>20</sup>

Opposite page:  
Plan of Portions 27802 & 27803 Town of Papan District of Kinta, of Plan No. 27278, showing the land endowed as waqf by Raja Bilah for the Papan Mosque

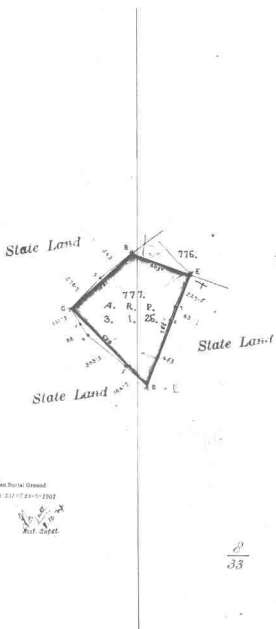
PERAK SURVEYS.

Mukim Sungei Trap App. No. 306  
34.

LEASE No. \_\_\_\_\_

Areas marked in red on boundaries  
 of this plan are of reserved land

547  
1/2



Reasons & Plan prepared  
 K.L.O. 320  
01 *Clifford*  
 1.8.1901

Mikelande Rural Ground  
 Gaz. Note 311 of 21-5-1902  
  
 Mut. Supt.

$\frac{2}{33}$

L. 47  
 T.R.F. 282 Dt. G  
 F.B. I. P. 120.

Plan of Allotment No. 777 Block 153-1 S. D. \_\_\_\_\_

Surveyed for Raja Bila

By P. N. Pites Surveyor. Date 8/94

Deposited Oct 1894

Scale, four chains to one inch.

**3119**

Certified:  
*Abdul Bahar*  
 Dist. Commr. Secy.

Obtained by special  
 order of the District Officer



#### Translation

27 September 1900, letter in Jawi, from Syed Abdullah Assistant Chief Qadi Perak, Kuala Kangsar, to Raja Bilah, authorizing Haji Abdul Majid to teach (religious teachings).

His Word is the Truth.

From Al-Majid from the slave of Syed Abdullah Assistant Chief Qadi of Perak Kuala Kangsar to the presence of the Ennobled your slave's friend Raja Bilah who is now in Mukim Kinta Papan District, the Noble with peace.

The matter, your slave's friend's letter which is dated 24 September, which was sent to the Chief Qadi has arrived, and it is understood whatever is stated therein. So like the request of your slave's friend which is stated in (your) letter has been approved, and the letter of authorization to teach has been given to this Haji Abdul Majid. Could our slave's friend kindly pass him the message So it is. End.

Recorded on 27 September 1900.

(Seal in English, with signature) CHIEF - ASSIST - KATHI - PERAK

Hari Raya Idul Fitri (1st day of Shawal) is celebrated after the fasting month of Ramadhan and the dating is based on the sighting of the new moon. In this matter, the Mandailings have been known to follow their own calculations, celebrating Hari Raya a day earlier than the Malays. Differing dates may have resulted in misunderstandings, such as was observed by Leech:

There has been a mistake about the Hari Raya this year, and much discussion and a good deal of ill-feeling among the Malays in consequence. Some of them celebrated it on Friday and some on Saturday.<sup>21</sup>

The two days mentioned corresponded with Friday, 6 April 1894 and Saturday 7 April 1894 respectively, the latter date being in accordance with the standard Muslim calendar. The Malays would have looked askance at a group of Mandailings feasting instead of fasting on what was considered by the former to be the last day of Ramadhan.

It is likely that the earlier date for celebrating Hari Raya was declared and sanctioned by Haji Abdul Kadir Mandailing, who served as an Assistant Qadi of Kinta for 14 years until his death on 28 July 1898.<sup>22</sup> However, the Assistant Qadi who replaced him would no doubt have told the Mandailings to conform to standardized dates.

In line with increasing standardization of the Muslim religion throughout the Federated Malay States, the dating of the Id would no longer be left to the 'sighting of the new moon' and calculations by independent Muslim astronomer (*ahli falak*). Instead, they would be centrally calculated and publicly declared by state-appointed religious officials, and communicated to the community of believers through the Penghulus.

Opposite page: Perak Surveys, Mukim Sungai Trap, August 1894, showing a plan of allotment surveyed for 'Raja Bila' demarcating the Muslim burial ground endowed by Raja Bilah, Raja Bilah and his wife are buried there.

### Translation

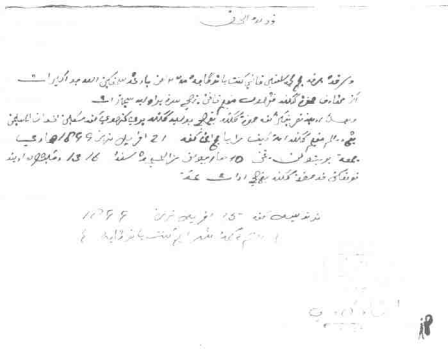
15 April 1899, letter in Jawi, from Haji Muhammad Assistant Qadi, Syariah Court Kinta Batu Gajah, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to notify the Muslims of Papan Parish of the date of Hari Raya.

His Word is the Truth.

Letter from Haji Muhammad Assistant Qadi, Kinta Batu Gajah, hopefully that which may be delivered by Allah, in any case appearing before the presence of Kakanda Penghulu, Papan Parish of the Noble and obtain His Peace.

And after this Adinda defines to the presence of Kakanda the Noble, could Kakanda convey to all our brothers in Islam, who are in Kakanda's parish, that we will celebrate this (Hari Raya) Haji on 21 April year 1899 Friday corresponding to the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Zulhijjah year 1316. Thus Adinda conveys to the presence of Kakanda the Noble, So it is. End.

Written on 15 April year 1899 at the Syariah Court Batu Gajah.



In a letter dated 15 April 1899, Haji Muhammad bin Haji Abdoll Rahman, Assistant Qadi of the Syariah Court of Kinta at Batu Gajah, asked Raja Bilah to notify the 'ihwan al-Muslimin', that is, the Muslim community of Papan, that Hari Raya Haji would be celebrated on 21 April 1899, corresponding to the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Zulhijjah.<sup>23</sup> A similar letter would have been issued for the date of Hari Raya Idul Fitri.

In Perak, the teaching of Islam was similarly regulated. Anyone who wanted to give 'religious doctrine' outside his family circle had to apply for a licence.<sup>24</sup> In 1900, Raja Bilah applied on behalf of Haji Abdul Majid, probably a Mandailing religious teacher based in Kinta, for permission to teach. This permission was granted in the form of a letter of authorization<sup>25</sup> issued by Syed Abdullah Attas, Assistant Chief Qadi of Perak at Kuala Kangsar.<sup>26</sup>

Qadis had jurisdiction 'in all matters concerning Mahomedan religion, marriage and divorce, and in all matters regulated by the Hukum Sharah as shall be defined in his kuasa'.<sup>27</sup> In 1889, an Order-in-Council enjoined that divorces granted by Assistant Qadis were deemed to be provisional only, and subject to the ruler's confirmation.<sup>28</sup> As most administrative matters were already in the hands of the colonial administration, the Sultan found himself with little independent authority except as head of religion, and even then, within the sphere of religious affairs, his jurisdiction was being limited to rather narrow matters such as marriage, divorce, division of property, mosque attendance, religious instruction and little more. Under these circumstances, Sultan Idris of Perak, was known to have taken a personal interest in the divorce cases of the then rather small population, including a divorce case which took place in 1887.





A letter from the Penghulu Papers dated 7 December 1887 concerns Raja Bilah's involvement in a divorce settlement between two parties. Long Rabiah and Haji Ali.<sup>29</sup> Long Rabiah was probably Raja Rabiah, Raja Bilah's eldest daughter. If so, this is the only known document mentioning her first marriage to Haji Ali, which ended in divorce.

On 10 November 1887, Raja Bilah had written to the Yang Dipertuan, that is, Sultan Idris of Perak about the divorce. On 2 December, the Sultan instructed a team to investigate the matter. The commission was a small but high-powered team of the Sultan's close aides, comprising Raja Ahmad, the Orang Kaya Temenggong, Raja Mansur,<sup>30</sup> and the Qadi.

On 7 December 1887, Raja Ahmad ibni Al-Marhum Bendahara Iskandar Syah, Secretary to the Yang Dipertuan Perak at Bukit Chandan, wrote to Raja Bilah reporting the conclusions of their investigation into Long Rabiah's suit against her ex-husband Haji Ali. The dispute over 'trifling properties' involved 'jewelry, cash, buffalo, carriage only' amounting to \$340, according to Raja Bilah's list.

The suit implicated Raja Bilah himself and Haji 'Ali's brother Haji Ibrahim.<sup>31</sup>

Haji 'Ali was examined, did he take the things as alleged by Long Rabiah?  
Haji 'Ali answered, not at all.

Then Long Rabiah was examined, what kinds of properties were (handed over) to Haji Ali? Long Rabiah replied, she didn't know about the things because it was our friend (Raja Bilah), she said, (who) gave the things to Haji Ibrahim, brother of Haji 'Ali.

Then Haji 'Ali was examined, Haji 'Ali, do you want to claim the clothes of Long Rabiah?

Haji 'Ali replied, not bothered (*tidak senang*), (but) perhaps he might want to claim the house, because the house belonged to him.

Not surprisingly, the four men took the side of the Haji 'Ali. 'So according to the thinking of the four of us, it was not justified for Long Rabiah to accuse Haji 'Ali because she did not hand over those things to Haji 'Ali, nor did Haji 'Ali simply take them.' They recommended that the suit be thrown out of court. At the close of their letter, Raja Ahmad suggested that if Raja Bilah wished to pursue the matter, he could lodge a complaint against Haji Ibrahim.

As the British reformed and transformed the entire culture of governance in the state of Perak, they found it impossible to draw a line at matters of religious administration. Notwithstanding the Pangkor Treaty of 1874 which specified that the British Advisor to the Sultan was not to interfere in matters of 'Malay Religion and Custom', the British were instrumental in modernizing and reconstituting Islamic laws in Perak, and were also involved in matters of Islamic administration.

Modern religious law constituted in Perak included regulations on all types of zakat (religious taxes). On 12 April 1902, the British Resident presented the Perak State Council with a report from the Acting District Magistrate of Krian



on the intrusion of 'foreign collectors' of zakat in the district. It was the prerogative of the Sultan, as head of religion in the state, to appoint zakat collectors and to make rules for the collection, distribution, disbursement and use of zakat,<sup>32</sup> and so it was also the Sultan who issued instructions to the imams to remind the public that zakat should be collected for local benefit only.<sup>33</sup>

On 26 April 1905, Raja Bilah reportedly wrote to Sultan Idris, complaining about zakat collectors from Krian and Larut collecting zakat on padi grown in Kinta.<sup>34</sup> In his letter, Raja Bilah would have pointed out that zakat being a local tax should rightfully be paid in the local parish and cannot be transferred to another parish,<sup>35</sup> a point that was upheld by existing government regulations.<sup>36</sup>

Apparently, the abovesaid zakat collectors had been authorized by the Mufti himself, and Raja Bilah's allegations implied that the Mufti was either ignorant of Islamic law concerning zakat, or else was indulging in cronyism. In lodging the complaint, Raja Bilah might have been instigated by religious officials in Kinta, upset that zakat collectors from Krian and Larut were encroaching upon their territory and siphoning off zakat which should have gone towards the religious establishment in Kinta.

The general administration of Islamic law was referred to the Sultan as a matter of course, but he occasionally referred them back to the State Council and in that way to the Resident. The British Resident of Perak in turn delegated the investigation to his officers.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, E.J. Brewster, District Officer, Kinta at Batu Gajah reported to Raja Bilah in a letter dated 23 May 1905:<sup>38</sup>

So as with the padi zakat, the Mufti Tuan Haji Wan Muhammad has authorized their collection from the side of Krian and Larut districts. We have investigated and he conceded that the matter was not known by him - rules that have been made by the government on all the zakat. And we have directed to withdraw all the powers given by the Tuan Mufti, so as to prohibit the collection of all zakat (that was authorized by the Mufti) in the near future.

Meanwhile, so, in this task, we have also given notice to Qadis and Assistant Qadis in Perak prohibiting other persons from accepting zakat in the district. However, whoever wants to give zakat, should give to all the official Imams and the people in the district or whatever religious purposes, and that zakat cannot be transferred and brought to a different parish.<sup>39</sup>

Though not himself a religious official, Raja Bilah was not afraid to question the Mufti's orders and complain to the Sultan. Raja Bilah's opinion as a senior Penghulu was taken seriously by the colonial government, which responded promptly and satisfactorily.

# THE IDENTITY OF THE 'MALAY MINERS' OF KINTA

Following in the footsteps of de la Croix, another Frenchman, Jacques de Morgan also explored the Kinta in 1884 and studied 'Malay' mining methods. De Morgan, a civil mining engineer and member of the geographical, geological and zoological societies of France, was commissioned by the Perak government to undertake a geological and topographical survey.<sup>1</sup>

The Mandailing miners were involved in mining, smelting and trading in tin in the Kinta Valley. Once the biggest tin-producing district in the world, the Kinta Valley is about 40 miles long and only 6 miles wide at the northern end, fanning out to about 12 miles in width between Gopeng and Papan.<sup>2</sup>

The early Mandailing mining areas were clustered around the two Kinta tributaries, Sungai Johan and Sungai Raya, which flowed into the Kinta River around Batu Gajah. The western branch of this Y-shaped valley included the mining settlements of Papan and Lahat, while the eastern branch included Pulau and Gopeng. On the eastern side of the valley, the area of intensive mining activity was extended to Kampar between Sungai Teja and Sungai Kampar. De Morgan observed,

In Malay workings of some importance, the labourers who work at the mine the whole dry season become smelters during the rainy season; their profits are then much greater. The miners themselves transport their ore and their smelted tin, either they carry it on the backs of men, or the backs of elephants or in sampans. They sell it in the commercial centres such as Thaiping, Kouala Kangsar, Ipoh, Batou Gadja, Gopeng or Telok Anson.<sup>3</sup>

Among the mines de Morgan studied were Klian Tronong (Tronoh), Klian Monile (near Lahat), Klian Tasik (Pusing) and Klian Lalang (near Gopeng), which were mainly Sumatran areas. Tronoh, at that time a new mining area, was to sustain a high level of tin production well into the 20th century. In the early years,

Tronoh was chiefly a Minangkabau settlement, whereas the 'Malay mines' around Gopeng were mainly worked by Mandailing and Rawa.

The mine in Tasek was opened by Haji Zainal Abidin. According to the *Tarikh Raja Asal*,

The place was named Pusing because there was a lotus pond (*konda teratai*). So the water was used by them to wash the ore. The water was turned around and channelled back into the pond and re-used.<sup>4</sup>

Pusing means 'to turn around'. This intriguing innovation was remarked upon by C. Leech, State Commissioner of Lands in 1891:

Alluvial mining, however, is advancing by leaps and bounds. In the last year or so mining in the district has to a great extent been revolutionized. A very large proportion of the tin is produced by small parties of miners washing the ore out of the surface soil with what they called 'Ayer pusing' – i.e., the same water is used over and over again, being artificially raised from a well or tank to wash the soil, the result being that ground is now worked that, a few years since, no one would have thought of touching, and that practically all that is being done is turn the soil over – deep sub-soiling, in fact.<sup>5</sup>

In the 1890s, the Mandailings moved from this early settlement, thereafter called 'Pusing Lama', to a new location near the Papan-Batu Gajah road, called 'Pusing Baru'.<sup>6</sup> On the south side of this road, there are still lotus ponds today. Although located very close to Papan, Pusing came under Sungai Terap parish, which also included Batu Gajah to the south.

The *Tarikh Raja Asal* gives us an insight into the mining methods practised by the Mandailings and their co-workers. During the Mandailings' early years in Kinta, Raja Asal's followers 'did all the mining work and the odd jobs themselves, from the initial excavation to extracting the ore until it became tin.'<sup>7</sup>

... the water was drawn out of the mines with containers (*tong*) called 'Kua Kua' and the sides of the mines were reinforced with wooden 'Teku' to retain the soil, and to prevent collapse; and to excavate the soil from the mines, hand baskets made of rotan were passed from one person up to another. When the ore was obtained, they themselves smelted it in a pot (*memput*) in a *relau semut* without blast (*tlada berkambu*).<sup>8</sup>

During Raja Bilah's time, various methods of mining were used by the Mandailings. According to the *Tarikh Raja Asal*, 'The names of Malay occupations in tin fossicking are *meludang*, *melereh*, *mencabik*, *menabok*'.<sup>9</sup> The four methods of mining are explained below.

*Meludang*, according to A. Hale, Inspector of Mines, was 'a small shallow excavation (Malay) which can be baled with a *penimba chuak*', that is, a small bucket made of wood or bark. This method of mining was used where the layer of wash-dirt was found near the surface.<sup>10</sup>

*Melereh*, which is the Mandailing term for *melampun*, was to separate the ore from the earth by washing it in a river bed or in a ground sluice created by

Opposite page: Geological and mineral map of Kinta, by Jacques de Morgan.

Source: Morgan, Jacques de, *Exploration dans la Presqu'île Malaise espagnole de Perak et de Patani, Ingénieur-Général de L'artillerie*, Paris, 1886.

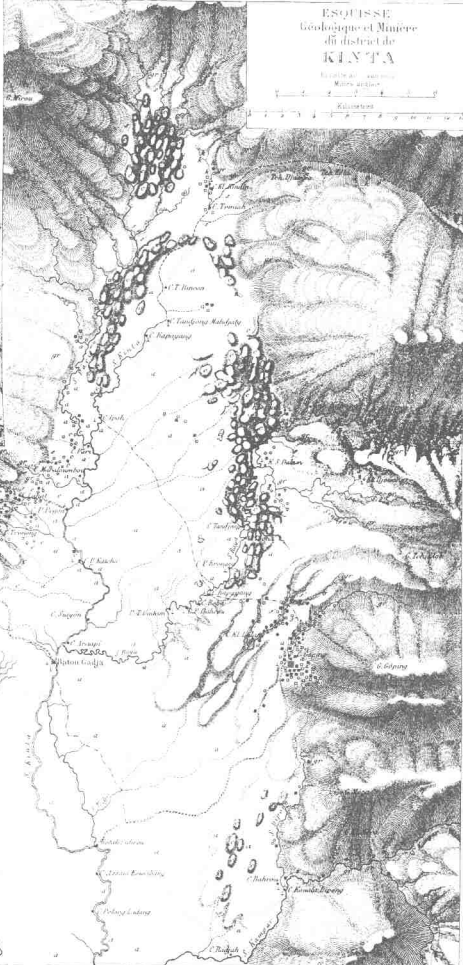
'By arrangement with the Government Mr DE MORGAN, a French Mining Engineer, who had come to Perak to prospect for tin, explored the Sungai Raya river, ascended Gunung Chabang and Gunung Korbu, and thence made his way to the head waters of the Perak river. During this journey Mr DE MORGAN took a number of observations, and prepared a map of Kinta valley and the land lying to the North as far as the Perak river watershed, and to the West as far as the left bank of the Perak river. I have just received a photogravure of this map, which I enclose.'

Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the Year 1884, p. 25.

Legende

- Rocher corallien
- Rocher granitique
- ▲ Rocher de basalte
- △ Rocher de calcaire
- ◇ Rocher de sable
- ◇ Rocher de grès
- ◇ Rocher de quartzite
- ◇ Rocher de schiste
- ◇ Rocher de gneiss
- ◇ Rocher de mica-schiste
- ◇ Rocher de marbre
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire tendre
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire dur
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire crayeux
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire coquillier
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire fossilifère
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire à empreintes
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire à empreintes de poissons
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire à empreintes de plantes
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire à empreintes de corail
- ◇ Rocher de calcaire à empreintes de siphonaires

CARTE DES ILES DE MALACCA

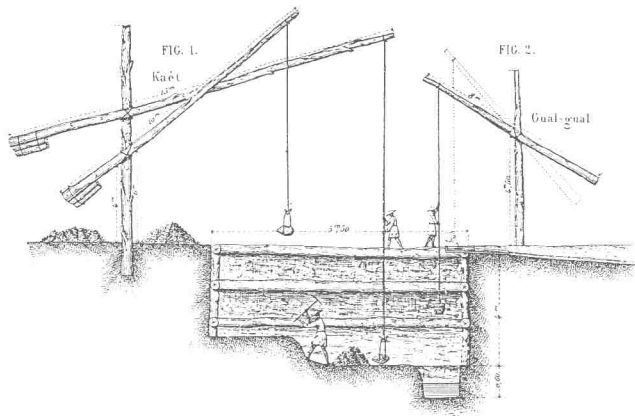


ESQUISSE  
Géologique et Minière  
du district de  
**KINTA**

Échelle en Kilomètres  
Mètres arabes

126.011.011.011

Pl VIII



This picture shows a *tabok* mine at Toualan-Lengo, possibly Tanjong Tualang. Water buckets and baskets are suspended from the ends of long wooden levers, for the purpose of removing water and earth from the mine. The longer levers for baskets here are called 'kaët' (hooks) while the shorter levers for the water buckets are here called 'gual-gual'; in the *Tarikh Raja Asal* the latter are called *gua-gua* (*kuwa-kuwa*).

Source: J. Errington de la Croix, *Les Mines D'étain de Perak (Presqu'île de Malacca)*, 1882.

diverting a stream. This was the most common form of Malay mining.<sup>11</sup> Hampton wrote in 1887,

The "lampan" mines are usually worked by the Malays, who choose them in preference to deeper ones.<sup>12</sup>

*Mencabik* is the only term among the four not mentioned by 19th century European observers. Literally, *mencabik* means 'to tear'.<sup>13</sup> This is probably the same method as that which the Malays call *Lombong Siam*, or hill-mining, an example of which will be given later.

*Menabok* is a large excavation, of such depth that it required the walls to be supported by a wooden framework. De Morgan described it as such:

on three sides the Malays prop the earth up with the bark of trees held in place by vertical posts: on the fourth face, the alluvium is allowed to fall away, but the majority of localities holds long enough to enable them to work it in steps. Depending on the abundance of water, draining takes place every morning before work. It is performed with the aid of buckets suspended from long levers loaded with counterbalances.<sup>14</sup>

The *kait ayer* was a lever which lifted the water straight out of the *tabok* mine. Another type of lever, the *kait raga*, lifted a basket of alluvial soil with an upward motion and then swung it around and deposited it at some distance.<sup>15</sup>

De Morgan also observed that the spoil of the *tabok* (*tebuk*) mine would pile up near the working pit, compelling the miners to move the extracted earth again in order to change their position when wishing to extend the works.<sup>16</sup>

At the height of Raja Bilah's mining career, he was possibly the largest 'Malay miner' in the Kinta Valley.

There was a place in Papan which they called One Hundred Pits (Tabok Seratus) and Raja Bilah's mine was called the Great Mine (Lombong Besar) as it was the biggest Malay mine at the time with hundreds of coolies all Malays (sebesar-besar kelian Melayu masa itu beratut kuli-kulinya Melayu belaka).<sup>17</sup>

Although the *lombong* (lumbung) or open working, usually carried out in the valleys, was generally associated with the Chinese mining methods, it was here named as a Mandailing enterprise.<sup>18</sup> This claim was confirmed in the report of De Morgan, who met Raja Bilah in person during his explorations in the mid-1884.

The valley of Papan, much wider than the Lahat valley, offers some of the same characteristics as the latter. It is formed by the coming together of many ravines, descending from the Hidjao and Danglop mountains, and presents at its opening of a width of about 2 kilometres wide.... A large number of mines have been built in the ravines, as in the wider part of the valley. Some are indigenous workings (Malays or Chinese), among which the most important is the one belonging to radja Bila (sic); the others belong to the English company, and are found a bit below the indigenous exploitations. The tin deposits north of Pappan are very deep and very rich, they rest on bluish clay of unknown thickness. Those exploited by the Europeans are on the contrary deposited on limestone, where they fill up the interstices.<sup>19</sup>

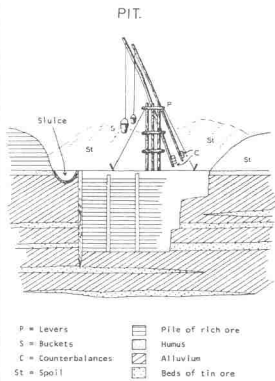
It is interesting to note Raja Ya'qub talked about the Mandailings and Malays as two mutually exclusive groups in, say, the Lambor episode, but includes the Mandailings among the Malays in matters of mining, apparently to distinguish the Muslim miners from the Chinese and European miners. However, he qualified this statement elsewhere by saying that the miners among Raja Bilah's followers (*anak buah*) were Mandailing, Minangkabau and Rawa, while his coolies were Javanese. The Minangs in this case were mainly 'orang Talu'. Raja Bilah's mining workers were headed by two Mandailings whose nicknames were 'Lampu' and 'Simpan'.<sup>20</sup>

A fifth method of mining, one which was most popular among the Sumatran women was *mendulang*.<sup>21</sup> Hale commented that panning for tin with a wooden tray (*dulang*) in the river beds was

a very favourite employment with Mandheling women; Kinta natives do not affect it much, although there is more than one stream where a good worker can earn a dollar per day...<sup>22</sup>

In 1889, Abu Bakar, a Mandailing migrant, noted that *dulang* washing was carried out by Mandailing women, who could extract between 10 to 15 kati of ore a day.<sup>23</sup>

#### CROSS-SECTION OF MALAY MINING



A tabok mine in Tronoh, described by De Morgan.

Source: Jackson, James C., 'Malay Mining Methods in Kinta in 1884', *Malaysia in History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1964. (A re-illustration of a drawing found in de Morgan, Jacques, *Exploration dans la Presqu'île Malaise: royaumes de Perak et de Patani*, imprimerie Generale A. Lahure, Paris, 1886.)





Contemporary photograph of a Mandailing woman panning for gold at the Batang Gadis river in the Mandailing homeland.

Photograph by Ardan Ramhey

*Mendulang* also used to be called *melanda*. Hale recorded a proverb commonly heard in Kinta, '*Rupa orang melanda, dia hendak makan hari itu juga*', said of a person who takes his wages everyday as he earns it, or sells his produce as quickly as possible.<sup>24</sup> Isma'il bin Hadji Abdoe'llah 'Oemar Effendi, a nephew of Raja Bilah from Medan who visited Perak in the early 1920s described '*melanda*' as 'collecting tin ore which is left over from mining.' He noted that it was being carried by both 'Malay' and Chinese men and women.

In the sluice in which tin has been mined, usually there remains some ore, because it could (not) be extracted fully by the coolies, who are usually rough labour. With a round tray, hollowed in the middle from a piece of wood, without any joinery, is scooped some earth which is mixed with ore from the mining water. Therefore the mud floats and the ore is left in the tray. The ore is then sold.<sup>25</sup>

In the 1890s, women were employed in the Gopeng Mines. They were probably Mandailing, Rawa or Talu women. An account of the Gopeng Mines, owned by a company from Cornwall, describes

a long ditch in which 40 Malay women are stationed at intervals. They catch the tin dirt as it flows past them in a wooden dish called a *dulang*, similar in shape and size to the South American gold washing batea. They are paid 40c. (10/12d.) per day, and but very little tin, it is claimed, escapes in the tail race.<sup>26</sup>

Among Raja Bilah's followers, the women not only played a big role in padi-farming but also in washing tin.

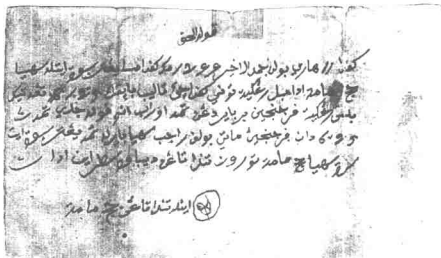
there were some who also worked small sluice mines (*lereh*, *lampan*) and the womenfolk panned for tin (*mendulang*), each one earning his or her own income, and some made enough to go on Hajj to Makkah and some returned to their country.<sup>27</sup>

#### Translation

30 April 1882, agreement in Jawi, recording advance taken by Haji Mamat from Encik Talib, to be paid back with *timah urab*.

His Word is the Truth.

On 11<sup>th</sup> day of Jumadil Akhir 1299 so at the abovesaid time, that is, I, Haji Mamat has taken ringgit cash from Encik Talib amounting to \$12.5 (or) half 13 ringgit. Agreement to pay with *timah urab* sixty, so the tin 6.25. And (when) the agreement ends on bulan Rajab, I will pay up the said tin. Herewith I Haji Mamat sign below the line.



True to the Mandailing sense of equity, what the women earned as panners was theirs to keep. Until today, in the Mandailing homeland, the women folk turn to panning gold in the Batang Gadis river whenever the prices of rubber and coffee are low.<sup>28</sup>

Mandailings who came to Kinta to seek their fortune through mining were often in need of capital. Tin-traders gave advances to miners, to be repaid in tin at the end of the month. For example, a note dated 30 April 1882, records a cash advance of \$12.5 or 'half 13 ringgit' (tengah tiga belas ringgit) taken by Haji Mamat from Encik Talib, to be paid up with 'timah urab sixty, so the tin 6.25'.<sup>29</sup>

The Mandailing miners expected a minimum return on the mines, as de Morgan pointed out, 'the Malays have told me very often that when a mine failed to yield \$8 to \$10 of tin per man per month, it is useless to work it'.<sup>30</sup> Many of them were temporary migrants, expecting to return home with a bounty.

In 1885, a Mandailing chief named Raja Gunong<sup>31</sup> sold off his one-sixteenth share in the Kliat Johan mine to Raja Bilah for \$30, possibly to wind up his business and return home. The transaction was witnessed by A. Hale, Inspector of Mines in the Kinta valley.<sup>32</sup> Kliat Johan was the mine mentioned by de la Croix in 1880, where the Chinese and 'Malay miners' had been observed working side by side.

The next year, someone named Raman sold a mine '1 hun, on the downriver side' from Raja Bilah for \$15.<sup>33</sup>

Hale noted in 1885 that there were nearly 500 registered mines, of which only three were 'public mines'; the latter were probably European companies which had been floated to raise capital. The rest were private mines, of which there were two types - the old mines such as ancestral mines, 'claimed by

*Handwritten text in Jawi script, likely a translation of the agreement between Raja Gunong and Raja Bilah, dated 31 May 1886.*

Agreement between Raja Gunong and Raja Bilah, witnessed by A. Hale, Inspector of Mines in the Kinta valley.

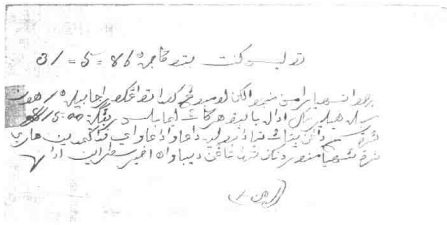
↳ Translation

31 May 1886, agreement in Jawi, sale of lombong mine by Raman to Raja Bilah.

Written in Kinta Batu Gajah 31 = 5 = 86

That I, Raman, sell a mine (lombong) to Tuangku Raja Bilah, 1 hun, on the downriver side. So the price amounts to fifteen ringgit \$15.00. Legally valid, without ambiguity, without any charges or claims afterwards, (these are) my conditions for putting down my signature below, at the end of the letter.

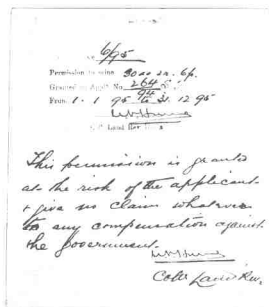
(Signed 'X') Raman.



Malays and worked by them and their ancestors for an indefinite period', and the new mines, which were recent concessions 'given indifferently on application to Malays and Chinese'. Altogether there were 350 private Malay mines, both old and new.<sup>34</sup>

In 1874, all the mines in Perak were claimed to be ancestral mines and in

1877 the Malays were ordered to register their claims for investigation and to permit their property to be developed, in return for a reasonable royalty, unless they intended to work it themselves. In order to give the Malay owners the chance to attract foreign labour and capital, the government exempted them from the law which made mining land left unworked for more than six months revertible to the state. Both Chinese and Sumatran miners took out new concessions, and as fossicking increased, their numbers soon outstripped the number of 'proven' ancestral mines. Going by the Mining Code of 1895, even Malay mines could be forfeited if not claimed for more than two years. By then, most of the so-called 'old Malay mines' were in fact leased to the Chinese, who were thought to be relatively more productive as tin-miners, and hence able to generate higher royalties for the owners.<sup>35</sup>



1895, Mining permit.  
Signed by Kinta Collector of  
Land Revenue W.P. Hume.

Raja Bilah seemed to be paying royalties to Malay Rajas for the right to work the Papan mines, which were after all ancestral mines formerly belonging to Sultan Ismail.<sup>36</sup> After Raja Bilah withdrew from direct involvement in mining, he continued to take out new concessions, for example holding a mining lease for land in Pusing as late as 1899, probably for sub-leasing to other parties.<sup>37</sup>

Up till the late 1880s, large mines were mainly found in isolated places like Papan and Gopeng, hemmed in by dense forests. The reason was that with the prevailing technology, only areas in the vicinity of large streams could be mined. The wooden chain pump used by the Chinese miners required a sufficient source of hydraulic power, and it could be paralysed by drought or be rendered inadequate in heavy rainfall. The Perak government once considered a scheme for constructing reservoirs to keep the mines working in times of drought, but did not implement it due to high costs.<sup>38</sup>

The Mandailings, themselves skilled in dam construction, did not wait for the government scheme to materialise. In Papan, a dam was built by the Mandailings, possibly with the help of the Chinese, to supply hydraulic power to the mines in case of drought.

In 1886, Raja Bilah signed an agreement written in both Jawi and Chinese characters with one Hew Ng Hap (presumably the same as 'Hew Ah Ang' and 'Kha Ah Ngo') and two others,

...concerning the water of the big reservoir (Ampang Besar) in these Papan mines, what I Ah Ngau have agreed with Ungku Raja Bilah, is that the use

of water by Raja Bilah cannot be resisted by all the Taukeh in Papan, but when I Taukeh Ah Ngau want to use the water, I ask from Ungku Raja Bilah to the extent that it may be worked between me and my friends. ...<sup>39</sup>

Hew Ah Ang was the leading Chinese miner of Papan and a close ally of Raja Bilah. It is possible that the contract was made during a time when there was a fresh influx of Chinese miners in Papan, and the existing miners wished to secure their access to hydraulic resources from contending Chinese miners.

The Chinese were quick to accept the portable steam pump, manufactured in industrial Britain, and first introduced by Low in 1877 for draining the mines. After its usefulness had been demonstrated, pumps were installed in the larger mines in Perak.<sup>40</sup> Hew Ah Ang, who was previously doing well with a wooden chain pump, saw the advantages of a steam pump.

Hew Ah Ang came to confer with Raja Bilah, he asked for help to apply to the government to buy an engine, so Raja Bilah presented the matter to the government. So the government helped to buy the first engine which was used in the Chinese mines in Papan.<sup>41</sup>

In those days, everything had to be ordered from England. When a pest outbreak destroyed the padi harvest in 1880, the Resident himself promised to write to England for rat poison.<sup>42</sup> The rat poison took six months to arrive. Orders for machinery were also requested through the district officers and handled by the Perak Council.

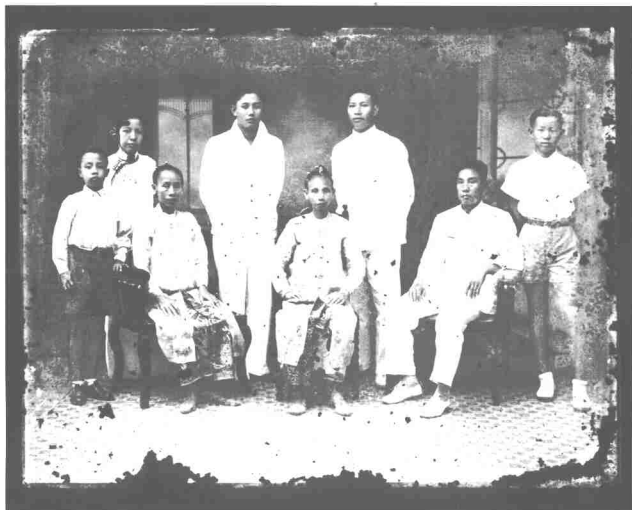
In 1886, it was reported that of the 16 steam pumping engines in Kinta, 10 belonged to Chinese, five to the 'French Company's mines', and one belonged to 'Raja BIELA (sic), a foreign Malay'.<sup>43</sup> Although Raja Bilah prospered as a revenue-collector, he was not as successful as a miner.

And even though he incurred losses, it never weakened his resolve, and he bought a horse-drawn engine (*satu injin dijalankan dengan kuda*) which was ordered from England, but unfortunately it could not be used. And then he bought a steam engine which was used in the mine.<sup>44</sup>

Raja Bilah bought his first machine thinking it would solve the Mandailing miners' drainage problems. Instead, he lost good money on it. Raja Bilah's second machine worked well enough, but still Raja Bilah's mining operations did not turn a profit. The Mandailings simply could not compete with the Chinese in mining, due to the latter's superior technology, labour organisation, marketing network and abundant supply of manpower.

Raja Bilah finally sold his mines in 1890,<sup>45</sup> as it had become a heavy liability. Since the mid-1880s, Raja Bilah was investing most of his income as a Penghulu to modernize his mines by buying machinery and to keep his mines going for as long as he could. It was his mines that kept his people together, as many of his followers were dependant on his mining enterprise.

Raja Bilah was the foremost Mandailing miner of his time, and the closure of his mines spelt the beginning of the end of the Mandailing mining industry. It



Photograph showing the family of Hew Cheen Sen (man sitting down), son of Hew Ng or Hew Ah Ang.

Boy on the right is his youngest son Hew Chin Khoon, born in 1920. His elder brother is next to the father. The standing girl is his elder sister. Photo was probably taken in 1930-35.

*Papan Collection.*

also meant that the Mandailings and their co-workers had to leave Papan and look for other means of livelihood. Some chose to go to Makkah, and some returned to the Mandailing homeland. A few, like Stia Raja, Haji Abdul Malik, Haji Ali Pahang and Haji Zainal Abidin, remained behind and became tin-merchants and shop-keepers.<sup>46</sup>

Raja Bilah lost his followers because he could not provide for them, and consequently, the Mandailing community in Papan dispersed, leaving only Raja Bilah's family behind.

Around 1890, the whole pattern of tin-mining in the Kinta was transformed. While previously mining activity was concentrated around Papan and Gopeng, in the 1890s vast areas of new land in Kampar, Batu Gajah, Tanjong Tualang and elsewhere in the Kinta valley were cleared by many small teams of fossickers. This phenomenon was described by J.B.M. Leech in his report for 1891:

This great and ever increasing demand for mining land is due principally to the fact that the system of mining in Kinta during the last year has completely changed, owing to the introduction into general use of short wash-boxes, called by the natives "lanchut kechil." Up to the end of 1890 they were hardly known; now they are used everywhere. ... Owing to the small

### مرالم کینت کالین رفانق

ارکد فی تاریخ لیکس فی نفسی الیملی بشلیما فوق کیده اتقوا انفسا و اورخرفانق  
 او تکویرا جا بیلان سے میتلیں اور فی قصہ ایس امتفق بانسٹ مرالم کالین رفانق این  
 یقصد بشلیما کہ کید اتقوا مویتس کن رفانق او تکویرا جا بیلان کہ اتیت این او تکویر  
 راجا بیلان فی تاریخ یوں کہ رانا کلن سے سالین تو کید مرالم این رفانق اور  
 تیشو فی ابی بشلیما تو کید اتقوا معرو فاکب ایس این بشلیما میتس قند او تکویر  
 راجا بیلان لطفقا یوں کہ چا رس فرکارا جاتس بشلیما انسترا کاروانس انا اب سقند  
 مشور فرماتس کہ دستک اور تکویر راجا بیلان لکستو بشلیما تو کید اتقوا یقصد سرتا  
 تو کید اتقوا بشلیما تو کید اتقوا راتس مانق او تکویر راجا بیلان لکستو  
 فریو کید ۱۸۸۶ و ہا پانچہ کن سائیل سولوس ۱۸۸۶ — تمسب کارا  
 تبد اساتق بیت او تکویر راجا بیلان رفانق

*Ungku Raja Bilah*  
 ۱۸۸۶

#### ↳ Translation

26 May 1886, agreement in Jawi and Chinese characters, between Raja Bilah and TAUKEH AH NGAU, on the use of water from the reservoir.

In Kinta Papan Mines:

It is on this said day I TAUKEH AH NGAU between two persons with Ungku Raja Bilah as well as stating concerning the water of the big reservoir in these Papan mines what I Ah Ngau have agreed with Ungku Raja Bilah is that the use of water by Raja Bilah cannot be disputed by all the TAUKEH in Papan but when I TAUKEH AH NGAU want to use the water, I ask from Ungku Raja Bilah to the extent that it may be worked between me and my friends, and this letter, one word is held by Ungku Raja Bilah and another by me TAUKEH AH NGAU holds to this letter.

Put down the signature of I TAUKEH AH NGAU and the signature of Raja Bilah.

Written on 26 May year 1886. End, Clerk.

Our signature Ungku Raja Bilah in Papan.

立合同字人  
 甲板大坡头之水倘若  
 同通邱五合倘若  
 道王家各頭家不得  
 口無憑立字为据  
 甲信  
 大坡头之水倘若王家要水使用同  
 同通邱五合要水使用同  
 道王家各頭家不得呀囉滋事恐  
 口無憑立字为据  
 甲信  
 大坡头之水倘若王家要水使用同  
 同通邱五合要水使用同  
 道王家各頭家不得呀囉滋事恐  
 口無憑立字为据  
 甲信  
 大坡头之水倘若王家要水使用同  
 同通邱五合要水使用同  
 道王家各頭家不得呀囉滋事恐  
 口無憑立字为据  
 甲信

# FOREST CONSERVATION DESTROYS THE RELAU SEMUT

Although the Perak authorities gave priority to mining as a land use, there was a constant debate about the bad effects of mining and jungle clearing. To quote one distressed view,

We give to the miner what is often fine land covered with magnificent forest, and when he has destroyed the timber he turns the soil upside down and after a few years abandons it.<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1879, the Resident had raised the subject of the destruction of forests. The Government of Singapore had sent queries related to the timber supply in Perak, the quantities and kinds of wood produced and the measures taken for the preservation of forests, which were proposed by Lord Carnarvon when he was Secretary of State.<sup>2</sup>

The authorities noted that denudation of forest could alter the climate and diminish the quantity of rainfall. However, their chief concerns were the likelihood of the mining areas being flooded and the difficulty of draining the mines, as well as jungle clearing affecting water sources on which tin mining was dependent. Based on this, the government had been advised

not to permit coffee planters or cultivators of padi to clear the hills on the western face of the Hijau range from which the water power used by the miners of Larut is derived.<sup>3</sup>

Not only were the hills scarred by mining operations, but jungle clearing around mining sites also denuded the hill slopes of protective vegetation and rendered them susceptible to erosion. *Lampau* or hill mining activities which posed a particular threat in terms of soil erosion, were characteristically used in ancestral mines.

قراله

MS 34 HAL

سورة قد ايسر الله امره ان ياتوا من ريفه ميتة قدوة من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 سورة هاديت بيست بيغ قد ايسر الله امره ان ياتوا من ريفه ميتة من بعدنا  
 كنه بيست من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 سيده من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 عياد من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 قدر من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 شهر من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 كنه من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 عباس من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 سورة من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا  
 امينه من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا من بعدنا

### Translation

22 August 1885, letter in Jawi, Magistrate R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, regarding a Chinese Chong Lim working the lampan mines in Julang, with Hewett clarifying government policy on lampan, and a case of erosion in Tempusan reported by Taukeh Chong Kooi Yen.

(R.D. Hewett Magistrate Kinta 22.8.85)

His Word is the Truth.

Honest sincere letter and love forever from us Tuan Hewett Kinta Magistrate at Batu Cajah to our friend, Raja Bilah The Noble, with peace.

The matter is, as in our friend's letter written on 21 August year 1885, (which) has reached us with safety, (we) understand completely everything therein stated.

As our friend has mentioned, a Chinese named Chong Lim has worked lampan extracting tin in the district. The answer is, there can be no lampan works whatsoever on new land or government owned land, lampan can only be worked on ancestral lands.

Furthermore, there came Taukeh Chong Kooi Yen complaining to us saying that at Tempusan district upriver from where he worked, and when there were people working lampan, all the sand was completely washed away into his mine (lombong). When our friend receives this letter, can our friend go and investigate, and send news to us promptly. Herewith, end 22 August 1885.

Haji Muhammad Saman, Clerk

The method adopted is to cut a watercourse to conduct the water from the nearest available stream, so as to utilize its force to sluice and wash away the hillside, when the lighter particles are carried off by the current, and the heavier ones with the ore are left behind. It is a much less expensive and laborious way of obtaining tin-ore than valley mining, and is much in favour with Malays, who have numerous small workings in the hills, to which they repair when the necessity of earning a little money arises; and these mines often descend in the same family for several generations.<sup>4</sup>

On 21 August 1885, Raja Bilah reported R.D. Hewett, Magistrate of Kinta at Batu Gajah, about a Chinese named Chong Lim working a lampan mine. The very next day he received a reply from Hewett clarifying that,

there can be no lampan works whatsoever on new land or government owned land, lampan can only be worked on ancestral lands (tanah pusaka).<sup>5</sup>

In support of this policy, Hewett cited a recent complaint by a certain Taukeh Chong Kooi Yen. As a result of lampan mining at Tempusan district, upriver from where this taukeh worked, "all the sand was completely washed away into his mine (habis hanyut pasir semuanya di dalam lombongnya)". Raja Bilah was told to investigate and report back immediately.<sup>6</sup>

The greatest culprits of denudation were the wood-cutters who gathered timber for the charcoal industry. In Larut, they were found to have already depleted the best timbers within 15 to 20 miles of the tin mines. The first measure taken by the authorities was to ensure that the charcoal-burners did not



قول الحق



سوت قوتس افله حس باية دم قد بيت شان هدم كوايتيه الهند مايندوتت مله ايا  
 ربان جا برتد كينين كقدونه بلقبه حماية بيت باج بيليه نهد لوينج مان دن بيمه 20  
 اعدول بيت ندرنگان ارفوت سقو فو كته فو شينو اوور نو  
 يعهندن فلكور ك كته ادر قد بيم حماية بين ايرنما و حماية بيت مندره چ فلكور ك  
 فو دامه فو شينو سكا فلكور ك فو اية فو فو اية چو حماية بيت  
 سبه بره بر سينه كند شان دستر كير حماية بيت كنت تشونك هك اوت بفت  
 كته بيمه نندون با و فلكور دان نام اوور فو اية فو فو اية فو فو اية فو فو اية  
 هند و دجه لو كته اير و دكيبع بيت فلكور ك و روتت

نرسون فو 25 اكتوبر 1897

☞ Translation

25 October 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Collector of Land Revenue W.P. Hume to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah to issue passes for rubber extraction and sales.

His Word is the Truth.

An honest sincere letter that is from us Tuan Hume, Collector of Land Revenue Kinta presently in Batu Gajah, which is to be presented before the audience of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu of Papan Parish with peace.

In defining the matter, concerning rubber passes to each person who wants to extract rubber from our friend's parish, it is required that our friend himself should issue the pass. And for every cent (collected for) the pass issued, at that time our friend must give a report to Tuan District Magistrate Kinta, determining the price and type of rubber which needs to be taken out and the name of the person who should be given the pass. And the same to whoever wants to sell the rubber. Thus I hereby notify. End. Written on 25 October 1897.

waste any of the timber but 'used up the whole tree'. The collection of charcoal duties,<sup>7</sup> at 5 cents per picul or 40 cents per cart-load, was farmed out but even then the tax was often cleverly evaded by the charcoal-burners and woodcutters. In Kinta, a more effective system was introduced. Charcoal duties were imposed at 50 cents per bahara of smelted tin, based on the average quantity of charcoal used in smelting a bahara of tin from the ore, and these exactions were almost impossible to evade.<sup>8</sup>

Gradually the authorities introduced a policy of preserving certain areas of forests, conserving some species indigenous to Perak and protecting watershed areas threatened by tin mining activities. Permits had to be obtained to cut selected trees in protected areas, to clear land and to transport timber or firewood from one place to another. Raja Bilah was known to have issued passes for felling the forest trees in the jungle behind the Papan settlement.<sup>9</sup>

As Penghulu, Raja Bilah was also responsible for issuing licences for the collection of jungle produce, including gutta extraction and sales. Instructions came in a letter dated 25 October 1897 from Kinta Collector of Land Revenue W.P. Hume. Raja Bilah was required to issue the pass himself, to report on the collection stating the price and type of gutta, naming the pass-holder and also the person selling the gutta.<sup>10</sup>

*Gutta percha*, as it is known in the industrial world, was a latex extracted from the *taban* or *taban merah* tree, at first used to make keels of boats and planks for house building, and later found suitable for insulating submarine cables. The

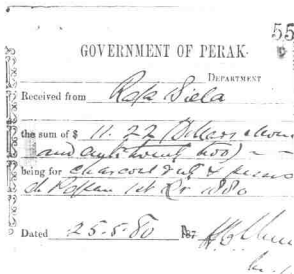
collection of *gutta percha* for the international market began around 1845, and by 1848, Perak had become one of the known collection areas. Viewed as a valuable forest product, its extraction 'had an important influence on the development of policy towards both the forests and their indigenous inhabitants'.<sup>11</sup>

Timber conservation policies were enforced partly with the help of local Penghulus. For example, Raja Bilah held a letter dated 27 March 1885 from J.B.M. Leech, Acting Magistrate of Kinta, stating that the bearer of the letter was applying for a piece of land to make a coconut orchard. The site in question was behind the Chinese temple near Tabok Seratus, on a hillock known as Changkat, just northeast of Raja Bilah's house in Papan.

Could our friend look into this claim? If the land cannot be worked as a mine and there are no good timbers such as chengal, merbau or temasu (tembusu), then it can be given to him to make a coconut orchard only.<sup>12</sup>

Leech added that if the authorities later found out that the applicant was growing padi or pinang or anything else instead of coconut, he would be fined \$50 rial.<sup>13</sup>

Good timbers were being used not only to construct mining apparatus, gangways and scaffoldings, but also as fuel for the steam engines and smelting furnaces.<sup>14</sup> When J. Errington de la Croix visited Papan in 1881, he already observed the use of the Relau Semut, a natural draught furnace for which 'no blast is required'.



25 May 1880, receipt issued by the Government of Perak to Raja "Bilah", signed by H.W.C. Leech, acknowledging payment of \$11.22 for 'charcoal ...'.

Translation

Letter in Jawi, from Acting Magistrate Kinta J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, regarding application for coconut orchard, dated 27 March 1885.

His Word is the Truth.

Honest and sincere letter as well as affection forever to Raja Bilah The Noble in peace. The matter: the broker who carries this letter, he asks for the Changkat land behind the Chinese temple near Tabok Seratus, wanting to make a coconut orchard. Could our friend look into this claim? If the land cannot be worked as a mine and there are no good timbers such as chengal, merbau or temasu, then it can be given to him to make a coconut orchard only. others such as padi or banana and the like, cannot ever be cultivated. If he plants anything other than coconut, definitely hereafter, if we find out, a fine will be imposed, \$50 00 rial. End. On 27 March 1885.

Haji Muhammad Saman, Clerk.

MS 43 #46

فيليه

رسالة تامل من صاحب السيرة الى ج. ب. م. ليچ  
 في 27 مارس 1885  
 عن طلبه من ارضه في تابوك سراتوس  
 لاجل زراعة جوز الهند  
 وانه اذا لم يكن الارض  
 صالحة للزراعة او  
 لا يوجد فيها اشجار  
 جيدة كالتيمبو  
 او الميرابو او  
 التماسو او غيرها  
 من الاشجار الجيدة  
 التي تزرع في  
 الارض فانها  
 يمكن ان تعطى  
 له لاجل زراعة  
 جوز الهند  
 فقط  
 وان لم يكن كذلك  
 فانه لا يمكن  
 ان يعطى له  
 الارض لاجل  
 زراعة جوز  
 الهند  
 وان كان  
 قد زرع  
 فيها  
 اشجار  
 اخرى  
 غير جوز  
 الهند  
 فانه  
 يجب  
 ان  
 يعطى  
 له  
 غرامة  
 قدرها  
 50 رية  
 في  
 حال  
 اكتشافه  
 في  
 اي  
 وقت  
 لاحق  
 من  
 تاريخ  
 27 مارس 1885

The ore is smelted in the village, and being of a very good quality, no blast is required, and the consumption of fuel amounts to only one pikul of charcoal to one pikul of ore. Eleven furnaces are at work and return, on an average, forty pikuls in twenty-four hours.<sup>15</sup>

This was the 'Relau Semut tiada berkumbu', a type of furnace referred to in the *Tarikh Raja Asal*.<sup>16</sup> The Relau Semut was a technology which had been brought by Raja Asal's followers and their Chinese allies from Selangor, and it was used by both the Chinese and Mandailing smelters in Papan. Although the Relau Semut required no blast, it consumed charcoal made from hardwoods, and large tracts of forests were cleared merely to extract these timbers. The hardwoods used for the 'combustible' were mainly meranti and tualang.<sup>17</sup>

While de la Croix observed the Relau Semut without blast, de Morgan described another variation of the Relau Semut, which used a primitive bellows made of a hollow tree trunk.

It is composed of a compacted earth cylinder of 1m by 1.2m in height, the internal cavity is very irregular, it presents a marked narrowing a little below its opening whereas at the base it is wider. An air-conduit opens up just below the narrowing; the hole for the molten metal is found on the front wall, in the middle of a slight depression. On the right and left of the furnace are two steps which allow the smelter to come up and pour the combustible and the ore; these steps are also of beaten earth but they are made with less care and are protected by a series of wooden stakes.

Below the hole for the molten metal is the basin in which the product of the smelting accumulates, tin and slag. A bellows, made of a hollow tree trunk encircled by rattan strips, and in which a piston moves, supplies air to the conduit. As we can see, this furnace is of great simplicity in construction, demanding little expenditure and can perhaps be built anywhere, the earth from which it is made being of a clayey sand which is commonly found in the country.<sup>18</sup>

In such smelting works, very simple implements were used such as baskets and wooden shovels. Pointed sticks about 3.6 metres long were used to open the tap-hole when it was blocked, while a wooden tray mounted perpendicularly on a stick served to close up the tap-hole with the aid of a clay pad.<sup>19</sup>

De Morgan remarked that both the Chinese and 'Malay' miners, produce tin ingots in the same way, that is, by allowing the molten tin to form in a sand mould. The ingots always had the same form but variable dimensions. An ingot weighed generally 70 katis each (45.7 kilos), but sometimes attained a weight of 1 pikul (62.5 kilos). However, to facilitate loading and transport, ingots of the lesser weight were more typically produced. De Morgan also calculated that the smelter could realize a handsome profit. The small miner, who did not have their own furnace, sent their ores to the smelter who paid \$10 to \$12 a pikul and take up 1/5 as fees for smelting.<sup>20</sup>

In the sale of tin, the Malays measure the powder but do not weigh it, so they use half a coconut which they fill to the rim. The smelter picks five

FOUR DE TONGKAH (SIAM)  
avec armature en fer et soufflerie.

FIG. 3. — Élévation.

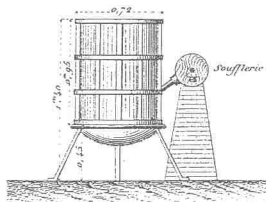
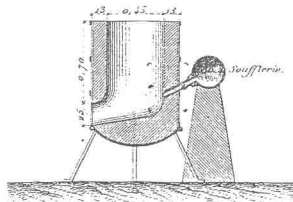


FIG. 4. — Coupe.



Échelle de 0.025 pour 1 mètre.

coconuts and counts only four. Moreover, the tempurong (the coconut half shell), which is used for measuring, is gauged in advance.<sup>21</sup>

In 1888, the Perak Government banned the use of all Chinese furnaces except the Relau Tongka which employed only ordinary firewood. The ban was accepted in Larut, where most of the Chinese smelters had already switched to the Relau Tongka due to the scarcity of hard timber for charcoal. However, in Kinta, a high proportion of smelters, both Chinese and Mandailing, were still using the Relau Semut. These smelters were not compensated for the lost investment in existing furnaces, nor for the capital outlay that would be required for the Relau Tongka, which cost about two and a half times as much as the Relau Semut. The Chinese miners in the Kinta disregarded the regulation and attempts to impose the ban led to riots and attacks on the police.<sup>22</sup>

By 1889, the Resident Sir Hugh Low reported that the Kinta Magistrate E.J. Brewster

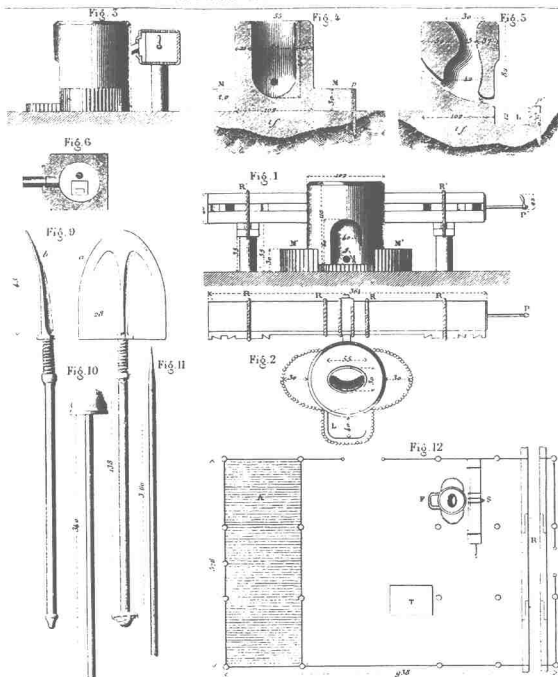
has successfully carried through an order of the Government for the abolition of the "Semut" smelting furnace. These can only be used with charcoal made from the most valuable timbers, which the railway will shortly render available for export. Great dissatisfaction was shown at this order of Government, but it has been quietly overcome by the tact and firmness of the Magistrate.<sup>23</sup>

Not only did the supply of export timber take priority over the livelihoods of the smelters, but the Perak Government policy deliberately paved the way for European enterprise at the expense of the existing industry. The Straits Trading Company Ltd., which was already eyeing a market in Kinta, was encouraged by the Perak Resident. As Low explained,

Relau Tongka, which used ordinary firewood and blast, was the only Chinese furnace not banned after 1888.

Source: J. Errington de la Croix, *Les Mines D'Étain de Perak (Presque île de Malacca), 1882.*

## ÉCÉOLOGIE ET EXPLOITATION



Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 The elevation, plan and cross-sections of the Relau Semut

MM – Steps of beaten earth

L – Basin for molten metal

PP – Piston of bellows

RR – Rattan strips

p – Wooden stakes

t.f. – Earth strongly compacted

t.o. – Earth beaten but not as strongly

Fig. 6 Transverse section of the bellows of a Relau Semut

Fig. 9 A shovel (front and side elevations)

Fig. 10 A tray mounted on a stick and a clay pad for closing the tap-hole

Fig. 11 A stick for unblocking the tap-hole

Fig. 12 A hangar with a furnace (F) and a platform (A) where all the men sleep

Source: Morgan, Jacques de. *Exploration dans la Presqu'île Malaise royaumes de Perak et de Patani*. Imprimerie Generale A. Lahure, Paris, 1886.

the abolition of the "Semut" furnace will tend to induce the Chinese mine owners to arrange with the firm for purchasing and smelting their ore. This will add considerably to the percentage of metal obtained, thus benefiting the mining adventurers, the Government and, it is to be hoped, the enterprising firm which has undertaken the business.<sup>24</sup>

Previously, western companies had difficulty cutting into the smelting business, but after the ban, the Straits Trading Company found it profitable to open an agency in Kinta, beginning with a branch at Gopeng in 1889, followed by a new branch each year, successively at Batu Gajah, Lahat and Ipoh. The manager who was stationed at Ipoh came to control the purchasing and freighting agencies in Gopeng, Pusing, Lahat, Teluk Anson, Tekka (near Menglembu) and Kampar.<sup>25</sup> The losses to the Chinese smelters were partly cushioned by the booming tin prices of 1888 and 1889 which created euphoria in the rest of the Chinese mining community. In the meantime, the European monopoly had dealt the death blow to the Mandailing tin traders and smelters.

While some Mandailings may have regretted the ban, others might have tried to profit from it. On 2 January 1890, H.F. Coghlan White, Acting Assistant Magistrate of Gopeng, reported

Several cases of burning forbidden timber by the Chinese have been brought in from Tanjong Toh Allang, and Ulu Gopeng. ... All these cases are brought in by foreign Malays, who ask for permission to "range", in the anticipation of a reward in the event of a fine being paid up.<sup>26</sup>

The 'foreign Malays' from Tanjong Tualang and Ulu Gopeng, most probably Mandailings and Rawa, played their part as enforcers of the new ban.

## THE 1887 PAPAN RIOTS

In 1885, the first railway line in the Peninsula was opened, connecting Taiping to Port Weld, to facilitate the export of tin from Larut.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this, the attraction of the Kinta tin mines was so strong that it drew Chinese capital and labour away from Larut. The number of miners in the Kinta valley rose sharply from about over 5,000 in 1884 to 44,700 in 1889. By then, Kinta had taken the lead by producing more tin than any other mining district in Perak.<sup>2</sup>

The original Chinese miners of Papan faced stiff competition from the flood of newcomers. The secret society alliances of Larut followed the migration of miners, and a number of disturbances took place between the Ghee Hins and the Hai Sans, who had brought their feud over from Larut. Groups of Ghee Hin and Hai San members could be found side by side in most of the mining settlements in Kinta.<sup>3</sup> Raja Bilah's allies, the Kar Yin Hakkas, belonged to the Ghee Hin faction. The Ghee Hin headman was based in Papan while the Hai San headman was based in Gopeng, although the leaders of both settlements were Mandailings.

The Kinta authorities were not sufficiently alerted to the presence of secret societies until it was too late. Two startling cases of arson and destruction of property were reported in 1886, when

on the 16th of February the flourishing village of Papan was burnt to the ground with a loss of \$100,000; on the 20th December, the village at Lahat also was burnt down, both fires being of an incendiary character. In consequence of these and other fires, an arrangement has been made to which the shop-keepers of Papan and Gopeng support five watchmen to patrol the villages, who are paid by a rate of 30 cents a month, collected from each shop. They are Sikhs engaged by and under the orders of the Commandant Perak Sikhs.<sup>4</sup>

In the next year, conflict escalated, resulting in the most serious rioting that Kinta had ever seen. The Protector of Chinese, who had denied the existence of secret societies in Perak three years earlier, now proclaimed that the riots were:

due to the pernicious influence of Secret Societies which through their perfect organisation for evil have caused petty quarrels and jealousy between individual members of rival societies to develop into serious breaches of the peace resulting in murder, arson, and destruction of valuable property.<sup>5</sup>

On 29 November 1887, a brothel skirmish escalated into a secret society riot. A violent clash took place at Papan between the Ghee Hin and Ho Seng secret societies.

who, during the preceding night, called in many hundreds of their members, and had it not been in the prompt and vigorous action of the Magistrate and his Officers, supported by the Police and the Malays of the neighbourhood, the disturbance would have spread over the whole district.<sup>6</sup>

The 'Malays of the neighbourhood' were surely Mandailing. According to the Protector of the Chinese, the disturbances started 'from quarrels between a brothel bully' belonging to the Ho Seng, an ally of the Hai San Society, and 'between some Ghee Hin men'.

The leaders of the two Societies decided to call out their men and to have a fight. This was done and many hundred men armed with knives, spears and sticks, carrying hammers and gongs came in from Lahat, Ipoh and other places to Papan: the Ghee Hin men all having distinctive red marks round their waists and the Hai Sans (to which the Ho Seng were aligned, with) white marks round their wrists and heads.<sup>7</sup>

About 500 Ghee Hin men arrived from Lahat early in the morning and at once attacked and looted two Hai San kongsis in Papan, seriously wounding six men, one of whom later died. At the climax of the riot,

the two contending parties then met in the street of Papan, where the prompt and energetic action of the Police under the civil authorities finally stopped the riot from spreading further.<sup>8</sup>

According to family tradition, some of the Chinese women and children in Papan took refuge with Raja Bilah's wife, Ungku Nai'mas, whom people called 'the warrior woman'. Ungku Nai'mas was an expert shooter brandishing a sporting rifle capable of taking eight cartridges with one loading.<sup>9</sup>

In Papan in those days, we were like brothers and sisters with the Chinese. During the Chinese riots, we took the Papan Chinese in. The outsider Chinese who wanted to attack them came from Pusing or somewhere else. So the late Nenek Raja Bilah in Papan, who had a war flag from former days, erected the flag, stuck it into the ground at the entrance below, and those Chinese ran back. At our house, the Papan Chinese ate and drank. So they did not regard Raja Bilah's family as alien to them, but as brothers and sisters.<sup>10</sup>

An account related by Baxendale, tells how his friend H.R. Baldwin, then a settlement officer in the district, got caught in the Kinta Riots, and how the magistrate J.B.M. Leech earned the title 'The Strong Man of Kinta'.<sup>11</sup>



The leaders of both parties called upon the District Magistrate, Mr. J.B.M. Leach (sic), and explained that it was to be a private war. There were 9,000 of them on one side and 8,000 on the other. They reminded Leach that there were only four Europeans and 30 Sikhs in the district and promised that if the ruling authorities kept out of it, their lives and property would be respected.

To this Leach replied that so far as he was concerned he did not care if they all destroyed each other, but, unfortunately it was his duty to maintain law and order and he would fight the lot. The fighting began and while Sir Hugh Low was travelling down from Taiping with his relieving force... Leach and his men were harassing both sides, and again and again prevented them from burning down each other's villages.

The boy Baldwin was sent with three Sikhs to intercept a mob of 800 men who were there to burn down Lahat. Aided by a glib tongue and a merry laugh he persuaded them to pile their arms (mostly scythe blades attached to poles) and to return to what was left of their village.

When Sir Hugh Low arrived, with a strong force, the riots quickly ended. A number of Chinese had been killed but there had been no serious damage done to the Government forces or property.<sup>12</sup>

In the crackdown, armed rioters were flogged on the spot. The leaders were arrested and tried by the Sultan, the Resident, and the Chief of Kinta. Two men were sentenced to death for culpable homicide and were executed in Taiping, while others received prison sentences varying from six months to two years and twelve stripes with a rattan. Twelve kongsis were fined sums varying from \$36 to \$5,000.<sup>13</sup>

The Papan Riots became an inspiration for a chapter in *A Ruler Of Ind* (sic) by F. Thorold Dickson and Mary L. Pechell.<sup>14</sup> Rathborne also commented that it was the only instance of major rioting, giving details of the flogging meted out in punishment, surmising that 'it was suppressed so severely and so thoroughly that the lesson learnt has never been forgotten'.<sup>15</sup>

The Papan Riots were taken so seriously that a proclamation was made in 1887 that the death-penalty would be revived for membership of secret societies in Perak, although this was subsequently repealed by the Perak Order-in-Council two years later. Instead, the Perak government introduced legislation to suppress secret societies in the state of Perak.<sup>16</sup>

Following the Papan Riots, surveillance over the secret societies was increased. Low reported in 1888:

Riots and incendiary fires are nearly always the result of quarrels arising in, or connected with, brothels, and it has been deemed desirable to appoint special watchmen over such places. This has been done with great advantage in Gopeng, and it is now proposed to extend the system to the other large centres of population in Kinta i.e. Ipoh, Lahat, Papan, Tekka and Sungei Rayah.<sup>17</sup>

The next year, E.J. Brewster, Acting Collector and Magistrate, Kinta, visited

Papan on 9 July 1889 and selected a site for the Police Inspector's quarters. Security in Papan would be drastically improved. The police were also now better prepared for fire, and when tested, their fire-engine proved to be a 'great success'.<sup>18</sup>

There were further disquieting reports about trouble brewing in Papan in September 1889. Major Walker, Commandant of the 'Perak Sikhs', made a show of force by visiting the mining areas and making an inspection of the kongsis in which the secret society members lived. The appearance of the 'Mungkali Kwai' (Sikh devils), much feared by the Chinese, had the effect of preventing any untoward incidents.<sup>19</sup>

The Papan Riots were the last major riots to occur before the demise of the old secret societies. These organisations had been a means for the Chinese miners to govern themselves in a lawless frontier land. Big mining employers had made use of the secret societies to keep the coolies working for them at low wages. Furthermore, they profited from a 'truck system', supplying workers with their food and other necessities of life at exorbitant costs, as well as controlling the brothels, opium and gambling dens, which consumed practically all the workers' wages and put them in debt to their employers.<sup>20</sup>

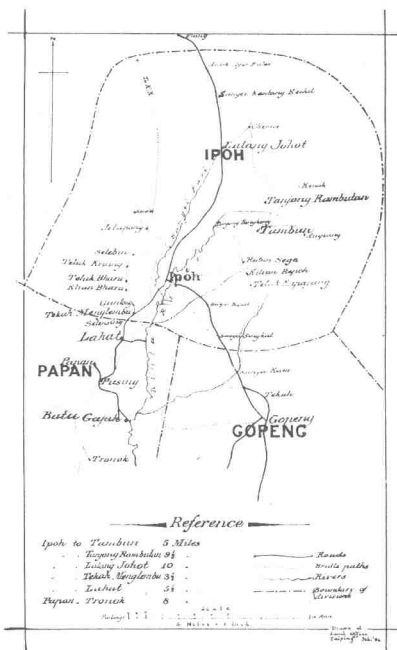
At the turn of the decade, four things changed all this.

First, the British authorities adopted a policy of suppressing secret societies and the prohibition act was passed in 1890.

Secondly, a new land policy was introduced which encouraged the development of the whole Kinta Valley by large and small capitalists. Where land was previously granted only to capitalists who could show that they had sufficient working capital, after 1888 small capitalists were allowed to take up new land for mining, being only required to pay a small fee for surveying and rental.<sup>21</sup>

Captain Walker's sketch map of Kinta. This is the only known map in which 'Langlang Johot' appears.

Source: Perak Government Gazette, 1893, Vol. VI., Supplement to Perak Government Gazette, March 3, 1893, between pp. 152-3.





The Papan Police Station was built in 1886, and the married Police Quarters in 1888. The Police Station was demolished in early 2002.

Photograph by Raja Ya'qub, early 20th century

Thirdly, the innovation of the *lanchut ketchil*, or portable wash box, enabled small groups of men to make more money on their own than they could working for employers in the regular mines.

Fourthly, the Straits Trading Company had broken the Chinese monopoly on the smelting business in Kinta by offering cash payments for ore. This allowed the small capitalists some liquidity, enabling them to buy their own provisions from the local shops and to cut down the costs of production. It freed them from the truck system that was forced on them when they were dependent on the Penang merchants for credit.<sup>22</sup> Once the clutches of the secret societies had been pried open by the policy of suppression, workers left their employers *en masse* to become independent fossickers.

# RAJA BILAH IN DEBT

In 1888, Hugh Low reported that, 'Several large towns have sprung up in Kinta containing many good brick houses. The chief of these are Batu Gajah - the headquarters station - Papan, Ipoh and Gopeng'.<sup>1</sup> Although Ipoh was quickly catching up, Gopeng was reported to be 'the largest town in the district', containing,

268 houses, 47 of which are brick and 157 wood houses with attap roofs. A portion of the town was sold by auction in lots of 20 ft by 120 ft but a considerable part was held originally on temporary permits.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Kinta District Magistrate E.J. Brewster classified Batu Gajah, Ipoh, Gopeng, Papan, Lahat and Dipang as townships, but Pusing, Sungai Raya and Kota Bharu as villages.<sup>3</sup> From Brewster's description, Papan must have appeared very much like a 'tin rush' town.

Papan is a crowded town. There is but one good street and that is 70ft wide. The ground at the backs of both sides of the street has been thickly built upon. Pigsties have been erected side by side with habitable dwellings and dilapidated sheds. It has been proposed to demolish these structures and to make a new street to run parallel with the main street. There is a demand for building land at Papan and if the proposal can be carried out, the town may be much improved. In no township in Kinta is the necessity for an Inspector of Nuisance more apparent than in Papan. There are 146 houses in Papan. They included 4 brick buildings, 80 wood buildings with tiles or iron roofs and 50 wood houses with attap roofs.<sup>4</sup>

The previous year E.J. Brewster had been in Papan 'reclaiming land sufficient for more streets and some 60 building lots'. He reported,

The market in the Papan village is in a fair way towards completion: it will be an imposing building and not cost less than \$9000 to \$10000.... This

Translation

28 March 1886, agreement in Jawi, between Raja Bilah and Chin Boon Sui, for the sale of a shop-house in Papan.

Government

That is on this said date that I Raja Bilah make this letter to be handed over to a Chinese named Chin Boon Sui stating the matter that I have undertaken, I sell the site of my shop, one lot (satu pintu) in the town of Papan, to Chin with the price of \$350 rial, and at this time of writing Chin Boon Sui has paid \$100 rial.

In one month Chin Boon Sui will pay in full, and pertaining to the second matter if (there are) any regulations of the government upon this land, such as assessment (*cekai pintu*), because the land has been (sold) Chin Boon Sui should settle.

Signed by me Raja Bilah before the witness whose signature appears below this.

Written on 28 March year 1886, end of speech.

Our signature Raja Bilah at Papan.

30 April money received from Chin Boon Sui as much as 100 ringgit.

On 10 of the month we Raja Bilah received \$30 end.

Kinta on 4 May Chin Boon Sui cleared the payment \$350.

shows that the Chinese have great faith in Papan as a mining centre for many years to come.<sup>5</sup>

This was despite the setback suffered during the recent fires and disturbances of the Papan Riots. The market was being constructed for the government under some arrangement with the Chinese. A rent of \$150 per month would be paid to the government after the beginning of 1890, and after five years, it would become government property.<sup>6</sup>

During his official tour of Perak in January 1889, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, Governor of the Straits Settlements, visited Papan and 'the Lin Lee Kongsí's mine'. In Papan, he interviewed 'the principal towkays and Head Malays at their houses'.<sup>7</sup> The 'Head Malays' here obviously referred to Raja Bilah and his fellow Mandailings. The area around Papan continued to flourish as 'The mines that have paid the best are the "Sin Lee" mines at Papan and the Sorakai mines at Lahat'.<sup>8</sup>

In 1891, a census was undertaken in Perak. No preliminary census forms had been employed and there were few means of checking the returns of the house schedules made. As it turned out, Perak was the only state where the 1891 census was taken with any degree of accuracy,<sup>9</sup> but even then, the results in certain towns, like Ipoh, were really questionable. As George Maxwell revealed, 'Many of the schedules, compiled by untrained enumerators, were hopelessly faulty'.<sup>10</sup>

Ipoh showed up as the leading town in Kinta with a population of 3,184, followed by Gopeng (2,870), Lahat (2,232), Batu Gajah (2,135) and Papan (1,218). The total population for Kinta was 58,587, dominated by the Chinese (almost 39,513), followed by the Malays (14,590), Indians (2,645) and



↳ Translation

5 June 1886, agreement in Jawi, between Raja Bilah and Choon Chan, regarding rental of a stall in Papan.

In the town of Papan

It is on the said date that I, Taukeh Choon Chan make this letter to be handed over to Tengku Raja Bilah in Papan stating the matter, that I have undertaken to rent one of Ungku's stall sites, 'one lot' (satu pintu) in Papan, with a monthly rent of \$5 every month, that is, if I cannot retain the stall, I will return it into the hands of Ungku Raja Bilah.

Upon this condition I put down my signature, Taukeh Choon Chan, before witnesses whose signatures are below this.

This is written in the month of June year 1886 end.

Signature: Taukeh Choon Chan

Signature: Ungku Raja Bilah

'unclassified' persons (1,737). There were 80 Europeans and 22 Eurasians. This was a great increase from the 1 European, 996 Chinese, 7,863 Malays and 40 Indians reported in the census of 1879 'which was taken with a good deal of care in this District.'<sup>11</sup> It was remarked that the increase in total population in Kinta from 1879 to 1891 was seven fold, while the roughly forty-fold increase in the Chinese population,

corresponds almost exactly with the increase in the output of tin year by year but it is also very satisfactory that the Malay population which is not so directly dependent on the mining industry, has doubled since the last census.<sup>12</sup>

In 1893, Lieutenant Colonel R.S.F. Walker, the Commandant of the Perak Sikhs reported after his tour of inspection,

Papan does not appear on the decline as I understood; the population is on the increase, being at present 1,163 males and 360 females, total 1,523. Much mining land has recently been opened at Katcha. The township was in perfect order under Inspector (Cyril) Ephraums.<sup>13</sup>

As the town boomed again, properties were transacted and developed, mainly with a view of renting them out to Chinese shopkeepers and tradesmen.

As Penghulu, Raja Bilah witnessed rental contracts and occasionally collected

☞ Translation

21 November 1887, statement in Jawi, from Sua Hu to Raja Bilah, about rent owed to Raja Bilah for Sikandah's house.

Papan, on the 21st day of November year 1887 upon, so at this moment in time, I, a Chinese named Sua Hu, have admitted (that I have to) pay rent owed on Sikandah's house to Raja Bilah amounting to \$12.00 ringgit. Promising that, in four days, I Sua Hu can pay to Raja Bilah, without fail, and put down my signature below this letter. End of speech.

1887

rent arrears on behalf of property-owners. In November 1887, Raja Bilah took a statement from a Chinese named Sua Hu who promised to settle rent owed to Sikandah within the next four days, to be paid to Raja Bilah.<sup>14</sup> In December 1887, a Chinese named Seng Kee agreed to rent a shophouse at \$9.00 rials a month.<sup>15</sup> This rental contract was drawn up in the 'Balai Papan' (Penghulu's office) and is a early instance in which the term *rumah kedai* or 'shophouse' is used.

In his position, Raja Bilah and his fellow Mandailings would have come across many opportunities to invest in properties in Papan. But in the late 1880s, Raja Bilah's finances were tied up with his mines. He even had to sell his properties to keep his mines going. In March 1886, Raja Bilah sold a shophouse, probably built of timber, at \$350 rial to a Chinese named Chong; the transaction was made with a Chinese named Chin Boon Sui, possibly representing Chong.<sup>16</sup> In June of the same year, he rented out a stall at \$5 a month to a Chinese named Choon Chan.<sup>17</sup>

☞ Translation

20 December 1887, rental agreement in Jawi, between Seng Kee, a Sifu of the Chinese, and Raja Bilah.

In the Office of Papan (Balai Papan)

Year 1887 upon the 20th day of December upon this moment in time this letter of agreement is made between Sifu of the Chinese named Seng Kee, who is given (this agreement) in hand ... with regard to I Seng Kee admit to renting a shophouse (*rumah kedai*) one lot, so I agree to nine ringgit \$9.00 rial. So when the month is up, I will settle the rent. And further: I now admit renting a shophouse one lot ... And put down my signature below this line.

This letter was made between two sides  
Letter dated 20th day of December 1887


In 1886, Raja Bilah also failed to pay for 'iron roofing' which he had ordered, presumably to deck the roofs of his timber shophouses in Batu Gajah and Papan, or perhaps even the Papan Mosque. Iron roofing in those days would have been imported from England. The Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett called him to appear in the court of Batu Gajah on Tuesday 13 April 1886 'to pay up the sum of \$35.64½ cent being ½ amount advanced to you for Iron Roofing and interest at 6% for 5 months...'¹⁸ Raja Bilah still had not paid up by the following year, so he was again summoned to appear before the magistrate 'about roofing (Batu Gajah Papan)' in a court matter of 'the Government of Perak versus Raja Biela of Papan'.¹⁹

Notice No 56 of 1886

To  
Monsieur.

Take notice that you are hereby required to appear in Court at Batu Gajah on Tuesday the 13<sup>th</sup> April inst at 8 Am calling on you to pay up the sum of \$35.64½ being ½ amount advanced to you for Iron Roofing and interest at 6% for 5 months from 1<sup>st</sup> July to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 1885.

R. D. Hewett  
Magistrate Kinta



Translation

12 April 1886, summons to Raja Bilah to appear in Batu Gajah Court to pay up for iron roofing.

Notice No. 56 of 1886

Take notice that you are hereby required to appear in Court at Batu Gajah on Tuesday the 13th April instant at 8am calling on you to pay up the sum of \$35.64½ being ½ amount advanced to you for Iron Roofing and interest at 6% for 5 months from 1st July to 31st December 1885.

R.D. Hewett, Magistrate Kinta.  
12/4/86


In the Matter of  
Govt of Perak  
versus  
Raja Biela of Papan  
Defendant.

To the Defendant abovenamed.

Take Notice that you are hereby required to appear in Court at Batu Gajah on Tuesday the 30<sup>th</sup> day of August 1887 at 8 o'clock in the forenoon, to attend before the Magistrate about roofing (Batu Gajah & Papan)

Dated this 26<sup>th</sup> day of August 1887.

R. D. Hewett  
Acting Magistrate and Collector.



Translation

26 August 1887, summons to Raja Bilah to appear in Batu Gajah Court about iron roofing.

In the Matter of Govt of Perak Plaintiff versus Raja Biela of Papan Defendant.

To The Defendant abovenamed.

Take Notice that you are hereby required to appear in Court at Batu Gajah on Tuesday the 30th day of August 1887, at 8 o'clock in the forenoon, to attend before the Magistrate about roofing (Batu Gajah & Papan).

Dated this 26th day of August, 1887.

Acting Magistrate and Collector.



Batu Gajah  
2<sup>nd</sup> February 1888  
Received from H. Datoah  
Rajah Biela of Papan the  
sum of two hundred dollars  
-\$200.00 - only on account  
of R. D. Hewett of Magistrate  
Krian being the instalment of  
his debt due on 1<sup>st</sup> January  
1888.  
R. D. Hewett  
2 = 27

Papan  
3<sup>rd</sup> November 1888.  
Received from H. Datoah Raja  
Biela of Papan the sum of \$712.80  
- 11 dollars seven hundred and twelve  
and eight eighty only - on account of  
R. D. Hewett Esq Magistrate Krian  
being the amount of the principal  
due to the estate of R. D. Hewett  
at the rate of 2% per month  
\$118.80. The debt being due  
on a note of hand of the Datoah  
Rajah Biela as present in the hand  
of the Magistrate at Krian.  
Received \$712.80  
R. D. Hewett Esq  
Papan  
3<sup>rd</sup> November 1888.

Notes signed by Dr. Duncan  
Scott acknowledging  
repayments made by Raja  
Bilah on a loan from former  
Kinta Magistrate R.D.  
Hewett.

In spite of his substantial income as a Penghulu, Raja Bilah slid into further financial difficulties and a state of debt which lasted for more than five years. In 1887, it seems, Raja Bilah borrowed \$794 ringggit from his friend R.D. Hewett, the Magistrate of Kinta. The debt was recorded on a 'note of hand' kept by Hewett. When Hewett was transferred to Krian, he instructed that the repayments should be made through one Dr. Scott, a District Surgeon of Kinta.<sup>20</sup>

In February 1888, Dr. Scott made out a receipt to 'Datoah Rajah Biela of Papan' for the amount of \$200.00, 'being the instalment of his debt due on 1st January 1888'. It appears that Hewett charged 2 percent interest per month for late payment of the outstanding amount of \$594. In September 1888, Raja Bilah wrote to Hewett, complaining that he was 'tired of paying to Tuan Doctor' and asked for the statement of accounts. Hewett sent a statement dated 1 October 1887, which showed that the interest alone, incurred for ten months, already amounted to \$118.80. The debt was finally paid in full by 3rd November 1888.<sup>21</sup>

Within a month, Raja Bilah was able to arrange a loan from the Perak Government, borrowing \$2,500 for three years at a more reasonable interest rate of 6% per annum. For this, he had to mortgage four town lots in Papan and Batu Gajah, with lease titles held under the name of 'Raja Bila bin Raja Pinjie Bulan'. The Collector of Land Revenue W. J. Mahoney valued Raja Bilah's town lots favourably. The agreement was witnessed by George Bain on behalf of the Perak Government.<sup>22</sup>

In 1890, Raja Bilah took another loan of \$900 at a high interest rate of 36% per annum. For this, he had to mortgage another two town lots in Papan, held under the name 'Raja Bila bin Raja Asal' to a Chinese Leong Ah Chong for two years. The transaction was witnessed by the Collector and Magistrate J.B.M. Leech.<sup>23</sup>

888  
 Dated the 10th of October 1888, I, R.D. Hewett, do hereby certify that the above is a true and correct statement of accounts between me and Raja Bilah Penghulu, Papan Parish, The Noble, with safety.  
 Dated the 10th day of October 1888.  
 R.D. Hewett, Collector of Land Revenue W. Mahoney, between Raja Bilah bin Raja Pinjije Bulan (mortgagor) and George Bain on behalf of the Perak Government (mortgagee), for 'town lots' in Papan and Batu Gajah, for a loan of \$2500 at the rate of 6 percent per annum.  
 The amount received by me today & a separate receipt given  
 3-11-88. R.D. Scott

Tuan Hewett Tuan Doktor Krian semoga selamat dan panjang umur.   
 saya telah menerima surat anda bertarikh 10 Oktober 1888.   
 dan saya telah berunding dengan Tuan Doktor Scott untuk menyetor   
 kepada Tuan Doktor Scott jumlah yang terkandung dalam surat anda   
 bernombor 1888.   
 Tuan Doktor Scott telah menerima jumlah tersebut dan telah   
 menyerahkan surat penerimaan kepada saya.   
 Oleh itu, saya beritahu Tuan Doktor Scott bahawa saya telah   
 menyerahkan kepada Tuan Doktor Scott jumlah tersebut.   
 Demikianlah surat ini.   
 Tuan Doktor Scott,   
 10 Oktober 1888.

\$ 794.00  
 \$ 200.00  
 \$ 594.00  
 \$ 108.00  
 \$ 702.00

118.80  
 594  
 712.80

118.80  
 594  
 712.80

3-11-88 Dr. Scott

**Translation**

1 October 1888, statement of accounts in Jawi, from R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, showing the balance of Raja Bilah's debt to Hewett, and asking Raja Bilah to settle through Dr. Duncan Scott.

R.D. Hewett 1.10.88

Letter from us Tuan Hewett in Krian hopefully (to) our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu, Papan Parish, The Noble, with safety.

The matter, that is, we have received a letter from our friend which was written on 25 September 1888. We have understood what is stated therein, that is, our friend has requested the sums of our friend's debts altogether, (from the) initial amount of seven hundred and ninety four ringgit.

	\$ 794.00
so deducting our friend's payment	\$ 200.00
the sum balance of our friend's debt is	\$ 594.00
so including the interest	\$ 108.00
summing up again our friend's debt, the total altogether	\$ 702.00

So our friend is tired of paying to the Tuan doctor. So the day this letter arrives, we hope our friend will as far as possible pay up to settle the seven hundred (and) two ringgit into the hand of Tuan Doctor Scott, without fail. This matter we have thus notified. Written on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of October 1888.

Interest corrected to	118.80
	594.
	712.80

This amount received by me today & a separate receipt given 3.11.80 Dr. Scott

Next two pages:

28 November 1888, memo of mortgage, in English, signed by Collector of Land Revenue W. Mahoney, between Raja Bilah bin Raja Pinjije Bulan (mortgagor) and George Bain on behalf of the Perak Government (mortgagee), for 'town lots' in Papan and Batu Gajah, for a loan of \$2500 at the rate of 6 percent per annum.

1 November 1890, memo of mortgage in English, signed by Collector and Magistrate J. B. M. Leech, between 'Raja Biela bin Raja Asal' (mortgagor) and Leong Ah Chong (mortgagee) for 'town lots' in Papan, for a loan of \$900 at 36 percent per annum.

1888

## MEMO. OF MORTGAGE.

No. 72.

Journal

Registered No. 229.

Date 28. 11. 88.

PROPERTY. { Description Town lots 24, 25, 24, and the lot for which agent for Town Lease No. 352 in the title.  
 Situation Papar + Batu Kayak.  
 Area (1) 2463.75 sq. ft. (2) 2700 sq. ft. (3) 2640 sq. ft. (4) see agent for Town Lease 352.  
 Boundaries see title.

TITLE. { No. and Description Lease for Town Land 12, 13, 40 + agent for Town Lease 352.  
 Date 7. 1. 88. + 9. 7. 88.

Name of Mortgagor Raja Sita bin Raja Panyie Sultan.  
 Name of Mortgagee George Bain on behalf of Perak Government.  
 Consideration Eighteen thousand and five hundred only, (£2500).

INTEREST { percentage at the rate of 6% per annum.  
 dates of payment 26<sup>th</sup> of every month.

Date fixed for foreclosure 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1891.

Signature of Mortgagor and his receipt for the above sum } *[Signature]*  
 Signature of Mortgagee *George Bain* on behalf of Perak Govt.

Explained by me and signed in my presence by the above-named Mortgagor and Mortgagee this 28<sup>th</sup> day of November 1888

I. A. Receipt is.

*[Signature]*  
 Collector of Land Revenue.

Interpreter, *[Signature]*

1890  
True Copy

**MEMO. OF MORTGAGE.**

1.11.90. Mag. 5661

No. 146

Journal  
Registered No. 1453.

Date 1. 11. 90

PROPERTY: { Description *Larwi lots nos 20.51 & 52*  
 Situation *Papan*  
 Area ✓  
 Boundaries ✓

TITLE: { No. and Description *A. I. L. Nos 25.26.27*  
 Date *5 April 1884*

Name of Mortgagor *Raja Biela bin Raja Seal*

Name of Mortgagee *Leong Ah Chong*

Consideration *\$900/-*

INTEREST { percentage *36% per annum*  
 dates of payment *monthly*

Date fixed for foreclosure *1<sup>st</sup> of November 1892*

Signature of Mortgagor and his receipt for the above sum } *[Signature]*

Signature of Mortgagee *[Signature]*

Explained by me and signed in my presence by the above-named Mortgagor and Mortgagee this *1<sup>st</sup>* day of *November* 188*7*

*[Signature]*

Collector of Land Revenue.

Interpreter, who has  
 to the above signature  
 made in my presence  
*[Signature]*



22 June 1892. Receipt issued by Kinta Treasury Department, Government of Perak. Raja Bilah still had \$1,950 outstanding, from a loan taken from the Perak Government in November 1888, on which he was paying 3% per half annum (January to end June 1892) or 6% per cent per annum.

1888 and \$41,264 in 1889. Of the latter, the largest sum, \$7,560, was paid to the Penghulu of Sungai Terap, which incorporated Batu Gajah, and the second largest, \$7,332, to the Penghulu of Papan.<sup>25</sup>

At the peak, the Penghulus of Kinta were paid a total of \$70,000 in commissions (*chabut*) in 1893. The next year, the Perak Government decided to reduce its expenditure by limiting the *chabut* payable to each salaried Penghulu to \$900 a month or less.<sup>26</sup>

Raja Bilah's salary had remained constant at \$360 from 1884 to 1899, and was only increased to \$396 in 1900; but this was more than compensated by the rising income from *chabut*.<sup>27</sup> After 1894, his *chabut* was limited to \$300 per mensem.<sup>28</sup> Assuming that he was receiving maximum *chabut* almost every month, his income as a Penghulu would have been in the region of three to four thousand dollars per annum over this period. In short, he was earning as much as the district officer, and would soon aspire to a comparable lifestyle.

Sadka considered the concession to the Penghulus a "freak of policy" which enabled them to accumulate enormous wealth.

The chiefs and penghulus built large villas in Ipoh and other mining townships, invested in houses and shops, and engaged in mining operations in partnership with the Chinese; not surprisingly, the district officers reported that they were too wrapped up in their speculations to do any work for the government.<sup>29</sup>

Raja Bilah quickly settled this high-interest debt to Leong Ah Chong after selling his mines in 1890, while he took a bit more time to pay off his low-interest debt to the Perak Government. Raja Bilah remained in debt for several more years, as evidenced by a Kinta Treasury receipt dated 1892 which showed that Raja Bilah only managed to pay a half-year's worth of interest on his outstanding balance of \$1950 owed to the Government of Perak.<sup>24</sup>

Raja Bilah managed to repay his debts by the mid-1890s. As the Chinese mines in Papan continued to flourish during the Kinta Tin Rush from 1889 to 1895, Raja Bilah's Penghulu commissions brought him a handsome income. In this period, the allowances paid to the Penghulus in Kinta had risen to \$30,254 in

# THE MANDAILING PIONEERS OF KINTA

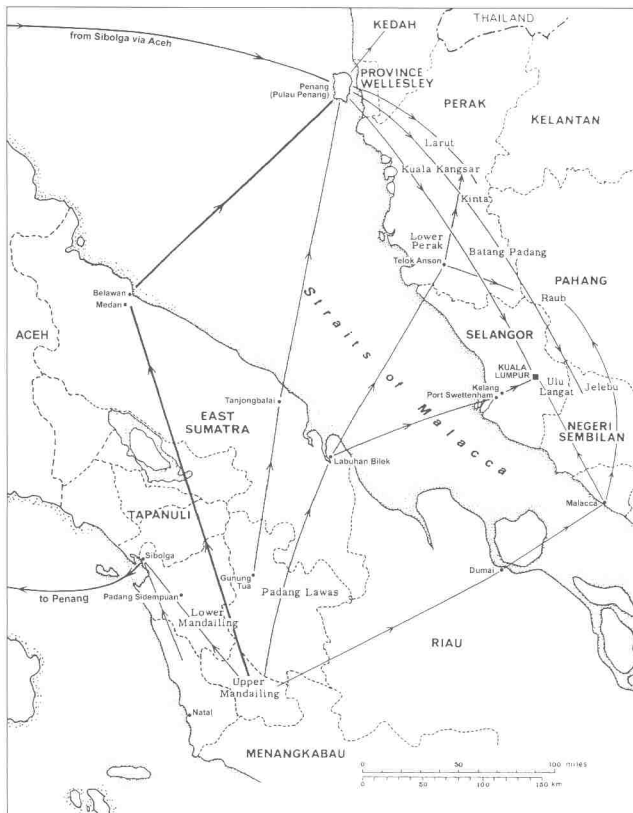
Like Raja Asal and Raja Bilah, most Mandailings migrated to the Peninsula through Malacca up till the 1870s:

At first the young people left for Kota Nopan Rao and from there together with the Rao (the Rawa people), who were also crushed by the dangers of the Padri War; departing through the forested jungles until finally reaching Siak Sri Indrapoera, from whence they sailed across the sea heading for the land of Malaka (Tanah Malaka, that is, the Peninsula), in which country they could obtain better living conditions than in their own country. ...

After one or two years in Malaka, so some of them returned to their homeland, perhaps missing their parents or their homeland; and amongst them are those who bring a bit of money or a bit of clothing, for example, cloth made in Siam (Pattani cloth).<sup>1</sup> Hearing the wonderful accounts from those returning from the *rantau*, of the good living conditions, the easy life and fast money in the *rantau* experienced by the migrants, so their friends from the same village were attracted to follow the migrants to the *rantau*, whenever they embarked again, using the same routes.

How difficult it was for them during the journey, it is not necessary for me to elaborate; it would be enough if you, the readers, can contemplate how and in what way it was difficult to travel in the unfamiliar jungle and forest, where there are wild animals.

According to the story of someone who has taken the journey, it was six or seven months' journeying before they arrived in Siak. At times, they farmed in Romba or Tamoese (Tambusai). With the income from the padi crop, they used this to pay for the expenses to continue the journey. The said padi was sold at that place at the lowest price, and the payment was in rial or 'doeit ajam'.<sup>2</sup> Only then the journey could be continued to Siak and Bengkalis, from where they sailed to the land of Malaka.



Main routes (generalised) taken by Mandailing migrants travelling from Sumatra into West Malaysia.

Eventually, more and more of them migrated, while some returned to their homelands. They looked for an alternative route, that is, from Siaboe to Roedang to Sinaboer to Padang Lawas to Roso, and took the boat (perahu) to Penang. In this way, those with families were attracted to migrate to that country.<sup>3</sup>

In his article 'Pepindahan Orang Mandailing' published in the newspaper 'Mandailing' in 1923, Pande Maradjar put forth the view that, those early Mandailing migrants were

not sojourning (merantau) like now (in the 1920s) but migrating (berpindah negeri) because they were induced by hardship etc., it was not their intention to sojourn in search of money (to be remitted) to their homelands, but only to find a better life.<sup>4</sup>

The Mandailing families in the Peninsula maintained close ties with their relatives in Sumatra, and the option of moving out or going back was always kept open.

In 1873, Haji Zainal Abidin journeyed to Perak through Malacca in the south. However, by 1884, his cousin Abu Bakar was travelling to Perak via Penang in the north. A major change in travel patterns probably took place in the mid-1870s for several reasons.

First, the northern route via Penang was probably strengthened by the heavy recruitments of Rawa and Mandailing miners by Che Karim Rawa to open tin mines in Selama in the early 1870s.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, around the year 1875, Deli on the east coast of Sumatra, right across the Straits of Malacca from Penang, became established as a major destination for Mandailing travellers.<sup>6</sup> With this development, the Mandailing-Deli route became more popular, and Mandailings intending to visit Perak had the opportunity of stopping over at Deli to make some money and replenish their supplies. Finally, with the entry of Raja Asal and his cohorts from the days of Pahang and Klang Wars into the Kinta Valley, and the strategic positions obtained by the Mandailings, in relation to the Malay-sponsored British administration as well as to the Chinese community, tin-rich Kinta Valley became a new frontier of opportunity for Mandailing migrants. The 'pull factor' was even more irresistible for Mandailing travellers who already had relatives in Perak.

After 1873, the Mandailing refugees of the Klang War were dispersed all over Perak, some free to pursue economic opportunities, others forced to eke out a living in the wilderness. In 1875, the distribution of the Mandailings was further precipitated by their roles in the British pacification of Perak. Finally, when it was evident that Kinta offered the best prospects and security for permanent settlement, many Mandailings from all over Perak moved to Kinta to further consolidate their position there. According to the *Tarikh Raja Asal*,

After the Klang War, many Mandailings went to Selama, Upper Perak to mine tin. Their leader was the famous Enche Abdul Karim Rawa. Some joined the Police and moved to Upper Perak to pacify the places there. Some became farmers in Yan and Batu Teguh. They settled down



permanently in Ijuk and Kota Tampan in Upper Perak. Until now their descendants are still there'.<sup>7</sup>

The *Tarikh Raja Asal* tells us that from Selama, many Mandailings moved to Larut, under their leaders Raja Desa and Panglima Raja: the latter was probably the one named as a Mandailing commandant during the Klang War.<sup>9</sup> In Larut, they worked the mines (melaman, melereh) in a place called Relau Tujuh (Ayer Kuning today) south of Taiping.<sup>8</sup> Mandailing miners were also found in Kampong Jambu, Pokok Assam and Tupai.

Those who remained in Taiping were Haji Sahabuddin (Bangau), Ja Lambok, Panglima Raja and Sintoh. Ja Lambok was from the Lubis clan of Tano Bato near Maga.<sup>10</sup>

According to Abdullah Haji Musa Lubis, a Perak historian of Mandailing descent, the mines at Kampong Jana at the foothills of Klian Bharu (Kamunting) were also opened by 'Malays' from Sumatra (read Mandailings and Rawas), refugees from the Klang War in Selangor.<sup>11</sup>

In July 1893, the Penghulu of Sungei Tinggi in Taiping, who was described as 'the moving spirit in reviving mining' there, recruited Kelantan and 'Mandeling Malays' to work the mines.<sup>12</sup>

The *Tarikh Raja Asal* mentions a few who moved from Selama to Kinta, although 'there were many others, whose names have been forgotten'.<sup>13</sup> These pioneers included Haji Abdul Malik, grandfather of Haji Yasidin, and Raja Abu Bakar, who settled down permanently in Batu Gajah. Raja Abu Bakar was an in-law of Tok Stia Raja. His son Jafar Sidik became one of the wealthy Mandailings in Batu Gajah.<sup>14</sup>

Raja Mangatas, a contemporary of Raja Asal in Klang, first moved from Ijuk to Ipoh. Raja Mangatas son of Sutan Kasah was a cousin of Haji Muhammad Bashir son of Gading Raja of Sungai Raya, and the father of Awang Muhammad Salleh.<sup>15</sup> Those who moved from Taiping to Ipoh included Raja (Ja) Bolga who settled in Chemor, upriver from Ipoh, of whom more will be said later.

The *Tarikh Raja Asal* gives an account of these Mandailing pioneers of Kinta and their occupations. They were the founders or leaders of the Mandailing settlements in Papan, Batu Gajah, Tasek (Pusing), Gopeng, Sungai Raya, Siputih, Tronoh, Tanjung Tualang and Sengat. Most of them were Rajas, some of them Hajis and a few of them were both.

Many came from families who were related to each other in the Mandailing homeland, and their ties were strengthened by intermarriages of their children. Their sense of comradeship had been cemented by past struggles in the Peninsula, and now they had a common ambition to build a permanent home for the Mandailings in Kinta. Each leader had his own band of followers, and together, they led the larger Mandailing community.

Some of the pioneers have been mentioned earlier. Among those who had

worked in Papan with Raja Bilah, but remained in Kinta to become tin-merchants and shop-keepers when Raja Bilah's mines were wound up, were Stia Raja, Haji Abdul Malik, Haji Ali Pahang and Haji Zainal Abidin.<sup>16</sup>

Haji Ali Pahang, also known as Haji Ali Kuantan Pahang, was a contemporary of Raja Bilah in Klang. His father Ja Suman was a contemporary of Raja Asal in Pahang. In Perak, Haji Ali settled down to being a tin merchant and shop-keeper.<sup>17</sup>

Haji Zainal Abidin, who opened mines in Tasek (now Pusing), 'worked with foreign Malays and native Malays (*orang-orang Melayu dagang dan orang Perak*)'.<sup>18</sup> Also known as Lele, he was an itinerant merchant from Upper Mandailing who entered Malaya via the port of Malacca in 1873, and fulfilled his pilgrimage in 1888. His brother's name was Badu and his son was Haji Muhammad Noh.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to Raja Bilah, three more great Mandailing leaders of Kinta, Imam Prang Ja Barumon of Gopeng, Raja Mahmud of Sengat and Tok Stia Raja of Batu Gajah, are described elsewhere in this book.

The *Tarikh Raja Asal* lists the other Mandailing notables who lived in Kinta.

Imam Prang Ja Barumon in Gopeng, Haji Ibrahim, Haji Muhammad Bashir, Haji Sulaiman and Haji Idris, Haji Idris Pangku Ja Rukin, who stayed in Sungai Raya, Haji Muhammad Nur, Haji Abdullah (Ja Mula), Haji Ismail Kudat Sirun in Ipoh, Haji Idris in Tronoh, Haji Omar in Siputeh, Se Lampai in Tanjung Tualang. Most of them opened shop, traded in tin and invested (provided capital for the miners). When they had sold the tin, their advances on money and provisions were repaid, and the profit was shared with those who invested.<sup>20</sup>

Haji Muhammad Bashir son of Gading Raja lived in Sungai Raya, and died in or before 1899. He was the cousin of Ja Mangatas bin Sutan Kasah and might have been the elder brother of the son-in-law of Raja Bilah, Haji Hassan Gading Raja from Pidoli (a settlement near Panyabungan in Lower Mandailing). Haji Muhammad Bashir was related to Tok Stia Raja of Batu Gajah through the marriages of their children.<sup>21</sup>

Haji Ibrahim moved from Sungai Raya to Papan, where he set up smelting furnaces.<sup>22</sup>

One Haji Muhammad Nur was Raja Bilah's long-serving clerk (*kerani Penghulu*), who spoke Chinese (probably Cantonese or Hakka or both). He worked in the Balai Penghulu next to the Rumah Besar in Papan. It is likely that he was also the government clerk in Batu Gajah who went on Hajj in 1896.<sup>23</sup>

Raja Sulampe, better known as 'Si Lampai', which means the 'tall and lanky one' became Assistant Penghulu of Tanjong Tualang, the top native post in *mukim*. Si Lampai was paid \$198 per annum in 1901 and \$300 in 1906 according to the Perak Estimates for those years. His sons were Muhammad Dom and Muhammad Ali.<sup>24</sup>

Translation

1883, petition in Jawi, by Ipoh traders to R.D. Hewett, Police Magistrate Kinta, requesting a government notice prohibiting boatmen from retailing goods in Ipoh.

Proceeding with greetings, with noble respects, embellished with constantly unceasing salutations, as long as the sun, moon and stars orbit, from your slaves undersigned here below, that is, all the traders with shops in Kinta, Ipoh district.

Hopefully whatever is delivered by God, the Lord of all worlds, approaching before the feet of the audience of Tuan Hewett, Police Magistrate of Kinta and all its territories, who is brilliant in executing justice and welfare, bringing fame to his descendants throughout the world, illuminating to other countries east and west, that is, prosperous in the patronage of the public at large and regularly rendering help in the most valuable assistance.

Conveying before the feet of our Lord that all your slaves are helpless, except to request, with difficulty, as in Seri Paduka Tuan's territory in Batu Gajah and other places, Tuan will send down an instruction forbidding the boatmen to retail sundry goods.

So in Ipoh the boatmen are also retailing sundry goods. Therefore all your slaves are applying with the greatest of hopes that Seri Paduka our Lord will show compassion to all your slaves, in that Seri Paduka our Lord will please propagate the notices in Kinta Ipoh as in Batu Gajah so that boatmen cannot retail sundry goods.

Great are your slaves' hopes that this petition will be granted, thousands of

Handwritten text in Jawi script, the main body of the petition. The text is dense and covers most of the upper half of the page. It begins with a traditional Islamic invocation and proceeds to describe the petitioners' situation and their request for government intervention against boatmen who are selling goods in Ipoh.

A collection of handwritten signatures and stamps. On the left, there are several names in Jawi script, including 'Haji Ahmad', 'Haji Mandaraja', 'Haji Abdullah Imam', 'Haji Mat Lasyin', 'Dipati Payong', 'Haji Ismail', 'Haji Abdul Razak', 'Haji Abdul Latiff', and 'Haji Abdul Rahman'. In the center, there are two rectangular stamps with intricate designs and text. On the right, there are more signatures and names, including 'Haji Ahmad', 'Haji Muzing', 'Haji Mula', 'Haji Ibrahim', 'Raja Lamit', 'Haji Mat Yakim', and 'Muhammad Arshad'. The signatures are written in various styles of Jawi script.

hopes upon the blessed Paduka Duli Yang Maha Mulia Queen (may she) allow our Lord to grant this petition, that is, all, so that Seri Paduka Tuan is notified. End.

Written on 30 ..... 1300 Sunah

1. Haji Ahmad
2. Haji Mandaraja
3. Haji Abdullah Imam
4. Haji Mat Lasyin
5. Dipati Payong
6. Haji Ismail
7. Haji Abdul Razak
8. Haji Abdul Latiff
9. Haji Abdul Rahman

10. Encik Idris
11. Raja Mula
12. Haji Ibrahim
13. Raja Lamit
14. Haji Mat Yakim
15. Muhammad Arshad

- (Chinese seals)
1. Chop Kwang
  2. Kah Hing
  3. Chop Kuan Tai
  4. Chop Ban Tek Ho
  5. Encik Lai Hap

Haji Abdullah Umar was better known as Ja Mula, and in one case as 'Raja Mula Mandailing'. He had a shop in Ipoh, and Mandailing miners from miles around came to take their provisions from him on credit.<sup>25</sup>

'Raja Mula' was one of the fifteen Muslim traders and five Chinese trading companies who petitioned R.D. Hewett, the Police Magistrate of Kinta, in 1883. Another petitioner, Haji Ismail, could have been the Mandailing Haji Ismail Kudat Sirun. Couched in flowery and flattering language, the shopkeepers of Ipoh asked the Kinta Police Magistrate to issue a notice prohibiting boatmen (*orang-orang perahu*) from retailing sundry goods, as the competition affected the shopkeepers' business. They pointed out that such a prohibition was already enforced in Batu Gajah and other places.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the Mandailings in Kinta prospered from trading relationships and joint ventures with Chinese business partners. Among them, Imam Prang in Gopeng and Muhammad Jabor of Kampar had business relationships with a leading tin-miner Eu Tong Sen, who developed the pharmaceutical empire 'Eu Yang Sang'.<sup>27</sup> 'Muhammad Dom bin Lampai of Tanjung Toh Allang', had a Chinese business partner Li Chai, both being co-owners of mining land in mukim Teja.<sup>28</sup>

Among the Mandailings who came to Perak, many had a measure of education and could read and write. Modern education had been introduced by the Dutch Assistant Resident in Mandailing-Angkola since the 1850s.<sup>29</sup> In the 1860s, a teacher's training school was established in Tano Bato, near Maga, by the pioneering Mandailing educationist and poet Willem Iskandar.<sup>30</sup> In the homeland, the Mandailings used a script called *tulak-tulak*; however, many Mandailings who received Islamic instruction in Minangkabau, in the Malay kingdoms of East Sumatra, or in the Peninsula, also became familiar with Jawi. For example, Abu Bakar son of Raja Pinayongan, who had lived for some years around Deli, could already write Romanized script and Jawi when he travelled to Perak in 1884.<sup>31</sup> Others had spent some years in Klang or Pahang and were literate in Jawi. Therefore, many of the Mandailings who came to Perak obtained jobs as teachers, government employees in hospitals and district offices, and as *penghulus*' clerks.<sup>32</sup>

Raja Bilah was closely related to two leading Mandailing personalities of Chemor, a town upriver from Ipoh, at the northernmost point of the Kinta Valley. The Malays believe that the name 'Chemor' comes from the word 'chemar' (to soil or pollute) as elephants passing through the area on their way between Kuala Kangsar and Kinta were soiled with mud.<sup>33</sup> Another possible origin is 'chermor' which means oral tradition, stories and legends in the language of the local Orang Asli, the Seng-Oi.<sup>34</sup> George Maxwell described Chemor in 1891.



Ja Mula, a Mandailing shopkeeper in Ipoh, who signed the 1883 petition. Raja Mula Mandailing alias Haji Abdullah Umar was the father of the journalist Abdul Wahab Abdullah.

*Courtesy of the family of Kamaruddin son of Ja Mula.*

Between Plang and Ipoh the only human habitans were at Chemor, where there were a few shops, some small mines and some sawyers and woodcutters.<sup>35</sup>

The Mandailing settlement was actually at Lalang Johor, possibly a Mandailing name which means 'hunting ground', slightly south of Chemor town proper. The planter Rathborne commented that the area south of Chemor had 'some of the best soil I had come across in the peninsula'.<sup>36</sup> In 1893, Leech noted that the village of 'Lalang Johot', near Chemor,

is increasing considerably in size, as a great deal of new mining land is being opened up in the neighbourhood, and besides, a number of Sumatra Malays have settled around the village and are taking up a good deal of garden land.<sup>37</sup>

The place name 'Lalang Johot', which can be seen in Walker's map of 1893, is no longer in use.<sup>38</sup>

The Mandailing settlement at Chemor was founded by Ja Bolga, son of Ja Si Numba, also known as Abdullah Ja Bolga of the Lubis clan. He migrated from Sayurmaincat near Kota Nopan in Upper Mandailing to Perak in the late 19th century. He first settled in Taiping, then moved to Ipoh before settling in Chemor. People who knew of Ja Bolga's reputation as a traditional Mandailing healer (*datu*) and masseur (*tukang kusuk*) would come from far and wide to seek him in Chemor, including the Raja Bendahara (later Sultan) Yusuf who was then staying in Batu Gajah.

Ja Bolga had six children by his first wife Mihrab, daughter of Saagari, from Singengu near Kota Nopan. He took another wife Bibah, and they had two children together. In those days, there were many Orang Asli around Chemor. Ja Bolga was known to have had contact with the Orang Asli in Chemor, and at least one was working in his household. Ja Bolga's house, made of wood and bark, was the largest in Chemor. Ja Bolga died on 18 November 1921 and was buried in the Muslim cemetery in Chemor.<sup>39</sup>

Another well-known personality of Chemor was the 'Namora' of Chemor, Raja Haji Abdur-Rahman, the brother of Raja Bilah. Raja Bilah invited his younger brother to move out to Perak, but after two visits he still could not make up his mind to stay, and returned to Maga in Mandailing. Finally, in 1886 Haji Abdur-Rahman arrived from Sumatra with his four children, one son and three daughters, this time to settle down permanently in Perak.<sup>40</sup> He could see that with his brother as Penghulu, the family's future would be brighter in Perak.

Haji Abdur-Rahman first lived in Papan, but later moved to Chemor. He had six children by the first wife, two of whom were born in Chemor, and four more children by his second wife.<sup>41</sup> Haji Abdur-Rahman was addressed as 'Namora' - he told his friends and relatives not to address him as 'Raja', since he was not a Penghulu.<sup>42</sup> Though his fortune was modest compared to Raja Bilah, Haji Abdur-Rahman's position within the Mandailing community in the *rantau* was enhanced through the marriages of his daughters.

The first daughter Raja Maimunah married Sutan Mangatas son of Sutan Sinomba (Lubis), the nephew of Sutan Puasa of Klang. Having no children of his own, Sutan Puasa regarded Sutan Mangatas as his own son.<sup>43</sup> This marriage reunited the two long-acquainted families of Sutan Puasa and Raja Asal, who had been together in times of peace and war in Klang.

The second daughter Raja Hafifah married Ja Mula alias Haji Abdullah Umar (Lubis), the shopkeeper in Ipoh, and they eventually settled in Chemor.<sup>44</sup> Their son Abdul Wahab Abdullah graduated from Al-Azhar and became a figure in the Malay press, as editor of *Saudara* and *Bumiputera* in the 1930s.<sup>45</sup> Abdul Wahab married Nuriyah Hassan, the grand-daughter of Raja Bilah and the daughter of Haji Hassan Gading Raja and Raja Rabiah.

The third daughter Raja Terajuan alias Si Taing, married Hussain son of Ja Lambok (Lubis), also known as Hussain Orang Kaya Taiping. He owned 50 acres of durian and rubber estates in Taiping as well as open cast mines at Ayer Kuning in Taiping, which were operated through a joint venture with a Chinese.<sup>46</sup> Their children were Abdul Qadir and others.

The fifth daughter was Raja Arbiah alias Siti Arab was also known as Nenek Stokin because she was fond of wearing socks. She married Jalun alias 'Lokok' alias Jamaluddin (Batubara).<sup>47</sup>

The fourth daughter Raja Saudah, married Harun son of Ja Bolga of Chemor. A daughter of Ja Bolga, Raja Rahmah, in turn married Raja Bilah's son Raja Shahabuddin. The ties between Haji Abdur-Rahman's family and Ja Bolga's family went back to Mandailing, where the Nasution clan of Maga and the Lubis clan of Sayurmaincat often intermarried. In Perak this practice was continued.

In Chemor, the Mandailings were engaged in cultivation, fishing, husbandry, fruit orchards and rubber small holdings. Wherever land was not suitable for padi-bendang, they opened orchards. The Mandailings of Chemor were by and large from the Lubis and Nasution clans. Among the famous sons of Chemor were the Indonesian Vice-President Tun Adam Malik (Batu Bara) whose mother was a Lubis from Chemor,<sup>48</sup> the journalist Abdul Wahab Abdullah (Lubis), the nationalist educationist Aminuddin Baki (Lubis)<sup>49</sup> and Laksamana (Admiral) Dato' Mohd. Zain bin Mohd. Salleh (Nasution), a nephew of the famous Indonesian General Abdul Haris Nasution.<sup>50</sup>

Today, the Mandailing settlement in Chemor, known as Kampong Batu Sembilan (so called because it is 9 miles from Ipoh) is now unofficially named Kampong Adam Malik. A small neighbourhood within this settlement, where a row of mangosteen trees used to lead to Ja Bolga's house, is now known as Kampong Ja Bolga.

## IMAM PRANG JA BARUMUN, A 'MAKER OF KINTA'

Ja Barumun's title 'Imam Prang', which literally means, war commander or general, originates from the Padri period in Mandailing history. While it can only be assumed that Ja Barumun attained this position while still in Mandailing, it is certain that he served as one of Raja Asal's generals during the Klang War. It is believed that Ja Barumun hailed from Maga, hence his allegiance to Raja Asal and Raja Bilah. From Maga, he had made his way to Padang Bolak (also known as Padang Lawas), and from there he proceeded to Bila before coming to the Peninsula, fighting in the Klang War before following Raja Asal to Perak.<sup>1</sup> Despite the dangers of the forest, the Sumatran settlers persevered in their task of opening up the country (*buka negeri*) and starting new settlements (*mamungka huta*). A new settlement (*huta*) is opened by a Raja and has to be settled by at least two clans, so that the *markoum sisalkot* can be maintained, and the *Namora-Natoras* can be constituted by representatives of the respective clans.<sup>2</sup>

The enterprising spirit of the Mandailing migrants was highly appreciated by the 'small handful of European officers in Kinta, who were inaugurating a new regime'. George Maxwell joined the Kinta establishment in 1891.<sup>3</sup> On his first trip from Ipoh to Batu Gajah, he paid a courtesy call on Raja Bilah.

At Papan, which had become a village long before Ipoh, I met the penghulu, Raja Bila, a grand old man, who had raised a levy of foreign Malays to help the British in the Perak war, and had served with them under my father.<sup>4</sup>

His father was William Maxwell, who had recruited Mandailings and Rawas to pursue Dato' Maharaja Lela up to Kota Tampan and the Patani frontier.<sup>5</sup> William Maxwell continued to rely on the Mandailings in his job as Assistant Resident of Perak from 1876 to 1882, under Sir Hugh Low.

Like his father, George Maxwell realised the crucial role played by the Sumatrans

in supporting the skeletal British administration. He painted a warm picture of Imam Prang Ja Barumun, then Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng, and the leader of the Mandailings and Rawas there. Ja Barumun of the Nasution clan was one of Raja Asal's warriors in the Klang War, who followed him to Perak.<sup>6</sup> His impetuous character, which had got him into so much trouble with the British in Selangor, was later described by George Maxwell with some endearment.

One of the makers of Kinta was Imaum Prang Jabarunum (sic) - "The War Priest" - as Leech affectionately and deservedly called him. He was a foreign Malay, and had brought a number of followers from Sumatra to settle permanently in the district. He was full of the most practical ideas for settlement and development schemes, and he constantly inveighed to Leech against the slowness of "Compani" in its prime duty of buka negri - "opening the country".

At that time the word "Government" was only beginning to creep into the Malay language, and "Compani", which survived from the days of the East India Company in the Straits Settlements, was the usual expression.

Leech could never persuade him that men and money were the difficulty. One day he galloped into Batu Gajah on his fiery little skewbald Deli pony, marched straight into Leech's office with the news that a very rich tinfield had just been discovered near Membang-di-Awan, on the road then under construction from Kuala Dipang to Tapah, and demanded that Leech should immediately go with him to lay out a township.

Leech was impressed, and asked me to join in the picnic. Early the next morning, the three of us cantered to Gopeng, where we picked up Bamforth, the surveyor, who had been warned by telegram (no telephones in those days), and we went on to Kuala Dipang and then plunged heavily through the soft earthwork of the new extension until we reached Membang-di-Awan.

It was only the name of a locality in the vast forest, but between the road and the little Kampar stream, there was a large and very rich open-cast mine, and Chinese prospectors were busy all around. As there was no doubt of its being a valuable tin-field, Leech selected a township site, and instructed Bamforth to survey it and cut it up for shop lots, which were to be sold as soon as possible at \$25 a-piece.

Lovely as is the name Membang-di-Awan, meaning "swathed in the clouds," it was too long for the name of a Chinese mining town. So Leech took the name of the little stream flowing by, and christened the newly born township as Kampar.<sup>7</sup>

The rush occurred in mid-1891, and, thanks to the initiative of the surveying party, mining land was quickly taken up by fossickers armed with the *lanchnut* ketchil, and the mining population of Kampar district trebled.<sup>8</sup>

J.B.M. Leech, Collector and Magistrate, Kinta, whom George Maxwell commended as 'one of the finest District Officers that Malaya has ever seen'<sup>9</sup> gave the Imam Prang even more credit for the development of Kampar. In June 1891, Leech already mentioned that the Imam Prang 'proposes to found a new village at Guntong, in Kampar, as soon as the Kuala Dipang-Tapah road



is finished'.<sup>10</sup> This was followed up by another substantive report:

On the 9<sup>th</sup> (September 1891), I visited the village of Mambang di Awan, in Kampar, on the Dipang-Tapah road, which has during the last two months grown from a little cluster of huts into a large and flourishing mining village with 154 shops in it. It has been laid out by the Assistant Penghulu Imam Prang Jeberumun in 60 ft streets with the usual blocks of ten 20 ft building lots, and is now one of the most thriving places in Kinta. There has been a regular rush into this part of Kampar, and over 1000 acres of mining land have been taken up in the neighbourhood of the new village. Such mines as have opened show very good prospect, especially that lately opened by Mr. Cologan for the French Societe des Etain. The progress made lately in the mukim of Kampar has been extraordinary, and, from the most backward mukim in Kinta, it is fast becoming one of the most prosperous.<sup>11</sup>

Although Ja Barumun is sometimes remembered as the Penghulu of Gopeng, there was no such post during that period. The top native post in the smaller mukims like Gopeng and Tanjong Tualang was Assistant Penghulu. According to the Perak Estimates of 1901, Ja Barumun as Assistant Penghulu was earning \$528 per annum, substantially more than Raja Bilah who was drawing \$396 per annum, however the latter was also entitled to tax (chabut) not exceeding \$300 a month.<sup>12</sup> E. J. Brewster, Acting Collector and Magistrate in Kinta, considered him more valuable than any Penghulu:

The best man as a useful officer is Imam Prang Jeberuman, Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng; he gets no chabut, and a very small salary, but does more actual work than all the others put together: the fact is the others are very rich, and keep clerks, who really represent them.<sup>13</sup>

In any dangerous situation, the fearless Imam Prang was always the man for the job. In September 1891, Leech reported that on 8 August,

a Malay, named Mah Rasin, was murdered at Kuala Dipang by another Malay, named Ngah Tepah. The murderer was arrested by Assistant Penghulu Imam Prang Jeberumun.<sup>14</sup>

At the end of 1899, Gopeng was gripped with terror over a rabies outbreak. Four cases of death from 'hydrophobia' were reported - one of them died in the Gopeng Hospital. Imam Prang Ja Barumun, who was on the Sanitary Board of Gopeng, saw to matters of public health. He dealt with the outbreak decisively, and was praised for having

done good work in the destruction of dangerous and unowned dogs, over 70 having been destroyed by him since the commencement of the scare.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike the Malays, who regard dogs with fear and disgust, it is not uncommon to find Mandailings who rear dogs for guarding the house and for hunting. The Imam Prang himself was known to have kept dogs.

In the first Perak Agri-Horticultural Show held at the Barrack Square, Taiping, on 24 June 1893, the Imam Prang won a first prize worth \$5 for a 'Sakai dog', while the Datoh Muda Wahab, Kinta, won first prize for 'Best Elephant'.<sup>16</sup> The

Agri-Horticultural Show was introduced by the colonial government to promote higher standards of agriculture and horticulture. It was attended by all the principal native chiefs of Kinta.

They had not quite realized what the Show would be till they saw it, and it seems to have appealed very much to them, as they already look forward to another one, saying they could have done much better if they had known what the Show was to be like.<sup>17</sup>

Imam Prang's 'Sakai dog' must have set the chiefs' tongues a-wagging, as keeping dogs are a taboo among the Malays. At the following year's exhibition, the Imam Prang probably kept his dog out of the competition, but bagged a prize for 'Banana, best collection'. Incidentally, the prize for 'Banana, best bunch' for that year went to Raja Bilah.<sup>18</sup>

The Imam Prang's reputation was built upon his myriad accomplishments as a 'maker of Kinta'. He seemed to be constantly preoccupied with opening new settlements and initiating new schemes.

In Kinta, Ja Barumun first settled in Serdang, near Kampong Lawan Kuda in Gopeng, on the road to Kota Bharu. Subsequently, he opened the Mandailing settlement of Sungai Itek, near Gopeng. He made his wealth from collecting tin taxes and leasing those lands granted to him by the government, to the Chinese. He had good relations with the Chinese miners, who honoured the Mandailing chief with gifts each year. His close friend was Eu Tong Sen, who became a well-known miner. Ja Barumun was said to have gone into partnership with Eu to work the mines in Gopeng and Kampar.<sup>19</sup>

Through Imam Prang Ja Barumun's leadership, other settlements around Gopeng such as Jahang, Gunong Mesah, Lawan Kuda and Kampong Pulau were settled by his Mandailing and Rawa followers.<sup>20</sup> His younger half-brother, Haji Abu Bakar, opened Kampong Cholek in 1899.

One of Imam Prang Ja Barumun's biggest accomplishments was to develop a Mandailing-style irrigation system (*bondar saba*). This system greatly enlarged the area of land which could be cultivated with padi, thus attracting more Mandailing and Rawa people to settle around Gopeng. The most ambitious project was a canal two and a half miles long, about five feet wide, with an even depth of almost eight feet, which irrigated an area of rice fields of almost 500-600 acres. The canal was sited on the left bank of the Kampar River, from the upper reaches of the river at Sungai Itek, downstream to Kampong Gunong Panjang. It was built with the cooperation of his followers and other Sumatran settlers, as well as the local Chinese.<sup>21</sup> In 1900, the Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray reported the successful completion of this project:

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March, Imam Prang of Gopeng formally opened his new dam at Ulu Kampar, celebrating the event with a Malay feast. He hopes, and expects, that it will supply water for the irrigation of several thousand acres of *padi* land.<sup>22</sup>

An important element of this irrigation system was a large dam at Ulu Kampar,

made by piling up rocks across a stream. According to a descendant, Ja Barumun organized a picnic and held a competition for who could throw the biggest rock. The story often told among his followers' descendants is that Ja Barumun was the one who lifted the biggest rock, 'almost the size of an elephant'.<sup>23</sup>

The 'Tali Air Imam Prang' made Gopeng the biggest padi-growing area in Kinta, producing food to meet the demands of the booming population of Chinese miners.<sup>24</sup> The irrigation system was the key to attracting new settlers to open up bendang.

'where, as in all the smaller valleys, the water could be used for mining if padi-growing proved unsuccessful'.<sup>25</sup>

The water works irrigated a network of *tobat* or fish ponds, which were a source of pride for the Mandailings of Gopeng. Apart from the smaller *tobats* found in compounds of many Mandailing houses, there were also large *tobats* in most neighbourhoods, such as *tobat* Haji Hassan (near Gunong Mesah), *tobat* Johan, *tobat* Haji Tahir Kaya, *tobat* Haji Shahbuddin Bomoh, *tobat* Haji Yusuf Kaya and Haji Osman. Fresh water fishes like haruan (*Channa striatus*), keli (*Clarias batrachus*), lampan (*Puntius gonionotus*) and tembakang (*Helostoma temminckii*) were bred in them.<sup>27</sup> The large *tobat* were collectively harvested (*mambungkas tobat*) for the Hari Raya feast each year. The Imam Prang planted mangosteen trees around his *tobat*. He also kept a herd of buffaloes, a symbol of his wealth and status.<sup>28</sup> In Mandailing culture, both the ikan mas (carp), which are bred in *tobat*, and the buffalo, are essential foods for weddings feasts and Hari Raya feasts.

Many Rawas came to settle during Ja Barumun's time. At first the Rawa men came to work, but when their lives were more secure, they brought their womenfolk and families from Sumatra to join them. The Rawa community were grateful to the Imam Prang and accepted his leadership, but after the Imam Prang died, the relationship between the Mandailings and Rawa communities in Gopeng soured.<sup>26</sup>

Imam Prang Ja Barumun passed away on 17 January 1903.<sup>29</sup> He was buried on a hillock in Gopeng, and his tombstone carried a brief inscription about his life. Imam Prang had no children, only two nephews. Many of his properties were said to have passed into the hands of Eu Tong Sen.<sup>30</sup>

# THE GOPENG CONTINGENT

Even as Ja Barumun was carving a reputation for himself as one of the 'makers of Kinta', the Imam Prang had not totally put his fighting days behind him. The Mandailing Imam Prang would be remembered as the leader of the Gopeng Contingent which went to battle in the Pahang War.

Pahang became a British Protectorate in 1888. Changes introduced by the first British Resident met with opposition from the native chiefs. Apart from a great number of restrictions imposed on the *rakyat*, the chiefs were now forbidden to collect taxes, and the salaries offered them were a meagre compensation for their loss of traditional revenue.

The Orang Kaya of Semantan, commonly known as Dato' Bahaman, first led the opposition to the new impositions, and then declared open rebellion, instigating a protracted struggle with the British that became known as Dato' Bahaman's Revolt (*Pemberontakan Dato' Bahaman*).<sup>1</sup> Dato' Bahaman was supported by a number of the interior chiefs, most of whom were not hereditary chiefs but had gained their positions by helping Bendahara Ahmad come to power in the previous civil war.

On 15 December 1891, some Sikh and Malay police led by the collector of the Semantan district entered the Semantan river to strengthen the force stationed at Lubok Trua. On the way they arrested three of Bahaman's followers on a charge of removing jungle-produce without a permit. Two days later, this party was ambushed by Dato' Bahaman, causing the death of several police officers and effecting the prisoners' escape.

Over the next month, the British sent several expeditions to capture the rebels and to destroy their stockades. Dato' Bahaman and his men, who had the advantage of being familiar with the hilly jungle terrain, fled from the Semantan upriver to Bentong, towards the Selangor border.

In late January 1892, the Straits Settlements Governor Cecil Clementi authorised the Selangor Resident William Maxwell to recruit a force of 200 Malays, to assist the operations on the Bentong side. 'They will be moved up to the District towards the close of this week'.<sup>2</sup> The 'Sumatran Malays' of Perak were asked to join the expedition.<sup>3</sup>

In Pahang, the young Hugh Clifford was then Acting Resident of Pahang. One of his close friends was a Mandailing warrior, Raja Uteh.<sup>4</sup> Clifford had heard tales of the ruthless fighting that took place when the Mandailings and the Rawas were up against Tengku Kudin's men, supported by the Pahang Malays and Minangs, in the last chapter of the Klang War. He later wrote about them.

In the Klang War, the British had sanctioned the intervention of the Pahang Malays in the jungle war waged in the highlands of the Pahang-Selangor border. This time, it was the Pahang Malays who were opposing the British, while the followers of Raja Bilah, who had settled in Perak, had since proved their loyalty to the British. Not only had they helped to consolidate colonial rule in times of peace, but they had also served as a force of fighting men in the Lambor confrontation of 1883.

The Selangor Resident William Maxwell had become well acquainted with Raja Bilah during the earlier part of his career, as Assistant Resident of Perak. He might have been informed by his son, George Maxwell, then stationed as a junior officer in Kinta, that the Sumatrans in Kinta such as Imam Prang Ja Barumon still had the fighting spirit in them.

In a letter dated 23 January 1892, Maxwell urged Raja Bilah to come to the rescue. William Maxwell, a scholar of classical Malay, opened his correspondence with refined compliments indicating his intimate regard for Raja Bilah.

His Word is the Truth. An honest and sincere letter with love and affection from us Tuan William Edward Maxwell C.M.G. British Resident of Selangor, at this time in Klang, Kuala Lumpur, hopefully whatever is bound by the Lord of the Worlds might be delivered before the countenance of our friend Raja Bilah at this time in the state of Perak, district of the Papan mines, with peace.

The matter we would like to state is that on 17 December 1891 in Pahang State there has been a skirmish with Syed Haman, that is, the one who became the Orang Kaya Pahlawan Semantan in Upper Pahang: he was committing treachery against the government officials of Pahang, therefore we sent one Tuan with a few sepoy and Malay policemen (mata-mata) to Pahang to thoroughly investigate and seek a way to come to a good understanding, however Syed Haman was indifferent and ordered his people to block their path en route and worked up a fight, and some of the Pahang people fled.

Therefore as a result of this we have asked Tuan Haji Muhammad Ali and Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid to come and see our friend (Raja Bilah) and if there is a way, and with sincerity we hope (there is, we) ask you to come to Klang and with urgency and without delay so that we can mete out a treatment to that Syed Haman.



And furthermore prior to this letter we have already sent a telegraph (pukul taligraf) to the Resident of Perak<sup>5</sup> asking him to convey a message to our friend. Hal inilah adanya. Tammat.<sup>6</sup>

While Maxwell's letter had been phrased more as a request for assistance, the *Tarikh Raja Asal* recounts,

'Upon receipt of the letter Raja Bilah assembled his clansmen (adek kak) and his followers to confer on the matter of the order...'<sup>7</sup>

As Raja Asal had done before him when faced with a challenge of war, Raja Bilah called a council of the *Namora-Natoras* to consult them on the matter. According to Mandailing custom, the nobles and elders have to arrive at a consensus - not merely a majority decision - what more when the decision involves risking the lives of their people in battle. As the Mandailing saying goes, *Asidunganna sahata gordang sambilan, dapat sicut ni tai (Akhirnya seirama gendang besar yang sembilan, tercapailah kata mufakat)*.<sup>8</sup> The issues would have to be thoroughly deliberated and the risks weighed.

It is true, they had responded without hesitation when summoned to Lambor about a decade earlier, but Lambor was a small village just a few hours away by river and from the Sumatrans' experience, those rebels had been more boasters than fighters.

In contrast, the Pahang insurgents were experienced warriors. The protagonists of the revolt, Tok Bahaman and Tok Gajah (Imam Prang Rasu), were two of the key Pahang chiefs who had led the attack on the Mandailing and Rawas during

The photograph is captioned: 'Gopeng Contingent starting for the Pahang War May 1892 under Imam Prang'. Imam Prang Ja Barumon, the Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng, raised 88 men from Gopeng and Sungai Raya. The Imam Prang is seen here wearing puttees (leggings) and leading the contingent. Mandailing men usually wear trousers under their sarongs.

Photograph displayed in the Rumah Besar Raja Bilah.

the Klang War. The Pahang men from the interior were hardy guerillas used to jungle warfare. Furthermore, the war would be on their territory.

In his old age, Raja Bilah was less keen to take risks and endanger the lives of his men. The desire for revenge was tempered by a wariness of another prolonged war.

On the other hand, the Sumatrans had seen how the British had conducted the Perak War and the suppression in Lambor, and knew that they would be well supported logistically. In short, the odds would be on their side this time.

'... and as everyone was in agreement Raja Bilah went to see Tuan J.B.M. Leech the District Officer Kinta in Batu Gajah'.<sup>9</sup>

Leech issued Raja Bilah the following letter on the 26 January 1892, requesting the British authorities in Ulu Selangor to report Raja Bilah's arrival to the Resident of Selangor.

Sir,

Raja Bilah of Papan leave here tomorrow with a party of Sumatra Malay (sic) for Pahang expedition.

He should reach Ulu Selangor with about 100 men in about six days, will you (sic) good enough to report his arrive (sic) to Resident Selangor.

Yours Obediently  
(Sgd.) J.B.M. Leech  
Coll. And Mag.  
Kinta<sup>10</sup>

The next day, Raja Bilah and his troops started out from Papan and headed towards Tapah to meet up with the Batang Padang District Officer Cecil Wray.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> Raja Bilah of Papan started for Pahang overland with a further levy of 30 Sumatra Malays. He had orders to recruit 70 more men in Batang Padang and Ulu Bernam, where there are large colonies of Sumatra people.<sup>11</sup>

Raja Bilah was planning to raise the additional troops from the Mandailing settlements which he had taken H.W.C. Leech to visit in their expedition to Slim and Bernam in 1879.

While Raja Bilah was still in Tapah, the District Officer Cecil Wray received a telegram from the Selangor Resident informing him that 'Raja Bilah need not come' and that the enemy had been defeated and had fled. 'Thence Raja Bilah returned to Papan together with his followers'.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, they heard that Imam Prang Ja Barumon and his men had already arrived at Ulu Selangor, from where Pahang can be reached.<sup>13</sup> The ever enthusiastic Ja Barumon, probably as eager to settle an old score with the Pahang Malays<sup>14</sup> as to serve his British masters, had left ahead of Raja Bilah's troops. J.B.M. Leech wrote in the Kinta Monthly Report for January 1892:

On 23<sup>rd</sup> Imam Prang Jeberumun, Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng, left for Pahang with 88 Sumatra Malays, raised in Gopeng and Sungai Raya mukims, for service against the Orang Kaya Pahlawan. These men were ready to start on the 6<sup>th</sup>, but final orders for their departure did not arrive till the 22<sup>nd</sup>. The Imam deserves great credit for the prompt way in which he got his men together, and it is a pity they were too late to be of much service. I have no doubt that with such a good man in command they would have given a good account of themselves.<sup>15</sup>

A battle had been won by the British side, but the sporadic war was to last until the end of 1895. Clifford had secured the agreement of the Pahang Sultan to suppress the rebellion with his own troops of Pahang Malays. The involvement of the Sumatrans in this episode is not mentioned in Linehan's *History of Pahang*, except by inference in a passage that, at the end of January,

A force of Selangor and Perak police under the command of Major McCallum had been despatched to Pahang to assist in the operations on the Bentong side, but on the recommendation of the Resident this contingent was shortly afterwards withdrawn.<sup>16</sup>

The Imam Prang might also have led another expedition in May, when the British forces in Pahang were reinforced by the Perak Sikhs under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker. The only evidence of this later expedition is a historic photograph, showing the Imam Prang leading about a hundred Sumatrans, captioned 'Gopeng contingent starting for The Pahang War May 1892 under Imam Prang. Taken on A.D.O.'s (Assistant District Officer) tennis court'. Was the photograph misdated or did the Gopeng contingent indeed see battle in Pahang in May?<sup>17</sup>

Haji Muhammad Bashir of Sungai Raya, reportedly took part in the Pahang expedition as a member of the Gopeng contingent and boasted of bringing back two 'cupak-full' of the rebels' eyeballs.<sup>18</sup> But whether they saw battle or not, the Mandailings' mobilization for the Pahang War became a legend among the Mandailings for many generations afterwards. Isma'il bin Hadji Abdoe'llah 'Demar Effendi, who visited Perak in the early 1920s, recounting the affairs of the Mandailings who fled Selangor and settled down in Perak, highlighted the incident:

Whenever there were troubles in the state, they followed with great determination, defending the Government. When there was uprising within the state, so they also joined in the pacification. So in 1892, the time when Orang Kaya Pahlawan of the state of Pahang rebelled against the English and fought against the king there; so the English government asked for help from the foreign men (orang dagang) in the state of Perak, to pacify the rebellion there. As they were loyal to the Perak government, so the contingent of foreign scions (anak dagang) left for (Pahang), headed by Almarhoem Tengkoë Radja Bilah, but when they almost reached the border of Perak and Pahang, then came the telegram of the English asking the contingent to return, as the rebellion had been put down.<sup>19</sup>



1353  
97.

الرسالة  
عنه

BRITISH RESIDENCY.  
PAHANG.

Resident

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد  
الذي جاء به الهدى والرحمة المهدية وبعد  
فإننا قد استلمنا من سيدي سلطان Pahang  
التي هي في حياضنا من سيدي سلطان Pahang  
وغيره من الحياض التي هي في حياضنا  
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والله اعلم  
بما فيه الخ  
28 July 1897

↳ Translation

28 July 1897, letter in Jawi, from Pahang British Resident Hugh Clifford to Raja Bilah, replying to Raja Bilah's letter of request dated 6 July 1897, for assistance in redeeming a Mandailing slave from the palace of the Pahang Sultan.

Important

That this honest sincere letter, that is, from us Tuan Hugh British Government Resident for the state of Pahang, there-

fore so conveyed by the Lord of Worlds before the audience of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish Kinta Perak with peace.

And proceeding from that, so we define to our friend as in our friend's letter written this 7 July, (which) has arrived safely, and we understand everything contained therein. So as in the past which brings our friend's letter, that is, to redeem a slave in the palace of the Sultan of Pahang named one Si Baginda. So in this matter

we cannot offer any assistance upon it, because a slave who resides in the palace of the Sultan of Pahang from prior to the year 1888 cannot be taken out.

So to our thinking for example (if) Si Lampu wants to ransom (the slave) he can appear before and appeal to Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Pahang or to his consort Tengku Ampuan. So it is, End.

In the office of Tuan Pahang Resident in the town of Pekan Baru.

Recorded on 28 July 1897.

Isma'il recorded the boast told and retold by the Mandailings that:

The insurrection ceased, because the rebelling Pahang natives had heard news that the foreign scions (anak dagang), who were renowned for their bravery, were coming to fight them.<sup>20</sup>

The Pahang expedition may have been the last time the old Mandailing guard in Kinta rallied together toward a common cause. The Mandailings would soon go in different directions, some returning to their homeland, others settling in other parts of the Kinta valley, and the community as a whole strengthened but at the same time diluted by a new wave of Mandailing economic migrants.

In 1897, one year after Hugh Clifford was appointed British Resident of Pahang, Raja Bilah wrote him a request to redeem a Mandailing slave from the royal court of Pahang. Hugh Clifford, from his office in Pekan Baru, wrote back to say:

And proceeding from that, so we define to our friend as in our friend's letter written this 7 July, (which) has arrived safely, and we understand everything contained therein. So as in the past, that which brings our friend's letter, that is, to redeem a slave in the palace of the Sultan of Pahang named one Si Baginda. So in this matter we cannot offer any assistance upon it, because a slave who resides in the palace of the Sultan of Pahang from prior to the year 1888 cannot be taken out.

So to our thinking for example (if) Si Lampu wants to ransom (the slave) he can appear before and appeal to Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Pahang or to his consort Tengku Ampuan. So it is. End.<sup>21</sup>

From his name, Si Baginda was a Mandailing noble,<sup>22</sup> apparently related to Si Lampu, the former overseer of Raja Bilah's mines. Si Baginda could have been a Mandailing fighter or even a child captured and taken as a slave during the Pahang War (1857-1863) or the Klang War (1867-73). Raja Bilah must have thought that the chances of getting Si Baginda freed would have improved now that his old family friend was Resident of Pahang. Instead, he was informed that slaves taken before 1888, that is, before Pahang became a British Protectorate, were bound by the old laws.

Hugh Clifford must have regretted not being able to help Raja Bilah, for his friendship with the family went back a long way. Several years after Raja Bilah had passed away, Hugh Clifford sent an autographed copy of his newly published book, 'The Further Side of Silence', to Raja Bilah's eldest grandson Haji Abdullah for the latter's thirteenth birthday on 13 May, 1916.<sup>23</sup>

# KINTA THROUGH THE EYES OF ABU BAKAR

In 1884, a relation of Raja Bilah, Abu Bakar son of Raja Pinayongan travelled from Deli, on the east coast of Sumatra, to Penang and Perak to look for work.<sup>1</sup> He was also the first cousin of Haji Zainal Abidin of Tasek (Pusing). Abu Bakar alias Lebai Ahmad recorded his travels and experiences in some detail in his diary, revealing how a new Mandailing migrant depended on an existing network of contacts, relations and fellow countrymen for information, support and sustenance. During his travels he met Raja Bilah, Raja Mahmud, Raja Duri, Ja Bidun and Sri Paringgonan,<sup>2</sup> Mandailing leaders in Perak who were the guiding lights for the Mandailing migrants at the time.

Abu Bakar had travelled to the Peninsula several times before, going back and forth between the Peninsula and the East Coast of Sumatra. This time, en route to Perak, he stopped over in Penang and stayed at the house of a Mandailing from Sayurmatinggi. After spending two nights there, he and his travelling companions caught a ship to Port Weld, and from there took a carriage to Taiping.

In Taiping, he stopped to ask where he might find any of his own people (*bangsa sendiri*) or his relations.

I asked someone I met, 'Oh my friend, where can I find Malay shops and Malay eating places?'

And the man responded, 'Where are you from? (*Hangpa dari mana?*)'

And I said, 'I came from Penang and just arrived'.

So he asked 'What people are you?' (*Hang apa bangsa?*)

'I am a scion of Sumatra Deli Medan' (*'Saya anak Sumatra Deli Medan'*).<sup>3</sup>

He said, there is a textile shop, the taukeh's name is Si Lambok, a Mandailing from kampong Tanah Bato and another textile shop the taukeh's name is Ja Bangalan.

The man I was talking to turned out to be a Mandailing as well. His speech was like the speech of a Penang Malay (orang Pulau Pinang), as the speech of the people who live in Taiping follow the Penang colloquial style.

And then we were taken to the house of Si Lambok and there we stopped over and were invited to eat. So Si Lambok asked me,

'What is your origin and which village and country are you from, and what clan (suku marga)?'

I am a Sumatran, born in Kuala Lumpur ... And I come from Deli Medan and my tribe (suku) is Lubis and my father's home village is Kota Nopan Saba Dolok. Then only when I finished speaking did he realize that we were the same people. Then he said, No Sumatran should be without a marga (orang Sumatra wajib marga).

Abu Bakar explored Taiping and had the impression that the town of Taiping was modelled after Penang. From Taiping he went to Kuala Kangsar, where the shops were tiny like huts in the padi fields, with attap roofs and bamboo walls. He stopped over at the house of a Rawa named Haji Kassim, where many wayfarers stayed.

Haji Kassim asked, 'My son, where are you from and where are you going'.

So I replied, 'your son comes from Deli Medan, with the intention of staying over and seeking to earn something for myself. What are the jobs of the people here? Please help us, Pak Haji, to find any job.'

Haji Kassim replied, 'Here in Kuala Kangsar there are no jobs around, the people here just live in their villages, and open small businesses like this one. And if you want to work, go to Kota Papan Batu Gajah, look for Engku Raja Bilah and Engku Mahmud ... there are lots of jobs in tin-mining.'

I asked 'How much further is Papan Batu Gajah and how do I get there?'

Haji Kassim said, 'Two more days. There is a ferry-boat going downriver to Blanja, one person fifty cents. Leave in the morning and arrive in the evening, overnight in Blanja, travel again in the morning and arrive at Papan in the evening.'

Hungry and tired by the time he and his travelling companions arrived at Papan, they headed for the 'rice shop' and there they asked for rice, curry, fried river fish and sweet coffee. Abu Bakar then asked for directions to the houses of Engku Raja Bilah and Sri Paringgonan. They walked another five miles to Batu Gajah. There, they found Sri Paringgonan, who asked Abu Bakar why he had not stopped in Papan earlier. 'Your uncle Raja Duri is in Papan and Raja Bilah is also in Papan, and all our people are in Papan. So you must return to Papan tomorrow'. This Sri Paringgonan was probably the same as Ja Paringgonan who was later gored to death by a rhinoceros.



"Kuala Kangsar going to  
Blanja straight on to Papan.  
Batu Gajah, boat fare 50  
cents, 15 Malays and  
Chinese."

"Sungai Perak" and its  
tributary "Sungai Kangsar".  
Drawing by Abu Bakar son of Raja  
Pinayongan.

The next day, Abu Bakar headed back to Papan and paid Raja Bilah a courtesy call, before calling on Raja Duri, his father's cousin. Together with Abu Bakar's father, Raja Pinayongan, Raja Duri was one of the Mandailing leaders in Klang. Abu Bakar's father died during the Klang War, but Raja Duri fled and followed Raja Asal to Perak. Raja Duri was surprised to see Abu Bakar as they had not met for 12 years. Abu Bakar put up with his uncle for 10 days. Then, feeling ashamed that he was living off his uncle's generosity, he went out to look for work. He approached Tuan Hampton, an European miner who had just opened the Shanghai Mines at the entrance of Papan town that year.

Abu Bakar was interviewed by a Chinese clerk, who asked whether he could write Romanized script and Jawi (*tulis orang puteh atau tulis Romanis dan tulis Melayu*). Abu Bakar said yes to both. The clerk realized that Abu Bakar was over-qualified to be a coolie, but asked him to be patient and to start out as a coolie first. Abu Bakar worked as a manual labourer for only a day, but could not stand the hard work. The next morning, he made his way to Batu Gajah, intending to return to Sumatra.

However, who should come along at four o'clock that day but Raja Bilah with two companions, Umar and Lincah, and his 7 year-old son Raja Ya'qub. They were heading to Penang, and on their return would stop at Taiping and go back via the Kuala Kangsar road, in order to visit Raja Bilah's friends along the way. Abu Bakar, who addressed Raja Bilah as 'Engku', said he was also going to Penang, to which Raja Bilah replied, 'If so, let's travel together.'

The next morning, they took a boat down Sungai Perak to Teluk Intan. There

they stopped at the house of Ja Bidun, while waiting for a ship to Penang. This could be the same Ja Bidun who was a follower of Raja Asal and got injured in the skirmish at Sungkai in 1876. Ja Bidun was the father of Setia Ali.<sup>4</sup> Ja Bidun's wife was Kamariah, daughter of Badurimau. Two days later, at three o'clock, a ship arrived from Klang, Selangor and at four o'clock all of them boarded the ship. That night they were at sea, and at noon the next day, they arrived in Penang.

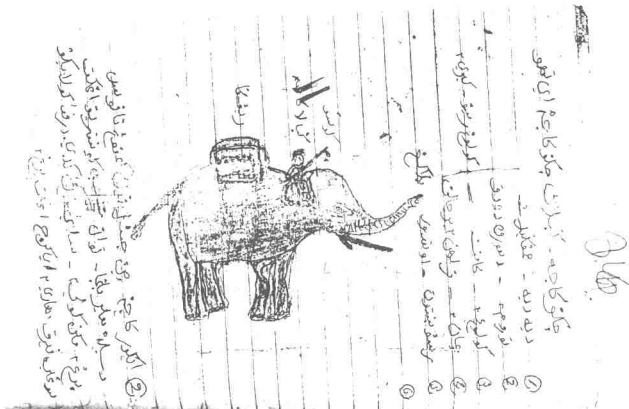
The group took a carriage to the house of Sheikh Jalid, a pilgrim agent at Acheen Street. At the time, there were a number of Mandallings and Rawas who were involved in the pilgrim business in Acheen Street. Abu Bakar had met Sheikh Jalid before in his previous trips to Penang. Sheikh Jalid hailed from the Lubis clan of Sayurmaincat, and was a relation of Raja Bilah. They put up with Sheikh Jalid for ten days.

Next, they proceeded back to Taiping. When the ship was ready to set sail, they boarded at four o'clock and sailed through the night. In the morning, they arrived at the Port Weld and took a carriage to Taiping, stopping over at the house of Ja Lambok, whom Abu Bakar had met on his first trip to Taiping. Ja Lambok was one of Raja Asal's men from the Klang War, who made his way up to Upper Perak in the early 1870s and finally settled down in Taiping and opened a textile shop. There, they drank, ate and slept for about a week. Then Raja Bilah headed back to Papan and Batu Gajah, following the Kuala Kangsar Road.

At first, Abu Bakar intended to stay back in Taiping to look for work, but Raja Bilah suggested that they should return together to Papan, and Abu Bakar should seek employment there instead. The next morning, they took the horse carriage to Kuala Kangsar and stopped at Haji Kassim Rawa's house, as Abu Bakar had done during his previous trip in Kuala Kangsar. The following day, they found a boat and rented a bamboo raft to transport a bull because Raja Bilah wanted to give a feast in fulfilment of his vow (*bayar nazar*). Abu Bakar however did not mention what the vow was about.

They sailed down Perak River. Raja Bilah went ahead by boat to Blanja, while Abu Bakar, Umar, Lincah, Raja Ya'qub and the bull trailed behind in a raft. When Abu Bakar's raft passed the estuary of Sungai Bekor, he saw a group of 'Malays' on the left bank. Approaching them, he discovered that they were all boat crew (*orang kapal*) from Batu Gajah. One of them, his namesake Abu Bakar, turned out to be the in-law of Stia Raja Batu Gajah. Abu Bakar of Batu Gajah informed Abu Bakar the traveller that the Europeans were opening a mine in upper Sungai Bekor, six miles from where they were, and were recruiting many Malay and Chinese coolies. 'This is your chance to make a fortune, if the mine is rich'. However, Abu Bakar the traveller said he was already tired and had to stop for a rest. Besides, he had first to deliver the bull to Papan, as he had promised, and would consult Raja Bilah about joining the miners in Sungai Bekor. He agreed to join them in four days time, if there were no obstacles.

They continued their journey and arrived in Blanja at five o'clock. There, they met up with Raja Bilah and spent the night with an 'orang Perak' who was an



'Two elephants ... carrying things and food supplies of coolies, from Kuala Bekor to Sungai Perak.'

'Elephant language - The elephant trainer understands elephant language

Deh-Deh - to call it  
 Turum-turum - to ask it to sit  
 Kolong-kolong - say 'kolong resuk' turn left  
 Chan-chan - walk slowly  
 Resuk bintun - go backwards, retreat'

The illustration is captioned to show the 'whip', 'elephant trainer' and 'litter'.

Drawing by Abu Bakar son of Raja Pinayongan.

acquaintance of Engku Raja Bilah. The next day, they walked

through the forest, up the hill and down the hill, and sometimes over the plain, And as the Engku wished, the young Raja Ya'qub had to be carried by one of us at all times. So that is how we made our way.

Abu Bakar was in charge of the bull, a task that was 'not too difficult, but quite worrisome.'

When the bull was put in front of us, it kept looking back, but when it was put behind us, it was constantly eyeing our backsides...

They finally arrived in Papan at five o'clock. Then Abu Bakar asked Raja Bilah whether he could leave for Bekor the next day. Raja Bilah suggested that he should stay in Papan, but Abu Bakar replied that for lack of a job, he would be dependent on Raja Bilah and his relations' generosity for food. Eventually Raja Bilah let him go, but said if there was no job in Bekor, he could still come back to Papan.

Abu Bakar then returned to his uncle Raja Duri's house. His uncle asked why Abu Bakar had left his house without a word and why he was going around in circles (*langkah lapan*) until Raja Bilah had to bring him back to Papan.

Two days later, Abu Bakar went to Bekor together with his two companions. He spent the night at a house in Kuala Sungai Bekor, and there he met Raja Mahmud and his wife Chik Puteh (Wan Puteh). From there, Abu Bakar and his two friends rode on one elephant, while Raja Mahmud and wife rode on another. Together, they travelled upriver for six miles traversing the jungle until



'Mr. A. Hale (Hale) became Collector Land Revenue Officer Kuala Lumpur, met 1897 M, Mr. H. M. Lister became Resident in Negeri Sembilan, died in the year 1895.'

Abu Bakar first met Hale and Lister in 1884-5 when Hale was Inspector of Mines in Kinta and Lister was Secretary to Frank Swettenham, Acting British Resident of Perak.

Drawing by Abu Bakar son of Raja Pinayangan.

they arrived at the European mines. They stopped and spent the night at Raja Mahmud's house at Upper Bekor.

The following day, Raja Mahmud took Abu Bakar to the European mines to apply for a job. There, the writer saw many Mandailings (*bangsa sendiri*) going there to look for work, as well as many Perak Malays and Chinese who were already working as coolies in those mines. They bumped into the manager, H.M. Lister, and A. Hale, Inspector of Mines, Kinta. Lister was then private secretary to the Acting Resident of Perak, Frank Swettenham.<sup>5</sup> Abu Bakar interviewed for a coolie's job but was told that he was too fat to do manual work. Asked what he could do, Abu Bakar said he could write Jawi and Romanized script and do book-keeping. He was offered capital to start a provision shop catering to the miners. Abu Bakar could not believe his luck. He stocked his shop with food, drink and opium, the last being the most profitable item.

In 1888, Abu Bakar brought his wife Shamsiah out to Perak. Shamsiah's father, Kali Sutan Maga of the Rangkuti clan of Maga, was a close relation of Raja Bilah's mother, also a Rangkuti. They stayed with Shamsiah's mother, Alang Ra'siah, in Papan. Abu Bakar then worked the mines in Monile, near Lahat and in Ipoh, while his wife, Shamsiah took up dulang washing.

Abu Bakar tried his hand at many occupations, and even learnt coffee-planting from J.C. Pasqual. He finally settled down in Selangor and lived to a ripe old age, compiling his memoirs in the 1930s.



## THE MANDAILING CULTIVATORS

In the early 1890s, the Sumatrans were still migrating into the Kinta Valley in large numbers, but now instead of heading *en masse* towards the tin-mines, they were coming primarily as agricultural settlers. From the beginning of the colonial administration in Perak, the policy was to protect 'land in occupation of natives under Malay tenure' in order to preserve 'the Malay way of life' which was perceived to revolve around the rice-cycle. The colonial government hardly tried to prevent the Sumatran miners, traders and smelters from being edged out by Chinese and European competition: on the other hand, everything was done to persuade the 'Malays' to 'settle down to rice cultivation'.<sup>1</sup>

The Sumatrans were provided with incentives to realize the expectations of the social engineers who saw the Chinese immigrants as a class of traders and miners, the South Indian Hindu immigrants as a class of plantation labourers and the Malays, both native and 'foreign', as a class of agriculturalists. In later years, this policy would be further reinforced by the Malay Reservation Act.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the cherished ideal of Malays as farmers, in 1886 Cecil Wray, then a junior officer, was distressed to note that among Perak Malays even annual cultivation was not always practised, and that

...after several years' cultivation, fields are sometimes, but not necessarily, allowed to lie fallow for several seasons before they are planted up again.<sup>3</sup>

Bush-fallowing was in fact an indigenous practice to allow the land to regain its fertility, in the absence of manure and with minimal irrigation. Concerned with the need to feed the growing population, the government issued orders in the late 1880s and early 1890s in attempts to enforce annual cultivation.<sup>4</sup>

While traditional padi cultivation by the Perak Malays was of a subsistence nature, migrant cultivators planted rice not only for their own needs, but also

to sell to the miners. New districts were opened for cultivation in Larut, Kinta and Selama. The colonial officers welcomed the immigration of Sumatrans, Javanese, Banjarese, Patani and other 'foreign Malays' who were regarded as more industrious cultivators, whether of padi or cash crops, than Perak Malays.<sup>5</sup> The geographer R.D. Hill was tempted to speculate that knowledge of irrigation was introduced by immigrants from Sumatra and elsewhere in the Peninsula but that the Perak Malay was ignorant of this technique.<sup>6</sup>

As late as 1888, panning for tin was still reported as the main occupation of the Malays. Only 3,700 Malays were registered on the agricultural holdings roll, out of a 'Malay' population of 12,000 in 1888.<sup>7</sup> During the Kinta Tin Rush which began in 1889 and continued until 1895, the 'Malay miners' of Kinta turned to agriculture. Many of them were Mandailings or other Sumatrans, and Javanese.

The colonial government induced 'foreign Malays' to settle by providing land rent-free for three years together with loans to support the settlers until their lands were productive. In 1891 alone, some 2,600 'foreign Malay' agricultural settlers were recorded in Perak, but this number still did not meet the colonial government's targets for agricultural colonization.<sup>8</sup> In that year, it was estimated that of 2,743 agricultural settlers in Perak, all except 152 were of 'foreign Malay' origin, a term which included the Malays from neighbouring Kedah.<sup>9</sup> The rice schemes in Krian were mainly worked by Javanese and Banjarese migrants; there were soon enough of the latter that they built their own Banjarese-style mosque in Kampong Tinggi in 1897.<sup>10</sup>

By several accounts, the Mandailings who came to Perak with Raja Asal in the 1870s immediately settled down to intensive rice cultivation. Mandailing rice-growing colonies were established in Slim and Bernam as well as in Pengkalan Kacha (Changkat Piatu), and later in Sungai Raya, Gopeng and Sengat.

Although tin-mining was more profitable, wet rice farming provided food security and engaged both men and women in the rice-cycle activities. More than that, rice-farming was at the core of the Mandailing way of life and culture.<sup>11</sup>

Mandailing settlement patterns need to be understood in relation to its implications for territorial integrity, customary rights and land entitlements. In the Mandailing worldview, a settlement is constituted by land and water (*ganopganop barua martano rura*), and the usage of land and water has to conform to customary law (*adat*) and the sanction of the *Namora-Natoras*.

While individuals had certain usufructuary rights, land could not be transacted freely. In traditional Mandailing society, *bendang* lands were allotted to those who jointly opened a settlement, or who subsequently joined the settlement through marriage or by special permission from the *Namora-Natoras*. However, the rest of the land was collectively-owned *adat* land, to be collectively worked and harvested (*marsialap ari*), with a portion of the harvest going to the Raja.<sup>12</sup>

In Kinta, as in the homeland, the Mandailings settled into a pattern where they devoted their energies beyond rice-planting and harvesting months to cash

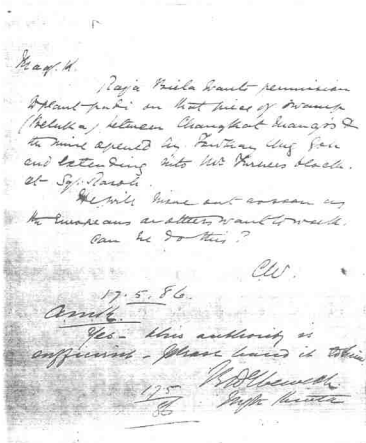
crops and mining. Land use and water resources were allocated in such a way that various farming and mining activities could be carried out side by side.

In Papan, where there was a shortage of cultivable land, the Mandailings were even willing to develop waste land on short-term permits. In 1886, Raja Bilah asked Cecil Wray, then a junior officer, for permission

to plant padi on that piece of secondary forest (Beluka) between Changkat Manggis and the mine opened by Towkay Ang Goh extending into Mr. ....'s block at Sungai Rasoh.<sup>13</sup>

Aware of the importance given to mining activities, Raja Bilah promised to 'move out as soon as the Europeans or others want to work'. The matter was referred to the Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett, who gave his approval. 'Yes, this authority is sufficient.'<sup>14</sup>

Although Raja Bilah was the leader of the Mandailings in Kinta, his own settlement of Mandailings in Papan was insecure due to the lack of land for wet rice farming. Most available land around Papan was being taken up for mining. Efforts to establish permanent cultivation in the vicinity of Papan could easily have been undermined by adjacent mining activities which threatened to divert water sources and disrupt irrigation for padi-farming.<sup>15</sup>



#### Translation

17 May 1886, letter from Cecil Wray to Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, regarding Raja Bilah's request to plant padi, including Hewett's approval.

Magistrate H. Raja Bilah wants permission to plant padi on that piece of swamp (Beluka) between Changkat Manggis and the mine opened by Towkay Ang Goh and extending into Mr. ....'s block at Sg. Rasoh. He will move out as soon as the Europeans or others want to work. Can he do this? C.W.

17.5.86.

... Yes, this authority is sufficient - please hand it to him. R. D. Hewett Mgr. Kinta

17.5.86

Without a substantial rice-farming base, Raja Bilah's followers in Papan were dangerously dependent on tin-mining as their main source of income. For that reason, when Raja Bilah's mines were discontinued in 1890, most of his followers had to leave Papan. The year 1890 also seems to mark the watershed when the majority of Mandailings in Kinta switched from tin-mining to agriculture as their primary occupation. As reported by the Collector and Magistrate of Kinta, J.B.M. Leech,

The land taken up by Sumatra Malays in 1890 and previous years has been cleared and planted with coffee, pepper and fruit trees, and is being well looked after. The soil is good, and the young trees look strong and healthy. In addition to this the Sumatra people have opened up about 100 acres of bendang padi near Copeng, and are taking up more land for this purpose. Altogether these people, who till lately were engaged in trading and washing tin, appear now to have made up their minds to settle in the country for good, are taking up land along all the new roads and are cultivating what they do take up carefully and well. Their numbers are increasing steadily and they are proving altogether most satisfactory colonists.<sup>16</sup>

During his tour of duty in July 1891, Acting Resident of Perak W.H. Treacher also noted,

In Kinta, some Sumatra Malays, who formerly lived by trade and mining, have settled down to rice cultivation.<sup>17</sup>

Treacher later added in a footnote that these 'Sumatra Malays' were the same men who furnished 'native levies' during the Pahang disturbances. They were obviously none other than the Mandailings whose leaders, Raja Bilah and Imam Prang Ja Barumun, Treacher had met during his tour of Kinta.<sup>18</sup>

The relative sizes of the Mandailing settlements in 1892 were indicated by the fact that Imam Prang Ja Barumun could raise 88 fighting men from Gopeng and Sungai Raya in eastern Kinta, whereas Raja Bilah could only raise a levy of 30 men from around Papan and western Kinta. Raja Bilah had planned to recruit another 70 more men further south in Batang Padang and Ulu Bemam, relying on old loyalties among Raja Asal's former followers.

While H.W.C. Leech had been impressed with the Mandailing cultivators in Slim in 1879, Swettenham in 1885 had reported the existence of a four-mile long stretch of villages and rice fields along the Slim River. However, unable to compete with Kinta in terms of tin production or with Krian in terms of padi-planting, Slim simply faded into obscurity.<sup>19</sup> Throughout his life, Raja Bilah kept in touch with the Mandailings in Batang Padang district, some of whom resettled in the towns of Tapah and Chenderiang.

In the course of mobilizing to march to Pahang in January 1892, the Mandailings in Kinta must have realized their strengths as well as their vulnerability as a people. Feeling overwhelmed by the great influx of Chinese miners, the Mandailings now felt the need to expand their numbers and to secure more territory. The possibility should not be discounted that they could have worked something out with J.B.M. Leech, a close friend of Imam Prang Ja Barumun and a strong ally of the Mandailings, who had just been promoted to District Officer of Kinta. District officers were after all responsible for interviewing new settlers and finding them land, dispensing loans and other forms of assistance.

Not only did Leech have great faith in the Mandailings as pioneer settlers, but after the Mandailing performance in the Pahang episode, he could now prove to his superiors that in the event of an uprising, the colonial government would be well served by larger levies of Mandailing fighting men. In 1893, Leech appeared happy to report,

Large numbers of Sumatra immigrants have lately arrived in Kinta under the auspices of Raja Mahmud, Imam Prang Jeberum (sic) and Raja Bilah. They are a most useful addition to the population, as they are the only Malays in Kinta who take any interest in agriculture.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, over the next few years, there were several reports of the three Mandailing leaders Raja Bilah, Imam Prang Jabarumun and Raja Mahmud recruiting fresh Mandailing migrants from Sumatra to settle in Kinta under their auspices.

In April 1894, Leech noted a large Hari Raya gathering of at least 2,000 'foreign Malays' at Gopeng.

They are increasing at a great rate, several hundred families having come from Sumatra during the last year. In the mukims of Kampar, Teja and Sungei Raia, they already outnumber the native Malay population, and before long they will form the majority of the Malay population in Kinta.<sup>21</sup>

Under Imam Prang Ja Barumun's leadership, Gopeng was set to become the main rice-planting area of the Kinta Valley, due to the expansion of bendang land opened up by irrigation works. The landscape was characteristically Mandailing, with the irrigation system supplying water to a network of neighbourhood and household tobat.

Unusually large land holdings were observed in Gopeng, possibly as a result of the way the land had been allocated among the *Namora-Natoras*, each with its own dependents and followers to work the holding collectively. For example, an area of about 335 acres of irrigated bendang comprised only 34 holdings, of which the largest was 26 acres and the smallest was 2 acres, with a mean size of 10.5 acres.<sup>22</sup> Sungai Itek, founded by Ja Barumun, appears to have been the 'mother settlement': there were a number of 'child settlements' around Gopeng, each with its own local chief, and all the Mandailing chiefs around Gopeng answering to the Imam Prang.

Large numbers of Mandailing settlers were also recruited for the development of Batang Padang district, south of Kinta. The District Magistrate of Batang Padang A.L. Ingall reported that in January 1896:

Some 80 Mendeling Malays (sic) came during the month and are taking up land beyond the railway station on the old Teluk Anson bridle-path. They want to open padri land and the penghulu informs me that several more will come if they can get the land they required.<sup>23</sup>

Around the same time, another group of Mandailings were clearing land 'on the Pahang road' in Batang Padang. Ingall first visited the site on 16 April 1896, noting that, as the land had been demarcated and work had started, the Mandailings were 'anxious to bring in water to some part of it in order to make bendangs'. Indeed, the Resident had already approved the request. On 2 July the same year, Ingall went with the District Engineer to inspect the site 'with a view to carrying out an irrigation scheme'.<sup>24</sup> For the new settlers, the first year was the toughest. They had to clear the land, plant the first crops and build their dwellings.

The Mendelings are doing good work; they have a large amount of jungle felled and burnt, the *changkar* to be planted with coffee, etc, and the flat land turned into *bendangs*. I have every hope of getting more of them in shortly.

These people are all working together for the common good, though each man has his own lot demarcated and a certificate will be granted for each lot. They all live in one square house, with rooms all round the outside like a pigeon cote, and the mosque is upstairs, in the centre of the building.<sup>25</sup>

On Ingall's recommendation, the government sank \$3,000 into building an irrigation system to bring in water from Sungai Cheroh for the watering of several hundred acres of bendang. Ingall was optimistic:

The headman of the Mendelings informs me that many more families will come next year, now that water is being brought on the land.<sup>26</sup>

However, Ingall did not remain to see to the scheme's successful implementation for he was transferred soon afterwards. The District Engineer subsequently reported that the irrigation scheme was not being used, but he might not have been entirely fair in blaming the Mandailing leader, Haji Ibrahim, for being only interested in drawing the \$16 per month upkeep money.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1880s and 1890s, the colonial government dispensed loans to 'Malay leaders' for the purpose of building irrigation works. The evidence suggests that the majority of applicants were Sumatran migrants rather than Perak Malays. Some dam works were rather substantial. It was reported that Tok Muda Wahab had spent \$34,000 on a dam at Pinji, collecting tithes on the crops from 40-50 tenants in exchange for water.<sup>28</sup> In comparison, it is doubtful that Mandailing chiefs could have taxed their followers for water, considering the strong customary use-rights to water in Mandailing tradition.

The Perak Government actively promoted the cultivation of cash crops to offset its dependence on tin for the state revenue. Attracted by incentives, the challenge was taken up not only by European planters but also by Sumatran and Javanese immigrants in small-holdings. After giving up on mining, Raja Bilah took up agricultural land and tried his hand at growing coffee and pepper. As a Penghulu, he would have been eligible for land free of assessment and quit rent during his term of office.<sup>29</sup> However, Raja Bilah did not achieve any long-term success with cash-cropping.

At the beginning the price of coffee was good and profit was made, the same with pepper, but finally the crop prices fell and the plantations were closed.<sup>30</sup>

The pepper plant, first introduced by Acehnese or Batak immigrants, had been cultivated in Perak long before the arrival of the British. It was tried out as an European plantation crop in Kuala Kangsar in 1885, and with great hopes for its cultivation, the government offered land on a 999 year-lease, free of premium and with a nominal rent of 10 cents leviable only after three years. However, as European planters were insufficiently interested in this crop, the Perak authorities turned to native cultivators. Despite the incentives, pepper being less profitable than coffee was a losing proposition from the start. It never took off as an export crop and was mainly sold to local markets.<sup>31</sup>

While coffee was previously grown in small quantities, European planters from Ceylon opened large plantations, cultivating the Liberian variety that thrives on the lowlands. Coffee paid no tax in Perak until 1894. As an additional incentive to plant coffee, the government granted up to 10,000 acres of land rent-free for five years stipulating that cultivation should begin no later than

18 months afterwards. The offer was predictably taken up by the enterprising Sumatrans, notably the Mandailings, who became pioneers among the small coffee planters in Perak.

In 1891, Oliver Marks, Superintendent of Government Plantations, reported,

The natives, and the Sumatra Malays now in Perak, have planted several small blocks of land with Liberian coffee and fruit trees... Raja Mahmud, of Batu Gajah, and Imam Prang, of Gopeng, have already large tracts of land under cultivation and are adding to their estates, and have been supplied with seed and plants from the Government nurseries.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, the Mandailings in Batang Padang also took up coffee and pepper.

Immediately opposite the town of Tapah there are over 700 acres of Liberian coffee and pepper, grown by foreign Malays; these gardens are second to none in the State. The only assistance the District Magistrate gave these people was to grow nurseries and sell plants to them at cost price. They paid the rent for their land from the time they took it up.<sup>33</sup>

The colonial administrators no doubt had their own targets to meet, and warmed up to the Mandailings for helping them achieve those targets. Acting Assistant Magistrate W.H. Kelly reported enthusiastically in 1894,

I have given out over 75 acres of land to foreign Malays for coffee planting during this month.<sup>34</sup>

Some Mandailing newcomers to Perak had previous experience in coffee-growing. Coffee had been introduced in Mandailing-Angkola since 1841, through a system of compulsory cultivation or 'cultuurstelsel'.<sup>35</sup> The people of these highland settlements were forced to plant coffee and other cash crops and sell it to the Dutch at fixed prices. The policy, which was bitterly resented by the populace, prevailed from the 1840s to the 1870s and was one of the main reasons for the exodus of the Minang and Mandailing to Malaya.<sup>36</sup> Yet the agricultural training they had under the Dutch was also their secret of success in the Peninsula.

Swettenham remarked in 1893,

it is difficult for agriculture to make much headway with such a rival as mining, across the road as it were, but Sumatran Malays have planted a quantity of Liberian coffee in Kinta...<sup>37</sup>

However, the Mandailings were already adept at managing cash-cropping and tin-mining side by side with intensive rice cultivation. One geographer noted that the sources of income of the immigrants were particularly well-balanced, being derived partly from irrigated rice, from coffee and pepper grown on the hill slopes and from trading in and washing tin.<sup>38</sup>

As mining was found to be profitable on land only a few miles from the inland hills, the government also directed the incoming cultivators away from the tin-rich interior and to coastal districts such as Sitiawan in Lower Perak, near the

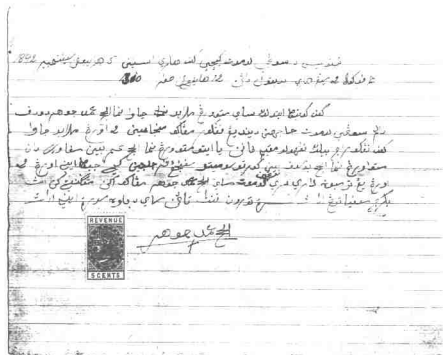
### ↳ Translation

5 September 1892, affidavit in Jawi, from al-Haj Muhammad Joham to Ku Teh, testifying to Raja Bilah that he will guarantee al-Haj Umar bin Safawi and al-Haj Yusuf bin Kurto Suminto for the duration of the contract.

Written in Sungai Lumut Kecik on Monday 5<sup>th</sup> day of September 1892, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, corresponding to the 12<sup>th</sup> day of Safar 1310.

To Ku Teh, that is, I, a Javanese Malay named al-Haj Muhammad Joham, living in Sungai Lumut territory of Dinding, Pangkor, pledge to guarantee 2 Javanese Malays to Tengku Raja Bilah, Penghulu Papan Parish, that is, one person named al-Haj Umar bin Safawi and one person named al-Haj Yusuf bin Kurto Suminto. For the duration of our agreement these 2 persons are guaranteed. The two said persons from Sungai Lumut, I, al-Haj Muhammad Joham, pledge to replace them to work. So as to make it clear, I put down my signature at the bottom of the letter. So it is.

Al-Haj Muhammad Joham



### ↳ Translation

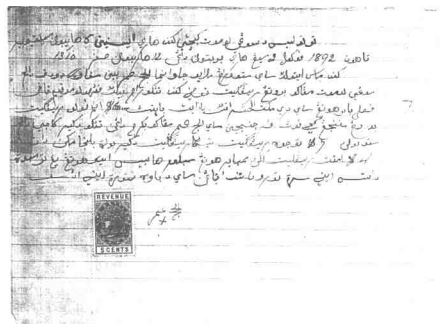
5 September 1892, affidavit in Jawi, from al-Haj Umar bin Safawi to Raja Bilah, pledging to work to pay off his debt to Raja Bilah.

Written in Sungai Lumut Kechil on Monday 5 September year 1892 at 2 pm corresponding with 12th day of Safar 1310.

At that time, I, a Javanese Malay named al-Haj Umar bin Safawi, living at Sungai Lumut undertake a debt of ringgit cash to Tengku Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish. About paying my debt from Makkah (Makkatul Musyarrafah), that is, as much as the sum of \$60 ringgit for the duration of our contract, I, al-Haj Umar, pledge to work for Tengku to be reckoned as salary one month \$7 seven ringgit - three ringgit for food allowance and four ringgit to pay off the debt until the said debt is settled.

Hereby my signature is put down below this letter.

Al-Haj Umar





## Translation

30 October 1896, letter in Jawi, from Haji Hussin to Raja Bilah, reporting on lack of funds to pay workers at Raja Bilah's Sitiawan plantation.

O He Who raises us by degrees

Praise be to Allah Alone that is, from Cucunda Haji Hussin at Sitiawan plantation with distress, which will be conveyed, by the grace of Allah Most High, to the presence of Nenekhanda The Noble Tengku Raja Bilah, Penghulu Papan Parish, wishing you safety and peace.

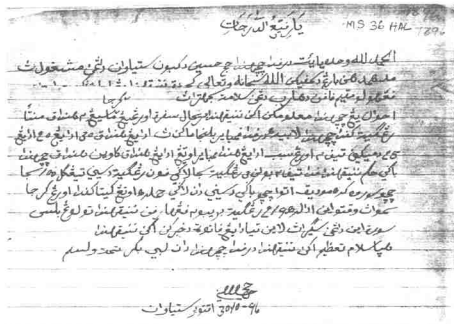
The matter which Cucunda would like to inform Nenekhanda about - as in the respective letters, everyone is asking money from Cucunda, more than their payable food allowance. Some need 30 some need 40 some need 25, each person like that, because some want to pay their debts, some want to get married.

Cucunda wants to convey an instruction from Nenekhanda, for each month only 3 ringgit.

Furthermore, there is only 100 ringgit left here. Should Cucu send them upriver or should Cucu pay them here? And furthermore, at this moment our debts to all our workers amount to 219 ringgit.

Thousands of anticipations, Nenekhanda please reply to this letter as soon as possible. There is no other news to convey to Nenekhanda, only respectful greetings to Nenekhanda from Cucunda and Lebai Bakar. End. Greetings of peace.

30 October (18)96 Sitiawan;



Dindings colony. A Sumatran settlement had been established there since the early 1870s, and they were joined by the Javanese. The permanent settlers from Sumatra were the Batu Bara and Pane, the latter being distant cousins of the Rangkuti clan.<sup>39</sup> The Superintendent of Lower Perak, Noel Denison 'succeeded in planting a settlement of foreign Malays' to work in the plantations in Sitiawan, including Kelantanese who came to plant coffee in 1889.<sup>40</sup>

Like the Rawa and Minangkabau, the Mandailing highlanders preferred the narrow, irrigable valleys of the interior rather than the broad expanses of coastal swamp.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly enough, Raja Bilah had about 50 acres of plantations at Sungai Lumut Kecil in the coastal district of 'Dinding Pangkor', which apparently started out as pepper and coffee plantations.<sup>42</sup> However, instead of Mandailings, he engaged Javanese workers. Many Javanese indentured themselves as coolies to labour in European, Chinese or Sumatran plantations as a means of earning their way to Makkah.

In a document of 1892, one 'Melayu Jawa' named al-Haj Muhammad Joham vouched for two other 'Melayu Jawa' in their undertaking to work for Raja Bilah. Both the plantation workers - al-Haj Umar bin Safawi and al-Haj Yusuf bin Kurtosuminto - already bore the title of Haji.<sup>43</sup> One of the workers, al-Haj Umar bin Safawi, declared that he had borrowed money from Raja Bilah to undertake his Hajj, and that he agreed to have four ringgit out of his monthly wage of seven ringgit deducted to repay his debt.<sup>44</sup> The Javanese were known to slog and scrimp, being willing to 'reduce themselves to absolute penury and be forced to start life again from scratch' just to attain the coveted status of Haji.<sup>45</sup>



In 1895, the coffee market enjoyed a boom, and the year after took a headlong plunge. At first, this simply resulted in cash flow problems. In a letter of October 1896, Raja Bilah's agent in the Sitiawan plantation, Haji Hussin, reported that a balance of scarcely \$3 was left at the end of each month, and the cash in hand was down to \$100, while they still owed workers \$219 for work done. To make matters worse, some workers were asking for advances to get married or to pay off their debts.<sup>46</sup>

Erratic prices drove Raja Bilah and many other planters into financial difficulties. Many large-scale planters hung on to their estates hoping for better times, while smaller-scale planters simply abandoned their investments. Coffee prices took a dip again in 1898, and subsequently it became apparent that Brazil's overproduction of *Arabica* coffee would wipe out any competition from the inferior Liberian coffee produced in the Federated Malay States. The Mandailings in the Sumatran homelands also planted the *Arabica*, and the result is that 'Mandheling Coffee' is still well-known amongst coffee connoisseurs today.

In 1903, the same Haji Hussin, again in dire straits, wrote to Raja Bilah from Tanah Merah. He asked Raja Bilah for 'eighty ringgit or fifty ringgit' to purchase an orchard and to re-settle his parents-in-law and their two children in Sitiawan, pleading that

if Cunda does not move Cunda's in-laws to Setiawan, perhaps in the end Cunda will be greatly disgraced (dapat malu yang besar), but the reasons Cunda will not say in the letter because (there are) too many.<sup>47</sup>

Haji Hussin had run an errand for Raja Bilah on a land matter in Teluk Anson, and was again short of money.

With regard to the money which Cunda brought on that day, (it) was used up paying the debt and wages for digging 3 months, 1 month 10 ringgit, further the fare for going upriver Cunda had to borrow from the Nazir.<sup>48</sup>

Spurred by government incentives and their desire to own land, the Mandailings, as well as other Sumatran and Javanese immigrants, tried out one cash crop after another. Too often they became willing guinea pigs in the government's agricultural experiments. Many of them, like Raja Mahmud of Sengat, started out with coffee and pepper and ended up with rubber. Rubber came onto the Malayan scene at a time when coffee was on its way out. Just as rubber trees began to yield a crop, the price of coffee fell to almost one-third of what it had been, and the depressed coffee market forced planters to interplant their estates with rubber.<sup>49</sup>

The Resident Hugh Low had experimented with the cultivation of coffee, tea, cinchona and other products.<sup>50</sup> His initial experiments with 'Para trees' in Kuala Kangsar as early as 1877, were extended to Taiping, Parit Buntar, Batu Gajah, Kinta and Sitiawan. Tested on waste land, on rich alluvium, on sandy soil and in swamps, the plants were found to thrive under all conditions, proving to be the ideal crop for otherwise uncultivable land.<sup>51</sup> Perak rubber planters relied

on these experimental trees, in Kuala Kangsar and elsewhere, for seeds.<sup>52</sup> The planting of rubber in Perak had been 'confined, within very few exceptions, to small native cultivators' until 1896, but after that commercial rubber estates started to take off.<sup>53</sup>

Raja Bilah invested in rubber after abandoning his interests in coffee. His compatriots, Tok Stia Raja and Raja Mahmud also switched to rubber, with greater success than Raja Bilah.

In 1905, the expansion of the motor car industry entailed a 'rubber boom' and assured the industry a bright future. The Perak Malays were encouraged to start small rubber holdings to benefit from rubber prices. In 1906, 'Raja Abdul Jalil (eventually Sultan) called upon his rakyat to plant rubber at least 50-70 trees each,' and also gave his approval for his subjects to work in European plantations.<sup>54</sup>

Lured by high rubber prices, and encouraged by the royal edict, many young students dropped out of Malay schools to take up rubber-tapping.<sup>55</sup> Over the next three years, the total area planted with rubber increased five-fold and towards 1908, the total acreage of rubber estate was 109,000 hectares. Rubber outstripped all other Malayan exports including tin.<sup>56</sup>

Rubber seeds from the Federated Malay States were introduced into the Dutch East Indies around 1900. There are many accounts of Mandailing migrants returning from the Peninsula, bringing rubber seeds and pioneering rubber cultivation in Upper Mandailing. Rubber has become a staple cash crop in Mandailing to this day, usually grown on the foothills bordering the padi fields.<sup>57</sup> In Maga, the inhabitants can still point to the spot where the first mother trees brought from Perak were planted, producing seedlings for the whole settlement.

## RAJA MAHMUD OF SENGAT

In its ambition to develop the agricultural sector, the colonial government promised free land to cultivators. Raja Mahmud Mandailing, a relation of Raja Bilah and an outstanding Mandailing leader by many accounts, took full advantage of the government offer of land and other incentives to fulfil his own *huta*-making ambitions as a Mandailing Raja.

Also known as Engku Mahmud, Raja Mahmud son of Sutan Maga migrated as a young boy with his father from Maga, Upper Mandailing. Sutan Maga was a Mandailing leader in Pahang and in Selangor. Raja Mahmud was said to have been 'installed' - possibly into the position of a Raja or Mandailing chief - by Raja Asal in Klang. Although much younger than Raja Asal, Raja Mahmud was a distant cousin of the same genealogical ranking as Raja Asal, both being fourth generation descendants of Raja Endah I of the Nasution clan. After the death of Raja Asal, he married Raja Asal's widow Chik Puteh. Though said to be slightly older than Raja Mahmud, Chik Puteh was still an attractive woman of some means.<sup>1</sup>

Raja Mahmud and Chik Puteh were living in Bekor in 1884 when Abu Bakar son of Raja Pinayongan came to stay with them. As a responsible Raja, Raja Mahmud helped Abu Bakar look for a job in the European mines in Bekor. Though located in Kuala Kangsar district, Bekor was closer to Papan, to which it was connected by a steep 'native path', about nine miles through the hills. The Seng-oi living in the Keledang Range collected rattan and came down on this path to sell their rattan in Papan. The rattan was purchased by miners to construct the *palong*.<sup>2</sup>

Bekor was being opened for mining, with new European mines being established there. It is possible that these European mines competed with the smaller mining concerns for land, labour or water resources. Not long after that, Raja

Mahmud moved to Papan. Here he traded in tin and set up furnaces and opened mines in the Merbau district and around the Musang stream.<sup>3</sup>

However, like other Mandailings, faced with increasing competition from Chinese miners on the one hand, and tempted by the government's offer of land for agriculturalists on the other, Raja Mahmud turned to agriculture around 1890. Raja Mahmud's endeavours as an agriculturalist attracted considerable attention from the European administrators. While still based in Papan, he first opened pepper cultivations in nearby Pusing, obtaining young plants at low prices from the government nurseries in Kuala Kangsar.<sup>4</sup>

His efforts were observed by J.B.M. Leech, Collector and Magistrate, Kinta, who reported in November 1890,

Indeed, the natives all over the district, both Malays and Chinese are beginning to take an interest in planting that they have never before shown, the foreign Malays especially. During the month I visited Raja Mahmud's settlement at Pusing, and found that his people have over 200 acres planted with fruit trees of all sorts, besides some nutmegs and a little pepper. All the trees are well advanced and should come into bearing in two years more.<sup>5</sup>

It appears that Raja Mahmud was encouraged to take up more land at Jerneh, between Ipoh and Lahat. Two years later, J.B.M. Leech reported that on 29 November 1892,

... Raja Mahmud of Papan paid a visit. He tells me that the bendangs and pepper gardens which he opened two years ago at Jerneh are doing very well indeed, and that during the year 50 families of Mandeling Malays have arrived from Sumatra and settled with him at Jerneh. He expects 50 more families to arrive shortly.<sup>6</sup>

Despite this optimism, the Mandailing settlement at Jerneh was probably not sustained, for little is heard about it afterward. It is possible that agricultural settlements near tin rich areas such as Jerneh succumbed to the demand for tin-mining land.

Around 1891, Raja Mahmud opened yet another settlement in the valley of Sungai Sengat, a tributary of Sungai Raya, almost midway between Ipoh and Gopeng, but rather off the main road. Leech reported that on 11 June 1893,

... at the request of Raja Mahmud, I visited his new kampong at Singat, near the Sungai Raia. He has already got 15 acres under Liberian coffee and pepper, about 7½ acres of each, and the garden is one of the best kept I have seen in the State, not excepting the European plantations. He has thirty families of Sumatran Malays working with him, and expects a large number more from Sumatra before long. Raja Mahmud is not felling jungle for his coffee, but is irrigating land formerly cleared for ladang and now overgrown withalang grass. As soon as the water has killed thealang he runs the water off and plants coffee and pepper.

The results, so far, appear excellent, as nothing could look better than the young trees do now. Some of the pepper is already in bearing, and the coffee trees, which are eighteen months old also show some crop. Raja



Mahmud and his people have also a deal of bendang land under cultivation, in addition to their pepper gardens. They asked me if the Government would make a bridle-track from the Gopeng-Batu Gajah road to their land, and I told them I would forward their request to the Government.<sup>7</sup>

Again, the Mandailings constructed dams to transform a larger area around Sengat into cultivable land. The next year, on 9 April 1894, J.B.M. Leech went with Raja Mahmud to see the new dam he was making for irrigation purposes across the Sungei Raia, near Kuala Sengat.

It is a good substantial piece of work, and will bring several hundred acres under padi cultivation. Raja Mahmud's people have already a considerable area of padi land irrigated by the Singat, but that stream proving too (sic) small, they are now bringing in the Sungei Raia water.<sup>8</sup>

Swettenham, who visited Sengat in the 1890s, gives a description of it which is reminiscent of the landscape in the Upper Mandailing homeland:

After a walk of six miles along a main road, the three (persons) turned into the jungle, and in a few minutes came out on the edge of the valley of Senggat. The village was hidden from general sight, but infinitely picturesque and attractive to any one who can appreciate Malay scenery. The first view of the place was obtained from a rising ground, overlooking a long, narrow valley, through which wound a small, clear stream. The stream irrigated a fair stretch of rice-land, then newly planted, and brilliant with emerald tones. From the higher end of this field rose a small hill, crowned by a quaintly-constructed plank Mosque, and all the valley was shut in by undulating country, covered with dark-green coffee trees, orchards and jungle. Through the rich foliage of the palms and fruit trees were caught glimpses of brown cottages, thatched with grass or atap, and beyond all rose distant purple hills.<sup>9</sup>

Sengat appears to have been populated mainly by Mandailings recruited by Raja Mahmud from the homeland. Swettenham describes these Mandailing migrants in his book *'The Real Malay'*,

At a place called Senggat, in Perak, there is a small colony of foreign Malays: they are planters, and come from a place called Mandeling, in Sumatra. The settlement is out of the way; the people are seldom brought into contact with Government officers, and they know practically nothing of Government regulations. When the necessity arises, their affairs are managed by a head-man, one Raja Mahmud, a man of their own tribe. Otherwise they live apart, concerned only with the cultivation of their fields and orchards, and they have few dealings with the Malays of the country, by whom they are regarded as foreigners of a somewhat uncivilised type.<sup>10</sup>

When coffee prices proved disappointing, the initial enthusiasm shown by the British officers for Sengat fizzled out. Sengat was left to languish. A story told by Swettenham about the tragic death of 'Ingonen' (Ja Paringgonan), foreshadowed this period of gloom.



Two of Raja Mahmud's men from Sengat were out deer-hunting near Jerneh when they encountered the famous Rhino of Pinjih. Ja Paringgonan was brutally gored to death, while his companion Ja Suman escaped narrowly with his life.

The victim was probably the same person as 'Sri Paringgonan' whom Abu Bakar son of Raja Pinayongan met in Batu Gajah about ten years earlier. Paringgonan is the name of a parish (kuria) in Padang Lawas, the province of North Sumatra in which the dominant clans are Hasibuan, Nasution, Daulae.

The incident was also reported in George Maxwell, *In Malay Forests*, in a chapter entitled 'The Pinjih Rhino':

An old rhinoceros, that made its abode in the Pinjih valley in the Kinta district, was for many years the most famous animal in the native State of Perak.<sup>11</sup>

The rhino was considered a *kramat* with a reputation for being extraordinarily savage, and was known to have killed three men on three separate occasions, each one unprovoked. In this case, the 'two men had been walking quietly along a forest path when, without any warning, the great brute had rushed upon them'. While Maxwell mentions an inquest held 'on the terribly mangled body of a Malay named Japaringongen', Swettenham gives us a fuller story of the exhumation in Sengat.

Ja Paringgonan's body was brought back to Sengat to be buried. When a Malay detective suggested foul-play, an inquest was ordered. An European officer, accompanied by the headman of Sungai Raya (probably Tok Domba) and a Tamil apothecary, travelled to the settlement to investigate.

As Raja Mahmud the Penghulu was away, the three strangers were met by the mosque Imam and the Penghulu's 'agent'. The whole population of the settlement had in the meantime assembled at the mosque. The delegation explained that they had come to exhume the body, but the settlement representatives flatly refused to grant them permission to do so.

Directly the women heard these objections raised by the men, they, and the children, went in a body and sat upon the newly made grave, which was on the hill, only a few feet in front of the Mosque.<sup>12</sup>

Exhumation is abhorrent to Muslims, and the community would not allow it. For a long time, neither side would give in. The officer tried this argument and that, but finally resorted to cheap mockery:

Is it true, he inquired, 'that the Mandelings are ruled by their women'?

Raja Mahmud's agent, without replying to the question, got up and drove the women away.<sup>13</sup>

So the local authorities finally had their way and the corpse was dug up. They saw for themselves the horrible mutilation wrought by the rhinoceros and concluded that 'there was no doubt about the cause of death'.

Death by rhinoceros, exhumation of a corpse, these were bad omens for Sengat. But Raja Mahmud was not one to give up. He was later described as someone who was good with words.<sup>14</sup>

A letter written by Raja Mahmud, dated 23 October 1904, to the Magistrate of Kinta E.J. Brewster, conveys a deep disappointment with the colonial government.<sup>15</sup> Although the government promised free land to cultivators, the Land Office imposed fees for issuing licences. Raja Mahmud had to impress on the District Officer the unreasonableness of the Land Office's request upon the 30 new migrant families.

So in a great uproar, all (my) followers gathered together upon us, complaining about their respective plights, each one of them, poor, migrant, newly arrived, unable to pay the licence.

Meanwhile, Raja Mahmud asked for no less than public notices (*tarap ban*) declaring that the families would be allowed to cultivate the land. This, with the assurance that the land would be theirs at the end of a grace period of, say, two years, during which time they could save up enough money to purchase valid grants. Raja Mahmud argued the case:

If our friend cannot allow it, then do not blame us - we could be chased away and move to another place. But we are all waiting, only we are unable to make orchards and fields in that place. While in fact it was the government who instructed my followers to make orchards and fields in the first place.

In the letter, Raja Mahmud was also following up on 60 acres of land applied for earlier, of which 'more or less 10 acres have been felled, but even that is not secure'. He urged the District Officer to 'help settle (this matter) in accordance with the ruling of the Tuan Resident's letter'.

Due to the government's policy of encouraging permanent cultivators, Raja Mahmud had invited these people to migrate from Mandailing, and of the increasing number of followers gathered in Sengat, 'each and everyone of them would like to make a permanent orchard and field'. How could the government let them down now? 'Whatever the problems, all the said followers bring to us anyway.'

Raja Mahmud's followers turned to him to solve their problems, for a Mandailing Raja is likened to, 'A large fig tree, a place to seek shelter; its large roots, a place to seek refuge; the tall canopy, a cover over one's head' (*ayu ara na godang parlaungan, banir na bolak parkolipan, langit na lampas undung-undung*).<sup>16</sup>

Raja Mahmud confirmed Swettenham's observation that most of the migrants were Mandailings, and that being so, the Penghulu of Sungai Terap Parish did not care much for them, and even looked down on them. Although they had already built a mosque, keeping Fridays prayers, the Penghulu of the parish 'seldom goes there and is not of any help to us whatsoever'.

This mosque had been described by Swettenham as, 'a quaintly constructed plank Mosque' located on a hillock. Discussions were held at 'a small bamboo platform', covered with a lean-to roof, at the front of the mosque.<sup>17</sup>

With things going so badly, it is possible Raja Mahmud depended on his tin income, for in the list of persons qualified to be Magistrate's adjutants published in 1904, 'Raja Mahmud Mandahiling' was listed as a tin merchant of Sengat.<sup>18</sup>

However, his persistence finally paid off. From coffee, the cultivators of Sengat switched to rubber as a cash crop. It was rubber that brought this community out of dire straits and finally into an era of prosperity. Raja Mahmud lived long enough to see his settlement prosper, and from then on he was known as 'Orang Kaya Sengat'.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of teething problems, Raja Mahmud had succeeded in establishing a traditional Mandailing settlement at Sengat, which survived for at least several decades. Raja Mahmud spearheaded the building of the mosque, roads, dams and other infrastructure. It is likely he gave new migrants small advances to last them until the next harvest. He also acted as an intermediary between his followers and the government, applying for whatever benefits the government had to offer and forwarding his followers' complaints and requests. In return, Raja Mahmud's followers would volunteer their manpower in building projects, and work on his lands as part of their obligation to the Raja.

As the settlement consisted predominantly if not purely of Mandailings, it is likely that Raja Mahmud established a traditional governing council, with himself as Raja. For according to Mandailing law, when a *huta* has attained at least 40 families made up of two or three clans, adequate to establish the *markouim sisolkot*, then the *huta* could be considered an autonomous settlement, with its own *Namora-Natoras* and presiding Raja.

In 1928, Raja Ya'qub wrote to his relations in Maga, Mandailing informing them that 'Radja Mohmoed' had passed away in Sengat on 16 February that year after suffering from fever for two weeks.<sup>20</sup>

## RAJA YA'QUB AS A YOUNG MAN

The great promise shown by the young Raja Ya'qub was probably noticed by the officers in Batu Gajah. Not only had he already met Sir Frederick Weld, but

As a boy Raja Haji Mohamed Jacob was known to Sir Hugh Low, who tried unavailingly to persuade his parents to allow him to receive an English education in Singapore.<sup>1</sup>

Raja Bilah, like other Muslim parents at the time, might have believed that sending their children to English schools would turn them into *kafirs* (unbelievers). It was already obvious that many of the Muslim boys who had undergone a western education in the Straits Settlements turned out with a secular outlook on life.

In 1886, Raja Ya'qub, aged 9, was sent to the Malay School in Batu Gajah and was taught by Encik Abdul Rahman bin Fakir Muhammad. After standard three, that is, after three years of reading, writing and simple arithmetic, he left the school and studied the Qur'an with Haji Muhammad Said Talu at the Papan Mosque for two years.<sup>2</sup>

On both sides of the Straits of Malacca, the colonial governments established vernacular education in the Malay medium, often by engaging Minangkabau teachers. The new generation of Mandallings in Kinta went to government vernacular schools or Islamic schools where Malay, not Mandailing, was taught. The best ones were picked to become 'Malay' officers and administrators. In the process, subsequent generations lost their native tongue and distinctive culture, and became 'Malay-ized' and 'Malayanized'.

Times were changing, and Raja Ya'qub could not help but be influenced by the new ethos in British Perak. In 1887, formal addresses were delivered by the

Perak Penghulus and 'ra'iyats' to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Golden Jubilee. The Jubilee was celebrated with something of the same pomp and vigour as the installation of Sultan Yusuf in the same year.<sup>3</sup>

In March 1890, the 13 year old son Raja Ya'qub was sent to Makkah for an Islamic education. He was also the first member of the family to undertake the pilgrimage, returning home three years later on 20 October 1893.<sup>4</sup>



Raja Haji Muhammad  
Ya'qub bin Raja Bilah.

*Photograph displayed in  
Rumah Besar Raja Bilah.*

While Raja Ya'qub was away on Hajj, the railway was being developed to connect Ipoh to Telok Anson, the designated port for Kinta Valley. In 1893, the line from Teluk Anson to Tapah Road, as well as a section of the Kinta Valley Railway from Ipoh to Batu Gajah, was opened for traffic. The last section of the Kinta Valley Railway was completed in 1895, thus connecting Ipoh to Telok Anson. The Ipoh line to Tanjong Rambutan and Chemor was opened in 1896. Through communication from the Perak-Selangor border up to Prai on mainland Penang was finally established in 1903.<sup>5</sup>

Raja Ya'qub noted that on 17 September 1894 a passenger train from Tapah to Teluk Anson was derailed by an elephant. It was the year he got married.<sup>6</sup>

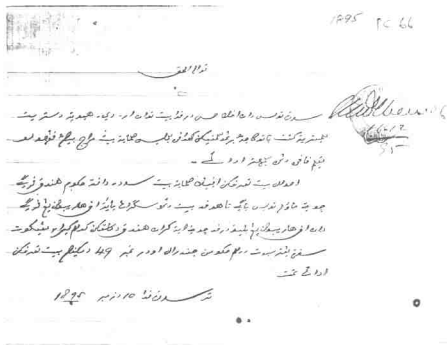
Raja Ya'qub, eldest son of Raja Bilah of the Nasution clan, was matched to Alang Rahimah, the daughter of Tok Stia Raja of the Rangkuti clan. The marriage joined the two families which had struggled together in times of war

and peace. Raja Ya'qub's childhood friend, Haji Abdul Kadir son of Stia Raja, became his brother-in-law.

Raja Ya'qub's wedding would have been organised largely according to Mandailing custom, with the bride wearing the gold head-dress (*kruang mas*) and with adat chiefs in attendance. The couple would be served with glutinous rice and fish (traditionally gold fish), and a buffalo would be slaughtered for the public feast.

A marriage united not only two individuals but two clans, and a divorce would disrupt their close alliance. At the wedding, an adat chief would have advised the young couple that they should go to all extents to preserve this sacred union.

We Mandailings don't want divorce in life, only in death. (Tak mau cheraf hidup, mau cheraf mati saja.)<sup>7</sup>



### Translation

10 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from R. D. Hewett District Magistrate Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking for details of Raja Bilah's leave.

His Word is the Truth.

Sincere and honest letter from Tuan R.D. Hewett District Magistrate Kinta Batu Gajah, which is to be delivered before the audience of our friend, Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish, with peace.

The matter we define, when our friend has received the ruling to go on leave, (our friend) should write to notify us promptly, that is, what is the date of departure and what is the date of return from your leave, because it is desired to enter (the record) into a register according to what is stated in the provision of the General Order number 49. Hereby we define, End.

Written on 10 December 1895.

As Raja Ya'qub was a Raja's son, the occasion of his wedding would have been the time for him to be installed as a Mandailing Raja, just as Raja Bilah would have been installed before he left his home settlement. However, it appears that Raja Ya'qub was never installed as such because his family already considered the practice inappropriate outside the Mandailing homeland.

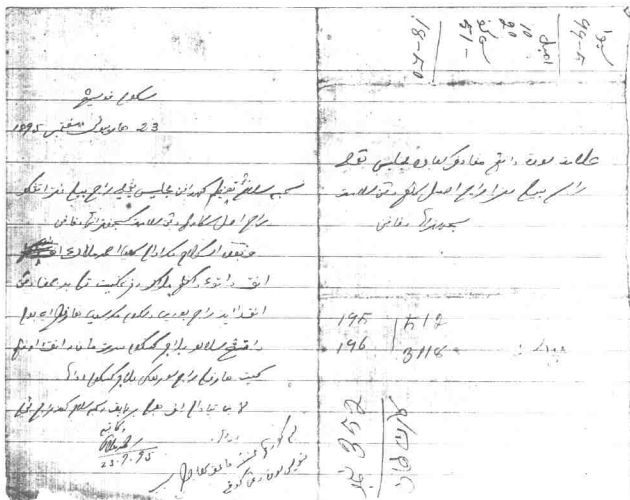
On one occasion, Raja Bilah had announced that while the customary marriage laws of Perak were to be observed, certain Mandailing adat would still be maintained and celebrated. Hence, on occasions such as weddings, the *Namora-Natoras* speeches would deliver lengthy speeches in Mandailing displaying their knowledge and oratory skills.<sup>8</sup>

The Mandailings, like the Acehnese, 'Batak', Minangkabau, Javanese and Banjarese communities of their time, have their own language. The first and second generation of these migrant groups used Malay as a language to communicate with administrators and with other ethnic groups, but within their own communities, they still used their own mother-tongue. Raja Bilah's children spoke Mandailing but not, for the most part, his grandchildren. As Raja Bilah's granddaughter Teh Pusa recalled,

When they wanted to discuss their secrets (*cakap rahsia*), they spoke in Mandailing.<sup>9</sup>

Raja Bilah not only spoke Malay but also learnt how to write competently in Jawi. His son Raja Ya'qub who was educated in Malay and Arabic, went one step further to master both spoken and written Malay to the extent that he would pursue his literary interests in that language and contribute actively to the Malay press.





24 Translation

23 September 1895, letter in Jawi, Ahmad Malik son of Dato<sup>3</sup> Dagang Melaka in Peringgit, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to advise his son Raja Shahabuddin and other children of his community to attend Pusing School regularly.

Pusing School

23<sup>rd</sup> day of September 1895

Reverential greetings (and) respects before the audience of The Noble, Raja Bilah the son (putra) of Tengku Raja Asal and all, with safety (and) peace in Papan.

After wishing you peace, so I Ahmad Malik the son of Dato<sup>3</sup> Dagang Melaka at Peringgit has met with that Anakanda Raja Budin at school. So I hope he can come to school (and) study regularly, likewise any of our children (anak-anak kita). Hopefully, Raja instructs (them to) go study in school. So it is.

Nothing else, (except your) slave wishes many respectful greetings of peace to Raja Bilah.

(signed) Ahmad Malik. More or less asking forgiveness for writing this letter in haste.

Address of letter comes before the audience of The Noble Raja Bilah, son of Raja Asal, with safety (and) peace in Papan.



Raja Ya'qub's language skills would be a distinctive advantage towards his career. He was being groomed to take over from Raja Bilah as Penghulu of Papan. The Penghulus, who were once chosen because they were traditional community leaders, were now expected to handle more and more paper work and to deal with an increasingly bureaucratic administration. In Perak this was overcome by the appointment of krani (clerks) to assist the Penghulus. There were no Penghulu clerks on the 1879 establishment and thirty-four on the 1892 estimates.<sup>12</sup>

On 5 September 1895, Raja Ya'qub started work as a Penghulu's clerk, relieving Raja Bilah of much of the trivial aspects of his job.<sup>13</sup> With Raja Ya'qub 'holding the fort' at Balai Papan, Raja Bilah asked for permission to take leave from his onerous Penghulu duties. He received a reply from the District Magistrate of Kinta R.D. Hewett, dated 10 December 1895, asking for details of Raja Bilah's leave.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps it was no coincidence that on 2 January 1896, Muhammad Nur, Raja Bilah's former clerk and now the government clerk at Batu Gajah wrote to Raja Bilah informing the latter that he was applying for six month's leave to go on Hajj to Makkah. He had probably been asked by his boss the District Magistrate to seek Raja Bilah's approval, possibly as a way to ensure that Raja Bilah would not be going on leave at the same time. He recommended a temporary replacement:

In my estimation, Raja Ya'qub should be able to handle the work in my place, and if you like, I can inform the Tuan Besar (the district officer) of this.<sup>15</sup>

Raja Bilah would have been obliged to approve this request. Moreover, the job would have given his son Raja Ya'qub the opportunity to be trained in the Batu Gajah district office itself.

Meanwhile, Raja Ya'qub's brother Raja Shahabuddin, who was 12 years younger than himself, had started school at the age of nine in 1895. By that time, a school had opened in Pusing, which was closer to Papan than the Malay School in Batu Gajah. Ahmad Malik son of Dato' Dagang Melaka in Peringgit,<sup>16</sup> presumably the head of the Malay School, Pusing, wrote to Raja Bilah in a letter dated 23 September 1895 about Raja Shahabuddin's enrolment and asked him to use his influence to get children of his community (anak orang kita) to enrol in school.<sup>17</sup>

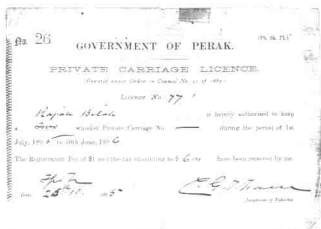
Raja Shahabuddin became a teacher at the Malay School, Batu Gajah, in his early career. He served in a number of positions before becoming Assistant Penghulu of Mukim Blanja in 1925 and subsequently took over from his brother as Penghulu of Mukim Blanja in 1932.<sup>18</sup>

# THE RUMAH BESAR AND SHOPHOUSES IN PAPAN

Raja Idris, who had been groomed and backed by the British to take over the throne of Perak, was proclaimed Sultan in July 1887, and installed in Kuala Kangsar in April 1889. This development bode well for Raja Bilah and the Mandailings, who had regarded Idris as their patron since their entry into Kinta. While the *orang dagang* were still looked upon with suspicion by the native Perak Malays well into the early 20th century, Sultan Idris played a major role in winning the loyalty of the Perak-born 'foreign Malays', making them feel that they were 'his own men'.<sup>1</sup>

The Dato' Panglima Kinta Muhammad Yusuf of Changkat Sega, Ipoh, who was of Sumatran descent, also played an influential part in bringing the Sumatran chiefs into the fold of the established elite. Several letters and handwritten memos between the Dato' Panglima Kinta and Raja Bilah reveal their cordial and close working relationship. When inviting Raja Bilah to a relation's wedding in Kuala Kangsar in 1895, the Dato' Panglima Kinta, being younger than Raja Bilah addressed himself as 'Adinda' and the latter as 'Paduka'.<sup>2</sup> The wedding was a lavish affair, reflecting the growing prosperity of Perak. Frank Swettenham remarked in 1894 that

The wealthiest Malays in the Peninsula are the Perak Malays. It is for them that the richest silks of Terengganu and Batu Bara are woven, it is they who vie with each other in the building of expensive houses and the possession of horse carriages, while many of them own residences in the sacred city of Mecca.<sup>3</sup>



Private Carriage Licence  
issued to Raja Bilah, dated  
25 October 1895.



Approach to Rumah Besar  
from the side lane off Main  
Road, Papan town,  
c.1900-1910.  
Papan Collection.

Like many of the wealthy chiefs in Kinta, Raja Bilah possessed a horse carriage, which was ridden by his syce, Aman.<sup>4</sup> Raja Bilah often rode into Batu Gajah to inspect his orchards and also attend to official business. For some years, Raja Bilah was a visiting Justice to the Batu Gajah Gaol, Kinta.<sup>5</sup> Together with his friend Towkay Kha Ah Ngo (Hew Ah Ang), he was also on the Batu Gajah Sanitary Board. The appointments for the Sanitary Boards were made by the Perak Resident.<sup>6</sup> The same 'Towkay Ah Ngoh' was also recently mentioned as having built 'ghari stables' in Papan.<sup>7</sup> Raja Bilah's friendship with Towkay Ah Ngoh and other leading Chinese miners of Papan was absolutely essential to Raja Bilah's role in administering Papan - for Raja Bilah was now the Penghulu of a predominantly Chinese town.

Once he and his followers had attained some measure of prosperity, Raja Bilah's concern was to ensure the long-term future of the Mandailings in Perak. Although most of the Mandailings had left Papan, Raja Bilah maintained his vision that Papan would be a centre for the Mandailings in Kinta. Raja Bilah reflected on his responsibilities and lived by the Mandailing wisdom,

The past is for our ancestors, the present is ours and the future is for our children.<sup>8</sup>

With Raja Ya'qub as his krani, taking over more and more of his Penghulu duties, Raja Bilah decided to embark on two building projects, a mansion and six shophouses, in the same year.

In 1896, Raja Bilah spent a small fortune consolidating his position in Papan by building the Rumah Besar, a mansion befitting his wealth and stature, where



his family would play out its role as the patron of the community. The Rumah Besar (Great House) was the local equivalent for 'Bagas Godang', the residence of the Mandailing Raja. A well-built house is another analogy for a Mandailing Raja:

A Raja who is noble should be like a solitary building standing erect upon the site, bearing itself upright, anchored by buttressing pillars, its roof dense and close-packed providing protection, its strong and embracing walls closely concealing, its strong floor affording habitation, all the frames firmly fastened together, shaking not even a little bit. (Raja na mora ruang songon bagas sada jong-jong di tano parbagasan, jong-jong paraban ni tiang tungku sinot tungkol-tungkol, sio dibaon tapis ni tarup, simo dibaon pangangkung ni ding-ding, singanan dibaon togu ni pantar, saotik suada mutuk dibaon ridom ni rancar rasuk-rasuk).<sup>9</sup>

The mansion was sited on the hillock right next to Raja Bilah's timber house, overlooking the Papan Mosque. As Penghulu, Raja Bilah enjoyed some privileges. He was entitled to an exemption of land rent, and might even have applied for an outright grant, for his house-site and garden.<sup>10</sup>

The Rumah Besar Raja Bilah was a double-storey house with a tiled roof, the lower floor of brick and the upper floor of chengal timber. The construction was probably mainly undertaken by Chinese craftsmen, while the Mandailings supported through voluntary contributions (*margurgu*).<sup>11</sup> An auspicious day would have been chosen to start building. With supplications, a fistful of soil

Distant view of the Rumah Besar Raja Bilah with the mosque on the extreme right. Papan Town is on the left, and Gunong Hijau is in the background.

Photograph by Raja Ya'qubi, early 20th century.



from the Mandailing homeland would have been scattered at the foundation of the mansion.<sup>12</sup>

From the outside, the Rumah Besar Raja Bilah looks similar to the mansions of the rich Malay aristocracy and the Chinese miners of Kinta, but the interiors differ. On the ground floor is a large hall with octagonal columns and a raised platform (*pangkin*). In Mandailing architecture, the existence of eight-sided columns symbolizes that the building was erected with the support of people from eight directions of the compass. Upstairs were a few guest rooms and another large hall.<sup>13</sup>

The Rumah Besar was functionally more like a *Sopo Godang* (council hall of the *Namora-Natoras*), than a *Bagas Godang* (Raja's residence).<sup>14</sup> According to family members, neither Raja Bilah himself nor Raja Ya'qub or any other family members ever moved into the Rumah Besar. Historically, it was used for weddings, feasts and other receptions. But most of all, it was used as a gathering place for the Mandailings and other Muslims of western Kinta, many of whom would come to Raja Bilah with their problems and proposals, especially after the weekly Friday prayers.

After the Rumah Besar was completed, the original residence of Raja Bilah was thereafter referred to as the 'Rumah Asal' or the 'Original House', whereas the Rumah Besar was sometimes referred to as the 'Rumah Batu'. The family



Opposite page: (Top) The Rumah Besar, c.1900-1910. Papan Collection.

Opposite page: (Bottom) The entrance floor of Rumah Besar, with a carved wooden fanlight above the door and timber security grill, showing the workmanship of Chinese carpenters.

Photograph by Khoo Salma Nasution

This page: (Top) Upstairs hall, leading to three large guest rooms. Originally, the long table and chairs were downstairs, whereas the upstairs hall only had mats for guests to rest.

Photograph by Khoo Salma Nasution



This page: (Bottom) Downstairs hall, with eight-sided columns. At the end of the hall (left) is a platform (pangkin) for conducting religious classes. Under the staircase (right) was Raja Ya'qub's darkroom.

Photograph by Khoo Salma Nasution

continued to stay in the Rumah Asal, reserving the Rumah Besar for ceremonies and guest accommodation.<sup>15</sup>

A fortification was built around the Rumah Besar, consisting of a masonry buttress wall along two sides of the hillock. Next to the gateway with steps leading up to the Rumah Besar, a small room was built into the buttress wall. This was the 'Balai Penghulu', Raja Bilah's 'Ofis' which was always attended by the Penghulu's clerk, where people could come and lodge their complaints, get their contracts witnessed and signed, and inquire about government loans.<sup>16</sup>

The gateway was marked with the date of completion '1896' on the outside and the equivalent Arabic date on the inside. This date coincided with the formation of the Federated Malay States (F.M.S.), centralising the administration of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang, beginning a new era of prosperity for the states under colonial administration.

Twenty years had passed since the Perak War, which marked the point when Raja Bilah and his people settled down in Kinta. The success achieved by Raja Bilah and his fellow Mandailings symbolized the achievements of the Mandailings who had migrated to the Peninsula. Twenty years of relative peace and security had given the Mandailings a chance to recoup their losses in previous wars, to settle vast tracts of land, to raise their families and to carve their economic niche among the other ethnic groups in Perak. By building one of the grandest mansions in Kinta, Raja Bilah no doubt enhanced his own status as one of the pre-eminent Perak chiefs and also raised the standing of the Mandailing community in the eyes of the other peoples, including the European officers and the Papan Chinese.

In 1897, Cecil Wray, Acting District Magistrate of Kinta continued to report glowingly of the town's progress.

The old town of Papan, too, has had a very prosperous year, and is now once again a flourishing mining centre.<sup>17</sup>

In the same year that the Rumah Besar was built, Raja Bilah also invested in six shophouses in Papan, most probably to be rented out to Chinese tenants. Among Raja Bilah's documents which have survived is a detailed contract for the construction of '6 units in Papan town, houses of tiles, chengal posts'. The contract was made between Raja Bilah, Haji Muhammad Satar and Haji Abass,<sup>18</sup> and a Chinese builder named Ah Hong, under the trading company Chop Weng Sun.<sup>19</sup>

Ah Hong's guarantor was one Haji Abdullah Umar. It is possible that Ja Mula alias Haji Abdullah Umar, the Ipoh trader who had strong contacts among the Chinese shopkeepers in Ipoh, had recommended Ah Hong the builder for the job.

The houses were narrow and long, with a loteng (upper floor). Each unit was 15 feet wide, while the length of the house from front to rear was 55 feet. In addition to this was a kitchen house (*rumah dapur*), 35 feet long. As a fire precaution, the distance between the kitchen and the main house was 25 feet. This means that the house lots were at least 105 feet long.

The house had an upper floor and the main chengal posts were 20 feet high, with stone bases and 'Indian stone' footings. The roof tiles were arranged in three overlapping layers. The timber floors boards were tongue and groove. The house was constructed of good chengal timbers, except for the use of heavy meranti logs (unplaned) for purlins and floor joists.

Though not elaborate, they were made to a standard shophouse design. The windows had wooden bars (*jerajak kayu*) and fanlights (*jendela kipas*). The front hall was partitioned from the rest of the main house with a simple Chinese screen with doorways on either side (*dinding tengah dua pintu*). The stairs were modelled after that of Haji Hassan,<sup>20</sup> and the upper floor was railed in with 'pintu pagar'.<sup>21</sup> The kitchen house was 12 feet high. It was fitted with a well, stoves and drains.

The contract was signed on 12 May 1896, for \$2766, to be paid in 4 instalments of \$440, and a final instalment of \$566. The construction had to be completed within four months, failing which, the contractor would incur a penalty of \$5 a day.<sup>22</sup> The actual progress of payment varied from that in the contract, for apart from the initial down payment of \$440, more than 30 small payments were made. Four units were completed and paid for first by 17 September.<sup>23</sup> The contract period had been exceeded, possibly due to some variation in the contract rather than to any delay on the contractor's part.

It is possible that Raja Bilah's shophouses in Papan were among those destroyed in a fire which razed the town in 1899. According to oral tradition the fire almost wiped out all the buildings, as these were mainly timber houses. Following the incident, the Kinta Magistrate Hewett wrote to Raja Bilah,

... concerning the letter which was sent about the houses which were razed in Papan, we already understand the abovesaid. So this we inform about the minor losses, we have to collect all the accounts, can our friend check with each coolie the loss of the value of the house as well as its contents and how many houses had insurance: could our friend make an inventory, and send it to us promptly.<sup>24</sup>

The majority of the inhabitants directly affected by the fire were Chinese, as the main part of Papan town was almost exclusively occupied by the Chinese. The majority of the Sumatran and Javanese tin miners had left Papan and only Raja Bilah's relatives and close followers remained, living in a cluster of houses surrounding the Papan Mosque.

The Mandailing settlement at 'Kota Papan' would have been one of the largest in the Kinta Valley while Raja Bilah's mines were still in operation, but by the time the Rumah Besar was built, the community had already dwindled. This decline continued over the years, and by the 1950s, there were only six houses left - the Rumah Besar, the Rumah Asal, Rumah Raja Hajjah Rabeah, Rumah Raja Kamariah, Rumah Hajjah Raja Aminah, and Rumah Haji Muhammad Salleh Bilal. Of these, all are still standing except Hajjah Rabeah's house and Hajjah Aminah's house.<sup>25</sup>

The transformation of Mandailing cultural identity is reflected in the name change of the Mandailing settlement at Papan. During Raja Bilah's time, it was called 'Kampung Tengku' or 'Kampung Dato'. In more recent times, it was called 'Kampung Melayu'.

The government population census of 1901 enumerated the total inhabitants of Papan as 2,441. Of this, 41 persons were returned as Malays, 165 as Indians, 14 as 'Others' (probably including Europeans and Eurasians) and the overwhelming remainder as Chinese.<sup>26</sup> As there were no categories for Mandailing, Rawa or Minangkabau, the enumerator would have returned Raja Bilah's people as 'Malays'.<sup>27</sup>

Papan was not the only town in Perak to be dominated by new Chinese immigrants. The 1901 government population census showed that the Chinese now







↳ Translation

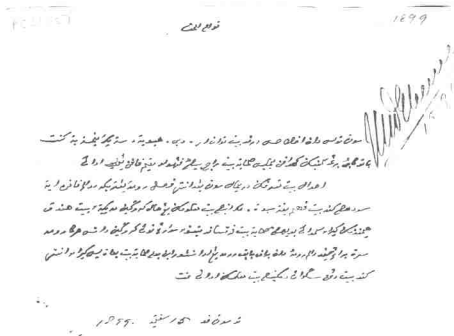
15 September 1899, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, requesting an assessment of the damage caused by a fire in Papan.

His Word Is the Truth.

An honest and sincere letter from Tuan R.D. Hewett District Magistrate Kinta Batu Gajah which is to be conveyed before the audience of our friend, Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan. The Noble.

The matter we define concerning the letter which was sent about the houses which were razed in Papan. we already understand the abovesaid. So this we convey, about the minor losses we have to collect all the accounts, can our friend check with each coolie the loss of the value of the house as well as its contents and how many houses had insurance; could our friend make an inventory and send it to us promptly. Thus we have notified.

End. Written on 15 September 1899.



outnumbered the Malays in both Perak and Selangor. Even the significant increase in 'foreign Malays' was too little to offset the more than dramatic swell of the Chinese population in the tin-mining states.<sup>28</sup>

The 1901 census was the first complete and fairly reliable census of the Federated Malay States. The Perak Resident had published proclamations in English, Malay, Chinese, Tamil and Hindustani advising the population that a census was to be held and assuring them that it had nothing to do with the poll-tax. As Penghulu, Raja Bilah was required between the months of November 1900 until February 1901, to make out preliminary house lists in his district, in cooperation with the district officers and police inspectors. The returns of the census would be checked against this house list. The latter operation was carried out on the night of Friday, 28 February to the wee hours of 1 March 1901. 'The night in question turned out favourably. It was fine and dry with bright moonlight. This materially assisted in the taking of the Census'.<sup>29</sup> The 1901 census was certainly an improvement over the 1891 census.<sup>30</sup>

The ethnic categories were crude, dividing the population into 'Malays and Malaysians', which included peoples from the archipelago and 'Others', who were predominantly Chinese, reinforcing the categories of 'race', that were first used in the 1891 census, instead of 'nationalities'. This process reflected the concepts of race which had emerged in late 19th century British thinking. Influenced by the Darwinistic theory of natural selection, it was thought that mankind could be divided into races which stood at different levels of the evolutionary ladder. More than a century later, this obsolete notion of race is still generally applied in Malaysia.<sup>31</sup>

# LETTERS TO RAJA BILAH

Mandailing community is based on a strong sense of kinship *markoum sisolkot*, reinforced by intermarriages between two or three clans over several generations. Thus members of such a close-knit community understand themselves as:

'people who are together in suffering and in ease, together in sorrow and in joy, allied in life and in death, consensus and concordance together in unison (*in Mandailing, na sahanic sahasonangan, sasilunlutan sasiraaon, mate mangolu, sapartahian, sahata saoloan, satuntum sapartahian*; in Malay, *sesakit sesenang, sedukacita sesukacita, hidup mati dalam mufakat, sela sekata menyatu dalam mufakat*).<sup>1</sup>

The ethos of this community is 'love and companionship' (*olong dohot domu*). Many Mandailings today can still recall the gentle and dignified conduct of the older generation of Mandailings, the value they placed on mutual companionship and the respectful intimacy between family and relations. Some of this ethos is expressed in the letters written to Raja Bilah.

Considered the doyen of the Mandailings in Perak, Raja Bilah commanded great respect and loyalty from his people. Raja Bilah's letters show that the Mandailings from near and far constantly turned to him to solve their problems, for the Mandailing Raja is described as, 'The place to lament the cravings of one's heart, the place to complain of one's sufferings, the place to sigh over one's hardship, the place to quench thirst, the place to satisfy hunger, for the people of his dominion'. (*Pangandungan ni alu, panguduan ni na dangol, parkolosan ni parsaitan, manguas pangidoan aek, male pangidoan payogon ni si tuan na jaji di tano rura banua*).<sup>2</sup>

Raja Bilah received many requests for help in recovering bad debts, for financial assistance and advances for house-building. Virtually all of Raja Bilah's

↳ Translation

4 October 1894, letter in Jawi, from al-Haj Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to persuade Malim Sulaiman, Si Syukur and Si Talip to return money to him through his representative Enci' Abdul Qadir of Kota Sihantar.

Approaching.

With all respects coming to appear beneath Duli The Noble Raja Bilah, who presently, with justice, has become a Raja in the State of Perak. Peace of Allah (be upon you). Amen.

Those who are coming (to see you) are Malim Sulaiman, Si Syukur and Si Talip, three father and sons, who are still owing a debt to me amounting to RP191,30,5 one hundred and ninety one rupiah, thirty delapan (one-eights), half cent. On their admittance on stigit paper so until now they have not paid to me, that is why I request beneath Duli Paduka Raja, if Paduka Raja shows compassion as well as take pity. So (your) slave hopes that Paduka Raja advises them to return my said money to my absolute representative, the bearer of this letter called Enci' Abdul Qadir, a person of Kota Sihantar. Thus that is my request so that Paduka Raja might help to grant. So it is.

Respectful greetings from me, the one who hopes.

Al-Haj Muhammad Saman  
 \* Perhaps 'stugal', old Dutch word for 'tom'.

MS 4 HAL

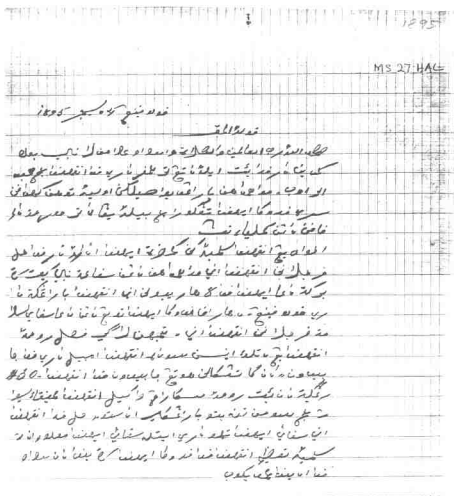
و في سلا مشق اني نتمها و انان در سكر في سدايا جايا لانتياك  
 سارا في في كسا بن عاااa

MS 4 HAL  
 [Hutang Piutang]  
 Raja Surat daripada Haji Muhammad Saman kepada Raja Bilah mengenai tiga orang siberhutang yang belum menjelaskan hutangnya. 4 Oktober, 1894. (1 m.s. manuskrip jawi tulis tangan).

correspondence, whether private or administrative, were in Jawi. Even the correspondence between Raja Bilah and his close relations living in the Mandailing homeland were written in Jawi.

A request to recover a loan came from one al-Haj Muhammad Saman in a letter dated 4 October 1894. He beseeched Raja Bilah to persuade Malim Sulaiman and his two sons, Si Syukur and Si Talip, to pay up their debts to him amounting to RP191,30,5. The money was to be paid to his representative Enci' Abdul Qadir of Kota Sihantar, the bearer of the letter.<sup>3</sup>

In 1895, Haji Abdul Wahab wrote from Penang, to inform Raja Bilah that he was leaving from Penang, probably to go back to Sumatra. He also mentioned that he had taken his house in Teluk Anson back from Ja Bidun and that Ja Bidun still owed him \$30 which could be collected by his agent Haji Suman of



## Translation

4 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdul Wahab to Raja Bilah, informing the latter that he is leaving from Penangi, and that he has taken back his house in Telok Anson from Ja Bidun who still owes him \$30, and his agent Haji Suman is asking for rent.

Penang 4 December 1895

His Word is the Truth.

Praise be to the Lord of all worlds, salutations and greetings to the Prophet, following from that, comes that which is laid out from Anakanda Haji Abdul Wahab, hopefully delivered by God before the presence (of) Sri Paduka Ayahanda Tengku Raja Bilah who is honoured in Papan, with His glory.

Concerning (the matter that) Anakanda respectfully puts forward before the presence of Ayahanda, that is, about the matter of Anakanda's journey. Hopefully with the mediation of our Prophet as well as the blessings of Ayahanda's supplications, on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of this month, Anakanda will leave from Penang. And hopefully, Paduka Ayahanda will help with supplication so that Anakanda's journey is safe.

Furthermore, regarding Anakanda's house in Telok Anson, Anakanda has taken it back from Ja Bidun. And the remainder of Ja Bidun's debt to Anakanada is \$30 ringgit. And for this house, now Anakanda's agent (who) asks for the rent is Haji Suman Tanah Batu. Perhaps anything might happen to Anakanda... so that Ayahanda might know about it, so that Ayahanda is informed. So it is.

Offering Anakanda's respectful greetings to Paduka Ayahanda as well as to Bunda and regards to Adinda Muhammad Ya qub.

Tanah Batu.<sup>4</sup> This is the same Ja Bidun whom Raja Bilah stayed with in Teluk Anson, while waiting for the ship to Penang.

Even the Minangs turned to Raja Bilah for help, as in one case when a Minang lost his investment in a rice shop. This must be one of the earliest documents mentioning a *nasi padang* business, which was most likely catering to the Sumatran community in Batang Padang. In 1896, Si Gina Minang Karabau wrote to Raja Bilah, addressing Raja Bilah as 'Engku' and himself as 'your slave'. During the first day of the fasting month, he had entered into a partnership to start a food stall (*berkongsi berkedai nasi*) in Batang Padang, with another Minang named Haji Usman. On Hari Raya day, Si Gina pulled out because the business was not doing well (*tidak berapa laku*). He asked for the accounting to be done and found that he had incurred a loss of \$25. He threw himself at Raja Bilah's mercy, asking Raja Bilah to come to his aid or else Haji Usman would sue (*saman*) him.<sup>5</sup>

Raja Bilah also helped to build a house in Chemor for a relation - probably for his brother Haji Abdur-Rahman. The letter characterizes a client's typical frustrations with his contractor. On 15 August 1904, Raja Bilah received a letter from Haji Muhammad Yunus Ter'ala of Chemor, saying that if Haji Mat Saman returns from Penang, he should be asked to inspect their house plan. This is



MS 19 HAL 1904

المكرم المذبح فيقولوا اقلوا راجع بلا مقابله فانهم شهدوا ان  
 انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله  
 كما لو انما بالله يرحم من يرحم الله انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله  
 فيسور راجع فيقولوا انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله  
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سبحه السلاطه  
 فيقولوا انما الله يرحم من يرحم الله  
 15-8-04

ميتا ورجالس سورة اين كيت واليكه وديا مرثيت مانه  
 ميتا ورجالس سورة اين كيت واليكه وديا مرثيت مانه  
 ميتا ورجالس سورة اين كيت واليكه وديا مرثيت مانه  
 ميتا ورجالس سورة اين كيت واليكه وديا مرثيت مانه

## Translation

15 August 1904, letter in Jawi. Haji Muhammad Yunus Ter'ala of Chemor to Raja Bilah, asking for Haji Mat Saman to inspect plan of house.

The Ennobled, The Noble Engku Raja Bilah Papan Parish (with) peace.

The matter, Haji Muhammad Yunus Ter'ala with thousands of apologies, it is desired that if Haji Mat Saman returns from Penang he should be asked to inspect our house plan, and promptly, because that Chinese house builder is just making a fuss, to erect columns, he wants more money; he says at least a hundred ringgit because the coolies will walk out if expenses are not paid, and for sure, all the coolies will run away. This only, so that Engku might be better advised.

Paying respectful greetings from Haji Muhammad Yunus Chemor

15-8-04

Please reply to this letter, anyway we are giving the ringgit asked for by the Chinese, otherwise if we don't give... six hundred is already in his hands.

probably the same Haji Muhammad Saman, the retired Batu Gajah clerk who was asked to investigate the mining land in Tapah. Haji Muhammad Yunus Ter'ala added that action has to be taken, and

promptly, because that Chinese house builder is just making a fuss - to erect columns, he wants more money; he says at least a hundred ringgit because the coolies will walk out if expenses are not paid, and for sure, all the coolies will run away.<sup>6</sup>

In a postscript, Haji Muhammad Yunus added that anyway he would give the Chinese the money they asked for, otherwise they might forfeit the six hundred ringgit already paid to them.

In 1903, Haji Abdullah Umar, the son of Sri Andalan Rawa-Rawa of Klang War fame,<sup>7</sup> wrote to 'Tunku Raja Bilah' at 'Kota Papan', addressing Raja Bilah as 'Paduka memanda' (honourable uncle) and himself 'kemanakan anda' (nephew). Although Abdullah Umar was now living in Deli, he still maintained some property in Chandariang in Perak and he requested Raja Bilah to advance some money to a third person named Muhammad Sidik to build a house on his land in Chandariang.<sup>8</sup>



Translation

11 October 1903, letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdullah Umar of Kampong Tembung to Raja Bilah, sending postal remittance and requesting Raja Bilah to oversee the building of a house in Chandariang, Perak.

O (He) Who raises by degrees. Paying respects and asking for forgiveness before the presence of The Ennobled and The Respected Paduka Mamanda husband and wife. The Noble Tungku Raja Bilah who is presently resting in goodness in the state of Perak, residing in the town of Papan.

Safety and good health. Amin. And after what has just been mentioned, so that which is coming from Kemanakanda who is most wretched in this world and the next, named Haji Abdullah Umar bin Raja Andalan Rawa-Rawa, who is presently stopped with grief in the country of Deli, village of Tembung.

Furthermore so Kemanakanda conveys in the presence of Paduka Mamanda about us, husband and wife and children - with the blessed supplication of Mamanda at the time of writing this letter. Praise be to Allah - we are in good health and well-being

Thus without prolonging Kemanakanda's speech, only when the news is brief, that is as to the matter of Kakanda Haji Muhammad Sidik, has he moved to Chandariang and has Haji Muhammad Sidik been given that house or not, if yes, Kemanakanda hopes that Mamanda will inform Kemanakanda in Deli how much has been spent on the house.

Faithfully, Kemanakanda understands, and further Kemanakanda has sent paper money in this letter, a replacement \$20 twenty ringgit contract sum (borong) to be used to build one more (house). So in this letter, sent in three parts, so each part with paper money, \$20 twenty ringgit denomination therein, so the total of three parts of the letters, the paper money amounts to \$60 ringgit

بالتحية والسلام

سبحه محمد حسن اصفى مناديه كيان حرة المكرم المحترم فادوك مما انذا لاي كسري بيذا  
 فتوكلو راجيلا يذا دسكاراج اين براتر حرة لايام تكري قيو الا بر سحايه دكوت فان  
 بسلمه والعا قير امين وحده المذكور كي يايه دتج درهد كسكن انذا لاي قير امين  
 دنيا دان اغيرة نام حاج عبد الله بن راجي انذا لاي مرو ٣٠ يذا دسكاراج اين بر حسيه بره  
 جينا دالام تكري داي كسكن في بعض ارض شرمندان كل ادمه كسكن انذا لاي مرو ملوهمان كحرة  
 فادوك ماشا انذا لاي حال كامل لاي كسري انذر براتر دتن براتر دعا مما انذا لاي قير امين  
 سورة لاي الحمد لله الله دالام حيرة دان عايد داصلا لاي تيا دله كسكن انذا لاي قير امين  
 حيه اصيل فذا قير جزان سجا يايه فصل كسكن حاج محمد يذا دك سورة يذا  
 دجنه ردي انق بلوم بخرن لاي فصل فانه قير ورمه كسكن انذا لاي دجنه لاي رايه  
 سورة كه جدي حاج محمد صديق دريكن ايه رومه انق بلوم جيلو سورة حار فذا كسكن  
 انذا لاي بارك تاهو كذا كسكن انذا لاي رايه جيس بلجا ايه رومه برتبا  
 كسكن فعه دان لاي كسكن انذا لاي كسوم او قير طس دالام سورة اين نوكران 20-  
 دو فوله ريكيت بورنج اكي بقه مند برين بلج ساة لاي ايه كي اسوة يذا كرين  
 اين نكل فونج كي سفت ساة فونج او قير طس نوكران 20- سجود دو فوله ريكيت  
 دالام نكل جيلو سورة يذا نكل فونج اين او قير طس نوكران 20- سجود ان فوله  
 ريكيت بورنج دالام ان تشاف 20- سجود دو فوله ريكيت بورنج حاج محمد صديق فونج  
 يايه سجا كيون دان حركه فادي دان ايسم سفة يذا سبة لاسولة كسكن بلج سستو فونج  
 اين دن بلج امغه فوله ريكيت 20- سجود ايه كسكن انذا لاي سندن بره فونج ان لايه بلجا  
 مند برين رومه كسكن انذا لاي ساة لاي ايه ان تشاف حار فله جو كذا كسكن انذا  
 بر بسوة فقه بلجان مما انذا لاي برين بارايه جوكون بلج مند برين رومه كسكن انذا

Haji Abdullah Umar of Kampong Tembung married the first cousin of Raja Bilah, that is, the daughter of Raja Endah III of Maga, who was a brother of Raja Todung Barani and Raja Asal. Haji Abdullah Umar's family migrated from Maga in Upper Mandailing to Kampong Tembung near Medan, Deli.<sup>9</sup> The son of Haji Abdullah Umar was none other than Isma'il bin Hadji 'Abdoe'llah 'Oemar Effendi. The latter was educated at Leiden, the Netherlands, and married a European wife.<sup>10</sup> He wrote the book *Melawat Ke Melaka 1920 dan 1921* about his travels in the Peninsula.<sup>11</sup> It was not by coincidence that his travels in the Peninsula included a visit to his cousin Haji Raja 'Ya'qub at Papan.

Two letters to Raja Bilah illustrate the extent of the Mandailing network, which stretched to Makkah.

The first letter though undated, is suspected to be from Raja Bilah's period,

در ساءه لای ایزه جیگلسوده عا اندا سورن درین بیک ساءه دهو نو ایزه سیکوفا  
 کارن نیادافنه کنکن اندر شکیست سکا له جوکن مندربیکن ایزه رومد سنیا کنکن اندا  
 دنه غابیلن ایزه رومد کن تنافه مدله اولی سدیگتیه سهولیه جوک کنکن اندا افترکن  
 دقن برکت دما اندا کنکن ایزه درفند ایزه جیگلسوده سبب مکن هارقله کنکن اندا  
 نما اندا بارب ناھو بارافز جلم اولی کنکن اندا بوع مندبر بکن ایزه رومد سنیا  
 کنکن اندا تاھو ما احتیترکن بوع بیلرنا سد بکت سنکو صفون دمکن فوشی  
 معلوم کند نما اندا جوک دان بندا اندا سبب کنکن اندا بلوم حننه دقن کارن فوشی  
 سکتورن بجا فون بلوم دنه دمکن له ادش مکر اوله سورن این سیک فوشی  
 ساءه فر کنکن جیگلسوده ستر افوق کنکن اندا بولید نما اندا نیکن دو فوشی  
 نیک لای دی اویسر فوشس سبب اد دل لهن اولی قر جلس دملیم ادش  
 لابن نیاد اوس حویم سلام دعا قطع کنکن اندا نما اندا دان بندا اندا دان کنکن ادیند  
 حج محمد یعقوب دان شھیدین دان حج حسن دان کسین حویم بسمه والھامید  
 امین امین ۳ ترهولیس کنکن بر اکنوبر ناحن ۱۳۱۶  
 دکنغی بنوعی رحیم و سید محمد

contract sum therein. However, \$20 twenty ringgit contract sum belongs to Haji Muhammad Sidik, that is, the rent of orchard and the price of padi and chicken, as has been mentioned in the explanatory letter of one part, and forty ringgit \$40. Kemanakanda myself is spending to build one more house for Kemanakanda.

However, it is also hoped by Kemanakanda, with thousands of hopes, that Mamanda will add whatever is required to build the other house of Kemanakanda. Once Mamanda has built the other one upriver, although Kemanakanda is unable to get enough ringgit to build the house so that Kemanakanda can derive benefit from the house, but hopefully, little by little, Kemanakanda can endeavour (to repay) with the blessed supplications of Mamanda.

Then from that, if it is ready, therefore Kemanakanda hopes Mamanda will tell how much is the total debt for Kemanakanda to build the house, so that Kemanakanda knows and endeavours to repay little by little.

In spite of this, as Mamanda and Bondaanda have been informed, because Kemanakanda cannot come yet because work is too busy and the budget is not available.

This letter in three parts; one word, if one part arrives to Mamanda, Mamanda can sign (teken) for two parts more at the post office, because in it, there is paper money.

Nothing further than this, except greetings, respectful supplications to Mamanda and Bondaanda and to Adinda Haji Muhammad Ya'qub and Shahbudin and Haji Hussin and Katin, only greetings and good health. Amin. Amin. Written on 11 October, year 1903 at Kampong Tembung.

During the month of Hajj, Haji Daud Saba Dolok,<sup>12</sup> wrote from Makkah, where he was staying in the 'district of Kampong Samiah, the congregation of Sheikh Saman Rawa'. The letter was addressed to Haji Sulaiman and family members of Sayur Matinggi,<sup>13</sup> who were staying in Lahat, Perak. The two persons were probably related by marriage.

Haji Daud, who called himself 'Adinda', wished to inform 'Kakanda', that he and his wife did not yet intend to return from Makkah, and therefore he asked 'Kakanda' to make supplications at each of the five daily prayers that they would meet again on this earth, and if possible, in Makkah.

And there is not a thing whatsoever that Adinda sends, only one white skull cap, together with this letter to Kakanda as a sign of Adinda's intention only...<sup>14</sup>

In Makkah, there were many small settlements or communities formed by the peoples of the Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies. These settlements were mainly made up of pilgrim-brokers and others involved in the pilgrim business, young and old scholars pursuing their religious education in Makkah, and elderly people who wished to spend a few years in Makkah, hoping to die in the Holy Land. It was not uncommon for wealthy persons to create religious endowments (waqf) of land or housing, the main purpose of which was to support or accommodate their family, relatives or compatriots who

## Translation

(no date), letter in Jawi, by Haji Daud Sabadolok in Makkah, Kampong Samiah Jemaah Sheikh Saman Rawa to Haji Sulaiman of Sayurmatinggi, presently staying in Lahat, Perak.

O You Who carry out our needs!

Praise be to Allah alone, and that is coming from Adinda named Haji Daud Sabadolok, staying in the country of Makkatul Musyarrafah, district Kampong Samiah, the congregation of Sheikh Saman Rawa. So it is.

So then whatever is delivered by Allah Praise to the Most High before Kakanda named Haji Sulaiman and members of Sayurmatinggi, who are at this moment of time staying in the State of Perak, district Lahat, so it is too.

Hopefully, Kakanda is in the best of health. Amen. Amen.

Amma ba'du afterwards from that, so Adinda will not prolong the speech, merely to transform it into my face appearing before (Kakanda), extending my hand in greetings, and along with conveying to Kakanda with regard to Adinda, both husband and wife, regarding intentions of the heart, this year (we) have not yet come down. So from that Adinda hopes, Kakanda assists with supplication at all the five (obligatory) prayers. Hopefully, Allah The Most High will let us meet on this earth, especially in the country of Makkah, Allah The Most High willing, so that Kakanda is informed. So it is.

And there is not a thing whatsoever that Adinda sends, only one white skull cap, together with this letter to Kakanda as a sign of Adinda's intention only, nothing else, except supplication filāli wannahar adanya

End... in the country of Makkah, month of pilgrimage, (Hajj) So it is.

had travelled to Makkah.<sup>15</sup> Sutan Puasa himself had endowed a house as waqf in Makkah which was lived in by Abdul Hamid bin Sheikh Abdul Kadir Mandili.<sup>16</sup> It appears that one of the places for Mandailings to stay was Kampong Samiah, possibly a neighbourhood built on land endowed by a Mandailing or Rawa woman. Haji Saba Dolok and his wife stayed with 'Jemaah Sheikh Saman Rawa', in keeping with the tendency of Mandailings and Rawas to cluster together in foreign lands.

The second letter illustrating the Hajj network, also undated, is from Haji Abdul Salim, an agent of Sheikh Umar Batu Bara, who wrote from Singapore.<sup>17</sup> Haji Abdul Salim asked Raja Bilah to send him \$36½, which appears to have been an outstanding balance.

## Translation

(no date), letter in Jawi, Haji Abdul Salim, representative of Sheikh Umar Batu Bara in Singapore, Kampong Tembaga Number 10, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to send money before he leaves for Makkah.

Respectful greetings accompanied by several courtesies at takdzim wabihummatit takrim from your slave named Haji Abdul Salim, agent (of) Sheik Umar Batu Bara, who at this time is in the country of Singapore, district Kampong Tembaga, house number 10, whatever is delivered by God The Forgiver and Compassionate before the powers of Raja Bilah who is presently at this time in the State of Perak, district Batu Gajah, Kampong Papan.

So Engku's slave respectfully presents this letter as a substitute of Engku's slave appearing before Engku's power as well as informing Engku about Engku's slave. So it is.

Alone by Himself. Further from that, so I want to convey with regard to that money amounting to \$36 ½ which at the moment, your slave hopes with the fullest of hopes, about the money - Engku can send to Singapore to the house of Haji Ahmad, number 70, because at this time, I am staying at that house. Your slave hopes (the money will be sent without fail) (jangan tidak?) because (your slave) wants to sail to Makkah, and if noone wants to bring the money, Engku please send the money by post. With safety.

Haji Abdul Salim

MS 33 HAL

كسبه سوره بعد ان يمكن ومن بيز ادب العظمى وحسن التكرم  
 من وجهه صديق راجع عبد السلام والكل شيخ عبد الوهاب  
 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 ما في دوله كل ان اهله تفوق في حقهم كما هو في سنه  
 او في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 حيا الله في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 كما هو في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70

وعدة كمدون في رايه من اهل الله صديق في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 اية او في رايه من اهل الله صديق في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 حيا الله في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 حيا الله في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70  
 حيا الله في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70 في سنه 70

عبد السلام

Although he was writing from Sheikh Umar Batu Bara's house at number 10 Kampong Tembaga, he informed Raja Bilah that he was presently staying at Haji Ahmad's house at number 70 Kampong Tembaga, and the money should be sent there. He ended by saying that he hoped to receive the money before he sailed for Makkah, and

if no one wants to bring the money, Engku please send the money by post.<sup>18</sup>

Haji Abdul Salim was probably a Mandailing working for Sheikh Umar, a pilgrim-broker for the Batu Bara people. The Batu Bara are a people from the east coast of Sumatra. As the pilgrim ships to Jeddah left from Singapore, with a stop in Penang, pilgrim brokers were stationed in these two ports of the Straits Settlements. Pilgrim-brokers were travel agents who organised logistics for the aspiring pilgrims. These arrangements included ticketing, sea passage, lodging, food, correspondence and the forwarding of goods, religious and recreational activities, as well as participation in the rituals of pilgrimage. Pilgrims of the same language, ethnicity and place of origin tended to group themselves under their agents, who were fluent in their own language, familiar with their preferences, and had their own networks which extended from the Dutch Indies to the Holy Lands. In Makkah, these pilgrim agents were



called Sheikh, while in the Peninsula, they were called Sheikh Haji. It was common to hear of Sheikh Haji Mandailing, Sheikh Haji Rawa, Sheikh Haji Minang, Sheikh Haji Jawa and so forth, stationed in Penang and Singapore.

In 1898, 'Si Bugis' or Raja Bugis, younger sister of Raja Bilah, wrote from Sayurmaincat in Upper Mandailing to Raja Bilah, addressing the latter as 'Paduka Kakanda' and sending her greetings to Haji Abdur-Rahman, who was then staying at Papan.<sup>19</sup> Raja Bugis of Maga was married to Raja Junjungan Lubis, from the ruling family of Sayurmaincat. During the Dutch period, he served as the *kepala kuria* of Sayurmaincat in Upper Mandailing; *kepala kuria* being the equivalent of the post of a Penghulu in the Dutch East Indies. They had three sons and a daughter, Sutan Abidin (Muhammad Ludin), Sutan Adil (Muhammad Syam), Sutan Kaliasan (Muhammad Rasi) and Raja Aminah (Siti Janiah or Si Janiah). Her eldest son Sutan Abidin migrated to Perak.

The letter by Raja Bugis conveys her overwhelming joy mixed with sadness. Joy, because she had heard that Raja Bilah had married off her son Muhammad Ludin (Sutan Abidin) to Raja Bilah's daughter Raja Kamariah: 'Our daughter-in-law is none other than Kakanda's own daughter' (anakanda itu tiada anak orang lain hanyalah anak kakanda). Disappointment, because she was not there to partake of the wedding. She asked Raja Bilah to send her son and his wife home to see her in Mandailing, even if only for a month, as she was unable to travel.

Probably the most moving letters concern the marriage between Sutan Puasa's nephew Sutan Mangatas and Raja Bilah's niece Raja Munah. This couple represented an important liaison between the leading Mandailing families of Selangor and Perak respectively, but unfortunately their marriage ended up in divorce.

In an undated letter from Raja Munah's father, Haji Abdur-Rahman, sent from Maga during the month of Shawal, we have the first sign that things are amiss. At first, the young couple Raja Munah and Sutan Mangatas considered living with Haji Abdur-Rahman's family in Maga, but after the Hari Raya celebrations they decided to move to Klang. Haji Abdur-Rahman wrote to his brother Raja Bilah for advice,

because our daughter Maimunah, together with Si Atas, has told Adinda (that they) want to go to the state of Klang. So Adinda replied, (it is up to) the thinking of Anakanda both – Ayahanda does not compel you, nor restrain you. (Ayahanda menyuruh tidak, menahan pun tidak).<sup>20</sup>



YOUNG CHUN  
PHOTOGRAPHERS  
NO. 100 PERAK ST. 10

Raja Junjungan Lubis of Sayurmaincat photographed in his official *kepala kuria* (parish head) uniform. The photograph was taken by Young Chun Photographers of Ipoh on the occasion of his visit to Papan in 1909.

Photograph displayed in the Rumah Besar Raja Bilah. Another copy is kept in the house of Raja Junjungan Lubis in Sayurmaincat.

## Translation

(Shawal, no year), letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdur-Rahman to Raja Bilah, about Haji Abdur-Rahman's daughter Maimunah and her husband Si Atas wanting to go to Klang, mentioning Sutan Puasa.

Praise to God, the Lord of all worlds ..... peace .... Coming from the slave of Allah who is wretched and poor and obtuse, who is even more ignorant, from ... in the matters of the two paths in this world and the next, is the one who puts (his) name Abdur-Rahman, coming to appear before the countenance of The Most Noble Engku Raja Bilah, who is presiding in the state of Papan, so it is.

The matter, there is nothing that Adinda reports .... because our daughter Maimunah, (together) with Si Atas, has told Adinda (that they) want to go to the state of Klang. So Adinda replied, (it is up to) the thinking of Anakanda both - Ayahanda does not compel you, nor restrain you. That was Adinda's reply. Even then, Adinda surrenders to the power of Engku and Sister Nai'mas, whether it is bad or whether it is good, Engku can beforehand inform Sutan Puasa about this matter. Adinda does not know a single thing. This is so that Engku is already informed.

Written in the month of Shawal, Saturday

Haji Abdur-Rahman. Magah. safety (and) peace.

قوله العبد  
MS 28 HAL

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين وصلواته وسلامه دائماً وبفضلها  
للأمة خير من غيره فاعلموا بالبلد فيغ ترويه ضافية ذر ذر في سائر بلاد  
دولكن ونفادان في خلافة اياه فيغ منارنا نفا حوجيدوا حجات داتغ معاذة  
كبل حضرتنا فيغ هاملوا الهكوا حجابيليه فيقتله اددو فير سله اولم فكتره  
علقن اذرت لفلوت تيرولم اذلا اذلا فخر كن هكوي لم كرات اضلك وحيون  
ذغف كاتسي حكي تهر فلاد نيل صلا في رجلين كئلير مع كلالج حديه ادنيلا  
جوابه فكلرت انغفلا بر ذوا ايهدا ما يوسه تيلاي ذاهن فون تيلاي  
ايتلير جواب ادنيلا ايت فون ايتلير ادنيلا فون فون كبل بوكسي  
اهلكوا ذغف كئلير تيلسي اتون فون بكر فون فون بيا اكلو فيغ ترويه  
يو فلاس تين فوسلا كن حله اذنيلا تيلاي سوا فون فيغ تهر اذرت  
ايتلير سوليا اكلو ترويه معلوم اذرت

ترتليسي نلا فير حله بر بولن  
سواك حله حجهتا  
حوجيدوا حجات  
الامة  
جهار

He asked his elder brother Raja Bilah to inform Sutan Puasa about the couple's plans. The Mandailings generally cherished their daughters very much, and it must have pained Haji Abdur-Rahman to let Raja Maimunah go. In order not to be too far away from his daughter, Haji Abdur-Rahman moved from Maga together with his family and settled down permanently in Perak in 1886.

Sutan Mangatas became known as Haji Jaafar Sutan after performing his Hajj.<sup>21</sup> However, upon his return, he found that Raja Maimunah had decided to leave him. Sutan Puasa was deeply fond of Maimunah and did whatever he could to reconcile the couple.

In 1895, Sutan Puasa turned to Raja Bilah for help.<sup>22</sup> Now an elderly man possibly in his eighties, Sutan Puasa was staying at the Batu Road area in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>23</sup> Sutan Puasa referred to himself as 'Nenekanda', and called Raja Bilah 'Cucunda'. He grieved to Raja Bilah that 'Anakanda Cucunda Maimunah cannot agree to reconcile with Si Atas' (tiadalah setuju maufakatnya) and pleaded with Raja Bilah to bring the husband and wife back together (perbaiki kedua laki isteri). In his letter, Sutan Puasa reveals his anguish to Raja Bilah, 'And if the wife of Si Atas wants to come to Kuala Lumpur, if (she) does not want to (stay in) the same house with Nenekanda, let Nenekanda

1895

18

4

B

08

هو بولت مملوكة ابتره رغب نينفند  
 فظا لثانف الحطاه ادا كوالا لشم ورتك جالك بانف قف ميوز صنا  
 كرم وده صه باروقه مملوكة اكلوت ناله نندون سلالن مال جوك كوالا  
 انتو كوفه جالسه چينف اللم بولت جانا فظا مملوكة ادا كوالا  
 فيوق بايرن فافه قفه ميوز سلالن كوفه جلاله  
 اعدا كوالا نينفند برصدو كوفه چينف ادا كوالا  
 چينف جعدن ايت نيا لال نندو مملوكة قفه سسيه سسه ادا  
 اينت جيلو بولت نيمه سولوا نتر ميوز صه نينفنا كوفه جلاله  
 بيرت چينف نيا لال كوفه ادا كوالا لشم ورتك جانا فظا مملوكة  
 حارو كوفه چينف ادا كوالا مملوكة بايرن ستره نونفنا صه نينفند  
 كوفه چينف ادا  
 ادا جيلو لال ورتك سسيه ادا صندف انا كوالا لشم ورتك جانا  
 نيا صندف كوفه نونفنا نينفنا بيرت نينفنا بايرن ساك  
 وده لالنه ادا نونفنا نونفنا نينفنا ادا كوالا لشم ورتك  
 نونفنا نونفنا ادا كوالا لشم ورتك جانا فظا مملوكة  
 جوك كوفه چينف ادا كوالا لشم ورتك جانا فظا مملوكة  
 ادا كوالا لشم ورتك جانا فظا مملوكة

نونفنا كوفه جانا فظا مملوكة - 1895

### Translation

13 May 1895, letter in Jawi, from Sutan Puasa of Kuala Lumpur to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to reconcile Raja Bilah's niece Raja Maimunah with her husband Sutan Mangatas.

#### Raja

That this letter coming from Nenekanda Sutan Puasa who is at this time in Kuala Lumpur, district of Batu Road, with considerable wretchedness. So hopefully, that which will be delivered by the Lord of the worlds, also in the event (coming) before the audience of Cucunda Raja Bilah who is at this time in Perak town (bandar Perak), district of Papan, with considerable safety and peace.

The matter, so Nenekanda conveys to Cucunda, that is, Anakanda Cucunda Maimunah cannot agree to reconcile with Si Atas. And so if possible, to whatever extent, Nenekanda's request to Cucunda - let Cucunda reconcile the two husband and wife. Nenekanda hopes, that the thousands of hopes placed upon Cucunda will be fulfilled, as in Nenekanda's request to Cucunda.

And if the wife of Si Atas wants to come to Kuala Lumpur, if (she) does not want to (stay in) the same house with Nenekanda, let Nenekanda provide another house. And whatever she fancies, Nenekanda will go along. And further, Nenekanda misses Maimunah deeply, and therefore, Nenekanda also hopes to Cucunda, that Maimunah will come and meet Nenekanda in Kuala Lumpur. Thus it is so.

Written on 13 May 1895

provide another house and whatever she fancies. Nenekanda will go along. And further, Nenekanda misses Maimunah deeply' (dan apa2 sukanya pun Nenekanda ikut dan lagi Nenekanda teramatlah rindunya kepada Maimunah).

Although it was Maimunah who left Sutan Mangatas, Sutan Puasa did not seem to blame her, but simply wanted her to return to Kuala Lumpur. In spite of his persuasions, the marriage ended in divorce, and this must have broken Sutan Puasa's heart. Divorce was abhorrent to the Mandailings of that generation.

According to the second wife's descendants, while Sutan Mangatas was on Hajj, Raja Maimunah had grown close to her religious teacher, whom she eventually married.<sup>21</sup> Sutan Mangatas also remarried, this time to Bedah binti Hussain, and had many children by his second wife.

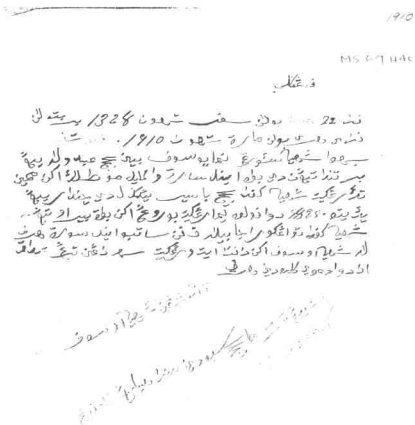


Translation

5 March 1910, letter in Jawi, from Yusuf bin Haji Abdullah to Raja Bilah, recording payment of \$25 ringgit to Raja Bilah, sent through Haji Saidin Mandahiling and Haji Bashir who lives at Chandariang.

On 22 Safar year of 1325, corresponding to the 5th day of March year 1910. That I one named Yusuf bin Haji Abdullah whose signature appears below, and being the absolute representative, will send my ringgit to Haji Basir who lives at Chandariang, that is, \$25 ringgit contract to repay my debt to Tuangku Raja Bilah, Papan. By making this letter, I Yusuf hope that the ringgit will be received, clear and valid, with no claims and allegations afterwards.

The signature of I Yusuf.  
And the one who receives, Haji Saidin Mandahiling, Kampong Gedong, Baringin.



Sutan Mangatas and Raja Maimunah had three children together, named Adam, Abdül Wahid and Talib. Although the parents parted ways, Abdül Wahid the son of Raja Mangatas and Raja Maimunah, eventually married his first cousin Umi Kalsom, the daughter of Ja Mula and Raja Hafifah (Raja Maimunah's sister).

One of the last letters received by Raja Bilah before he died, was a remittance note from Yusuf bin Haji Abdullah. The amount of \$25 was sent in repayment of Yusuf's debt to 'Tuangku Raja Bilah, Papan'. Probably writing from Sumatra, Yusuf conveyed the money through his representative Haji Saidin Mandahiling of Kampong Gedong, Baringin, who was in turn expected to forward the payment to Haji Basir who lived at Chandariang.<sup>25</sup>

# THE PENGHULU'S COURT

One of Raja Bilah's most important functions as Penghulu was to run the Penghulu's Court. In 1890, the Courts of Penghulus were listed by the Perak Council as one of seven classes of Civil and Criminal Courts. The Penghulus were deemed to have such powers in criminal cases, as were contained in their letters of authorization (*kuasas*). In addition, they also had the power to hear, as civil cases.

All suits brought by Malays and other Asiatics, where the debt, damage, demand, or matter in dispute shall not exceed twenty-five dollars.<sup>1</sup>

Writs of summons were issued in the name of the 'Government of Perak', by Raja Bilah as Penghulu of Papan Court and countersigned by 'H.M. Yacob' as the Penghulu's clerk. In one instance, one Amirullah Khan charged one Ya Fan working at the gambling farm (*pajak judi*) in Gopeng, for having received \$20.00 as the remainder of a cash debt. Ya Fan was given one week's notice to appear at the court of Papan on 23 January 1899 at 8 o'clock in the morning to answer to the charge. A duplicate copy of the summons was to be dated and returned, with the hand print (*tapak tangan*) of the accused and his clerk, to the Penghulu's Court.<sup>2</sup>

Defendants who were dissatisfied with the judgements of the Penghulus' courts could appeal to the district court of Batu Gajah. In 1906, Raja Bilah received a letter from the Magistrate of Batu Gajah, stating that by order of the Perak Sultan, the appellants have to pay a fee of \$5 directly to the court.<sup>3</sup>

In 1898, Raja Bilah passed judgement against an alleged debtor, but this 'Shetir Khan' appealed to the court in Batu Gajah, saying that he 'never once admitted to the debt and cannot evade the judgement passed' by Raja Bilah.<sup>4</sup> The case was investigated by the Court Office of Batu Gajah. Raja Mansur, District

MS 6 HAL

Government of Perak

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Translation

16 January 1899, summons in Jawi, issued by Raja Bilah, Penghulu of Papan Court, to be served upon Ya Fan at the gambling farm (pajak judi) of Gopeng.

GOVERNMENT OF PERAK

This copy to be returned to the Court of Penghulu Papan

Jot down the date when the summons arrives

This claim or monetary summons

Place of trial in the Court of the Penghulu, Papan Parish, the State of Perak, Kinta Territory, case number 4/99.

By the Government of the State of Perak Darul Ridzuan to Ya Fan at the gambling farm in Gopeng. That this letter orders you to appear and present yourself before the audience of the Penghulu, Papan Parish, the place of this trial, upon the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of January, Monday, at 8 o'clock in the morning, year 1899. So then and there you will answer to a complaint and allegation which has been lodged by Amirullah Khan upon you for receiving the money amounting to \$20.00 being remainder of a cash debt. So you are required to come, without fail.

Perak upon the 16<sup>th</sup> day of January year 1899.

Hand print of the man to be put on trial.

Hand print of the clerk of the man to be put on trial.

(signed in Jawi) Raja Bilah 16-1-98

(signed in Rumi) H. M. Yacob



### Translation

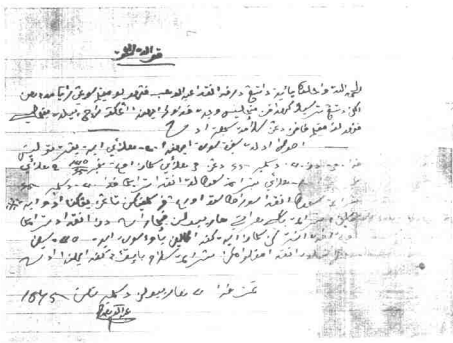
4 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from Abdul Wahab Penghulu of Sungai Raya parish, to Raja Bilah, saying that he has carried out Raja Bilah's request to serve two monetary summons to constituents of Sungai Raya.

His Word is the Truth.

Praise be to Allah Alone, that which is coming from Anakanda Abdul Wahab Penghulu Sungai Raya parish, hopefully will appear before the audience and countenance of Paduka Ayahanda Engku Raja Bilah the Noble, Penghulu Papan Parish with safety. So it is.

The matter, as in Ayahanda's letter of two pages that was written on 3 and 4 December 95, with 3 pages of monetary summons, number 140/95 2 pages, number 143/95 1 large page, that Anakanda has received on 4 December 95. At the same time Anakanda has instructed a person to deliver by hand to those two concerned (marked 'X'), by delivering on that day the date of trial. And Anakanda is to receive money by delivering the summons to you all, the delivery of the letter (costs) 40 sen. Hereby Anakanda conveys, and many regards to Ayahanda. So it is.

End on 4<sup>th</sup> day of December year 1895.



Magistrate of Kinta, requested Raja Bilah to send the letters of debt up to Batu Gajah for judicial review.<sup>5</sup>

Penghulus were authorized to charge fees, according to an established scale, for court related services. By 1891, a notification empowered Penghulus and Qadis to charge twenty cents for every summons, postponement, service and judgement ticket, and ten cents for every subpoena. The Penghulu's commission on collections was 2 per cent. The historian Sadka commented,

The fees were a fraction of those prevailing in the ordinary courts, but they must still have made litigation in the villages unnecessarily complicated and expensive.<sup>6</sup>

Whenever offences were committed in one district by persons from another district, Penghulus had to ask the assistance of their fellow Penghulus to serve the summons. In 1895, Abdul Wahab, Penghulu of Sungai Raya, informed Raja Bilah that he had carried out the latter's request to serve summons upon two persons in his parish, and was therefore claiming the 40 cents which he had already paid to the process-server.<sup>7</sup> Abdul Wahab, who had succeeded his father Tok Domba as Penghulu of Sungai Raya, had many Mandailings living in his parish.

In 1901, Raja Bilah wrote to the Magistrate of Taiping requesting him to serve a summons upon Bod Singh in Taiping, mentioning that the fee for the process-server could be claimed from Arwan, the messenger.<sup>8</sup> Taiping had a substantial Sikh population who were associated with the Malay States Guides based in that town.

In 1905, Raja Bilah was requested by the Penghulu of Kampong Buaya, near Padang Rengas, to serve a summons to someone living in Papan Parish.<sup>9</sup>

1901

قرارات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 بعد ان علمت ان صاحب البيت المذكور  
 قد ادى الى ان يترك البيت المذكور  
 الى احد من اهل البيت المذكور  
 فارجو ان ياتيكم من احد من اهل البيت المذكور  
 في اليوم السابع من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1321  
 في اداء ما عليه من اقسام البيت المذكور  
 وارجو ان ياتيكم من احد من اهل البيت المذكور  
 في اليوم السابع من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1321  
 في اداء ما عليه من اقسام البيت المذكور  
 وارجو ان ياتيكم من احد من اهل البيت المذكور  
 في اليوم السابع من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1321  
 في اداء ما عليه من اقسام البيت المذكور

مصدق عليه  
 في 7 ربيع الثاني سنة 1321

### Translation

7 December 1901, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bilah to the Taiping Magistrate, requesting the Taiping Magistrate to serve a summons to Bod Singh in Taiping.

18/17

Word of Truth

Honest and sincere letter, and a clean heart from us. Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Kinta, hopefully delivered by the God of all worlds before the audience of our friend, Tuan Magistrate Taiping Town with safety.

The matter we convey is that together with this letter we send a piece of monetary summons case number 46/07 above. The one who has been meted with the order of suit is named Bod Singh in Taiping. We hope our friend can instruct the process-server (orang harang saman) to serve it, and the delivery fee can be received by the bearer of this letter (Arwan). So it is. And we hope to receive a reply from our friend, whatever the matter. Accompanied with respects and many salutations.

Written at the office Penghulu Papan On 7 day of December 1901

(Signed in Jawi) Raja Bilah 7-12- (1)901

M: 4644C

قرارات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 بعد ان علمت ان صاحب البيت المذكور  
 قد ادى الى ان يترك البيت المذكور  
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 في اداء ما عليه من اقسام البيت المذكور

مصدق عليه  
 في 7 ربيع الثاني سنة 1321

### Translation

1 October 1905, letter in Jawi, from the Penghulu of Kampong Buaya, near Padang Rengas, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to serve a summons to someone living in Papan Parish.

His Word is the Truth.

Before the presence of To' Penghulu who is governing Papan Parish, The Noble, with safety.

Attached herewith is a monetary summons No. 98/05 from Kampong Buaya Parish. So according to the plaintiff, the bearer of this letter, the house of the defendant is located in the territory of Papan. So the assistance of the Penghulu (is required) to deliver (the summons). And we hope to receive a response, whatever the matter.

Written at Padang Rengas on 1 October 05

Penghulu Kampong Buaya\*

\* possibly Raja Ngah Abu Bakar; see kapit list, 1904.

Translation

15 December 1896, letter in Jawi. From Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah 'never again to issue a financial guarantee' to surrender payments for summons and fees collected to the treasury and to issue receipts.

His Word is The Truth. Honest sincere letter from Tuan District Magistrate Kinta Batu Gajah which is to be conveyed before the audience of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish The Noble.

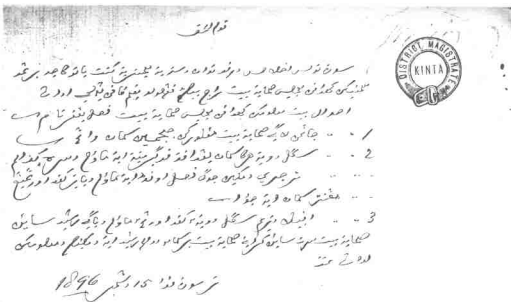
The matter we convey before the audience of our friend, the first matter,

1. Our friend should never again issue a summons for a financial guarantee.
2. All the money for the payment of summons which is held by the government must be surrendered into the treasury,

- likewise with the fees, they should be given to the process-servers.
3. When receiving any moneys, receipts should be issued with the signature of our friend and our friend's clerk

together on the receipt. It is hereby notified. End.

Written on 15 December 1896.



Translation

4 January 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah never to put on trial government officers, Europeans and Eurasians.

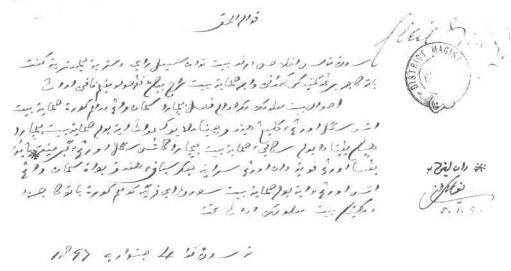
His Word is The Truth. Honest sincere letter from us Tuan Cecil Wray District Magistrate Kinta Batu Gajah which is to be conveyed before the countenance of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish. So it is.

The matter we convey, concerning the trials for summons in our friend's court upon all peoples Keling Hindu, Chinese, Malay, (orang2 Keling Hindu Cina Melayu), all of them, our friend can hear put on trail, excepting - those our friend can never

ever put on trial - all the government people, that is, the Whites and Eurasians (bangsa Orang Putih dan Orang Serani). If anyone wants to lodge a monetary summons against these people, our

friend can ask him to go to the Batu Gajah court. Thus we have notified. End.

Written on 4 January 1897.



١٨٩٩

١٨٩٩ ٢٤ افرته

خبر سبلا مئاو فانا كندا انكورا بح سبلا خفهدل منير فانا فو بليلت ديون  
 بديا امان سبلا تراش  
 ا صلا اولدنا امام نرا في جبر مورا استوبه ففولور دونه في قه قه ابر معلوم  
 اولد برسما ١٢٠٢٠٢ ههلي سماه وان ساندكيسه نمبر ١٣١/٩٩ راشه  
 ستر في هيندو نام كوا والو دان كوي ساندكيسه نمبر ١٣٢/٩٩ راشه  
 هيندو جومعا نام شعور سبلا دوا اور في اين قه قه دوا رايند  
 منير فانا ف - سكه دا فله ا دننا هولور كندا سوروه اور في كندا  
 تدولور في سبلا فدا فم سبلا فنام ينتر سبلا ستر سوروه ا كورا  
 رايخ جواب بيارا دتمه ا دوا نام دور سبلا شايخ قتمه دوا كندا  
 محو فنيخ قتمه اولدنا بوما بيارا نمبر ٢٢٧ افر ميو ٩٩ ههري عيسه رتمه  
 ندمي ٩ نكاهه دان ا هدي هيندو ريشا واسوره اين دوليه قه قه قتمه  
 هيندو كدوا تيا دن بلا سورده سني عا فله نوك اولدنا دوليه كندا دولور  
 كوريم باشه جوا من ماركه حال اينكوره معلومك دنن سلام فد نظيم دارا

گوريسه X ايام نمبر في جبر مورا  
 استوبه ففولور كوريسه

Translation

24 April 1899, letter in Jawi, from Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng Imam Prang Ja Barumun to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to deliver summons to two Hindus living in Papan.

On 24 April 1899 Cordially, before Paduka Kakanda Engku Raja Bilah Penghulu of Papan Parish. The Noble with considerable peace and harmony.

The matter is. Adinda Imam Prang Ja Barumun, Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng the wretched conveys with these two sheets of monetary summons, one case, No 131/99 upon a Hindu named Kohwalan Wala, and another case, number 132/99 also upon a Hindu named Supriana. Both these people live in the district of Papan Parish. So Adinda hopes that Kakanda may instruct Kakanda's people, please deliver into the hands of each of those named and instruct the two to come (and) answer charges of complainant Doraisamy Tandil in the Gopeng Court, at the place Adinda opens trial on 27 April (18)99, on Thursday, time 9 am. And the Hindu who brings this letter can show the place of the two Hindus, and when it arrives, Adinda hopes Kakanda will send a reply on this matter. It is hereby notified with respectful greetings. Adanya.

(Signed) X Imam Prang Ja Barumun  
 Assistant Penghulu Gopeng

In December 1896, the Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray issued a directive to Raja Bilah that he should never again issue a summons for a financial guarantee, and that he should surrender all payments of summons into the Treasury and pay out the process-servers' fees. The directive also specified that receipts should be issued with two signatures, that of Raja Bilah and his clerk.<sup>10</sup>

Three weeks later, Cecil Wray issued another directive, stating that Raja Bilah's judicial authority was only confined to cases involving 'natives':

... concerning the trials for summons in our friend's court upon all peoples Keling Hindu, Chinese, Malay, (orang2 Keling Hindu Cina Melayu), all of them, our friend can hear put on trail, excepting - those our friend can never ever put on trial - all the government people, that is, the Whites and Eurasians (bangsa Orang Putih dan Orang Serani). If anyone wants to lodge a monetary summons against these people, our friend can ask him to go to the Batu Gajah court.<sup>11</sup>

An increasing number of European staff were being recruited into Perak's civil service and tin mining companies, thereby creating a social class which had to be preferentially dealt with by the colonial administration.<sup>12</sup>

In 1899, Imam Prang Ja Barumun, Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng, sent a letter to 'Paduka Kakanda Engku Raja Bilah', asking the Papan Penghulu to serve summons on two Hindus, requiring them to appear before Ja Barumun in his court in Gopeng in three days' time. The suit was lodged by one Doraisamy Tandil. The letter was crossed with an 'X' by the scribe, on behalf of the Imam Prang.<sup>13</sup>



No. 17  
1908

1908

PENGHULU PAPAN

23.11.08

Haji Salleh

No. 18  
1908

1908

PENGHULU PAPAN

23.11.08

Haji Salleh

### ↳ Translation

23 November 1908, affidavit in Jawi, by A. Daud Mydin, shop-keeper in Pusing, lodging a complaint against Velugopal, a coolie from Batu Gajah, for failure to settle his bill, and asking the Penghulu to issue a summons.

23.11.08  
Court of the Penghulu of Papan  
In the Court of the Penghulu of Papan  
On 23<sup>rd</sup> day of November 1908

Plaintiff named A. Daud Mydin	shopkeeper (berkedai) in Pusing
Defendant named Velugopal	coolie in Batu Gajah valley

The defendant has a debt for the balance of goods, as stated in the bill attached, amounting to \$8.44. I have demanded repeatedly (but he) always stalls, until now, (the bill has) not yet been paid. I have asked the Penghulu to issue a summons against the defendant and pass judgement.

Whatever has been stated above is all true. End.  
(writing in Tamil) (Signature of Raja Bilah)

Sign plaintiff (Stamp) PENGHULU PAPAN

Arrived ... 25 November 11, 1908

At 4.20 in the afternoon

(Signature of) Haji Salleh

### ↳ Translation

23 November 1908: affidavit in Jawi, by Ayah Daud Mydin of Pusing, shopkeeper in Pusing; lodging a complaint against Bukasa, a coolie from Batu Gajah, for failure to settle his bill, and asking the Penghulu to issue a summons.

23.11.08  
Court of the Penghulu of Papan  
In the Court of the Penghulu of Papan  
On 23<sup>rd</sup> day of November 1908

Plaintiff Ayah Daud Mydin Company	Shop-keeper (berkedai) in Pusing in Batu Gajah Valley
Defendant named Bukasa	Stone-breaker coolie (kuli pecah batu)

The defendant has a debt for the balance of goods, as stated in the bill attached, amounting to \$9.70. I have demanded repeatedly from the defendant, (but he) always stalls, until now, (the bill has) not yet been paid. I have asked the Penghulu to issue a summons against the defendant and pass judgement, whatever Whatever has been stated above is all true: So it is. End

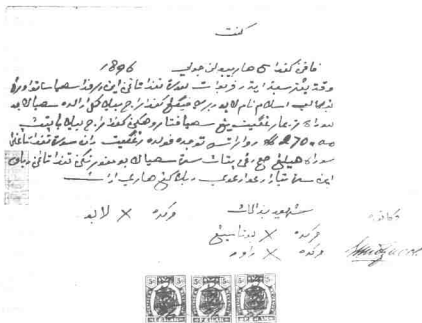
(writing in Tamil) (Signature of Raja Bilah)

Sign (Stamp) PENGHULU PAPAN

Bukasa:.....summons 25 November 11, 1908

4 o'clock in the afternoon

(Signature of) Haji Salleh



### Translation

5 July 1896, letter in Jawi, from 'one Benggali Islam named Labu' acknowledging receipt of \$270 previously deposited with Raja Bilah.

Kinta, Papan

On 5 July 1896

At the said time this signed letter is made by me, one Benggali Islam named Labu, to be handed over to Raja Bilah; So I, Labu, have received ringgit which I deposit with Raja Bilah amounting to \$270.00 two hundred seventy ringgit and this letter signed below, (with) this letter no claims and accusations afterwards.

(Signed) X Labu (Signed) X Bhuta Singh (Signed) X Daud

H.M. Jacob

As the summonses were written in Malay using the Jawi script, it is doubtful whether the two Hindus would have understood what was conveyed to them, or whether they could avail themselves of the services of an interpreter if they did appear in court. Apparently, Hindu estate workers were frequently charged by Muslim shopkeepers for not paying their bills and the judgements were typically awarded by default in favour of the latter.<sup>14</sup>

In 1908, A. Daud Mydin, a Tamil Muslim shopkeeper in Pusing, lodged two separate summonses in the Penghulu's Court at Papan. He asked the Penghulu to issue summonses against Bukasa, a stone-worker (*kuli pecah batu*) and Velugopal, another manual worker, both from Batu Gajah, for not paying up their bills. The statements, taken twenty minutes apart, were written in Jawi, witnessed by one Haji Salleh, and signed by the complainant in Tamil.<sup>15</sup>

Towards the turn of the century, there was a great influx of South Asian migrants into Papan. They ranged from Tamil Hindu plantation workers to retired Punjabi or Pathan soldiers. First recruited for Captain Speedy's motley police force to quell the Larut disturbances, the 'Perak Sikhs' took an active part in suppressing the Lambor confrontation and in fighting the Pahang War. The Malay States Guides, who acquired a wide reputation as formidable soldiers, actually comprised Sikh Punjabis, Pathans and Muslim Punjabis. The latter were sometimes called 'Benggali Islam'. When they retired or left the force, the sturdy ex-soldiers, especially the Sikhs, were in great demand as mining labourers, caretakers and watchmen.<sup>16</sup>

In 1896, a 'Benggali Islam' named Labu signed an affidavit saying that he had placed \$270 with Raja Bilah for safe-keeping but had lost the original letter stating so. The affidavit was witnessed by Bhuta Singh and Daud - the latter probably another Benggali Islam - and acknowledged by Raja Ya'qub.<sup>17</sup> Apparently, Raja Bilah, who had an iron safe (*peri besi*), had acted as banker.

فرايضاتن سهيا راج بيلاه  
فثولو مقيم فافن

فد هـ ا ي ثلاث جهم فوكل 6 فاني 16.2.904 سهيا فوني برسام  
انف سهيا نام شهاب الدين كباو كلبه كان هاري ايت توفف ارضين  
تانه هاري وچينا سهيا نام مديوت كرون سهيا دجفكت بانوكاجه  
فانانته هاري اشوا الاين فني مغامر كسكوله ملايو بانوكاجه  
ايسكوف فوكل 10 فني سهيا نام سهيا نام امان ادماري دسوهان  
انف سهيا نام ايم فهدية توفف كوان فثولو فافن برجهف سهيا نام برش  
كز مال سوره لايه تله اتي كباو فوفه فافن جانن فثولو جوهرن -  
سهيا نام فوفن نايف كوفف كوا سمفني ددكة سمفغ رومه جيل بانو  
مخاوه سهيا نام فوفه افوان فافن فوفن ايسين كمشين فهديف  
مالي كفاين فوكل هاري سهيا نام فافن ايت نايف كوفف برسام  
فوفن فوفن سمفني كفاين فوفن فوفن ايت فوفن فوكل 10 - سينتر  
لاكي هيت ايت فوفن سهيا نام فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن  
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فكان ففد 17-2-904 جهم فوكل فاني  
ايفه فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن فوفن  
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د Translation

17 February 1904, statement in Jawi by Raja Bilah, about a murder that took place in Papan and his interrogation of the suspect.

My Recollection Raja Bilah, Penghulu Papan Parish

On Tuesday at 6.30 a.m., 16.2.(1904) I went with my son Shahabuddin to Batu Gajah as on that day the office was closed (because of) Chinese New Year. I went to see my orchard in Changkat. Batu Gajah and my son Shahabuddin went to teach at the Malay School. Batu Gajah. At around 9.30am, one of my syces

named Aman was asked to come around by my son Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, clerk to the Penghulu of Papan, to see me and give news about a Malay who had been murdered in Papan on the road to Hulu Johan. I then got on my horse carriage and arriving near the junction of Batu Gajah Jail, I met Tuan Captain Perry, Assistant Commissioner, who wanted to go to Papan too. So I invited the said Tuan to get on board the carriage with me straight to Papan. The time was around 10.30 am. A while later, the corpse arrived in a bullock cart - Tuan Captain, Tuan Magistrate, Tuan Inspector and I jointly inspected the corpse. I saw wounds

of the deceased under the nipple of the left rib and three of his ribs were broken.

Then at 12-2-(1)904 at 9.00 a.m. more or less, I went to the Papan Police Station because the wrongdoer had been arrested. Therefore the wrongdoer, with the order of the Tuan Inspector, was interrogated, and I noted everything he said without modification and without omission. I wrote the truth. After the interrogation I surrendered the statement to Tuan Inspector Papan. End

Signed

Raja Bilah  
17-2-(1)904.

Between 1900 to 1903, a number of contracts were taken out by Sikhs who came from Lahat, Papan, Pusing, Siputeh and Tronoh. The Sikhs gave loans to labourers, clerks, small shopkeepers or to other Sikhs, for sums of a few hundred dollars, at interest rates usually ranging between 24 to 36 per cent a year. A few signed in Punjabi, others simply by crossing 'X'. The standard way of rendering the Sikh names in the Jawi documents, was to use 'bin' to denote 'son of', as in 'Sundar Singh bin Matab Singh', 'Manggal Singh bin Sundar Singh', 'Santha Singh bin Minda Singh', 'Jual Singh bin Hira Singh' and so forth.<sup>18</sup> These contracts were witnessed by Raja Ya'qub at the 'Balai Penghulu'. The cases involving Punjabis were routinely passed to Raja Ya'qub as he had some knowledge of Urdu, which he first picked up during his stopover in Bombay, on his way back from Makkah.<sup>19</sup>

While Raja Ya'qub handled the legal contracts, Raja Bilah still handled the policing duties and criminal cases. In a murder case that took place at Papan, on the road to Hulu Johan, over the Chinese New Year of 1904, Raja Bilah had to interrogate the suspect and take down the suspect's statement at the Papan Police Station. The corpse, conveyed on a bullock cart, was inspected by Raja Bilah himself, Captain Perry the Assistant Commissioner of Police, and the Magistrate.<sup>20</sup>

Raja Bilah's reputation as a war veteran and tough law-enforcer still instilled fear amongst the petty criminals. A story that was often repeated amongst his descendants tells how Raja Bilah handled an attempted highway robbery.

Raja Bilah was on his way back to Papan late one night when his horse carriage was held up by some Chinese secret society members. As the curtains were drawn back, the would-be robbers recognised the Penghulu and hurriedly kow-towed to him, muttering 'Lato', Lato'. Raja Bilah leaned out and calmly asked the outlaws where they had come from and what they were doing by the roadside in the middle of the night. They diffidently replied that they lived nearby and were on their way home. Raja Bilah exclaimed mockingly, 'You had better hurry back - there might be robbers waiting to pounce on you in the dark!' He then bid his syce to ride on back to the house. That was the last he saw of them.<sup>21</sup>

## RAJA BILAH GOES ON HAJJ

Raja Bilah went on Hajj at the age of 71 years old. Many of his compatriots, his own son, and even some of his workers, had gone on their pilgrimage ahead of him. When his close friend Imam Prang Ja Barumon passed away in 1903, Raja Bilah must have felt a pressing need to prepare for the Hereafter.

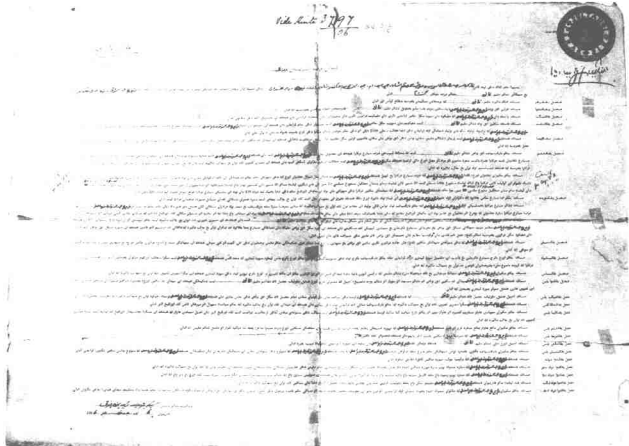
Raja Bilah had some knowledge of Islamic matters. In 1904, the names of Raja Bilah, Penghulu of Papan, and 'Raja Mahmud Mandahiling', mining merchant (saudagar kelian) of Sengat, were included in a list of 82 persons considered eligible to serve as magistrate's adjutants (kapit) in matters of Islamic law.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of 1905, Raja Bilah received the largest salary increment in his career.<sup>2</sup> It was clear that his services were valued by the colonial government. However, he was showing signs of slowing down. In May 1905, Raja Bilah received a reminder from the District Officer to submit his case reports for the first quarter of the year.<sup>3</sup> He most likely had a back log of work. As his son Raja Ya'qub described him,

He was getting on in years, his body was old and infirm.<sup>4</sup>

That year, Raja Bilah applied for leave to go on pilgrimage to Makkah and was granted six months fully-paid leave.<sup>5</sup> Raja Ya'qub took over his duties for a while; this would be a good test to see if the young man could handle the Penghulu duties independently. The Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster gave Raja Bilah a letter of introduction dated 2 September 1905, which referred to him as a 'native Malay chief':

The bearer Raja Bilah is a native Malay chief settled in Perak many years and is a very old servant of the Government of the Federated Malay States. He goes to Mecca and I trust, should he require any assistance, British Consuls will help him and this Government will be very grateful. He is (on) 6 months leave.<sup>6</sup>



Those who accompanied Raja Bilah were his wife Ungku Nai'mas, his daughter Raja Sitiawan, her husband Muhammad Salleh (not to be mistaken for Haji Muhammad Salleh Bilal) and their son Abdullah Halim, Raja Bilah's younger sister Raja Bugis and two others named Timal and Midal.<sup>7</sup>

Raja Bilah's appointment  
letter, 1906.

Raja Bilah's son-in-law Muhammad Salleh son of Ja Timur was born in 1880 in Tambang Bustak, near Kota Nopan. His father Ja Timur, who had migrated to the Peninsula in the 1880s, was also known as Ja Tautan, which means a dam (ampangan). In Perak, Muhammad Salleh was a government forester; at times, he supplied timber to the Chinese for building tin-mining *palong*. Muhammad Salleh and Raja Sitiawan were living in Sungai Lesong, a settlement near the site of Kellie's Castle, when their eldest son Abdullah Halim was born.<sup>8</sup>

Abdullah Halim was Raja Bilah's eldest grandson. Born in 1903, the two-year old boy with low blood pressure was taken along by the family to be treated by Haji Redha, the Turkish medical assistant whom Raja Ya'qub had befriended during his years in Makkah. Haji Redha had also been born with low-blood pressure, and true to his name which means 'willing', he readily advised the family on how to care for Abdullah's condition.<sup>9</sup>

They travelled to Penang, most probably by the new railway, and stopped over for three days while waiting for the ship (kapal Haji).<sup>10</sup> Like most aspiring pilgrims, they probably went to see the Sheikh Haji Mandailing, at Acheen Street, for assistance to purchase their tickets and make their travel arrangements.

## 30 Translation 03

## BAHAWA INILAH DAFTAR NAMA2 ORANG YANG LAYAK MENJADI KAPIT MAJISTRET MENGIKUT PASAL 10 DI DALAM UNDANG-UNDANG SYARAH

MUHAMMADIYAH TAHUN 1904<sup>1</sup>

## BAGI JAJAHAN LARUT

NO.	NAMA:	JAWATAN:	TEMPAT DUDUK
1.	Haji Muhammad Maman	Penghulu	Batu Kurau
2.	Wan Muhammad Nasir	Penghulu	Bukit Gantang
3.	Raja 'Abdal Majid	Penghulu	Kemunting
4.	Haji Muhammad Yusuf	Asisten Qadi	Taiping
5.	Syekh Sa'id Bahdor	Nazir Masjid Melayu	Taiping
6.	Ibrahim Khan	Saudagar Kelian	Taiping
7.	Jamah Khan	Tukang Senampang	Taiping
8.	Syed Abu Al-Hasan	Saudagar	Taiping
9.	N.F.K. Fizi	Tukang Lelong	Taiping
10.	Haji Adam Sa	Nazir Mesjid Melayu	Taiping
11.	Haji Muhammad	Guru Kolej Melayu	Taiping
12.	Haji Ismail	Obasir Kelian	Taiping
13.	Alang Ahmad	Juru Tulis Melayu	Taiping
14.	Ahmad bin Kolah	Kontraktor	Taiping
15.	Rahim Khan	Tukang Peta	Taiping
16.	Muhammad Ismail	Kerani Forest	Taiping

## BAGI JAJAHAN KERIAN

17.	Raja Sa'id Sufi	Settlement Ofisr	Parit Buntar
18.	Haji Muhammad	Asisten Qadi	Simpang Lima
19.	Cik Pendek Abdullah	Penghulu	Bagan Serai
20.	Cik Putih Mat Arif	Penghulu	Alor Pongsu
21.	Haji Muhammad	Penghulu	Bagan Tiang
22.	Hamid	Penghulu	Kampung Kedah
23.	Haji Mat Akib	Penghulu	Kuala Kurau
24.	Haji Mat Jamir	Asisten Penghulu	Kuala Kurau
25.	Cik Hussein	Penghulu	Cuning
26.	Cik Yob Ibrahim	Penghulu	Parit Buntar
27.	Raja Mandi	Penghulu	Selenseng

## BAGI JAJAHAN MATANG

28.	Haji Aminaldin	Penghulu	Sungai Tinggi
29.	Muhammad Nuraldin	Penghulu	Terung
30.	Raja Hamzah	Penghulu	Sungai Limau
31.	Haji Abdullah Cap	Asisten Qadi	Matang

## BAGI JAJAHAN SELAMA

32.	Raja Maibudin	Penghulu	Hulu Selama
33.	Muhammad Asik	Asisten Penghulu	"
34.	Haji Muhammad Salih	Naib Qadi	"
35.	Abdul Hamid	Penghulu	Ijak
36.	Pendek Abdullah	Asisten "	"
37.	Wan Haji Ismail	Naib Qadi	"
38.	Budin	Penghulu	Selama
39.	Mat Sajak	Asisten	"
40.	Haji Ali	Naib Qadi	"

## BAGI JAJAHAN KUALA KANGSAR

41.	Orang Kaya2 Sri Adikaraja	Asisten Kolektor	Kuala Kangsar
42.	Haji Muhammad Daud	Guru	Talang

## BAGI JAJAHAN KUALA KANGSAR

NO.	NAMA:	JAWATAN:	TEMPAT DUDUK
43.	Syed Musi	Tuan Kebun	Cagar Galah
44.	Raja Ngah Abu Bakar	Penghulu	Kubang Buaya
45.	Haji Abdal Rauf	Panglima Besar	Kota Lama Kirif
46.	Juragan Abdal Shukur	Orang Kaya2 Setia	Bukit Chandan
		Bijaya di Raja	"
47.	Syed Abdullah al-Attas	Qadi Besar	Kuala Kangsar
48.	Dato' Paduka Saundra	Bentara Sultan	Bukit Chandan
49.	Haji Abdal Karim	Asisten Cip Qadi	"
50.	Raja Muhammad Hanafiah bin Raja Haji Yahya	Asisten Qadi Parit	Parit

## BAGI JAJAHAN HULU PERAK

51.	Haji Thahir	Asisten Qadi	Lenggong
52.	Muhammad Thahir	Pegawai Kerajaan	"
53.	Muhammad Ismail	"	Crit
54.	Lebai Pendek	Peladang	"
55.	Lehai Bakar	Pegawai Kerajaan	"

## BAGI JAJAHAN KINTA

56.	Haji Muhammad	Asisten Qadi	Batu Gajah
57.	Haji Muhammad Noh	Kerani Melayu	"
58.	Raja Mahmud Mandahiling	Saudagar Kelian	Sengat
59.	Raja Bilah	Penghulu	Papan
60.	Cik Wahab	Datuk Syahtbandar	Menglembu
61.	Cik Kalap Lembing	Saudagar Kelian	Tambun
62.	Haji Abdal Rahman Jamil	"	Ipoh
63.	Haji Muhammad Ariffin	Naib al-Qadi	"
64.	Haji Abbas	"	Tambun
65.	Cik Muhammad Noh	Penghulu	Copeng
66.	Raja Ismail	"	Kuala Dipang
67.	Haji Muhammad Junus	Tuan Kebun	Batu Karang
68.	Haji Abdal Rahman	Naib al-Qadi	Mambang
		"	Dawan Kampar
69.	Haji Abdal Rahim bin Haji Kechil	Tuan Kebun	Sungai Raya
70.	Imam Bahak	Guru	Teja

## BAGI JAJAHAN HILIR PERAK

71.	Dato' Faduka Raja	Penghulu	Pulau Tiga
72.	Haji Abbas	Asisten Qadi	Teluk Anson
73.	Muhammad Nuraldin	Penghulu	Kota Setia
74.	Haji Muhammad Nasir	"	Hutan Melintang
75.	Muhammad Umar	"	Bandar
76.	Anjang Abdullah	"	Pasir Panjang Ulu
77.	Tengku Si Manik	Ketua	Sungai Belukang

## BAGI JAJAHAN BATANG PADANG

78.	Syed Abdal Hamid	Naib al-Qadi	Chandariang
79.	Syed Hasyim	Saudagar Kelian	"
80.	Raja Haji Yahya	Penghulu	Temoh
81.	Syekh Abdal Chani	" dan Asisten Qadi	Bidor
82.	Lenggong	Penghulu Hulu Bernam	Tanjung Malim

That this is the register of persons qualified to be the Magistrate's Adjutants according to section 10 in Islamic Law 1904.

بہوا ایضاً دفتر نام اورچ : تعلیق منجادی کا قیمت مسجدیہ مقبول فصل 10 عدالم انداز : شوش مسجدیہ 1901ء

دیوبند والی جہان کوٹا کتھر

نمبر	نام	جاہل	تعلق دیوبند
43	سید موسیٰ	نواب تھون	پکر کاندہ
44	راج شہ اوپنکر	مہولو	کوٹھ بواب
45	راج عبدالغفار	معلما کتھر	کوٹھ تھون
46	برائی عبدالکبیر	اورنگ آباد سنبھیا بیان نواح	برائی جھان
47	سید عبداللہ عباس	فانی کتھر	کوٹا کتھر
48	دادو دادو ساندرا	نمارا سلطان	کوٹھ جھان
49	راج عبدالکرم	اسپین پٹنہ فانی	کوٹھ جھان
50	راج محمد عبدالقادر	اسپین فانی نواح	ماربند

والی جہان دیوبند

51	راج طاہر	اسپین فانی	لکھن
52	محمد طاہر	مکانی کراچان	کوٹھ
53	محمد اسماعیل	مدھی	کوٹھ
54	لیس لکھن	مکانی کراچان	کوٹھ
55	لیس پکر	مکانی کراچان	کوٹھ

والی جہان کٹھ

56	راج محمد	اسپین فانی	پلو کاندہ
57	راج محمد نوح	کراچی کٹھ	پلو کاندہ
58	راج محمود مندیپلیٹ	سوداگر کٹھ	سمن
59	راج ایوب	مہولو	فانی
60	راجہ واہنہ	فانی جھان	معلما
61	نالی کرکٹ لیمب	سوداگر فانی	امروہ
62	راج عبدالرحمن جامع	سوداگر فانی	ایڈو
63	راج محمد طارق	نالی کٹھ	امروہ
64	راج عباس	مہولو	امروہ
65	راج محمد نوح	مہولو	لوہی
66	راج اسماعیل	نواب تھون	کوٹھ نواح
67	راج محمد بوری	نواب تھون	نالی کاندہ
68	راج عبدالرحمن	نالی کٹھ	سندھان کٹھ
69	راج عبدالرحیم بی بی کھیل	نواب تھون	سوغی رات
70	امام تھو	کٹھ	ایما

والی جہان جھان تھون

71	دادو دادو راج	مہولو	دیوبند
72	راج عباس	اسپین فانی	نالی کٹھ
73	محمد نورالدین	مہولو	کوٹھ سنبھیا
74	راج محمد ناصر	مہولو	فانی
75	محمد عزیز	مہولو	سمن
76	لیب عبداللہ	نالی	مدھی
77	نالی سب مایک	نالی	سوغی نواح

والی جہان نالی کٹھ

78	سید عبدالحمید	نالی کٹھ	پندرہ
79	سید فاضل	سوداگر کٹھ	نالی
80	راج بی بی	مہولو	نالی
81	سید عبدالغفار	مہولو فانی اسپین فانی	نالی
82	لیب کٹھ	مہولو دیوبند	سوغی مایک

والی جہان دیوبند

نمبر	نام	جاہل	تعلق دیوبند
1	راج محمد مسلمان	مہولو	نالی کوٹھ
2	راج محمد فانی	مہولو	نالی کوٹھ
3	راج عبدالحمید	اسپین فانی	کونٹھ
4	راج محمد بوسلہ	اسپین فانی	نالی
5	راج محمد ناصر	نالی محمد مایک	نالی
6	راج محمد علی	سوداگر کٹھ	نالی
7	راج محمد علی	سوداگر کٹھ	نالی
8	سید ابو الفانی	نالی	نالی
9	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
10	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
11	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
12	راج اسماعیل	نالی	نالی
13	راج احمد	نالی	نالی
14	راج احمد بی کوٹھ	نالی	نالی
15	راج اسماعیل	نالی	نالی
16	محمد اسماعیل	نالی	نالی

والی جہان کراچی

17	راج محمد نوری	اسپین فانی	فازب نالی
18	راج محمد	اسپین فانی	سمن
19	راج محمد عبداللہ	مہولو	نالی
20	راج محمد مایک	نالی	نالی
21	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
22	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
23	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
24	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
25	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
26	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
27	راج محمد	نالی	نالی

والی جہان نالی

28	راج امین الدین	مہولو	سوغی لکھ
29	محمد نورالدین	مہولو	نالی
30	راج محمد	مہولو	سوغی لکھ
31	راج عبداللہ جف	اسپین فانی	نالی

والی جہان سنبھیا

32	راج سہوادی	مہولو	فول سنبھیا
33	محمد اسد	اسپین فانی	نالی
34	راج محمد صالح	نالی	نالی
35	عبدالحمید	مہولو	نالی
36	منج عبداللہ	اسپین فانی	نالی
37	راج محمد اسماعیل	نالی	نالی
38	راج محمد	نالی	نالی
39	منج مسلمان	اسپین فانی	نالی
40	راج علی	نالی	نالی

والی جہان کوٹھ کتھر

41	اورنگ آباد کتھر	اسپین فانی	کوٹھ کتھر
42	راج محمد نوری	کوٹھ	نالی



Before the introduction of steamship, the passage to Jeddah would have taken two to three months, but now it only took two weeks.<sup>11</sup> They arrived at the quarantine station at Jazirah, Abu Said, and then proceeded to Jeddah where they joined the group (jemaah) of the Tuan Sheikh Mandilli (Arabic for Mandailing), the Makkah-based pilgrim tour leader for the Mandailings.

In the 1880s it was estimated that about seven-eighths of the pilgrims who embarked at Singapore were Javanese or other 'Indonesians' from the Dutch East Indies. Due to the historical preponderance of the Javanese pilgrims, the Mandailing pilgrims would have been classified, together with other South-east Asian pilgrims as 'orang Jawa(h)', by the pilgrim authorities.<sup>12</sup> The *Tarikh Raja Asal* records Raja Bilah's pilgrimage to the holy lands:

After two days in Jeddah Raja Bilah and his contingent left for Makkah. Before they went into Arafah, on 30 December 1905 the Penghulu of Papan and his family visited Madinah al-Manuwarah to pay their respects at the tomb of the Prophet, 'our Penghulu'. (Pengkulu kita), peace and blessings of Allah be upon him. ...

And their names after pilgrimage were

Raja Bilah (Haji Abdal Razzaq)  
 Enche Naimas (Hajjah Zubaidah)  
 Muhammad Salleh (Haji Muhammad Salleh)  
 Raja Sitiawan (Hajjah Rabeah)  
 Abdullah Halim (Haji Abdullah)  
 Raja Bugis (Hajjah Saadiah)  
 Timal (Hajjah Fatimah)  
 Midal (Haji Abdullah)<sup>13</sup>

As he was only a small toddler then, someone in the group may have carried out the Hajji rites for the young Abdullah, earning him the honorary title Haji.<sup>14</sup> Haji Abdullah later became the first 'native' headmaster of the Gopeng Government English School.<sup>15</sup> In his old age, Haji Abdullah bin Muhammad Salleh was better known as Nenek Haji, as he had the rare honour of being taken to Makkah by Raja Bilah.

Raja Bilah and his delegation did not stay long in Makkah before leaving for Jeddah. From there, they sailed back to Penang, where they were quarantined in Pulau Jerejak from 22 March until 5 April 1906. After being released, they proceeded to 'Tanjong' (George Town) and the next day boarded the train, returning to Papan the next day.

Meanwhile, Raja Ya'qub was left in charge as Acting Penghulu of Papan. He may not however have been authorised to hold Penghulu's court. More than a month after Raja Bilah left, the District Officer E.J. Brewster wrote to Raja Ya'qub asking him to assure the people in his constituency that if they had any problems during Raja Bilah's absence, they could, on their own accord, approach the government in Batu Gajah.<sup>16</sup>

Translation

9 July 1906, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer Fred J. Weld to Raja Haji Abdal Razzaq, instructing Raja Bilah and 'all the Penghulus' under his command to assist in putting up an exhibition in Singapore.

His Word is the Truth, Honest and sincere letter from us Tuan District Officer Kinta Batu Gajah, which is to be conveyed before the countenance of Tengku Raja Haji Abdal Razzaq Penghulu Papan The Noble, in safety.

In defining the matter, we have received Duli Yang Maha Mulia's written decree. We hereby send a copy as stated, hopefully our friend will carry it out.

And proceeding from that, the matter we convey, with the decree of Duli Yang Maha Mulia, with many hopes for our friend's assistance as well as that of all the Penghulus under the command of our friend, that is, to have varieties of things to be used during the exhibition, at the end of August, in Singapore. So could our friend please give an order to all the said Penghulus and when all the exhibitions are hired, hopefully our friend could take the trouble to assist in the endeavour, to deliver to the platform at the exhibition venue. End.

Written on 9 July 1906.



Raja Ya'qub performed his duties so well that on 12 June 1906, he was promoted to Assistant Penghulu.<sup>12</sup> His appointment must have strengthened the position of his father, who by now was probably the most senior Penghulu in the Kinta district.

The district officers of Kinta continued to rely increasingly on Raja Bilah and Raja Ya'qub for ad hoc services. When the Sultan of Perak agreed for Perak to participate in an exhibition of colonial products in Singapore, his decree was conveyed on 9 July 1906 by the District Officer of Kinta Fred J. Weld to Raja Bilah, now addressed as Tengku Raja Haji Abdal Razzaq.

Raja Bilah was given instructions to mobilise 'all the Penghulus under (his) command' in order to assemble exhibits for the show which would begin at the end of August. Raja Bilah was also asked to deliver the items to the exhibition venue in Singapore, a task which was in all likelihood delegated to Raja Ya'qub.<sup>18</sup>

One of the first letters Raja Bilah received after coming back from Makkah was an appeal dated 25 June 1906 by the Raja di Hilir for donations towards the construction of a mosque in Ipoh. The mosque would cost \$13,000. The Raja di Hilir justified the expense by saying that Ipoh was the biggest and most populous town in the Kinta and deserved a mosque of some standard.<sup>19</sup> The letter named the District Officer of Kinta as the treasurer of the mosque building fund - all donations were to be 'surrendered to Tuan Weld, District Officer, Kinta, it is he who holds the money'. The mosque in question was probably the Kampung Paloh Mosque at Jalan Datoh, Ipoh, completed in 1912.

In contrast to the European officials who were extremely respectful to the Penghulu of Papan, the dignitaries of Kuala Kangsar were often curt when addressing Raja Bilah or Raja Ya'qub. This reflects the estimation of the traditional elite toward the *dato' orang dagang* (leader of the foreign Malays), and also hints of the rivalry between the two groups.

↳ Translation

25 June 1906, letter in Jawi, from Raja di Hilir, Secretary to the Sultan of Perak, to Raja Bilah, asking for donation towards a new mosque in Ipoh.

His Word is the Truth. That the letter from (your) friend Raja di Hilir/Secretary Sultan of Perak Darul Ridzuan may appear before the audience of our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan Parish The Noble, safely.

And proceeding from that which we have defined, it is with the idea of Tuan Weld District Officer Kinta as well as with the approval of Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang Dipertuan Perak, wanting to build a good mosque, that is, in Ipoh the expenditure more or less within thirteen thousand ringgit \$13,000, that is, within the domain of Kinta not exceeding the township of Ipoh, a big place with many people, it is undoubtedly very necessary to build a suitable mosque.

So as to the above, on the work of building the said mosque, there are two views upon us Muslims.

Firstly, a great reward. Secondly, a philanthropic name. However we greatly hope upon our friend to provide assistance on the said work, going by a few commandments of Allah the Highest and reports of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, calling (us) to make a permanent place in the next world.

So the matter of our respective positions

of having been bestowed by Allah the Highest (with) bounty and mediation, which can be set aside for the said purpose. Therefore Duli Yang Maha Mulia is convinced that this work is agreeable and gladdening to all our hearts on the abovesaid matter.

So the extra expenditure, we can collect

money from each person according to their willingness, however if money is collected it can be surrendered to Tuan Weld District Officer Kinta, it is he who holds the money. We hereby define with many greetings.

End.

Written on 25 June 1906.

توالا محنت



بھادری سونہ روزہ محمد راج رحمدیو سیکریٹری سلطان فیروزہ صحنہ الازہ  
جواہر دست مارہ کھوانن مجلس سوادا کاھج راج بیلہ نئیول پارش  
پنہ ویش سارہ

دوسری روزہ ایہ کامیہ خودکین ادرالہ رئیس فیروزان جوان ویلہ دستار  
واشیر کشتا سونہ ویش کھوانن ویلہ بیستہ بیڈ نرسوان فیروزہ عہدق  
محمد است سونہ سعید بیجا کیرائیہ درالم ایڈوہ جودھ ویش پانٹ وولم  
شیرجیس دیو ورائیڈ ۱۸-۵۵۸ لا اوفوٹ درالم نرسوان کشتا ابن  
شارادہ لچھیرہ روزہ ایڈوہ بیڈ وراہ بیسا فڈ بپرس سونہ واسیہ اورشس  
سایکین ماخشا سونہ سونہ سونہ سعیدہ بیڈلایڈ . سگراسس . .  
محمد است بیو جانہ سعیدہ ایڈوہ روزہ کرا فونڈا تان راستہ کین اورور . .  
مسلمین نرسوانہ ایڈوہ کوناس بیو بیجا کین مدیکین سبب سونہ جانہ . .  
کامیہ فوسہ روزہ کامیہ جیو بیڈ نرسوان شس کیرجاہ ایڈوہ اومیدہ بیڈ ویش  
نرسوانہ ایڈوہ خایہ ویش نرسوانہ سونہ سونہ ایڈوہ سعیدہ سونہ سعیدہ کھوانن محمد  
فونڈ بیڈ کھوانن درالم کیرجاہ ایڈوہ . سگراس کیرجان ماسونج کیمید ناکہ کورنایہ  
ایڈوہ خایہ فونڈ ویش سعیدہ بیو ایڈوہ برسد کین مقصود بیڈ کھوانن اومیدہ ایڈوہ  
تدوہ بیڈ کھوانن سعیدہ کھوانن ایڈوہ کھوانن ایڈوہ کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن  
راستہ حالہ بیڈ کھوانن . سگراس کھوانن پانٹ ویش لایڈ ایڈوہ بیڈ کھوانن کھوانن  
ویش کھوانن ایڈوہ راستہ کھوانن ماسونج کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن  
بیڈ کھوانن ایڈوہ بیڈ کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن  
کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن کھوانن  
جواہر دست

نرسوانہ روزہ ۲۵ جون ۱۹۰۶

*Handwritten signature and notes in Jawi script.*

Nonetheless, Raja Bilah's seniority as Penghulu and status as a Haji did gain him greater acceptance among the inner circles of the Kuala Kangsar elite. At the same time, the fairly consistent British policy towards the 'Malay chiefs' had succeeded in narrowing the differences between the traditional ruling class and the post-Perak War 'foreign Malay' chiefs.

The Malay College in Kuala Kangsar, started in 1905, would mould the children of both the native and 'foreign' Malay chiefs into one 'Malay elite'. The *crème de la crème* would then be skimmed off for junior posts in the prestigious public service. Although Wilkinson, then Inspector of Schools, introduced a selection scheme based on merit, the Malay College was quickly reduced to the preserve of the Malay upper-class after the first two or three years.<sup>20</sup>

Just across the football field was the exclusive Kuala Kangsar Club, established under royal patronage in 1907. The club attracted the socially ambitious Malay elite from all over Perak to the royal capital. This was the same elite who would choose to send their sons to the residential Malay College. When the Kuala Kangsar Club launched its inaugural membership drive, Raja Bilah was approached to join. He then received a letter dated 10 January 1907 from the Raja Bendahara Wazir, representative of the Sultan, declaring him a member and asking him to cough up the fees.<sup>21</sup> Asked in the name of the Sultan himself, Raja Bilah could hardly refuse.

Called the Kastan Zarian Club, after the ancient name for Perak, the club's members largely comprised the Malay aristocracy as well as the government servants above the clerical level.<sup>22</sup> The club was supposed to be 'exclusively Malay' - 'the raja-raja and dignitaries as well as the well-bred scions (*anak baik-baik*)' - but also admitted the high-class *orang dagang* and *anak dagang*.<sup>23</sup> The next year, Raja Ya'qub was also approached to join the club.<sup>24</sup>

Raja Bilah was invited to Kuala Kangsar for most important social events. He received a printed invitation from R.J. Wilkinson, Secretary to the Perak Resident, dated 7 March 1908, announcing a four-day mass spectacle (*temasya peramaian*) at Kuala Kangsar which would start on 3 April 1908.<sup>25</sup>

The gala was staged to install the Sultan's son Tengku Abdul Jalil as Raja Muda, to confer the title of Dato' Muda Kinta upon Cik Wan bin Rahimullah the son of the Dato' Panglima Kinta Muhammad Yusuf, and to celebrate the wedding of the Sultan's son Ungku Abdul Rashid to a cousin - in that order. Wilkinson reminded the Penghulus that they should leave their Assistant Penghulus behind to look after the affairs of the *mukim*.

Probably the first Mandailing to get close to the Malay royal circles in Kuala Kangsar was Haji Muhammad Nur, the Qur'an reader. Due to his outstanding talents as a Qari (Qur'an Reader), he was hand-picked by the Sultan to become the Imam of the Kuala Kangsar Mosque. Haji Muhammad Nur was born in Mandailing and brought to Pusing as a child where he later became a Qur'an teacher. He was married to Wan Mariamah, the adopted daughter of Wan Puteh, Raja Asal's widow who was now married to Raja Mahmud of Sengat.<sup>26</sup>

قوله هاتفت



1907  
10 Jan 1907

راجه کا چیرا جی لنگھارو وازیر الکیبر وکیبر رسالہ کلام فیلووف در الیر فویون  
 یما کاتو واک ایویون ۱۱۰۰ ج کیت جندار کلام لغت ۱۱۰۰ ص ۲۳۰ مکر بار غلام کیت  
 مذکورہ تھا فراسہ امریکا چیرا جی بلیلہ فیلسوف کا حرفہ دین سے لیا گیا  
 یعنی فرڈایت ایس کا چیر فو کائنات سے اور اس کا پتہ سرخو فرزند قحطہ کرا چائو  
 ۱۰۵۰-۱۱۰۰ فرانسو ایس کا چیر بلیو جی ۱۱۰۰-۱۱۰۰ فرانسو ایس کا چیر فرانسو ایس کا  
 وفات سے بعد وہ دلا گئے اور اس وقت وہ ایس کا چیر سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ کرا چائو  
 کتب ایس کا چیر کا پتہ لرا لرا عاروفہ اوٹو کے لیے سہ ماہی کے ساتھ  
 سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سہ ماہی کے ساتھ ایس کا چیر سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی  
 کیت اس سے زیادہ کہ کرا چائو سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ  
 لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی  
 لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی  
 لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی  
 لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی  
 لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی  
 لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی کے ساتھ لرا لرا سے تھے۔ اس کا پتہ سہ ماہی

1907 10 جنوری

Translation

10 January 1907, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bendahara Wazir, representative of the Sultan of Perak, to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that he has been made a member of the Kasran Zarian Club in Kuala Kangsar and requesting fees from him.

His Word is the Truth.

From us Raja Bendahara, the great representative of the Sultan of Perak Darul Ridzuan, who is presently in Bukit Chandan Kuala Kangsar, hopefully to be

conveyed by God before our friend Raja Bilah Penghulu Papan, safely.

And proceeding from the matter we have just defined, so it is now with the assistance of the government, a club has been set up for Raja-rajah and dignitaries as well as the well-bred scions (anak baik-baik) at the Kuala Kangsar football field, so the building is ready. Therefore the government has handed the club over to our younger brother Raja Harun in order to attend to and arrange all the regulations for all the club members. Therefore we are very pleased with the

government's assistance to establish an assembly of Malay scions (perhimpunan anak2 Melayu), whoever comes to Kuala Kangsar, and the club President is the Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan, therefore, we decree by the Duli Yang Maha Mulia to make our friend a club member by paying an initial \$10 and \$1 monthly. So we hope that our brother will send the money \$10, so that our friend is admitted as a member of the club. We have hereby defined. Greetings of peace.

Written on 10 January 1907.

Resit. 144908

تسوله الحق

R. J. Wilkinson

سكوتاري رسيدين فيرق.

هيو اينله سورده درفد نيتم تسوان ان جيته. ويلكينسون سيكوتاري رسيدين فيرق.  
باردعس مشيكي كه دافن مجلس عصابه نيتم. جوان حليج عبدالرازق فمهور فاخ  
دغن سلاتن.

احوال نيتم معلومكن اداله درفد نه هازيولن سفي تا هازيولن افريل 1908 هدفن  
اين كباره دولي يغمها ملي مولان فاذك نسري سلطان ادريس جي. سي. عيم. جي. يقد  
دوتوان نوري فيرق اين عندق مولاي مغادانك تماس فرماينن دكوالا كفسر كارن عندق  
ملصيتت فيرق لنگو عبدالجليل يفاذ مسكارغ مئغ. باوان مرتبم راج بندهارا واكيل  
السلطان وزيرالكبير كغد ففكة مرتبة كمان راج مودا واكيل السلطان فيرق دان جوا  
مفولياي گلاران كغد جي. وان بن رعيم الله دانو. فغليهم كتم محمد يوسف مهادي دانو.  
مودا كتم سده برسمولي قول دغن كرج واليمه فرمسديقر فترا دولي يغمها ملي اية  
اوغكو عبدالرشيد دغن فسري فاذك ادندان المرعوم راج احمد.

مسات دغن ليته دري باوه دولي يغمها ملي اية سرده دغن سيد توان بمرسه اية.  
دليلو. باج سي. عيم. جي. بريتش رسيدين فيرق اينله بيهه برهارف اكن صبايه بيهه  
تاخير دكوالا كفسر فد وقتو يفترسويه اية. مسات مان ٣ مقيم يفاذ امستين فقبول  
هدرقله دهفلكن امستين اية مهاك مشيم.

حال اينله بيهه يتاكن اذان تمف.

دندالم اوفيس سيكوتاري رسيدين فيرق

.1908

كغد / هازيولن

150/3-08

Translation

7 March 1908, letter in Jawi, from the Perak Resident's Secretary R.J. Wilkinson to Haji Abdal Razzaq, inviting Raja Bilah to an investiture and wedding function in Kuala Kangsar.

His Word is the Truth.

Secretary Resident of Perak

That this letter from us R.J. Wilkinson Secretary, Resident of Perak which is to be conveyed before the audience of our friend Tuan Haji Abdal Razzaq Penghulu Papan, safely.

The matter we convey, that is, from 3 to

6 April 1908 before the DYMM Maulana Paduka Sri Sultan Idris KCMG Yang Dipertuan Negeri Perak (who) is going to organise a funfair in Kuala Kangsar for the appointment of his son Tengku Abdul Jalil who currently holds the office of the rank Raja Bendahara representative of Al-Sultan Wazir Al-Kabir, to the position rank dignitary Raja Muda Al-Sultan Perak, and also bestowing the title (upon) Cik Wan bin Rahimullah Dato Panglima Kinta Muhammad Yusuf to become the Dato Muda Kinta, as well as celebrating with a wedding function the sitting in ceremony of the prince of the said DYMM, that is, Engku Abdurrashid,

with the daughter of Paduka Adinda Al-Marhum Raja Ahmad.

So with the decree of DYMM as well as with the pronouncement of the honourable Tuan E.W. Birch CMG British Resident Perak we hereby hope that our friend will be present in Kuala Kangsar at the said occasion. So any parish which has an Assistant Penghulu, the Assistant Penghulu should be left behind to administer the parish.

This matter we make clear, End

In the office of the Secretary Resident Perak on 7 March 1908.

Sultan Idris of Perak.  
 Author's collection.



After his appointment as the Imam of Kuala Kangsar Mosque, he was known to Raja Bilah's family as the 'Imam Sultan'. He was a Qur'an teacher to the children of Sultan Idris at the Bukit Chandan palace, and also became the teacher of Qur'an and Kitab classes at the Malay College in 1909.<sup>27</sup>

Haji Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin, a well-known Minang personality of his times,<sup>28</sup> wrote about how he had been invited to become 'one of the Sultan's men' through Haji Muhammad Nur.<sup>29</sup> The Imam explained to Haji Abdul Majid that the Sultan had taken a liking to him because he was pleased to read his articles in the Jawi newspaper *Utusan Melayu*.

Haji Abdul Majid described Haji Muhammad Nur as

a great Qari (Qur'an Reader) with a sweet voice and a favourite of H.H. Sultan Idris of Perak. This Ruler was a great man who patronised Qaris who came from all over Malaya to Kuala Kangsar during Ramadhan.<sup>30</sup>

The Qur'an readings took place in the Kuala Kangsar Mosque and the Qaris were paid between \$30 to \$100 each, three or four days before the Hari Raya. Haji Muhammad Nur, as the Imam, was also the leader of the Qur'an reading party and the organiser of the show. He was later appointed District Qadi.<sup>31</sup>

## RAJA BILAH'S WILL

By the early 20th century, Tronoh (just 8 miles from Papan) had become the leading mining centre in the Kinta Valley. The town became important enough that a 14.63 mile branch railway line was constructed from Ipoh mainly for the purpose of transporting tin from there. The branch line had stations at Menglembu, Lahat, Papan, Pusing and Siputeh, tapping a 'very populous mining area'. The line was laid across the entrance of Papan town, at the end of town closest to Pusing. The Papan Station itself was located next to the Punjabi settlement of Papan. Construction of this line started in April 1907, and the line had its first run on 15 October, 1908.<sup>1</sup>

The Tronoh mines were started by a group of Chinese, namely Jin Siong Yong of Batu Gajah, Wong Kok of Papan, Chi Kam Poh of Papan and Kok Kee of Tronoh.<sup>2</sup> In 1891, it was reported that 'The Chinese there wish to build a village, and have already applied for 50 shop sites on the new road', held back only by the delay in the metalling of the road.<sup>3</sup> In 1895, the four miners sub-leased out their combined lots of 161 acres to Foo Choo Choon of Lahat, who himself had 42 acres. Foo opened the mines with 1,500 coolies, subsequently employing European managerial and technical expertise.<sup>4</sup> On 3 December 1901, the mines were taken over by a Cornish company Tronoh Mines Ltd., which became the biggest mining concern in the Kinta Valley. While the company was now run by Europeans, Foo retained his interests as a shareholder and board director. Tronoh Mines became so successful that Foo Choo Choon sold the land and his share of the business to the company four years later, for more than a million dollars.<sup>5</sup>

Raja Ya'qub succeeded his father as the Penghulu of Papan on 9 February 1909. He was promoted on 5 September 1909 to Penghulu of Mukim Blanja, a larger territory which was delineated to combine several constituencies



## Translation

25 January 1909, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E. J. Brewster, to Raja Bilah, approving Raja Bilah's request to retire and confirming Raja Ya'qub's appointment as Penghulu.

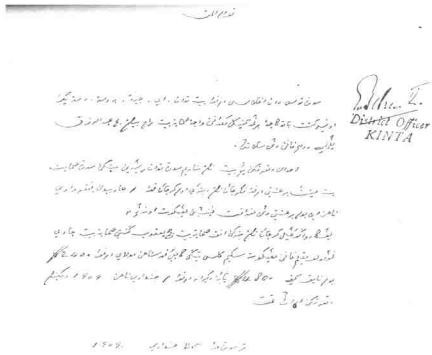
Letter of honesty and sincerity from us Tuan E. J. Brewster, Magistrate of Kinta. Batu Gajah, meeting before the presence of our friend Raja Bilah Haji Abdal Razzaq, the Noble, from Papan with safety.

The matter, as recorded, we have received the letter of Tuan (Resident), referring to our friend letter of application to retire from work; it has been approved by the Government on 1st February this year, permitting (our friend) to retire with pension according to the law.

Secondly, it is guaranteed by the Government that our friend's son Haji Ya'qub will be allowed to replace our friend as Penghulu of Papan Parish, according to the class 3 scheme, annual salary to start from \$240, which can be increased to \$480, that is, reckoned from 1 January year 1909.

So it is signed herewith. End.

Transcribed on 25 January 1909.



including Papan and the booming town of Tronoh.<sup>6</sup> Raja Ya'qub was to be paid according to the class three salary scheme, starting from \$240 per annum and rising up to \$480 per annum.<sup>7</sup>

Raja Ya'qub's appointment as Penghulu of Papan was first announced in a letter from E. J. Brewster, District Officer of Kinta to Raja Bilah, dated 25 January 1909, informing Raja Bilah that his request to leave employment had been granted.<sup>8</sup> The elderly Raja Bilah had previously applied to the Perak Resident for permission to retire several times before, but the colonial government retained him as Penghulu for as long as possible. Raja Bilah finally left office on 31 January 1909. In a recommendation he received for a retirement allowance, his age was entered as 'about 59 years' although he must have been closer to 75. He had served the colonial government for 27 years and 1 month as a salaried Penghulu and his last drawn salary was \$660 per annum. He was to receive a pension of \$352 per annum.<sup>9</sup>

In the year of his retirement, Raja Bilah received a visit from his sister Raja Bugis and her husband Raja Junjungan Lubis from Sayurmaincat in Upper Mandailing. After performing the Hajj with Raja Bilah, Raja Bugis became known in her village as 'Namora Oji' (Noble Hajjah). In conjunction with his visit to Papan, Raja Junjungan took the opportunity to be photographed in lph in his official uniform as *kepala kuria* of Sayurmaincat.<sup>10</sup>

That was the last time Raja Bilah saw his sister and brother-in-law, for he was already in ill-health. Two years later, he passed away.

... as Allah decreed Raja Bilah fell ill and suffered from fever and stomach pains for about a month, and due to his illness he passed away on a Friday 11 Jamidil Akhir 1329H (9 June 1911), at 6 o'clock in the morning, the will

Secretariat No. 2591/09 R.G.O. No. 2081/09.

**FEDERATED MALAY STATES.**  
Government.

Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances.

(See Colonial Office Rules and Regulations, Chapter IV, Section III.)

In filling up this paper refer to the instructions in Appendix 2 of the Colonial Office List.

I. Name of Applicant Raja Haji Abdul Basak (Raja Bilah) bin Raja Asal.

II. Office or Situation Penghulu, Papan

III. Recommended for Pension of \$ 350 per annum

IV. Age About 59 years

V. No. Service, in years and months 27 years, 1 month

VI. Salary or Wages 660 per annum

VII. Entitlements Nil

Total amount of Salary or Wages and Entitlements, on which Superannuation, etc. is claimed 660 per annum

VIII. Cause of retirement (with annexed Medical Certificate, if from infirmity of mind or body; and under 52) Age

IX. Dates of commencement and termination of the several Appointments held by the Applicant, with their conditions, Retaining Salary from other Appointments and specifying such Allowances See below:

Date of Appointment	Details of Appointment	Date of Termination	Salary	Allowances, etc.	Notes on Allowances, etc.
1.1.1882		31.12.1883	300		
1.1.1884		31.12.1889	360		
1.1.1900		31.12.1902	396		
1.1.1903		31.12.1904	436		
1.1.1905		31.12.1906	540		
1.1.1907		31.12.1909	660		

1909. Federated Malay States Government. Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances. State Secretariat No. 2591/09. R.G.O. No. 2081/09. Audit 1072/09. B.G. 365/09. Penghulu Papers.

of Allah fell upon him and he was transmigrated from the temporal world to the eternal world. From Allah we originated, to Him we shall return.<sup>11</sup>

He was buried in the Muslim burial ground at Changkat, Papan which he had endowed as waqf.<sup>12</sup>

Raja Ya'qub's deep sense of loss at the demise of his father, followed by the loss of his mother two years later, was revealed in his own words.

Thence his children and grandchildren were left in utter grief for which there are no words to describe, how one after the other drowned in the ocean of sorrow, anguish and sadness as well as love, only Allah the Most Exalted knows.

Finally the family members all prayed to Allah, making supplication to The Forgiving and The Compassionate, that all his misdeeds would be forgiven and the *alam barzakh* be made vast for him and his end be made good for him and that he be included in the gathering of those slaves who obtain bliss. *amin bijah said almursalin.*

Raja Bilah's mausoleum.  
Courtesy of *Muzium Negara*  
(National Museum)



And then after about two years, Raja Bilah's wife Enche Nai'mas (Hajjah Zubaidah) fell into a prolonged illness and then on Wednesday 8 Muharram 1331H (18 December 1912) the will of Allah fell upon her and she returned to the Mercy of Allah and was laid to rest by her husband's side.

Oh Allah, our sorrow from losing our father has not yet been consoled but we are crushed by the death of our mother. It cannot be described, only Allah knows the sorrow, anguish and sadness suffered by the descendants and relatives.<sup>13</sup>

One week before he died, Raja Bilah dictated his last will and testament to the Imam Sultan, Haji Muhammad Nur. It seems that he had come to visit the family 'to deliver a royal decree from the palace at Bukit Chandan'.<sup>14</sup>

At the time of Raja Bilah's death, his only grandson was the eight-year old Haji Abdullah. His elder son Raja Ya'qub, already 33, had no children, and his younger son Raja Shahabuddin was yet unmarried. Therefore Raja Bilah must have regarded Haji Abdullah as the natural successor to Raja Ya'qub.

Raja Bilah left a sum of money to pay for Haji Abdullah's schooling and requested that his will be handed over to Haji Abdullah when the latter got married (thereby becoming an adult in the Mandailing sense), which he did at the age of 24 in February 1926. Haji Abdullah married a grandniece of Raja Bilah, Teh Maliah daughter of Haji Abdullah Umar (Ja Mula).

While no copy of the written will appears to have survived, Haji Abdullah wrote down the essential contents of Raja Bilah's will some

Raja Bilah's marble tombstone, the front and the reverse side.  
Photograph by Khoo Salma Nasution





The grave of Enche Nai'mas binti Maharaja Mandailing, Raja Bilah's wife.

Courtesy of *Muzium Negara* (National Museum)

years later.<sup>15</sup> The will apparently stipulated that the inheritance should be divided equally amongst his sons and daughters. In apportioning his property equally among his children, whether male or female, Raja Bilah was following a strong Mandailing tradition, which was practised not only in the Mandailing homeland, but also by the Mandailings in Malaya.<sup>16</sup> This does not appear to conform to Islamic inheritance law (*faraid*), in which inheritance is divided in fixed proportions and sons receive twice as much as daughters. Raja Bilah may have interpreted the law as allowing him to use his discretionary one-third charitable option to top up each daughter's share, to the equivalent of each son's portion.

Raja Bilah emphasised his wish by saying:

Whoever administers the estate should be honest and considerate in the distribution of the income from the inheritance, especially toward the women. The men should not be greedy but be ready to hand over the proper share to the women.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the *Rumah Besar* and shophouses in Papan and Pusing, Raja Bilah was said to have left blocks of land in the interior of Papan town, Changkat (Batu Gajah), Parit and elsewhere in Perak, land which had been used for planting rubber, coffee and padi.<sup>18</sup>

Further, Raja Bilah stipulated that:

Similarly with the "*Rumah Besar*", whoever lives or stays there should be aware that the house and its 'contents' are under their joint ownership and they should realise the true meaning, that the house and all its contents are not only owned by them, but are jointly owned by all five of them.<sup>19</sup>

It is obvious from this clause that Raja Bilah intended to create a family endowment (*al-waqf al-ahli*) or private *waqf* (*al-waqf al-khas*) with the *Rumah Besar* and its contents. This is supported by a strong family tradition that

Enche Nai'mas' headstone, Photograph by Khoo Salma Masudon



during his lifetime Raja Ya'qub administered this legacy as a family trust. It is commonly accepted in Islamic law that to create a waqf, the use of the word 'waqf' is not prerequisite.<sup>20</sup>

There is a tradition among the wealthy Mandailing *Namora-Natoras* to leave an ancestral home for the clan. It would serve to bring the children and descendants together during ceremonial occasions such as marriages and Muslim feasts. When Raja Bilah passed away, among the 'contents' of the house were family heirlooms such as Raja Asal's sword and other weapons, a ceremonial umbrella, a gold headdress which would be lent to the bride when any marriage took place in the family, as well as the documents and letters of Raja Asal and Raja Bilah.<sup>21</sup>

According to Haji Abdullah, Raja Bilah left two warnings to his descendants in his will which was communicated to Haji Abdullah alone. The latter was reluctant to believe them at first, but felt compelled to reveal them to the descendants of Raja Bilah when he saw that they would come to pass. According to Haji Abdullah, Raja Bilah predicted,

If there arises actions which are unjust and inconsiderate in relation to the 'delivery' of the fruits of the property and the division of them to those who are entitled to receive them, then it will be certain that the house and the site and the surroundings will 'fall into disarray' one hundred years after the demise of (Raja Bilah's) father Raja Asal in Changkat Piatu.<sup>22</sup>

The second prediction was that the Mandailing settlement at Papan and the family home would be threatened by offers from a Chinese miner who wanted to mine the site, exactly one hundred years after Raja Bilah set foot on the soil of Papan town. Raja Bilah set foot in Papan in 1875, and the offer came in 1976.

According to Haji Abdullah, Sultan Idris had issued a decree about the family home and estate (*kampung halaman*).

Do not simply sell the family home and estate to Chinese miners as the Malays are wont to do. The village should be kept within the family throughout the generations (*sampai ke anak cucu-cicu*). But if you want to get the treasure (tin) from the ground, work it yourself.<sup>23</sup>

Delivered by the Imam Sultan to Raja Bilah on his death bed, and conveyed to his family, the decree may have influenced Raja Bilah to create a family trust of the Rumah Besar, 'the house and its contents' as well as the estate.

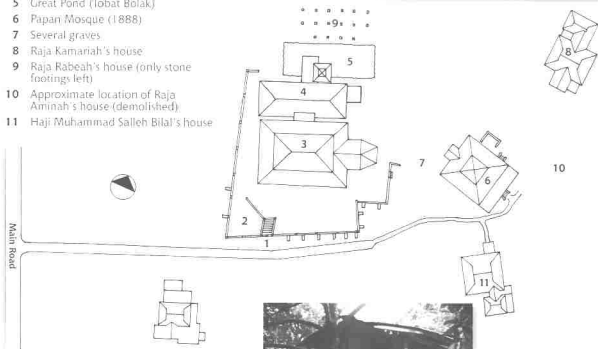
The monies were to be invested in a trust fund, from which the profits would be distributed equally among the five children of Raja Bilah. According to latter-day descendants this trust was meticulously administered, 'down to the very cent' (*sampai satu sen pun*), by Raja Ya'qub during his lifetime.<sup>24</sup>

Both the 'predictions' have come to pass. The decline of Papan began during the Japanese Occupation. Papan is now almost a ghost town and the Rumah Besar is no longer a gathering place for Raja Bilah's descendants and the larger Mandailing community.

Raja Bilah had guided the community for more than three decades during the critical period when the Mandailing migrants settled down in large numbers in the Kinta Valley. Family and close followers referred to him as 'father and mother to us all'.<sup>25</sup> With Raja Bilah's death, the Mandailing community of Perak had lost its foremost leader and patron. END

**Map of the Raja Bilah Estate**

- 1 '1896' Gateway to Kota Raja Bilah
- 2 Penghulu's Office (Balai Penghulu)
- 3 Rumah Besar Raja Bilah (1896)
- 4 Rumah Asal (1882)
- 5 Great Pond (Tobat Bolak)
- 6 Papan Mosque (1888)
- 7 Several graves
- 8 Raja Kamariah's house
- 9 Raja Rabeah's house (only stone footings left)
- 10 Approximate location of Raja Aminah's house (demolished)
- 11 Haji Muhammad Salleh Bilal's house



# APPENDIX I: RAJA BILAH'S FAMILY TREE

## TAROMBO

The Mandailings keep genealogies which they call tarombo, which trace their roots back to the founder of the clan. For example, Raja Bilah's family tree shows Sutan Di Aru, the ruler of an ancient kingdom in the East Coast of Sumatra. Sutan Di Aru was the title of the Si Baroar, considered the founder of the Nasution clan.

The earliest tarombo were written in Mandailing script, *tulak-tulak*, on tree bark. With the advent of European colonialism, the Mandailings in the Mandailing homeland began to use Romanized script while those in the Peninsula used Jawi.

## RAJA BILAH'S TAROMBO

The Mandailing pronunciation for the following names are given below:

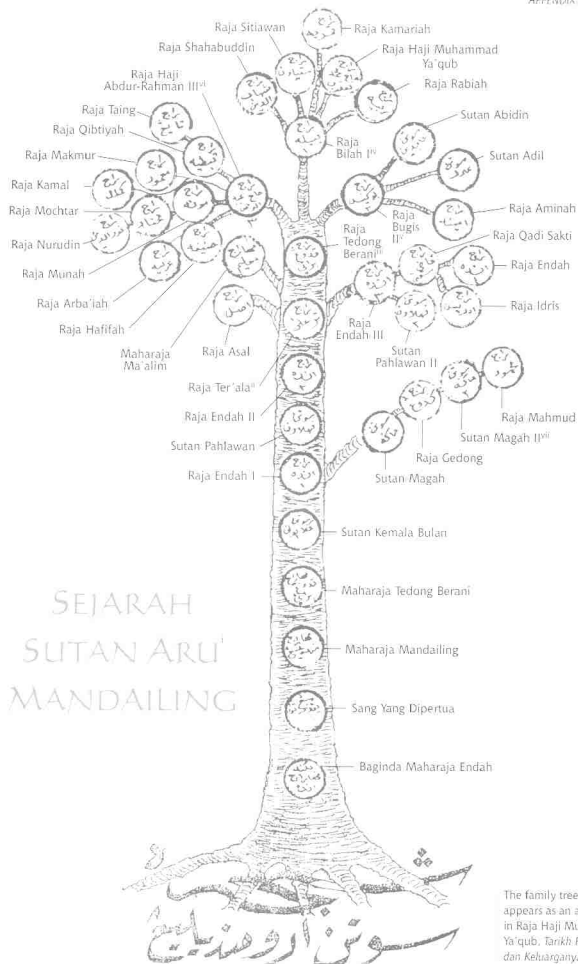
<i>Malay</i>	<i>Mandailing</i>
Sutan Pahlawan	Sutan Palaon
Raja Gedung	Raja Godang
Sutan Magah	Sutan Maga
Sutan Kemala Bulan	Sutan Kumala Bulan
Raja Tedong Berani	Raja Todung Barani
Raja Endah / Indah	Raja Enda

Raja Bilah's family tree only lists the male descendants until it comes to Raja Bilah's generation, when it starts to list the women, beginning with Raja Bilah's sister, Raja Bugis.

## NOTES

- <sup>i</sup> Sejarah Sutan Di Aru. The roots of the Nasution clan go back to the 'history of Sutan Di Aru', the latter being the title of Si Baroar,<sup>1</sup> the progenitor of the Nasution clan of Panyabungan Tonga-Tonga.
- <sup>ii</sup> Raja Ter'ala had four children - Raja Tedong Berani, Raja Endah III, Maharaja Ma'alim and Raja Asal. Raja Asal migrated to the Peninsula.
- <sup>iii</sup> Raja Tedong Berani had three children - Raja Bilah, Raja Bugis and Raja Haji Abdur-Rahman.
- <sup>iv</sup> Raja Bilah had five children - Raja Rabbiah (Hajjah Aminah), Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, Raja Kamariah, Raja Sitiawan (Hajjah Rabeah) and Raja Shahabuddin. (see *Raja Bilah's children*).
- <sup>v</sup> Raja Bugis (F), married the kepala kuria of Sayurmaincat, and had three children - Sutan Abidin, (Muhammad Ludin) (M), Sutan Adil (Muhammad Rasi) (M) and Raja Aminah (Siti Janiah or Si Janiah) (F). Another child died at a young age.
- <sup>vi</sup> Raja Haji Abdur-Rahman migrated to the Peninsula and eventually settled in Chemor. Raja Haji Abdur-Rahman had 10 children. The six by his first wife were Raja and four by his second wife. His fifth child, Saudah (F), is not named in this family tree. (Interview with Muhammad Dahlan, 1998).
- <sup>vii</sup> In their family tree kept in Maga, Mandailing, Sutan Magah II and his son Raja Mahmud are recorded as having migrated to 'E.M.S.'

M = Male, F = Female



The family tree in Jawi appears as an appendix in Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keturunannya*, 1934.



## APPENDIX II: RAJA BILAH'S CHILDREN

*Raja Rabbiah* (F), the eldest child of Raja Bilah and Enche Na'imas, was born in the Mandailing homeland. She was brought by her mother to the Peninsular as a baby or young child, to join her father in Klang in the 1860s. She married Haji Hassan Gading Raja also known as Haji Hassan Fiduli (Pidoli). They had two children, Anisah Hassan and Nuriah Hassan. On completion of her Hajj, Raja Rabbiah changed her name to Hajjah Aminah. She died in August 1933 and was buried in Papan.

*Raja Muhammad Ya'qub* (M) was born in Pangkalan Kacha on 7 Rejab 1294 (18 July 1877). Raja Ya'qub fulfilled his pilgrimage and returned from Makkah in 1893. In 1894, he married Alang binti Stia Raja. They had no children. On 5 September 1905, he started work as a Penghulu's clerk. On 12 June 1906 he became the Assistant Penghulu of Papan. On 9 February 1909 he was appointed the Penghulu of Mukim Blanja, retiring in 1932. He died towards the end of the Japanese Occupation, on 8 July 1944 and was buried in Papan.

*Raja Kamariah* (F) was born in Pangkalan Kacha in 1878. Around 1898, she married her first cousin Sutan Abidin Lubis of Sayurmaincat. They had two children, Norain alias Sangkot (Bu) and Kamaruddin. Raja Kamariah died during the Japanese Occupation, on 16 May 1943, and was buried in Papan.

*Raja Sitiawan* (F) was born in Papan. According to family oral tradition, Setiawan near Batu Gajah, was named after her. She married Muhammad Salleh son of Ja Timor of the Lubis clan. They had four children, Abdullah Halim, Teh Puasa, Zakiah and Saidah. Both husband and wife went on Hajj in 1905 and became known as Haji Muhammad Salleh and Hajjah Rabeah respectively (not to confused with her sister Raja Rabbiah, who changed her name to Hajjah Aminah after she completed the Hajj). Hajjah Rabeah died in Gopeng on 16 March 1953 and was buried in Chemor.

*Raja Shahabuddin* (M) was born in Papan on 1 Safar 1302 H (20 November 1884). He married twice. His first wife was Itam, the daughter of Haji Muhammad Sidik of Tanjung Malim, a man of Rawa descent. This wife died a year after their marriage. He then married Rahmah, the daughter of Ja Bolga of the Lubis clan of Chemor. They had one child, Raja Zubaidah. Raja Shahabuddin became the Assistant Penghulu of Mukim Blanja in 1925 and took over from his brother as Penghulu of Mukim Blanja in 1932. Raja Shahabuddin and his wife Rahmah went on Hajj in 1940. Raja Shahabuddin retired in 1942. He died on 12 April 1968 and was buried in Papan.



Above: (from left to right) (standing),  
Teh Puasa, Raja Haji Ya'q'ub, Haji  
Abdullah, Raja Shahabuddin; (seated)  
Hajjah Aminah, Alang Rahimah,  
Rahmah, Hajjah Rabeah; (on lap)  
Zakiah, Zubatdah and Saedah.

Below: (standing), Raja Haji  
Ya'q'ub, Haji Abdullah, Raja  
Shahabuddin; (seated)  
Hajjah Aminah, Norain,  
Kamariah, Teh Puasa, Hajjah  
Rabeah.



## APPENDIX III: RAJA BILAH'S GRANDCHILDREN

*The children of Raja Rabiah (Hajjah Aminah) and Haji Hassan Gading Raja:*

- Anisah Hassan (F) married someone from Mandailing.
- Nuriah Hassan (F) nicknamed 'Bakul' due to her rotund figure, married her second cousin, the journalist Abdul Wahab Abdullah. He was the son of Haji Abdullah Umar (Ja Mula) and Raja Hafifah daughter of Haji Abdur-Rahman.

*The children of Raja Kamariah and Sutan Abidin Lubis:*

- Norain alias Sangkot (F), nicknamed 'Bu', married a famous Indonesian freedom-fighter, Yahaya Malek (Jachja Malik) Nasution from Kota Nopan, a cousin of Indonesia's great military leader, General Abdul Haris Nasution<sup>1</sup>.
- Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin (M) taught at the Kinta School of Commerce and became known as the inventor of Trengkas (Malay shorthand) and assistant to Dato' Onn Jaafar, the founder of UMNO. He married his first cousin Raja Zubaidah and died on 9 March 1978.

*The children of Raja Sitiawan (Hajjah Rabeah) and Muhammad Salleh son of Ja Timor:*

- Abdullah Halim (M) was born in 1903. He went on Hajj in 1905 and became known as Haji Abdullah. He was the eldest and only grandson

of Raja Bilah when the latter died in 1911. He married his second cousin Teh Maliah, nicknamed 'Tupin'. She was the daughter of Haji Abdullah Umar (Ja Mula) and Raja Hafifah daughter of Haji Abdur-Rahman.

- Teh Puasa (F) was so named because she was born during the month of Ramadhan. She married Muhammad Dahlan, who was the son of Harun Ja Bolga, and Raja Saudah, daughter of Haji Abdur-Rahman. Muhammad Dahlan was Raja Ya'qub's scribe and Raja Ya'qub was the one who matched Teh Puasa and Muhammad Dahlan.
- Hajjah Zakiah (F) married an 'orang Tolu' (Talu), Adnan bin Abdul Latiff bin Muhammad Said Talu, known as Nenek Keretapi. His grandfather Muhammad Said Talu was the family's religious teacher in Papan during Raja Bilah's time.
- Saidah (F) married Kamaruddin, son of Haji Abdullah Umar (Ja Mula) and Raja Hafifah daughter of Haji Abdur-Rahman. Kamaruddin was also known as 'Nenek Perlis'.

*The children of Raja Shahabuddin and Rahmah daughter of Ja Bolga:*

- Raja Zubaidah (F) married her first cousin Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin.



Clockwise from top left: Haji  
Abdullah bin Haji  
Muhammad Salleh & Teh  
Maliah binti Haji Abdullah  
Umar (Feb 1926); Abdul  
Wahab bin Haji Abdullah  
Umar; Kamaruddin bin Haji  
Abdullah Umar & Saedah  
binti Haji Muhammad Salleh;  
Muhammad Dahlan bin  
Harun @ Muhammad Dahlan  
Loebis & Teh Puasa binti Haji  
Muhammad Salleh



## NOTES

## INTRODUCTION (page 13)

- 1 The year 1875 marks the entry of Raja Asal, Raja Bilah and their followers into Perak after their defeat in the Klang War, also known as Selangor War (1867-1873), while 1911 marks the demise of Raja Bilah, the overlord of the Mandailings in Perak.
- 2 Raja Bilah son of Raja Todung Barani son of Raja Ter'ala son of Raja Enda son of Raja Palaon son of Raja Enda son of Sutan Kumala Bulan son of Maharaja Todung Barani son of Maharaja Mandailing son of Sang Yang Dipertua son of Baginda Maharaja Enda son of Sutan Di Aru. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub bin Raja Bilah, *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, 1934, Appendix, family tree). Raja Bilah's name is also spelt as Raja(h) Bila or Raja(h) Biela. In known instances, Raja Bilah gave his name as 'Raja Biela bin Raja Asal' and 'Raja Bila bin Raja Pinjie Bulan'.
- 3 Mandailing has been spelt as Mengdelling, Mandahiling, Mandheling, Mendeheleng, Mandiling, Mandaling and Mendeleng in Dutch, English and local sources from the 19th century to this day. For this monograph we are using the now standard term 'Mandailing'. For a classic exposition of Mandailing ethnic and cultural identity, see Mangaradja Ihoetan (ed.), *Asal-Oeseloja Bangsa Mandailing (The Origin of the Mandailing Nation/ People)*, Pewarta Deli, Medan, 1926.
- 4 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 3.
- 5 'Kali' is from the Arabic Qadī, Padri judges were called 'Kalis' in both Minangkabau and Mandailing. (Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy, Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*, Curzon Press, London, 1983, pp. 133 & 183.)
- 6 Haji Mohd. Yusof Nasution, *Raja Asal, Jaguh Orang Mandailing* (Raja Asal, The Champion of the Mandailing People), Ikatan Kebajikan Mandailing Malaysia (IMAN), unpublished, 1993. Raja Asal was called the 'redoubtable Raja Asal, ruler of Ulu

Klang', in Khoō Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States 1850-1873: The Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1972, p. 158.

- 7 Some writers date the Padri episode from 1816 to 1833.
- 8 Although the authors have done extensive research on Raja Asal, there are still many gaps in historical sources, especially on the very complicated Selangor War, and therefore we are still struggling to write the history of this great historical personality.

## THE PADRI WAR AND RAJA BILAH'S MIGRATION TO THE PENINSULA (pages 15-21)

- 1 One of the most vivid accounts of this migration is found in Pande Maradjar, 'Pempindahan Orang Mandailing' in the magazine *MANDAILING*, No 11, Tahun ke 2, Chamis 29 Maart 1923, pp. 2-3. Accounts of Mandailing migration are also found in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya dan Riwayat Hidup Tuan Abu Bakar*, The *Tarikh Raja Asal* was written by Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub bin Raja Bilah, Penghulu of the tin-rich Blanja district in the Kinta Valley, in 1934. The *Riwayat* was written by Abu Bakar anak Raja Pinayongan Lubis circa 1930s. See also Donald Tugby, *Cultural Change and Identity: Mandailing Immigrants in West Malaysia*, University of Queensland Press, Lucia, 1977, p. 4.
- 2 Dobbin, 1983, p. 178. The Padri, Paderi or Pidari, were the Sumatran counterparts of the Wahabis of the Hijaz. The origin of the term Padri, commonly associated with Islamic revivalism in Minangkabau during the early decades of the 19th century, is ascribed to the Portuguese word, 'padre'. 'Adapoen kata Padrie itoe, atsjalnja-dari kata Portugal ertinja "bapak"'. (Dja Endar Moeda, *Riwajat Poelau Sumatra*, N. Venn Snelpersdrukkerij 'Insulindie', Padang, 1903, p. 54) The Padris were also called 'Kaum Putih' (White Party) or 'Orang Poetih' as

- they wore white robes, while their pro-adat enemy was called 'Kaum Hitam' (Black Party) referring to their costume, dyed black with coats of the mangosteen fruit. For a full treatment of the historical origin of the word *Padri*, see J. Karthirithamby-Wells, 'The Origin of the term *Padri*: Some Historical Evidence', *Indonesia Circle*, No. 41, November 1986, pp. 3-9.
- 3 The Mandailing adat constitutes fundamental precepts (*patik*), laws (*uhum*) and customs (*ugari*), Basyral Hamidy Harahap (consultant), *Willem Iskandar (1840-1876) Sebagai Pejuang Pendidikan dan Pendidik Pejuang Daerah Sumatera Utara*, Kerjasama Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Provinsi Sumatera Utara dengan Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Provinsi Sumatera Utara, Medan, 1997, p. 36-37.
  - 4 Zainuddin Lubis, *Na Mora Na Toras: Pemimpin Tradisional Mandailing*, unpublished thesis, Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, 1987, p. 165.
  - 5 Mangaraja Lelo Lubis, *Sopo Godang Mandailing*, unpublished manuscript, undated, p. 28.
  - 6 Scholars cannot agree on the number of Mandailing clans; some say there are 15 clans or less; others say there are 16 or more. Some of the clans are Batu Bara, Dalimunte, Dasopang, Daulae, Harahap, Hasibuan, Lintang, Lubis, Mardia, Matondang, Nasution, Pulangan, Parinduri, Rangkuti, Tambak and Tanjung. Some have included the Borotan and Rambe as Mandailing clans. Some clans 'belong' to two or more ethnic groups, for example, the Tanjung clan is claimed by both Mandailings and Minangs; Harahap by both Mandailings and Angkolan. Aside from these, clans such as Pane, Hutasuhut, Siregar and others can also be found in Mandailing. The progenitor of the Lubis clan is believed to have generated the Hutasuhut, Harahap, Tambang, Dasopang and Hasibuan clans. (See Mangaradja Lelo Lubis, *Keluarga Besar Mandailing*, Medan, 1986, pp. 20-1; Mangaradja Ihoetan, 1926, pp. 60-1; Z. Pangaudan Lubis, *Kisah Asal-Usul Marga di Mandailing*, Yayasan Pengkajian Budaya Mandailing (Yapebuma), Medan, 1986; Mhd. Arbain Lubis, *Sejarah Marga-Marga Asli di Tanah Mandailing*, publisher unnamed, 1993).
  - 7 Tugby, 1977, p. 54.
  - 8 The *Namora* are land-owning nobility and the *Natoras* are the non land-owning clans. The coupling of the *Namora* and the *Natoras* is essential and critical to Mandailing governance. The authoritative study on this subject is Zainuddin Lubis, *Na Mora Na Toras: Pemimpin Tradisional Mandailing*, unpublished thesis, Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, 1987.  
Evidence that the institution of Mandailing governance was practised among the Mandailing migrants in 19th century Peninsula Malaysia is found in historical sources such as *Hikayat Pahang, Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya, Riwayat Hidup Tuan Abu Bakar and Abdullah Hukum's* account of the Klang War. Even in the Peninsula, the Mandailings continued to practice their own political systems, in contrast to the Malay political systems as described by J.M. Gullich in *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*, Athlone Press, London, 1958.
  - 9 Tugby, 1977, p. 25.
  - 10 Dja Endar Moeda, 1903, p. 66; Dobbin, 1983, p. 86.
  - 11 Dja Endar Moeda, 1903, p. 69.
  - 12 *Ibid.*
  - 13 From 1865 to 1874, there were two more uprisings in Mandailings against the Dutch led by Raja Baringin and a group of 'malim' (religious functionaries), respectively. The malims were sentence to death or exiled. (Dja Endar Moeda, 1903, p. 70) With the exception of the malim-inspired uprising, the other uprisings were led by the *Namora-Natoras*, the traditional leaders of Mandailing society. But this does not discount the possibility that the malims were themselves members of the *Namora-Natoras*.
  - 14 Tugby, 1977, p. 4. It has been suggested that some of these changes promoted for the advancement of the Mandailing people and were done in consultation with the *Namora-Natoras*, see Basyral Hamidy Harahap, 'Orientasi Pembangunan Mandailing: Pelajaran Dari Sejarah' in Basyral Hamidy Harahap and H. Pandapotan Nasution (eds.), *Derap Langkah Mandailing-Natal*, Himpunan Keluarga Mandailing (HIKMA), Jakarta, 1997, pp. 1-56.
  - 15 For a description of the *Rawa*, see Milner, A.C., 'A Note on "The Rawa"', *JMBRAS*, Vol. 51, Part 2, 1978. The term 'merantau' means *wanderungen*/*wandering* or *sojournung* to seek one's fortunes. 'Merantau' means 'to go to the rantau'. It is used by the Minangs to mean, *sojournung* to the frontier land. For a sociological study of the term, see Mochtar Naim, *Merantau - Minangkabau Voluntary Migration*, a dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Singapore, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, 1973. For an overview of the phenomena of migration, see Wang Gangwu, 'Migration Patterns in the History of Malaya and the Region', *JMBRAS*, Vol. 58, Part 1, 1985.
  - 16 Mangaradja Onggang Parlindungan, *Pangkinangalangan Sinambela gelar Tuanku Rao, Terror Agama Islam Mazhab Hambali, di Tanah Batak, 1816-1833*, Penerbit Tandjung Pengharapan, Jakarta, 1964, p. 369.

- <sup>14</sup> Parlindungan, 1964, p. 27; Tugby, 1977, p. 25; Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, pp. 67-75.
- <sup>18</sup> Parlindungan, 1964, p. 27.
- <sup>19</sup> The Penang Eurasian, J.C. Pasqual, who was well-acquainted with the Mandailings, mentioned the Mandailing involvement in the Rawa War based on his interview with Raja Allang, the son of Raja Brayun. (J.C.P., 'Malayan Reminiscences, When Cockfighting was the rage, revived by young civil servants', *The Sunday Times*, November 11, 1934, p. 21).
- <sup>20</sup> The *Hikayat Pahang*, in part an account of the Pahang War, described the Mandailing involvement in the war, see Kalthum Jeram (ed.), *Hikayat Pahang*, Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., Petaling Jaya, 1986. See also, W. Linetlan, 'A History of Pahang', MBRAS, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, which draws from the *Hikayat Pahang*.
- <sup>21</sup> Wan Muhammad Amin bin Wan Muhammad Sa'id, a Selangor Bugis royal household official gives an account of the Mandailing involvement in the war in Abdul Samad Ahmad (ed.), *Pesaka Selangor*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1966. (This is the Romanised Malay version. The original Jawi version was first published in 1937). Abdullah Hukum, a Kerinchi migrant also gave his version of the Mandailing involvement in the war in Adnan Haji Nawang, *Kuala Lumpur dari Perspektif Haji Abdullah Hukum*, Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, 1997. See also, S.M. Middlebrook and J.M. Gullick, *Yap Ah Loy*, MBRAS, Kuala Lumpur, 1983, and R.O. Winstedt, 'A History of Selangor', *JMBRAS*, Vol. XII, Part III, 1934.
- <sup>22</sup> Swettenham records the participation of Raja Asa and the Mandailings in the pacification of Perak, in the Perak War. See P.L. Burns and C.D. Cowan, *Sir Frank Swettenham's Malayan Journals, 1874-1876*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1975. See also the relevant CO 273.
- <sup>23</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 1.
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with Raja Syaahbudin the son of Raja Abdul Jalil of the Nasution clan, 1998. Raja Syaahbudin is the great-great grandson of Raja Asa's brother, Raja Endah son of Raja Ter'ali Kall Sakti.
- <sup>25</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 2.
- <sup>26</sup> Mandailing is divided into three parts, Mandailing Julu (Upper Mandailing) which is also called Mandailing Kechil (Smaller Mandailing), Mandailing Godang (Greater Mandailing), and Mandailing Jae (Lower Mandailing) (Basyral Hamidy Harahap, 1997, p. 17).
- <sup>27</sup> Haji Abdullah H.M. Salleh, *Latar Belakang Raja Asa dan Anaknyanya Raja Bilah* (The Background of Raja Asa and his son, Raja Bilah), unpublished manuscript, undated, p. 1. This five-page article was written by Haji Abdullah bin Haji Mohd. Salleh, the nephew of Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, probably in the 1980s. The article is typed in one and a half spacing on foolscap paper with Haji Abdullah's comments in between extracts of *Sejarah Selangor* by Haji Buyong Adil, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1971, pasted on the paper. In writing this article, Haji Abdullah does not make any reference to *Tarikh Raja Asa*. The dating and events in the article is incorrect. Nevertheless we are using this as a source since Haji Abdullah referred to Raja Asa's involvement in the Pahang War, while Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub concealed it.
- <sup>28</sup> Kalthum Jeram, 1986, p. 73; Abdul Samad Ahmad, 1966, pp. 10 & 36.
- <sup>29</sup> Wan Puteh, also known as Chik Puteh, was only in her teens when she married Raja Asa, who was already in his 50s. In other words, she was about 40 years younger than Raja Asa. In 1873, towards the end of the Selangor War, Chik Puteh still looked youthful ('about 20 years old'). According to Abdullah Hukum, she was a fair and beautiful young woman attired in Acehnese trousers. With a sweet voice she called the warriors to battle, saying she herself was prepared to jump into battle, seeing that food was short and many had already died. However, the incident only revealed her impulsive nature, as Raja Asa's followers came out from their cover and risked their lives for naught. (Adnan Haji Awang, 1997, p. 20-21)
- <sup>30</sup> Haji Abdullah H.M. Salleh, n.d., p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup> Middlebrook and Gullick, 1983, pp. 25-26.
- <sup>32</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 3.
- <sup>33</sup> Abdus-Samad (various spellings) was said to have succeeded Sultan Muhammad in 1857 (S.M. Middlebrook and J.M. Gullick, 1983, p. 6). At the same time, the authors wrote that 'the question of a successor to Sultan Muhammad... was not finally settled in 1859...'. Elsewhere, they said that 'Late in 1859 Raja 'Abdu'l-Samad became Sultan of Selangor, though unlike his predecessors he was never installed in a formal manner by the Sultan of Perak'. (Middlebrook and Gullick, 1983, p. 24; J.C.P., *The Sunday Times*, November 11, 1934, p. 21.
- <sup>34</sup> Abu Bakar, *Riwayat Tuan Abu Bakar*, unpublished manuscript, circa 1930's, p. 63.
- <sup>35</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 3.
- <sup>36</sup> Sutan Puasa was also known as Sutan Naposo (also spelt as Na Poso, meaning 'the young one' or the youngest son of the Raja). He hailed from Tohang, today located at the border between Kecamatan Kotanopan and Kecamatan Muara Sipongi in Upper Mandailing. According to the genealogy of

- the Lubis clan in Tobang. Sutan Puasa was the son of Raja Ito Koling son of Sutan Naga, son of Jamalintang Garang son of Sutan Naga Marunding son of Namora Sende Tua Lubis from Mananusan. Sutan Puasa migrated the peninsula via Malacca in 1830, and is reputed to be the founder of Kuala Lumpur. He was a close ally of Raja Asal during the Klang War, but remained or returned to Kuala Lumpur after Raja Asal and his followers fled to Perak. Sutan Puasa had a close working relationship with Yap Ah Loy and other Kapitan China of Kuala Lumpur, until his death in 1905. (Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, 'Sutan Puasa dan Kuala Lumpur' in *MANDAILING*, Surat Berita Ikatan Kebajikan Mandailing Malaysia, Jilid 1, No. 1, September 1996, pp. 6-8; Muhammad Ali Othman et al., *Rumah Melayu Jalan Chow Kit*, No. 41, *Jalan Chow Kit, Kuala Lumpur*, Kajian Lukisan Terukir, Jabatan Senibina, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, 1996/97, pp. 31-36, 42).
- <sup>37</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 3.
- <sup>38</sup> 'Di sana (Hulu Kelang) saya mencari rezeki dengan jalan mengambil upah mengayuh batang cangkul dan juga menyambut borongan (kontrak) membuat batas dipunyai oleh seorang bernama Raja Bilah'. (Adnan Haji Nawang, 1997, p. 9). This is a transliteration of the memoirs of Haji Abdullah Hukum which was published in *Warta Ahad* in 1935.
- <sup>39</sup> Interview with Raja Syahbudin, 1998. The term *Inchik* or *Enche* is used by the Mandailings as a sign of reverence, and is not used to address common people (Correspondence, Drs. Z. Pangaudan Lubis to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, undated, p. 6).
- <sup>40</sup> Middlebrook and Gullick, 1983, p. 45.
- <sup>41</sup> 2 February 1868, letter in Jawi, from Raja Asal to Sultan Abdus-Samad of Selangor, requesting a loan. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>42</sup> Imam Perang Raja Berungun was better known as Imam Prang Ja Barumun. The titles Imam Prang (war chief), Imam, Malim and Pinto (Pinta or Peto, which in Mandailing language means true or 'benar'), were introduced to the Mandailings by the Padris. (Correspondence Drs. Z. Pangaudan Lubis to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, undated, p. 6).
- <sup>43</sup> Imam Perang Seri Handalan was also known as Sori Andalan Rawa-Rawa.
- <sup>44</sup> Adnan Haji Nawang, 1997, p. 12.
- <sup>45</sup> Middlebrook and Gullick, 1983, p. 39.
- <sup>46</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 4. Raja Ya'qub, a British-appointed *Penghulu*, downplayed the involvement of Raja Asal and the Mandailings in the Klang War, although it is very well documented.
- <sup>47</sup> Abdul Samad Ahmad, 1966, p. 37.
- <sup>48</sup> Winstedt, 1934, p. 23. Frank Swettenham in his diary described the consequences of this decree on the treatment of the Mandailings and their properties (Burns and Cowan, 1975, pp. 216, 222 & 230) According to Pasqual, only after encouragement from the authorities, did the Mandailings and the Kah Yeng Chew Hakkas, the allies of the Mandailing, return to Selangor, three years after the Klang War ended. (J. C. P., 'Malayan Reminiscences, Murder That Started A War, Kanching Massacre', *The Sunday Times*, December 30, 1934, p. 9; see also Middlebrook and Gullick, 1983, p. 85).
- <sup>49</sup> 'Di dalam huru-hara itu bermaufakatlah Raja Asal dengan Raja Bilah dan semua kaum kerabat orang tuha-tuha dan anak-anak buahnya tiadalah upaya diam di tempat itu lagi hingga makanan pun tiada dapat dibeli. Maka pindahlah mereka itu semuanya masuk ke negeri Perak'. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 4.)
- <sup>50</sup> It was a day's journey from Hulu Bernam to Slim by boat, and another day's journey from Slim to Sungkai by foot. (Burns, 1976, p. 364).
- <sup>51</sup> Chikus is where the Bidor and Batang Padang rivers meet. P.L. Burns (ed.), *The Journals of J.W.W. Birch: First British Resident to Perak 1874-1875*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1976, p. 383.
- <sup>52</sup> According to Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin, Raja Asal and Raja Bilah also sought refuge at a place called Langkuas, near Temoh in the Batang Padang district of Perak. (Abdul Rahim Abu Bakar, *Perkembangan Penduduk Melayu di Daerah Kinta (Perak), 1880-1930an*, Satu Latihan Ilmiah bagi memenuhi Syarat Peperiksaan Akhir, Ijazah Sarjana Muda Sastera, Jabatan Sejarah, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1976/77, p. 26. Interviews with Kamaruddin's son, Mohd. Shahr Kamaruddin, better known as Ridwan, and Ho Thean Fook, a childhood friend of Kamaruddin, 1998).

#### RAJA ASAL AND RAJA BILAH IN PERAK (pages 22-25)

- <sup>1</sup> Burns and Cowan, 1975, pp. 144-147.
- <sup>2</sup> Burns and Cowan, 1975, p. 91, fn 3. Raja Ngah (Raja 'Abd'l Jalil bin Raja Sabak) was Ismail's cousin, whom Ismail made Tengku Panglima Besar. Raja Ngah lived at Bidor and was given the power to collect taxes from the mines between upper Sungai Bidor and Batang Padang. (Burns, 1976, p. 91, n. 3; p. 98, n. 1)
- <sup>3</sup> Various spellings, Kooloop Riow, Kulop Rheo and Kulup Riaw. Kulop Riow was an agent of Che Mida, a prominent woman of Kuala Kangsar and an acquaintance of Frank Swettenham.



- 4 Burns and Cowan, 1975, pp. 99-100, fn. 2. The troubles in Perak were typical of this era of rapid economic penetration. The Straits Chinese merchants in Penang had provided advances to Malay territorial chiefs in Perak to bring in labourers and develop the mines. As they had the most to gain from the tin-mining trade, the Straits Chinese were eager to expand their interests in the Peninsular economy. 'The pressure they exerted finally broke the traditional monopoly of the ruling chiefs.' (Khoo Kay Kim, 1972, p. 51)
- 5 R.O. Winstedt and R. J. Wilkinson, 'A History of Perak', *JMBRAS*, Singapore 1934, p. 100.
- 6 This was reported to Swettenham, who mentions that he had known the Mandailing entrepreneur for a long time. (Burns and Cowan, 1975, p. 193) Swettenham's quote continues, '.....Kooloop Riow resisted and held his own, tho' (sic) much damage was done. This was made up thro' (sic) the intercession of the Shahbandar, who paid a large price to Ismail for Kooloop Riow having dared to resist. Shortly after however R. (sic) Ngah was [sent] again, and this time he waylaid Kooloop Riow with a quantity of tin and gutta in the jungle. Kooloop Riow was shot through the hand and arm, and fled to Laroot, where he took service with Capt. Speedy. By far the greater number of Chinese left Gopeng then, but some of them are still working there. The tin and gutta K. (sic) Riow threw into an overflowed mine, preferring rather to lose it thus than that R. (sic) Ngah should get it'. A fuller account of Kulop Riow's mining activities in the Kinta Valley can be found in *Perak Enquiry Papers* (PEP) III, 24 January 1877.
- 7 Burns, 1976, pp. 148-50.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Burns, 1976, pp. 55.
- 11 Burns, 1976, p. 168.
- 12 For a discussion about the origin of the name Slim, see Khazin Mohd. Tamrin, 'Slim, Sempa Atau Tun Saban Mana Yang Lebih Sesuai', *JEBAT* 12 (1983/84), pp. 103-111. 'Raja ASAL (sic), once in Tunku DIA UDIN's service, but who afterwards went over to his enemies, driven from Selangor, fled to Perak and is now engaged in tin-mining at Slim in the interior of Perak'. (Frank A. Swettenham, *Some Account of the Independent Native States of the Malay Peninsula. Especially of the circumstances which led to the more intimate relations recently adopted towards some of them by the British Government*, Singapore, 1875, p. 189.)
- 13 Burns, 1976, p. 364.
- 14 'Sementara belum mendapat padi sangat-sangat kesusahannya dan kesukarannya, halnya barang-barang makanan tidak dapat dibeli walaupun masing-masing ada wang atas kadarnya'. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 4.)
- 15 The Raja is likened to 'the well that does not dry up' (talaga na so tola hiang) (Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 65). It is the duty of the Raja to protect and defend those under their charge, to hear their grievances, and to ensure adequate provision of food and water. (Mangaradja Goeneong Sorik Marapi, *Toeri-Toerian ni Radja Gorga di Langit dohot Radja Soesa di Portibi*, Rapatfonds Residentie Tapanoell, Medan, 1938, p. 33. First published in 1903.) The *Toeri-Toerian* is an epic encoding the principles of Mandailing governance in legends. A copy of this book was kept in the library of Raja Ya'qub, the son of Raja Bilah. Mangaradja Goeneong Sorik Marapi was the title of the chief of Maga, Siti Madinah, mother of the internationally renowned Indonesian author Mochtar Lubis, hailed from Maga, and was the daughter of the chief of Maga. (David T. Hill, *Mochtar Lubis: Author, Editor, Political Actor*, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University, Canberra, 1988, p. 26).
- 16 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 4.
- 17 Raja Hitam or Itam was the nephew of Sultan Abdus-Samad on the maternal side. He was made Dato' of Bernam and controlled both sides of the river since 1840. The Bernam River marked the boundary between Perak and Selangor. (Burns, 1976; 54, n. 1; Burns & Cowan, 1975; 59, n. 3; 199, n. 1; 308, n. 1) In 1875, the Sultan of Perak confirmed Raja Itam's status and temporary powers to keep the peace on the Perak side. (*Instructions to the British Residents and other papers relating to the Protected Malay States*, 1879, p. 26)
- 18 Burns, 1976, p. 365-6.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 *Rotan jernang* (dragon's blood rattan) refers to any one of a little group of closely allied species, formerly identified as *Daemonorhops draco*, from which 'dragon's blood' is extracted. The fruits produce a red resin used in colouring varnishes applied on rattan and bamboo implements such as dish-covers (tudang saji). Due to its benzoic acid content, Dragon's blood was also used in medicines. (I.H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, pp. 758-764.)
- 23 Datok Sempoh, (Datoh Sempuh, Toh Tempoh) was the Penghulu of Slim when Raja Asal was mining there. 'Toh Tempoh takes 1/10 on rattans and all produce and \$6 on tin. This he appropriates'. (P.L. Burns, 1976, p. 364) Leech met him in 1879 and

- described him as 'an old man, but full of energy, one of the finest specimens of Malay I have ever met... speak Sakei fluently, and possesses great influence with these people. ... For any one wishing to explore the still unknown mountain regions of the peninsula, or study the habits and customs of the Sakeis, a better guide could not be obtained than Toh Sempuh'. (H.W.C. Leech, 'About Slim and Bernam', *JSBRAS*, Vol. 4, 1879, p. 38)
- 24 Burns, 1976, p. 365.
- 25 19 October 1875, letter in Jawi, from British Resident Perak J.W.W. Birch, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 5) addressed to Raja Hitam, Raja Endut and Dato' Sampoh, declaring free passage for Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 26 Raja Endut or Indut was the brother of Raja Itam.
- 27 News about Birch's assassination was received in Penang on 4 November 1975, two days after the incident. (Lieut. Henry B. Rich, *A Short Account of the Campaign in the Malay Peninsula, including the operations in Perak and Sunghie Ujong*, November, 1875-February, 1876.)
- 28 Despatch from Governor Sir W.D. Jervois to Earl of Carnarvon, dated January 3, 1867 in *Further Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Certain Native States in the Malay Peninsula, in the Neighbourhood of the Straits Settlements*, in continuation of Command Paper (C, 1320) of August 1875, George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London, 1876, p. 119.
- 29 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 6-7.
- 30 Burns and Cowan, 1975, p. 322. Swettenham was appointed Deputy Commissioner to the military force sent up the Perak River under Major-General Frances Colborne. (H.S. Barlow, Swettenham, Southdene Sdn Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, 1995, p. 157)
- 31 Burns and Cowan, 1975, p. 325.
- 32 'Kip' in Malay refers to 'penggalak senapan': (Teuku Iskandar, *Kamus Dewan*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, p. 558; Tim Penyusun Kamus, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Bahasa & Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1997, p. 479). It probably means, 'keep' that is, 'Untanned hide of calf or lamb, used as a wad after loading a muzzle loader with gunpowder. The wad is stuffed against a charge of gunpowder to keep it firmly in the muzzle-loading gun.' (Ric Francis, email correspondence 22 January 2003)
- 33 17 February 1876, letter in Jawi, from Frank Swettenham to Raja Asal, accompanying a consignment of arms to Raja Asal, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya* (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 8). The sequence of events in *Tarikh Raja Asal* does not quite tally with the dates in Swettenham's diary.
- 34 Ja Bidun was the father of Stia Ali (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 9). Ja is short for Raja, signifying their noble lineage.
- 35 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 9.
- 36 Burns and Cowan, 1975, p. 331.
- 37 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 10. Che Ismail came from Teluk Ayer and was employed by Birch to construct a road. (Burns and Cowan, 1976, p. 301, n. 2).
- 38 According to Birch, Kinta at that time was synonymous with 'Panclan' (Pangkalan Peguh). (Burns, 1976, p. 264). There was probably a river-port and a fortification on the river, by which ex-Sultan Ismail controlled access into the interior. A jungle track existed from Blanja on the Perak River to Papan on the Kinta River. The two rivers flow parallel in a north-south direction.
- 39 16 March 1876, letter in English, from Frank Swettenham to Raja Asal, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 10) permitting Raja Asal and Che Ismail to work the tin mines between Kinta and Blanja. The distance between Kinta and Blanja was about 20 miles. (J.F. McNair, *Perak and The Malays*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1972, p. 15)

#### PAPAN MINES (pages 26-32)

- 1 CO 273, 91/13286, 295E77 290 Proposed Presentation of Swords to Native States, 158/6802/76 GOV16233/81, Paul H. Kratoska (compiler), *Index to British Colonial Office Files Pertaining to British Malaya*, Arkib Negara Malaysia (National Archives of Malaysia), Kuala Lumpur, 1990, p. 98.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 CO 273 109/16233 13AG81 297 Swords Sent Out In 1876 For Certain Malay Rajahs GOV1328577, Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 119.
- 4 Burns, 1976, p. 263. Papan is also spelt 'Pappan' or 'Pappin' in European records. It appears in indigenous records as Kota Papan, Pangkalan Papan or Klian Papan.
- 5 Jacques de Morgan, *Exploration dans la Presqu'île Malaise royaumes de Perak et de Patani*, Imprimerie Generale A. Lahure, Paris, 1886. Reprinted by Prince of Songkla University, Thailand, 1993.
- 6 *Papan Radioactive Waste Dump Controversy*, Sahabat Alam Malaysia, Penang, 1984, p. 5. The Chinese characters and the Cantonese and Hokkien pronunciation of the place name is derived from the Malay.

- <sup>7</sup> The story about the origin of Papan came down to us from the late Haji Abdullah H.M. Salleh. (Correspondence, Haji Abdullah to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, 3 April 1985, p. 1-2.)
- <sup>8</sup> Henry Paul, *The Death of A Town.... The Sunday Times*, July 12, 1964. The Goddess of Mercy temple was said to have been originally built of timber, and rebuilt with bricks in 1898.
- <sup>9</sup> 'Maka oleh sebab jasa Raja Asal inilah ditagdirkan Tuhan jalan yang ia dan Raja Bilah serta anak-anak buahnya masuk ke dalam jajahan Kinta ini ....' (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 9)
- <sup>10</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 9.
- <sup>11</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11. Some Mandailing sought refuge under the Yang Di-Pertuan of Asahan, a Malay kingdom on the East Coast of Sumatra, and from there the Mandailings found a short cut from the East Coast to the Mandailing homeland, requiring only one month's journey. Since then, Asahan also became a place of sojourn (merantau) for the Mandailings of Padang Lawas (Pande Maradjar, 1923, p. 2-3)
- <sup>12</sup> Haji Abdullah H.M. Salleh, *Latar Belakang Raja Asal dan Anaknyanya Raja Bilah*, undated, p. 5.
- <sup>13</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11. Arnold Wright & H.A. Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, Ltd., London, 1908, p. 863. 'Pancalan Cachar (was) where Sri Amor da Raja lives'. (Burns, 1976, p. 264)
- <sup>14</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11.
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin in Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 26. In Mandailing, there is a well-known plain named Padang Lawas or Padang Bolak which also means 'Broad Field'.
- <sup>16</sup> Changkat Piatu means 'Solitary Hillock', located to the interior of the staging point at Pangkalan Kacha, not far from Pangkalan Pegoh.
- <sup>17</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11, 16.
- <sup>18</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11. Birch had earlier visited Dendang, near Sungai Terap, in May 1875 and found 49 to 50 Chinese working the mines there. (Burns, 1976, p. 264)
- <sup>19</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 12.
- <sup>20</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 12.
- <sup>21</sup> CO 273 109/16233 13AGB1 297 Swords Sent Out in 1876 For Certain Malay Rajahs GOV1328577. Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 119.
- <sup>22</sup> Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, pp. 108-9; Abu Bakar, circa 1930s, pp. 36-8.
- <sup>23</sup> Haji Mohd, Yusof Nasution, *Raja Asal, Jaguh Orang Mandailing* (Raja Asal, The Champion of the Mandailing People), Ikatan Kebajikan Mandailing Malaysia (IMAN), unpublished, 1993. Based on oral tradition, student theses, published works and newspaper cuttings, the manuscript was prepared for submission to Raja Inal Serigar, the former Governor of North Sumatra.
- <sup>24</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 12.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> Rathborne, a Victorian prospector, wrote of Low that he 'reimported into the Peninsula from Borneo the cult of dealing with Malays, which had been transmitted to him from Stamford Raffles through the first Rajah Brooke'. (Ambrose B. Rathborne, *Camping and Tramping in Malaya Fifteen Years' Pioneering in the Malay Native States of the Malay Peninsula*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1984, pp. 201-3. First published in 1898).
- Swettenham thought that Low was very well suited for his job as Resident of Perak. 'Sir Hugh Low understood what others in authority should never forget, that the only way to deal with a Malay people is through their recognized chiefs and head-men'. (Sir Frank Swettenham, *British Malaya, An Account of the Origin and Progress of British Influence in Malaya*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, revised edition, 1948, p. 253. First published 1906. See also, Sir Frank Swettenham, *Footprints in Malaya*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1941, p. 69).
- According to Hugh Clifford, Frank Swettenham and John P. Rodger were in the same mould as Low. Hugh Clifford's preface to 'The Life of Sir Frederick Weld, A Pioneer of Empire' by Alice, Lady Lovat, John Murray, London, 1914, p. xiii.
- <sup>27</sup> (November 1877?), letter in Jawi, from the Perak British Resident Hugh Low to Raja Bilah, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 13-4) authorising Raja Bilah to execute the estate of the late Raja Asal, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>28</sup> During the Perak War, an ordinance was passed 'prohibiting the sale of arms and munitions of war in these settlements, except by special license'. Jervois, in Executive Council, also issued a proclamation forbidding the export of the same under the provisions of the Ordinance No. XII, of 1867. Governor Sir W.D. Jervois to Earl of Carnarvon (Received January 3, 1876) in 'Further Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Certain Native States in the Malay Peninsula, in the neighbourhood of the Straits Settlement'. (In continuation of Command Paper [C. 1512] of 1876), George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London, 1877.
- <sup>29</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 13-14.
- <sup>30</sup> 30 November 1877, letter in Jawi, from (Perak Assistant Police Commissioner Captain Berak)

Bruce to Raja Bilah, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 15) appointing Raja Bilah as peace-keeper in Pangkalan Kacha and Papan. *Penghulu Papers*. During the Perak War, Captain Bruce stormed Kampong Gajah, the stronghold of Dato' Sagor, and shot dead the father of Kulop Riau. Although his father was apparently pro-Maharaja Lela, Kulop Riow himself supported the British.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, in Tan Ju Eng, 'The House Specially Built for a Sultan's Visit', *The Sunday Star*, 6 February, 1983.

<sup>32</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 16.

### RAJA BILAH, COLLECTOR OF TIN DUTIES (pages 33-39)

<sup>1</sup> Swettenham, 1941, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Swettenham, 1948, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak for the year 1882, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Swettenham, 1948, p. 228.

<sup>6</sup> Emily Sadka, *The Protected Malay States 1874-1895*, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1968, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 283.

<sup>8</sup> Emily Sadka, 'The Journal of Sir Hugh Low, Perak, 1877', *JMBRAS*, Vol. 27, Pt. 4, published November 1954, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> 85/13901 180C/6 369 Proposed Police Force For Malay Peninsula WO13170 GOV.TEL14475-341/13269 370/13902.

<sup>10</sup> Emily Sadka, 1954, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> J.M. Gullick, *Malay Society in the late Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1989, p. 244.

<sup>12</sup> Mangaradja Goenoeng Sorik Marapi, 1938, pp. 109-11.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin, in Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 16. Raja Ya'qub, himself a British civil servant, always depicted Raja Bilah as faithful and loyal to the British.

<sup>15</sup> Sadka described H.W.C. Leech as a 'gentleman' from Ireland, who graduated from Trinity College, Dublin but joined the 10th regiment after a quarrel with his family. (Sadka, 1954, p. 62)

<sup>16</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> 29 July 1878, notice in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate H.W.C. Leech to Chinese miners: to pay tax (chabut) to Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.

<sup>18</sup> 27 October 1878, notice in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate H.W.C. Leech, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 17) to Malay and Chinese miners to pay tax (chabut) to Raja Bilah.

<sup>19</sup> 'Regulations by H.H. The Regent in Council for the guidance of Penghulus and Officers in charge of the collection of customs and others as to the manner in which the percentage due to the chiefs of districts on revenues derived therefrom may be collected and recovered.' in see R.J. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*. Selected and Introduced by P.L. Burns, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1971, pp. 173-4. (Perak State Council Minutes, 6 September 1878).

<sup>20</sup> Swettenham, 1948, p. 228.

<sup>21</sup> Correspondence, Haji Abdullah, 1985.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin, Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> 12 December 1879, receipt in English, (issued by the Government of Perak) to 'Raja Biela', signed by H.W.C. Leech acknowledging payment of \$100 towards 'collection intestate estate late Raja Asal': 9 November 1881, receipt in English, issued by the Government of Perak to 'Raja Biela' signed by R.D. Hewett acknowledging receipt of \$282.85 towards 'collection on a/c Intestate estate of Raja Asal', *Penghulu Papers*.

<sup>25</sup> Wilkinson, 1971, pp. 242-3. (Perak Council Minutes, 11 March 1882)

<sup>26</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Haji Abdullah, *The Sunday Star*, 6 February 1983. This method is also mentioned in Frank Owen, 'Mining in Perak', *Transactions of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy (TIMM)*, Vol. VI, 1897-98, London, pp. 78-9. 'The richness of the washdirt is tested by washing in a "tempurong" or coconut shell cut in half. This does not sound a very promising method but the Chinese are very expert at it, and when carefully done, a very fair estimate of the value of the ore can be obtained. Small pits or shafts are sunk where washdirt is supposed to exist until it is reached, or hope of striking it is abandoned'. See also Swettenham, 1948, p. 229.

<sup>28</sup> In a preliminary survey of Mandailing built heritage carried out in the Mandailing homeland by the author Abdur-Razzaq Lubis and Drs. Z. Pangdualan Lubis in 1998 and 1999, houses of similar architecture were found in Upper Mandailing.

- <sup>29</sup> Mandailing-made *tobats* are also found elsewhere in Perak and Selangor, such as Ja Barumun's *tobat* at Sungai Itek, near Gopeng, Perak. In Selangor, two *tobat* are found in Gombak, about 13km from Kuala Lumpur. The first is *Tobek* (sic) Sutan Puaa behind the Sungai Mulia Mosque. The second is the *tobat* built by Syeikh Muhammad Nor al-Kholidi alias Tuan Sheikh Muhammad Nur Cholidi Nagshabandiah, at Kampong Sungai Chincin, a Mandailing settlement which he founded in 1894. (N.A. Halim, 'Asal nama Bukit Nenas', Warisan column, *Utusan Malaysia*, 13 June 1998, p. 25, and Abdul Ghani Said, *7 Wali Melayu Memartabatkan (memuliakan) bangsa Melayu dengan nur'Iman dan Islam*, Mahbook Publications, Kuala Lumpur, fifth edition October 1998, pp. 88-100).
- <sup>30</sup> In Mandailing, trunks of palm or *pohon puli* (puli trees) are used for channelling the water, being more durable than bamboo ducts which have to be replaced yearly. In Papan, wooden troughs were used to divert the stream water while bamboo was used as a dispenser. (Interview with Ho Thean Fook, 1998. See also, Ho Thean Fook, *Tainted Glory*, University of Malaya Press, 2000, p. 122).
- <sup>31</sup> Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 67.
- <sup>32</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 18.

#### EXPEDITION TO SLIM & BERNAM (pages 40-43)

- <sup>1</sup> H.W.C. Leech's account of the two expeditions were read at a meeting of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JSBRAS), and appeared in JSBRAS, Vol. 4, 1879, in two articles, 'About Kinta' (Part I), and 'About Slim and Bernam' (Part II).
- <sup>2</sup> H.W.C. Leech, 'About Kinta', JSBRAS, Vol. 4, 1879, pp. 21-33.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Errington de la Croix, *Les Mines d'Étain de Perak (Presqu'île Malacca)*, Paris, 1882; J. Errington de la Croix, 'Some Account of the Mining Districts of Lower Perak', JSBRAS, No. 7, June 1881, pp. 1-10.
- <sup>4</sup> Jacques de Morgan, *Exploration dans la Presqu'île Malaise royaumes de Perak et de Patani*, Imprimerie Generale A. Lahure, Paris, 1886; Reprinted by Prince of Songkla University, Thailand, 1993.
- <sup>5</sup> A Hale, Inspector of Mines, Kinta, 'On Mines and Miners in Kinta, Perak', JSBRAS, Vol. 16, 1885.
- <sup>6</sup> Leech, 1879, pp. 23-4. The 'water-wheel' is a wooden chain pump which the Chinese call 'chin-chia'. (Wong Lin Ken, *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914 with special reference to the states of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang*, published for The Association For Asian Studies by The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1965, p. 48).
- <sup>7</sup> Leech, 1879, p. 34.
- <sup>8</sup> Leech wrote that '...the established rate was thirty cents per fifty carries up or down, consisting usually of a slab of tin down or ten gantangs of rice up, when Malays carried they were paid in coin, Sakeis usually took their pay in kind - cloth, tobacco &c.'. Leech employed the Orang Asli as porters on the return journey. 'Sakeis are the coolies here, in fact they take the place of elephants further North as beasts of burden...'. He added that the group included 'some female Sakeis, who appeared as willing and able to carry a load as the males'. The Slim Orang Asli provided the group with roasted tapioca (*ubi kayu*) and, when the water rations ran out, showed them how to drink from vines and bamboo joints. It is likely that they provided similar assistance to Malays, Mandailings, and other outsiders in past encounters. Another interesting point to note is that the Orang Asli seemed not to venture outside their own territory. When the party attempted to reach the Batu Gajah pass between the Slim and Pahang, Leech could not get them to guide the group beyond the Slim valley. 'None of our Slim Sakeis had ever been beyond this before: so much for the supposed migratory habits of these people'. (Leech, 1879, p. 41).
- <sup>9</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 5.
- <sup>10</sup> Leech, 1879, p. 36. This description could still apply to traditional rice-farming in Tapanuli and Sumatra today. Traditional Mandailing rice-farming in Sumatra differs somewhat from that carried out by the Perak Malays, being more labour-intensive. A variety of hill rice is planted on hill terraces, where the water is retained by bunds. The terraces are irrigated from nearby streams by means of bamboo ducts, palm trunks or *pohon puli* trunks. The seed is first sown in a nursery and then transferred after 40 days to the field. The men carry out the planting and the transferring or planting out while the women weed the field twice (once at 3 weeks and the second time at 2 months) after the transfer. (Interview with Nasran Siregar, Coordinator, Pesticide Action Network (PAN), North Sumatra, 1998). It is the women who do the planting among the traditional Mandailing rice-farming communities in Malaya. (Donald Tugby, 1977, pp. 42-6). At the end of the season (6-7 months), the men perform the bulk of the harvesting work. After the seed is removed, the plant is left to decompose (not burnt) in order to replenish the soil, thereby obviating the need for manure. Planting and transferring is done during the wet season, which leaves most of the dry season free for tin-mining, except during harvesting time.
- <sup>11</sup> Leech, 1879, pp. 36-7.
- <sup>12</sup> Leech, 1879, p. 41.
- <sup>13</sup> Leech, 1879, p. 37.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

- 15 Rathborne, 1984, p. 170. Bamboo clumps are part of the landscape of Mandailing settlements, serving as fences (pagaran). Bamboo is used for making water pipes and cooking implements. House walls are also made of treated bamboo strips woven together. (Drs. Z. Pangaduan Lubis, 'Ideas of Governance in the Built Heritage of Mandailing, Sumatra', in *Asia & West Pacific Network for Urban Conservation (AWPNUC) Newsletter*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1999, pp. 7-9)
- 16 Amongst the changes initiated by Godon as Assistant Resident were the planting of coffee as hedging crops, the maximization of agriculture, eradication of parasitic plants, layout, boundaries and settlement improvements, clean water supply, the planting of roadside coconut trees, maintenance of home and surrounding cleanliness by girls and housewives. During Godon's term, 20,000 plots of new paddy fields, with the necessary rice storage facilities and irrigation systems, were developed. He also developed road infrastructure and centres for coffee distribution and marketing, known as *poken* (pekan). (Basyral Hamidy Harahap, 'Orientasi Pembangunan Mandailing: Pelajaran Dari Sejarah', in Harahap and Nasution, *Derap Langkah Mandailing Natal*, 1997, pp. 1-56).
- 17 Leech, 1879, p. 34.
- 18 'Like Rao, Upper Mandailing was a gold-producing region, and it already possessed important Minangkabau settlements. Minangkabau having come from as far away as Agam to work the mines. Mines were located in several places between Huta Nopan and Pakantan, but the most important ones were at the very bottom of the valley, north and south of Pakantan and therefore extremely close to Rao, and around Huta Nopan further north'. (Dobbin, 1983, p. 178) The Padri incursion into Mandailing was motivated by both religious and economic considerations. To this day, the former gold mining sites around Pakantan, Huta na Godang and Huta Pungkut are called 'garabak ni Agom' (Minangkabau mines) by the locals. (Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 35)
- Penang, Pk. Mlc, GOVS1/83. Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 135.
- 7 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 32.
- 8 Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak, for the year 1883, p. 5.
- 9 De la Croix, 1881, p. 4.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 20.
- 12 De la Croix, 1881, p. 4. Some latter-day Papan residents believe that the name Papan - in Cantonese 'Ka Pan', which means 'first wood', was named after the wooden water-wheel, but this is clearly erroneous. (*Papan Radioactive Waste Dump Controversy*, 1984, p. 5). For a further description of Chinese mining and smelting methods, see Rathborne, 1984, p. 121.
- 13 Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak, for the year 1883, p. 5.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Abu Bakar, 1930s, p. 804. J. H. Hampton wrote 'The Tin Deposits of the State of Perak, Straits Settlements', *Transactions of the Mining Association and Institute of Cornwall (TMAIC)*, Vol 1, 1887.
- 16 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 32.

#### RAJA BILAH, THE PENGHULU OF PAPAN (pages 48-58)

- 1 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 20.
- 2 Sadka, 1968, p. 286.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 25 February 1880, notice in Jawi, issued by the Government of Perak in the name of Raja Muda Yusuf of Perak, instructing the people to fence their crops, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 5 10 September 1900, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to enumerate livestock, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 6 Swettenham, 1948, p. 257.
- 7 10 May 1895, letter in Jawi, from A. L. Ingall, Chief Assistant Magistrate Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to come to Batu Gajah to discuss 'a small matter', *Penghulu Papers*.
- 8 3 July 1885, letter in Jawi, from Cecil Wray in Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to get the boss of a sick Chinese man to report to him, and to investigate the construction of a house on Taukeh Chong Kooi Yan's land, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 9 August 1901, Raja Bilah's log book, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 10 8 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk Haji Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, asking Raja

#### 'MINES ARE IN FULL SWING' (pages 44-47)

- 1 Wilkinson, 1971, pp. 217-8.
- 2 Rathborne, 1984, p. 196.
- 3 Lovat, 1914, p. 352.
- 4 Lovat, 1914, p. 351-352. Weld's diary entry quoted is dated 28 July 1882.
- 5 Lovat, 1914, p. 352; the footnote says that the 'balek' is a 'court-house'.
- 6 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 32. CO 273.123/875 15DEB3 514 Inspection Tour To

- Bilalah to hand in the accounts. *Penghulu Papers*. The Penghulu was required to submit a monthly report on his mukim and to keep accounts of revenue. (Sadka, 1968, p. 288)
- 17 8 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk, Haji Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, regarding search for a lost buffalo calf. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 18 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1885, p. 19.
- 19 11 March 1885, letter in Jawi, from Acting Magistrate Kinta J. B.M. Leech, asking Raja Bilah to handle cholera epidemic. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 20 3 July 1885, letter in Jawi, from Cecil Wray in Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 21 Sadka, 1968, p. 315. In 1894, this theory was altered and the disease was attributed to 'miasmatic poisons' emanating from newly-cleared land.
- 22 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1884, p. 19.
- 23 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1885, p. 4, 18.
- 24 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1886, p. 8.
- 25 2 March 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah requesting a list of those who have not been inoculated for small-pox. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 26 Swettenham, 1948, pp. 155-6.
- 27 22 June 1903, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer R. B. Grey to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to enumerate leprosy cases in his parish. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 28 Swettenham, 1948, pp. 268-9.
- 29 2 August 1904, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster, asking Raja Bilah to collect and submit local place names. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 30 10 September 1902, letter in Jawi, from collector of Land Revenue Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to investigate whose plot of land is marked 'B' on the map. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 31 Lim Teck Ghee, *Origins of a Colonial Economy Land and Agriculture in Perak 1874-1897*. Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, 1976, p. 149.
- 32 R.D. Hill, *Rice in Malaya, A Study in Historical Geography*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 105.
- 33 5 July 1904, letter in Jawi, from Luah Kang Penghulu Blanja to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to send his people down to Parit to inspect the land, to fulfil an order by Collector of Land Revenue Kuala Kangsar to demarcate boundaries. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 34 Gullick, 1989, p. 108.

- 35 5 July 1904, letter in Jawi, from Luah Kang Penghulu Blanja to Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 36 Haji Salleh could have been Haji Salleh Bilal, the bilal of Papan Mosque, or Haji Muhammad Salleh, Raja Bilah's son-in-law.
- 37 23 July 1907, from C.W. Bresland Assistant District Officer Bruas at Parit to Raja Bilah, about overlapping claims of ownership of Haji Salleh's land in Parit. *Penghulu Papers*.

#### RESISTANCE TO CORVEE LABOUR IN LAMBOR (pages 59-64)

- 1 Wilkinson, 1971, pp. 251-2. (Perak Council Minutes, 9 October 1882)
- 2 Wilkinson, 1971, pp. 256-9. (Perak Council Minutes, 18 October 1882)
- 3 Wilkinson, 1971, pp. 164-5. (Perak Council Minutes, 4 February 1878)
- 4 Wilkinson, 1971, pp. 230-32. (Perak Council Minutes, 30 December 1880)
- 5 Lovat, 1914, p. 352.
- 6 Sadka, 1968, p. 297; Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, pp. 68-69. Several years later, when the state coffers were in better shape, the poll tax was reduced to \$1 per head and the corvee to four days. Even then, the government was considering to abolish the poll tax, keeping it mainly as an incentive to Malay cultivators.
- 7 14 December 1882, notice in Jawi, issued by the Government of Perak, to all Penghulu requiring them to make a census of those eligible for corvee labour. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 8 Lance Castles, *The Political Life of a Sumatran Residency: Tapanuli 1915-1940*, dissertation presented to the Faculty of Graduate School of Yale University, 1972, p. 58.
- 9 Sadka, 1954, pp. 47 (n. 70), 49.
- 10 CO 273 120/11247 25MY83 204 Outbreak at Lombok, Pk 13599. Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 133.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 20-22. The annual poll tax, according to the Perak Council Minutes, should be \$1.50 per head in 1883, although it was reduced to \$1.00 in 1884. Apparently the fighting men among Raja Bilah's followers were all Mandailings. No Rawas or Minangs were mentioned.
- 16 5 May 1883, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, reproduced (retyped) in

- Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 21) instructing Raja Bilah to mobilise Mandailing troops to suppress the Lambor uprising, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>17</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 22.
- <sup>18</sup> CO 273 120/1 1247 25MY83 204 Outbreak at Lombok, Pk 13599. Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 133.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak, for the year 1883, p. 3.
- <sup>21</sup> 1909. Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>22</sup> Correspondence, Haji Abdullah, 1985. There are some errors in Haji Abdullah's account, dating the Lambor incident to the 1890s, and calling Idris Sultan while he was still a Raja. Nevertheless, the account is repeated here as it appears to be the only source that mentions the involvement of Acehnese refugees in the Lambor incident. In later years, Haji Abdullah believed that the story that Raja Asal was directly involved in helping the British to capture the alleged murderers of Birch was a rumour spread by Acehnese refugees who resented Raja Bilah's interference in the Lambor incident and intended to rouse the feelings of the Perak Malays against the Mandailings. Although Raja Asal's services to the British can be historically verified, Haji Abdullah was wont to dismiss the story as 'cerita rekaan' and 'omong semata-mata' (concocted story, merely empty rumour).
- <sup>23</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1884, p. 25.
- <sup>24</sup> 27 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Acting Magistrate Kinta J. B. M. Leech to Raja Bilah requesting Raja Bilah to carry out a census of those eligible for corvée labour, and those exempted because they own village lands or padi fields, *Penghulu Papers*. It appears from this document that whereas the poll-tax had already been reduced to four days a year in 1884, it was increased to the original six days in 1885.
- <sup>25</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 298.
- <sup>5</sup> Wilkinson, 1971, p. 217. (Perak Council Minutes, 20 February 1880)
- <sup>6</sup> Birch wrote, '...Batugaja (sic) on the left bank (of the Kinta river), a large and fine village where the soil is good. There are about 30 or 40 houses, and a large smelting house. The tin was worked quite close to here at one time, but now it is worked much higher up from the river and more in the interior'. (Burns, 1976, p. 263)
- <sup>7</sup> Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak, for the year 1881, p. 11.
- <sup>8</sup> Wilkinson, 1971, p. 262. (Perak Council Minutes, 21 October 1882)
- <sup>9</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1884, p. 6.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>11</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1885, p. 11.
- <sup>12</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1886, p. 14.
- <sup>13</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 35; Sadka, 1968, p. 294.
- <sup>14</sup> Hj. Mohd. Zain bin Hj. Zon (chief editor), *Sejarah Batu Gajah Sepintas Lalu*. AJK 100 Tahun Batu Gajah, 1992, p. 32.
- <sup>15</sup> Tok Stia Raja is known as the son of Bendahara Raja, a Minang title which means the Raja's prime minister. According to N.A. Halim, the name of Tok Stia Raja's father was Ja Barita, whereas according to Hashim Sam, his name was Ja Marabun, while Ja Barita was Ja Marabun's brother. (N.A. Halim, edited by Mohd. Zulkifli bin Hj. Abdul Aziz, *Tempat-Tempat Bersejarah Perak*, Jabatan Muzium, Kuala Lumpur, 1981, p. 135; Hashim Sam, *The Royal Commoner: The Life and Times of Imam Perang Jabor 1858-1927*, National Library of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2002, p. 64)
- <sup>16</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 2.
- <sup>17</sup> For a history of the Rangkuti clan, see Haji Sutan Pandapotan, *Sejarah Ringkas Datu Janggut Marpayung Aji dan Harajaon Rangkuti di Mandailing*, Medan 1983. Datu Janggut is considered the progenitor of the Rangkuti clan.
- <sup>18</sup> N.A. Halim, 1981, p. 135.
- <sup>19</sup> Hashim Sam reproduces a genealogy of names with Malayized spellings, which could be interpreted as Ibrahim Rangkuti (Tok Stia Raja) son of Ja Marabun Rangkuti (Bendahara Raja) son of Ja Marchaya son of Ja Panjadian son of Ja Manusun son of Namora Saangkupon son of Raja Gading Sarwaran son of Datu Janggut son of Babiat Sobuon. (Hashim Sam, 2002, p. 64)
- <sup>20</sup> Annual Report on the Kinta District for the year

#### TOK STIA RAJA AND THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF BATU GAJAH (pages 65-70)

<sup>1</sup> Swettenham, 1948, pp. 238-9.

<sup>2</sup> De la Croix, 1881, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ooi Jin-Bee, 'Mining Landscapes of Kinta', *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Volume 4, 1955, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Rathborne described the road to Gopeng. Rathborne, 1984, p. 196.



1891, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, pp. 673-4. 'For surface working a small sluice box ('lanchut ketchil') is used for washing the tin dirt, in contradistinction to the large sluice box ('lanchut besar'), employed in the case of deeper workings. The box is shaped something like a coffin, widening out in the centre, and narrowing again towards the bottom.' (Owen, 1897-98, pp. 58-9).

21 Ibid.

22 Hj. Mohd. Zain bin Hj. Zon, 1992, p. 29.

### THE PAPAN MOSQUE AND ISLAMIC ADMINISTRATION (pages 71-84)

1 Shaikh Muhammad Taib is described as 'satu orang tua yang baik...orang alim lagi gagah perkasa. ditembak tiada lud'. (Kalthun Jeran, 1986, p. 42; Abdul Samad Ahmad, 1966, p. 39).

2 Sadka, 1954, p. 70.

3 Sadka, 1954, p. 37. Wilkinson, 1971, p. 195. (Perak Council Minutes, 4 March 1879). The Shaikh became the first Chief Qadi (Muslim judge and registrar) of Perak as the office was only introduced during the era of British protection. (J. M. Gullick, 1958, p. 139) Shaikh Mohd. Taib was also related by marriage to the exiled ex-Sultan Abdullah.

4 Sadka, 1954, p. 101.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Wilkinson, 1971, p. 264. (Perak Council Minutes, 26 October 1882)

8 24 March 1884, letter in Jawi, from Perak Chief Kadi Tuan Alimul Fadzil Shaikh Muhammad Taib to Raja Bilah, mentioned in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 22) requesting Raja Bilah to appoint a Qadi in Kinta and to build a mosque in Papan, *Penghulu Papers*.

9 A mukim or Muslim parish consists of 40 or more households, and this correspond with the requirement of having 40 households before the institution of *Namora-Natoras* can be established in a Mandailing huta (settlement). A mosque becomes obligatory when a settlement has 30 or more households, or alternatively, if there are enough Muslims to perform the Friday prayers, and if these Muslims are permanently settled or have the intention of staying on in the place. Another prerequisite is a learned Muslim who can lead the prayers. (Qadi 'Ayad, *The Foundations of Islam*, Diwan al-Amir Publications, England, 1982, p. 30)

10 The chiefs of the Malay and Minang communities were called 'Dato'.

11 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 22.

12 Ibid.

13 Hj. Mohd. Zain bin Hj. Zon, 1992, p. 32.

14 At the author's (Abdur-Razzaq Lubis) request, the Architecture Department, University Technology Malaysia (UTM), did a measured drawing of the Papan Mosque in 1996. (Maroz b. Hj. Azizul Khuzaini et. al., *Masjid Papan, 72, Kampung Melayu Papan, Papan, Perak*. Kajian Terukur Jabatan Semolina, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, 1996/97). The importance of this mosque was highlighted by the author many times in the local press, and in 'A Proposal To Restore The Papan Mosque, Oldest Mandailing Mosque in Perak, built 1888', together with Khoo Salma Nasution, March 1996. In 1999, the Muzium Negara restored/reconstructed the Papan Mosque as part of a staff training exercise. ('Craftsmen restoring Perak's 19th century Mosque', *Business Times*, 6 January 1999).

It is possible that the Papan Mosque is the last remaining large-scale mosque of traditional Mandailing architecture found either in the Peninsular or the Sumatran homeland. However, smaller mosques or suru(s) of traditional design can still be found in Mandailing, where the settlement mosque is called a 'suru' (Dr. R. A. Kern, 'The Origin of the Malay Surau', *JMBRAS*, V.1 29, 1956, p. 179-181).

This assessment is according to a preliminary survey of Mandailing built heritage carried out in Mandailing by the author and Drs. Z. Pangaduan Lubis in 1998 and 1999, and a similar survey carried out by a team from Badan Warisan Sumatra in three areas in Manambin, Huta na Godang and Kota Nopan in Upper Mandailing. See *Mandailing Architecture*, Badan Warisan Sumatra, n.d. A smaller version of the mosque with similar architecture was found in Upper Mandailing but was demolished in the 1970s. (*Traditional Buildings of Indonesia, Batak Simalungun and Batak Mandailing*, Volume III, Ministry of Public Works and Electric Power, Directorate General of Housing, Building, Planning and Urban Development, Building Research Institute, United Nations Regional Housing Centre (ECAFE), Bandung, 1973, p. 44, photograph number 45). Interview with Mohammad Dolok Lubis, a member of the team that carried out the inventory of Mandailing architecture.

In recent times, most vernacular mosques on both sides of the Straits of Malacca have been replaced with Mughal revival-style architecture of domes and arcades, historically introduced by the Dutch and British public works as mosque architecture, and now popularly perceived as 'Islamic' architecture.

15 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 3. The son of Haji Muhammad Salleh Bilal was a 'process-server' employed by the Kinta district office.

- <sup>16</sup> Haji Muhammad Said Talu was later buried in front of the Papan Mosque. In Perak, religious leaders were addressed by the prefix Tuan (Sir), Raja Ya'qub writing in the *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya* used this address for the Chief Qadi, the Imam and the Qadi of Kinta.
- <sup>17</sup> 1894, Perak Surveys, Plan of Allotment No. 777 Block 158-1 Surveyed for 'Raja Bila', showing 'Mohamedan Burial Ground, Gaz. Notn 331 of 1901', *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>18</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 221.
- <sup>19</sup> 6 April 1923 (registered), Plan of Portions 27802 & 27803 Town of Papan District of Kinta, of Plan No. 27278, showing the land endowed as waqf by Raja Bilah for the Papan Mosque; 3 November 1923, Gazette of the Federated Malay States in Jawi, declaring the site of the Papan Mosque as 'prohibited land' (waqf), *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>20</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for April by J.B.M. Leech, District Officer, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 203.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for July, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1898, Vol. XI, p. 708.
- <sup>23</sup> 15 April 1899, letter in Jawi, from Haji Muhammad Assistant Qadi, Syariah Court Kinta Batu Cajah, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to notify the Muslims of Papan Parish of the date of Hari Raya, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>24</sup> Gullick, 1989, p. 294.
- <sup>25</sup> 27 September 1900, letter in Jawi, from Syed Abdullah Assistant Chief Qadi Perak, Kuala Kangsar, to Raja Bilah, authorizing Haji Abdul Majid to teach (religious teachings), *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>26</sup> In 1904, Syed Abdullah Attas was listed as the Chief Qadi of Perak in Kuala Kangsar. (1904, register in Jawi, of persons qualified to be Magistrate's Adjutants, *Penghulu Papers*)
- <sup>27</sup> Sadka 1968, pp. 253-4
- <sup>28</sup> Moshe Yegar, *Islam and Islamic Institutions in British Malaya, Policies and Implementation*, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1979, p. 177-8; Sadka, 1968, p. 26.
- <sup>29</sup> 7 December 1887, letter in Jawi, from Raja Ahmad ibni Al-Marhum Bendahara Iskandar Syah Secretary of the Sultan to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to help settle a property dispute between a divorced couple, Long Rabbiah and Haji Ali, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>30</sup> Raja Mansur is the son of Ex-Sultan Abdullah, who became a cadet in the Perak service in 1883 and was appointed to magistracies in different parts of the states including Batu Cajah. Mansur married the eldest daughter of Sultan Idris in 1893. (Sadka, 1968, pp. 113 and 278)
- <sup>31</sup> Haji Ali could have been Haji Ali Pahang, also known as Haji Ali Kuantan Pahang, a contemporary of Raja Bilah in Klang. His father Ja Suman was a contemporary of Raja Asal in Pahang, so it is probable that Haji Ali was born in Pahang or was already in Pahang at an early age. In Perak, Haji Ali settled down to being a tin merchant and shopkeeper. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 2.3. 18).
- Haji Ibrahim could have been Haji Ibrahim who moved from Sungai Raya and set up smelting furnaces in Papan. If so, he was probably a relative rather than a brother of Haji Ali. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19).
- <sup>32</sup> Moshe Yegar, 1979, p. 218.
- <sup>33</sup> Moshe Yegar, 1979, p. 217.
- <sup>34</sup> 23 May 1905, letter in Jawi, District Officer Kinta E.J. Brewster to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that by order of the Sultan of Perak, zakat (tithes) on padi for the district of Krian and Larut must be paid to the religious officers in the district, and cannot be transferred to another parish, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>35</sup> According to Islamic law, zakat should as a rule be paid in the local parish, except in the case of urgent need, such as a famine in a neighbouring parish. (Qadi 'Ayad, undated, p. 99)
- <sup>36</sup> Ahmad Ibrahim, *Islamic Law in Malaya*, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd., Singapore, 1965, pp. 335-6, Zakat meant a tithe of the crop of padi harvested over a certain quantity, fitrah, a gantang (the Malay gallon) of husked rice, due from every Muslim at the end of each Ramadhan. (Moshe Yegar, 1979, p. 218)
- <sup>37</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 172.
- <sup>38</sup> 23 May 1905, letter in Jawi, District Officer Kinta E.J. Brewster to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that by order of the Sultan of Perak, zakat (tithes) on padi for the district of Krian and Larut must be paid to the religious officers in the district, and cannot be transferred to another parish, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>39</sup> 23 May 1905, letter in Jawi, District Officer Kinta E.J. Brewster to Raja Bilah, *Penghulu Papers*.

#### THE IDENTITY OF THE 'MALAY MINERS' OF KINTA (pages 85-97)

- 1 James C. Jackson, 'Malay Mining Methods in Kinta in 1884', *Malaya in History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1964.
- 2 For a good background of the geological and geographical aspects of the Kinta valley, see Ooi Jin-Bee, 'Mining Landscapes of Kinta', *The Malaysian Journal of Tropical Geography*, Volume 4, 1955.
- 3 Jackson, 1964, p. 18.

- 4 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- 5 Annual Report of the Land and Mines Department for 1891 by C. Leech, State Commissioner of Lands for Kinta, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 297.
- 6 Correspondence, Haji Abdullah, 1985.
- 7 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- 10 Hale, 1885, p. 316.
- 11 Rathborne, 1984, p. 128.
- 12 Hampton, 1887, p. 148.
- 13 Teuku Iskandar, 1970, p. 152. 'Chebak' also means 'to dig with a sidelong blows of a changkul (as at a bank or mine-face)'. (R.O. Winstedt, *An Unabridged Malay-English Dictionary*, Singapore: Marican & Sons, 3rd edition with an appendix, 1959, p. 60).
- 14 Jackson, 1964, p. 13-14.
- 15 Hale, 1885, p. 315.
- 16 Jackson, 1964, p. 13-14.
- 17 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- 18 For a detailed description of the lombong mining method, see Rathborne, 1984, pp. 118-121.
- 19 De Morgan, 1886, pp. 354-5.
- 20 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 18. 'Lampu' is an old Mandailing name and 'Si(m)pan' is a tapir. (Email correspondence, Drs. Zulkifli Lubis, 3 July 2003).
- 21 Rathborne and Flower-Ellis have descriptions of dulang washing, including superstitions associated with it. (Rathborne, 1984, pp. 129 & 132-3; T. Flower-Ellis, *Brief Account of the Malay Tin Industry. Proceedings of The Chemical and Metallurgical Society of South Africa (PCMSSA)*, Vol. 2, 1897-1899, p. 9).
- 22 Hale, 1885, p. 303.
- 23 Abu Bakar, circa 1930's, p. 164.
- 24 Hale, 1885, p. 316.
- 25 Isma'il bin Hadji 'Abdoe'llah 'Oemar Effendi, *Melawat Ke Melaka 1920 dan 1921*, Balai Poestaka, Drukkerij Volkslectuur, Weltevreden, 1924, pp. 72 & 74.
- 26 Owen, 1897-98, pp. 72-3.
- 27 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 18.
- 28 Basyral Hamidy Harahap and Hotman M. Siahaan, *Orientasi Nilai-Nilai Budaya Batak. Suatu Pendekatan Terhadap Perilaku Batak Toba dan Angkola-Mandailing*, Sanggar Willem Iskander, Jakarta, 1987, see photographs on p. 90.
- 29 30 April 1882, agreement in Jawi, recording advance taken by Haji Mamat from Encik Talib, to be paid back with timah urab. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 30 Jackson, 1964, p. 17.
- 31 This is probably the same Raja Gunong Mandailing, the kepala kuria (parish head) of Huta Siantar, Lower Mandailing, who was arbitrarily dismissed by the Dutch on allegation of being *ongeschiktheid* (unfit for duty). Disgraced, Raja Gunong sold all his properties and migrated to Perak with his family. (H. Mohammad Said, *Soetan Koemala Boelan (Flora) Raja, pemimpin rakyat, wartawan, Penentang kezaliman Belanda masa 1912-1932*, UI-Press, undated, p. 53).
- 32 22 December 1885, memo of mining agreement, in English, between Raja Gunong and Raja Bilah, in which Raja Gunong sold off his one-sixteenth share in the Klian Johan mine. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 33 31 May 1886, agreement in Jawi, sale of lombong mine by Raman to Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 34 Hale, 1885, p. 303.
- 35 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, pp. 91-92.
- 36 According to Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh and Haji عثمان bin Haji Muhammad of the Rangkuti clan, it is believed that Raja Bilah sold his mines 'because he was sick of being pressured by the Malay Rajas', presumably the owners of the ancestral mines to whom Raja Bilah was paying royalties, who felt that the mines would bring them more income if they leased them to Chinese or Europeans.
- 37 No. 521. - Application having been made to the Collector of Land Revenue, Kinta, at Batu Gajah, by Raja Bila bin Raja Asal for one new Mining Lease of land situated at Pusing in the Sungai Trap mukim of the Kinta district, on the ground that the said Raja Bila bin Raja Asal is the registered owner thereof and that the original Mining Lease, No. 993, has been lost. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1899, Vol XII, p. 536.
- For an example of a mining permit, see 1895, note signed by Kinta Collector of Land Revenue, W.P. Hume, granting approval for mining, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 38 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, p. 56.
- 39 26 May 1886, agreement in Jawi and Chinese characters, between Raja Bilah and Taukeh Ah Ngau, on the use of water from the reservoir, *Penghulu Papers*, The Jawi version names 'Ah Ngau' while the Chinese version names 'Hew Ng Hap' when pronounced in Cantonese language. Presumably this is the same person as Hew Ah Ang, leader of the Chinese at Papan, mentioned on several occasions in the *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya* (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 20).

- <sup>40</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 351.
- <sup>41</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 20.
- <sup>42</sup> Wilkinson, 1971, p. 231. (Perak Council Minutes, 30 December 1880).
- <sup>43</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1886, p. 28. Most engines were imported from the England. Gwynne's 'Invincible' and Robey's 'Undertype' were the favourite engines in Perak. The cost of a 16-H.P. engine and boiler was about 800 pounds and it cost \$45 (4 pounds 19s 4d) to keep them in working order. Total monthly cost of the engine exclusive of hire averaged \$250 or 27 pounds 12s 4d. per month. The engines were dragged on to the mines by coolies in gangs of 150 to 200 at a time. The latter could pull a load of 12 tons 3 miles an hour, along a fairly level road. The engines were in use at the alluvial mines and were chiefly owned by European firms, who let them out to Chinese miners. (Owen, 1897-98, pp. 60-1).

<sup>44</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Annual Report on the Kinta District for the year 1891, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, pp. 673-4.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. The report gives a description of the technological innovation:

The wash-box employed formerly was 30 feet long, and could only be used with a considerable head of water—in fact a six-inch steam pump could only keep two boxes going, and, as a natural consequence, only land in the neighbourhood of large streams of water, or in which the owners could afford steam or water-power pumps, could be worked, considerable capital was necessary to open a mine, and the only part of the land worth washing was the karang, or rich tin deposit, found at a depth of from 10 to 50 feet below the surface.

The introduction of the "lanchut kechil" has changed all this. The box itself is but 8 feet long, and cost \$4. It can be put wherever there is a pool of water, instead of requiring a steam pump; it can be supplied with water by one man ladling with a kerosene tin, and instead of thousands of dollars being spent on stripping the surface soil before the karang could be reached, the surface soil itself is now washed in the "lanchut kechil," the same water being used over and over again, and the mining coolies earning from 30 cents to \$3 a day each. If they cannot make 30 cents a day they stop work, but there are few places in Kinta where they cannot do that. Five or six men work to one box.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Flower-Ellis, 1897-1899, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> 14 September 1899, letter in Jawi, Raja Muhammad to Haji Muhammad Nur, about a piece of mining land in Tapaah, asking Muhammad Nur to invite Raja Bilah to invest in it; also asking Muhammad Nur to write to Raja Mahmud Ipoah about a debt to a chetty. *Penghulu Papers*. It is possible that this Raja Muhammad is the same as Raja Muhammad Jabor of Kampar.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Report by the Acting District Magistrate, Batang Padang for September by E.C.J. Tranchell, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1897, Vol. X, pp. 922-3.

#### FOREST CONSERVATION DESTROYS THE RELAU SEMUT INDUSTRY (pages 98-105)

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report, Perak, 1894, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1895, p. 371, quoted in Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, 1971, p. 206. (Perak Council Minutes, 3 November 1879)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Rathborne, 1984, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> 22 August 1885, letter in Jawi, Magistrate R. D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, regarding a Chinese Chong Lim working the lampan mines, with Hewett clarifying government policy on lampan, and a case of erosion in Tempusan reported by Taukeh Chong Kooi Yen. *Penghulu Papers*.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> For example of charcoal duty collection, refer to 25 May 1880, receipt in English, issued by the Government of Perak to 'Raja Biela', signed by H.W.C. Leech acknowledging payment of \$11.22 for 'charcoal ...'. *Penghulu Papers*.

<sup>8</sup> Wilkinson, 1971, p. 255. (Perak Council Minutes, 10 October, 1882); Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin, in Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> 25 October 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Collector of Land Revenue W.P. Hume to Raja Bilah instructing Raja Bilah to issue passes for rubber extraction and sales. *Penghulu Papers*.

<sup>11</sup> Gutta percha is a latex extracted from various species of the genera *Palaquium* and *Payena* of the family sapotaceae. Lesley M. Potter, 'A Forest product out of control, Gutta percha in Indonesia and the wider Malay world, 1845-1915', pp. 281-308 in Peter Boomgaard, Freek Colambijn and David Henley (eds.), *Paper Landscapes. Explorations in the Environmental History of Indonesia*. KITLV, Leiden, 1997; Gullick, 1989, p. 154.

<sup>12</sup> 27 March 1885, letter in Jawi, from Acting Kinta Magistrate J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, regarding

application for land at Changkat to be turned into a coconut orchard. *Penghulu Papers*. The above-mentioned piece of land on Changkat, or one very near it, was later taken up by Raja Bilah himself and endowed as a Muslim burial ground.

13 Ibid.

14 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, pp. 154-161.

15 De la Croix, 1881, p. 4.

16 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 11.

17 De Morgan, 1886, p. 396.

18 De Morgan, 1886, pp. 390-1.

19 De Morgan, 1886, pp. 393-5.

20 De Morgan, 1886, pp. 393.

21 De Morgan, 1886, pp. 386.

22 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, p. 161.

24 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1888, p. 39.

25 Ibid.

26 K.G. Tregonning, *Straits Tin. A brief account of the first seventy-five years of The Straits Trading Company, Limited, 1887-1962*. The Straits Times Press, Singapore, n.d., p. 19.

27 *Perak Government Gazette*, 1890, Vol. III, p. 31.

#### THE 1887 PAPAN RIOTS (pages 106-110)

1 *Fifty Years of Railways in Malaya, 1885-1935* issued by The Federated Malay States Railways, September, 1935, p. 9.

2 Jackson, 1964, p. 12; Leonard Wray, 'Some Account of the Tin Mines and the Mining Industries of Perak', *Perak Museum Notes*, No. III, 1894, p. 15.

3 Wilfred Blythe, *The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, A Historical Study*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969, p. 256-7.

4 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1886, p. 28.

5 CO 273/17569 30/Y88 347 Suppression of Chinese Secret Societies GOV14607 P1341/89; Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 181.

6 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the Year 1887, p. 16.

7 CO 273/17569 30/Y88 347 Suppression of Chinese Secret Societies GOV14607 P1341/89; Paul H. Kratoska, 1990, p. 181.

8 Ibid.

9 Correspondence, Haji Abdullah, 1985: interview with Teh Puasa binti Haji Mohd. Salleh, the granddaughter of Raja Bilah, 1998.

10 'Dulu di Papan itu, macam adik-beradik dengan Cina. Masa datang perang sama Cina, bawa Cina itu ke Papan. Cina luar yang hendak datang menyerang kot dari Pusing, kot dari mana. Jadi arwah Nenek Raja Bilah di Papan ini, ada berdera perang dulu, ditegakkannya, dipancang, tegak di bawah itu, orang itu lari balik. Di rumah kita, orang itu (Cina Papan) makan-minum. Jadi orang itu sangka bukan orang lain, macam adik-beradiklah dengan Neneknya'. (Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998)

11 J.B.M. Leech seems to have made his entry into Kinta as Assistant Magistrate in 1885, and later rose to the position of District Magistrate. He was a firm friend of Haji Raja Bilah and the Mandailings. He is not to be confused with H.W.C. Leech, the policeman-magistrate whom Raja Bilah escorted on the Slim expedition. (Cyril Baxendale, *Personalities of Old Malaya*. The Pinang Gazette Press, Ltd, 1930, p. 51)

12 Baxendale, 1930, p. 50.

13 Blythe, 1969, p. 257.

14 Dickson, F. Thorold and Mary L. Pechell, *A Ruler Of Ind*, London: Digby, Land & Co., Publishers, n.d., Chapter VIII, pp. 259-284. Frederick Thorold Dickson Thorold was Magistrate and Coroner of Larut.

15 Rathborne, 1984, pp. 220-1.

16 Mervyn Llewelyn Wynne, *Triad and Tabut. A Survey of the origin and diffusion of Chinese and Mohamedan Secret Societies in the Malay Peninsula A.D. 1800-1935*, Government Printing Office, Singapore, 1941, p. 415.

17 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1888, p. 26.

18 Kinta Monthly Report for July 1889. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1889, Vol. II, p. 660.

19 Blythe, 1969, p. 258.

20 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, pp. 74-75.

21 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, pp. 94-101.

22 Wong Lin Ken, 1965, pp. 99.

#### RAJA BILAH IN DEBT (pages 111-120)

1 Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1888, p. 35.

2 Kinta Annual Report for 1888. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1889, Vol. II, p. 333.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Kinta Monthly Report for October. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1889, Vol. II, p. 822.

6 Ibid.

- 7 Monthly Report, February 1889, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1889, Vol. II, p. 114.
- 8 Kinta Annual Report for 1888, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1889, Vol. II, p. 333.
- 9 General Remarks on the Census, Federated Malay States, Part 1, 1901, p. 2.
- 10 Sir George Maxwell, Kinta 60 Years Ago, *Straits Times Annual*, 1951, p. 41.
- 11 Census Report of the District of Kinta taken on the 5<sup>th</sup> April 1891, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 583.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 153.
- 14 21 November 1887, statement in Jawi, from Sua Hu to Raja Bilah, about rent owed to Raja Bilah for Sikandah's house, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 15 20 December 1887, rental agreement in Jawi, between Seng Kee and Raja Bilah, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 16 28 March 1886, agreement in Jawi, between Raja Bilah and Chin Boon Sui, for the sale of a shophouse in Papan, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 17 5 June 1886, agreement in Jawi, between Raja Bilah and Choon Chan, regarding rental of a stall in Papan, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 18 12 April 1886, notice in English, from Kinta Magistrate J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, summoning Raja Bilah to appear in the Batu Gajah court for failure to pay for 'iron roofing', *Penghulu Papers*. The iron roofing material used then probably consisted of corrugated iron sheets which were not only heavier but more thickly galvanised, and hence much more durable, than the galvanised iron sheets produced today.
- 19 26 August 1887, notice in English from Kinta Acting Magistrate and Collector to Raja Bilah, summoning Raja Bilah to appear in the Batu Gajah court 'about roofing', *Penghulu Papers*.
- 20 *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 408.
- 21 1 October 1888, statement of accounts in Jawi, from R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, showing the balance of Raja Bilah's debt to Hewett, and asking Raja Bilah to settle through Dr. Duncan Scott; 2 February 1888, note in English by Dr. Duncan Scott, acknowledging receipt of \$200 from 'Datoh Raja Biela' in repayment of debt to Krian Magistrate R.D. Hewett; 3 November 1888, note in English by Dr. Duncan Scott, acknowledging receipt of \$712.80 from 'Datoh Raja Biela' in repayment of debt to R.D. Hewett, all *Penghulu Papers*.
- 22 28 November 1888, memo, of mortgage, in English, signed by Collector of Land Revenue W. Mahoney, between 'Raja Bila bin Raja Pinjie Bulan' (mortgagor) and George Bain on behalf of the Perak Government (mortgagee), for 'town lots' in Papan and Batu Gajah, for a loan of \$2500 at the rate of 6 percent per annum, *Penghulu Papers*. Raja Bilah named 'Raja Pinjie Bulan' as his father, but the signature is clearly his.
- 23 1 November 1890, memo, of mortgage in English, signed by Collector and Magistrate J.B.M. Leech, between 'Raja Biela bin Raja Asal' (mortgagor) and Leong Ah Chong (mortgagee) for 'town lots' in Papan, for a loan of \$900 at the rate of 36 percent per annum, *Penghulu Papers*. Raja Bilah named 'Raja Asal' as his father, but the signature is clearly his.
- 24 22 June 1892, receipt in English, issued by the Government of Perak to 'Raja Biela', acknowledging payment of \$58.50 being interest on balance of loan of \$1950, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 25 Sadka, 1968, p. 281, quoting the AR Kinta 1889 and the *Perak Government Gazette*, 4 April 1890.
- 26 Sadka, 1968, p. 281.
- 27 1909, Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances, *Penghulu Papers*.
- 28 *Perak Estimates*, 1901, p. 90; *Perak Establishments*, 1906, p. 5.
- 29 Sadka, 1968, p. 282.

#### THE MANDAILING PIONEERS OF KINTA (pages 121-129)

- 1 Called 'tonun Patani' by the Mandailings, the cloth is highly prized by the nobility and can still be found in the heirlooms of many prominent families. One anthropologist said that it was used as a ritual cloth. (Sandra A. Niessen, *Batak Cloth and Clothing, A Dynamic Indonesian Tradition*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1993, p. 79)
- 2 At the time, duit ayam was used as business capital in Toba and Padang Lawas.
- 3 Pande Maradjar, 1923, pp. 2-3.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Sadka, 1968, p. 5.
- 6 Mangaradja Ihoetan, 1926, p. 5.
- 7 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 33.
- 8 Adnan Haji Nawang, 1997, p. 12.
- 9 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 33.
- 10 Ibid.; Abu Bakar, 1930s, p. 789.
- 11 Abdullah Haji Musa (Lubis), *Sejarah Perak, Dahulu dan Sekarang*, Qalam, Singapore, undated, p. 47; Haji Abdullah Lubis, 'Perkembangan Sejarah Larut' in *Perak dahulu dan sekarang*, edited by Adnan Haji Nawang, Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1988, p. 23.

- 12 Matang Monthly Report for July, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 764.
- 13 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 33.
- 14 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 33; Abu Bakar, 1930s, p. 809; Hj. Mohd. Zain bin Hj. Zon, 1992, p. 28.
- 15 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 2; *Perak Government Gazette*, 1899, Vol. XII, p. 534.
- 16 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 18.
- 17 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 2, 3, 18.
- 18 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 18-19.
- 19 Donald Tugby, 1977, p. 24; Abu Bakar, circa 1930s, p. 41.
- 20 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- 21 In 1899, notice was given by the Court of First Class Magistrate, Kinta, at Batu Gajah, 'for Letters of Administration to all and singular the goods and chattels, rights, credits and effects which were of Haji Muhammad Bassir bin Gading Raja, late of Sungai Rala, in the district of Kinta, deceased, to be granted to Jama Ngatas bin Tan Kasa, on the ground that the applicant is the cousin of the said deceased'. (*Perak Government Gazette*, 1899, Vol. XII, p. 534)
- Haji Bashir was the patriarch of a 'very influential Mandahling family in Perak'. Haji Muhammad Bashir's eldest daughter Fatimah married Abdul Kadir, the son of Tok Stia Raja of Batu Gajah, of the Rangcuti clan, while his third daughter, Aishah married Yeop Abdullah Sani, (father of the late Tan Sri Hashim Yeop Sani, who became Chief Justice of Malaya), another son of Tok Stia Raja. His second daughter Hajjah Aminah married Muhammad Jabor, a wealthy owner of properties, tin-mines, rubber plantations and orchards in Kampar. The youngest child, Haji Ali married Sapiah of the Lubis clan, (Hashim Sam, 2002, pp. 63, 81)
- Hashim Sam referred to Muhammad Jabor and his father-in-law Haji Bashir as 'Imam Prang Jabor' and 'Imam Prang Haji Bashir'. The assumption made in this book, that Haji Muhammad Jabor was an 'Imam Prang', was based on a newspaper article (*The Star*, 7 January 1987) which misquoted the passage by George Maxwell, who was actually describing Imam Prang Ja Barumon (Maxwell, 1951, p. 42). The assumption that Haji Muhammad Bashir was an 'Imam Prang' was based on a misinterpretation of the photograph of the Gopeng Contingent, which was led by Imam Prang Ja Barumon and not Haji Bashir, (Hashim Sam, 2002, pp. 12, 63; Mohd. Hashim bin Sam Abdul Latiff, 'The Identity of Ngah Jabor and Mohamed Jabor bin Bardot 1858-1921', *JMBRAS*, Vol. 53, Part 2, 1980, pp. 12, 14, 17).
- 22 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- 23 Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998; 2 January 1896, letter in Jawi, from clerk Muhammad Nur to Raja Bilah, requesting confirmation of leave to perform Hajj and recommending Raja Ya'qub as replacement. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 24 *Perak Estimates*, 1901, p. 90; *Perak Establishments*, 1906, p. 5. His full name is Raja Sulampe son of Sutan Bangun son of Raja Indokoling son of Sutan Bangun son of Raja Indokoling son of Sutan Sinomba son of Raja Gumanti Porang son of Raja Malaan Sandi Tua.
- 25 Abu Bakar, 1930s, p. 164.
- 26 Circa 1883, petition in Jawi, by Ipoh traders to Police Magistrate Kinta R.D. Hewett, requesting a government notice prohibiting boatmen from retailing goods in Ipoh. *Arkib Negara Malaysia*.
- 27 Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 30; Hashim Sam, 2002, pp. 14-16.
- For a biography of Muhammad Jabor, refer to Hashim Sam. *The Royal Commoner, The Life and Times of Imam Perang Jabor (1858-1921)*. National Library of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2002. According to Hashim Sam, Muhammad Jabor (1858-1921) was the grandfather of Tun Mohd. Haniff, former Inspector-General of Police. Mohd. Haniff bin Omar bin Muhammad Jabor is a descendant of a Mandailing migrant of the Nasution clan, thereby, by inference, it might also be assumed that his grandfather Muhammad Jabor (probably Ja Bor) was also a Mandailing of the Nasution clan. According to another source, Mohd. Haniff's grandfather, 'Mohd Jabar bin Bardot' originally came from Indonesia. (TPP Mohd Reduan Aslie, Tan Sri Mohd Haniff Omar, *Kepolisian dan Keselamatan*, AMK Interaksi, Kuala Lumpur, 1990, p. 1). Huta Bargot is a settlement in Upper Mandailing, near Pakantan. 'Jabargot' is a Mandailing name of a tree.
- 28 No. 98. - Application having been made to the Collector at Batu Gajah, by Muhammad Dom bin Lampai of Tanjong Toh Allang, for a certified copy of title to land situated in the mukim of Teja, of the Kinta District, on the ground that Li Chai and Muhammad Dom bin Lampai are the registered owner thereof, and that the original Mining Lease, No. 1,961, has been lost. (*Perak Government Gazette*, 1904, Vol. XVII, p. 78.)
- 29 Basryal Hamidy Harahap and H. Pandapotan Nasution, 1997, p. 16.
- 30 Basryal Hamidy Harahap (consultant), 1997, p. 90.
- 31 Abu Bakar, circa 1930s, pp. 804-805.
- 32 Interview with Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin, in Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 35.

- <sup>33</sup> Interview with Muhammad Dahlan son of Harun alias Muhammad Dahlan Loebis, in 'Kampung Batu Sembilan, Chemor Perak', *MANDAILING*, Surat Berita Ikatan Kebajikan Mandailing Malaysia, Jilid 1, No. 2, Disember 1996, p. 4.
- <sup>34</sup> Juli Edo, *Claiming Our Ancestors' Land: An Ethnohistorical Study of Seng-oi Land Rights in Perak, Malaysia*. A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University, March 1998, p. 87.
- <sup>35</sup> George Maxwell, 1951, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>36</sup> Rathborne, 1984, p. 251.
- <sup>37</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for June, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 625.
- <sup>38</sup> For Walker's map, see page 107.
- <sup>39</sup> Interview with Muhammad Dahlan son of Harun son of Ja Bolga, 1998; interview with Teh Puasa, 1998; Salsilah (Terombo Keturunan) Ja Bolga, by Mohammad bin Ahmad bin Raja Bolga Lubis, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 1975.
- <sup>40</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 34.
- <sup>41</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 34. Lists down the names of Haji Abdul Rahman's children and their spouses. His children by the first wife were Raja Qibtiyah (M), Raja Munah (F), Raja Hafifah (F), Raja Taing (F), Raja Saudah (F) (omitted in family tree), Raja Arbiah (F); and by the second wife, Raja Makmur (M), Raja Mochtar (M), Raja Kamal (M), Raja Nurudin (M).
- Raja Qibtiyah alias Haji Muhammad Noor was the father of several children including Muhammad Jamil, who became a long-serving headman of Kampong Batu Sembilan in Chemor. One of the daughters married Haji Yasidin, grandson of Haji Abdul Malik, a Mandailing pioneer who first settled in Selama and then moved to Batu Gajah in Kinta.
- When it was not her turn to spend the night with her husband, Haji Abdul-Rahman's first wife sold fried nuts (kacang goreng) outside the house in Chemor, accompanied by her eldest grandson Muhammad Dahlan. (Interview with Muhammad Dahlan, 1998 and his eldest son Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 2003).
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with Muhammad Dahlan, 1998; interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.
- <sup>43</sup> Muhammad Ali Othman et al., 1996/97, pp. 32, 36.
- <sup>44</sup> The children of Ja Mula and Raja Hafifah were Muhammad Ali, Umi Kalsom, Abdul Wahab, Teh Maliah, Zabedah and Kamaruddin. Muhammad Ali married Rahmah, from the family of Stia Raja of the Rangkuti clan of Batu Gajah. Umi Kalsom better known as 'Mison' or 'Mak Besar', married her first cousin Haji Abdul Wahid, son of Raja Munah from her marriage with Sutan Mangatas. Abdul Wahab married his second cousin Nuriah Hassan, a grand-daughter of Raja Bilah. Teh Maliah married Haji Abdullah Muhammad Salleh, eldest grandson of Raja Bilah. Kamaruddin, also known as Nenek Perlis of Chemor because he worked as chief clerk in the Perlis courts, married Sa'diah binti Muhammad Salleh, grand-daughter of Raja Bilah.
- <sup>45</sup> Abdul Wahab Abdullah was editor of *Saudara* from February 1932-early 1933. (William Roff, *Guide to Malay Periodicals, 1876-1941 with details of known holdings in Malaya*, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p. 15; William Roff, *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States, 1876-1941, with an annotated Union List of holdings in Malaysia, Singapore and The United Kingdom*, Oxford University Press, London, 1972 pp. 10, 41, 47)
- <sup>46</sup> Raja Arbiah alias Siti Arab, born in Chemor, was also known as Nenek Stokin because she was fond of wearing socks. Ja Lun and Raja Arbiah had three sons, Yahya, Waad and Daim. Yahya served as Superintendent of Police in Tanjong Malim and eventually became Assistant Commissioner of Police in Ipoh. Yahya Jamaluddin in turn married his cousin, the daughter of Hussain Orang Kaya Taiping. He also had a brief marriage with Siput Sarawak when she was still with Yem Bangsawan. Daim became the Director-General of Customs. (Interview with Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 2003).
- <sup>47</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998, interview with Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 2003.
- <sup>48</sup> Although Adam Malik's official biography states that he was born in Permatang Siantar, province of North Sumatra, Indonesia, his cousins in Chemor maintained that he was born in Chemor in the state of Perak, Malaysia. (Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, 'Adam Malik, Anak Chemor', *MANDAILING*, Surat Berita Ikatan Kebajikan Mandailing Malaysia, Jilid 1, No. 2, Disember 1996, pp. 2-3). Throughout the years, whenever relatives from Mandailing visited Perak, they would call at Papan and Chemor. As Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik never failed to call at Chemor. Mochtar Lubis once called at Papan, where his maternal uncle Sutan Parliindungan lived before the Japanese Occupation. Sutan Parliindungan's daughter, Zawayih, was born in Papan. (Interview with Raja Syahbudin, 2002).
- <sup>49</sup> Mohd. Tajuddin bin Haji Abdul Rahman, *Aminuddin Baki - Tokoh Pendidikan*, Pelanduk Publications, Petaling Jaya, 1987, p. 1.
- <sup>50</sup> Dr. A. H. Nasution, *Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas*, Jilid 1: 'Kenangan Masa Muda', Gunung Agung, 1982, p. 110. General Abdul Haris Nasution was a military strategist of the Indonesian Independence Revolution and the general who broke the back of



the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) uprising. (C.L.M. Penders and Ulf Sundhussen, *Abdul Haris Nasution: A Political Biography*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1985)

#### IMAM PRANG JA BARUMUN, A 'MAKER OF KINTA' (pages 130-134)

- 1 Interview with Raja Syahbudin. 2002.
- 2 Zainuddin Lubis. 1987, p. 83.
- 3 Maxwell. 1951, p. 42. In 1891, George Maxwell, later Sir, started his long career in Malaya as Acting Chief Clerk in the Kinta District Office. As a junior British officer, he was receiving a salary of \$100 per month plus \$15 a month for the Kinta cost of living allowance; it made him wonder 'how any Government could afford to pay so much for such insignificant service'. (Maxwell, Sir George, 1951, p. 41). George Maxwell was described by Gullick as 'a very able administrator with an excellent understanding of Malay affairs and a sincere commitment to Malay interests'. (J.M. Gullick, *Rulers and Residents: Influence and Power in the Malay States 1870-1920*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1992, p. 368)
- 4 Maxwell, Sir George. *Straits Times Annual*, 1951, pp. 40-42. This article was first given to Abdul-Razzaq Lubis by Mohd. Isa bin Abdul Hamid, a local historian, from Kampong Serkaijadi, Tronoh, in early 1990s.
- 5 W.E. Maxwell. 'A journey on foot to the Patani Frontier in 1876 being a journal kept during an expedition undertaken to capture Datoh Maharaja Lela of Perak', *JBRAS*, No. 9, June 1882, p. 1-67.
- 6 Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 29.
- 7 Maxwell. 1951, p. 42.
- 8 Ooi Jin-Bee, 1955, p. 51. Prior to that, Kampar was also the name of the larger district around the Kampar River. In September 1875, Raja Idris asked Birch to recognise his rights to the Kampar mines, although they were of little significance at the time, in return for his acquiescence to British demands. After the Kampar tin rush, Idris was to benefit tremendously from the royalties. See also Burns, 1976, p. 327, footnote 2.
- 9 Maxwell, 1951, p. 40.
- 10 Kinta Monthly Report for May, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 417.
- 11 Kinta Monthly Report for September, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 1048.
- 12 *Perak Estimates*, 1901, p. 90; *Perak Establishments*, p. 5, 1906.
- 13 Annual Report on the Kinta District for the Year 1889. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1890, Vol. III, p. 189.

- 14 Kinta Monthly Report for August, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 928.
- 15 Report from the Acting Assistant Magistrate, Gopeng, in *Perak Government Gazette*, 1890, Vol. III, p. 31. 'Datoh Imam Prang' was the only Muslim named on the Kinta Sanitary Board of Gopeng in 1896; he probably served for other years as well. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1896, p. 1.
- 16 *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, pp. 632-3; *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, pp. 468-473.
- 17 Kinta Monthly Report for June, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 625.
- 18 *Perak Government Gazette*, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 414.
- 19 Abdul Rahim, 1996/77, pp. 29-30.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Abdul Rahim, 1996/77, pp. 30-31.
- 22 Report on the Kinta District for the Year 1900. Annual Reports, 1900, in Supplement to the *Perak Government Gazette*, 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1901, Vol. XIV, p. 7.
- 23 Abdul Rahim, 1996/77, pp. 31.
- 24 After 1906, when the government encouraged the planting of rubber, some of the padi fields were converted into small rubber holdings.
- 25 Hill, 1977, p. 143.
- 26 Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, pp. 33-4, based on interviews with Shaharuddin bin Hj. Isa and Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin. Tagby, 1977, p. 26, mentions that a fight between the Mandailing and Rawa men in 1921 lasted for three months.
- 27 Abdul Rahim, 1996/77, pp. 50-51; A.K. Mohammad Mohsin & Mohd. Azmi Ambak, *Freshwater Fishes of Peninsular Malaysia*, Penerbit Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, 1983, pp. 271-2.
- 28 Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 51.
- 29 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19. According to Haji Abdullah, the Chinese treated Imam Prang Ja Barumun's grave as a kramat. (Interview Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 1995)
- 30 Abdul Rahim, 1996/77, pp. 31.

#### THE GOPENG CONTINGENT (pages 135-141)

- 1 Historians usually call this episode the 'Pahang War'. This is not to be confused with earlier Pahang War (1857-1863). For a fuller account of this episode, see Linehan, 1973, pp. 139-168; Kalthum Jeran, 1986, pp. 114-140.
- 2 CO 273 3522 26JA92 46 Phg Disturbances GOV3092 GOV3526. Apparently, the Malays served as ancillary forces to the Perak Sikhs. As Swettenham put it, for the purposes of jungle

- warfare 'the Sikhs are no good without the Malays, and the right kind of Malays...'.<sup>3</sup>
- Latter-day accounts of the war also referred to the Mandailing and the Bugis elements who were called in to assist the British as 'orang-orang Melayu daripada Sumatera dan Bugis' (Malays from Sumatra and Bugis). (A. Talib bin Haji Ahmad, *Dato' Bahaman*, Syarikat Doyan Shipping, Pelabuhan Kelang, 1975, p. 195)
- Raja Uteh (Raja Utihi, Raja Uutih) was a Mandailing from Kota Pinang, Sumatra. He was one of several adventurers recruited by Swettenham to help capture the Perak Malays thought to have been linked with Birch's murder. Raja Uteh, together with Raja Asal, Raja Mahmud of Selangor, Syed Mashor and Raja Indut, was later recommended by Swettenham for an award for their 'gallant and faithful services' (CO 273, 83/6802, 26AP76, 185. Gallant and Faithful Services of Raja Mahmood and Other Chiefs. F1012386/77). Raja Uteh and Raja Mahmud were with Clifford in Pahang in 1887. Clifford described Raja Uteh as a fearless character and veteran warrior living in Pahang. (Sir Hugh Charles Clifford in 'From Beyond The Bourne', *In Days That Are Dead*, Libraries Press, New York, 1926, pp. 280-313 and *In Court And Kampung*, autobiographical preface to the 1927 edition (revised), 1989 (first published 1897), pp. 206-8.)
- According to H.S. Barlow, author of *Swettenham* (1995) there was no mention of this on the Perak side.
- 23 January 1892, letter in Jawi, from the Selangor British Resident William Edward Maxwell, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya* (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, pp. 23-5) urging Raja Bilah to send Mandailing troops to put down the Dato' Bahaman revolt in Pahang.
- Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 26.
- Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 114.
- Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 26.
- 26 January 1892, letter in English from District Officer Kinta J.B.M. Leech, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 27), requesting British authorities to report the arrival of Raja Bilah and his Mandailing troops at Ulu Selangor. *Penghulu Papers*.
- Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 122.
- Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 28. The Imam Prang's contingent might have taken a short cut through the same mountain route from Slim to Selangor by which he led his Mandailing troublemakers in 1874. A planter noted in the 1880s that: '...it is from here (Ulu Selangor) that the road starts that leads over the mountains to the mining district of Tras and Raub; and it was the base where supplies were collected for one of the forces that were sent to put down the disturbances that broke out shortly after a British Resident had been imposed upon the Sultan of that state (Pahang)'. (Rathborne, 1984, p. 168).
- Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 28.
- Aisyah Mutalib, *Pemberontakan Pahang, 1891-1895*, Pustaka Aman Press, Kota Bahru, 1972, pp. 72, 171.
- Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 122.
- Linehan, 1973, p. 142. The Dato' Bahaman Revolt also provided an occasion for several other old warrior friends of Raja Asal to make a comeback. Raja Mahmud, the Bugis warrior from Selangor, and Raja Uteh, the veteran Mandailing warrior, were fighting by the side of Clifford, while Syed Mashhor, now 'a well known chief in Selangor' was also summoned to lead the 'Selangor Malays' to aid the British in one of the Pahang expeditions.
- Several copies of the photograph are known to exist. The famous photograph has been published in at least two books concerning the Pahang War. Part of the photograph was reproduced, by courtesy of the National Archives of Malaysia, in a book *Tradisi Persejarah Pahang Darul Makmur 1800-1930*, by Muhammad Yusoff Hashim and Aruna Gopinath, Petaling Jaya, 1992, p. 321. In another book, A. Talib bin Haji Ahmad's *Dato' Bahaman*, the Imam Prang Ja Barumun is mistaken for his arch enemy. The author's caption: 'In the picture Dato' Bahaman is seen standing at the front most on the right while on his left is Dato' Gajah (Imam Prang Rasu) photographed together with his soldiers', contradicts the caption written on the picture itself 'Gopeng contingent starting for The Pahang War May 1892 under Imam Prang. Taken on A.D.O.'s (Assistant District Officer) tennis court'. The caption within the picture is word for word identical to a framed copy of the photograph displayed in the Rumah Besar in Papan. However, the hand-writing is different, and one could have been copied from the other. The picture in Abdul Talib's book is uncredited.
- Mohd. Hashim, 1980, p. 12.
- Isma'il bin Hadji 'Abdoe'llah 'Oemar Effendi, 1924, p. 90. Isma'il probably obtained the account of the Mandailing involvement in the Pahang War from his second cousin Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub.
- Isma'il bin Hadji 'Abdoe'llah 'Oemar Effendi, 1924, p. 90. (*Maka pendoerhakaan itoe berhenti, karena anak negeri Pahang jang melawan itoe mendapat chabar, bahasa anak dagang, jang soedah masjhoer keberaiaannya itoe, akan datang memerangi mereka.*)

- <sup>20</sup> 28 July 1897, letter in Jawi, from Pahang British Resident Hugh Clifford to Raja Bilah, replying to Raja Bilah's letter of request dated 6 July 1897, for assistance in redeeming a Mandailing slave from the palace of the Pahang Sultan. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>21</sup> Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 77.
- <sup>22</sup> Haji Abdullah b. H. M. Salleh, *A Brief Life-Story of Haji Abdullah*, 1985, p. 2. Haji Abdullah wrote this short autobiography on his 82nd birthday for Mr. Foong Tim Leng, whose families have been friends since the time of Raja Bilah. Mr. Foong later presented this to Abdur-Razaq Lubis describing it as the author's family heirloom. Hugh Clifford, *The Further Side of Silence*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1916.

#### KINTA THROUGH THE EYES OF ABU BAKAR (pages 142-147)

- <sup>1</sup> This chapter is based on *Riwayat Tuan Abu Bakar*, pp. 771-815, unless otherwise stated. The author, Abu Bakar anak Raja Pinayongan Lubis, was born in Kuala Lumpur and died in 1950s; he was buried at the Ampang Muslim cemetery. His father, Raja Pinayongan Lubis, from Saba Dolok in Mandailing, migrated to the peninsula; he died during the Klang War and was buried in Bukit Nenas, the Mandailing fortification overlooking the confluence of the Gombak and Bunus rivers. Abu Bakar's mother was Siti Zainab, a Pahang woman. A photocopy of the *Riwayat Tuan Abu Bakar*, an unpublished Jawi manuscript, was presented to the Terengganu Museum by Abu Bakar's descendants in 1984. The transliteration of the 829-page manuscript was funded by The Toyota Foundation. Due to the complexity of the subject matter, the text needs to be further verified and clarified.
- <sup>2</sup> The title Sri is pronounced 'Sori', a common title use in Mandailing in the past. The title Sori/Sri is probably a corruption from Sri Maharaja, reflecting Hindu influences. (Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 77)
- <sup>3</sup> In the 19th century, Deli was a place to seek one's fortune. Deli attracted migrants from all over Sumatra and the other Indonesian islands. Through a process of intermarriage and assimilation, subsequent generations called themselves 'Anak Deli', Hamka, *Merantau Ke Deli*. Penerbit Djajamurni, Djakarta, sixth edition, 1966. Preface to third edition.
- <sup>4</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 26.
- <sup>5</sup> Barlow, 1995, p. 322.

#### THE MANDAILING CULTIVATORS (pages 148-159)

- <sup>1</sup> Lim Teck Ghee, p. 42-49. Detailed accounts of Malay practice associated with padi cultivation are found in articles by Skeat, Wilkinson, Winstedt and others in JSBRAS and JMBRAS.

- <sup>2</sup> Tugby, 1977, p. 13.
- <sup>3</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 99.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 98.
- <sup>6</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 99.
- <sup>7</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 102.
- <sup>8</sup> Annual Report, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1889, p. 338, quoted in Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 136.
- <sup>9</sup> Acting British Resident, Perak to Colonial Secretary, 5 April 1892 in 'Reports Encouraging the Cultivation of Rice', p. 4, quoted in Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 71.
- <sup>10</sup> Abdul Halim Nasir, *Mosques of Peninsular Malaysia*. Berita Publishing, 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> Tugby, 1977, p. 44; Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, pp. 62-66.
- <sup>12</sup> Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 80-88.
- <sup>13</sup> 17 May 1886, letter in English from Cecil Wray to Kinta Magistrate R. D. Hewett, regarding Raja Bilah's request to plant padi between Changkat Manggis and Sungai Rasoh, including Hewett's approval. *Penghulu Papers*. The handwritten note was probably handed over to Raja Bilah as an authorization to cultivate the land.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 138. In response to this problem, the Perak Mining Code of 1895 stipulated that in granting water licenses to tin miners, care would be taken to safeguard the rights of padi planters and to see that irrigation works would not be interfered with.
- <sup>16</sup> Annual Report on the Kinta District for the year 1891, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 673-4.
- <sup>17</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1891, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 417.
- <sup>18</sup> Notes of the Acting Resident's Tour Through the Kuala Kangsar, Kinta, Batang Padang and Lower Perak Districts, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 679 and Kinta Monthly Report for July 1891, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 770.
- <sup>19</sup> Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 65.
- <sup>20</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for June, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 625.
- <sup>21</sup> PGG, 6 January 1893; PGG, 25 May 1894, quoted in Sadka, 1968, p. 328.
- <sup>22</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 98.
- <sup>23</sup> Batang Padang Monthly Report for January, 1896, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1896, Vol. IX, p. 103.

- <sup>24</sup> Batang Padang Monthly Report for April, 1896. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1896, Vol. IX, p. 389. Batang Padang Monthly Report for July, 1896. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1896, Vol. IX, p. 577.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*. The "mosque" was probably a surau (*suro*), a prayer-room also used for religious classes as well as a bachelor's hostel.
- <sup>26</sup> Batang Padang Monthly Report for November 1896. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1897, Vol. X, p. 23.
- <sup>27</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 143.
- <sup>28</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 98.
- <sup>29</sup> Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 150.
- <sup>30</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 23.
- <sup>31</sup> Lim Teck Ghee, 1976, p. 117-119.
- <sup>32</sup> *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 897.
- <sup>33</sup> Annual Report of the Land and Mines Department for 1891. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 297.
- <sup>34</sup> Tanjong Malim Monthly Report for September by W.H. Kelly, Acting Assistant Magistrate. *Perak Government Gazette*, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 848.
- <sup>35</sup> Basyral Hamidy Harahap and H. Pandapotan Nasution, 1997, p. 13.
- <sup>36</sup> Tugby, 1977, p. 20. Castles, 1972, p. 72.
- <sup>37</sup> Swettenham, *About Perak*, Straits Times Press, Singapore, 1893, p. 41.
- <sup>38</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 143.
- <sup>39</sup> Pandapotan, 1983, p. 2.
- <sup>40</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1889; Swettenham, 1893, p. 43; Othman Mohd, Yatim, *Dinding Jajahan Istimewa di Perak*, Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1994.
- <sup>41</sup> Hill, 1977, p. 155.
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.
- <sup>43</sup> 5 September 1892, affidavit in Jawi, from al-Haj Muhammad Joham to Ku Teh, testifying to Raja Bilah that he will guarantee al-Haj Umar bin Safawi and al-Haj Yusuf bin Kurto Suminto for the duration of the contract. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>44</sup> 5 September 1892, affidavit in Jawi, from al-Haj Umar bin Safawi to Raja Bilah, pledging to work to pay off his debt to Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>45</sup> A. B. Ramsay, 'Indonesians in Malaya', *JMBRAS*, Vol. 29, 1956, p. 122.
- <sup>46</sup> 30 October 1896, letter in Jawi, from Haji Hussin to Raja Bilah, reporting on lack of funds to pay workers at Raja Bilah's Sitiawan plantation. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>47</sup> 1903, letter in Jawi, from Haji Hussin of Tanah

Merah to Raja Bilah asking Raja Bilah to purchase land and settle his parents-in-law in Sitiawan. *Penghulu Papers*.

- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>49</sup> Swettenham, 1948, pp. 263-4. J.H. Drabble, *Rubber In Malaya 1876-1922, The Genesis of The Industry*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, pp. 18 & 20.
- <sup>50</sup> Swettenham, 1941, p. 72.
- <sup>51</sup> Chai Hon-Chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909*, Oxford University Press, London, 1967, second edition, p. 153.
- <sup>52</sup> Drabble, 1973, p. 20.
- <sup>53</sup> Swettenham, 1948, p. 298.
- <sup>54</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 43.
- <sup>55</sup> Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, p. 76.
- <sup>56</sup> Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, Second Edition, Palgrave, Hampshire, 2001, p. 218.
- <sup>57</sup> Tugby, 1977, p. 29; Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources*, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, Ltd., 1909, p. 342.

#### RAJA MAHMUD OF SENGAT (pages 160-166)

- <sup>1</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, and Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan in 1998. One of Raja Mahmud's descendants is the well-known lawyer and human rights advocate Raja Aziz Addruse.
- <sup>2</sup> 'The Penghulu of Sengang informed me that there was a native path connecting Bekor with Papan, and that the pass it crossed was about the same height as that between Taipang and Kuala Kangsar, though somewhat steeper. He had just returned from Kinta by it, and said the walk had taken him a little over three hours. The distance would therefore be about nine miles'. (Kuala Kangsar Monthly Report for November, 1893, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 47) The Seng-oi reported that the journey from Bekor to Papan takes them four hours on foot for adults, and five to six hours when travelling with children. From Papan, they also took a jungle path to Pusing and Siputeh to sell their rattan. (Juli Edo, 1998, pp. 111, 133, 189)
- <sup>3</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- <sup>4</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for July, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 794.
- <sup>5</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for November, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1890, Vol. III, p. 837.
- <sup>6</sup> *Perak Government Gazette*, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 12.

- <sup>7</sup> Perak Government Gazette, 1893, Vol. VI, p. 625.
- <sup>8</sup> Perak Government Gazette, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 203.
- <sup>9</sup> Sir Frank Athelstane Swettenham, *The Real Malay: pen-pictures*, John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, third edition, 1899, pp. 180-5.
- <sup>10</sup> Swettenham, 1899, p. 182-183.
- <sup>11</sup> George Maxwell, *In Malay Forests*, publisher unnamed, Penang, 1907, p. 13.
- <sup>12</sup> Swettenham, 1899, p. 182-183.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.
- <sup>15</sup> 23 October 1904, letter in Jawi, from Raja Mahmud to the Magistrate Kinta E.J. Brewster complaining about his people having to pay for land development license and expressing uncertainty about the land concessions as well as informing that a mosque has been built, *Arkib Negara-Malaysia*.
- <sup>16</sup> Marapi, 1957 p. 33 quoted in Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 109.
- <sup>17</sup> Swettenham, 1899, preface.
- <sup>18</sup> 1904, register in Jawi, of persons qualified to be the Magistrate's Adjutants, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>19</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 19.
- <sup>20</sup> Raja Ya'qub to Radja Endah, dated 15 March 1928, Collection of Zuhdi Nasution, Pasar Maga, Mandailing.

#### RAJA YA'QUB AS A YOUNG MAN (pages 167-172)

- <sup>1</sup> *Times of Malaya*, 27 July 1931.
- <sup>2</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 23: Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1885, p. 11.
- <sup>3</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 43. Occasional notes. Jubilee Address by Perak ra'iyats, June, 1887. Jubilee Address by Perak Penghulus - June, 1887, JSBRAS, No. 18, December 1886, pp. 369-375.
- <sup>4</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 35.
- <sup>5</sup> Fifty Years, 1935, p. 27-33.
- <sup>6</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 35. Alang was also known as Alang Rahimah.
- <sup>7</sup> Tugby, 1977, p. 63.
- <sup>8</sup> Tugby, 1977, p. 27.
- <sup>9</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998. She said her generation was never taught the Mandailing language but she herself learnt it from an old Mandailing woman who could only speak Mandailing. Her husband Muhammad Dahlan said

that he learnt to speak Mandailing from his maternal grandfather Haji Abdur-Rahman, Haji Raja Bilah's brother.

- <sup>10</sup> Roff, 1972 pp. 5-6, 30-31; Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab, 'Percetakan Melayu dan Suratkhbar di Taiping, Perak', *JEBAT*, 1991, p. 34.
- <sup>11</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.
- <sup>12</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 288 and fn. 3.
- <sup>13</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 35.
- <sup>14</sup> 10 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from R.D. Hewett District Magistrate Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking for details of Raja Bilah's leave, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>15</sup> 2 January 1896, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk Muhammad Nur to Raja Bilah, requesting confirmation of leave to perform Hajj and recommending Raja Ya'qub as replacement, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>16</sup> Ahmad Malik is possibly the same person as Ahmad Melaka Ar-Rawi alias Mohd. Nor bin Andaman, who moved from Malacca to Perak to work as the clerk of Sheikh Karim Rawa in Selama and later as an educationist behind the Malay schools in Kinta and Batang Padang districts. (*Tokoh-Tokoh Batu Gajah Perak*, *Arkib Negara-Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, 2003, pp. 33-4. Although the short biography contains inconsistencies in chronology, it offers many interesting details about the personality)
- <sup>17</sup> 23 September 1895, letter in Jawi, Ahmad Malik son of Dato' Dagang Melaka in Peringgit, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to advise his son Raja Shahabuddin and other children of his community to attend Pusing School regularly, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>18</sup> Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 41; 17 February 1904, statement in Jawi by Raja Bilah, about a murder that took place in Papan and his interrogation of the suspect, *Penghulu Papers*; Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.

#### THE RUMAH BESAR AND SHOPHOUSES IN PAPAN (pages 173-182)

- <sup>1</sup> Haji Abdul Majid bin Haji Zainuddin, *The Wandering Thoughts of a Dying Man, The Life and Times of Haji Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin*, edited with an introduction and notes by William R. Roff, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1978, p. 80-84.
- <sup>2</sup> 2 September 1895, letter in Jawi, from Dato' Panglima Kinta Muhammad Yusuf of Perak to Raja Bilah, inviting Raja Bilah to a family wedding, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>3</sup> Annual Report on the State of Perak, for the year 1894; Swettenham, 1948, p. 294.

- <sup>4</sup> 25 October 1895. Private Carriage Licence in English, issued by the Government of Perak to Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*; 17 February 1904. statement in Jawi by Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*; Interview with Teh Puasa. 1998.
- <sup>5</sup> The first mention of Raja Bilah as Visiting Justice was made by E.J. Brewster in 1890. (Kinta Monthly Report for January, in *Perak Government Gazette*, 1890, p. 92). Raja Bilah was again mentioned as a visiting Justice of Peace to the Batu Gajah Gaol in January and December 1892 (*Perak Government Gazette*, 1892, Vol. V, p. 31) and in May 1895 (*Perak Government Gazette*, 1895, Vol. VIII, p. 204).
- <sup>6</sup> *Perak Government Gazette*, 1896, Vol. IX, p. 39.
- <sup>7</sup> Kinta Monthly Report for May, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 376.
- <sup>8</sup> Basyral Hamidy Harahap and Hotman Siahah, 1987, p. 256.
- <sup>9</sup> Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 111.
- <sup>10</sup> Sadka, 1968, p. 288.
- <sup>11</sup> Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, pp. 143-4.
- <sup>12</sup> Interview with Raja Norain binti Sutan Abidin alias Bu, then 78 years old, a grand-daughter of Haji Raja Bilah in Jalil Miran, 'Haji Raja Bilah Dirikan Rumah Di Papan', *Variasari*, June 1989, p. 8-15.
- <sup>13</sup> According to Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, the Sultan of Perak wanted to visit Papan in 1895, but was asked not to stop at Papan until the house was ready, so that Raja Bilah could provide fitting hospitality. There is a belief among the descendants that the house was built specially for the Sultan's visit (Interview with Haji Abdullah, *The Sunday Star*, February 6, 1983). The descendants of Raja Bilah have always called the mansion 'Rumah Besar', but in more recent times it has become popularly known as 'Istana Raja Bilah' (Raja Bilah's Palace) probably out of the mistaken notion that Raja Bilah was a Malay Raja and therefore his house would be an Istana (palace).
- The author's (Abdur-Razzaq Lubis) report in a local English daily, entitled, 'Historical sites on verge of collapse', *The Star*, Thursday, 19 November 1992, about the condition of the Rumah Besar, prompted the Architecture Department, University Technology Malaysia (UTM) to do a measured drawing of the building in 1993. (Interview with Ms. Naziaty Dato' Mohd. Yaacob, one of the UTM lecturers who supervised the measured drawing of the Rumah Besar). See also, Kong Choong Kit, team leader and author, *Istana Raja Bilah*, 72, *Kampung Melayu Papan*, 31550 Papan, Perak. Kajian Lukisan Terukir, Jabatan Senibina, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, 1993/94.
- <sup>14</sup> Both the *Bagas Godang* and the *Sopo Godang* are traditionally built by the Raja's followers with the assistance of neighbouring communities (settlement and clan allies), and as such the buildings are seen as belonging to the local community. (Drs. Z. Pangaudan Lubis. *AWPNUC Newsletter*, 1999, pp. 7-9)
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Teh Puasa, and Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 1998.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> Annual Report on the Kinta District for the year 1897, in *Perak Government Gazette*, 1897, Vol. X, p. 345.
- <sup>18</sup> Haji Muhammad Satar and Haji Abbas were probably Mandailing relations of Raja Bilah. They might have been better known by their Mandailing names, while these could have been the names taken after completion of Hajj.
- <sup>19</sup> 12 May 1896, contract in Jawi, signed between Ah Hong and Raja Bilah, Haji Muhammad Satar and Haji Abbas, for the construction of six shophouses in Papan, with Haji Abdullah Umar acting as guarantor: the contract gives details and costs of construction, *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>20</sup> Possibly Haji Hassan Fiduli, the son-in-law of Raja Bilah and the husband of Raja Rabbiah alias Hajjah Aminah. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 3. see footnote)
- <sup>21</sup> 'Pintu pagar' in this case probably means balustrade rather than saloon doors.
- <sup>22</sup> 12 May 1896, contract in Jawi, signed between Ah Hong and Raja Bilah, Haji Muhammad Satar and Haji Abbas. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>23</sup> 15 May 1896 to 17 September 1896, statement of accounts in Jawi, recording payment by Raja Bilah for construction of houses, certified by Ah Hong. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>24</sup> 15 September 1899, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah for an assessment of the damage caused by a fire in Papan. *Penghulu Papers*.
- <sup>25</sup> Interview with Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 2003.
- <sup>26</sup> General Remarks on the Census, Federated Malay States, Part 1, 1901, pp. 28, 67.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 95. For the state of Perak, 'Malays and other Natives of the Archipelago are broken down into "Aborigines, Achinese, Boyanese, Bugis, Dyaks, Javanese, Jawi-Pekans, Malays, Manilamen"'.  
<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.  
<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.  
<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.  
<sup>31</sup> Charles Hirschman, 'The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications', *Journal of Asian Studies* (JAS), 42.3 (1987), p. 567.

## LETTERS TO RAJA BILAH (pages 183-196)

- 1 Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, pp. 67-68, 149.
- 2 Zainuddin Lubis, 1987, p. 110.
- 3 4 October 1894, letter in Jawi, from al-Hajj Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to persuade Malim Sulaiman, Si Syukur and Si Talip to return money to him through his representative Enci' Abdul Qadir of Kota Sihantar. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 4 4 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdul Wahab to Raja Bilah, informing the latter that he is leaving from Penang, and that he has taken back his house in Telok Anson from Ja Bidun who still owes him \$30, and his agent Haji Suman is asking for rent. *Penghulu Papers*. Tanah Batu or Tano Bato in the Mandailing language is located at the foothill of the volcano Sorik Marapi near Maga, but territorially it is in Lower Mandailing. The first school in Mandailing was set up in Tano Bato by Willem Iskander.
- 5 5 April 1896, letter in Jawi, from Si Ginda Minang Karabau to Raja Bilah, reporting his losses in a food venture and asking Raja Bilah for a monetary loan. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 6 15 August 1904, letter in Jawi, Haji Muhammad Yunus Ter'ala of Chemor to Raja Bilah, asking for Haji Mat Saman from Penang to inspect house plan. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 7 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'q'ub, 1934, p. 3.
- 8 11 October 1903, letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdullah Umar bin Raja Andalan Rawa-Rawa from Kampong Tembung to Raja Bilah, sending postal remittance and requesting Raja Bilah to oversee the building of a house in Chandariang, Perak. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 9 Kampong Tembung, also known by an older name Kampong Pisang, is an old Mandailing settlement formerly in the outskirts of Medan, but now part of the city of Medan.
- 10 Interview with Zuhdi Nasution, Pasar Maga, 2002.
- 11 Isma'il bin Hadji 'Abdoe'Ilah 'Oemar Effendi, *Melawat Ke-Melaka 1920 dan 1921*. Balai Poestaka, Drukkerij Volkslectuur, Weltevreden, 1924.
- 12 The settlement of Saba Dolok is about 0.5 miles downstream from the settlement of Singengu, on the other side of the Batang Gadis river.
- 13 Sayur Matinggi is located in Kecamatan Batang Angkola, about 27km south of the town of Padang Sidempuan in Angkolan country. The Angkolans are the immediate neighbours of the Mandailing to the north.
- 14 Undated, letter in Jawi, by Haji Daud Saba Dolok in Makkah, Kampong Samiah Jemaah Sheikh Saman Rawa to Haji Sulaiman of Sayur Matinggi, presently staying in Lahat, Perak. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 15 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. daily life, customs and learning. The Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, translated by J.H. Monahan, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1970, pp. 255, 288.
- 16 Raja Shahabuddin bin Raja Bilah, *Peringatan Tarikh Perjalanan Raja Shahabuddin dan Rahmah ke Makkah*, 1940, p. 39.
- 17 For an account of this practice in Singapore, see Julaina Kamarudin, 'The Sheikh Seem in Singapore', *Journal of the South Seas Society*, Volume 28, Part 1 & 2, December 1973.
- 18 Undated, letter in Jawi, Haji Abdul Salim, representative of Sheikh Umar Batu Bara in Singapore, Kampong Tembaga Number 10, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to send money before he leaves for Makkah. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 19 14 June 1898, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bugis of Sayurmaincat in Mandailing to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to persuade her son and daughter-in-law to return to Mandailing to visit her. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 20 (Shawal, no year), letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdur-Rahman to Raja Bilah, about Haji Abdur-Rahman's daughter Maimunah and her husband Si Atas wanting to go to Klang, mentioning Sutan Puasa. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 21 Muhammad Ali Othman et al., 1996/7, p. 36.
- 22 13 May 1895, letter in Jawi, from Sutan Puasa of Kuala Lumpur to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to reconcile Raja Bilah's niece Raja Mainmunah with her husband Sutan Mangatas. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 23 Many properties and businesses in the area of Batu Road (now Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman) in the old quarter of Kuala Lumpur, were owned by Mandailings until the Second World War. The descendants of Sutan Mangatas still own a house at No. 41 Chow Kit Road, off Batu Road.
- 24 Muhammad Ali Othman et al., 1996/7, p. 36.
- 25 5 March 1910, letter in Jawi, from Yusuf bin Haji Abdullah to Raja Bilah, recording payment of \$25 ringgit to Raja Bilah, sent through Haji Saidin Mandahiling and Haji Bashir who lives at Chandariang. *Penghulu Papers*.

## THE PENGHULU'S COURT (pages 197-207)

- 1 Perak Order-in-Council No. 11 of 1890, quoted in Paul Kratoska, 'Penghulus in Perak and Selangor: The Rationalization and Decline of a Traditional Malay Office', *JMBRAS*, Vol. 57, Part 2, p. 42.
- 2 16 January 1899, summons in Jawi, issued by Raja Bilah, Penghulu of Papan Court, to be served upon Ya Fan at the gambling farm (pajak judi) of Gopeng. *Penghulu Papers*.

7. 20 May 1906, letter in Jawi, Magistrate Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah, that by order of the Perak Sultan, the appellant has to pay \$5 directly to the court. *Penghulu Papers*.
8. 25 May 1898, letter in Jawi, Raja Mansur District Magistrate, Court Office of Batu Gajah, to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to send the defendant's letters of debt for investigation by the Court Office. *Penghulu Papers*.
9. Raja Mansur, son of the ex-Sultan Abdullah, became a cadet in the Perak Service in 1883. He was the first Malay to be appointed a District Magistrate. In 1891 he was gazetted a Magistrate of the third class and subsequently he was promoted to Magistrate of the second class. (Sadka, 1968, pp. 253, 263)
10. Sadka, 1968, pp. 264-5.
11. 4 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from Abdul Wahab Penghulu of Sungai Raya parish, to Raja Bilah, saying that he has carried out Raja Bilah's request to serve two monetary summons to constituents of Sungai Raya. *Penghulu Papers*.
12. 7 December 1901, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bilah to the Taiping Magistrate, requesting the Taiping Magistrate to serve a summons to Bod Singh in Taiping. *Penghulu Papers*.
13. 1 October 1905, letter in Jawi, from the Penghulu Kampong Buaya, near Padang Rengas, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to serve a summons to someone living in Papan Parish. *Penghulu Papers*.
14. 15 December 1896, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah 'never again to issue a financial guarantee', to surrender payments for summons and fees collected to the treasury and to issue receipts. *Penghulu Papers*.
15. 4 January 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah never to put on trial government officers, Europeans and Eurasians.
16. Kratoska, 1984, p. 43.
17. 24 April 1899, letter in Jawi, from Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng Imam Prang Ja Barumon to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to deliver a summons to two Hindus living in Papan. *Penghulu Papers*.
18. Kratoska, 1984, p. 42.
19. 23 November 1908, affidavit in Jawi by A. Daud Mydin, shopkeeper in Pusing, lodging a complaint against Velugopal, a coolie from Batu Gajah, for failure to settle his bill, and asking the Penghulu to issue a summons; 23 November 1908, affidavit in Jawi by Ayah Daud Mydin shopkeeper of Pusing, lodging a complaint against Bukasa, a coolie from Batu Gajah, for failure to settle his bill, and asking the Penghulu to issue a summons. *Penghulu Papers*.
20. Kernal Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspect of Their Immigration and Settlement, 1786-1957*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969, p. 69.
21. 5 July 1896, letter in Jawi, from 'one Benggali Islam named Labu' acknowledging receipt of \$270 previously deposited with Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
22. 7 November 1900, sales and purchase agreement in Jawi, between Sundar Singh bin Matab Singh and Manggal Singh bin Sundar Singh, both of Siputeh, on the sale of two Madras bulls. *Penghulu Papers*.
23. 24 April 1901, a letter of debit in Jawi, from Santha Singh bin Minda Singh to Jual Singh bin Hira Singh, both of Pusing Baharu, for the purchase of a horse and carriage. *Penghulu Papers*.
24. Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998. She also recalls that he subscribed to Urdu periodicals.
25. 17 February 1904, statement in Jawi by Raja Bilah. *Penghulu Papers*.
26. Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.

#### RAJA BILAH GOES ON HAJJ (pages 208-218)

1. 1904, register in Jawi, of persons qualified to be the Magistrate's Adjutants. *Penghulu Papers*.
2. 1909, Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances. *Penghulu Papers*.
3. 16 May 1905, letter in Jawi, from District Officer Kinta Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah, to send the case reports that were heard in Papan Court from 1 January to end March 1905. *Penghulu Papers*.
4. Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 29
5. 1909, Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances. *Penghulu Papers*.
6. 12 September 1905, letter in English, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*. (Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 29) requesting British Consuls to assist Raja Bilah in his journey to the holy lands.
7. Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 28.
8. Interview with Teh Puasa, 1995; Haji Abdullah, *A Brief Life-Story*, 1985. Muhammad Salleh was the son of Ja Timur son of Ja Umala son of Namora Lubis son of Sutan Kumala Bulan son of Ja Targoling son of Ja Muda. His mother's name was Ja Jili.
9. Haji Abdullah, *A Brief Life-Story*, 1985.
10. Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 30.



11. Gullick, 1989, p. 299.
12. Gullick, 1989, p. 313 fn. 144; Hurgronje, 1970, pp. 222, 228-9, 230-1.
13. Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 30.
14. The conditions for the performance of Hajj are: being Muslim or having embraced Islam, being of sound mind, being a free person, maturity, bodily health and the capacity to get to Makkah and Madinah without obstruction or harm. (Qadi Ayad, 1982, p. 108)
15. E. C. Hicks, *History of English Schools in Perak*, The Perak Library, Ipoh, 1958, p. 53.
16. 24 October 1905, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E. J. Brewster to Raja Ya'qub, instructing Raja Ya'qub to inform his constituents that they can approach any assistant District Officer with legitimate complaints. *Penghulu Papers*.
17. Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 35.
18. 9 July 1906, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer to Raja Haji Abdul Razzaq, instructing assistance from Raja Bilah and 'all the Penghulus' under his command to assist in putting up an exhibition in Singapore. *Penghulu Papers*.
19. 25 June 1906, letter in Jawi, from Raja di Hilir, Secretary to the Sultan of Perak, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to contribute to funds for a new mosque in Ipoh. *Penghulu Papers*.
20. Rex Stevenson, *Cultivators and Administrators, British Education Policy towards the Malays, 1875-1906*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1975, p. 188.
21. 10 January 1907, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bendahara Wazir, representative of the Sultan of Perak, to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that he has been made a member of the Kastan Zarian Club in Kuala Kangsar and requesting fees from him, *Penghulu Papers*.
22. The Kastan Zarian Club was known as the Iskandar Polo Club in the 1940s. (Roff, 1987, p. 68 and fn. 51). In 1914, Sultan Idris was still the 'Patron' and 'Tuan Haji Mohd. Nor Imam Sultan' was a committee member. The club has a three-tier membership, paying different fees. The first class (\$1), second class (\$3 every six months) and third class (\$3 annually). The main activity of the club was sports, which included football, tennis and billiards. (Abdul Rahim, 1976/77, pp. 142-3 based on 'Qistan Ziryan Kelab' by-laws, a copy of which was kept by Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin).
23. Haji Abdul Majid bin Haji Zainuddin, 1978, p. 69, fn. 51.
24. 10 January 1908, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bendahara Wazir, representative of the Sultan of Perak to Raja Ya'qub, informing Raja Ya'qub that

he has been made a member of the Kastan Zarian Club in Kuala Kangsar and requesting fees from him, *Penghulu Papers*.

25. 7 March 1908, letter in Jawi, from the Perak Resident's Secretary R. J. Wilkinson to Haji Abdul Razzaq, inviting Raja Bilah to a investiture and wedding function in Kuala Kangsar. *Penghulu Papers*.
26. Correspondence, Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, 3 August 1988.
27. Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, 'Pesan Waslat Datuk Saya, Raja Bilah Raja Haji Abdul Razak bin Raja Asal yang telah disampaikan pada hari Jumaat, 9hb Jun 1911 di "Rumah Besar", Papan, seminggu sebelum beliau meninggal dunia pada hari Jumaat, 16hb June, 1911', p. ii. (The will of my grandfather, Haji Raja Bilah bin Raja Asal which was made on Friday 9th June, 1911 in the Rumah Besar, Papan, one week before he passed away on Friday 16th June, 1911), typewritten document in Malay, dated 13 May 1977. This is the first of two versions of 'Raja Bilah's will' contained in Noriha Yaacob, *Perantaraan Raja Bilah: Satu Kes Penghijrahan Suku Mendailing ke Semenanjung Tanah Melayu dan Penempatannya di Perak*, BA thesis, History Department, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Universiti Malaya, 1987, in Lampiran E (Appendix E).
28. Haji Abdul Majid was a teacher at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar from 1907 before he became a Malay Pilgrimage Officer to Makkah. He authored several Malay learners and JMBRAS articles as well as a book called *The Malays in Malaya, By One of Them*. In 1940, he founded and edited *The Modern Light*, 'the only Malay national organ in English', an English-language periodical devoted to Islamic matters. See Roff's Introduction to *The Wandering Thoughts of a Dying Man*.
29. Roff, 1978, p. 5, fn. 2, on his interviews with Raja Razman b. Raja Badul Hamid, Kuala Kangsar and Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, Ipoh, in 1967.
31. Haji Abdul Majid bin Haji Zainuddin, 1978, pp. 5-7, pp. 73-74.

#### RAJA BILAH'S WILL (pages 219-225)

1. *Fifty Years*, 1935, p. 45; Amarjit Kaur, 1985, p. 209.
2. Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 49.
3. Kinta Monthly Report for October, *Perak Government Gazette*, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 1143.
4. Wong Lin Ken, 1965, p. 200. Foo Choo Choon was the only Chinese to hold a directorship in a British company before the First World War. For a history of the Tronoh Mines Limited, see 'Fifty Years of Tin Mining in Malaya', in *Malaya, The Journal of the Association of British Malaya*, 1953, p. 465-469.

- 5 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 49.
- 6 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 35.
- 7 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 49; 25 January 1909, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster to Raja Bilah informing Raja Bilah that his request to retire has been approved, and confirming Raja Ya'qub's appointment as Penghulu. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 1909. Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances. *Penghulu Papers*.
- 10 Interview with Mansur Nasution, Kota Nopan, Upper Mandailing, 1998.
- 11 Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, 1934, p. 31.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, 1977.
- 15 Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, "Pesan Wasjat Datuk Sayo, Raja Bilah Raja Haji Abdul Razak Bin Raja Asal yang telah disampaikan pada hari Jumaat, 9hb. Jun, 1911 iaitu seminggu sebelum beliau meninggal dunia pada hari Jumaat, 16 hb. Jun 1911", p. i-ii. (The will of my grandfather, Haji Raja Bilah Raja Haji Abdul Razak bin Raja Asal which was made on Friday 9th June, 1911 that is one week before he passed away on Friday 16th June, 1911), typewritten document in Malay, distributed circa 1980. This is the second version of 'Raja Bilah's will' contained in Noriha Yaacob, 1987, Lampiran E (Appendix E). A similar copy of the will also appears in Lian Poh Hoon, *Keluarga Mandailing di Papan. Sejarah Perkembangan Asal Usul Keluarga Pada Zaman Kemuncak Hingga Sekarang*, unpublished B.A. thesis, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of Malaya, 1990/91, 'Lampiran 12', p. 228.
- 16 Donald Tugby reported that equal division of the inheritance among the male and female children of the deceased is mentioned in six of the Mandailing villages he studied. (Tugby, 1977, p. 65-66)
- 17 Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, 1977. As Mandailing society is closely knit through intermarriage, women's rights are enshrined in the form of the rights of the wife-giving clan (*mora*), to whom honour and service are due from the wife-receiving clan (*anak boru*).
- 18 Lian Poh Hoon, 1990/91, p. 132. See also February 1904, statement in Jawi by Raja Bilah, about a murder that took place in Papan and his Interrogation of the suspect. *Penghulu Papers*; Interview with Teh Puasa, 1998.
- 19 Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, 1977.
- 20 In Islamic law, waqf covers religious endowments, family trusts, and so forth. In Islamic legal terminology, it means primarily 'to protect something, to prevent it from becoming the property of a third person'. (Mohd. Zain b. Haji Othman, *Islamic Law with special reference to the Institution of Waqf*, Prime Minister's Department, Religious Affairs Division (Islamic Centre), Kuala Lumpur, 1982, p. 21, 36.
- 21 Interview with Teh Puasa, her sister Saidah, and her son Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 1998.
- 22 Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, 1977. Haji Abdullah gave the date of Raja Asal's death as the end of 1878, but the actual date was 14 November 1877.
- 23 Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, 1977.
- 24 Interview with Teh Puasa and her sister Saidah, 1998.
- 25 Tugby, 1977, p. 27. The expression goes 'dialah omak, dialah bapak'. Tugby did not credit his source for the information on Haji Raja Bilah, probably because the latter asked to remain anonymous, but it is known that he had interviewed Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh.

#### APPENDIX I: RAJA BILAH'S FAMILY TREE (pages 226-227)

- 1 The legend of Si Baroar has been retold in the following sources:

Willem Iskander, *Si Bulus-Bulus Si Rumpuk-Rumpuk*, introduced and translated by Basyral Hamidy Harahap. Sanggar Willem Iskander, Jakarta, 2002, p. 77. This work was first published in The Netherlands by Landskrukkerij (Government Printers) in 1872: Alm. Mangaraja Gunong Sorik Marapi, Raja Panusunan Bulung di Maga, *Bona ni Nasution*, Medan, 2002, p. 1; Mohd. Saleh Nasution (compiler), *Si Baroar, Asal Mula Marga Nasution*, Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan, Ditjeri Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan R.I., Jakarta, 1976.

#### APPENDIX II: RAJA BILAH'S CHILDREN (pages 228-229)

The short biographies are based on:

Raja Haji Muhammad Ya'qub, *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, 1932.

Abdul Rahim Abu Bakar, *Perkembangan Penduduk Melayu di Daerah Kinta (Perak), 1880-1930an*, B.A. thesis, History Department, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1976/77.

Haji Abdullah H.M. Salleh, *Latar Belakang Raja Asal dan Anaknya Raja Bilah* (The Background of Raja Asal and his son, Raja Bilah), unpublished manuscript, undated.

Noriha Yaacob, *Perantaraan Raja Bilah: Satu Kes Penghijrahan Suku Mendailing ke Semenanjung Tanah Melayu dan Penempatannya di Perak*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of Malaya, 1987.

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Interviews with Teh Puasa and Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, 1998.

#### APPENDIX III: RAJA BILAH'S GRANDCHILDREN (pages 230-231)

The short biographies are based on: the same works as in Appendix II.

- <sup>1</sup> C.L.M. Penders and Ulf Sundhussen, *Abdul Haris Nasution: A Political Biography*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1985, p. 4. Jachja Malik lived in Papan for a while and traded in batik. Two cousins of General Abdul Haris Nasution, Jachja Malik Nasution and Mubidin Nasution, were exiled by the Dutch colonial government to the infamous detention camp at Tanahmerah on the upper Digul River in Dutch New Guinea (Irian Jaya). Subsequently, Jachja took a second wife while in exile, and never returned to Malaya.

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- ◆ 16 March 1876, letter in English, from (Deputy Commissioner) Frank Swettenham to Raja Asal, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, permitting Raja Asal and Che Ismail to work the tin mines between Kinta and Blanja.

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- ♦ 30 November 1877, letter in Jawi, from (Perak Assistant Police Commissioner Captain Robert) Bruce to Raja Bilah, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, appointing Raja Bilah as peace-keeper in Pangkalan Kacha and Papan.
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- ♦ 27 October 1878, notice in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate H.W.C. Leech, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, to Malay and Chinese miners to pay tax (chabut) to Raja Bilah.
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- ♦ 25 February 1880, notice in Jawi, issued by the Government of Perak in the name of Raja Muda Yusuf of Perak, instructing the people to fence their crops.
- ♦ 25 May 1880, receipt in English, issued by the Government of Perak to 'Raja Biela', signed by H.W.C. Leech acknowledging payment of \$11.22 for 'charcoal ...'.
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- ♦ 15 January 1883, notice in Jawi, issued by the Government of Perak, to all Penghulus requiring them to make a census of those eligible for corvée labour.
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- ♦ 11 March 1885, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Acting Magistrate J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to handle cholera epidemic.
- ♦ 27 March 1885, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Acting Magistrate J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, regarding application for land at Changkat to be turned into a coconut orchard.
- ♦ 8 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk Haji Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to hand in accounts.
- ♦ 8 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk Haji Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, regarding search for a lost buffalo calf.
- ♦ 27 June 1885, letter in Jawi, from Acting Magistrate Kinta J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to carry out a census of those eligible for corvée labour, and those exempted because they own village lands or padi fields.
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- ♦ 22 August 1885, letter in Jawi, Magistrate R. D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, regarding a Chinese Chong Lim working the lampan mines, with Hewett clarifying government policy on lampan, and a case of erosion in Tempusan reported by Taukeh Chong Kooi Yen.
- ♦ 22 December 1885, memo of mining agreement, in English, between Raja Gunong and Raja Bilah, in which Raja Gunong sold off his one-sixteenth share in the Kilian Joham mine.
- ♦ 28 March 1886, agreement in Jawi, between Raja Bilah and Chin Boon Sui, for the sale of a shophouse in Papan.
- ♦ 12 April 1886, notice in English, from Kinta Magistrate J.B.M. Leech to Raja Bilah, summoning Raja Bilah to appear in the Batu Gajah court for failure to pay for 'iron roofing'.
- ♦ 17 May 1886, letter in English from Cecil Wray to Kinta Magistrate R. D. Hewett, regarding Raja Bilah's request to plant padi between Changkat Manggis and Sungai Asah, including Hewett's approval.
- ♦ 26 May 1886, agreement in Jawi and Chinese characters, between Raja Bilah and Taukeh Ah Ngau, on the use of water from the reservoir.
- ♦ 31 May 1886, agreement in Jawi, sale of lombong mine by Raman to Raja Bilah.
- ♦ 5 June 1886, agreement in Jawi, between Raja Bilah and Choon Chan, regarding rental of a stall in Papan.

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- 1 October 1888, statement of accounts in Jawi, from R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, showing the balance of Raja Bilah's debt to Hewett, and asking Raja Bilah to settle through Dr. Duncan Scott.
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- 4 October 1894, letter in Jawi, from al-Haj Muhammad Saman to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to persuade Mallim Sulaiman, Si Syukur and Si Talip to return money to him through his representative Enci' Abdul Qadir of Kota Sihantar.
- 1895, note signed by Kinta Collector of Land Revenue W.P. Hume, granting approval for mining.
- 10 May 1895, letter in Jawi, from A.L. Ingall, Chief Assistant Magistrate Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah come to Batu Gajah to discuss 'a small matter'.
- 13 May 1895, letter in Jawi, from Sutan Puasa of Kuala Lumpur to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to reconcile Raja Bilah's niece Raja Maimunah with her husband Sutan Mangatas.
- 2 September 1895, letter in Jawi, from Dato' Panglima Kinta Muhammad Yusuf of Perak to Raja Bilah, inviting Raja Bilah to a family wedding.
- 23 September 1895, letter in Jawi, Ahmad Malik son of Dato' Dagang Melaka in Peringgit, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to advise his son Raja Shahabuddin and other children of his community to attend Pusing School regularly.
- 25 October 1895, Private Carriage Licence in English, issued by the Government of Perak to Raja Bilah.
- 4 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from Abdul Wahab Penghulu of Sungai Raya parish, to Raja Bilah, saying that he has carried out Raja Bilah's request to serve two monetary summons to constituents of Sungai Raya.
- 4 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdul Wahab to Raja Bilah, informing the latter that he is leaving from Penang, and that he has taken back his house in Telok Anson from Ja Bidun who still owes him \$30, and his agent Haji Suman is asking for rent.
- 10 December 1895, letter in Jawi, from R. D. Hewett District Magistrate Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking for details of Raja Bilah's leave.
- 2 January 1896, letter in Jawi, from Batu Gajah clerk Muhammad Nur to Raja Bilah, requesting confirmation of leave to perform Hajj and recommending Raja Ya'qub as replacement.
- 5 April 1896, letter in Jawi, from Si Ginda Minang Karabau to Raja Bilah, reporting his losses in a food venture and asking Raja Bilah for a monetary loan.
- 12 May 1896, contract in Jawi, signed between Ah Hong and Raja Bilah, Haji Muhammad Satar and Haji Abbas, for the construction of six shophouses in Papan, with Haji Abdullah Umar acting as guarantor; the contract gives details and costs of construction.

- ◆ 15 May 1896 to 17 September 1896, statement of accounts in Jawi, recording payment by Raja Bilah for construction of houses, certified by Ah Hong.
- ◆ 5 July 1896, letter in Jawi, from 'one Benggali Islam named Labu' acknowledging receipt of \$270 previously deposited with Raja Bilah.
- ◆ 30 October 1896, letter in Jawi, from Haji Hussin to Raja Bilah, reporting on lack of funds to pay workers at Raja Bilah's Sitiawan plantation.
- ◆ 15 December 1896, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah 'never again to issue a financial guarantee', to surrender payments for summons and fees collected to the treasury and to issue receipts.
- ◆ 4 January 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah never to put on trial government officers, Europeans and Eurasians.
- ◆ 2 March 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to make a list of those who have not been inoculated.
- ◆ 25 March 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Magistrate Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, requesting a list of those who have been inoculated for small-pox.
- ◆ 28 July 1897, letter in Jawi, from Pahang British Resident Hugh Clifford to Raja Bilah, replying to Raja Bilah's letter of request dated 6 July 1897, for assistance in redeeming a Mandailing slave from the palace of the Pahang Sultan.
- ◆ 25 October 1897, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Collector of Land Revenue W.P. Hume to Raja Bilah, instructing Raja Bilah to issue passes for rubber extraction and sales.
- ◆ 25 May 1898, letter in Jawi, Raja Mansur District Magistrate, Court Office of Batu Gajah, to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to send the defendant's letters of debt for investigation by the Court Office.
- ◆ 14 June 1898, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bugis of Sayurmaincat in Mandailing to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to persuade her son and daughter-in-law to return to Mandailing to visit her.
- ◆ 16 January 1899, summons in Jawi, issued by Raja Bilah, Penghulu of Papan Court, to be served upon Ya Fan at the gambling farm (pajak judi) of Gopeng.
- ◆ 15 April 1899, letter in Jawi, from Haji Muhammad Assistant Qadi, Syariah Court Kinta Batu Gajah, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to notify the Muslims of Papan Parish of the date of Hari Raya.
- ◆ 24 April 1899, letter in Jawi, from Assistant Penghulu of Gopeng Imam Prang Ja Barumun to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to deliver a summons to two Hindus living in Papan.
- ◆ 14 September 1899, letter in Jawi, Raja Muhammad to Haji Muhammad Nur, about a piece of mining land in Tapah, asking Muhammad Nur to invite Raja Bilah to invest in it; also asking Muhammad Nur to write to Raja Mahmud Ipoh about a debt to a chetty.
- ◆ 15 September 1899, letter in Jawi, from Kinta Magistrate R.D. Hewett to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah for an assessment of the damage caused by a fire in Papan.
- ◆ 10 September 1900, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer Cecil Wray to Raja Bilah, requesting Raja Bilah to enumerate livestock.
- ◆ 27 September 1900, letter in Jawi, from Syed Abdullah Assistant Chief Qadi Perak, Kuala Kangsar, to Raja Bilah, authorizing Haji Abdul Majid to teach (religious teachings).
- ◆ 7 November 1900, sales and purchase agreement in Jawi, between Sundar Singh bin Matab Singh and Manggal Singh bin Sundar Singh, both of Siputeh, on the sale of two Madras bulls.
- ◆ 24 April 1901, a letter of debit in Jawi, from Santha Singh bin Minda Singh to Jual Singh bin Hira Singh, both of Pusing Baharu, for the purchase of a horse and carriage.
- ◆ August 1901, Raja Bilah's log book.
- ◆ 7 December 1901, letter in Jawi from Raja Bilah to Taiping Magistrate, requesting the Taiping Magistrate to serve a summons to Bod Singh in Taiping, not reproduced).
- ◆ 10 September 1902, letter in Jawi, from Collector of Land Revenue Kinta to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to investigate whose plot of land is marked 'B' on the map.
- ◆ 1903, letter in Jawi, from Haji Hussin of Tanah Merah to Raja Bilah asking Raja Bilah to purchase land and settle his parents-in-law in Sitiawan.
- ◆ 22 June 1903, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer R. B. Grey to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to enumerate leprosy cases in his parish.
- ◆ 11 October 1903, letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdullah Umar bin Raja Andalan Rawa-Rawa from Kampong Tembung to Raja Bilah, sending postal remittance and requesting Raja Bilah to oversee the building of a house in Chandariang, Perak.
- ◆ 1904, register in Jawi, of persons qualified to be the Magistrate's Adjutants according to Section 10 in Islamic Law 1904, published by F.M.S. Government Press.
- ◆ 17 February 1904, statement in Jawi by Raja Bilah, about a murder that took place in Papan and his interrogation of the suspect.
- ◆ 5 July 1904, letter in Jawi, from Luah Kang Penghulu Blanja to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to send his people down to Parit to inspect the land, to fulfill an order by the Collector of Land Revenue Kuala Kangsar to demarcate boundaries.

- 2 August 1904, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster, asking Raja Bilah to collect and submit local place names.
- 15 August 1904, letter in Jawi, Haji Muhammad Yunus Ter'ala of Chemor to Raja Bilah, asking for Haji Mat Saman from Penang to inspect house plan.
- 16 May 1905, letter in Jawi, from District Officer Kinta Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah, to send the case reports that were heard in Papan Court from 1 January to end March 1905.
- 23 May 1905, letter in Jawi, District Officer Kinta E.J. Brewster to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that by order of the Sultan of Perak, zakat (tithes) on padi for the district of Krian and Larut must be paid to the religious officers in the district, and cannot be transferred to another parish.
- 12 September 1905, letter in English, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster, reproduced (retyped) in *Tarikh Raja Asal dan Keluarganya*, requesting British Consuls to assist Raja Bilah in his journey to the holy lands.
- 1 October 1905, letter in Jawi, from the Penghulu Kampong Buaya, near Padang Rengas, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to serve a summons to someone living in Papan Parish.
- 24 October 1905, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster to Raja Ya'qub, instructing Raja Ya'qub to inform his constituents that they can approach any assistant District Officer with legitimate complaints.
- 20 May 1906, letter in Jawi, Magistrate Batu Gajah to Raja Bilah, that by order of the Perak Sultan, the appellant has to pay \$5 directly to the court.
- 25 June 1906, letter in Jawi, from Raja di Hilir, Secretary to the Sultan of Perak, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to contribute to funds for a new mosque in Ipoh.
- 9 July 1906, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer to Raja Haji Abdal Razzaq, instructing Raja Bilah and 'all the Penghulus' under his command to assist in putting up an exhibition in Singapore.
- 10 January 1907, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bendahara Wazir, representative of the Sultan of Perak, to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that he has been made a member of the Kastan Zarian Club in Kuala Kangsar and requesting fees from him.
- 23 July 1907, from C.W. Bresland Assistant District Officer Bruas at Parit to Raja Bilah, about overlapping claims of ownership of Haji Salleh's land in Parit.
- 10 January 1908, letter in Jawi, from Raja Bendahara Wazir, representative of the Sultan of Perak to Raja Ya'qub, informing Raja Ya'qub that he has been made a member of the Kastan Zarian Club in Kuala Kangsar and requesting fees from him.
- 7 March 1908, letter in Jawi, from the Perak Resident's Secretary R.J. Wilkinson to Haji Abdal Razzaq, inviting Raja Bilah to an investiture and wedding function in Kuala Kangsar.
- 23 November 1908, affidavit in Jawi, by A. Daud Mydin, shopkeeper in Pusing, lodging a complaint against Velugopal, a coolie from Batu Gajah, for failure to settle his bill, and asking the Penghulu to issue a summons.
- 23 November 1908, affidavit in Jawi, by Ayah Daud Mydin shopkeeper of Pusing, lodging a complaint against Bukasa, a coolie from Batu Gajah, for failure to settle his bill, and asking the Penghulu to issue a summons.
- 25 January 1909, letter in Jawi, from Kinta District Officer E.J. Brewster to Raja Bilah, informing Raja Bilah that his request to retire has been approved, and confirming Raja Ya'qub's appointment as Penghulu.
- 1909, Federated Malay States Government, Particulars required to be furnished in Reference to Persons recommended for Retiring Allowances. State Secretariat No. 2591/09. R.G.O. No. 2081/09. Audit 1072/09. B.G. 365/09.
- 5 March 1910, letter in Jawi, from Yusuf bin Haji Abdullah to Raja Bilah, recording payment of \$25 ringgit to Raja Bilah, sent through Haji Saidin Mandahiling and Haji Bashir who lives at Chandariang.
- 3 November 1923, Gazette of the Federated Malay States in Jawi, declaring the site of the Papan Mosque as 'prohibited land' (waqf).
- (Shawal, no year), letter in Jawi, from Haji Abdur-Rahman to Raja Bilah, about Haji Abdur-Rahman's daughter Maimunah and her husband Si Atas wanting to go to Klang, mentioning Sutan Puasa.
- Undated, letter in Jawi, by Haji Daud Saba Dolok in Makkah, Kampong Samiah Jemaah Sheikh Saman Rawat to Haji Sulaiman of Sayur Matinggi, presently staying in Lahat, Perak.
- Undated, letter in Jawi, Haji Abdul Salim, representative of Sheikh Umar Batu Bara in Singapore, Kampong Tembaga Number 10, to Raja Bilah, asking Raja Bilah to send money before he leaves for Makkah.

#### Documents from Arkib Negara Malaysia (National Archives of Malaysia)

- Circa 1883, petition in Jawi, by Ipoh traders to Police Magistrate Kinta R.D. Hewett, requesting a government notice prohibiting boatmen from retailing goods in Ipoh.
- 23 October 1904, letter in Jawi, from Raja Mahmud to the Magistrate Kinta E.J. Brewster complaining about his people having to pay for land development license and expressing uncertainty about the land concessions as well as informing that a mosque has been built.



### Documents from the Survey Department

- ◆ 1894. Perak Surveys. Plan of Allotments No. 777 Block 158-1 Surveyed for 'Raja Bila', showing 'Mohamedan Burial Ground, Gaz. Notn 331 of 1901'.
- ◆ 6 April 1923 (registered). Plan of Portions 27802 & 27803 Town of Papan District of Kinta. of Plan No. 27278, showing the land endowed as waqf by Raja Bilah for the Papan Mosque.

### Documents from Abdur-Razzaq Lubis's Collection

- ◆ Map of Perak, late 19th century.
- ◆ Sultan Idris of Perak.
- ◆ Salsilah (Terombo Keturunan) Ja Bolga by Mohammad bin Ahmad bin Raja Bolga Lubis. Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 1975.

### Documents in Zuhdi Nasution's Collection in Pasar Maga, Mandailing

- ◆ 15 March 1928, letter in Romanized Malay from Raja Ya'qub to Radja Endah, informing Radja Endah of the death of Raja Mahmud.

### Correspondences, Conventional and email

- ◆ Haji Abdullah bin Haji Mohd. Salleh, letter to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, dated 3 April 1985.

◆ Haji Abdullah bin Mohd. Salleh, to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, 3 August 1988.

◆ Drs. Z. Pangaudan Lubis to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, undated.

◆ Ric Francis, 22 January 2003.

◆ Drs. Zulkifli Lubis, 3 July 2003.

### Interviews

◆ Ayub bin Muhammad Dahlan, the eldest son of Muhammad Dahlan bin Harun and Teh Puasa binti H. M. Salleh, in Perak.

◆ Ho Thean Fook, the childhood friend of Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin and author of *Tainted Glory*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2000 and *God of the Earth*, Ipoh: The Perak Academy, 2003. Interviewed in Papan and Ipoh, Perak.

◆ Haji Othman bin Haji Muhammad of the Rangkuti clan, interviewed in Penang.

◆ Mansur Nasution, interviewed in Kota Nopan, Mandailing.

◆ Mochtar Yahya gelar Raja Dori, of the Nasution clan, interviewed in Pasar Maga, Mandailing.

◆ Mohammad Dolok Lubis, a lecturer with the University of North Sumatra (USU), interviewed in Medan, the capital of the province of North Sumatra.

◆ Mohd. Shahar Kamaruddin alias Ridwan, the son of Kamaruddin Sutan Abidin, interviewed in Papan and Ipoh, Perak.

◆ Naziaty binti Dato' Mohd. Yaacob, lecturer at Faculty of Built Environment, University of Malaya.

◆ Muhammad Dahlan Harun @ Muhammad Dahlan Loebis, the husband of Teh Puasa binti H.M. Salleh and the scribe of Raja Ya'qub, interviewed in Chemor, Perak.

◆ Nasran Siregar, Coordinator, Pesticide Action Network (PAN), North Sumatra, interviewed in Medan.

◆ Raja Syahbudin bin Raja Abdul Jalil, of the Nasution clan, interviewed in Pasar Maga, Mandailing.

◆ Teh Puasa binti H. M. Salleh, the great-grand niece of Raja Ya'qub, interviewed in Chemor, Perak.

◆ Zuhdi Nasution, interviewed in Pasar Maga, Mandailing.

### Internal publications

◆ *Mandailing Architecture*, Medan: Sumatra Heritage Trust, 1999.

◆ *Information on Applying for International Grants*, The Toyota Foundation, undated.

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