The Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies of the University of California is the coordinating center for research, teaching programs, and special projects relating to the South and Southeast Asia areas on the nine campuses of the University. The Center is the largest such research and teaching organization in the United States, with more than 150 related faculty representing all disciplines within the social sciences, languages, and humanities.

The Center publishes a Monograph series, an Occasional Papers series, and sponsors a series published by the University of California Press. Manuscripts for these publications have been selected with the highest standards of academic excellence, with emphasis on those studies and literary works that are pioneers in their fields, and that provide fresh insights into the life and culture of the great civilizations of South and Southeast Asia.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF THE CENTER FOR SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA STUDIES

Richard B. Barnett
North India Between Empires: Awadh, the Mughals, and the British, 1720–1801

Karl D. Jackson
Traditional Authority, Islam, and Rebellion: A Study of Indonesian Political Behavior

Karen Isaksen Leonard
Social History of an Indian Caste: The Kayastha of Hyderabad

Thomas R. Metcalf
Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century

Reputations Live On

This volume is sponsored by the
Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies,
University of California, Berkeley

Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, Datuk Bentara Luar Johor.
(National Archives, Malaysia)

REPUTATIONS LIVE ON

An Early Malay Autobiography

AMIN SWEENEY

University of California Press
Berkeley
Los Angeles
London

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Sweeney, Amin.
Reputations live on. An early Malay autobiography

Translation and study of the Tarikh Datuk Bentara Luar Johor by Mohamed Salleh bin Perang.
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, 1841-1915. 2. Johor —Biography. I. Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, 1841-1915. Tarikh Datuk Bentara Luar Johor. English. 1980. II. Title.
DS598.J7S83 959.5'1 [B] 80-10752
ISBN 0-520-03990-4

Contents

Maps and Illustrations

MAPS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Preface

This work presents a translation and study of the *Tarikh Datuk Bentara Luar Johor*. The *Tarikh* consists of three autobiographical writings by Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, the Datuk Bentara Luar Johor (1841–1915), one of the chief pioneers of the modern state of Johor. These writings were set in a biographical framework and published after Salleh's death by Mohamed bin Haji Alias. The book, which is printed in Malay *jawi* script, is now very rare; but it was never, in fact, circulated very widely, due mainly to the fact that it was banned soon after its publication, for reasons which will become apparent.

The *Tarikh* is of both historical and literary interest. Although there is a considerable volume of material from contemporary British sources describing Malaya in the nineteenth century, very little has come to light from the pens of Malays living at the time. In this work, however, we are presented with the personal record of one of the principals in the "opening up" of Johor. Not only do we obtain that intimate insight on the times which only autobiography can give, but many of the important events related therein have hardly been touched upon by European sources—as, for example, the Jementah war and the Johor ruler's visit to Japan and China. Furthermore, this account is undistorted by the cross-cultural "filter" which often mars the reports of European observers, ignorant of the norms of Malay behavior and unfamiliar with the language.

Malay society was in a state of rapid transition during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the old palace literature was on its last legs. Nevertheless, the concept of autobiography was still an alien one in that society, and it is for this reason that Salleh's writing is of particular interest as a work of literature.

Traditional Malay literature was a product of the court. Consumption of that literature was a communal activity, for works were intended to be heard rather than read. The expression of personal idiosyncracy was not encouraged, the function of literature being rather to confirm the traditional values of society. Clearly, in such a milieu, the idea of recounting one's own life story would have been a novel one. During the nineteenth century, however, in the European settlements, a number of works were written in Malay, often at the behest of Europeans, and the best known of these was the memoirs of Abdullah Munsyi. But Abdullah was not culturally a Malay, and he was writing for his European patrons. Thus, although the *Hikayat Abdullah* may be described as the first autobiographical writing in Malay, the *Tarikh Datuk Bentara Luar Johor* is the first *Malay* autobiography.

In the past, Malay literature has been much maligned by the criticisms of orientalists who have judged what they read by their own Western middle-class literary standards. Naturally enough, using such criteria, they found Malay literature lacking in many respects; and even when something was found worthy of praise, its appeal was often extrinsic to the culture, so that they found merit where a traditional Malay audience would have found none. In pointing out that Malay literature lacked this or that, such scholars blissfully ignored the possibility that the inclusion of "this" and "that" was not at all germane to the writer's purpose.

A piece of writing is the net result of a series of choices. By subjecting a text to a close reading, it is usually possible to discover why those particular choices were made. In other words, it becomes possible to ascertain what effects the writer is seeking to create, what reactions he requires from his audience, and what methods he uses to achieve these aims. In this work, therefore, a commentary is included which should be read in conjunction with the text. This commentary seeks to explain the writer's various choices, and demonstrates that much of what would have been dismissed as mere verbosity by Western critics in the past is, in fact, essential to the writer's purpose.

The work of translation presented no major difficulty, and I have endeavored to follow the Malay original as closely as possible. Wherever the author employs direct speech, I have preserved

this. One minor problem was to decide whether the translation of certain descriptions required the present or past tense when the Malay text gave no indication of this. In general, where the description is of something reasonably permanent which was not likely to have changed by the time Salleh wrote his account, I have used the present tense. I have employed the new spelling for Malay words, including place names, except where anglicized forms exist, such as Malacca and Penang for *Melaka* and *Pulau Pinang*. When Malay geographical terms such as *pulau* ("island") and *bukit* ("hill") are used as part of a name, they have generally been retained, unless the translations are commonly used in English, e.g., Karimun Island. Non-English words (including official titles) used more than once in the text are listed in the Glossary. Where the romanization of certain words is not entirely clear, I have supplied a transcription of the *jawi* spelling in the notes. Furthermore, I have provided a list of *jawi* spellings of Japanese and Chinese proper names and terms in order to show how Salleh spelled these words.

The pagination of the original text is indicated in the translation, and these are the page numbers used for purposes of reference to the text in the present work.

Only a few copies of the *Tarikh Datuk Bentara Luar Johor* are still extant, and the text is accessible only to those scholars able to read *jawi* script. While it was not found practicable to include the Malay text in the present work, an annotated romanization of the *Tarikh* is published as a separate volume by the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

My sincere thanks are due to two departmental colleagues: Professor Leonard Nathan, for convincing me of the efficacy of the "new rhetoric" (and demonstrating thereby that rhetoric works!); and Professor Karine Schomer, who sharpens my wits by arguing with me as a matter of principle.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the following persons, listed purely in alphabetical order, for their invaluable help: Dato' Abdullah bin Mohamed, former State Secretary of Johor, who gave me much useful information concerning the original publication of the *Tarikh;* Dr. Russell Jones in London, who sent me copies of Foreign Office records; Mr. Lee Siow Mong in Kuala

Lumpur, who solved several problems concerning Chinese culture; Professor Nakahara Michiko in Tokyo, who examined Japanese Foreign Office records; Dr. Claudine Salmon in Paris, who provided me with information on Na Tian Piet; Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard in Kuala Lumpur, who obtained for me a large number of photographs; and Mr. C. W. Watson, who examined newspaper holdings at the *Museum Pusat*, Jakarta.

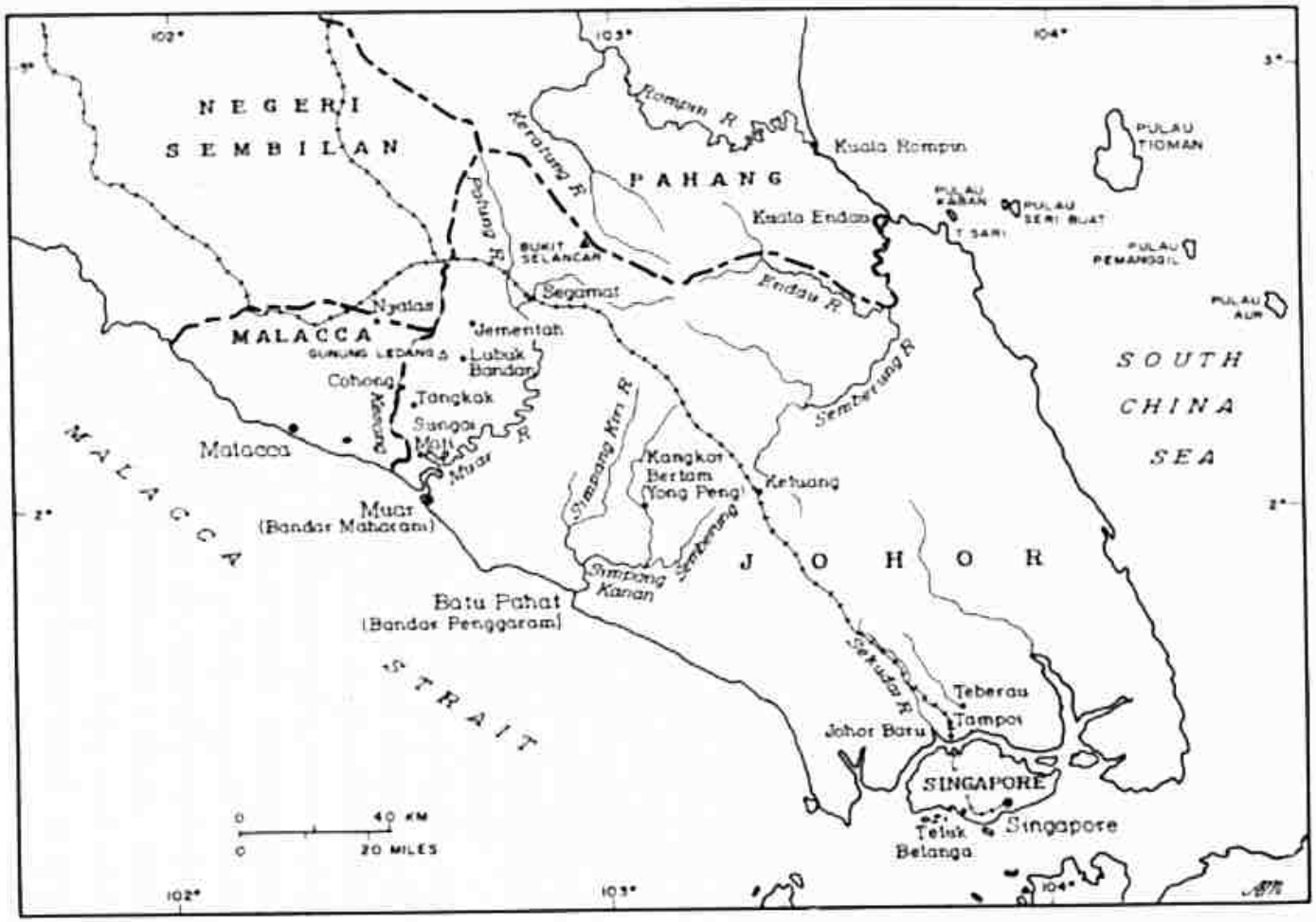
I also wish to thank the staff of the *Arkib Negara Malaysia* in Kuala Lumpur and Johor and the National Library in Singapore for their help and cooperation, and for making available to me a number of old photographs.

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

The development of Johor during the second half of the nineteenth century was unique among the Malay states of the Peninsula. While the fabric of traditional society disintegrated in other areas, leading to British intervention and the establishing of the residential system, by 1870 Johor was fast gaining a reputation as a showpiece of enlightened rule. Only fifty years earlier, the old empire of Johor had been little more than a memory; its seat of government had long since moved to the Riau Islands, where its rulers lapsed into obscurity under Dutch domination, and peninsular Johor had been almost uninhabited.

The seeds of Johor's renaissance lay in the founding of Singapore. Stamford Raffles sought to legitimize the British claim to the island by creating Tengku Husein (a brother of the Riau Sultan) Sultan of Johor, and thus effectively partitioning the historic Sultanate of Johor and Riau. In this, Raffles was abetted by the Temenggung, Abdul Rahman, who had by great good fortune moved from his seat in Bulang and established himself in Singapore shortly before the British decided to found a settlement there. In these negotiations, the indigent and indolent Husein was a mere pawn in the hands of the Temenggung and the British and, as Sultan and titular overlord of Johor, was nothing more than a figurehead. Indeed, in a treaty of 1824, both the Sultan and the Temenggung abdicated their rights to Singapore and became private citizens. Yet in the Treaty of London, signed four months previously, the Dutch had given up all rights to the Malay Peninsula, thus leaving the state of Johor an open field for that branch of Malay royalty residing in the British sphere of influence. It was, however, the Temenggungs who exploited this opportunity and, in the space of sixty years, elevated their status


NEGERI SEMBILAN
PAHANG
MALACCA
JOHOR
SOUTH CHINA SEA
STRAIT OF MALACCA
Kemaman R.
Kerotong R.
Pahang R.
Rompin R.
Kuala Rompin
Kuala Endau
Endau R.
Sembrong R.
Simpang Kiri R.
Simpang Kanan
Sungai Mati
Muar R.
Sedudor R.
BUKIT SELANCAR
GUNUNG LEDANG
Nyalas
Segamat
Jementah
Lubuk Bandar
Cohong
Tangkak
Melaka
Muar
(Bandar Maharani)
Batu Pahat
(Bandar Penggaram)
Kangkar Bertam
(Yong Peng)
Kluang
Johor Baru
Teberau
Tampoi
SINGAPORE
Singapore
Telok Belanga
PULAU TIOMAN
PULAU BABAN
PULAU SERI BUAT
T. SARI
PULAU PEMANGGIL
PULAU AUR
0 40 KM
0 20 MILES
102°
103°
104°
3°
2°

Johor

from that of local executive officers to become the sultans of Johor, while the descendants of Sultan Husein sank into indigent obscurity.

Temenggung Abdul Rahman gained little revenue from Johor, for during his time the state was almost uninhabited. However, in the 1840's two new developments occurred, which his able and energetic son, Daing Ibrahim, was quick to exploit. When the commercial uses of gutta percha were discovered, Johor began to export large amounts of this commodity, and Ibrahim made a fortune by monopolizing the trade. Furthermore, the increasing demand for pepper and gambier led many Chinese planters to move from the exhausted soil of Singapore and open up new plantations in Johor. Although Ibrahim continued to live at Teluk Belanga in Singapore, he encouraged these pioneers and regulated their operations. Salleh's account in Part Two of this work commences some time before the effects of these developments were felt, and we are able to observe the transformation from poverty to ease experienced by Salleh and his family as a result of this new flow of wealth.

The increasing opulence of Daing Ibrahim led Tengku Ali, the son of Sultan Husein, to clamor for a share of Johor's expanding revenues and petition the British for recognition as sultan. The result of this dispute, in which both sides received support from Singapore business interests, was an agreement of 1855, whereby Ali—in return for recognition as sultan, $5,000, a monthly allowance, and the district of Kesang in Muar—renounced all claims to territory in Johor. Daing Ibrahim was furious, for he felt that as the *de facto* ruler of Johor he had been coerced into paying for territory he already owned, to an overlord of doubtful validity who was encroaching upon his rights in Johor. One of the results of his fury was the termination of Salleh's studies under Munsyi Abdullah and the end of his teaching career almost before it had begun.

Ibrahim's successor, Abu Bakar, was a new breed of Malay ruler. A man of far-reaching vision, he determined to turn Johor into a modern state and raise his own status from that of a minor local potentate to become a monarch of international reputation. His considerable political acumen told him that these aims could

H. H. Sultan Abu Bakar. (National Archives, Malaysia)

only be achieved by working through the British system. He established excellent relations with the British and, by avoiding any major clash with their interests which might have justified intervention, he maintained a remarkable degree of independence. He employed British firms to handle his legal and business affairs, British officials were among his personal friends, and, with his passion for sports and entertaining, he became a popular public figure in Singapore society.

On his succession, Abu Bakar set about the task of "opening up" Johor in great earnest and with minute attention to detail. He modeled his administration on that of Singapore, and revised the legal system to conform more with British ideals; he encouraged agriculture and trade, and under his direction towns were established and roads built.

Particularly to his credit was his sagacious choice of officials to carry out his plans, and several of them had, like himself, been educated at Keasberry's mission school in Singapore. Salleh was one of the most outstanding of these men, and his role in the modernization of Johor forms a major part of his account in this book.

Abu Bakar was loath to be regarded as merely a client of the governor in Singapore, and saw himself rather in the role of an independent monarch allied with the British Crown. To this end, he gradually established direct contacts in London and became a personal friend of Queen Victoria. He traveled widely and was the honored guest of several of the crowned heads of Europe. He was also the first Malay ruler to visit Japan, and an account of that visit is provided by Salleh in Part Three of this book.

A particularly shrewd move by Abu Bakar was his adoption of the title *Maharaja*. To the Malays, it merely seemed to be an abbreviation of his nonroyal title *Seri Maharaja*. Unknown to them, "Maharaja" was the title of Indian princes of the highest rank, and Abu Bakar was well aware of the advantages of styling himself thus. The name *Bandar Maharani* (the Maharanee's Town) which he gave to Muar was clearly calculated to emphasize the fact that his wife was married to a prince of quality.

Sultan Ali continued to be a problem during the reign of Abu Bakar. In Kesang, which had become Ali's possession under the

agreement of 1855, his newly imposed authority met with resistance. Ali's agreement with the Bugis freebooter Silawatang only led to further problems, and an account of the disturbances which arose in 1871 is given by Salleh's contemporary and colleague Ibrahim Munsyi (Sweeney and Phillips, 1975).

Sultan Ali wrought confusion in death as in life. He died in 1877, leaving as his heir an eleven-year-old son by his third wife instead of his eldest son, Tengku Alam. The latter, it must be admitted, was described by Douglas and Anson as "stupid," "of weak intellect," and "indolent," but they likened him in those qualities to his father.[1] Pending settlement of the resulting succession dispute, Governor Anson took the imprudent step of requesting Abu Bakar, who was also a candidate, to act as temporary guardian of Kesang. The Temenggung and chiefs of Kesang declared for the Maharaja in preference to Tengku Alam, but later protested that Abu Bakar had exerted pressure upon them to do so. Nevertheless, in the subsequent election organized by the British, the Maharaja was chosen as the ruler and Kesang was incorporated into Johor.

In January 1879, Tengku Alam had himself proclaimed Sultan of Johor and Pahang, though he later informed the Singapore authorities that this was purely a religious title. This was farcical; but now, backed by certain Singapore businessmen—chief among whom was W. H. Read, who had been his father's adviser—Tengku Alam and his followers conspired to foment a disturbance in Kesang. In the same month his cousin, Tengku Nong, arrived there and began to stir up trouble, resulting in the Jementah "war" described by Salleh in Part Two. The aim of Tengku Alam's faction was to depict the disturbances as spontaneous resistance of the people of Muar against the tyrannical rule of the Maharaja, and W. H. Read trumpeted this message constantly in the legislative council and through the press. In fact, it is highly unlikely that either party cared very much about the people of Muar, and the British wanted only the least troublesome solution.

1. Memo by J. Douglas (17.7.1877); Anson to Secretary of State (6.7.1877) (both in the *Muar Papers, 1879–1880*).

The Maharaja was afforded a splendid opportunity to discredit his detractors when, on the capture of Tengku Nong, the latter's diary and letters fell into his hands. These documents revealed the true nature of the plot; and the Maharaja, astute as ever, handed them over to the Singapore authorities,[2] leading to the arrest of Tengku Alam's clerk, Awang Ibrahim, the writer of the letters to Tengku Nong, on the charge of waging war from a British colony. Awang Ibrahim was, of course, a mere pawn and, although the prosecution eventually entered a *nolle prosequi,* the case served the Government's purpose of exposing the conspiracy and revealing the true culprits. And much to the Maharaja's satisfaction, the inquiry made clear the role played by his arch-critic, W. H. Read.

The evidence of the Johor witnesses at the inquiry reveals that the Maharaja was, naturally enough, anxious to play down the part of the Johor government in quelling the disturbances, and this factor would seem to explain the discrepancies—discussed below—between Salleh's account in Part Two and his testimony at that inquiry.

In 1895, Abu Bakar died and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, a tearaway youth of twenty-two. Salleh's portrayal of Ibrahim is, justifiably, very unfavorable, but, to be fair, it must be pointed out that the new ruler inherited many problems from his father. British intervention in the western Malay states was followed by their rapid development under the residential system, and the results achieved in Johor appeared less remarkable by comparison. Furthermore, Abu Bakar's constant trips abroad had drained the state of much of its wealth, and it became apparent that Johor could not afford an "international" monarch. Thus it was that on Abu Bakar's death, Ibrahim inherited an empty treasury and his father's huge debts. It is perhaps understandable, therefore, that the Batu Pahat revenues were needed by him in 1897, as mentioned in Part One of this work.

However, in spite of Abu Bakar's failings, he had been extremely astute and had always played his cards right in his rela-

2. Copies of these documents are to be found in the *Muar Papers, 1879–1880.* Included therewith is an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Muar and the Muar Disturbances* (Singapore, 1880), supporting the Maharaja.

tions with the British. Ibrahim, on the other hand, apparently failed to realize that his independence was at the discretion of the Colonial Office. Although Abu Bakar had sometimes defied the local British authorities, he had always bowed to London's wishes. Ibrahim, under the influence of his late father's adviser, Abdul Rahman bin Andak,[3] claimed a greater degree of independence than Abu Bakar had known; he repeatedly resisted British advice and attempted to thwart British interests, in particular the Federated Malay States railway project (Thio, 1969:227–244). The British therefore decided on firm measures, and, as noted by Salleh in Part One, Abdul Rahman was forced to resign in 1907. This was followed by the appointment of D. G. Campbell as General Adviser in 1910.

Ibrahim had also alienated the sympathies of the British by his personal conduct. He was headstrong and capricious, and just as much a spendthrift as his father. This was not just the opinion of the British; his uncle, Engku Khalid, complained that he was high-handed, impulsive, and violated the constitution (Thio, 1969:228–229), and it is clear that Salleh felt little love for him. Ibrahim did not, apparently, have a good relationship with his father. He was raised by the Datuk Menteri, Ja'far bin Mohamed, rather than by Abu Bakar, and the latter had hoped that his nephew, Tengku Othman "London,"[4] would succeed him. It seems that Ibrahim was very hostile to several of his father's old followers, and it is reported that he once had their photographs collected and burned.[5] His readiness to listen to tale-bearers and intervene highhandedly in the administration tended to undermine the authority of officials such as Salleh, who had been given a free hand by Abu Bakar.[6]

3. See note 24 to Part One of text. It is likely that Abu Bakar's increasingly independent attitude toward the end of his reign was due to Rahman's influence.

4. Personal communication from Dato' Abdullah bin Mohamed, former State Secretary, Johor. Tengku Othman and Abdul Rahman bin Andak studied in England from 1871 to 1878.

5. Personal communication from informant who prefers to remain anonymous.

6. Personal communication from Dato' Abdullah bin Mohamed.

H. H. Sultan Ibrahim in 1923. (National Archives, Malaysia)

It should, however, be mentioned that after 1914, when the British strengthened their control, Ibrahim became more aware of political realities, and on his death, forty-five years later, he was described by Sir Richard Winstedt (Thio, 1969:255) as "the greatest Malay ruler of his time." Unfortunately, Salleh did not live long enough to see the change.

Socio-Literary Background

Malay society at the end of the nineteenth century was in a stage of rapid transition, and literature, as much an integral part of society as any other institution, was, hardly surprisingly, undergoing radical changes. In order to appreciate the novelty of autobiography for a contemporary Malay audience, it is necessary to understand the nature and medium of literature in traditional Malay society.

The Malay state was a river system rather than a territorial block with clearly defined borders. The river constituted the chief means of communication and the focus of political control. The population consisted of only two main groups: the ruling class, whose position was based on birth, and their subjects, the *rakyat*, who were largely peasants. The ruler's court would be located at the estuary of the river, which would afford him control over the port and river traffic.

Prior to the introduction of mass education by the British, literacy was very restricted on all levels of Malay society. The traditional center of literacy was the raja's court; yet even there, penmanship was an exclusive art, and, as such, it was bound by many conventions. No distinction was made between writing as an art and as a craft, and the same literary treatment was afforded to official correspondence as to works of *belles-lettres*. Furthermore, the court scribe would not merely be expected to function as a clerk but also to write, or at least copy and perhaps improve, works of literature for entertainment and edification. It is not surprising that the literary arts flourished only in court circles. Unless a writer were himself an aristocrat, the one way he could hope to develop his talents was as a court scribe, for only such a position could provide him with the incentive, financial support

and leisure time to produce works of literature (cf. Skinner, 1963:27).

In this age of manuscript literature and widespread illiteracy, there was virtually no "reading public," and indeed the very concept was alien. The importance of writing should not, however, be underestimated. The written word was intended to be heard, not read; in place of a "reading public" there was a "listening public," and society was often well acquainted with the content of literary works. The recitation of works in classical Malay was an art form in itself (see Sweeney, 1980). The reciter did not dramatize his text, but intoned it in a rhythmic monotone, not unlike the chant used in some genres of professional (oral) storytelling. This fact is of importance for the light that it can throw on certain aspects of the form and content of classical Malay literature. It indicates that, as regards the performer's delivery and the audience's reception, a recital of written literature was very similar to a presentation of stylized oral literature composed in performance, and explains thus why the written literature exhibits many features which would appear to be out of place in a work intended to be read "conventionally." For example, the fact that works were meant to be chanted and not read dramatically tells us that authors would have the rhythm of the chant in their minds rather than that of natural speech; and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that classical Malay literature abounds with parallelisms. Audience conditions at a literary recital were similar to those at a performance of professional storytelling. The situation would be far more informal than, say, in a modern concert hall. The listeners would be seated or reclining on mats, and one might expect to hear a whole range of background noises, from babies screaming to old women pounding their betel chew. Consequently, the audience would not expect to catch every word, and writers would respond to the needs of their prospective listeners by unfolding the content of their tales quite slowly, which they achieved by employing a good deal of repetition, both of form and content.

The ideal norms reflected in the literature of this pre-bourgeois traditional society were stability and social cohesion. Individualism was not encouraged, and a natural corollary of this

was a total absence of the constant striving for originality of composition which is a basic criterion of good literature in Western urban society. The importance attached to social cohesion, reflected in the literature of traditional Malay society, is again seen in the fact that the actual consumption of that literature was a communal activity. Although the ideal norms were uniformity and conventionality, every writer would naturally possess a variety of personal idiosyncracies. However, the nature of his postulated audience would discourage him from expressing unorthodox views in his writing, for a feature of social participation in the consumption of literature is that it "limits its content to what the group as a whole and/or its leader, if it is a markedly hieratic group, will admit to conscious recognition" (Rockwell, 1974:137).

It is a long step from the impersonal style of traditional Malay literature, where the writer remains well in the background, to the ego-oriented accounts of writers such as Abdullah Munsyi, his son Ibrahim, and Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, the author of the work presented in this book.

From the end of the eighteenth century, a number of works written in Malay appeared in the settlements under European rule. Examples of such writings are *Adat Raja-raja Melayu*, *Hikayat Maresekalek*, *Hikayat Raja-raja Siam*, *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala*,[7] and *Hikayat Abdullah*. The language and style of such works were often inferior if judged by the norms of Malay court literature, for the writers were not raised in the palace tradition, and the majority of them were persons of mixed (Malay/Arab/Indian) blood, whose mother tongue was not Malay. Nevertheless, these works were written in terms of the schemata[8] of traditional Malay literature; indeed, Abdullah, for example, acknowledges that he modeled his style upon that of the *Sejarah Melayu*. For the structure of the colonial administration to be

7. In 1974, I assigned the latter three texts as B.A. academic exercises to students at the National University of Malaysia (see under Works Cited). The edited texts may be consulted in the library of that institution.

8. My use of this term is borrowed from Gombrich (1969), who employs it in reference to the psychology of pictorial representation. For the use of schemata in traditional Malay literature, see Sweeney, 1980.

meaningful to the local inhabitants, it needed to be interpreted in terms of traditional institutions. We see, therefore, that in these works, the various governors and high officials are referred to as rajas and are often spoken of in court language. Moreover, a major aim of several of these writers was to eulogize their European patrons. It is for this reason that I have termed such writings "Malay literature of the European courts" '(Sweeney and Phillips, 1975:xxiii). Literacy in Malay was just as restricted in the European settlements as in the Malay states. A man well versed in Malay letters thus stood a good chance of finding employment with the European "rajas," performing a variety of clerical work much in the fashion of the scribe at a Malay court, for correspondence with local rulers was usually carried out in Malay. And, as at the Malay courts, these clerks sometimes produced works of a more literary nature.

Although the glowing praise which several of these writers lavished upon the European rajas and their progressive ways might appear as a new development in Malay literature, such eulogies were, in fact, cast in the traditional mold of the conventional panegyrics with which the palace scribe lauded his royal patron. The initiative to produce such works sometimes came from the writer himself, as was apparently the case with *Hikayat Raja-raja Siam,* written for van der Capellen by Syeikh Abdullah bin Mohamed al-Misri, but there were also works written at the express request of Europeans. The need to comply with such a request from outside his own culture meant that the writer might well have to make choices that would not have occurred to him in the traditional context. For example, the European interest in the individual led to the appearance of the *Memoirs of a Malayan Family, written by themselves (Hikayat Nakhoda Muda)*[9] and the *Hikayat Abdullah.*

However, the very fact that these works were written for European patrons meant that most of them were to have little if any impact upon Malay society. As often as not, they would find oblivion in European collections of manuscripts, their only hope of an audience being future generations of orientalists. Yet, al-

9. This work is in the form of biography rather than autobiography (see Drewes, 1951 and 1961).

though in general these works in themselves had little influence on the future development of Malay literature, the very phenomenon of their appearance is important as a sign of things to come, for it is in the European settlements (with their printing presses) that mainly *peranakan*[10] writers of Arab, Indian and Chinese descent, using a style much less "refined" than that of classical Malay, were to produce work that was intended to be read, not heard, through the medium of the newspaper.

There was, however, one author who towered above the rest of these "European court scribes," and this was Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, whose writings were certainly not destined for oblivion; on the contrary, they have been printed and reprinted numerous times up to the present day. The most striking feature of Abdullah's writing is that it is ego-oriented. In his memoirs, the *Hikayat Abdullah*, the author remains in the foreground, referring to himself with the intensely personal pronoun *aku*. Much of these memoirs is autobiographical in nature, and this was the first time that an author in Malay had bared his soul to his readers. Yet the main impact of Abdullah's works was upon a section of the European community of the Straits Settlements. Europeans printed his books, sold them, read, translated, and cited them. In view of what has been said above concerning traditional Malay society, it is hardly surprising that his works had little immediate effect on the Malays of his time, for the concept of ego-oriented writings, published in printed form for private consumption, was an alien one.

Yet even today, Malays have difficulty appreciating Abdullah. After British intervention in the Malay states and the introduction of mass education, Abdullah's works became required reading in Malay schools and—such is the effect of colonialism—generations of Malay school children were expected to echo the opinion that Abdullah was the father of modern Malay literature, even though it was apparent that he had left behind him no school of writers.

Since independence, however, Abdullah has often been accused of a lack of patriotism and of "disloyalty" to the Malays, on

10. A locally born foreigner; often with a Malay mother, if a Muslim.

account of his extreme Anglophilia. But such an allegation is anachronistic. In Abdullah's time, one's loyalty was due to one's raja and, by such norms, Abdullah was extremely loyal—for his rajas, as he repeatedly states, were the British. As in the old palace literature, he looks out on the surrounding world from the British settlements of Malacca and Singapore, and finds British ways superior on every count.

It is my opinion that Abdullah's unpopularity does not stem merely from the fact that he criticizes the Malays of his time. Indeed, most Malays today would probably agree with many of those criticisms. Abdullah's son, Ibrahim, also leveled a good deal of criticism at contemporary Malay society, yet his work does not arouse hostility. It is clear that the problem with Abdullah is one of rhetoric, and I do not use the term loosely.

The writer of all forms of discourse creates an official or idealized version of himself, ranging from the implied author of the novel, and the ethos created by the orator or scholar, to the self-image projected in one's personal letters. This official version of the writer will vary, depending on the reaction he wishes to elicit from his audience. In the novel, the implied author—as opposed to the narrator, the "I" of the work—usually remains well in the background. In an autobiography, however, the implied author and the "I" are one and the same. Indeed, the author is also the protagonist of the account, although as such he may be separated from the narrator by various types of distance—moral, intellectual, etc. The autobiographer, therefore, must employ special care in deciding what version of himself he will make public and project to his reader.

It might perhaps be argued that, because the autobiography—unlike the novel—is not fiction, the writer has only to record his own experiences. Yet when we consider, as Brandt (1970:97) has pointed out, that as humans we cannot see even a physical object in its entirety at any one time, it becomes clear that we have little hope of viewing any human activity objectively, least of all our own. Our perception of everything varies with the slightest shifts in context and perspective, and the life story of one man can be told in an unlimited number of ways. The aspiring autobiographer—subject, of course, to the limits of his

own moral universe—has thus a vast array of possibilities to choose from. He must decide not only what aspects of himself as protagonist he must highlight, but also what image of himself as writer he must project. His decision will depend upon what effect he wishes to create—or, more precisely, what reaction he desires from his audience.

The writer not only creates an image of himself, but also one of his reader, which may be termed the "postulated reader" (Booth, 1961:177), in whom he must arouse an appetite for what he has to say, and then satisfy it. His aim is to "eliminate all distance between the essential norms of his implied author and the norms of the postulated reader" (Booth, 1961:157); and to achieve this, he must initially establish common ground between them. Only if the actual reader is convinced of the implied author's sincerity and able to become the postulated reader can he fully appreciate the work.

Writing of the novel, Booth (1961:75) points out that "A great work establishes the 'sincerity' of its implied author, regardless of how grossly the man who created that author may belie in his *other* forms of conduct the values embodied in that work. For all we know, the only sincere moments of his life may have been lived as he wrote his novel." An additional feature in autobiography is that the man who creates the implied author also creates another image of himself as protagonist. In this case, if the reader is aware that the man's conduct in real life is not in accord with that attributed to the protagonist, the credibility of both implied author and his creator will be compromised, and the reader will refuse to assume the role of postulated reader.

In his writing, Abdullah's postulated audience was European, not Malay. The images he created of himself both as author and as protagonist were designed to gain acceptance from that audience. By eliminating the distance between the norms of his implied author and those of his postulated European audience, he only widened the gap between that second self and the Malays—remembering that he himself was only Malay in the sense of being a Muslim.[11]

11. For many Malays, even today, the concept "Malay" is synonymous

Thus, for example, he expects his audience to side with him in pouring scorn upon those who dubbed him *Abdullah Paderi* ("Abdullah the Padre"). Yet any Malay, even today, who reads his glib account of how he collaborated with missionaries in translating the New Testament would immediately tend to sympathize with Abdullah's critics. And Abdullah could hardly have expected any Malays to agree with his views on the superiority of "noble foods" such as meat, butter and eggs over such basics of Malay diet as *pekasam* (fish preserve) and *tempoyak* (durian conserve). In short, the reader postulated by Abdullah is one that the Malay reader was (and is) unable to become.

Abdullah's real intention was not to reform the Malays with his writing. Had such been his intention, he would have attempted to establish common ground with his Malay readers, from which to win them over to his point of view. On the contrary, his often savage criticism is rather designed to create an ethos for himself which will impress his European audience. Furthermore, if he had been a Malay writing for Malays, he would have needed to devote considerable effort to preparing his audience for the novel idea of autobiography. However, he is writing his account in response to a request from a European and, though he models his style on that of traditional Malay literature, the conventional opening formula of humility he uses would sound hollow to a Malay audience. Such formulas were used in classical Malay to create an impersonal ethos for the implied author. In the context of Abdullah's autobiographical writing, however, where the ethos is to be anything but impersonal, this opening would have a jarring effect on a *Malay* reader, particularly as it becomes apparent almost immediately that Malay humility is not one of the implied author's qualities.

Nevertheless, in his capacity as a teacher, Abdullah had some influence on at least a small number of Malays. These were his pupils at Keasberry's school in Singapore, which was remarkable for the fact that it provided education in Malay as well as English. Among these pupils were Abu Bakar, who was to become the

---

with "Muslim." Thus, a convert to Islam is said to *masuk Melayu* (become a Malay).

Maharaja of Johor, and several of the latter's future officials, including Abdullah's own sons. Abu Bakar employed three of Abdullah's sons, one of whom, Ibrahim, was to rise to the post of deputy chief minister.

In some respects Ibrahim's early career resembled that of his father, for he too was a clerk, a *munsyi* (language teacher) and a writer. Who then could have been a better choice as a modern equivalent of a "court scribe" for the new breed of Malay raja who ruled Johor than Ibrahim, whose father had performed a similar role under the British? Unlike his father, Ibrahim clearly took pride in being a Malay, and his undivided loyalties were with his Malay raja. This is reflected in his writing. Although he used the *Kesah Pelayaran Abdullah* as a model for his *Kesah Pelayaran Ibrahim Munsyi*, his postulated audience was Malay, and this explains why Malays are better able to appreciate his writings than those of his father.

Salleh, the author of the *Tarikh*, was also a member of the Johor–Keasberry circle, and a contemporary of Ibrahim Munsyi. He could no longer, however, be termed a "court scribe," for his intended audience was not primarily the raja.

The Author and His Writings

Mohamed Salleh bin Perang was a man of remarkable versatility, a veritable jack-of-all-trades, but master of several, and writing was only one of his accomplishments. He, too, was a pupil of Abdullah, and it seems likely that the writings of his teacher had at least some influence on his style; so, for example, there are echoes of the *Hikayat Abdullah* in Salleh's references to his touchstone *(batu uji)* and the saying "It takes a jeweler to know a gem" (see Abdullah, 1953:2). However, such influences were very minor in the context of the whole. The distinctive feature of Salleh's writing is that he was the first Malay author to prepare his audience for the novel idea of autobiography, so that the postulated reader is one that a Malay is willing to become. In short, although Abdullah's *Hikayat* is the first work containing autobiographical material in Malay, Salleh's writing is the first Malay autobiography.

The writings presented here were found among Salleh's papers after his death, and were compiled and published in 1928 by Mohamed bin Haji Alias, a Johor government clerk.[12] This volume contains three accounts written by Salleh which, the compiler tells us, have not been altered in any way. Parts One and Two are autobiography, Part One written shortly before Salleh's death in 1915, and Part Two at the height of his career in 1894. Although these accounts complement each other to some extent, both are complete in themselves, and a close reading reveals the very different effects the author was seeking to create in the two accounts. Part Three, written in 1883, recounts Salleh's trip to Japan and China. The order in which these accounts are presented is that of the compiler, but I have chosen to discuss them rather according to the sequence in which they were written. Mohamed bin Haji Alias also provided a preface, some brief commentary and Salleh's genealogy. These are discussed at the end of this introduction.

Little need be said here concerning Salleh's life, for this task is adequately performed by Salleh himself, and further comments are supplied in the notes to the text. Suffice it here to say that, with some minor reservations discussed below, external evidence largely confirms the veracity of his account: his maps are still in existence; and it is clear, from the praise lavished upon him by Abdul Rahman bin Andak at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, that he was highly thought of in Johor. Rahman spoke of him as a "naturally clever man," who had invented a rattan chain more practical for measuring on jungle rivers than the ordinary Gunter's chain and had "worked hard all his life" (Lake, 1894:299). Examination of the entries, made by Salleh himself, in the register of land-grant records shows that Salleh was "a neat, painstaking man" (Burridge, 1956:31). In 1907, he addressed a meeting of the Batu Pahat Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Chinese (Daud, 1955:46).

After Abu Bakar's death in 1895, Salleh fell from the royal favor. An examination of the *Singapore and Straits Directory* through the years gives an indication of the progress of his career.

12. Personal communication from Dato' Abdullah bin Mohamed.

Sultan Abu Bakar Mosque, Johor Baru.
(National Archives, Malaysia)

In 1883, he was a member of the Council of State and the State Secretariat, together with Ibrahim, the Datuk Bentara Dalam; Salleh's name preceded Ibrahim's in the Council from 1884 to 1889, and in the Secretariat from 1885 to 1889. When Ibrahim became the Deputy Chief Minister in 1890, his name came first in the Secretariat listing and in the Council until 1892, after which Salleh was again first until 1895. In 1892, there appeared for the first time a list of persons holding titles, and Salleh's name preceded Ibrahim's until 1895. After 1895 (the year of Abu Bakar's death), however, Ibrahim took precedence over Salleh on all counts. In the 1896 issue, the presence of the new sultan is strongly felt. Mention of the Council, Secretariat, etc., is now preceded by details of the sultan's household, palace officers, the corps of state insignia-bearers, the esteemed family order, etc. Salleh has now been dropped from the Secretariat. Ibrahim, the Bentara Dalam, is Vice President of the Council, while Salleh is only an ordinary member. By 1899, he is listed below Rahman bin Andak, and in 1910 below Mohamed bin Mahbub. In 1912, his name is no longer listed in the Council but appears in the list of personal titles, and in 1913 Salleh is not mentioned at all.

The "slanders" mentioned by Salleh deserve some comment. During Abu Bakar's reign, Salleh was given full power to make decisions concerning Batu Pahat, and was answerable only to the raja. During Sultan Ibrahim's time, however, his authority was undermined by the fact that disgruntled local interests could appeal over his head to higher echelons of the growing bureaucracy, and Salleh was expected to seek official approval before deciding matters such as land allocation. Thus, in a letter of July 1910, he was reprimanded for giving land to Japanese planters (whom Abu Bakar had wished to encourage) without permission from the government.[13] Furthermore, with regard to complaints made against Salleh, an examination of the *Daftar Pengaduan—Timur dan Barat* (register of complaints) 1899–1912, reveals that complaints against him were few and far between, and are the type of thing that would routinely be expected in any such situation. For example, a *penghulu* (headman) complained that his area had been placed under the authority of another *penghulu* (no. 42, 1902); and a Chinese, Lim Soh Poon, protested that his license to sell opium had been rescinded (no. 57, 1902).

Had Salleh desired wealth, he would not have had to resort to petty corruption. It was quite acceptable for officials to request large concessions of land: a memo in the Johor archives (S56, 29.11.05) notes that Rahman bin Andak and Mohamed bin Mahbub asked for ten thousand acres in Tampoi for planting. Yet Salleh had no ambition to own estates. On the contrary, he is said to have used his own money to help finance the founding of Batu Pahat (Daud, 1955:36). He amassed no riches, and when he died he left almost nothing.

13. State Commissioner General to Datuk Bentara Luar, reproduced in Daud (1955:46–47).

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

The Trip to Japan and China—Part Three

Salleh was, like his royal masters, of Bugis ancestry: his forebear, Lajat bin Abdul Rahim, is said to have been "descended from Bugis daings."[1] According to Cense (1951:45), as paraphrased by Noorduyn (1961:31), "The keeping of diaries, still practised several decades ago, is a practice which, as far as I know, is nowhere so generally adhered to as among the Macassar and Buginese peoples, except among those groups of the population which are influenced by the Macassar–Buginese culture such as the Bima-people and the Malay at Macassar."

It is not perhaps surprising, therefore, that Salleh was a dedicated diarist. Evidence of this is found in all three of his writings presented here, and is particularly striking in his account of events occurring from 1879 onwards. Beginning with the Jementah war—in Parts One and Two—he notes not only the date when each event took place, but frequently even the hour of day. In fact, on occasion, we get the impression that he has merely selected relevant entries from his diary and incorporated them into his narrative with a minimum of alteration (see, e.g., August 1887). It is quite likely, of course, that Salleh kept a record of his earlier life, but the fact that his narrative of events prior to 1879 mentions only the years and the most important dates (which would be on public record) would seem to indicate that his involvement in the Jementah war first led him to keep a daily record of events.[2]

1. See Table A of the genealogies in the Appendix.
2. Or if he kept a daily record previously, the fact that he omits such detail

Part Three, which is wholly in diary form, would appear to be the sort of raw material upon which much of the narrative in Parts One and Two is based. The account is generally impersonal, matter-of-fact, and often laconic; see, e.g., 12th September 1883, concerning a shipwreck. Sentences are regularly abbreviated; e.g., "At Hama," "Wrote letters." Some of Salleh's entries appear to be memoranda to himself rather than a record of events; e.g., on 22nd June, concerning the audience with the Mikado. The conclusion is that Salleh was keeping a record for his own personal use,[3] jotting down daily anything that seemed worthy of note at the time. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that in Parts One and Two, which were clearly written for an audience, Salleh adapted and developed his diary material into narrative, selecting only those entries necessary to create the effect desired and putting them into an overall perspective. Yet, precisely because he worked in this fashion, it is quite likely that he foresaw this possibility at the time of writing. Thus, while he carefully notes down each time he sends a letter, he has also clearly lavished considerable attention on some of his descriptions, and even preceded his account with a poem (which, to give Salleh the benefit of the doubt, still seems to be in draft form).

Salleh's interest in local geography and his eye for detail constantly remind us that he is a surveyor and cartographer. While on board ship, especially, he spends much time observing the topography and weather, and describes them in considerable detail, including much information on distances and bearings—so that his account reads at times like a ship's log, and indeed it appears that he has worked in consultation with the ship's officers to gather his data. Similarly, during the overland journey in Japan, he estimates the height of hills and the area of lakes, he notes the length of each bridge they cross, and even takes the trouble to ascertain that the water of the Kiso River is brackish.

---

from his pre-1879 narrative is similarly an indication of the importance which he attaches to his role in the Jementah war.

3. But not necessarily *private*. He may well have foreseen the possibility that members of his family would want to read it; but this is very different from revealing his "public" self.

On at least one occasion, however, his surveyor's eye is overwhelmed by the artist's sense of the picturesque. Particularly notable is the passage written on 20th May. Yet nature only becomes "picturesque" when we have acquired the habit of seeing it in pictorial terms. To see the visible world as art, "we must mobilize our memories and experience of pictures we have seen and test the motif again by projecting them tentatively onto a framed view" (Gombrich, 1969:314). In the modern world, with its plethora of mass media, we take this for granted, but Malay society had no tradition of illusionist landscape art. Salleh, however, had been trained in Chinese painting and, though he may well have seen examples of Western art, his "schemata" must have been from the Chinese tradition. It seems likely, therefore, that his word painting of 20th May owes much to this "Chinese eye" of his.[4]

Salleh displays considerable interest in the "creations of people living in the past," and is impressed by the fact that "the Japanese attach great value to their old treasures." He pays particular attention to describing the historical buildings and temples they visit (naturally enough, estimating the size of stone slabs and the height of lanterns!) and spares no pains to discover what he can about their origins and history. It is noticeable, however, that by the time he reaches Tokyo he seems to have had a surfeit of temples,[5] remarking that they "are more or less like what we have already seen."

Our author shows much less interest in current affairs. Although his party is in constant contact with Japanese, Chinese and British officials, he remains largely silent on the political or economic situation in the places he visits, with the exception of an occasional passing remark, such as his reference to "trouble with the Chinese" in Canton, and his observation on the decline of Macau. Although his view of Japan in the fifteenth year of the Meiji restoration naturally lacks our historical perspective, he shows little awareness of the enormous changes taking place in Japanese society. An example is the phenomenal growth of the

4. And I owe the use of this term to Dato' Abdullah Mohamed (1971:6).

5. Speaking from personal experience—visits to dozens of temples in the Kansai area—I fully sympathize!

railway network; in 1883 there were railway systems in both Kansai and Kanto areas, and they were in the process of being linked by the Tokaido line, which was the route along which Salleh's party still had to travel by rickshaw. Yet although Salleh had never ridden on a train before, he appears to take rail travel entirely for granted.

He devotes somewhat more attention to social conditions. As might be expected from a commissioner of police, he makes some observations on prison reform in Osaka and, although he dismisses a visit to schools and institutions in one phrase, he shows in his final observations that he is favorably impressed by the educational system and, indeed, by several other aspects of Japanese society.

It is noticeable that, apart from these final observations, Salleh rarely pauses to reflect and give us his impressions of his experiences. He occasionally has a word of approval for something he sees—e.g., "beautiful books," "fine house"—but his account generally consists of impersonal data. It is particularly striking that he omits almost entirely any description of or reaction to the people[6] he meets, the only exceptions being his favorable impression of the governor of Yokohama and brief comments on the Chong Tok of Hankow and the Taotai of Shanghai and his aide. We note, too, that he does not record the content of any conversations he held during the trip.

However, Salleh's impersonal style must be viewed in the light of his perception of the task he has set himself in keeping this diary. It is clear that his main concern is not to write a travelogue, but to keep an accurate record of all the Maharaja's activities. As the aide-de-camp to Abu Bakar (*Straits Times*, 30th April 1883), he would view such a record not merely as a source of future reference but as a practical aid in the daily performance of his duties. It is thus the Maharaja's activities which are re-

6. It is also worthy of note that although Abu Bakar's private secretary, W. Hole, was a member of the party (*Straits Times*, 30 April and 5 November, 1883), Salleh (with one exception, on p. 116 of the *Tarikh*) makes no reference to his presence and even omits his name—rather pointedly, it seems, as he includes the names of attendants—from the list of persons accompanying the Maharaja.

corded, rather than his own. Indeed, in his abbreviated entries, where he omits the subjects of sentences, it is to be taken for granted that he is referring to Abu Bakar; when he speaks of his own actions, he has to make this explicit by using the pronoun "I." All the Maharaja's activities are important to Salleh as aide-de-camp. He thus includes everything, usually without comment, ranging from affairs of state to when and where he had his lunch and how many times he played billiards. Only rarely does Salleh intrude: he allows himself a sigh of relief when the Maharaja's diarrhea improves, and muses briefly on the ways of the world after an evening's entertainment at a Japanese hotel. On the other hand, the rather euphemistic account of the conversions to Islam and the Maharaja's stay in Hama is given without comment.[7]

The Account Written for Na Tian Piet—Part Two

The second part of Salleh's account takes the form of a letter to a friend of his, Na Tian Piet. As the original was apparently sent to Na Tian Piet, this account, which was found among Salleh's papers, must be a copy, which may explain the abrupt ending. Salleh may have considered it unnecessary to copy out the closing compliments which undoubtedly graced the original version. Another possibility is that the compiler, Mohamed bin Haji Alias, omitted the ending, perhaps on the grounds that it overlapped with the account in Part One. However, in view of Mohamed Alias' emphatic assurances that he has not altered the text and the fact that other parts do overlap, this seems highly unlikely, and we may conclude that Salleh intended his narrative to end with the account of the Jementah war.

Watson (1971) has drawn attention to the huge volume of reading material published in Indonesia in "low Malay" before the establishment of the *Balai Pustaka*, and has argued that this material is likely to have had considerable influence on the development of modern Indonesian literature. The bulk of this early writing was produced by the Chinese *peranakan* community—

7. See note 86 to Part Three of text.

Chinese born in Indonesia—who were often no longer able to read Chinese characters. The *peranakan* Chinese also played a prominent role in journalism, and indeed it is clear that many of the writers were also journalists.

Salleh's friend Na Tian Piet was one of these writer-journalists. Although a trader by profession, he was greatly interested in journalism and wrote for several newspapers. He was perhaps best known as a correspondent of the *Pemberita Betawi*, a daily in romanized "low Malay," founded in Batavia in 1884, for which he wrote under the pseudonym of *Kalam Langit* ("Celestial Pen"), which is simply the transposition of his own name, Tian Piet (Tianbi). Na Tian Piet had close contacts with the Malays: he was born in Bengkulu, Sumatra, about 1836, and as a trader lived in Aceh, Riau, Deli, and finally in Singapore, where he retired in 1894. Among his more illustrious Malay friends were the Sultan of Deli and, in later years, Abu Bakar of Johor, who personally invited him to the wedding of his daughter in 1894.[8] His knowledge of Malay was apparently not limited to "low Malay," for he also contributed articles to *Bintang Timur*, which used a more literary style, though still in romanized Malay. Furthermore, Salleh's glowing praise for Na Tian Piet's mastery of the language may even indicate that he also wrote *jawi* script.[9] Na Tian Piet also produced a number of writings about public figures in the Malay world. He wrote a long *syair* entitled *Shaer Almarhoem Beginda Sultan Abubakar di Negri Johor*. Other writings concerned the marriages of the Sultan of Deli's sister and the Sultan of Johor's daughter. Clearly, it was this interest in Malay personalities which prompted him to ask Salleh for his life story, and it is quite likely that he intended to publish it (and that Salleh knew this).

Salmon[10] notes that, when writing for the *Pemberita Betawi*, Na Tian Piet provided much information about current affairs in

8. Personal communication from Dr. Claudine Salmon (October 1978), who also kindly allowed me to consult relevant parts of her newly completed catalogue of Chinese *peranakan* publications.

9. There is no indication that Salleh wrote to him in *rumi*.

10. Personal communication.

Singapore and Johor, and, when contributing to the *Bintang Timur*, he included reports on Sumatra.[11] Watson also records as his chief impression on reading the *Pemberita Betawi* that he was "struck by how much more homogeneous Malay–Indonesian society seemed to be then as opposed to now, and how much more mutual interest there was in what was going on in the other islands and states."[12] This is clearly a factor which must be taken into account in any study of the antecedents of modern Malaysian and Indonesian literature. In particular, the existence of literary interaction such as that which took place between Na Tian Piet and Salleh is highly relevant to any such study.

Salleh's style of writing in Part Two is strikingly different from that of Part Three, and contains much that might well be dismissed by the Western—or indeed modern Malay—reader as "flowery" and "verbose." Yet we have seen from Part Three that Salleh is not a man to waste words—at times he is downright laconic—and we may conclude that he would not have employed such an elaborate style in Part Two unless he had considered it essential for his purpose. Indeed, a careful examination of the text confirms that everything he has written there is designed to produce a specific effect upon a particular audience.

Our knowledge of Na Tian Piet is of undoubted use to us in understanding the context in which Salleh wrote; it may also provide some insight into why he strove for certain effects. However, it has only a peripheral value to us in discovering the relationship between author and reader, for only a close reading of the text itself can reveal how the "I" of Salleh's work viewed his postulated reader and what he expected of him. Furthermore, a writer's ostensible audience is often not his only or even real audience. It is clear that Salleh and Na Tian Piet have not been personally acquainted for long. Salleh knows him mainly through his

11. Roff (1974:52) mentions a contemporary criticism of the *Tanjong Pengeri* that "it might as well be published in Java as in Penang for all the local news it contained."

12. Personal communication from Mr. C. W. Watson, who kindly examined the holdings of the *Pemberita Betawi* at the Museum Pusat in Jakarta (September 1978).

writings. It seems not unlikely that over Na Tian Piet's shoulder Salleh sees a much wider audience than just the recipient of his letter.

Part Two clearly falls into two sections: the first, which is very short, is devoted to answering the practical details of Na Tian Piet's letter. The second section is Salleh's account of his life and, though also written in response to Na Tian Piet's letter as part of Salleh's reply, it is a self-contained piece of writing.

As a letter writer, Salleh's need to create an ethos is minimal for, as a Johor public figure, he is obviously well known to Na Tian Piet. It is enough that he reveal himself as an amiable and sympathetic individual, quick to recognize the worth of others. He also demonstrates, by his praise of Na Tian Piet's mastery over the nuances of the Malay language and his own use of a highly refined style, that he is writing for an audience which is sensitive to and appreciative of the values of Malay culture. In short, his postulated reader possesses *budi bahasa* ("character, integrity and good breeding")—for in Malay culture, a mastery of the niceties of language is equated with the possession of all the best qualities and, indeed, *bahasa* is used to mean both "language" and "good breeding."

Although all this sets the tone for the following account, Salleh has still not created an image of himself as an autobiographer. He now sets about this task in the long exordium beginning with "My friend . . . ," protesting his reluctance to write about himself. This should not be taken as a mere display of mock modesty. As has been mentioned earlier, traditional Malay society discouraged the assertion of individuality, and the concept of autobiography was unknown. However, the extreme reluctance on the part of an individual to sing his own praises or even to talk about himself[13] did not necessarily indicate a desire for anonymity or an indifference to adulation. On the contrary, precisely

13. Traditionally, Malays would even "shew much disinclination to tell their own or the names of their parents, and if thus interrogated, look confused, desiring one of their companions or the bystanders to perform this service for them" (Newbold, 1839, II:176). And I have observed this reluctance even today in Patani.

because the possession of a good name was supremely important, it could only come from the opinion of others.[14] Even in Salleh's time, the concept of autobiography was still quite an alien one in Malay society. It is true that Abdullah Munsyi had produced his memoirs some fifty years previously; but Abdullah, as we have seen, was not limited by either his conditioning or his audience to the norms and values of Malay society. Thus, although Salleh, who was a pupil of Abdullah's, may well have read the *Hikayat Abdullah*, this work could not provide a "schema" for creating the kind of ethos that Salleh required.

Salleh's long quotation from Luqman al-Hakim thus has a very practical purpose. Aware that writing this account may lay him open to the charge of self-glorification, he disposes of possible criticism by adopting the very arguments which he feels might be used against him (and incidentally reveals himself as a man of erudition). However, he then portrays himself as caught in an unenviable dilemma: to refuse his friend's request might be taken as a sign of insincerity,[15] an even greater crime; and so, for the sake of friendship, he reluctantly undertakes to tell the story of his life.

Although the fact that Salleh has been specifically requested to tell his tale relieves him of the need to arouse Na Tian Piet's interest, it seems clear from the literary style that Salleh's postulated audience is much wider. By drawing attention to Na Tian Piet's strong desire to hear his account, he whets the appetite of other readers. In his exordium, he has thus established common ground with his audience, aroused their interest, and made a contract with them to tell his life story. At the same time, he has portrayed himself convincingly as a modest, erudite and sincere

14. Rockwell (1974:138), speaking of praise-singing in heroic societies, observes that "honour consists of this reputation, and not by any means what the individual protagonist *knows internally* is honourable behaviour."

15. The Muslim concept of "sincerity" *(keikhlasan)* is a central one in Malay society. Sincere behavior is behavior born of *akal* (reason), disinterested behavior arising from resistance to *nafsu* (passion, self-interest). "Sincerity is not established by an honest recognition and explicit declaration of one's interests and inclinations; it requires not simply a lack of dissimulation of motives, but morally proper motives. One who is sincere . . . displays an unburdened state of mind" (Kessler, 1978:223).

individual, who can be relied upon to give an honest and reliable account.

Salleh has clearly spared no pains to make his subsequent account read felicitously. He maintains an intimate, dialogue-like relationship with his audience, ensuring their attention and heightening their interest with direct appeals for them to reflect on the situation he is describing, as, for example, "Imagine, my friend . . . ," "What was I to do?"

A criterion of good writing in Salleh's time was that it should provide *faedah* (benefit) for the reader and, indeed, Salleh makes explicit reference (p. 70) to this didactic function of literature, taking it for granted that his reader will expect him to produce an account "which will serve a useful purpose."[16] Salleh thus pauses in his narrative a number of times to reflect on what his experiences have taught him, and, by drawing out and generalizing on the moral contained therein, he makes them more relevant to his reader.

In his account, he creates an impression of openness and "sincerity," making no attempt to hide the feelings of joy, sorrow or frustration he experienced as protagonist, nor showing any reluctance to express his views as narrator. These range from his disgust at the stupidity of the Chinese[17] to his wryly humorous comments on Malay warfare.

However, there is still a considerable amount of commentary, the purpose of which remains to be explained. On the other hand, there are some surprising omissions from Salleh's account. For example, he makes no reference whatsoever to either of his two wives[18] or to any of his children and, indeed, the only character we are really allowed to see is his mother. It is clear that Salleh has rigorously selected his material. His account is, in effect, a record of achievement—an account of his "moving up from one rank to another, until I reached my present rank." On reflection, we realize that Salleh, while still maintaining his air of modesty,

16. The great importance attached to the didactic function of literature in Malay society is related to the fact that until quite recently, the consumption of literature was a social activity.

17. Clearly, his postulated audience is not culturally Chinese!

18. See Table D of the genealogies in the Appendix.

has almost imperceptibly told us that he was a brilliant student, a gifted linguist, a talented artist, a leading pioneer of the new Johor, an able and impartial administrator, and a noted battle commander!

Although the considerable length of the account devoted to Salleh's early life may be at least partly attributable to the fact that he has been specifically requested to speak about his "origins and place of birth," this account is, nevertheless, highly relevant to his subsequent record of achievement, as it is here that he prepares the ground for what follows. By focusing attention on the extreme poverty of his youth, he is able to draw a sharp contrast with his present elevated position. He also points out that he is no upstart: he is qualified for his rank of *datuk* not merely on grounds of his ability, but also by reason of birth—seven generations of Johor rulers were served by his ancestors.[19]

Furthermore, the very fact that a man of such high standing is willing to admit the straitened circumstances of his youth convinces the reader that the author is not, to quote the Malay proverb, "a bean which has forgotten its pod" (*kacang melupakan kulit*). Salleh reinforces this by dwelling upon the lessons his experiences have taught him and, speaking in terms of a touchstone or balance, he persuades the reader that he is a humble, sensitive, and impartial man, thereby greatly increasing his credibility for what follows.

Some mention should be made of the pious sentiments which are constantly expressed by Salleh. The Western reader who interprets this practice in terms of his own conditioning may feel that Salleh is merely being sanctimonious. For the Muslim Malay, however, praising God in the course of one's conversation is felt to be quite natural and unaffected. It is also an accepted way of mentioning one's own triumphs while still appearing modest, and Salleh thus usually precedes mention of his achievements—for example, as a student of the Quran, English, Chinese language and painting—by thanking God for granting him such success.

19. Note that the use of the magical number *seven* strengthens further the legitimizing force of this statement.

Salleh's introduction of himself as a pioneer of modern Johor is executed with considerable skill. After telling of Johor's origins, he voices the fear that the reader may find his account tedious. His justification is that if he has to talk about himself—which, he reminds us, is not his own choice—he cannot but include Johor, for *he and Johor are one*. Aware that this is an impressive claim, he expresses it in the form of two similes to soften the effect. And the long passage which follows indicates his awareness of the need to ensure that his reader react as he desires. After denying emphatically that he is guilty of boasting, he presents the facts to justify his claim.

He praises his reader's taste—reminding us by the reference to his touchstone that he is eminently qualified to judge such matters—and states his conviction that this will ensure approval of his useful account. Furthermore, his stressing the importance of gauging a man's worth by his words is not merely intended to reinforce his positive evaluation of the reader, but implies that he himself is to be judged favorably on the basis of what he has written in this account.

Finally, he appears to become aware that the lengthiness of the passage contradicts his own plea for discrimination in the use of language, but makes a special case for discourse between friends, enabling him to reduce even further the distance between himself and the reader, who is accorded the role of privileged confidant. He rounds off his argument with a comparison, and clinches matters with a sententia.

It seems clear that at the time Salleh wrote the account in Part Two he relished the role of general, for he devotes nine pages to a description of the Jementah disturbances, and it forms the climax of his account. Furthermore, as noted earlier, it is here that he begins his practice of recording not only dates but also the time of day that events occurred. Salleh endeavors, with this plethora of detail, to impress upon the reader that his account is a straightforward and well-documented recounting of the facts. Yet, by his choice of material and discreet commentary,[20] he

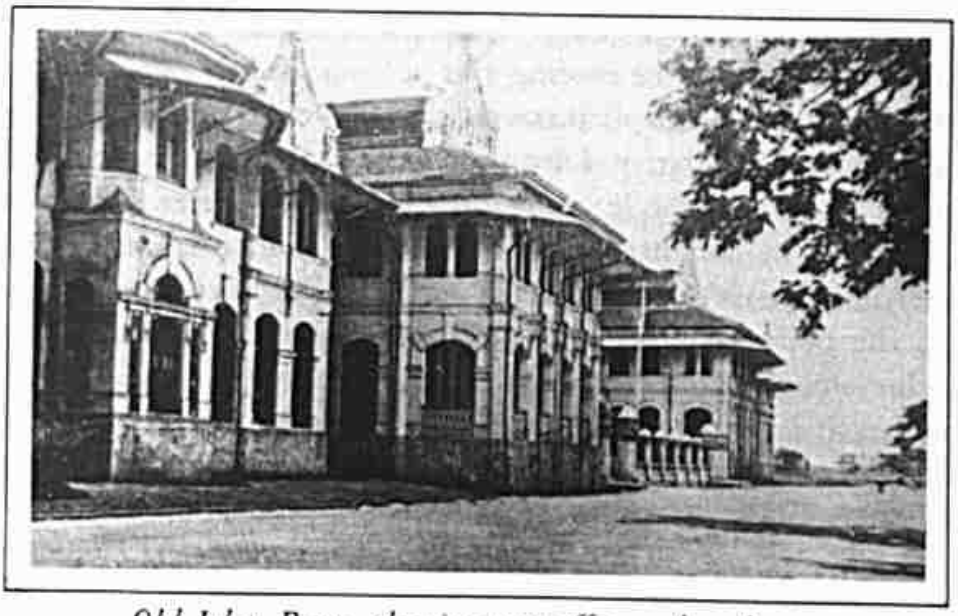
20. For example: "Their weak point had become apparent to me"; "Men's lives are not to be trifled with."

never fails to remind the reader that he was a master strategist, an able though humane commander, and objective enough to acknowledge the shortcomings of Malay warfare while granting credit where it is due.

Some explanation is needed of the wide discrepancy between Salleh's account in Part Two and his version of the episode given in testimony at the hearing of the case *Regina versus Auang Ibrahim* referred to above. For example, Salleh as witness stated that he arrived in Muar on 14th December; that he went to survey with ten unarmed policemen, not to fight; that he met up with the Penghulu and the Temenggung (he does not mention Engku Ahmad at all); that when he arrived at Lubuk Bandan, he "took charge and the Temenggung of Muar and thirty men were under me," only ten of whom were from Johor; but later he orders fifty men into the interior, and he mentions that, during the last attack, he had a hundred men and two cannon. Also, he states that he only heard of Tengku Nong's capture by letter and did not meet Panglima Perang Awang—who killed Syarif—at all while in Muar.

The Maharaja was anxious to show that those fighting against Tengku Alam's faction were mainly the people of Muar themselves, and that the role played by the Johor authorities was a minor one.[21] An examination of the testimony of other witnesses at the inquiry and of the captured correspondence seems to indicate that Salleh distorted his evidence to bring it in line with the Johor stance rather than that he exaggerated his account in Part Two. Thus, for example, a letter from Awang Ibrahim to Tengku Nong shows that the Maharaja's cousin Engku Ahmad (Encik Wan Ahmad) was indeed involved; Panglima Perang Awang obtained his arms (rifles) from the ship *Pantai*, and a witness stated that he "went to Johor with Engku Majid and Encik Salleh examined us."

21. At the inquiry, for example, the Datuk Menteri of Johor declared that the trouble was between Tengku Alam on the one side and the *penghulu* and people of Muar on the other. Also, a letter from Awang Ibrahim to Tengku Nong, dated 8th December, 1879, states that, ". . . The Maharaja has avowed to the Government there is no disturbance, but he was only going to capture bad characters" (*Muar Papers*).



Old Johor Baru, showing post office and resthouse.
(National Archives, Malaysia)

Salleh's position as Commissioner of Police makes it highly unlikely that he went to Muar only to survey, and the account in Part Two seems to be the more credible version. It is true, however, that Salleh was not directly involved in the capture of Tengku Nong, which only occurred in the middle of January. As police commissioner, he could of course claim credit for the overall success of the operation, but it does seem that his need to round off his account with an impressive conclusion has led him to tie up the loose ends of real life rather more neatly than the facts warranted.

The Account for Posterity—Part One

The very brief introduction seems to say very little; but, in fact, it tells us a good deal. The mention of his own name demonstrates that Salleh is aware of his audience. His use of the conventional literary pronoun *fakir* for "I," as opposed to the *saya* of Parts Two and Three, indicates that he intends to maintain some distance between himself and that audience. The very brevity of the introduction is significant: Salleh clearly assumes that he is sufficiently well-known to his audience to dispense with the need

to create an elaborate ethos. He is also aware of the fact that the audience will only be reading this account after his death, and, indeed, it is made explicit towards the end of his account that he is writing for posterity. Obviously he feels that these factors will suffice to arouse the interest of his postulated reader in his life story, for he commences his narrative without more ado. This relationship with his audience allows him to be matter-of-fact and to the point. As in Part Two, he is concerned with his own achievements—but now, his age and seniority, plus the fact that he has little more to gain from this world, make it unnecessary for him to resort to overt persuasion, and lend to his words the ring of truth.

In his choice of material, Salleh shows himself to be even more single-minded than before, for he focuses almost entirely on his career, and matters not directly related to this topic, such as his boyhood experiences and his interest in Chinese painting, are passed over in silence or alluded to only briefly. He mentions his sons, but only in reference to their work as his assistants. His aim is clearly not to edify, for he does not attempt to generalize on his experiences or extract any moral from them.

In short, his account is somewhat reminiscent of a *curriculum vitae*, in which the facts are intended to speak for themselves. He calls particular attention to his pioneering activities after 1879 by recounting his actions in often minute detail, which also reinforces the credibility of his account.

Yet Salleh is not always as accurate as he would have us believe, and there are at least five instances where his data do not tally with external evidence. Three of these are merely inadvertent errors in matters of detail,[22] but in the other two cases, Salleh's need to present an impressive record has led him to exaggerate somewhat. Thus, he claims Major McCallum as his teacher of surveying, although the evidence available indicates that he learned from Yahya bin Awaluddin.[23] And his claim to have captured Tengku Nong at the end of December is con-

22. See notes to the text. There is a possibility that mistakes were made during the process of printing.

23. See note 15 to Part One of text.

tradicted by evidence of witnesses (including his own) at the inquiry mentioned above.

Although Salleh aims to impress the reader with his list of achievements, this is by no means his only or ultimate goal, but merely one step in his stratagem. It is his intention to present this record as proof of his loyal service to Abu Bakar, and he spares no pains to demonstrate the intimacy of their relationship and the extent of the trust which Abu Bakar placed in him.

Thus, he presents direct quotes from his conversations with Abu Bakar, noting the familiar tone with which the latter addresses him; he draws attention to the fact that the Maharaja summons him in person (p. 16), or orders the chief minister to do so (p. 20). We note too that, from the very beginning of his account, he constantly reminds us of his relationship with Abu Bakar by referring to him on almost every page, even when they are engaged in unrelated activities, as, for example, "During His Highness' absence . . . , I continued my surveying work without a break" (p. 17). Particularly significant is Salleh's remark that Abu Bakar entrusted him with a secret, and that he is unable to disclose it. Obviously, the only possible reason for mentioning the subject is to demonstrate Abu Bakar's confidence in him.

He also calls attention to how Abu Bakar came to rely on his judgment and delegate authority to him, by drawing a contrast between their conversations related to "opening up Endau" and those concerning Batu Pahat. In the former case, Abu Bakar decides on the site, but Salleh finds it unsuitable and subjects his master's choice to some polite criticism. When the time comes to found Batu Pahat, Salleh portrays in detail how Abu Bakar bows to his superior judgment, giving him full scope to use his own initiative.

The stress which Salleh lays upon Abu Bakar's words to Rahmat and Kitam (p. 23) also requires some comment. In Johor, Abu Bakar possessed a much greater degree of control over his territories than did the rulers of other Malay states, where, as in Perak, the presence of largely independent territorial chiefs meant that the ruler often had little more than nominal authority over his domains. In peninsular Johor, the Temenggungs had

themselves been the local chiefs, and they apparently possessed a real authority over the *batin* and *penghulu* (headmen) of the outlying regions.[24]

When, however, Abu Bakar charged officials such as Salleh with the task of opening up those regions, the fact that the *penghulu* traditionally had the right of direct appeal to the ruler was a source of potential friction. Salleh therefore draws the reader's attention to the fact that Abu Bakar is aware of this problem, and that he gives Salleh absolute authority in Batu Pahat over the *penghulu*, thus eliminating the possibility that disgruntled local interests might go over Salleh's head to higher authority.

Yet the very fact that Abu Bakar insists on the *penghulus'* obedience to Salleh at this juncture seems to indicate that some previous experience has made it necessary to do so, and one such experience was at Cohong. By emphasizing the exchange between Abu Bakar and the *penghulu*, therefore, Salleh not only dispels any suspicion on the reader's part that the slanders might be true, but also demonstrates Abu Bakar's complete confidence in him. But why mention the slanders at all? This only becomes clear when we realize that Salleh is setting the stage for what follows.

Salleh's success in founding Batu Pahat is shown as the high point of his career. By the time he recounts Abu Bakar's death, he has built an impregnable case for himself as an unwaveringly loyal and selflessly devoted subject, whose labors have earned him the highest esteem and absolute trust of that monarch. Here, again, this is not an end in itself, but yet another step in his stratagem. He is now able to draw an extremely sharp contrast between his relationships with Abu Bakar and Ibrahim, in which the constant is his own unswerving loyalty and selfless devotion to both monarchs, regardless of the treatment he receives. In this way, he succeeds both in depicting Ibrahim in a very unfavorable light and, in view of the fact that he spent the last twenty years of his life out of royal favor, in convincing the reader of his own blamelessness.

No sooner has Salleh mourned the loss of Abu Bakar—the first strong emotion displayed in this account—than he utters the

24. See Daud (1955).

ominous words: "At that time all the work was progressing satisfactorily." We are not left long in doubt: the new Sultan is soon depicted ruining all Salleh's good work in Batu Pahat. Salleh's subsequent comments constitute a very pointed attack on Ibrahim and, in the context of Malay society, his affirmation of loyalty at this point is a telling indictment—implying, as it does, that only his oath keeps him in the royal service.

The next incident which Salleh chooses to mention occurs two years later. This time, his personal property is involved and he is careful to avoid any word of reproach, thus demonstrating both his complete submission to the royal will and his own disdain for material possessions. Furthermore, his tone of patient resignation is far more effective in arousing the reader's sympathy for him against the Sultan than words of anger would have been. And when, a month later, his services are required to survey the border, he portrays himself ready as always to perform his duty.

After a gap of ten years, he recounts the events leading to his forced retirement.[25] Although clearly bitter about the treatment he has received, he takes a philosophical attitude. Aware that he is a victim of slander and that reputation is what others say about one, he resigns himself to the fact that slander is only a matter of this world. Yet although the reader may be impressed by Salleh's stoicism, he is by now unlikely to lend much credence to these slanders; for, as we have seen, Salleh has prepared his ground well: the erosion of his authority, caused by Ibrahim's interference, could not but lead to the kind of problems which Abu Bakar had wisely sought to avoid by delegating power.

Salleh continues by exhorting his descendants to be loyal in spite of everything, thereby again drawing attention to his own loyalty in spite of Ibrahim's shabby treatment of him. Indeed, in traditional Malay terms, even to suggest the possibility of wish-

25. It is apparent that Salleh uses Rahman's dismissal and the appointment of a British official in Batu Pahat as part of his case against Ibrahim. Yet these developments were, in fact, the result of British dissatisfaction with Ibrahim's rule and their efforts to bring him under control. By this time, Salleh was out of the mainstream of things and was apparently unaware of the implications of the changes taking place in society. For example, it seems that he only became aware of Rahman's dismissal two years after the fact.

ing ill on one's raja and to warn against such an idea is in itself a damning criticism of that raja.

He ends his account by calling attention to his ancestors, who have loyally served the best interests of their royal masters down through the ages. He includes himself among them, thereby placing himself in the framework of history. He knows he has served well *and so do his readers*. It is this which will ensure his reputation. And reputation is all—for, as he concludes: "Reputations, both good and bad, live on forever."

THE COMPILER AND HIS WORK

None of Salleh's writings appeared in print during his lifetime, and after his death his papers were preserved by his son, Sulaiman, until 1926, when they were handed over to Mohamed bin Haji Alias, a minor Johor civil servant of Javanese descent, who had conceived the idea of publishing them. Mohamed Alias planned to publish these materials in four volumes, but Volume One, the subject of the present work, was the only one to appear. The reason for this is that only a few months after publication of the first volume in 1928, Mohamed Alias was threatened by Abu Bakar bin Buang, a superintendent in the Johor police, and the book was removed from circulation.[1] Clearly Salleh's remarks alluding to the reigning sultan, Ibrahim, had hit their mark!

Mohamed Alias' own contribution to the work consists of a preface, a brief introduction, and comments on each of Salleh's three accounts. He has also included a number of genealogical tables. He appears to have zealously avoided making any changes in Salleh's text, for he places great emphasis on this in his preface.

In the preface, Mohamed Alias refers to himself in humbly conventional terms, maintaining a low profile in keeping with his intention to focus the reader's attention upon Salleh. Having introduced himself, he mentions how he conceived the wish to know more about Salleh, hoping thereby to arouse a similar interest in the reader. He reinforces this, and justifies the existence of the book, by stressing the importance of Salleh for the history of Johor. And yet, it might be asked, if, as Mohamed Alias declares, Salleh's name is a "household word," "on the lips of every native

1. Personal communication from Dato' Abdullah bin Mohamed.

of Johor," why then is it necessary to sing his praises at such great length? Let us not forget that Salleh's name was not exactly a "household word" with the "ruler of great majesty and good fortune"—and Mohamed Alias is well aware of this, as is evident from his barbed comment that "even the weakest memories cannot forget."

In this respect, it should be noted that the thirteen tables of genealogy included by Mohamed Alias are far in excess of what is needed merely to demonstrate Salleh's origins. It seems that he is anxious to show the extent and influence of Salleh's family: the list of surviving relatives reads like a "Who's Who" for Johor.

In his preface, Mohamed Alias has argued for the importance of the *Tarikh* as a historical source. Now, in his introduction, he further justifies the publication of the book by emphasizing its value as a "manual of style." In view of his reference to "pure Malay speech," it should perhaps be noted that Salleh's language reflects the state of flux in which the Malay language found itself at the end of the nineteenth century and, though it still contains echoes of the old palace style, it is in several respects closer to modern Malay.

The order in which Salleh's three writings are presented is clearly that of the compiler, and it seems that his reason for presenting the most recent first is that it covers the longest period. Yet by so doing, whether consciously or not, he has introduced a note of irony into the reading of Part Two: as Salleh tells us of his successes, we are aware that, unknown to him, he had already reached the peak of his career.

The *Tarikh* was printed in 1928 at the al-Attas Press in Johor Baru. The book contains 137 pages (the first six are unnumbered) and two extra pages of errata. The cover and title page are identical (see accompanying illustration) and read as follows:

> The *Tarikh* [account or chronicle] of the Datuk Bentara Luar of Johor, collected by the mean and humble Mohamed bin Haji Alias, Johor Baru. Volume One. Author's copyright. First printing A.H. 1347–A.D. 1928. Printed by the al-Attas Press, Johor Baru.

— تاريخ —

داتؤ بنتارا لوار

جوهـر

دهمفون اوله

الحقير الفقير الى الله تعالى

محمد بن حاج الياس

جوهر بهارو

فتكل يغفرتام

حق نشارغن

چيتق يغفرتام 1347 هـ ـ 1928 م .

دچيتق اوله «مطبعة العطاس» جوهر بهارو .

Title page and cover of the Tarikh.

This is followed by a frontispiece (the frontispiece of the present work), a table of contents (pp. 4–5), and the preface (pp. 7–11), which reads as follows:

Preface

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate and the Merciful.

All praise to Allah the Lord of the Worlds. Peace and blessings upon the Chief of the Messengers, and upon all his family and companions.[2]

One day, the gaze of this most humble soul chanced to fall upon a picture (illustration) of the late Honorable Datuk Bentara Luar of the State of Johor (Datuk Mohamed Salleh bin Perang), like the one at the front of this book, and I examined it with care. At that point I conceived the wish to gain a clear picture of his life story because, decades ago, before light had been thrown on the subject from other sources and I had had the chance to see the picture I mentioned, it had been my clear and firm belief that he was one of the most able of Johor ministers, not merely in matters connected with his post and government administration, but in various other fields, too. In short, he was a man of considerable renown, ever [8] present in the memory and on the lips of every native of Johor, where his name is a household word, so that even today it is as though he were still alive. This is no cause for wonder, for in every town in the territory of Johor, we are constantly seeing the fruits of his labor which he has left us. And this is something that even the weakest memories cannot forget.

This idea was constantly on my mind, beating like the waves of the sea, so, as time went by, I never paused in my search for any evidence at all which would prove the truth of everything that had been related. Then, with the help of Almighty God—at a most blessed time, it so happened, in the month which follows the birth of the Prophet Mohamed (Peace and the Blessing of God be upon him, his friends and companions)—on the morning of Saturday, 1st Rabi'ul-

2. This passage is in Arabic in the text.

akhir 1345, equivalent to 9th October 1926, during the reign of the ruler of great majesty and good fortune His Highness Sultan Ibrahim ibni al-Marhum Sultan Abu Bakar, the Sultan and Yang di Pertuan of the State, Districts, and Territories of Johor, Daru 'l-Ta'zim, D.K., S.P.M.J., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., etc., etc., I met one of the sons of the late Datuk Bentara Luar, i.e., the esteemed Encik Sulaiman bin Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, for whom I have the greatest affection, [9] and I told him of my aspirations. Thereupon, by the consent of Almighty God, Encik Sulaiman in his generosity, though in fact he was over sixty years of age, gave me absolutely invaluable help, which I cannot possibly repay, by making available to me all the memoirs that he had collected and saved. Some of them had been copied out and were in clear order; but some of them were still in loose sheets from which the writing had almost disappeared—particularly the memoirs written in pencil (lead pen)—as they had been kept for so long.

When I obtained this great assortment of materials from the esteemed Encik Sulaiman, I immediately set about examining and investigating each one of them; I arranged them in chronological order, and I then divided them into several volumes[3] and parts, as is shown below:

Volume One contains:

Part One, which gives a summary of the life story of The Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar, i.e., from the day he was born to the day he returned to the mercy of Almighty God.

Part Two, [10] which describes his lineage, his education and life, including an account of the establishing of Johor Baru, and the Jementah war.

Part Three, which gives an account of his voyage to China and Japan, accompanying His Highness Sultan Abu Bakar.

Volume Two contains the fourth part, describing the border disputes between Muar–Johor and Johol–Negeri

3. Only Volume One was published. However, Dato' Abdullah informs me that a son of Mohamed Alias has in his possession some more material, with which he is most reluctant to part.

Sembilan and Malacca, and between Endau–Johor and Pahang.

Volume Three contains the fifth part, which gives an account of his writings, in particular, riddles, which are very famous in the Malay world.

Volume Four contains the sixth part, which describes his character, likes and skills.

When one has taken note of all these matters, one realizes that he was a man renowned in the history of Johor not only for his part in opening up the country and establishing settlements, but it may also be said that he was a well-known geographer among the Malays of his time, a brave and loyal general on the battlefield, a Malay poet of note, and a skillful performer and musician. [11]

It should be known that most of what is related in this book was written by the late Datuk Bentara Luar himself while he was still alive, and so out of respect for him, extreme care has been taken to preserve his style, wording, and idiom in their entirety, exactly as they were in the original.

May it be that Almighty God will grant His consent that this book may become one of the branches of the history of Johor, and be useful to the state and people of Johor.

I conclude this preface by begging the forgiveness of Almighty God a thousandfold, every day and night, and I ask humble pardon from all concerned for the stupid mistakes and errors occurring throughout my account. Also, we ask that God may forgive the sins of the deceased and all his family, and that He should grant them all the pleasures of this world and the joys of the next. Peace and the blessing of God upon our lord the Prophet Mohamed and upon his family and companions. All praise to God, Lord of the Worlds. Amen.

The mean, humble and weak
Mohamed bin Haji Alias

Johor Baru
28th Rejab 1345 (1st February 1927)

This preface is followed on p. 12 by the introduction, which reads:

Introduction

This is Volume One, which contains three parts of the life story of the Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar Johor, from the day he was born (birth) to the day his life ended (death). May the account be of use to all who read and hear it.

Although Volume One contains a small number of pages and its content is not long, nevertheless, in addition to the memoirs included in this account, one may find a number of old words, charming usages, and a fine and rich Malay style, which can serve as a model for those who appreciate it and value their language, to improve their style in accordance with the idioms, usages, and sayings of pure Malay speech. In short, during a time when language has become bastardized as in our present situation, it is difficult for Malay authors and writers to compose Malay similar to that found in this book. Truly, it is befitting that those Malays who love their race should preserve and give life to their language. For Malay is a most beautiful language to speak, and of great use throughout the Malay world.

M.B.H.A.

Salleh's three accounts are interspersed with short comments by Mohamed Alias. These are italicized in the present work. Mohamed Alias also follows his closing comment on Part One with a prayer in Arabic (p. 34). The heading and introductory remarks to Part Two follow (p. 35), but Salleh's account is then preceded by thirteen pages of genealogical tables, which have been placed in the Appendix of the present work; Part Two thus actually begins only on p. 54.

The Writings of Mohamed Salleh bin Perang

PART ONE

A summary of the life story of Encik Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, entitled The Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar, Seri Paduka Mahkota Johor; that is, from his birth until his return to the mercy of Almighty God, written by himself, and gathered together by the esteemed Encik Sulaiman bin Mohamed Salleh bin Perang in the year 1342 of the Hijrah era, equivalent to A.D. 1923–24.

I, Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, was born on the island of Singapore at Teluk Belanga village in A.H. 1257 (A.D. 1841).[1]

The first post I held was during the time of Temenggung Ibrahim at Teluk Belanga, until I moved to Johor;[2] I became a clerk working for Encik Long, Temenggung Ibrahim's Menteri Besar,[3] in 1856 at the age of fifteen. After working three months for Encik Long, the Menteri Besar, I was taken by Encik[4] Engku Abu Bakar, the heir apparent (who later became the ruler, entitled Sultan Abu Bakar),[5] to be his clerk in the palace next door, which was later turned into the present college[6] at Teluk Be-

1. For an account of his childhood, see pp. 58–67 of text.

2. See also pp. 74–76 of text.

3. Encik Long (Abdullah bin Tok Mohamed Tahir) was *menteri* (minister) until his death in 1863 (Fawzi, 1973:1). The post was only termed *menteri besar* during the reign of Sultan Abu Bakar.

4. Although this use of *Encik* followed by *Engku* seems strange by modern standards, Engku Abu Bakar, Engku Majid, etc., were often referred to as Wan Abu Bakar, Wan Majid, etc., and this *wan*, too, was preceded by *encik* (see, e.g., *Hikayat Johor* [Mohamed Said, 1940:7]).

5. These "who later became" remarks in parentheses appear to have been added by the compiler; see note 22 below.

6. In 1876, "the Maharaja of Johor gave his residence at Telok Blanga as a school and in October a high school was opened there with an English and an industrial class" (Makepeace, Brooke and Braddell, 1921, II:467).

langa. At that time, Encik Ja'far bin Haji Mohamed[7] (who later became the Datuk Menteri Besar of the Johor Government) was Encik Long's [14] chief clerk, and we were working together in the same place.

In 1858, the police were established in Iskandar Puteri, i.e., the present Johor; that was on 3rd October, 1858, and I was sent to work as a clerk in Iskandar Puteri.[8] At that time, the Hon. Raja Kecik Ahmad[9] was administering there. Not only was I the clerk handling all the correspondence and answering letters to the government in Teluk Belanga; all the work connected with the court and the police was my responsibility alone: writing out all the plaints, and writing down what was said by the persons who brought suits before the court, in the place where legal proceedings were held. I was also charged with supervising the farmers of the opium and arrack revenues, and with issuing summons, warrants and river passes. I received help from the government in Teluk Belanga in the form of four assistants: Encik Kabut, the clerk for summons, warrants and river passes; Encik Husein supervised the opium and arrack revenue farmers; Encik Dapat acted as court and police clerk, with Encik Mohamed Said under him.[10] And so I had some spare time.

In 1861, I studied the Chinese language and its writing, and also Chinese painting, under a Chinese teacher named Chia Ah Seng.[11]

On 9th December 1868, I was appointed Chief of Police,[12] [15] i.e., Commissioner, by His Highness the Seri Maharaja Tengku Abu Bakar, who at that time had become the raja ruling Johor, and was in permanent residence in Johor. The offices at Teluk Belanga were all moved to Johor, and the name "Iskandar Puteri" was changed to "Johor Baru." While I held the post of

7. Lived 1838–1919. He was the nephew of Encik Long, and the grandfather of the present Prime Minister of Malaysia, Hussein Onn.

8. See also pp. 76–79 of text.

9. A cousin of Abu Bakar.

10. The SSD for 1883 (over twenty years later) lists an Encik Dapat as Deputy Commissioner of Police, Encik Mohamed Said as Chief Inspector, and Encik Kabut as Chief Clerk.

11. (Spelling: A-s-y-ng.) See pp. 79–82.

12. See also pp. 83–84.

Datuk Ja'far bin Haji Mohamed, Chief Minister of Johor.
(National Archives, Malaysia)

Police Commissioner, I studied land-surveying with Mr. Langley[13] and Major McCallum,[14] together with[15] Encik Yahya bin Awal[16] (who was later made Datuk, President of the Land Office, and Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department).

The first practical application of what I had learned was in constructing a road, i.e., the Teberau road as far as Sungai Pandan, and I ended up by surveying the whole territory of Johor, including the rivers and mountains, and I produced a map of Johor,[17] complete with all its territories, which I submitted to His Highness, who sent it to London, where it was pronounced correct by the chief surveyors.

13. The SSD for 1882 mentions Walter and J. Langley, tea planters, residing at "Tebran" (=Teberau?) in Johor. Their names also appear in the list of foreign residents (SSD, 1882). It would appear that they were only present in the Straits during this one year.

14. This must refer to Sir Henry McCallum: "For a quarter of a century the Major ruled Singapore in many respects" (Makepeace et al., 1921, II:461). As a cadet he won many prizes, including one in surveying. In 1875, he arrived in the Straits as private secretary to Sir William Jervois. After serving some time in Hong Kong, he returned to the Straits in 1880 as Deputy Colonial Engineer and designed the defenses of Singapore. He was later President of the Municipal and Fire Commissioners of Singapore.

15. This (Malay: *bersama2 dengan*) would seem to indicate that he and Yahya were fellow pupils. It could also be taken to mean, however, that Yahya was one of his teachers. Indeed, Rahman bin Andak (Lake, 1894:299) mentions that Salleh learned surveying from two Malay friends, one of whom was the "Chief Engineer of Public Works," which would have been Yahya. And Salleh himself stated in his court testimony (*Regina v. Auang Ibrahim;* see Introduction and Commentary) that he had been taught by "Inche Jayor, a Malay formerly employed in the Land Office in Singapore." In view of the vagaries of Malay spelling in the court transcript, "Jayor" could well have been an attempt to spell "Yahya." Be that as it may, it seems that Salleh has exaggerated somewhat, for he clearly did not receive his basic training from McCallum or Langley, although he may have learned something from them at a later date (after 1875 or 1882 respectively).

16. Yahya bin Awaluddin. By 1883 he had become the Government Engineer and Surveyor. By 1885 his department was called the Land Department. In 1886, he became Chief Engineer and was made a *datuk*. In 1896 he was appointed President of the newly formed Public Works and Town Land Survey Department (SSD, 1883–1896).

17. This map was completed before 1883 and is now preserved in the Istana Besar, Johor Baru.

On 25th October 1879, fighting broke out in Jementah,[18] in the Ulu Muar area, resulting in several persons being killed by Tengku Nong and Panglima Sancu. On 2nd December, I was commanded by His Highness to go and assist the Hon. Engku Ahmad, Encik Isa [16] and others, who had been fighting since early November. I succeeded in capturing Tengku Nong and Panglima Sancu at the end of December, and they were brought to Johor, whereupon Tengku Nong was granted a pardon by His Highness.

I continued my surveying work without a break, until I ended up at Batu Pahat. While I was surveying the Batu Pahat River, Penghulu Rahmat[19] came to me at Kangkar Bertam on the upper reaches of the river, bearing the royal command that I was to go downstream, as His Highness was at the river mouth, aboard the ship *Pantai*. At 6 a.m., I went downstream with my sons and surveying assistants. At 4 p.m., we arrived at the ship (on 3rd February 1883), and remained on board until she sailed.[20] His Highness said, "I intend sailing to China,[21] and I want to take you along." I replied, "I obey."

On 28th April, His Highness sailed from Singapore aboard the French mail, accompanied by me, Encik Mohamed bin Mahbub (who was later entitled Datuk Mohamed, Menteri Besar of Johor),[22] and the attendants Haji Abu Bakar and Marjan. On 9th October, His Highness set off back for home, and on 5th November, arrived safely in Singapore.

18. See pp. 84–93 of text.

19. Rahmat bin Ragam succeeded his father to become *penghulu* of Simpang Kanan (the right branch of the Batu Pahat River) in 1862. His son, Abdul Kadir, succeeded him in 1917 (Daud, 1955:30–31, 48).

20. It is not clear whether Salleh actually sailed with the ship or not. Daud (1955:32), who made use of Salleh's account, believes he did (to Johor Baru).

21. See Part Three.

22. This remark in parentheses was obviously inserted by Mohamed Haji Alias, for Mohamed Mahbub only became Menteri Besar in 1920, five years after Salleh's death. About the time of this trip, Mohamed was the Second Assistant Secretary to the Government. By 1887, he was the Commissioner of Police in Muar, and later the judge. In 1896, he became the State Commissioner for Muar and was made a *datuk*. By 1911 he was State Secretary and Vice President of the Council of State (SSD).

On 24th May, 1885, His Highness set off for [17] London, accompanied by The Hon. Engku Mohamed Khalid,[23] Encik Abdul Rahman bin Andak (who was later entitled Datuk Seri Amar Di Raja),[24] Encik Abdullah bin Tahir[25] (later entitled Datuk Seri Setia Raja), an attendant named Firus, a maidservant, and a cook. During His Highness's absence in London, I continued my surveying work without a break.

In 1886, His Highness returned from London, having obtained the title "Sultan of Johor," and news of this title was proclaimed in Johor Baru on 13th February.[26] On 3rd March, I received the title Datuk Bentara Luar.[27] I took an oath of loyalty to His Highness, and made a solemn vow to serve the best interests of the raja and state of Johor. My place was taken by Encik Abdullah bin Tahir, Datuk Seri Setia Raja, and I was made the Chief of General Survey, Gambier and Pepper, Johor. At that time, the government offices were at Bukit Bendera, as is the case today.

Opening Up Muar

In 1887, His Highness commanded me to open up Muar, and I replied, "I obey." On 10th March I left for [18] Muar on the ship *Pulai*, together with my sons[28] Abu Bakar bin

23. Engku Mohamed Khalid was a younger brother of Abu Bakar. He died in 1900.

24. Rahman was educated in England. By 1885 he was the Assistant Secretary to the Government and Chief English Translator. He was made Datuk Seri Amar Di Raja in 1886 (SSD).

25. At the time of this trip, Abdullah bin Tahir was the Commissioner of Police in Johor, having replaced Salleh in that post in 1882. He became the Datuk Seri Setia Raja in 1886 (SSD).

26. At this time Abu Bakar was still in England. He returned on 8th July, 1886.

27. This account seems to be slightly confused. Although Salleh received the Seri Paduka Mahkota Johor (carrying the personal title of Datuk) in 1886, he had held the post of Datuk Bentara Luar since 1882. In 1882, moreover, he was already the chief of the Land Department which, in 1884, was called the Survey Department, Gambier and Pepper Districts (SSD). See also note 25 above.

28. "Son" may, as here, include young relatives of the rank of son, such as nephews.

Komeng,[29] Awang bin Husein,[30] Mohamedun bin Husein,[31] Haji Ya'kub,[32] and Sulaiman,[33] and twelve surveying assistants. We arrived safely in Muar at 7 p.m. I met with the Hon. Engku Sulaiman bin Daud[34] (who later became Chief Commissioner of the Government of Johor)[35] and told him of the royal command to make Muar into a town. Engku Sulaiman replied, "Splendid, Datuk. I'm pleased."

On 5th August, His Highness, together with the Sultanah Fatimah and their daughter, the Tengku Puteri, arrived in Muar on the ship *Pantai*. They were given a ceremonial welcome by the

29. The brother-in-law and third cousin of Sulaiman (see note 33 below and Table F of the Appendix). He served alternately in the departments of Salleh and Yahya Awal. He was assistant surveyor under Salleh until 1885 and then transferred to Yahya's Land Department and later Public Works Department. He then became Assistant Commissioner in Salleh's department (1898–1902), after which he returned to the P.W.D. as a surveyor (SSD). He was apparently "borrowed" by Salleh in 1887.

30. A nephew of Salleh. He was a surveyor in the Survey Department until 1894 (in the Muar branch 1889–1894). He was then in charge of the Agricultural and General Survey Department in Muar until 1909. In 1910 he became Collector in Muar, and in 1911, Assistant Collector (the Collector's post having been filled by a European) (SSD).

31. The younger brother of Awang Husein. He joined the Survey Department in 1885 as a surveyor and served until 1902, after which his name is no longer listed (SSD).

32. Salleh's eldest son (see Table D of the Appendix). He joined the Survey Department in 1895 as a draftsman and became a surveyor in 1894 (1889–1894 in the Muar branch). In 1903, he transferred to the survey division in Batu Pahat. In 1910, he became the Collector in Batu Pahat, and in 1911 was transferred to Johor Baru as an inspector of the mines branch of the Land Office. From 1912, his name is no longer listed (SSD).

33. Salleh's second son. He joined the Survey Department as a draftsman in 1884, and became a surveyor in 1885. Although his name no longer appears in the SSD for 1903, he apparently worked for several more years—see page 32 of text.

34. A nephew of Sultan Abu Bakar. He was Assistant Commissioner of Police from 1874 to 1883, when he became *naib* (resident) of Muar. From 1895 to 1910, he was State Commissioner General. In the SSD for 1912, however, his name no longer appears, even as a member of the Council of State or Executive Council.

35. The official English version of the title was "State Commissioner General."

officials in Muar, i.e., Engku Sulaiman and myself, together with the *penghulus*, and some modest celebrations were held.

On 12th August, His Highness, together with Engku Sulaiman and myself, the Chinese businessmen, officials, and *penghulus* gathered at the stone steps while His Highness himself buried the amulet[36] and gave Muar the name *Bandar Maharani*. His Highness thus personally participated in the opening up of Muar. On 10th September, His Highness returned to Johor with the Sultanah. After His Highness's departure, [19] I was engaged in constructing roads, and even commenced work on the Sungai Mati Road straight through to Cohong.[37] My son, Yusuf bin Mohamed Salleh,[38] stood in for me during my absence from Johor, and I only stepped in when there were major issues to be handled.

On 28th November, 1889, there arose an issue concerning the border between Muar, and Malacca and Johol. Both governments carried out surveys: Mr. Hervey,[39] the Resident of Malacca, was the Councillor Commissioner on behalf of Malacca and Johol, and I became Councillor Commissioner on behalf of Johor. We pursued our deliberations from Nyalas to Malacca, and only on 13th June, 1891, was the matter settled. I thanked God that, just as I had estimated on the plan, Gunung Ledang was included in Johor territory.

36. This custom may be compared to the ceremony of laying the foundation stone, and was believed to ensure the peace and well-being of the new town. In the case of Batu Pahat, Salleh himself buried the amulet, at the Jalan Rahmat crossroads (Daud, 1955:37). A similar custom is still sometimes practiced prior to the construction of a Malay house, an amulet (in the past, often a blood sacrifice) being buried under the main house pillar (*tiang seri*).

37. Near the present Tangkak.

38. Salleh's third son. He worked in the Survey Department as a draftsman and clerk until 1886, and then as a surveyor. In 1895, he became Commissioner in the Agricultural and General Survey Department. In 1910, he was made Collector in the Johor Baru Land Office and, when the collector's post was filled by a European in 1913, Assistant Collector. In 1913, he was awarded the Seri Paduka Johor and joined the Council of State. His name appears in the SSD until 1919.

39. Dudley Francis Amelius Hervey became a Straits Cadet in 1867, and served as the Resident Councillor in Malacca from 1882 to 1893. He died in 1911 (Makepeace et al., 1921).

Istana Besar (main palace), Johor Baru, outside view. (National Archives, Malaysia)

On 4th September, 1891, I was commanded by His Highness to turn Cohong into a village, as it was near the border. While I was engaged in this task, I went back and forth from Muar. At this time, I was assailed by all kinds of slanders[40] in Cohong, to the extent that, on 4th January 1892, I retired from Muar with my children and went to live on the Senangar River in Batu Pahat.

On 4th July, 1892, Penghulu Rahmat came and informed [20] me that the Datuk Menteri[41] had come on the *Pulai*, and was now at Kuala Simpang[42] wishing to meet me. I went downstream with Penghulu Rahmat and met the Datuk Menteri, who announced, "Datuk, you are summoned by royal command to accompany me to Johor." I replied, "I obey," and at 6 a.m. on 5th July, I left Batu Pahat with the Datuk Menteri, arriving safely in Johor at 7 p.m.

40. See Introduction (p. 21) and Commentary (p. 38).

41. I.e., Ja'far bin Mohamed; see note 7 above.

42. I.e., the mouth of the left branch (Simpang Kiri) of the Batu Pahat River, where it joins the right branch (Simpang Kanan).

Opening Up Endau

On 6th July, 1892, I had audience with His Highness at the *Istana Besar*,[43] and he said to me: . . . (I am unable to disclose this secret as I have taken an oath of loyalty to His Highness). . . .[44] "I obey whatever Your Highness commands." "Do what you think best to try and open up Endau. I would like it to be sited on a bay; that is, I want Teluk Sari to become a town." I replied, "I obey."

At 6 a.m. on 15th July, I left Johor on the *Pulai*, arriving at Pulau Kaban[45] at 7 p.m., and stopped there. I had with me my three sons, Sulaiman, Yusuf, and Othman,[46] and ten surveying assistants. At 6 a.m. [21] on 16th July, we left Pulau Kaban, and arrived at Kuala Endau at 10 o'clock. I went up to meet Datuk Mohamed Ali[47] and informed him of the royal command to open up Endau, which pleased him greatly. On 21st July, I began the task of surveying the land from Kuala Endau on the coast as far as Teluk Sari, and I traced a road from Kuala Endau to Teluk Sari with the idea of establishing a town in accordance with the royal command. When I had finished surveying the coast and the hinterland, I made a rough plan. On 15th August, the *Pulai* came, reaching Kuala Endau at 9 in the morning. I left Endau at 4 p.m. and arrived safely in Johor at 8 the following morning.

On 16th August, I had audience with His Highness at the *Istana Besar*. I took along the plan of Endau, and informed His Highness, "Sire, the idea of establishing the town of Endau at Teluk Sari—as you commanded—is a good one, but it is a little difficult, because there is no harbor in which ships and boats may shelter during the windy season. I would place my hopes on

43. The main palace.

44. See Commentary (p. 37).

45. Now named Pulau Aceh.

46. Salleh's fifth child. He appears to have served alternately in his father's department and in the P.W.D. He seems to have been a draftsman throughout his career; by 1912, he was a Chief Draftsman (SSD).

47. At this time, Mohamed Ali bin Khamis was *naib* (resident) of Endau. In 1896, he became Deputy State Commissioner for Endau, and in 1898 was made a *datuk* (SSD).

Pulau Kaban; if it could be included in Johor territory,[48] I would be able to set about the task of establishing a town there. If Pulau Kaban cannot be obtained, it will be difficult to establish a town. The town of Endau may then become established upriver from the junction of [22] the Semberung and Endau rivers, near the trace made for the railway.[49] Such is my humble opinion." His Highness replied, "If that is your view, do nothing for the time being."

Accordingly, I asked permission to return to Batu Pahat and was told, "You may return on the *Sayang*." On 19th August at 5 a.m., I left Johor, and arrived in Batu Pahat at 7 p.m. We stopped at Kuala Simpang; I went upstream to the upper reaches of the Senangar River, and the *Sayang* went downstream.

Opening Up Batu Pahat

On 4th November, 1893, I received a letter from His Highness summoning me to Johor. At 9 p.m. on 10th November, I left Batu Pahat on the passenger boat *Sultanah*, and arrived in Singapore harbor at 7 a.m. on 11th November. I went ashore and hired a carriage straight to Johor, arriving there at 10 o'clock on the same day. At 3:30 p.m., I had audience with His Highness at the *Istana Besar*. His Highness asked me, "When did you arrive?" I replied, "In the morning." "How are things in Singapore?" I replied, "Good, sire, by your leave." [23] "I have been pestered by two *penghulus*, Rahmat and Kitam;[50] two or three times they have met with me, asking that you open up Batu Pahat. I told Rahmat and Kitam, 'Don't you go and swear obedience and then

48. The islands of Kaban, Tioman and Seribuat had been the subject of a territorial dispute between Johor and Pahang in 1867. Unfortunately, Abu Bakar offered to cede them, and in 1868 Governor Ord awarded them to Pahang (Winstedt, 1932:107). Johor hoped to regain Kaban, and in 1898 the Johore Boundaries Commission raised the matter in an enclosure, expressing the hope that it might be given to Johor (*Report of the Johore Boundaries Commission*, 1898). Nevertheless, it still remains in Pahang territory today.

49. This would place it in the region of the present-day town of Keluang.

50. Kitam bin Mohamed Syah became *penghulu* of Simpang Kiri in 1862. Before that, he had been *menteri* (assistant) to the previous *penghulu*. Kitam died in 1895 and was succeeded by his son (Daud, 1955:23–25).

disregard any of his orders in time to come.' They assured me, 'On no account. We will obey all the Datuk's orders.' I think it would be a good idea for you to open up Batu Pahat. Choose wherever you deem to be a good site for establishing a town; I shall go along with your decision and back you up. At the present time I cannot give any financial help, for I have a lot of debts. What ideas do you have for establishing Batu Pahat?" I replied, "Sire, I accept your command and shall endeavor, to the best of my ability, to carry it out. May it be that with the help of your royal grace I shall bring my task to a successful and fruitful conclusion!"

On 20th November, I had audience to ask leave to return to Batu Pahat. His Highness inquired, "When do you intend returning to Batu Pahat?" I answered, "Begging Your Highness's pardon, I shall obey whatever you command." "Tomorrow you can return on the *Pulai*." On 21st November, I left Johor at 5 a.m., and arrived safely in Batu Pahat at 6 in the evening. I stopped at the Lim [24] Soh Poon[51] wharf at Penggaram, which was where I planned to establish the town. I then met Penghulu Rahmat and made known the royal command to open up Batu Pahat. I stayed at his house. On the following day, 22nd November, the *Pulai* went back, and I sent a letter to His Highness and one to the Hon. Datuk Menteri, informing them of my safe arrival in Batu Pahat.

On 2nd December 1893, I began the survey work, and I widened the Kebun Kopi[52] road, passing by Gunung Penggaram, as far as the upper reaches of the Penggaram River. On the bank of the Penggaram River I had an attap house built for me to live in. In December, the monthly revenues received by Penghulu Rahmat were $150. I carried out the work of construct-

51. Lim Soh Poon was a prominent *toukay*, having a variety of business interests, which included the production of sago, retail stores, and selling opium (*Daftar Pengaduan*). He constructed a number of substantial buildings on the waterfront in 1887, and completed the wharf in the same year (Daud, 1955:33).

52 I.e., the road leading to the coffee plantation. The plantation was established in 1885 by two Europeans (Daud, 1955:33). Widening the road to what promised to be a major source of revenue was a shrewd move.

ing roads in the town by obtaining credit from the *Orang Kaya Bagan*,[53] and I pinched and scraped, practicing the most stringent economy.[54]

The monthly revenues for January 1894 were $1,500,[55] and after that they increased every month until they reached $6,000 a month. Then I began the work of constructing offices, a police station, and a court, and banking up the roads with stone. My son Sulaiman supervised the road work and the construction of the government buildings, [25] and Haji Ya'kub was in charge of surveying all the plantations, granting passes for jungle tree-felling, and making the traces for roads.

On 2nd March, 1895, I received a letter from the Hon. Datuk Menteri Besar, informing me that His Highness intended leaving for London. At 8 p.m. on 5th March, I left Penggaram on the passenger boat *Ingin*, arriving in Singapore harbor at 6 a.m. on 6th March. At 9 o'clock, I left Singapore by carriage and arrived in Johor at 10, whereupon I presented myself before His Highness at the *Istana Besar*; a large number of *datuks* and other officials, and members of the royal family were in audience with His Highness, and each one of them was requesting that the Hon. Menteri Besar should speak to His Highness: "Sire, please postpone your setting off on this voyage for the time being, because you are in poorer health than before." His Highness replied, "I am intent on making this voyage because the climate here does not agree with me." Thus were the royal words. On 12th March,[56] His Highness set sail in a ship of the P&O Company, accompanied by Datuk Abdul Rahman Seri Amar di Raja;

53. Sidik bin Ismail became the fourth *Orang Kaya* of Batu Pahat in 1889. Prior to this, he had established a village, across the river from Minyak Beku, which he named "Bagan." He was murdered in 1896 by a creditor over a debt of $30 (Daud, 1955:14–19).

54. Daud (1955:36) states that Salleh also used his own money to establish Batu Pahat.

55. A tenfold increase in revenue within one month leads one to suspect a misprint here. Yet Daud (1955:35–36) has reproduced these figures without comment.

56. This is incorrect: Abu Bakar departed on 18th April. Also, the funeral was on 7th, not 8th, September (the Muslim date is correct).

Datuk Galloway,[57] the doctor; Firus, an attendant; and a maid-servant. On 18th March, I returned to Batu Pahat, feeling [26] very distressed about His Highness's voyage to London on this occasion, because he had been looking so unwell.

On 23rd June, 1895, I received a letter from the Hon. Datuk Menteri Besar announcing that His Highness had returned to the mercy of Almighty God in London at 8 p.m. on the 10th day of Zulhijjah, 1312. I cannot express the emptiness I felt at that time, and I wept. The whole population of Johor went into mourning. On 30th August, the remains of the late Sultan arrived in Johor on the British warship *Mercury*. On the 17th day of Rabi'ul-awal, 1313 (equivalent to 8th September) at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, the remains of the late Sultan were buried in the Mahmudiah cemetery. His son, His Highness the Crown Prince, was made the Sultan of Johor, with the title Sultan Ibrahim Syah. At that time, all the work was progressing satisfactorily and the state revenues were increasing daily.

On 21st December 1896, Engku Sulaiman, the Chief Commissioner, came to Batu Pahat and examined the work in progress and the revenues, etc. He returned to Johor on 24th December. [27]

On 3rd January, 1897, I received a letter from Engku Sulaiman, the Chief Commissioner, conveying a command from His Highness, "Do not continue the work of banking up the roads and so forth." On 15th January, the government sent Encik Mohamedun bin Tahir[58] to Batu Pahat to take charge of the revenues, etc., and the harbormaster's office. At that time, my children and I were no longer of useful service, for I suffered a variety of the slanders of this world. On 12th May, the government sent the Hon. Engku Mansur bin Ahmad[59] to be the judge in Batu Pahat. On 15th May, I received a letter from Engku Sulaiman,

57. Dr. David James Galloway was a founder member of the Straits Medical Association in 1890 (Makepeace et al., 1921). After 1895, he was listed in the SSD as Ibrahim's "Physician Extraordinary."

58. Prior to this time, he had been the treasurer and harbormaster in Muar (SSD, 1890–1898). After 1900, he is listed as assistant to the State Commissioner, Batu Pahat.

59. He was still listed as a magistrate in Batu Pahat in the SSD for 1927.

the Chief Commissioner, conveying the royal command, "Have all the revenue money there brought to Johor. Tell Encik Mohamedun bin Tahir to bring it." On 16th May, Encik Mohamedun took the Batu Pahat revenues, totaling $27,600, and sailed the same day by passenger boat via Singapore. Truly, in a situation like this, I summoned up my strength with a devout hope for the good of the ruler and the state, for I was bound by an oath of loyalty, and so I performed my work as usual.

On 1st May, 1899, His Highness himself [28] wrote me a letter, saying that he required the land on which I had my house in Johor, as he intended to have a hotel there: "The Johor Hotel."[60] On 4th May, I left Penggaram by passenger boat at 9 p.m., arriving in Singapore harbor at 7 a.m. on 5th May. I then hired a carriage to Johor and at 10 o'clock I presented myself before His Highness at his palace of residence. His Highness inquired, "How are you, Datuk? Did you get my letter?" I replied, "Yes, sire. That is why I have come," whereupon I gave His Highness a title-deed and informed him, "The house is in bad repair." His Highness asked, "What is the value?" I replied, "It has no value for me." His Highness said, "Very well, Datuk, I shall build a house on your land at the first milestone of Jalan Teberau, similar to the existing one." I replied, "Yes, sire." I then asked leave to return to Batu Pahat. His Highness replied, "Very well." On 7th May, I went down to Singapore in a hired carriage, and on the afternoon of the same day left for Batu Pahat on the passenger boat *Sultanah*. At 6 a.m. on 8th May, I arrived safely in Penggaram. [29]

On 13th June, 1899, I received a letter from Engku Sulaiman, the Chief Commissioner, informing me that His Highness requested me to come to Johor. On 15th June, I left Bandar Penggaram on the passenger boat *Sultanah* at 7 p.m., arriving in Singapore harbor at 5 a.m. on 16th June. Around 8 a.m. of the same day, I hired a carriage to Johor, arriving at 9 o'clock, whereupon I presented myself before His Highness at the ho-

60. This was situated in Jalan Ibrahim, but has long since disappeared. It was here that Ibrahim did a good deal of his drinking. The hotel was apparently completed by 1900, as it is listed in the SSD for 1901 and given a full-page advertisement in 1902.

tel.[61] His Highness said, "Tuk,[62] it would be a good thing for you to go to Endau on the Pahang side and determine the border between Johor and Pahang."[63] I replied, "I obey your command."

On 21st June, I left Johor at 6 a.m. on the government ship *Sayang*. With me were Abu Bakar bin Komeng, Awang bin Husein, Haji Ya'kub and ten surveying assistants. At 8 p.m., we arrived at Pulau Kaban and stopped there. At 5 a.m. on 22nd June, we left Pulau Kaban, and at 10 a.m. arrived in Endau at the estuary. I met the Englishman representing Pahang, Mr. Townley,[64] who was on the Pahang side of the river, and conferred with him about how we would carry out the work. Only when agreement had been reached between us [30] did we commence the task of surveying, according to the line on the map: from Kuala Endau, the River Endau formed the boundary: the right bank facing upstream was Pahang territory, the left Johor, as far as the junction of the Endau and Semberung rivers; and then the border followed a line towards the hills, with the River Endau, the right branch, falling into Johor territory. The big hills were divided in half, with Pahang on the right and Johor on the left of the line, as far as the big hills in the upper reaches of the Rompin River and Bukit Selancar, and then on to Palung, above Segamat, and Merbau Seratus in the upper reaches of the Muar River. On

61. This seems to indicate that the hotel was built in six weeks. Perhaps it was still incomplete at this time.

62. Abbreviation of "Datuk."

63. In 1896, the border between Johor and Pahang was the subject of dispute. Pahang claimed "that the river Semberung, running due north into the Endau, was in fact the true Endau, and that consequently a large tract of territory south of what Johor claimed to be the true upper Endau should fall within Pahang." On the other hand, Johor claimed that the boundary should fall north of the Keratung River. In December 1896, therefore, Sultan Ibrahim asked for a settlement, resulting in the setting up of the Johor Boundaries Commission. The Commission completed its work on 18th February, 1898, having determined the boundaries between Johor and Malacca, Johol, and Pahang. The result of the Commission's deliberations may be consulted in the *Report of the Johore Boundaries Commission*, 1898. Salleh's task was to determine the border on the ground.

64. E. F. Townley was the District Officer in Temerluh, central Pahang, at this time (SSD).

2nd August, all the work on the border between Pahang and Endau was brought to a successful conclusion, with Mr. E. F. Townley for the Pahang government and myself for Johor. I informed His Highness, and he commanded me to hand over the results to the government.

On 10th October, 1899, His Highness said to me: "Datuk, I should like to ask you to look after Muar, and also Batu Pahat;[65] one month in Muar and one month in Batu Pahat." I replied, "I obey." On 12th October, I presented myself before His Highness at the hotel and asked leave to return to Batu Pahat. His Highness commanded, "Go back on the *Sayang*, Datuk. Go and look after Muar." [31] I replied, "Yes, sire." At 5 a.m. on 13th October, I left Johor on the *Sayang*, arriving in Batu Pahat at 6 p.m. I stayed in Bandar Penggaram for fifteen days. On 30th October, I went to Muar by passenger boat, leaving Bandar Penggaram at 6 a.m. and arriving safely in Muar at 3 p.m. Every five, six, or seven months I went back and forth to Muar as I had been commanded.

On 3rd April, 1909, I received a letter from Datuk Seri Amar Di Raja, Encik Abdul Rahman bin Andak, announcing that he had been pensioned off[66] and had then sailed to London. I cannot describe how distressed I was on receiving this letter. At that time I was in Batu Pahat.

On 12th March, 1910, Mr. Campbell (Douglas G. Campbell)[67] and Encik Mustafa bin Ja'far[68] arrived together in Batu Pahat and met with me. They stayed at the Batu Pahat rest-house for three days and examined the affairs of Batu Pahat. On 15th March, Mr. Campbell and Encik Mustafa sailed back on

65. Salleh thus became the State Commissioner for Batu Pahat. He is first listed thus in the SSD for 1901.

66. See Introduction (p. 8).

67. Douglas Graham Campbell joined the Selangor Public Works Department in 1883, and became Resident of Negeri Sembilan in 1904. In 1910, he was made Adviser to the Sultan of Johor, and in 1914, General Adviser to the Johor government. He died in 1918 (Makepeace et al., 1921).

68. He began his career as a clerk in the Datuk Menteri's department. He then worked in the Registration Department and the Treasury. By 1900, he had become the secretary to the State Commissioner General, and in 1909 he was made the Deputy State Secretary. He had become a *datuk* by 1920.

H. H. Sultan Ibrahim in 1904. (National Archives, Malaysia)

the government ship *Sayang*, going [first] to Muar. After that, I was plagued by all kinds of slanders which arose as a result of my giving [32] land to some Japanese and allowing them to open up a plantation on the Semberung River in Batu Pahat. I declared, "The land that the Japanese were given I would not even describe as 'land'; rather it was a swamp, permanently under water, and it was only due to the efforts of the Japanese that it became such a fine para rubber plantation, and it is a source of profit for the government." The lives of my children and myself were in a sorry state of confusion in Batu Pahat.

On 2nd May, 1912, I was pensioned off on $300 a month. My post as "Government Commissioner" administering Batu Pahat was taken over by the Hon. Engku Ahmad bin Mohamed Khalid.[69] My son Haji Ya'kub also had his employment terminated three months after he had transferred to Johor, and on 1st June, my son Sulaiman had his employment terminated and was granted a pension of $33 per month. Thus was the situation of my children and myself.

Though I was the victim of slander, as mentioned above, that is a matter of this world, and my heart never wavered in the slightest from the truth: the recent developments have impressed upon me that everything is from Almighty God, who has such great love for His servants; I express my thanks to Him more and more and ask forgiveness for my sins each time I pray. [33] I most solemnly enjoin upon my children and my descendants down through the generations that they should never allow even to cross their minds the idea of wishing ill upon their own raja, or of leaving the state of Johor and its territories, for in the end their lives will not know peace. Because down through the generations, our ancestors have all been bound by an oath of loyalty to the ancestors of the Sultan of Johor and have vowed to serve their best interests, dating back to the warrior captain Lajat bin Abdul Rahim during the time of Sultan Abdul Jalil; the warrior captain Awang Bin Lajat[70] during the time of Temenggung Abdul

69. A nephew of Sultan Abu Bakar.

70. If Awang was the son of Lajat bin Abdul Rahim and served Temenggung Abdul Rahman, Lajat could hardly have been the captain of Sultan Abdul Jalil, who died in 1719.

Rahman, who went from Riau to Bulang and from there to Singapore Island; Mohamed Salleh bin Awang and then Perang bin Mohamed Salleh during the time of Temenggung Ibrahim at Teluk Belanga in Singapore; and myself, Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, from the time of Sultan Abu Bakar to that of Sultan Ibrahim, and from Teluk Belanga to Johor Baru. Never fear to do what is best and right for your raja: God willing, you will have a full and peaceful life. The inevitable thing is death, but reputations, both good and bad, live on for ever in this world. Amen, oh Lord of the Worlds.

• • •

On Friday, 18th Sha'ban, 1333, equivalent to 21st July 1915,[71] *at 6:15 p.m., it was the will of God,* [34] *the Lord of the Worlds, that His servant, The Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar (Mohamed Salleh bin Perang), Seri Paduka Mahkota Johor, should return to His mercy. He was buried at the Bukit Mahmudiah cemetery on Saturday, 19th Sha'ban, 1333, equivalent to 22nd July 1915, at 3 p.m.*

A Fatiha *for all the pious servants of God, for the parents, and for all other Muslims, and for the soul of Sultan Abdul Jalil, and for the soul of Tengku Temenggung Abdul Rahman, and Tengku Temenggung Ibrahim, and for the soul of our noble lord Sultan Abu Bakar bin Ibrahim, the Sultan of Johor, and for the soul of Lajat bin Abdul Rahim, and Awang bin Lajat, and Mohamed Salleh bin Awang, and Perang bin Mohamed Salleh, and for the soul of Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, Datuk Bentara Luar Johor, and for their lineage and branches, and all those connected with them. May God forgive them, and have mercy upon them, and raise their position in heaven. And may God render victorious, help, and guide aright Ibrahim, the Sultan of Johor. And may God, the merciful and bountiful, preserve us in the religion of Islam and the faith, and cause us to die in that religion, and gather us in the assembly of the pious. Oh most merciful and compassionate God. Peace and the blessings of God upon our lord Mohamed, and upon his family and companions. All praise to God, Lord of the Worlds.*[72]

71. Friday, 18th Sha'ban, 1333 was in fact 2nd July 1915.
72. In the text, this prayer is in Arabic.

PART TWO

An account of the lineage of the Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar, S.P.M.J., his education and life, including an account of the establishing of Johor Baru, and the Jementah war in Ulu Muar. This was written by him personally in 1894 and sent to a friend of his named Mr. Na Tian Piet, a writer for the newspaper named the "Pemberita Betawi" in Java.

This second part is preceded by tables showing his lineage. [See Appendix.]

The letter of the Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar to a friend of his named Mr. Na Tian Piet, a writer for the newspaper called the "Pemberita Betawi," in Java:

To the presence of my dear friend Mr. Na Tian Piet,

With peace and tranquility in Singapore.

Your letter dated 8th June, 1894, arrived safely, and I understood its contents. I read it with the greatest pleasure and without being bored in the slightest. If it had been four times as long, I would have been even more delighted to receive it. It is absurd that ants would ever tire of sugar and treacle. Furthermore, I was lost in wonder to think that you, a non-Malay, are able to write letters in Malay using words of such profundity and in language that is refined, tasteful, and proper. I thought to myself, [55] really, it would be difficult to find one person like that in a thousand. Bravo! It is certainly not in vain that you studied Malay; God has granted you complete mastery over the language.

You have taken my words very seriously in your sagacity, expressing many thanks and voicing your pleasure at receiving a few words from me in heartfelt sincerity, tying the bonds of friendship between the two of us; and this pleasure was such that it gave you some consolation in your grief at the loss of a very

good and dear friend of yours, Pengiran Mat Agma Akil,[1] a judge in Palembang. Your kindly disposition and purity of heart prompt me to repeat over and over again my many thanks and appreciation; may God perpetuate the friendship between us for ever and ever.

Furthermore, I was truly overjoyed to hear of your wish to bring your wife and children for a holiday in Johor and, indeed, for every time you express the idea of coming, I would urge you ten times to do so. However, at the present time I feel very perplexed, because here in Johor I do not have [56] a house and I am just staying at my children's home, for my place of residence is in Muar, where I am supervising the work being carried out. And the reason I have come to Johor is to attend the wedding of His Highness's daughter, so I am very dubious about having you to stay in my children's house, as it is full of relatives all gathered together at the present time for the state wedding. And so I hope you will forgive me and not be offended. Please have patience for a little while longer so that I can work something out, because I would not be satisfied if you were to be lodged with someone else. I was also very pleased and elated to receive your invitation to visit your house in Thomson Road. God willing, if I have some free time when I am in Singapore, I shall come and visit you. And now I feel as though I am in your debt on two counts, which I must not fail to repay.

Furthermore, with regard to your having sent a letter to His Highness, the Sultan of Johor, God willing, I shall inform him of this and convey your respects to him.

My friend! You expressed a sincere and friendly wish [57] to know about myself, including my origins and place of birth. On the one hand, I have many misgivings about this, and feel loath to express myself on such matters, remembering the time when Luqman al-Hakim[2] left the following injunction to his children:

1. It seems likely that Salleh read of this in the *Pemberita Betawi*, for Na Tian Piet wrote a long article in that paper on the death of the *Pengiran* (personal communication from C. W. Watson).

2. Luqman al-Hakim is mentioned in the Qur'an (*Sura* 31 recounts his advice to his children). The post-qur'anic Luqman is known as a writer of fables, and many of Aesop's fables were transferred to Luqman by the Arabs.

"My children, never on any account consider that your own eyes are adequate to see your own body. You must be alert to all the other eyes which see and observe the whole of your body, and from which your flaws and imperfections cannot remain hidden. For the power of your eyes is such that they cannot even see your own nose, which is next to them." And so it is clear from this allusion of Luqman al-Hakim that it is forbidden for a person to talk about himself. It should be left to the eyes, ears, and tongues of others to speak about us; that is the correct way. For it is the way of the world that some people will rarely want to describe themselves as despicable, stupid, or dull, and they hate it when they hear others describe them in such terms, even though they have indeed indulged in infamous and wrongful behavior.

However, although these considerations have caused me anxiety, [58] in view of the sincere wish that you have expressed, it would not be fair to disappoint you, and so I shall make an effort and force myself to provide you with a true account, so that you will not suspect me of insincerity. Listen then, my friend, to a summary of my life story. However, even though it is a summary, it is, nevertheless, quite a long account, so that you may gain a full understanding. It is to be hoped that you will be able to ask other people, too, in order to convince yourself of its accuracy.

From the time I was born until I held office in the Johor government

I was born in Kampung Teluk Belanga on the island of Singapore in A.H. 1257, equivalent to A.D. 1841, and I am now 53 years of age. I am descended from Johor stock, and my family has been fostered by seven[3] generations of Johor rulers, the ancestors of the present Sultan of Johor, from whom my ancestors have never been parted, serving them, it may be said, from the time of Sultan Ahmad who established the kingdom of Johor in Malacca[4]

3. Only five are cited at the end of Part One (see note 70 to Part One of text).

4. This is a very positive way of looking at the loss of Malacca! It is possible that a phrase has been omitted.

in A.D. 1511, and who was defeated by [59] the Portuguese, so that the Malay kingdom moved to Muar and to Johor Lama. Eventually it moved to the Riau Islands, and the kingdom of the Sultan of Johor was established in Lingga, where it remained until, in 1819—at which time the government was on Bulang Island[5] in the territory of Riau—a dispute arose between Marhum[6] Abdul Rahman, the grandfather of the present Sultan (Abu Bakar) of Johor, and the Yang Di Pertuan of Riau, whereupon he moved to the island of Singapore.

At that time my grandfather, named Encik Salleh, who was the Panglima Besar and the minister closest to Marhum Abdul Rahman, went with the latter to live in Singapore, until Singapore was ceded by treaty to the Government of the English East India Company. When Singapore had become populous, and quarrels were continually breaking out between the traders and Marhum Abdul Rahman's followers,[7] the Marhum moved to Teluk Belanga and established himself there. And my grandfather, Encik Salleh, made himself a place at Pantai Cermin, which is close to Teluk Belanga.

At the time I was seven years old, my mother suffered great hardship trying to eke out a living; for Marhum Ibrahim himself was impoverished, and Johor had not yet been opened up. [60] Marhum Ibrahim had to subsist entirely on an allowance from the English Government, and yet his servants were by no means few in number. Therefore, the Marhum gave money to the Jakun[8] and some of his servants, and told them to enter the Johor jungles to gather rattan, eagle-wood, and other such jungle products. Thus, some of my aunts and uncles[9] earned their living in this way. My own father worked as an angler, and my mother earned money decorating the ends of pillows and the fronts of shoes, and other such articles used at weddings, for that was her craft. So

5. The Sultan was still at Lingga at that time. Bulang was the seat of the Temenggungs.

6. "The deceased," used of Muslim rulers.

7. This is described in detail in the *Hikayat Abdullah*.

8. Proto-Malay aborigines.

9. Lit. "mothers and fathers," which may include relatives of the same rank as one's parents, such as aunts and uncles.

every other day, my mother would sally out on a foray, ranging far and wide, to Singapore city, Kampung Melaka, Bukit Pasu and Kampung Gelam, in order to earn money, and I would go with her, carrying the basket which contained all her working equipment and so forth. We would set out early in the morning, and only in the late afternoon would we return. Sometimes on one outing we would earn a *jempul*[10] worth of coins, that is 120 *doits;* today that would perhaps be only about twenty cents. Sometimes we did not even earn that much. When we were able, we bought rice, and food to go with it. With such a livelihood, it was a constant struggle even just to keep ourselves fed; there was certainly no question [61] of being able to have a change of clothing. And so none of us had two sarongs to his name, there only being one or two [between us]. Trousers for everyday wear, moreover, were made of coarse, unbleached cotton cloth, and the only way we were able to buy that was from my father's earnings from fishing. In the seasons when fish were plentiful, he might make as much as half a dollar; there were other times when he did not even get one *doit*.

Note well, my friend: It was the decree of God upon his servants that we should initially live in such a way, but see how God, who possesses all riches and is all-powerful, has granted us, in His munificence, the comforts we enjoy today as a reward for our former hardships. Consequently, I never forget, for even one second, to express my infinite gratitude to God for His mercy, and we trust in Him unceasingly with an all-embracing fear of His wrath and vengeance. In the same way, I offer thanks to God for ordaining that I should live a life of hardship and poverty in my younger years when I was small, for in this way He has given me a treasure and a legacy of infinite value to me: it is as though I was provided with a balance and a touchstone in my hands for future use, so that I am able to understand [62] and weigh every situation, and I greatly fear to take lightly the affairs of those

10. This appears to be a variant or error for *jempal*, equivalent to one guilder (120 *doits*), or to a half-dollar. However, according to Skeat's Table of old Dutch currency (Temple, 1914), there are only 50 *doits* in one *jempal*. Encik Kassim Ali of the Muzium Negara Malaysia informs me that the values accorded to that currency were notoriously inconsistent.

servants of God who are in a state of poverty. Rather I humble myself before them, subjugating my desires to their good, and I would never dare to treat them with arrogance and pride, for every one of their feelings was once experienced by me when I was in difficulties and hardship. Now this is my greatest possession and source of good fortune at this time, and it saves me from being maligned or disparaged. To God, who has granted me this, I offer thanks, again, and again, and again, amen!

Now I shall return to my story. I still continued to live that life of poverty until I reached the age of ten years, whereupon I was placed in tutelage by my mother to study the Qur'an. By the grace of God, in less than two years I had completed my study and understood, as well as I could, the laws of Islam. But during the time I was studying the Qur'an, I endured even greater trials and tribulations: in the first place, working for the teacher; secondly, assisting my mother in her work. Working [63] for the teacher entailed: fetching water and filling the storage-jar every morning at 6 o'clock before studying, and then only at 7 would study commence. At about 10 o'clock I would stop and go home to eat. After I finished eating, I would come back to the teacher's house and be sent out to hawk cakes until 1 o'clock, when I would return and study some more until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I would finish. Between 4 and 6 o'clock in the evening was the only free time I had. I did not study on Fridays, but on that day I had to accompany my mother, carrying her basket, when she went out to earn money as usual.

When I reached twelve years of age, I was enrolled in Mr. Keasberry's[11] school at Bukit Zion in Singapore, and studied English and Malay letters for over two years, by which time, through the grace of God, I had acquired a grasp of Malay read-

11. Benjamin Peach Keasberry (1811–1875) was the son of an Indian Army colonel and became a Protestant missionary in Singapore. His school became the model for Westernized Malay education and was lavishly endowed by the Temenggung and the government of Singapore. Keasberry succeeded only in educating a handful of upper-class boys from the Temenggung's household. However, his school was largely responsible for the spirit of religious tolerance among the Johor ruling class, but it did not provide a basis for the spread of Malay education throughout the Straits Settlements, and in later years it was the English and Chinese media which prevailed (Turnbull, 1972:231–232).

ing and writing, and all the arithmetic etc.; but my understanding of English letters was still inadequate, because during the period I was studying Malay, I only spent two hours a day on English. I was in that school for over two years.

During the time I was at that school, the straitened circumstances of Marhum Ibrahim began to ease and improve, for Johor [64] was now producing considerable amounts of gutta percha. It was from here that his wealth began to flow, and my relatives were now all comfortably off; so my parents' situation also improved a little, and I now had enough clean clothing to wear when I went to study at school with[12] the number two teacher at Bukit Zion, named Encik Abdullah,[13] a native of Penang; for it was he who affirmed to Mr. Keasberry that I had the ability to be a teacher of Malay letters. Furthermore, Mr. Keasberry himself knew this, because on several occasions I had been examined in his school by the head teacher, and I had always won prizes and triumphed over my schoolmates, whether in writing, composition, or arithmetic.

So when I had obtained permission from my parents, I began teaching there, and I lived at the house of the teacher I mentioned above, which was in Arab Street, Kampung Gelam. In the daytime I taught at the school, and at night I continued my study of English with my teacher. Each month I received a salary of six dollars from the Government.[14] My friend, imagine how elated and happy I was to get that salary of six dollars. Moreover, in my whole life, I had never earned that much money on [65] my own account. I felt particularly happy when, on receiving my salary, I handed it over to my mother and saw how her face glowed with pleasure, as she offered a prayer to God for my well-being. Even though I had not intended to do anything with the money except

12. This translation attempts to preserve the vagueness of the original: Salleh not only went to study with the teacher, but went with him to school, as is clear from what follows.

13. This will be Abdullah Munsyi, who was a teacher at Keasberry's school (*Hikayat Abdullah*). Abdullah was a native of Malacca, but his Indian appearance no doubt led Salleh to assume that he was of Penang origin.

14. Salleh employs the English word "government" to refer to the British government. I have capitalized the initial G, to distinguish it from "government" as a translation of *kerajaan*.

give it to my mother, she refused, nevertheless, to accept even one cent of my earnings for her own use. Instead, she added some of her own money to it and bought me a complete set of clothing. It was only now that I managed to look like other people when I went to school. I now wore clean clothes and could change my clothing every day or two.

I was employed thus for four months, applying myself assiduously to teaching and study when, suddenly, God so ordained it that a dispute broke out between Marhum Ibrahim and the late Sultan Ali of Kampung Gelam: Johor had just recently been opened up at that time, for there were many Chinese entering the territory to establish pepper and gambier plantations there, and the Johor revenues accrued to the Marhum Ibrahim. Sultan Ali therefore lodged a plaint, charging that Johor belonged to him—so he said. [66] Eventually, however, this unjustifiable claim of his came to nothing, because the English Government knew all the facts of the case from its origins, for the father of Sultan Ali, named Sultan Husein, had been guided by Marhum Abdul Rahman, who had brought him from Riau and made him the sultan in Singapore.

Consequently, as a result of this disagreement, I was not allowed by my parents and relatives to continue teaching at the school in Kampung Gelam, lest it give rise to slander, for Marhum Ibrahim had frequently become angry and grumbled to my father. And so at that time I was like a man who is walking along quickly and then bangs his shin against something. Only God knows how frustrated I felt. But what could I do? In our position as a son, we must do the bidding of our parents and leaders, whatever they may command; and not just in such matters as being stopped from working: even if, say, they ordered us to dive into the sea, nay, into fire, we would have to obey. [67]

Opening Up Johor

For several months after leaving the work I mentioned, I was miserable. It was at this time (A.D. 1855) that Marhum Ibrahim began to open up Johor and wished to found a settlement at a

place named Tanjung Puteri, which is where the state capital is now located. So a building was constructed there; that first building was located on the hill[15] which has been used as a place to station the military, and the government flagstaff stands there today. The place was given the name "Iskandar Puteri," but as yet there were no businesses, nor any traders, living there, the only dwellings being one or two houses for the people supervising the work in progress there at the time. The man in charge of the work was my uncle, named Encik Dapat bin Mohamed Salleh.

Although large numbers of Chinese had opened up pepper and gambier plantations in the Johor area, they all had their respective places; that is to say, each headman had one river. The most important of these, and the first one to be settled by the Chinese in Johor, is the Sekudai River. In the same year as mentioned above, the monopoly [68] of all opium and arrack revenues and duties was farmed out to a Chinese named Cheang Teo. And who was he? Well, he was the father of Cheang Hong Lim,[16] the Singapore merchant and head of the Hokkien Chinese, who died quite recently, about two years ago, in Singapore. It may be said that the wealth of both Cheang Teo and Cheang Hong Lim mainly derived from Johor, for they held the Johor opium and arrack monopoly for more than ten or fifteen years by passing it down from father to son: after Cheang Teo died, the monopoly was transferred to his son, Cheang Hong Lim.

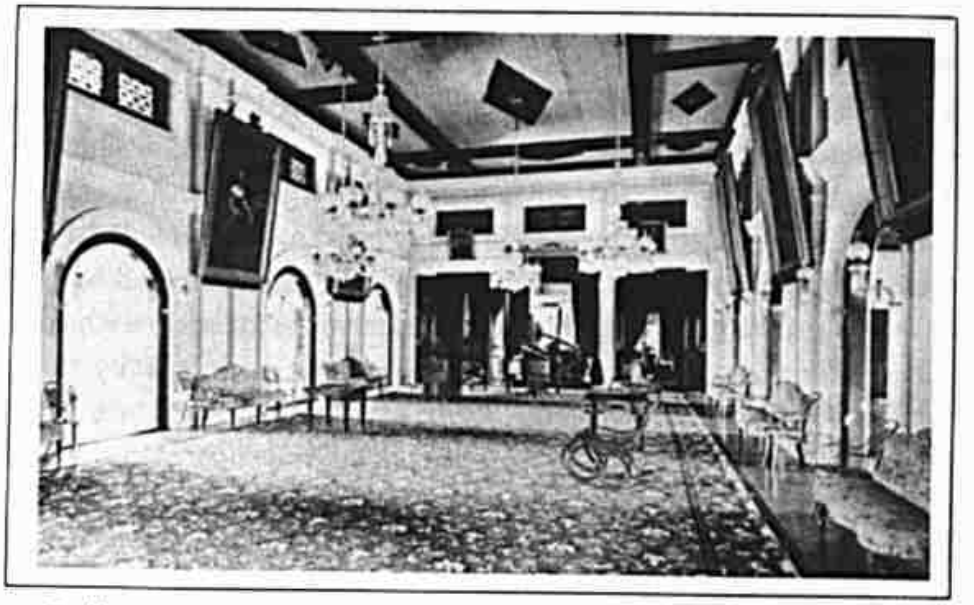
Only when the Johor opium and arrack monopoly had been established did my father obtain permanent employment: by the bounty of Marhum Ibrahim he was appointed the supervisor in charge of all matters relating to the operation of the monopoly, keeping a watch out for and arresting anyone who made imitation opium or imported it into Johor. It is from this point that God, in His mercy, favored us with His bounty and opened for us all the gates to plenty, which has led to the happy lot which I presently enjoy. Thanks be to God.

15. This hill, Bukit Timbalan, used to be known as *Bukit Askar*, "the hill of the military."

16. Cheang Hong Lim was the eldest of four sons of Cheang Sam Teo, who had migrated from China. Hong Lim was born in Singapore and died in 1893.

Drawing-room in Istana Besar, *with Victorian furniture and fittings. (National Archives, Malaysia)*

Forgive me, my friend, if I am writing [69] to you at too great length, as though I am trying to gorge you with too much, or with what you have no particular wish to know. But even so, let it be, for it is my wish that you should know a little about the state of Johor from the beginning when it was being opened up. If I am to talk only about myself, as you intend, I still have no option but to include some mention of Johor, for my relationship with the state of Johor may be compared to that of the water and the wave. If Johor is likened to a great tree, then I am in the position of a plant living upon it, spreading myself over it and winding myself around every branch and fork. In this I am not bragging or claiming credit for myself—I seek refuge in God from such a thing—for I would never dare to prattle about something of which I had no knowledge. The truth is that I am older than the present state of Johor, and I have observed with my own eyes everything that has occurred since Johor was founded. Nothing has been hidden from me, because I have been in the state [70] from the very beginning up to the present, working for its government and moving up from one rank to another until I reached my present rank (bearing the title of *Datuk*).



Ballroom in Istana Besar, *with oil paintings of members of the British Royal Family. (National Archives, Malaysia)*

Furthermore, the reason that I have taken it upon myself to provide you with this lengthy account is that I am convinced that you will not find it boring, for I well know that you are the type of person who is partial to hearing any tale which serves a useful purpose. Although I have not been close to you for very long, it is enough for me to have heard and read to my heart's content in the *Pemberita Betawi* the details of the articles and writings you have presented in that newspaper. And so it is from there that I have come to know you as a man of wisdom, possessing an intelligence and character worthy of praise, for every piece of writing that you produce contains a generous portion of advice for young people, and shows that you are very fond of praising those people in this world who do good works and possess wisdom, whether they are kings who rule with justice and so on, or even if they are people who are not connected to you in any way.

And so, [71] using my touchstone and balance, I appraised and weighed the evidence provided by these indications and, by the grace of God, my findings are not very different from what I had estimated. I do not particularly like getting to know the characters of the people in this world except by hearing what they

say, for the tongue is the spokesman [lit: minister] of the heart, it being customary that all men's deeds originate in the heart and are then expressed by the tongue, and it is that which issues from the tongue that enters the ear of any listener. A man who, by God's grace, is endowed with sound intelligence and common sense will, on hearing the speech of any person, use those words as a basis for getting to know and gauging the character and behavior of that person, even though he has never associated with him for any length of time. It is thus that we are enjoined by most possessors of wisdom: "Never utter any word indiscriminately, wherever you may be, and especially in gatherings of the wise. Rather exercise a healthy caution and weigh every word beforehand; otherwise, you will always be tripping up and revealing your secrets to others."

However, even though we have been enjoined thus by the wise, it is now as though I myself [72] am transgressing and disregarding their enjoinder—indeed, it is true—but there is another side to the matter: the warmth of feelings between friends makes it natural for one to pour out his secrets to his friend, who holds a trust to safeguard them. Indeed, only then may one speak of him as a friend. Furthermore, it is as though I am bringing goods for sale, and you are a wealthy merchant who is absolutely certain to buy them at a reasonable price. In the words of the wise: "It takes a jeweler to know a gem." But forgive me; let us stop chatting at this point and save these matters for another occasion. And now permit me to finish this story about myself and the government of Johor.

Although Chinese had been entering Johor to find themselves a livelihood since 1846, and in 1855 Marhum Ibrahim had opened up the place where he intended to found the state town, as has been mentioned, nevertheless, work on a law court or a state palace had not yet been started there, and all such institutions still remained in Teluk Belanga. Similarly with the government offices: any work involving documents, summons and warrants, etc., was [73] also done in Teluk Belanga, and in Iskandar Puteri there was only the jail where convicts were held in custody. Although Teluk Belanga is under the jurisdiction of the English Government, Marhum Ibrahim nevertheless retained his free-

dom, more or less having the power to try his subjects there for offenses committed in Johor, with the one exception of capital offenses, which were tried at Iskandar Puteri. At that time, the English Government did not yet pay much attention to such matters, just so long as they did not involve persons under their jurisdiction, for the Marhum rendered much valuable service to the English Government by capturing and executing a number of villainous pirates who were constantly harassing, along the seaways, traders who were intending to enter Singapore. For at the time when the English had just opened up Singapore Island, pirates were scattered everywhere like chickens, lying in wait around all the islands near Singapore. And so, in quite a short space of time, they had all been extirpated by the Marhum's men, so that the seas were left peaceful.[17]

At that time, the Menteri Besar to Marhum Ibrahim [74] was named Encik Long. He was the uncle of the present Datuk Menteri of Johor, Encik Ja'far bin Haji Mohamed. It was Encik Long who had charge over all the affairs of the government of Johor at that time.

About two months after I had been forbidden to teach at the school in Kampung Gelam, as has been mentioned above (this was at the beginning of A.D. 1856), I was employed by Encik Long—on the orders of Marhum Ibrahim—and made a junior clerk. And so I began working for him. The duties he assigned me entailed issuing identification papers for people involved in growing various kinds of plants and trees.[18] He also gave me the task of copying letters into a register. I reaped enormous benefit from this, because Encik Long was a man of wisdom and generosity, and devoted much attention to me, teaching and advising me on all sorts of worthwhile matters, and state protocol, custom and ceremonial. He also taught me how to write letters to important rulers. In addition, my understanding was further increased [75] by copying a number of letters which were of much use and ben-

17. The British awarded Temenggung Ibrahim a golden sword in recognition of his services. (See *Hikayat Abdullah*, p. 408, and Mohamed Said, 1940:6.)

18. Text: *orang yang bekerja tumbuban2 daripada segala kayu kayan.*

efit, in the offices of government[19] under his charge. Every day, moreover, I heard the beneficial and salutary words of wise men endowed with incisive tongues, speaking in gatherings of rulers and ministers, and I noted their use of parables, their good breeding, cultured manners and refined behavior; for every other day or so, the dignitaries would all meet in conference and consider ways and means to improve the country, to induce more people to seek their livelihood in occupations which would increase the state revenues, and to improve the lot of the people of the country.

I worked there for about two years and, by the grace of God, I was like a man doing business: my profits mounted day by day, and with my capital I was easily able to buy and obtain fine merchandise and property. The words of the following analogy are very apt: "The person who associates with people of character is just like a man who sits in a shop which sells perfume; even if he is unable to smear himself with the perfume, the scent at least is sure to enter his nostrils, causing him to feel invigorated. In the same way, the person who mixes with bad people is like [76] a man who sits in a blacksmith's: even if he is not hit by the sparks, the smoke is sure to be carried towards him by the air and make his eyes smart." Because of this and all that I experienced, what am I to do but offer thanks to Almighty God a thousandfold for His munificence in granting that my life should change over the passage of time in the same way that the new moon, which has just appeared through the clouds, waxes from day to day, changing in appearance and increasing in radiance. Amen.

His Highness Engku Abu Bakar is made the heir apparent, and the government offices are moved to Johor

At that time—A.D. 1856—His Highness, the present Sultan of Johor, that is, Engku Abu Bakar, was a young man who had completed his studies at the English school three or four years previously. I would reckon that by this time he had reached

19. This translation attempts to preserve the vagueness of the original. The more likely reading is that the letters, which pertained to the offices of government, were of much benefit. Another interpretation, however, is that the letters were of benefit in the offices of government.

twenty years of age. He had assumed government office and bore the title [77] and rank of heir apparent of Johor, so it was he who managed all the state affairs having to do with the Europeans and the Government; in all such matters he acquitted himself with great skill, demonstrating an incisive tongue and a level head. And he became friends with many Europeans and merchants.

In 1858, the Hon. Engku Abu Bakar took the initiative of asking permission of his father, the Marhum, that the Johor government offices be moved to Iskandar Puteri. Permission was granted, whereupon his cousin, named Raja Ahmad—nicknamed Raja Kecil—was appointed as Resident to administer Iskandar Puteri, but Engku Abu Bakar was also present, organizing the supplies and equipment, setting up the police, making laws that would be appropriate for a country which was adjacent to European territory, and working out the procedure to be employed for issuing summons and warrants, etc. In all this he followed the system used in Singapore, so that a person coming to live in Johor would feel no different from when he was living in European territories such as Singapore and Malacca. However, the Hon. Engku Abu Bakar did not reside permanently in Iskandar Puteri. [78] Sometimes he would return to Teluk Belanga for up to two months to be with his father; for the Marhum, together with all his relatives, his mother and sisters were still living in Teluk Belanga. His minister, Encik Long, was also living there.

At the end of 1858, on the request of the Hon. Engku Abu Bakar, I received instructions from Encik Long, the Minister, that I should become the head[20] clerk to Raja Ahmad, the Resident, so it was then that I first went to work in Johor. My duties at that time entailed, firstly, being responsible for all correspondence; secondly, receiving all the plaints that people lodged with the government court; third, noting down what was said by the people involved in proceedings before the court judge; fourth, administering the government revenues collected there, and paying the wages of the people who were working for the government in Iskandar Puteri at that time. However, I had three or four clerks under me, all of whom deputized for me in my work.

20. Text: *kepala kerani*. I use the term "chief clerk" only for *kerani besar*.

Even though I was burdened with so many tasks and responsibilities, I was not unduly fatigued, for there were not yet many affairs [79] to attend to: sometimes the court was in session only two or three days a week, and similarly with other matters, as it was a new settlement. From that time on, traders poured into Johor to open stores and so forth. Iskandar Puteri was like a tree just sprouted from the ground, with its leaves and branches growing every day more profuse.

In the middle of A.D. 1859, my mother passed away in Teluk Belanga and was buried there. It was the will of God, so what more is there to say, except that we were all left in grief.

At that time, the great majority of cases brought to court involved Chinese, for by then about twenty rivers had been opened up by the Chinese pepper and gambier planters in Johor, so cases involving the accounts of Chinese were constantly being brought before the Johor court, i.e., whenever parties concerned sued over money matters.

Studying Chinese Letters

In the year A.D. 1861, i.e., the Chinese year Sin Yu,[21] the eleventh year of the reign of Ham Hong,[22] I engaged a Chinese teacher [80] named Chia Ah Seng to teach me Chinese letters. I found this to be an extremely difficult subject of study, and came to realize the stupidity of the Chinese in inventing letters which can perhaps be said to differ entirely from the systems of writing used by any other race in the world. I am sure you understand the principles involved. However, I had gone too far to turn back, so I went ahead, forcing myself to study for two hours every morning and another two hours at night. By the help of God, within about two years, I had acquired what I could of the language, being able to read and write fairly well in Teo Chew:[23] I was able to examine all the Chinese account books without having further

21. This was the year according to the Chinese sixty-year cycle. The text has *Sin Ai Yu*, which should read *Sin Yu*. Each year of the cycle is represented by only two characters (personal communication from Mr. Lee Siow Mong).

22. The fourth from last emperor of the Manchu dynasty, reigned 1851–1862.

23. The gambier and pepper planters were almost all Teo Chew Chinese.

recourse to an interpreter; I could hold conversations, read short letters, and write letters dealing with simple topics without needing to engage the services of a Chinese scribe. Furthermore, I was very fond of reading Chinese tales, my favorite being the story entitled *Sam Kok*,[24] for this work contains much that is of value, including allusions and parables which should be heard by officials in the service of kings. There are a number of sounds in the language which are nasalized and harsh, and which are quite impossible [81] to equate with letters of the European or Arabic alphabets for the purpose of transcribing them in those scripts, unless we employ the methods and signs[25] customarily used by the Europeans.

Due to the fact that I have led myself into relating these matters, the account that I am giving you has become very lengthy. As I had immersed myself in this study, now, at the same time, I learned how to paint flower patterns and pictures of birds, etc., in the style which is always used by the Chinese for painting fans and drawing on paper named *tiaupak*,[26] which they hang up as decorations for their homes. I also learned to play various kinds of Chinese musical instruments, such as the violin, lute and *sa^{n}hi*,[27] and progressed to the study of the most advanced instruments, such as the *tseng*[28] and *yio khim*.[29]

With the help of God, I succeeded in mastering all these skills to the best of my ability. As a result of this study, my life was enriched by the fact that I made many Chinese friends and acquaintances. Many of the paintings I had done on fans were in the hands of some of the friends I had in Singapore and Johor, and they even sent them to a large number of friends in China. This

24. "The Three Kingdoms." This is a well-known cycle of tales which was very popular among Indonesian Chinese, who translated it into "low Malay" (see further Nio Joe Lan, 1962:21–22).

25. Presumably, Salleh is referring to diacritical marks.

26. *Tiau:* "hanging"; *pak:* "scroll." This is a Teo Chew colloquial form (Lee Siow Mong).

27. A plucked lute, similar to the Japanese *samisen*, which developed from it (Lee Siow Mong).

28. A plucked string instrument, similar to the Japanese *koto*, which originated from it (Lee Siow Mong).

29. This instrument originates from the European harpsichord.

was not because my paintings [82] were particularly beautiful. The reason that they liked to have them was that a painting done by someone of another race in imitation of their own art could be brought to the fore and made much of. It is certainly not my intention to brag about these matters, but the knowledge I had gained was of great advantage to me for purposes of government strategy, because I mingled with the Chinese a great deal, and this enabled me to discover some well-hidden secrets. Furthermore, they were reliable and trusted me in all matters connected with the state government; and in whatever course of action they contemplated, they felt diffidence and respect. At this point I shall stop, and commence once again to relate the story of myself and Johor.

Assumption of high office—The Honorable Temenggung Ibrahim passes away; His Highness Engku Abu Bakar becomes the ruler of Johor, entitled Seri Maharaja Johor

On 31st January, 1862, it was ordained that Marhum [83] Ibrahim's time had come, and he passed away. On 1st February, 1862, Engku Abu Bakar replaced him on the throne as ruler of Johor with the title Seri Maharaja Johor.

It was only from this time that Johor really began to be fully opened up, with roads being constructed and so forth. This was due to the care and efforts of His Highness. On 9th December, 1868, I was promoted to the rank of Commissioner of Police. During this period I really felt exhausted, for I was not merely performing the duties of Police Commissioner: my work also entailed dealing with all the grants for gambier and pepper plantations, letters of monopoly, all the bills of purchase and sale, and letters of credit and debit for the gambier and pepper plantations. In addition, I was responsible for surveying and determining the boundaries between their land, and dealing with any disputes which arose concerning their areas of forest. Although I had an assistant under me in my police work, it was still too much for me, for by now there were Chinese growing gambier and pepper on more than seventy rivers, and production had reached almost [84] three thousand vats. In January 1874, therefore, I was

granted an Assistant Commissioner of Police. This was the nephew of His Highness the Maharaja, named Engku Sulaiman bin Daud. So only then did I gain some respite from my police work. It was more vital for me to restrict myself to supervising matters connected with gambier and pepper, and working as the chief survey engineer, surveying all the land under Johor rule and making a map of Johor. After more than three years, the map of Johor was complete, and it was pronounced correct by the head surveyors in London.

The Jementah War

On 25th October, 1879, a war broke out in the district of Muar. Its origin supposedly lay in an injunction of His Highness Sultan Ali concerning his son, His Highness[30] Tengku Alam:

"The Sultanate is not to be handed over to his son, Tengku Alam, because the chiefs, the Temenggung and the headmen in that place strongly disapprove [85] of Tengku Alam."[31]

As the English Government was well aware of all the facts of this case from the outset, it had misgivings about giving its sanction to this injunction. Eventually, however, the Temenggung of the left bank[32] of Muar, together with more than ten *penghulus*, as well as other headmen and war leaders of that place, had audience with the Governor in Singapore and stated that they did not approve of Tengku Alam becoming their ruler, for they had never become acquainted with him, even though he was the son of the late Sultan Ali. The English Government, therefore, acceded to their wish that the district be handed over and placed under the jurisdiction of Johor.

Five or six months after this, it was reported that Tengku Alam had secretly told his cousins, named Tengku Nong and Tengku Mat,[33] to incite some of the people in the area to support them, and eventually they won over Panglima Besar Sancu, Wan

30. Ali is referred to as *Yang Maha Mulia*, Alam as *Yang Amat Mulia*. I have translated both as "Highness."

31. This passage may be described as "semi-direct speech."

32. I.e., facing upstream.

33. The sons of Tengku Jalil, brother of Tengku Alam.

Fragment of a map of Johor produced by Mohamed Salleh bin Perang in 1907. (National Archives, Malaysia)

Daud the Temenggung's son,[34] together with Wan Abas and other local *panglima*. They were also mixed up with some miscreants from Negeri Sembilan, including one named Raja Berambut Panjang and others. When they had reached agreement on their scheme, Panglima Sancu[35] became their battle commander. He then attacked a place named Jementah. This is a [86] village in the territory on the left bank of the Muar River, which is much bigger than the other villages in the district, being more than seven miles long and abounding with orchards and paddy fields. He succeeded in capturing this place, whereupon Tengku Nong gave himself the title of Raja Muda and Wan Daud took the title of Temenggung Paduka Tuan. They also burned and looted some of the houses there.

The Penghulu of Jementah fled and lodged a plaint with the Johor authorities on the right bank of the Muar River. His Highness the Maharaja of Johor then commanded his cousin, named Engku Ahmad, to take a body of men and arms there at the beginning of November. Fighting ensued, which lasted about a month. By that time, a number of the enemy stockades had fallen into the hands of Engku Ahmad, who then took up position in an enemy stockade which had been taken at a place called Lubuk Bandan and strengthened his defenses. Tengku Nong and Panglima Sancu retreated to a place about six miles from Lubuk Bandan, on the upper reaches of the Jementah River near the foot of Gunung Ledang, and established their position there, building several stockades. One of these was at Kampung Raja Lela and it was stronger than the others, for they reinforced it with earthworks.

On 2nd December, 1879, therefore, I received orders from the government together with a special letter of authority. I was to take [87] a body of men, with three or four hundred rifles of the Snider brand (magazine loaders) and cannon, and go to the assistance of Engku Ahmad, for at that time Johor did not yet

34. Wan Daud was the youngest son of the Temenggung of Muar, Wan Ismail, who died at this time. Ismail's eldest son, Wan Mohamed Salleh, was appointed his successor by the Johor government (*Muar Papers*).

35. A native of Sumatra (*Muar Papers*).

possess regular military forces; all armaments and the security of the state were under the control of the Commissioner of Police.

I sailed from Johor the same day, and on 10th December, I met up with Engku Ahmad. After we had conferred and reached a decision, Engku Ahmad was left to man the defenses at Lubuk Bandan, and I took with me ten well-known *panglima;* I had five hundred men, all armed with rifles, and they were formed into four troops, each troop containing over a hundred men: the first troop was led by Panglima Perang Isa; the second by Panglima Kiri Awang; the third by Panglima Besar Yusuf, and the fourth by Panglima Dalam Lamit. All four were under my command.

At 9 o'clock on 12th December, we set out from Lubuk Bandan and marched for about six miles. At 1 o'clock we arrived at a place called Dusun Dedap. We halted there and constructed stockades and a barricade where we were to stay. [88] At about 4 p.m., before the stockades had been completed, the enemy attacked. They charged us, firing from within the secondary jungle which skirted the orchards. However, we were in no great danger, because at the outset we had taken the precaution of deploying our men to keep watch from concealed positions in the jungle, over four hundred yards away from where we were building the stockades. We had more than two hundred men spread out over the area, so it was they who first clashed with the enemy. We did not suffer any loss of life that day, the only casualties being six or seven seriously wounded (three men died two or three days later). The enemy did not yet know what casualties they had sustained, and only when the sun had set did they call a halt, whereupon the work of building the stockades was brought to completion. There was a distance of only one mile between our stockades and those of the enemy, in which Tengku Nong and Panglima Sancu were ensconced.

On the following day and for several consecutive days afterwards, the two sides attacked each other and engaged in battle. However, it was battle in name only, not like the battles fought by Europeans, who engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy. The Malays have a cowardly way of doing battle, lying in wait and well-hidden, amidst the jungle scrub [89] and behind tree trunks and coconut palms. Even though the rifles are pop-

ping away like rice being fried in the husk or like the firecrackers that Chinese let off on their feast days, it is just a futile waste of ammunition, like shooting at the wind, unless, of course, there are some bullets which happen to go astray; then any soul whose appointed hour is at hand will meet his fate. The only advantage of doing battle in this way is that there is not much loss of life. However, the raja suffers a loss. Still, what is there to be done? This kind of work certainly cannot be rushed, for men's lives are not to be trifled with.

The battle went on for seven days, with the two sides crouched in hiding and cutting across to intercept each other, until, on 20th December, we managed to push our way forward and establish a stockade during the heat of the fray[36] at a place called Padang Juling, which was only about two hundred feet away from the enemy stockade. Even so, the two were not visible to each other, because the view was obstructed by fruit trees and secondary jungle. When we had taken the place, the enemy no longer dared to come out to the attack. Even though we attacked their stockade on several occasions and called upon them to come out, they refused. On the contrary, they remained entrenched within their stockade, carrying on the fight and firing upon us, so that we suffered a large number of dead and wounded.

However, their weak point had become apparent to me. I [90] ordered the *panglima* to call a halt, instructing them not to go out to attack the enemy stockade, as it was just a waste of ammunition. We ceased hostilities for three days and applied ourselves to working out a plan of action. On 28th December, I ordered more than a hundred men to cut down bamboo and make it into bundles of such a size that a man would be able to lift one of them with ease. By the 29th, more than two hundred bundles had been completed, so, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I gave the order for more than three hundred men to feign an attack on the enemy stockade by cheering and discharging their rifles from within the secondary jungle, in order to see whether the

36. Text: *dapatlah kita mengasak sebuah kubu ketika panas ini. . . .* Another reading could be "forced our way into," but there is no indication that they were taking an enemy stockade; the enemy stockade was still two hundred feet away. Also, *ketika panas* could simply mean "during the heat (of the day)."

enemy would dare to venture forth. However, they only returned our fire from the top of their stockade. During this uproar, I ordered over fifty men to make a path cutting through the jungle in the direction of the enemy stockade.

At 7 o'clock in the evening of 29th December, 1879, I assembled all the *panglima* and informed them that around 11 o'clock that night I myself would go with them to hit the enemy stockade with the last phase of the operation. I ordered that four cannon, which were in position on raised platforms, should be lowered to the ground; and I assigned everyone his task, making sure that the orders were understood: Panglima Besar Yusuf and Panglima Kiri Awang with a hundred men were [91] to crawl forward stealthily and keep watch at the palisade of the enemy's outer defenses; Panglima Dalam Lamit and a hundred men would carry the bamboo; Panglima Isa and fifty men, together with myself, would erect a barricade. The rest of the men were to guard the stockades, and it was decided who would be in charge of them.

When it was half past midnight (it so happened there was rain that night, but it was not very heavy) I started the operation, and managed to erect a barricade, using the bundles of bamboo; this was out in the open, with nothing screening it from the enemy stockade, which was only about 150 feet away. I had the barricade built at a spot where there were several heaps of coconuts. At about 3:30 a.m., everything was in readiness, with three good brass cannon drawn up in position. The cannon were not big, being light enough to be carried by four men, but their ammunition was shells, with grape. Grape consists of iron fragments packed into a white metal cylinder; when it is discharged from the gun barrel, it scatters like buckshot. The barricade was four bundles of bamboo thick, and it was estimated that a ball from a swivel gun or such-like would not be able to go through it, for we had experimented with just one bundle of bamboo [92] from a distance of ninety feet using a Snider rifle, and the bullet did not penetrate it. However, the barricade had only one side facing the enemy stockade; it resembled a semicircle, the left and right flanks and the rear being open. The path that we had just made came out at the jungle's edge, only about sixty feet behind

our barricade, so that we could go back and forth to our main stockade with ease.

At 4:30 a.m., after I had ordered two or three men to inform Panglima Besar Yusuf and Panglima Kiri Awang that they should bring their men to man our barricade, and everything was in readiness, I personally fired one of the cannon, so that four cannon and fifty rifles were discharged simultaneously. There was immediately a sound of uproar from within the enemy stockade, for possibly half of them were sound asleep, so that only after our cannon had fired five or six rounds did they begin to beat their war drum and return our fire with swivel guns and rifles. The sound the bullets made as they hit our barricade was just like drums being beaten but, by the grace of God, not one of them got through; and the bullets passing over our heads sounded just like a swarm [93] of carpenter bees. This went on until dawn without a break, both sides being evenly matched. It can be said that only now on this day (30th December, 1879) was there a real battle in which I saw the courage of our *panglima* opposing the foe, regardless of their own safety.

I offer a thousand thanks that in the end, with the help of God the All-Compeller, the Irresistible, by virtue of the sublime good fortune of His Highness, and due to the bravery and loyal service of the Panglima Perang Awang[37] and Engku Ahmad, our enemies were defeated and we succeeded in capturing Tengku Nong, his younger brother Tengku Mat, Wan Daud and Raja Rambut[38] Panjang, together with seven of his friends from Ulu Sendayan.[39] One of their friends, named Syarif, was shot dead by Panglima Perang Awang because he had offered resistance and turned his weapon on our men. Praise be to God, all our men were unharmed. Amen, amen, Oh Lord of the Worlds. [94]

37. There were two Panglima Perang Awang. They were distinguished by the terms *kiri* (left) and *kanan* (right). It was Panglima Kanan Awang who killed Syarif when the latter attacked the Johor men with his sword.

38. On p. 85 he is named Berambut Panjang.

39. (Spelling: S-n-d-y-w-n.) There is little doubt that Ulu Sendayan, in Negeri Sembilan, is intended.

PART THREE

An account of the voyage of the Hon. Datuk Bentara Luar, S.P.M.J., accompanying His Highness Sultan Abu Bakar ibn Ibrahim of Johor to China and Japan.

Note: At the time this voyage occurred, the late Datuk Bentara Luar had mastered the Chinese language, letters, and painting, and also the musical instruments and performing arts of that race. He had also studied land-surveying to such an extent that he successfully completed a map of Johor and all its territories. He had also brought to its conclusion the difficult and critical task of fighting the war at Jementah in Ulu Muar. The royal summons from His Highness first reached him on 3rd February 1883, at which time he was busy surveying the land at Kangkar Bertam in the upper reaches of the Batu Pahat River. The entire account presented below is taken from a diary which he wrote himself. He preceded this account with the following pantun:[1] [95]

Aur isle is a misty sight,
Veiled by clouds in morn procession.
A prayer we ask from hearts sincere,
For a safe journey we pray for blessing.

Veiled by clouds in morn procession,
The highest point in shroud of white,
For a safe journey we pray for blessing,
And vow to seek some leaves of tea.[2]

1. This is a *pantun berkait*, in which the second and fourth lines of one quatrain are repeated in the first and third lines of the next. Salleh's *pantun* is not consistent—perhaps it is not complete—for the second and fourth quatrains do not conform to the rule.

2. Text: *Nazarnya itu daun teh*. As noted in the Commentary and in note 1 above, the poem appears to be still in draft form, and such lines as the above would probably have been improved in a final version.

Pemanggil isle sits in the middle,
Between the isles of Aur and Tioman,
Please look after the house we leave,
May we be blessed with peace and calm.

Between the isles of Aur and Tioman,
Which lie in the China Sea,
May we be blessed with peace and calm,
To go and to stay safe and sound.

Tioman isle is large indeed,
With many peaks of varied rank,
Oh Lord, Creator of Mankind,
Grant us blessing on our voyage.

With many peaks of varied rank,
One of them named Cula Naga,
Grant us blessing on our voyage,
We put our trust in You alone.

One of them named Cula Naga,
Partly visible from afar,
We put our trust in You alone,
That we be safe on land and sea.

Partly visible from afar,
Lying in the briny deep,
That we be safe on land and sea,
Bless us on our visit abroad.

Lying in the briny deep;
The high sea waves never rest,
Bless us on our visit abroad,
Leaving Johor to go to China. [96]

The high sea waves never rest,
This sea is part of the Pacific Ocean.

Leaving Johor to go to China,
Grant us, Lord, divine assistance.

This sea is part of the Pacific Ocean,
With many seasons, calm and rough,
Grant us, Lord, divine assistance,
Until we arrive at Indera's isles.

With many seasons, calm and rough,
Especially at the time of typhoons,
Until we arrive at Indera's isles,
Which have the name "Isles of Japan."

Especially at the time of typhoons,
With mighty storms known far and wide,
Which have the names "Isles of Japan,"
God save our ruler and bless Johor.

Saturday 28th April 1883 (equivalent to 19th Jumadilakhir, 1300). At 6:15 a.m.,[3] left the Jardine Company wharf at Teluk Belanga in the French mail named *Oxus*,[4] together with Encik Mohamed bin Mahbub and two attendants named Haji Abu Bakar and Marjan.[5] At 9 o'clock, opposite Batu Putih.

Sunday 29th April. At 6 a.m., left the islands of Aur, Tioman and Pemanggil behind us on the left. By 8 o'clock, all those islands had disappeared from view, and it was extremely hot, because there was a wind from the stern. His Highness was a little feverish, but later recovered and at night took a physic. [97]

3. This must be a slip for "p.m.," as it would not take 24 hours to reach Tioman. (See also note 4 below).

4. This was a steamship of the *Messageries Maritimes* company, commanded by Captain Rapatel. The *Oxus* arrived from Marseilles on the morning of 28th April, and departed around 6 p.m. of the same day for Saigon, Hong Kong and Shanghai (*Straits Times*, 28th April, 1883).

5. The *Straits Times* of 30th April 1883 mentions that the Maharaja "was attended by Mr. W. Hole, Private Secretary, and the Dato Bentara Luar as A.D.C." Salleh mentions the presence of Mr. Hole only once (see Commentary, note 6).


----- Route followed by the Maharaja, 1883
JAPAN
Tokyo
Nagoya
Kobe
Shimonoseki
Nagasaki
Huang
CHINA
Chinkiang
Nanking
Shanghai
Hankow
Wuhu
Yangtze
Lake Payang
Amoy
Swatow
FORMOSA
Canton
Macao
Hongkong
Mekong
CHINA
SEA
Manila
ANNAM
Saigon
P CONDORE
Penang
ACEH
DELI
Malacca
Singapore
SUMATRA
BORNEO
LINGGA
Palembang
Bengkulu
Batavia (Jakarta)
JAVA
0 400 KM
0 200 MILES

East Asia

Monday 30th April. At 6:30 a.m., the shape of Kundur[6] Island was visible on the port side of our ship. The captain said that the island is a hundred miles distant from Saigon. At 9 o'clock, we were only about four or five miles away from the island. It has a number of high points rather resembling Karimun Island, and is mainly rocky with few trees. It is inhabited by Annamese, who are engaged in agriculture, and there are many houses. At 6:30 p.m., arrived in the Saigon River estuary. Hove to and anchored there at 7:30 p.m.

Tuesday 1st May. At 4 a.m., set off upstream, and at 8:15 a.m., arrived at the mooring of the French mail in Saigon. The mooring place is cut off from the customs house by the river, so that it forms an island. At 8:30 a.m., two officers came as emissaries from the governor: his private secretary and aide-de-camp. They presented His Highness with an invitation for 11:30 a.m. At that time he went ashore and later met the governor. Walked around the whole town and the botanical gardens, and saw two tigers. In the evening, three[7] of us had dinner at the governor's residence. Then went to see the Chinese praying in their village, over five miles away from the city. There were many people [98] there; the paraphernalia were attractive.

Wednesday 2nd May. Left Saigon harbor at 8 a.m., reaching the estuary at 12 noon. Sailed the whole day in sight of land, with an unbroken succession of high mountains until evening.

Thursday 3rd May. At 6 a.m., a range of mountains could be seen looming vaguely in the distance. The captain said that all these mountains were under the jurisdiction of Annam, i.e., Cochin China. At 9 a.m., they all disappeared from view and there was nothing more to be seen. At 12 noon, the captain brought the ship around in order to take bearings on the sun. At that time Saigon was 335 miles behind us. At about 1 p.m., the temperature changed and it felt cool. The sky also changed color and took on a misty aspect. In the evening and at night, too, it was invigoratingly cool.

6. This usually appears on maps as *Pulo Condore* (i.e., *Pulau Kundur*).

7. The royal word *santap* ("eat") indicates that the Maharaja was the chief member of the group.

Friday 4th May. In the early morning, the weather was fine. Then at 7 a.m., a storm came in from the east and it began to rain, which was deliciously refreshing for those on board. At 9 a.m., the rain became heavier and the waves began to leap into view, which was upsetting for those who were unaccustomed to sea travel. The ship now began to sway and roll in grand style. At 1 p.m., the waves were rougher than before [99] and there was constant thunder and lightning. This went on all night without abating.

Saturday 5th May. This morning, the easterly storm increased in intensity and the waves became stronger. I was unable to rise. Most people were seasick. At 12:30 p.m., the territory of Hong Kong was sighted. A number of fishing boats could be seen sailing out to sea, and several high mountains were visible. At 4 p.m., arrived safely in Hong Kong harbor. His Highness went ashore and was greeted with a gun salute. In the evening, went to the home of Mr. Phillippo,[8] the judge, and played billiards[9] at the army club. Traveled on a palanquin.

Sunday 6th May. During the day, there was misty rain the whole time, and it was cold. Encik Mohamed bin Mahbub and I traveled together all over the place and went to the Chop Hong Mong Thiam Kee[10] house. His Highness had breakfast at Mr. Phillippo's house. Lunch at the governor's residence. At 4:30 p.m., departed from Hong Kong harbor in the mist, proceeding through the eastern channel. The wind did not abate.

Monday 7th May. In the morning, the wind increased in strength; it was foggy, and there was misty rain which did not stop until 11 a.m. At noon, the captain calculated that we had covered [100] 190 miles, leaving another 636 miles to Shanghai. At 5:30 p.m., we were opposite the Sea of Amoy, and could see a lighthouse. There, for the first time, the sea became calm and tranquil, because we had begun to enter the Straits of Formosa or Taiwan. In the evening and at night, it was very cold.

8. G. Phillippo was the Attorney-General in Hong Kong at the time (Endacott, 1973:168).

9. I.e., the Maharaja. When the subject of sentences is omitted, it is to be taken for granted that the Maharaja or the whole party is referred to.

10. I.e., the business house named Hong Mong Thiam Kee.

Tuesday 8th May. This morning there was a strong swell and it became increasingly colder. At 9 a.m., sighted an island named Li Po, which lies about 350 miles from Shanghai. At 10 a.m., the swell became stronger but there was less wind. At noon, bearings were taken on the sun and it was calculated that we had covered 285 miles since yesterday, leaving another 351 miles to Shanghai. Then, after noon, the wind abated somewhat and there was no strong swell. As the day wore on, the weather improved and the sun came out. We were constantly sighting islands, and mountains on the mainland, which loomed up and then disappeared one after another in the mist which pervaded everywhere. At 7:15 p.m., we sighted the new moon heralding the first day of the month of Rejab, 1300. At this point the fog descended and the sea was pitch dark, so that the ship did not dare to keep going. The foghorn was sounded every two minutes. At about 9 p.m., visibility improved a little.

Wednesday 9th May. In the early morning, visibility was very poor because of the fog. The ship moved ahead slowly for fear of colliding with something [101] or running into a sandbank, because the coastal waters around Shanghai are treacherous. At about 10 a.m., visibility improved and then the fog descended again, so that the ship was only able to inch forward, and the captain and navigator, in spite of all their skills, were misled into constantly heading for the shore.[11] At 5:30 p.m., finally sighted an island, named L-w-k-w-n-a [?], which is within the Shanghai area. An hour later, encountered a lighthouse, and the ship began to pick up speed, as the visibility had improved a little. However, within less than ten minutes the fog came down again and the ship slowed down, for the fog made it much darker than usual. At 8 p.m., the ship dropped anchor and hove to at a spot which was estimated to be about 85 miles from Shanghai.

Thursday 10th May. At 4:30 a.m., in the early light of dawn, islands could be seen to the left and right, and our ship was in the center of a group of islands. At 5 a.m., the ship got under

11. Text: . . . *sesat segala ilmu kapten mualim itu dengan ditujukan sahaja haluan ke darat*, which could also be read with a pause after *sesat*. This would then give the meaning, "and went off course; all the skill of the captain and navigator [were needed] just to keep the ship headed toward the shore."

way. It then began to get foggy again. Passed through a number of gaps between islands and through various channels. At this point it was apparent that the pilot was apprehensive, and the captain got the ship clear. At about 8 a.m., arrived at an island on which there was a telegraph station. At 9 a.m., all this disappeared from view as we returned to the open sea. Now there were no [102] islands in sight, and all that could be seen were Chinese fishing boats dotted about on the sea like flotsam. At 12 noon, came inshore and could see low forest, resembling an alluvial flat. At 12:30 p.m., dropped anchor in the estuary of the Shanghai river, named Whangpoo, because it was not yet high tide. At 1 o'clock, went upstream to the wharf. At 6:30 p.m., went ashore and settled in at the Hotel Des Colonies.[12] His Highness went to the club.

Friday 11th May. At 1 p.m., set out to see the town and went to the Chinese Club at a place named Bubbling Well, where there was a well with bubbling water. Played billiards at the club. Met two Chinese merchants from Penang, one named Loo Yin Yu, and the other Seet Tee Wang,[13] at the Chop Kee Chiang house. Called in at Mr. Drummond's[14] house. The son of this Loo Yin is a member of a syndicate opening up estates in Selangor and Perak. In the evening, taken to see a Chinese spectacle and a Peking opera. His Highness went to play billiards at the club.

Saturday 12th May. At 10 a.m., His Highness went to inspect the Chinese police and see the conditions of the prison inmates. At 2 p.m., went down to the ship *Admiral Wilson*. In the evening, had dinner at Government House of the British Consul. [103]

Sunday 13th May. At 10 a.m., His Highness went to the mosque. At 1 p.m., went to Mr. Hook's[15] house for lunch. His home is five miles away from the town and is full of beautiful books.

12. (Spelling: Dz-y k-l-w-n-y.)

13. (Spelling: L-w y-y-n y-w and S-y t-y w-a-ng.) These romanizations are the ones most likely to be used by Penang Chinese. In fact, "Yin" would more commonly be spelled "Inn" (Lee Siow Mong).

14. (Spelling: D-r-a-m-a-n-d.)

15. (Spelling: H-w-k.)

Monday 14th May. At 10 a.m., entered the old city. At 1 o'clock, lunched at the house of Muhadhrat Ching[16] and had a look at the house which is a place of assembly for paupers and people studying religion.[17] In the evening, His Highness took dinner at the house of Mr. Drummond.

Tuesday 15th May. Went again to the old city and other places. Visited Baba Keng Yam[18] at the Chop Hong Hing (Fong Hing) house. Afterwards, went to his home and had some cakes. At midnight, I went down to the Japanese ship *Jinga Maru* and slept on board.

Wednesday 16th May. At 6 a.m., this ship departed from the American Company wharf. By about 1 p.m., we had lost sight of land. At about 5 p.m., some patches of mist could be seen but it was not too thick. The sea was calm, without waves, and it stayed like that into the night.

Thursday 17th May. At 6 a.m., there was a fairly cold northwesterly wind, which increased in force. At 3:30 p.m., sighted the peaks of an island in Japanese territory, named Tori Island or Palas.[19] At 7 p.m., drew opposite [104] an island on which there was a lighthouse. The moon was bright. At 1 a.m., arrived in Nagasaki harbor. The place rather resembles Saigon, with many hills, but these hills are a beautiful green. The harbor is about twice the size of the Teluk Belanga channel.

Friday 18th May. Early in the morning, at 7 o'clock, a letter arrived from the English consul, named Mr. Hall.[20] Then the Japanese governor of Nagasaki came down in person to meet His Highness and invited him to visit at noon. At 10 a.m., the En-

16. "Ching" is a Chinese Muslim name.

17. This appears to have been some kind of Muslim association. The word used for "studying" (i.e., *mengaji*) usually referred only to religious study (especially *Qur'an* reading) at that time.

18. Lee Keng Yam was of Malaccan origin. He spent thirteen years in Messrs. Kim Seng and Company's branch firm in Shanghai. He then went to Singapore in 1885 (Makepeace et al., 1921).

19. (Spelling: t-w-r-y and p-a-l-s.)

20. (Spelling: H-w-l.) The only official with a name fitting this spelling was John Carey Hall, who was Assistant Japanese Secretary at the British Legation in Japan at the time. The consul in Nagasaki was William G. Aston (*Foreign Office List*).

glish consul came down to meet His Highness, and[21] Mrs. Gulland[22] and the Major. He took us all over the town, and we saw temples ("houses of idols") as tall as mountains. At 12 noon, met the Japanese governor and were given tea and cakes. At 1 p.m., lunch at the house of the consul, Mr. Hall, for which we were joined by the American consul-general[23] and his wife. Afterwards, went to the house of the American consul and then on to the club. Later, taken to see a Japanese dramatic performance, and did some more sightseeing all around the town. At 7 p.m., had dinner at a Japanese hotel—this is the world, and it is a long story. At 11:15 p.m., went down to the ship. At 1 a.m., sailed.

Saturday 19th May. In the morning, entered a channel, passing through [105] the gaps between islands and scenic hills. At 10 o'clock, opposite Aru[24] Island. At 11:15, opposite Koshime[25] Island, which is covered with villages and crops, and there were a number of fishing boats there. We reckoned that we were about half a mile away from the island. At 2:30 p.m., arrived at Shimonoseki. His Highness and Mr. K-r-y-n[26] went ashore to see

21. Text: *serta*, which could conceivably be interpreted to mean that the Gullands came down with the consul. This is unlikely, unless they had gone straight to Japan and met up with the Maharaja again in Nagasaki. (See note 22 below.)

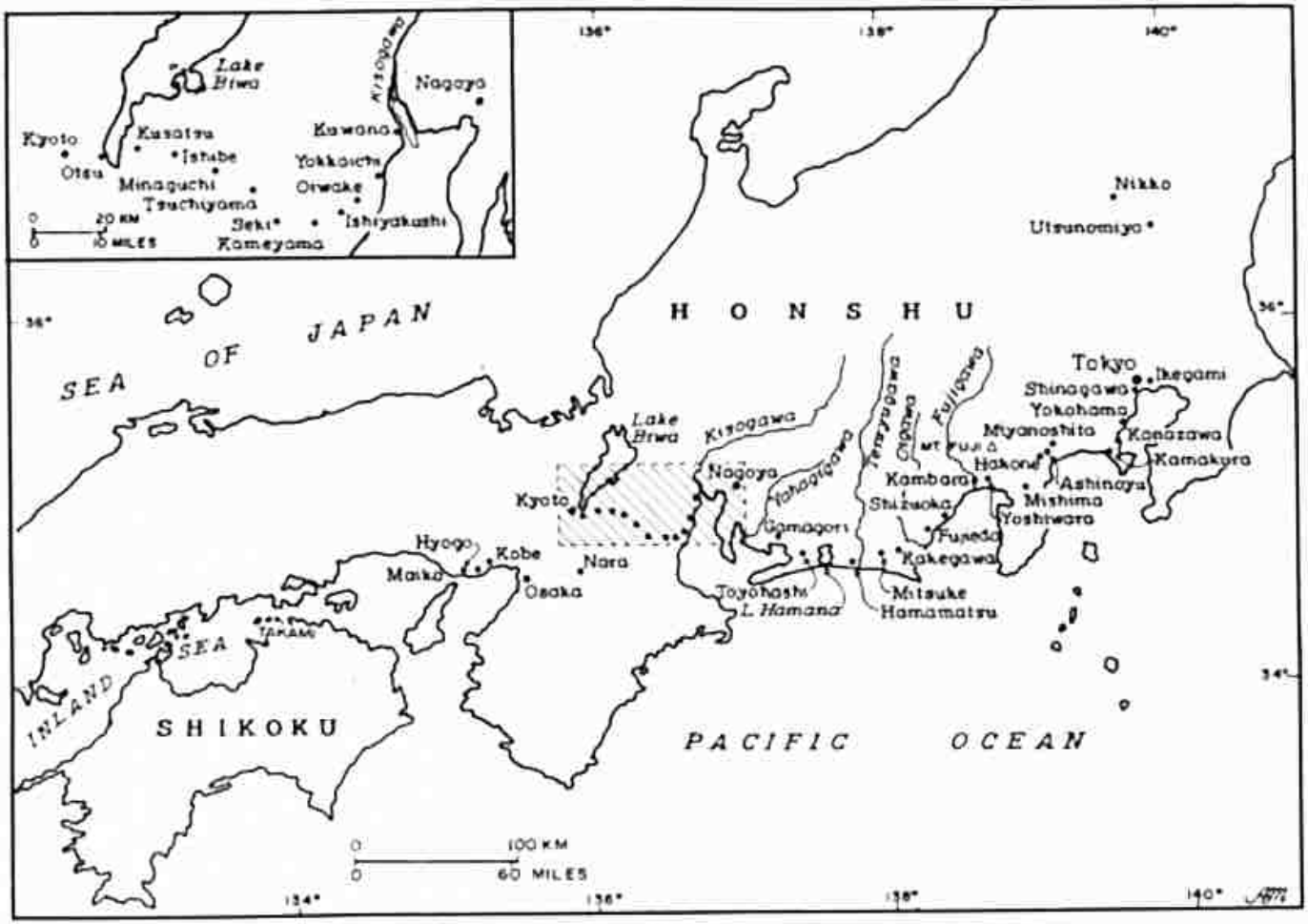
22. W. G. Gulland was a partner in the firm of Patterson, Simons and Co. in Singapore (the Maharaja's agents) and a member of the Singapore Legislative Council. The *Straits Times* of 30th April, 1883, notes that "W. G. Gulland has gone on a trip to Japan by the French Mail steamer which left on Saturday, in company with H.H. the Maharaja of Johore." His name appears in Salleh's account in four different spellings, but there seems to be little doubt that they all refer to Gulland. The variants arise from omission of dots: b/y and g/k, and an uncrossed *kaf*. (Spellings: p. 104, l-y-l-y-n; p. 106, k-b-l-y-n; p. 112, g-y-l-n; and p. 115, k-y-l-y-n.)

23. Text: *serta jeneral, konsul Amerikan*, which could mean, "and a general, the American consul." However, it seems likely that the consul-general (T. B. Van Buren), who was based at Kanagawa (near Yokohama), the original treaty port of 1859, is referred to. The consul of Nagasaki (A. C. Anderson) was not, apparently, a general (*Biographical Register*, U.S. Dept. of State, 1884:32).

24. (Spelling: A-r-w.)

25. (Spelling: K-w-s-y-m-y.) This will be Kosime-no-Oshima, also known as Wilson's Island (Chamberlain and Mason, 1913:400).

26. This may also refer to Gulland. The *lam* could well have been taken for a *ra*.



Central Japan

the town. At 5:15 p.m., departed from there. At night, went through the Straits of A-w-l-w[27] and Iyo.[28] Here there were a lot of people bathing in the nude.

Sunday 20th May. At 4:30 a.m., began to enter the mouth of the Shimashi[29] straits. The scenery here is extremely beautiful: there are a number of islands and high hills, and narrow channels edged with white sand, interspersed with the islands, which are green and verdant with the hill rice which the Japanese grow there. There were a number of fishing boats, and some small huts could be seen. There was a biting northeasterly wind, much colder than we had experienced before. At 6:30 a.m., passed a small village of about one hundred houses, named Takar.[30] From that point on, we were never out of sight of beautiful islands and mountains, and the slopes of most of the hills are covered with growing rice. Furthermore, the whole length of the channel was crowded with fishing boats, like drifting flotsam. There were countless myriads of them: they must have numbered in the tens of thousands. [106] At 2:40, arrived in Kobe harbor. The captain of a warship, together with an English acting consul, came down, bringing a letter from Sir Harry Parkes.[31] Then a private secretary of the Japanese chief minister[32] came down, bringing a retinue to escort His Highness ashore. They provided him with a fine and well-appointed house, complete with facilities for eating and drinking.

27. If this word represents a Japanese name, it is corrupt, as there is no "l" in Japanese. It may be the Malay *ulu*, in the sense of "upriver from," "above" Shimonoseki, or perhaps *Suwo* is intended. Suwo Nada is the stretch of the Inland Sea between Shimonoseki and Iyo Nada.

28. (Spelling: A-y-y-w.) This must refer to the Iyo Nada, a stretch of the Inland Sea.

29. The description and the time taken seem to indicate that they took the northern passage through the islands separating the Mishima Nada from the Bingo Nada. S-y-m-a-s-y is clearly a corruption of *shima* ("island"), which should follow the place name. Probably *Mishima* is intended.

30. This will be Takami Island (Takami-shima).

31. Sir Harry Smith Parkes, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., was the Envoy and Consul-General to Japan. He joined the Consular Corps in 1842, and became the Envoy in Tokyo in 1865 (*Foreign Office List*).

32. This is a translation of *menteri besar*. I have used it to distinguish from Salleh's use of the English term "prime minister."

Monday 21st May. Our day.[33] We were all in Kobe. His Highness was taken by the private secretary to see the town. Went all over the place, looking at temples and so forth. In the afternoon, His Highness entertained the Europeans, including the consul, the captain and others. At night, His Highness saw a show by performing birds and such-like. Encik Mohamed and I saw a Japanese dramatic performance and people practicing archery. Today also, withdrew $2,000 from the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, which converted into 2,630 yen.

Tuesday 22nd May. Today was spent in Kobe. At about 11 a.m., the governor of Kobe came to meet His Highness, saying that he greatly regretted being late, but that he had had urgent business. At midday, His Highness had lunch at the bank with Mrs. Gulland. We sent people on with our baggage by train to Ozaka.[34] At 3:15 p.m., set off by train, arriving in Ozaka station at 4:00. [107] A guard of several police officials was there in readiness. There were also a number of jinrickshas, each pulled by two people, which took us straight to the hotel—a fine hotel. In the afternoon, His Highness was taken by Mr. Nakamura to see the villages and temples. In the evening, saw Japanese dances, performed by thirty-six dancers and twenty musicians, all of whom were young women.[35] The population of the town alone is 27,000.

Wednesday 23rd May. At about 6 a.m., the governor of Osaka came to meet His Highness. At 10 a.m., set off to see the jail. All kinds of work are being done there; indeed every craft in Japan is practiced. It is clear that the convicts are sentenced to work at whatever tasks are in keeping with the skills they possess. Then, went to see another jail, in which the inmates do not work and are just kept locked up. It was said that this is in accordance with the old law. Went to the governor's residence. At 4 p.m., went to see the castle or fort. Here there were many strange

33. Text: *Hari kita*. Presumably a day without official duties.

34. Salleh spells this "Osaka" and "Ozaka." Both spellings were current at the time.

35. This performance was probably *Nanniwa-odori*, a dance performed by a large number of geisha girls, accompanied by music and song from another group of geishas.

sights. The walls are of great slabs of stone, some of which are sixty feet long, thirty-five to forty feet wide, and nine feet thick. Some are less than that. There is a structure in the middle from which one can see the surrounding countryside. This fortress was built more than seven hundred years ago.[36] Then, went to see the biggest [108] of all the temples in Ozaka. There is a tower of seven stories, which is about 1,500 years old.[37]

Thursday 24th May. At 10 a.m., His Highness set off to see the houses of wealthy Japanese.[38] Then went to see a Japanese drama, which was very beautiful and extremely refined, and the performance was staged with a curtain on which there were various pictures.[39] At 2:30, set off by carriage to the railway station in town. There, the governor of Ozaka came to visit His Highness, and chatted with him until 3:00, when His Highness boarded the train. The governor saw us off and there we parted. At 4:45 we arrived.[40] Two carriages were waiting for us there and we went straight to the Hotel Ya Ami.[41] After a short while, went to see a temple named Shika.[42]

Friday 25th May. In the morning, the foreign minister came. Saw a temple, named Chion-in,[43] which is 1,500 years old. Here there are letters brought by embassies from China and South India or Java. The images are not very different from those which can be seen in Java. One small idol, brought by an embassy from

36. The castle was actually 300 years old at the time (1883): it was built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1583–1584, taking only two years to complete. Most of the superstructure was destroyed by fire in 1868. The size of the stones used in the construction of the walls is, indeed, immense, some of them measuring as much as forty feet long by ten feet wide by several feet thick. Salleh has thus exaggerated only slightly. The structure in the middle was a platform (150 feet above sea level).

37. This must be the Tennoji temple, originally built around A.D. 600. It was repeatedly destroyed by fire, the present structure dating from 1812. The pagoda actually has only five stories, not seven.

38. Or "house of a wealthy Japanese."

39. Probably *Kabuki*.

40. I.e., in Kyoto.

41. The most highly recommended hotel in Kyoto at the time (Handy Guide Book, 1888:112).

42. (Spelling: S-y-k-a.)

43. (Spelling: C-w-a-n-y.) This temple was originally built in A.D. 1211.

South India, is of very strange construction. At 10:00, saw people making fine china and brassware. Then went to see an exhibition of various kinds of goods, all of which were of Japanese make.[44] [109] Afterwards, saw the Mikado's old palace;[45] here there are a number of tea-houses, pools, gardens, etc. At 4:00, went to see a huge temple, which is called Hoganji.[46] It is very fine, with its pools and gardens, and a variety of lacquerwork images.[47]

Saturday 26th May. At 11:00, went to see people decorating silk cloth with flower patterns and dyeing it. Then went to a house where various kinds of china and wooden objects are sold. At 4:30 p.m., went again to see a temple—here there is an image three hundred feet long.[48] Then went to another one: there are ten thousand small images on the left and right sides. At the back of the temple, there is a verandah where people used to engage in archery in the past, and the arrowheads would stick in the wood all over the place and in the beams at the end of the building.[49] It is said that this temple is 750 years old. Then saw a pagoda which was built several hundred years ago.

Sunday 27th May. At 10:00, went to see the Mikado's old palace. At 2 a.m.,[50] saw a palace of the Taikun,[51] which has now

44. Perhaps the exhibition of the Society for Encouraging Native Industries (Handy Guide Book, 1888:113).

45. The Imperial Palace, first built on this site in 1790, was rebuilt in 1856 after having been destroyed by fire.

46. This will be the Nishi-Hoganji, the headquarters of the western, elder branch of the Hoganji sect of Buddhism. The temple was built in 1591.

47. Text: *sampang cat gambar2*.

48. I know of no image (or picture [*gambar*]) 300 feet long in Kyoto. The "300" is probably a slip for "30." It seems likely that Salleh is referring to the Daibutsu, a huge image of the Buddha, 58 feet high. This is very close to the next temple visited by his party, the Sanjusangendo.

49. This is the temple of Sanjusangendo (the Thirty-three *ken* [bay] Hall), said to contain 33,333 statues. It was originally built in 1132. In the past, it was a custom for archers to test their skill by seeing how many arrows they could shoot from one end of the ground behind the temple to the other (396 feet) in one night. The record was 8,133 in 1696.

50. Read "2 p.m."

51. This is the Nijo palace, built in 1601 by Ieyasu, the first Shogun of the Tokugawa family. With the restoration of 1868, the palace was taken over by the Imperial authorities, and from 1871 to 1884 was used as the prefectural offices.

been turned into government offices. Then went to see singing and dancing of ancient times, which are kept alive by a council, so that the old customs and traditions will not be lost. Also met the governor of Kyoto there. This traditional [110] performance is held once a month. At that place there is also a building shaped like an ark,[52] inside which are kept 4,800 chapters of a Buddhist scripture, written by a scholar from China six hundred years ago, during the thirteenth year of Kiang Bun's reign.[53]

Monday 28th May. At 10:00, went to a place named Arashi Kima[54] on the invitation of the foreign minister, because the governor's reception was being held there, about seven miles from town. Everyone traveled by jinricksha, pulled by two men. The minister, governor and a number of dignitaries were there. At about noon, taken to see people fishing with cast nets, barrier nets and seines, and went upstream to the rapids.[55] Then went to a temple named Kinkakuji,[56] where there is a pool, beautiful plants[57] and flowing water in a number of places. There was a boy about ten years old who guides sightseers and tells them about the various places and their names. He delivers this information with a pleasant voice, in the form of a song.

Tuesday 29th May. At 10:00 today, set off for Nara. Arrived at a bridge. Soon crossed a big lake,[58] about two miles long and

52. Text: *kudu*, which is an ark emblem carried in procession on 10th Muharram to commemorate the death of Husein, the Prophet's grandson.

53. This will be the *Kyozo* or scripture house of one of the temples, perhaps Chion-in or Miyoshin-ji, both of which contain complete sets of the Buddhist scriptures. That of the Chion-in is said to have been printed in China during the Sung dynasty. Kiang Bun (spelling: K-y-ng-b-w-n), however, was the second emperor of the Ming dynasty (1399–1403).

54. This must be Arashi-yama, one of the most famous natural sights of Kyoto, situated at the foot of the Hozugawa rapids.

55. (Spelling: h-r-a-m *Jepun*.) I have taken this to be *jeram* (rapids), yet it seems strange for Salleh to speak of *jeram Jepun* ("Japanese rapids") in this context.

56. The Golden Pavilion, built at the end of the fourteenth century, during the Ashikaga period. The boy referred to in the next sentence would have been an acolyte of the temple.

57. Text: *tanaman*. Elsewhere, in such descriptions, Salleh has used *taman* ("garden"), e.g., *kolam taman* . . . , and perhaps *taman* is intended here also.

58. This will be the "Lotus Pond," between Kyoto and Nara.

one and a half miles wide, in which there were many Japanese-style fish traps. On arriving at a tea-house, we stopped for lunch, and then continued on our way, crossing [111] a river, until we arrived in Nara. Then saw a temple named Lodos,[59] where there is a brass[60] idol, the face of which measures twelve feet across; it is seated cross-legged and is over forty feet high. There is a brass lantern on a pedestal about ten feet high, the lantern itself being five feet high,[61] which was sent as a gift by the ruler of China more than 1,200 years ago. There are three kinds of basins[62] and inscriptions giving the century. There is also a bow from the time the ruler of China[63] attacked L-k R-w-a [?] 750 years ago.

Wednesday 30th May. At 7:00, His Highness went up Kasugayama[64] hill. The whole of Nara and its environs can be seen clearly from the top of this hill. There is a stone there upon which is written how many people arrive there. At 10:30, looked at a Shinto temple named Chun Jid Toh,[65] where there are stone

59. This will be the Todaiji temple. Salleh's name for the temple, "Lodos," cannot be a Japanese word, and seems likely to be his rendering of the English "lotus," which would refer to the enormous lotus (68 feet in diameter) on which the statute of the Buddha is seated. The statue, 53½ feet high, was completed in 749 A.D. The lantern, octagonal and made of bronze, is 13 feet high and was completed in the same period.

60. Or bronze.

61. The text is not entirely clear: *lanting tembaga bertiang besarnya lebih kurang sepuluh kaki tinggi lima kaki.*

62. (Spelling: b-y-sy-y-n.)

63. (Spelling: j-y-n.) This could also conceivably mean *jin*, although *Cina* seems more likely.

64. (Spelling: s-ng-k-y s-y-a-m-a.) The sounds appear to have been reversed. The "g" in *Kasuga* sounds like Malay "ng." Another, less likely, possibility is that Salleh is referring to an adjacent hill, Mikasayama.

65. This must be the *Kasuga jinja*, which is at the foot of Kasugayama, and has an immense number of lanterns in the temple compound (2,000 stone and 1,000 metal). The dance performed at the temple was the *Kagura*, a sacred dance of great antiquity, performed by girls dressed in white vestments, with red divided skirts.

It appears that Salleh has given the Chinese (Teo Chew dialect) reading of the Japanese *kanji* characters for *Kasuga*. Thus Mr. Lee Siow Mong informs me that *Choon Jit Tau* means "Spring Day Temple" in Teo Chew, and my colleague Professor Michel Strickmann assures me that the characters for *Kasuga* mean "spring day."

lanterns on tall pedestals, six, ten and twelve feet high, and they all have names; there are also brass lanterns. Also saw a dance by three young women in the temple. It is performed there because it is a religious dance. Then went back and called in at a tea-house for lunch, after which went by another road to see tea plantations. Then descended to the bank of the Ujigawa[66] River and went downstream by boat, taking the jinrickshas along with us. Landed at the bridge and proceeded to the hotel. [112]

Thursday 21st May. Went to see Lake Biwa. Stopped at Otsu village and met the local governor, who was waiting for us at a hill temple there.

Friday 1st June. Sent off Mr. Gulland and his wife back to Kobe. In the evening watched women dancing.

Saturday 2nd June. Went to see people weaving *songket* cloth and doing embroidery, etc. In the afternoon, His Highness played billiards.

Sunday 3rd June. Today departed from Kyoto at 1:00, intending to travel to Hakone.[67] Stopped for the night at a tea-house. Went to see a stone temple named Tek San Si,[68] more than a thousand years old. It has a spring flowing out of the ground. In the evening, watched women dancing.

Monday 4th June. Set off at 8 a.m., and at 9:00 arrived at a place named Kusatsu.[69] His Highness bought 27 canes. At 11:00, arrived at a village named Ishibe and stopped to eat at a tea-house called Fukiya. At 1:00, stopped at a tea-house in Minaguchi and bought some baskets, which cost 18 yen in all. At

66. (Spelling: T-w-j-i *gara*.) This is clearly a corruption of Ujigawa (Uji River). Uji is a celebrated tea-growing district; the picking commences in early summer. It is clear that Salleh's party returned to Kyoto by boat along the Ujigawa, taking the rickshaw on board, as described in guidebooks of the time.

67. (Spelling: k-w-h-a-k-w-n-y-k.)

68. This will be the Ishiyama ("Stony Hill") temple, situated between Kyoto and Kusatsu. It seems that Salleh has read the Japanese *kanji* characters for "stone," "hill" and "temple," and pronounced them in the Teo Chew dialect of Chinese, thus: *chiok suā* (or *san*) *si*.

69. (Spelling: S-a-t-w-h.) This must refer to Kusatsu (which may also be romanized Kusatu—and the first "u" is silent). Kusatsu was "noted for its rooted bamboo canes, the latter going even to foreign markets" (*Official Guide to Eastern Asia*, 1914, II:339).

3:30 p.m., arrived in Tsuchiyama and bought eight pounds of tea for 3.17 yen. Stopped there for a while and then continued our journey, arriving in Sakanoshita at 9 p.m. We spent the night at the hotel there. Sakanoshita [113] is a hill about 2,000 feet high. The ascent is fairly gradual, but the descent is steep and the road twists and turns. There is a small village with some shops.

Tuesday 5th June. Left the Sakanoshita hotel at 6:30 a.m., and at 7:00, arrived in Seki. At 8:15, arrived in Kameyama, where we stopped for a short while. At 9:30, reached Ishiyakushi and stopped there to eat. Departed at 10:15 and passed through Oiwake. At 1:00, arrived in Yokkaichi. His Highness stopped to have a short nap. Left there at 3 p.m., and called in at Washika Biwa Mita[70] for a short while. At 5:15, arrived in Kuwana, where we stopped for the night. Here there is a river named the Kiso, which has brackish water.

Wednesday 6th June. Went to Nagoya. Stopped for the night at the Chichiryo[71] Hotel.

Thursday 7th June. Departed at 6:30 a.m. Arrived in Yahagigawa and stopped for a short while at the Yahagibashi, which is a bridge 1,200 feet long spanning this river. We stopped there at 8:15. At 11:30, arrived at Gamagori and stopped to have breakfast there. Departed from there, and at 2:45 p.m., reached Toyohashi, where we stayed at the hotel. [114]

Friday 8th June. At 8:15 a.m., arrived in a place named Shirasuka and stopped for a short while. At 10:15, paused at Hamana, after crossing Lake Hamana by a bridge over a mile long and several long stone dykes. At 12:15, reached Hamamatsu and stopped for breakfast. This is a big place. At 3 p.m., arrived at the Tenryugawa River[72] and stopped there for a short while. At 4:00, reached a place named Mitsuke.

Saturday 9th June. At 8:30 a.m., arrived in Kakegawa village. At 11:00, climbed Nakayama, which is a steep hill; the

70. I cannot identify this place.

71. (Spelling: c-y-c-y-r-y-w.)

72. Note that although *-gawa* already means "river," I have added "river" here and elsewhere for the sake of clarity.

road now begins to twist and turn[73] at sharp angles. Paused for a while at a hotel there. At 12:30, arrived at a bridge over the Komigawa[74] River, three-quarters of a mile in length. At 3:30 p.m., reached Fujieda and stopped for a short while. This place recently suffered a fire. Entered a tunnel 630 feet long.[75] At 6:30 p.m., arrived in Shizuoka and stopped here for the night.

Sunday 10th June. At 9:30, reached Kurasawa and stopped for a short while. From here, Mount Fujiyama can be seen, covered with snow. Then stopped for breakfast at Kambara. [115] After crossing the Fujigawa River, stopped at Yoshiwara. Stopped for the night at Mishima.

Monday 11th June. At the Mishima hotel.

Tuesday 12th June. At 6:00 a.m., set off from Lake Hakone. At 7:30, arrived in Ashinoyu and paused for a short while at the Hotel Matsuzakaya. Stopped for breakfast at the Fujiya Hotel in a place named Miyanoshita.[76] Met Mr. Gulland and his wife with the letters from Singapore.

Wednesday 13th June. At 6 a.m., arrived in Yokohama. Stayed at the Grand Hotel. In the evening, His Highness went to the club.

Thursday 14th June. His Highness bought some things and went sightseeing all over Yokohama.

Friday 15th June. Encik Mohamed bin Mahbub and I, together with Mr. Nakamura, went to Tokyo to see a big festival and procession. Returned to Yokohama at 1 a.m.

Saturday 16th June. In Yokohama.

Sunday 17th June. His Highness went to a place named Kamakura and slept there overnight. [116]

Monday 18th June. His Highness returned from Kamakura at 10 a.m.

73. Text: . . . *jalan baharu siku keluang*, which could also be taken to mean "the new road." The road was not, however, a new one.

74. This can only be the Oigawa.

75. This tunnel will have been built for the railway, which was not yet operating.

76. These two sentences are rather confused in the text. However, this is the only possible interpretation, and it is confirmed by guidebooks of the time.

H. H. Sultan Abu Bakar (reproduced from an oil painting hanging in the Istana Besar*). (National Archives, Malaysia)*

Tuesday 19th June. His Highness went to Kanazawa as a guest of the governor of Yokohama. Mr. Hole, Encik Mohamed, and I ate Japanese food. Then went for a pleasure jaunt on the bay in sampans with the princesses, and saw people netting fish. After that, boarded a ship and sailed to Yokohama. Then came back by jinricksha. The governor of Yokohama seems to be a man of more character and ability than the other governors we visited. In the evening, ate at the Yokohama English club.

Wednesday 20th June. In Yokohama. Had lunch at the house of the consul.

Thursday 21st June. At 12:45, His Highness left Yokohama by train for Tokyo, reaching the station there at 1:00.[77] The Japanese Prime Minister with some of his officials were there. Sir Harry Parkes was there to meet us and took us[78] up to the official gathering at the station, where we chatted for a short while. Then went directly to a house which had been prepared for us, complete with all facilities. Sir Harry Parkes escorted us there. This place is called Mita. [117]

Friday 22nd June. At 3 p.m., the Chief Minister, his deputy and two other ministers came to meet His Highness, bringing a message from the Mikado confirming that the Mikado will receive His Highness at his palace on Tuesday the 26th at 10 a.m. At 4 p.m., His Highness went to meet Sir Harry Parkes at his residence. In the evening, saw dancing in the city of Tokyo.

Saturday 23rd June. At 11 a.m., went to see a temple named Toshogu,[79] situated in a big park, which is thickly wooded and has lotus ponds; also several exhibition halls, and a temple named Asakusa. All of them are old temples, more or less like what we have already seen. By the side of the temple there are all sorts of things being sold, and various amusements. There is also a flower garden, and a variety of figures of people, decorated with all sorts of flowers.[80] Admission for this is by ticket. Then saw a perfor-

77. This must be a mistake. The journey took at least 45 minutes in 1883.

78. The verb has no object "us" in the text. Perhaps only the Maharaja is referred to.

79. The Tosho-gu shrine, situated in Ueno Park.

80. This will be the Hanayashiki at Asakusa, "which is in reality a collec-

mance by mynah birds, which obey any order: they are told to beat drums, pluck lutes, shoot arrows, and so forth. In the evening, His Highness went to play billiards at the club and returned at midnight.

Sunday 24th June. Went to see the Japanese horse races. Then went to a temple; there is a flower garden and a museum [118] in which are kept all kinds of weapons dating from ancient times up to the present. In the evening, His Highness ate at the residence of Sir Harry Parkes.

Monday 25th June. Went sightseeing all over the city.

Tuesday 26th June. Met the Mikado at his palace.[81] At 1:00, visited the four princes.

Wednesday 27th June. Visited by the princes. In the afternoon, went to Yokohama. In the evening, went to the club.

Thursday 28th June. In Yokohama. In the evening, His Highness went to the club, where he played billiards and watched a band in the gardens.

Friday 29th June. In Yokohama. In the evening, went to play billiards and entertained the people from a warship. Wrote a letter to Singapore, mentioning the meeting with the Mikado.

Saturday 30th June. At 1 p.m., returned to Tokyo.

Sunday 1st July. Journey to Nikko. At 7:30 a.m., departed from Mita. At 11:00, stopped for breakfast. Encountered a number of wandering ascetics in search of self-purification.

---

tion of variety shows, consisting of wooden images in the garb of actors and other popular personages, birds and animals . . . , the performance of Japanese tits, etc." (*Official Guide to Eastern Asia*, 1914, III:105).

81. Perhaps Salleh did not accompany the Maharaja on this visit, which may account for the brevity of this entry. Be that as it may, the Japanese Foreign Office Records, which contain details of Abu Bakar's visit, do not reveal very much of interest, the only noteworthy matter being Abu Bakar's reply to the Imperial Edict, in which he states that, "In my country, I often met the people from your country, but I had never seen your country." He then thanks the Emperor for his hospitality.

The other material in the records consists of letters and telegrams between those involved in preparation for Abu Bakar's visit, who included Sir Harry Parkes, Mr. Inoue, the Japanese Foreign Minister, the various Prefects and Governors whose districts the Maharaja was to visit, the Japanese Consulate General in Hong Kong, and the Imperial Household (*Gaikoku Kishin no Raichō Kankei*

Monday 2nd July. At 9:00, set out from Utsunomiya for Kamitsu Kojiru.[82] [119]

Tuesday 3rd July until Monday 9th July. In Nikko.

Tuesday 10th July. At 3:45, went to Tokyo. In the evening, a reception was held, attended by all the princes and chief ministers. Only the Mikado did not attend. This was held at the Mikado's palace named the Rikan[83] Palace. All the government ministers in Japan were there. There was a band.

Wednesday 11th July. Saw the market with Encik Mohamed bin Mahbub and went to other places all over Tokyo.

Thursday 12th July. His Highness went to meet the foreign minister and deputy foreign minister. In the evening, on the invitation of the princes, went to a ball they had organized. All the Japanese ladies present were the wives of royalty. The consul was there. It was an extremely lively occasion.

Friday 13th July. At 3:45, went to Yokohama. I remained in Mitakoyama to examine the accounts and receive the bills to be paid.

Saturday 14th July. Saw the educational institutes and colleges.

Sunday 15th July until Saturday 21st July. In Yokohama.

Sunday 22nd July. At Yokohama club to see Japanese martial arts. [120]

Monday 23rd July and Tuesday 24th July. In Yokohama.

Wednesday 25th July. Went to Shinagawa to visit the funeral procession of the minister Iwakura. He was buried at the Shinagawa temple. Afterwards went for a picnic at Ikegami.

Thursday 26th July until Saturday 28th July. In Yokohama.

Sunday 29th July. Went sightseeing to Kawasaki.

Monday 30th July and Tuesday 31st July. In Yokohama.

Wednesday 1st August. Departed from Yokohama on board the ship *Tokyo Maru*.

Thursday 2nd August. At sea.

Zatsu Ken Indo Bu, 1884). My thanks are due to my friend Professor Nakahara Michiko for her invaluable help in examining these records.

82. (Spelling: K-a-m-y-t-w-k-w-z-y-r-w.) Possibly Kamitsuga.

83. (Spelling: r-y-k-n.) It seems that Salleh has taken the Japanese word *rikyū* ("palace") for the name of the palace.

Friday 3rd August. At 5 a.m., arrived in Kobe harbor. Tonight,[84] His Highness had severe diarrhea. At 9:00, His Highness went up to the Hyogo hotel and was treated by a doctor. Encik Mohamed bin Mahbub was also afflicted by the same complaint.

Saturday 4th August. His Highness's condition improved. Thanks be to God! [121] His Highness went less often "to the river."

Sunday 5th August.[85] At the Hyogo Hotel in Kobe. Wrote a letter to Singapore, stating that we have arrived in Kobe.

Monday 6th August. At the Hyogo Hotel. His Highness is much better. Encik Mohamed has been very ill, but is in the care of a good doctor. I have been very worried.

Tuesday 7th August and Wednesday 8th August. At Hyogo Hotel, Kobe.

Thursday 9th August. Tonight, a Japanese woman was converted to Islam and given the name Zulaikha.[86] His Highness moved to Hama[87] and is staying there. Encik Mohamed and I remain in the Hyogo Hotel.

Friday 10th August until Monday 13th August. At Hama.

Tuesday 14th August. Tonight,[88] two women of noble Japanese families in Yokohama were converted to Islam. The conversion took place in Kobe; the elder one was given the name

84. As there is no indication of the time Salleh wrote this entry, it is not clear whether he is referring to the night of 2nd or 3rd August. The fact that the Islamic day commences at sunset is irrelevant. Anyway, Salleh's entries are organized according to Western time.

85. Salleh makes no mention of the fact that this was *Aidu 'l-Fitr*, ending the fast of *Ramadhan*.

86. These "conversions" are clearly designed to make the Maharaja's diversions respectable, for (according to Dato' Abdullah Mohamed) he was in some respects a typical Victorian, very concerned about appearances. His taste for Japanese women is confirmed by the account of Muraoka Iheiji in his autobiography *Muraoka Iheiji Jiden*. Muraoka ran brothels in a number of places in Southeast Asia, including Singapore, and received visits from Abu Bakar two or three times a month. One of his girls, named Yoshino Sayoko, apparently spent some time at the palace in 1895. My thanks are due to Professor Nakahara Michiko for informing me about this work.

87. This must be Maiko-no-Hama, a resort near Kobe.

88. See note 84 above. If Salleh wrote this entry on the date indicated, he

Encik Aminah, and the younger Encik Zaharah. Went to Kyoto at the bidding of His Highness to change some silk.

Wednesday 15th August. Returned from Kyoto. His Highness is in Hama.

Thursday 16th August. Tonight, a Japanese woman,[89] aged fifteen years, was converted to Islam [122] in Kobe and given the name Maimunah. His Highness is in Hama.

Friday 17th August until Sunday 26th August. At Hama. Wrote letters to Singapore on Tuesday 21st August.

Monday 27th August. The ship *Genki Maru* arrived in the morning. At 10:00, paid all the bills. At 12:00, brought down all the luggage. At 1:30 a.m., His Highness came down from Hama and boarded the ship.

Tuesday 28th August. At 5 a.m., set sail from Kobe. We were passing through the straits between Kobe and Shimonoseki the whole day and into the night.

Wednesday 29th August. In early morning, arrived in Shimonoseki. Stopped for only a short while and then set sail again, arriving in Nagasaki harbor at 9:15 p.m. His Highness went to the club and played billiards.

Thursday 30th August. In the morning, His Highness went ashore. At 9:00, departed from Nagasaki harbor.

Friday 31st August. On the Pacific Ocean between Japan and Shanghai. The sea has been extremely rough. I was seasick day and night, and could not rise. [123] From 12:00 until 3:00, there was a really fierce gale blowing, with violent waves. Only at 4:00 did it abate somewhat. With daylight, the coast of China became visible.

Saturday 1st September. At 4 a.m., the Shanghai estuary was sighted. At 3 p.m., arrived in the harbor and sent a telegram.

Sunday 2nd September and Monday 3rd September. In Shanghai.

Tuesday 4th September. Wrote a letter to Singapore, stating that we are going to Hankow.

---

would hardly have described the conversion which took place while he was in Kyoto.

89. The use of "girl" here would be an imposition of Western ideas.

Wednesday 5th September. At 11:00, His Highness and the rest of us all went down to the ship named the *Shanghai*, as we intend going to Hankow, and will sleep there. At 1:30, departed from the harbor. At about 3:00, emerged from the Shanghai estuary and made our way up the Yangtze Kiang River. This is the most famous river on the continent of China or Asia.

Thursday 6th September. At 6:00 this morning, we were going upstream in the midst of a vast expanse of water: it is more than twenty miles wide and the forest on both shores often disappears from sight, only the high land remaining visible. Nothing could be seen of the upstream area; it was like traversing the ocean. The villages and cities [124] along the banks of the river could only vaguely be discerned in the distance. At 7:00, we encountered a ship coming downstream, named the *I-Chang*, which belongs to the same company as this ship. At 7:30, drew opposite a hill on top of which there is a tower and a lighthouse. At 12:00, passed a hill which drops steeply to the left. At 6 p.m., reached a mountain named S-y S-n, on top of which there is a tower. At 9:45, reached an island named Chiau Shan, where there are Christian missionaries,[90] and arrived in Chinkiang, where we stopped for passengers to disembark. At 12:00, we departed from there, keeping towards the left bank going upstream.

Friday 7th September. At exactly 6 a.m., arrived at the town of Nanking on the left, to put down and take on passengers. We only stopped there for a few minutes. The city could be seen from the sea,[91] hugging the foot of the hills. Most of the islands are low-lying. At 1:00, arrived at the town of Wuhu, which is a big place. There are Europeans here and a good deal of business. This city is also located on the left bank going upstream. Stopped for a short while to put down and take on passengers and cargo. Three miles upstream from Wuhu there is a village named Lu Kang.[92] At 1:30, drew opposite the village of Pi Ma Sui on the right and a lighthouse [125] on the left. At 3:30, reached Yang Kat Shan,

90. Text: *paderi-paderi*.
91. I.e., from the river.
92. (Spelling: S-w k-y-a-ng.)

Bakir[93] Island, and a village named Kiuhin. There is also a high tower of religious significance, eighty feet tall, behind which there is a mountain.

Saturday 8th September. In the early morning arrived at Tung Liu. This is a very beautiful place, with dozens of small islands, and near the left bank going upstream, there is a long sandbank. At 8:00, reached Wan Mun Chi, where there is a customs house. At 9:00, arrived at the mouth of the Roda[94] Island channel. Here there are many channels which are very narrow for a ship to pass through. At 1:00, drew opposite Lake Poyang, which was seen to be vast, and at the entrance to the lake there are two large fortresses named Hu-kow. The water of the lake is very clear, unlike the river water. At 3:00, reached Kiu Kiang, where we stopped. At 5:00, sailed.

Sunday 9th September. In the morning, reached Wusueh. At 11:30, reached Hankow.[95] Went ashore, and His Highness set off with the English consul in a carriage. In the evening, invited four European gentlemen to dinner on board the ship. His Highness went to the club and played billiards.

Monday 10th September. Early this morning, His Highness went across the river. At 9:00, entered the city to see a temple named Kwan Ti Miau,[96] [126] quite beautiful. At 12:45, His Highness took lunch in the house of the English consul. At 4:00, went across to Wu-chang, which is a big city. Came ashore at the place of the Kok Meng Teng,[97] i.e., "a lamp." Called in at a tower named Kang Ham. Then taken by the Commissioner of Customs or Chinese Harbormaster, an Englishman, to meet the Chong Tok[98] in the city. His name is Pen: Chong Tok Pen Pau Tek. He welcomed us in befitting style. The Chong Tok is over

93. (Spellings: Y-ng k-t s-n; B-a-k-y-r.)

94. (Spelling: R-w-d-a.)

95. The journey from Wusueh (spelling: w-w-s-w-y) to Hankow must have taken much longer than this.

96. This temple was destroyed by fire in 1911.

97. The most likely meaning of this is *kok:* "pavilion"; *meng:* "bright"; *teng:* "lamp," which would seem to indicate that some kind of lighthouse was being referred to. This appears to be confirmed by Salleh's explanation, "lamp."

98. The Chong Tok was a provincial governor.

sixty years of age and is a great talker. At 12:15, left Hankow harbor and set off downstream.

Tuesday 11th September. Downstream from Hankow.

Wednesday 12th September. At 6 a.m., encountered a Chinese ferryboat sinking in the river. The ship was brought to a halt and a boat lowered and sent to the rescue. It took fourteen people to dry land. They said that there had been thirty-seven people on board. Twenty-three of them were missing, the only survivors being these fourteen.

Thursday 13th September. Received a great many letters all at once from Teluk Belanga.

Friday 14th September. Wrote a letter to Singapore describing [127] affairs in Hankow.

Saturday 15th September until Wednesday 19th September. In Hankow.[99]

Thursday 20th September. His Highness entered the city and bought some old porcelain from Sulaiman and others. At 4:30, Toramatsu arrived in Shanghai on board the *Naka Maru*.

Friday 21st September. His Highness bought some silk from Chuan Hock (Sulaiman).

Saturday 22nd September. Wrote a letter to Singapore continuing the account of Hankow and other matters about Shanghai. In the evening, saw a Chinese opera.

Sunday 23rd September. A ship—the English Mail—sailed, taking these letters to Singapore.

Monday 24th September. In Hankow.

Tuesday 25th September. In the evening, received a letter from Singapore, from the *engkus*, *datuks*, etc.

Wednesday 26th September. Wrote a letter to Yokohama. In the evening, saw a dramatic performance with Toramatsu.

Thursday 27th September until Saturday 29th September. [128] In Hankow.

Sunday 30th September. In the evening, went with Toramatsu to see girls singing, and played billiards.

99. There is apparently some confusion here and below. They had left Hankow on 10th September, and it is clear that they had returned to Shanghai.

Monday 1st October. In Hankow.

Tuesday 2nd October. Today at 10:30, the Taotai[100] of Shanghai came to the hotel to meet His Highness. He spoke in an amiable manner and with him there was a man who employed very refined language.[101] His Highness promised that he would go to meet the Taotai in the city on the day after tomorrow. Received a letter from Singapore. Tonight, a Japanese of good standing was converted to Islam and given the name Abdul Samad.[102]

Wednesday 3rd October. At 11:30, Abdul Samad sailed back to Yokohama.

Thursday 4th October. At 4:30, His Highness, with Encik Mohamed and myself in attendance, went to meet the Taotai in the city of Shanghai. We were greeted with a gun salute and given a ceremonial welcome. He entertained us for about an hour, serving us cakes and fruit.

Friday 5th October. In Hankow Shanghai.

Saturday 6th October. His Highness went shooting with [129] some Europeans.

Sunday 7th October and Monday 8th October. In Hankow Shanghai.

Tuesday 9th October. In the evening, held a reception for the Taotai at the club, and more than fifty European gentlemen were also there.

Wednesday 10th October. Tonight, His Highness went down to the P&O mail ship, the *Deccan*.

Thursday 11th October. At 6:15 this morning, we left Woosung harbor at the entrance to the Shanghai river, the Whangpoo. From 1:00 to 2:00, we were passing among islands, and from 3:00 to 4:00, we were close to the mainland on our

100. The district administrator.

101. Text: *dan satu orang yang berbahasa halus*, which could also conceivably refer to the Taotai.

102. This should not be interpreted in terms of note 86 above! Dato' Abdullah Mohamed informs me that Abu Bakar adopted a number of young men in the various countries he visited.

right. We sailed with a following wind from the north, and the waves were of moderate size. By 5:00, we lost all sight of land.

Friday 12th October. Today we were in the middle of the ocean and could see nothing but sea and sky. There was still a following wind from the north. At 11:00, the highest points of an island became visible, veiled in mist, and then disappeared from sight. At 4:00, sighted a mountain, also shrouded in mist. At this time the waves were not very strong because [130] we had entered the Straits of Formosa, and until evening we were in sight of land the whole time, and could see the vague shapes of mountains in the distance. Our ship did not lower its sails.

Saturday 13th October. At 6:00 this morning, we were opposite the district of Swatow and could see a range of mountains, and islands veiled in mist. By 9:00, we were in the waters around Swatow. We encountered several thousand fishing boats there and also an American warship. At 10:00 tonight, reached Hong Kong harbor, and dropped anchor at 11:30.

Sunday 14th October. This morning after breakfast, went ashore and took up residence at the Hong Kong Hotel.

Monday 15th October. Went sightseeing all over Hong Kong.

Tuesday 16th October. Today wrote a letter to Singapore, informing of our arrival in Hong Kong, etc. Today, too, His Highness sent some goods and wrote a letter to Mr. K-y-w-n [Gulland?] in Yokohama.

Wednesday 17th October. In Hong Kong. [131]

Thursday 18th October. His Highness went to Macau on board the ship *White Cloud*, departing at 11:00. Arrived at 5:15, and stayed at a hotel named Hingkee,[103] together with four army officers. Macau is an old settlement, organized in the style of long ago, with various forts. Its trade is not flourishing, and the settlement is very quiet. It is located on a promontory reaching out into the sea; the harbor is by the right bank of the river. The finest houses face the sea. Spent the night there.

103. (Spelling: k-y-ng-k-y.) This seems likely to be Hingkee's, a well-known hotel in Macau.

Friday 19th October. Departed at 8 a.m., reaching Hong Kong at 11:30. Wrote letters to Lee Keng Yam[104] and others in Shanghai, and also to Japan. Today received letters from Johor and Singapore.

Saturday 20th October. Departed from Hong Kong at 8 a.m. After noon, we passed two fortresses facing each other, and at 2:00, arrived at Whampoa, where we stopped for a short while to put down and take on passengers. Several Chinese warships were on guard there. The Canton river is rather similar to the Yangtze, but there are many high hills plunging down steeply into the river, and a large number of flat islands with [132] channels cutting among them this way and that. The English consul's house is here, too, and there is also a cemetery. From the sea's edge we could see a large number of high towers along the river. At 3:30, arrived in Canton harbor and saw a number of burned houses—this was due to trouble with the Chinese during the past month.[105] In the afternoon, His Highness went ashore and entered a part of the city to do some shopping. Saw a number of Chinese soldiers on guard. The European quarter is on a small, dead-level island. In the evening went to see women singing.

Sunday 21st October. At 10:30, went ashore and entered the city to do shopping. Had lunch there, and only came back at 5:00. I went to the house of Mr. Thomas Ross-Smith[106] in order to make sure about the payment of the goods that had been purchased. It has all been arranged.

Monday 22nd October. At 8 a.m., departed for Hong Kong.

Tuesday 23rd October until Sunday 28th October. In Hong Kong.

Monday 29th October. Received a telegram from Manila, stating that on the 27th, a typhoon passed over Manila in the direction of Hong Kong and is expected to reach Hong Kong on the 30th. [133]

104. (Spelling: n-m.) But Lee Keng Yam is clearly intended (see note 18 above).

105. Note that Salleh automatically accepts what must be the British interpretation of the situation.

106. (Spelling: R-w-s-m-y-th.)

Tuesday 30th October. At 4 p.m., departed from Hong Kong harbor. A very strong northerly wind has been blowing all night long and into the morning. I have been seasick and unable to get up. We are on board the ship *Sutlej*.[107]

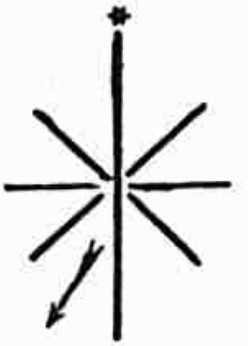
Wednesday 31st October. Early this morning, the wind increased in strength. The captain and navigator said that the typhoon would hit us. At about 8:00, the first gusts arrived, rocking the ship, and all the hatches were closed. All-pure God, who created a ship of this great size, did not exempt it from being tossed about by the waves, which came and went at will over the decks, and the bows were more in the water than above it, to the extent that the waves washed over the ship's awnings. The Chinese deck passengers were in a terrible state; overcome by vomiting and diarrhea, they had evidence of this smeared all over them like cosmetic powder. At 12:00, the ship's position was 18 degrees, 54 minutes latitude by 114 degrees, 37 minutes longitude, and we had covered 218 miles from Hong Kong. The wind did not abate all night.

Thursday 1st November. (1st Muharram, 1301). Early this morning [134]—All praise be to God—the wind abated. The ship has been deflected off course far to the south. At noon, bearings were taken on the sun, and our position was 15 degrees, 10 minutes latitude by 114 degrees, 25 minutes longitude. We only traveled 251 miles since yesterday. The captain said it was a good thing that he had steered the ship well to the south from Hong Kong, so that we had only been hit by the tail-end of the typhoon.

Friday 2nd November. Today it was calm and there were no waves. The European ladies now ventured forth and appeared at the dining table arrayed in their finery. At noon, our bearings were taken on the sun, and our position was found to be 11 degrees, 44 minutes latitude by 110 degrees, 22 minutes longitude, and we covered 272 miles since yesterday. The whole day went by in safety with everyone in good spirits. However, we

107. (Spelling: S-t-y-n-j.) However, it is clear from the *Straits Times* of 5th November 1883, that the ship is the P&O mail steamer *Sutlej* (Captain Johnson).

were sailing against a stiff southwesterly. Our direction was as follows:



Saturday 3rd November. Today was also calm, and [135] the sea was as placid as water in a tray. At noon, our bearings were taken on the sun, and the ship's position was 8 degrees, 17 minutes latitude by 108 degrees, 54 minutes longitude. We only traveled 253 miles since yesterday, because of a stiff southwesterly headwind.

Sunday 4th November. Today we were still against the wind. At noon, our position was 3 degrees, 59 minutes latitude by 106 degrees, 4 minutes longitude; distance, 308 miles. At 11:00, the high points of the Pulau Tujuh were sighted. It took us from 1:00 to 5:00 to make our way through these islands. We passed quite close, being only three miles or so away from them.

Monday 5th November. At 5:00 this morning, passed Batu Putih. At 7:00, encountered the Honorable Engku Mohamed Khalid, Engku Mohamed and Said Alwi on board a steam launch. They came on board the ship to meet His Highness, bringing good news and announcing that the Government had prepared a welcome for His Highness at Johnson Pier. At 8 a.m., reached the P&O wharf, where there were several thousand people waiting to welcome His Highness. His Highness went ashore and met The Honorable Engku Andak. Only at 11:00 did he depart for Singapore in the steam launch. [136]

Observations While in Japan

1. The Japanese attach great value to their old treasures, entrusting their preservation to the care of a council which includes their scholars. Particular attention is paid to the creations

of people living in the past, such as buildings, pictures, tools of trade, weapons, writings, games, and various manners and customs of their race.

2. On no occasion did we see live pigs or pork.

3. On no occasion did we see either people carrying a corpse or[108] a new grave.

4. We never encountered a sick person in any of the houses we entered.

5. In all the time we were in Japan, we did not encounter more than ten beggars.

6. On no occasion did we see people punching each other or fighting in the streets or in the marketplaces, nor did we see children quarreling or crying. However, we encountered hundreds of children, both boys and girls, on their way to school.

7. The schools in Japan are remarkable, there being 26,000 of them. Other schools are run by charitable foundations. [137]

8. We saw people engaged in various kinds of weaving and embroidery, making flowered *songket* cloth and silk with flower patterns. Also saw the machines used.

9. We saw people dyeing silk.

10. We saw silkworms, and how people make silk.

11. Whenever we were out walking and encountered children in the street, most of them would bow to us respectfully.

12. When any man or woman, young or old, came in to eat, they would, at the time they wished to go out, pause at the threshold and then prostrate themselves.

This is the end of Volume I. Volume II will be forthcoming, God willing.

108. Text: *ada*.

Appendix: Genealogies

NOTE

1. Names in square brackets are corrections, taken from the compiler's errata.
2. Footnotes are the compiler's.
3. The compiler uses *alif-hamza* as an abbreviation of the personal honorific Encik/Cik (Mr., Ms.). In order to distinguish between the sexes, I have transcribed *alif-hamza* as *Encik* (abbr. *En.*) before male names, and *Cik* before female names.

Table A

Datuk Panglima Perang Lajat[1] bin Abdul Rahim
(descended from Bugis *Daings*)

	En. Awang bin[2] Datuk Panglima Perang	Cik Lela binti Lajat
Cik Dayang binti Awang (married En. Abdul Rahim, a native of Bulang)	Panglima Perang Mohamed Salleh[3] bin Awang (married Cik Buru' binti Orang Kaya Semantan, ex-wife of En. Abdul Jamil Raja Timur, and Cik Selamah Bintan; see Table B)	Cik Aminah binti Awang (married En. Hasan, the son of a *Daing*)

NOTES:

1. Took an oath of loyalty to His Highness Sultan Abdul Jalil ibn Al-Marhum Bendahara Tun Habib, who ascended the throne of Johor in A.H. 1111, succeeding His Highness Sultan Mahmud of Johor, who died in Kota Tinggi, which was named Makam Tauhid. His Highness Sultan Abdul Jalil died in Teluk Kandang at Kuala Pahang in A.H. 1133.
2. Took an oath of loyalty to His Highness Tengku Temenggung Abdul Rahman of Johor, who died at Teluk Belanga in Singapore in A.D. 1825.
3. Took an oath of loyalty to His Highness Tengku Temenggung Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman of Johor, who died at Teluk Belanga in Singapore on 1st February A.D. 1862.

Table B

Panglima Perang Mohamed Salleh bin Awang (married Cik Buru' binti Orang Kaya Semantan, ex-wife of En. Abdul Jamil Raja Timur)

Cik Dayang binti Abdul Jamil (married En. Abdullah bin Hasan; see Table E)	En. Awang bin Abdul Jamil (married Cik Munah Bintan; see Table F)	En. Bakat bin Mohamed Salleh (married Cik Buru', a cousin on the male side; see Table G)	Cik Aminah binti Mohamed Salleh (married En. Abdul Jamil, nephew of En. Atung; see Table H)	En. Dapat bin Mohamed Salleh (married Cik Rabu, a native of Riau; see Table I)	En. Gaduh bin Mohamed Salleh (married Cik Yang Cik; see Table J)	En. Perang bin Mohamed Salleh[1] (married Cik Yang Jalaha; see Table C)

NOTE: 1. En. Perang bin Mohamed Salleh, Datuk Panglima Perang, took an oath of loyalty to His Highness Tengku Temenggung Ibrahim, who succeeded his father, Tengku Temenggung Abdul Rahman, in A.D. 1825, and who obtained the present state of Johor on 10th March 1855, with the title Raja Temenggung Seri Maharaja Johor. He died at Teluk Belanga in Singapore on 1st February A.D. 1862.

Table C

En. Perang bin Mohamed Salleh, Datuk Panglima Perang
(married Cik Yang Jalaha)

En. Sulung	En. Ahad	En. Husein	Cik Lela	En. Ahmad	En. Mohamed	En. Mohamed Salleh,
begot	begot	begot	(drowned in	(died in	(died at age	Datuk Bentara
En. Ahmad	Cik Sa'udah	En. Awang	Pulai river	Johor while	10 in Teluk	Luar (see Table
Cik Alimah	Cik Yang Cik	En. Ja'far[1]	while still	still single)	Belanga)	D).
En. Mohamed	Cik Fatimah	Cik Hamidah	single)			
Cik Aminah	En. Da	En. Mohamedun				

NOTE: 1. En. Ja'far bin Perang [read Husein (ed.)], father of En. Harun bin Ja'far, who is a Johor government pensioner.

Table D

En. Mohamed Salleh bin Perang,[1] Datuk Bentara Luar
(married Cik Gembab binti Hasan)

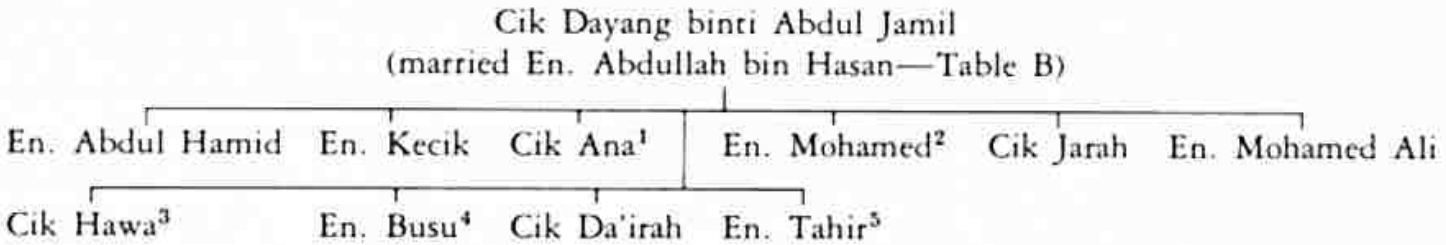
- Haji Ya'kub (born in Teluk Belanga, Singapore, on 26th Ramadhan, 1276, Saturday, 9 a.m.)
- En. Sulaiman (born in Iskandar Puteri, Johor Baru, on 14th Rabi' ul-Akhir, 1279, Thursday, 12 noon)
- En. Yusuf (born in Iskandar Puteri, Johor Baru, on 14th Syawal, 1280, Tuesday, 7 p.m.)
- Cik Kalthum (born in Johor Baru, on 21st Ramadhan, 1282, Tuesday, 9 p.m.)
- En. Othman (born in Johor Baru, on 15th Rabi'ul-Akhir, 1284, Monday, 10 a.m.)
- En. Mohamed (born in Johor Baru, on 15th Ramadhan, 1286, Saturday, 5 a.m.)
- En. Ibrahim (born in Johor Baru, on 7th Jumadil-Awal, 1288, Monday, 7 p.m.)

(and married Cik Kundur binti Abdul Jamil,
after Cik Gembab had returned to the mercy of Almighty God)

- Cik Asiah (born in Batu Pahat, on 17th Jumadil-Awal, 1319, Thursday, 9 a.m.)
- En. Mohamed Hadhir (born in Batu Pahat, on 3rd Sya'ban, 1322, Friday, 7 a.m.)
- En. Alias (born in Batu Pahat, on 15th Rejab 1324, Monday, 7 p.m.)
- Abdullah

NOTE: 1. Took an oath of loyalty to His Highness Sultan Abu Bakar bin al-Marhum Tengku Temenggung Ibrahim Seri Maharaja, and His Highness Sultan Ibrahim bin al-Marhum Sultan Abu Bakar.

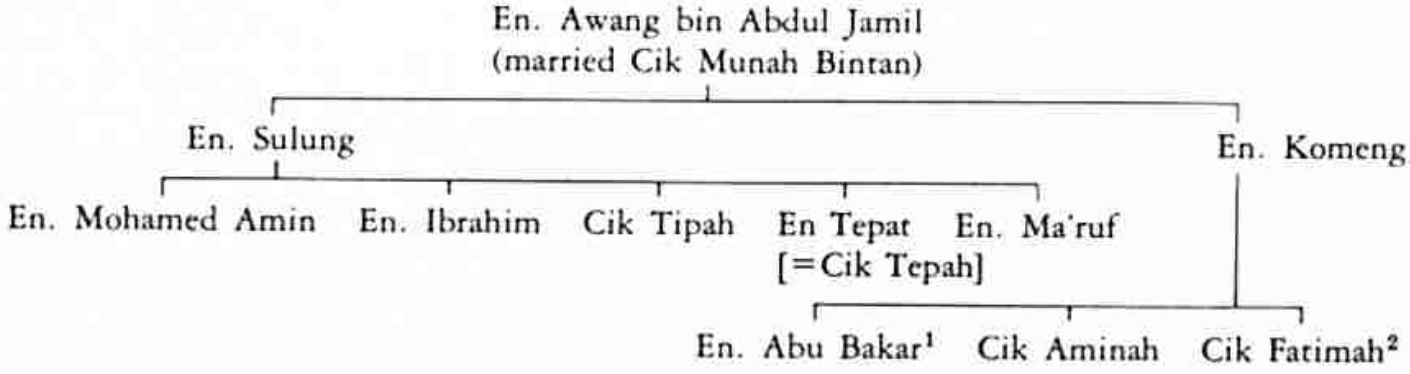
Table E



NOTES:

1. Married Tuan Haji Mohamed.
2. Father of En. Abdullah, the husband of Cik Dandi.
3. Married the Hon. Datuk Andak.
4. Did not have children. Drowned, while still single, in the estuary of the Teberau river; corpse was not recovered.
5. Did not have children.

Table F



NOTES:
1. A surveyor with Datuk Bentara Luar; married Cik Yang binti Mohamed (Table E [read 'M', ed.])
2. Married En. Sulaiman bin Mohamed Salleh (Table D)

Table G

En. Bakat bin Mohamed Salleh
(married Cik Buru', a cousin on the male side—Table B)

En. Pulau	En. Wahid	En. Busu	Cik Kundur	Cik Dayang
begot	begot	begot	gave birth to	gave birth to
En. Omar	En. Saman	En. Mahmud	En. Mohamed bin Sulung	Cik Maimunah
En. Cik	En. Sulaiman	En. Abdul Hamid[3]	Cik Alimah binti Sulung	En. Musa
En. Embuk[1]		En. Hasan	En. Ahmad bin Sulung	Cik Zainab
En. Mohamed[2]		En. Husein	Cik Aminah binti Sulung	
		Cik Jarah		

NOTES:
1. A clerk in Johor education office.
2. Johor Captain Syahbandar (harbormaster).
3. A clerk in religious office.

Table H

Cik Aminah binti Mohamed Salleh
(married En. Abdul Jamil, nephew of En. Atung—Table B.
Gave birth to Cik Dayang binti Abdul Jamil)

Table I

En. Dapat bin Mohamed Salleh
(married Cik Rabu, a native of Riau—Table B)

En. Hitam begot	En. Mahmud[1] begot	Cik Aminah gave birth to
En. Kasim	En. Daud	Cik Halimah
Cik Halimah	Cik Nopiah	Cik Mariam
En. Laman		En. Abdul Majid
En. Salim		En. Abdul Hamid
Cik Yang Cik		

NOTE: 1. Married Cik Khatijah binti Gaduh bin Mohamed Salleh (Table J).

Table J

En. Gaduh bin Mohamed Salleh
(married Cik Yang Cik—Table B)

Cik Khatijah (married En. Mahmud bin Dapat; Table I).	En. Mohamed (did not have children)	Cik Fatimah (did not have children)

Table K

En. Perang bin Mohamed Salleh, Datuk Panglima Perang
(married Cik Yang Jalaha—see Table C)

Offspring of the siblings of Cik Yang Jalaha,
the wife of En. Perang bin Mohamed Salleh

(1) En. Jusuh [Cik Musah]

En. Husein Cik Jarah En. Abu [Aju]

(2) Cik Benih (married Raja Berima)

Raja Awang Raja Sa'id Raja Aminah Raja Khatijah Raja Sya'ban

(3) En. Rantau

En. Kasim[1] En. Othman Cik Aliah En. Sulaiman Cik Halimah En. Bagus

(4) Cik Buru' (married a Malaccan)

Table K (cont.)

(5) En. Bujal Lahat

En. Yusuf	Cik Buru'	Cik Dandi (married En. Abdullah bin Mohamed—Table E).

NOTE: 1. The father of En. Mohamed Nor, Superintendent of Parks, Johor Baru.

Table L

Offspring of the children of En. Mohamed Salleh bin Perang, Datuk Bentara Luar,

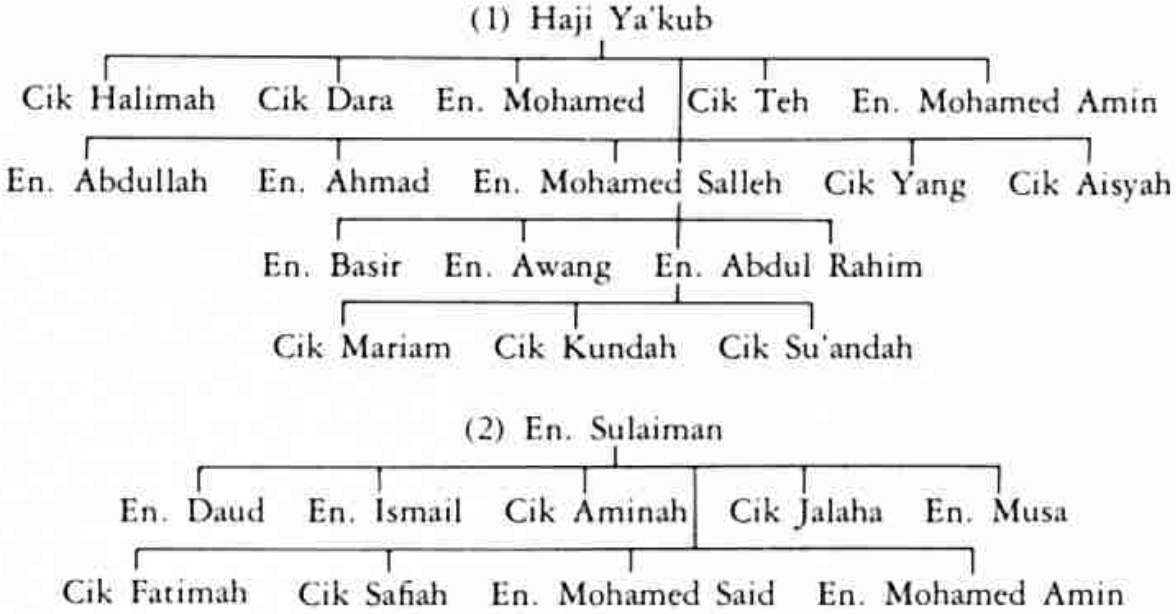


Table L (cont.)


(3) En. Yusuf, Seri Mahkota Johor
(Johor government collector of land revenues)
En Musa (Captain, Johor Military Forces)
En. Omar
En. Yahya
Cik Indah
Cik Aisah
Cik Fatimah
(4) Cik Kalthum
(married En. Mohamed bin Abu Talib)
En. Sidik
En. Mohamed Akil
En. Abu Talib
Cik Mariam
Cik Aminah
Cik Hindun
(5) En. Othman
En. Hitam
En. Perang
En. Abdul Majid
Cik Lela
Cik Selamah
En. Hasan
Cik Fatimah
En. Ali
Cik Ana
Cik Gembab
(6) En. Mohamed
Cik Dayang
En. Adam
Cik Bibih
Cik Halimah

Table L (cont.)

(7) En. Ibrahim

En. Mohamed | En. Abdullah | En. Ja'far | En. Abdul Rahman | En. Hitam

(8) Cik Asiah

(9) En. Mohamed Hadhir

(10) En. Alias

(11) En. Abdullah

Table M

Offspring of the children of Cik Dayang binti Abdul Jamil, who married En. Abdullah bin Hasan (Table E)

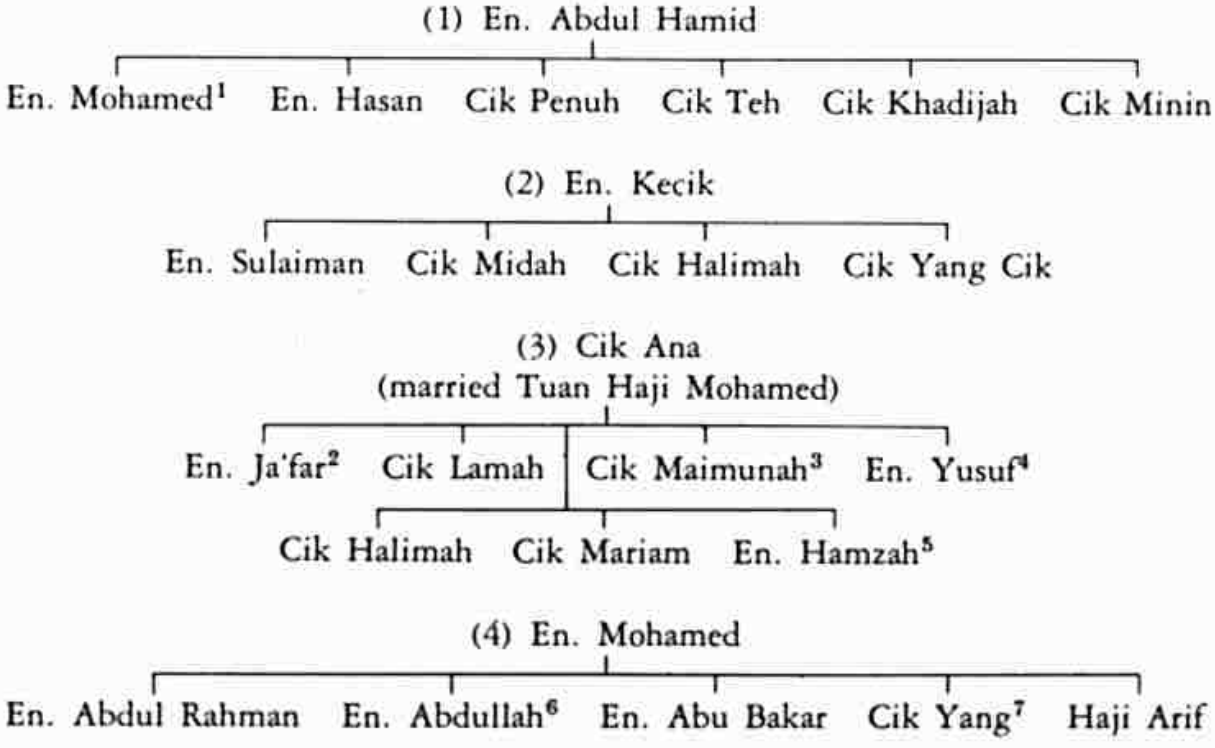


Table M (cont.)

(5) Cik Jarah

Cik Aisah | En. Yassin | Cik Sinum | Cik Zainab | Cik Kalthum

(6) En. Mohamed Ali
begot
En. Yahya
(Captain of harbormaster's office, Johor Baru)

(7) Cik Hawa

En. Mohamed | Cik Selamah | Cik Halimah | En. Abdul Rahman[8]

(8) En. Busu
(Did not have children; drowned, while still single, in the estuary of the Teberau river. Corpse not recovered.)

Table M (cont.)

(9) Cik Da'irah

Cik Aminah Cik Aisah

(10) En. Tahir
(Did not have children.)

NOTES:

1. Father of Encik Othman of the harbormaster's office, Johor Baru.
2. The Hon. Datuk Menteri Besar of the Government of Johor.
3. Married En. Awang, father of the Hon. Datuk Mohamed Syah, Government Commissioner for Batu Pahat.
4. Father of Lt. Col. the Hon. Datuk Abdul Hamid, Johor Military Forces.
5. Father of Mohamed Salleh, Johor Government surveyor.
6. Married Cik Dandi. Father of En. Mohamed Sa'id, Johor arrack and opium office.
7. Married En. Abu Bakar bin Komeng (Table F).
8. Abdul Rahman bin Andak (the Hon. Datuk Seri Amar Diraja).

Glossary

attap	(Malay: *atap*, "roof"). The term "attap house," however, usually refers to a house roofed and walled with palm-frond thatch, such as *nipah*.
bandar	town, port
baru	new
batin	headman (usually of aboriginal groups)
batu	rock, stone
besar	big, great
bin	son of
binti	daughter of
bukit	hill
chop	Chinese business seal
cik	Ms.
daftar	list, register
daing	a title for Bugis nobles
datuk	a title for non-royal chiefs
encik	Mr.
engku	a title of high rank used for princes
Fatiha	the first *Sura* of the Qur'an
gunung	mountain
haji	one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca
hikayat	narrative, account
istana	palace
jalan	road, street
jawi	Malayo-Arabic script
kampung	village
kanan	right
kiri	left

kuala	estuary
marhum	a title for deceased Muslim rulers
menteri	minister
menteri besar	chief minister
munsyi	language teacher
orang kaya	a title for a chief; lit. "rich person"
padang	field, open area
paderi	padre, Christian clergyman
panglima	war leader
pantai	beach
pantun	a Malay quatrain, with a four-word line and rhyme scheme a b a b
penghulu	a headman
pengiran	a title for princes and nobles
peranakan	a locally born foreigner; often, if a Muslim, with a Malay mother
perang	war, battle
pulau	island
rakyat	the common people, subjects
rumi	romanized script
said	a descendant of the Prophet Mohamed
simpang	junction, crossing
songket	cloth shot with gold or silver thread
sungai	river
syair	a long poem made up of verses of four lines rhyming a a a a
tanjung	cape, headland
teluk	bay
temenggung	Malay official of high rank
tengku	a title for princes and princesses
towkay	a Chinese financier or employer
ulu	upper reaches of a river
Yang di Pertuan	title given to a ruler; lit. "He who is made lord"

Jawi Spellings of Japanese and Chinese Proper Names and Terms

(Spellings given in the notes are not repeated here.)

Japanese

Arashi kima	A-r-a-s-y K-y-m-a
Asakusa	A-s-a-k-w-s-a
Ashinoyu	H-a-sy-y-n N-w-y-w
Biwa	B-y-w
Fujieda	F-w-j-y A-y-r-a
Fujigawa	F-w-z-y G-a-w-a
Fujiya	F-w-j-y-a
Fujiyama	F-w-j-y Y-a-m-a
Fukiya	H-w-k-y-a
Gamagori	K-a-r-a A-m-y
Genki Maru	G-y-ng-k-y M-a-r-w
Hakone	H-w-k-w N-y-q (see also n. 67, Part Three)
Hama	H-a-m-a
Hamamatsu	H-a-m-a-m-t-sy-w
Hamana	H-a-m-a-n-a
Hoganji	H-a-g-n-j-y
Hyogo	H-y-w-g-w-h
Ikegami	A-y-k-y-ng G-a-m-y
Ishibe	H-y-s-y B-y-h
Ishiyakushi	A-y-c-y B-w-q-c-y
Iwakura	A-y-w-a-k-w-r-a
Jinga Maru	J-y-ng-g-a M-a-r-w
Kakegawa	K-a-k-y-ng G-a-w-a
Kamakura	K-a-m-a K-w-r-a
Kambara	K-m-b-a-r-a
Kameyama	K-a-m-y-y-a-m-a
Kanazawa	K-a-n-a-z-a-w-a

Kawasaki	K-a-w-a S-a-k-y
Kinkakuji	K-y-n K-a-k-w-j-y
Kiso	K-y-s-w
Kobe	K-w-b-y
Komigawa	K-w-m-y G-a-w-a
Kurasawa	F-w-r-a S-a-w-a
Kuwana	L-w-a-n-a
Kyoto	K-y-w-t-w
Matsuzakaya	M-a-c-w K-z-a-y-a
Minaguchi	M-y-n-a-l-w-j-y
Mishima	M-a-sy-y-m-a
Mita	M-y-t-a
Mitakoyama	M-y-t-a K-w-y-a-m-a
Mitsuke	M-y-sy-w-k-y
Miyanoshita	M-y-a-n-w S-y-t-a
Nagasaki	N-a-g-a-s-a-k-y
Nagoya	N-a-g-w-y-a
Naka Maru	N-k-d-y M-a-r-w
Nakamura	N-a-k-a-m-w-r-a
Nakayama	Y-a-g-a Y-a-m-a
Nara	N-a-r-a
Nikko	N-y-k-w-h
Oiwake	A-w-y W-a-k-y
Osaka	A-w-s-a-k-a & A-w-z-k-a
Otsu	L-w-t-s-w
Sakanoshita	S-ng-k-a-n-w S-y-t-a
Seki	S-y-k-y
Shimonoseki	S-m-w-n-w-s-y-k-y
Shinagawa	Sy-y-n-a G-a-w-a
Shirasuka	S-y-r-s-k-a
Shizuoka	Z-w-z-w-k-r-a
Taikun	T-y-k-w-n
Tenryugawa	T-y-n-r-y-w-g-a-w-a
Tokyo	T-w-k-y-w-h
Toramatsu	T-w-r-a M-t-s-w
Toshogu	T-w-sy-w-h K-w-h
Toyohashi	T-w-y-w H-a-sy-y
Tsuchiyama	J-w-c-y Y-a-m-a

Utsunomiya	A-w-s-w-n-w-m-y-a
Washika Biwa Mita	W-a-s-y-k-a B-y-w M-y-t-a
Ya Ami	Y-a A-m-y
Yahagibashi	B-h-ny-a-ng-y A-s-y
Yahagigawa	Y-h-a-q-y G-a-w-a
Yokkaichi	Y-w-q-k-a A-y-c-y
Yokohama	H-y-w-q-h-a-m-a & Y-w-q-h-a-m-a
Yoshiwara	B-w-sy-y W-a-r-a

Chinese

Amoy	A-y-m-w-y
Canton	K-y-n-t-w-n
Cheang Hong Lim	C-y-a-ng H-w-ng L-y-m
Cheang Teo	C-y-a-ng T-y-w
Chia Ah Seng	C-y-a A-s-y-ng
Chiau Shan	J-w-s-n
Ching	C-y-ng
Chinkiang	C-y-ng K-y-a-ng
Chong Tok	C-w-ng T-w-q
Chuan Hock	C-w-a-n H-w-q
Chun Jid Toh	C-w-n J-y-d T-w-h
Fong Heng	F-w-ng H-y-ng
Ham Hong	H-m-ng H-w-ng
Hankow	H-ng-k-a-w
Hong Hing	H-w-ng H-y-ng
Hong Kong	H-w-ng-k-w-ng
Hong Mong Thiam Kee	H-w-ng M-w-ng T-y-a-m K-y
Hu Kow	H-w K-a-w
I-Chang	A-y-c-y-a-ng
Kang Ham	K-ng H-m
Kee Chiang	K-y C-y-a-ng
Kiuhin	K-y-w-h-y-n
Kiu Kiang	K-y-w K-y-a-ng
Kok Meng Teng	K-w-q M-y-ng T-y-ng

Kwan Ti Miau	K-w-n T-y M-y-w
Lee Keng Yam	L-y K-y-ng Y-m
Li Po	L-y-p-w
Nanking	N-n-k-y-n
Pen Pau Tek	P-y-n P-a-w T-y-q
Pi Ma Sui	P-y M-a S-w-y
Poyang	P-w-y-ng
Sam Kok	S-m-ng K-w-w-'
Sa^{n}hi	S-m-b-y-n
Shanghai	S-y-ng-h-y
Sin Yu	S-y-n A-y Y-w
Swatow	S-w-a-t-w
Taiwan	T-a-y W-a-n
Taotai	T-w-t-y
Tek San Si	T-y-q S-n S-y
Teo Chew	T-y-w C-y-w
Tiaupak	T-y-a-w-p-t
Tseng	C-y-ng
Tung Liu	T-ng L-w
Wan Mun Chi	W-a-n M-w-n C-y
Whampoa	H-w-m-p-w
Whangpoo	H-w-a-ng H-w/P-w
Woosung	H-w-s-w-ng
Wu Chang	W-a-w C-y-a-ng
Wuhu	W-w-h-w
Yangtze Kiang	Y-ng-s-y K-y-a-ng
Yio Khim	A-y-w K-y-m

Works Cited

SSD = *Singapore and Straits Directory*

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Biographical Register. 1884. U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Daftar Pengaduan—Timur dan Barat (Register of Complaints, East and West). 1899–1912. *Arkib Negara Malaysia, Bahagian Selatan* (Malaysian National Archives, Southern Branch), Johor Baru.

Foreign Office List. 1881–1884. London.

Gaikoku Kibin no Raichō Kankei Zatsu Ken Indo Bu (Record of Foreign guests who visited Japan—India section). 1884. Gaiko Shiryōkan (Diplomatic Records Office), Japanese Foreign Ministry Records, File 6-4-4-1, Tokyo.

Muar Papers, 1879–1880. British Parliamentary Papers (Misc. B), London. Consulted at Arkib Negara Malaysia.

Report of the Johore Boundaries Commission. 1898. Colonial Office, London.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir Munsyi. 1953. *Hikajat Abdullah*, edited by R. A. Datoek Besar and R. Roolvink. Amsterdam and Djakarta: Djambatan.

———. 1960. *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, edited by Kassim Ahmad. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Abdullah b. Mohamed, Dato'. 1971. "The Travels of Abu Bakar, Maharajah of Johor, to the Far East." *Malaysia in History*, 14 (1): 3–8.

Adat Radja-radja Melajoe, naar drie Londensche Handschriften. 1929. Edited by Ph. S. van Ronkel. Leiden: Brill.

Booth, Wayne C. 1961. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brandt, William J. 1970. *The Rhetoric of Argumentation*. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill.

Burridge, Kenelm O. L. 1956. "A Report of Fieldwork in Batu Pahat, Johor." University of Malaya, Singapore (unpublished).

Cense, A. A. 1951. "Enige Aantekeningen over Makassaars-Boeginese Geschiedschrijving." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 107: 42–60.

Chamberlain, B. H., and W. B. Mason. 1913. *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*. London: John Murray.

Daud b. Sulaiman b. Mohamed Salleh. 1955. *Ringkasan Tauarikh Orangkaya2 dan Penghulu2 Batu Pahat* (in *Jawi* script). Parit Jawa, Muar: Mahmudiah Press.

Drewes, G. W. J. 1951. "Autobiografieen van Indonesiers." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 107: 226–264.

———. 1961. *De Biografie van een Minangkabausen Peperhandelaar in de Lampongs*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 36.

Endacott, G. B. 1973. *A History of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Fawzi Mohamed Basri, M. A. 1973. "Datuk Jaafar Haji Mohamed, Menteri Besar Johor yang Pertama." *Jebat (Jernal Persatuan Sejarah Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia)*, 2: 1–6.

Gombrich, E. H. 1969. *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Handy Guide Book to the Japanese Islands. 1888. Hong Kong, etc.: Kelly & Walsh.

Hikayat Maresekalek. Cod. 2276d in Leiden University Library. Edited by Wan Mat Seman, as a B.A. (Hons.) academic exercise. Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (unpublished), 1974.

Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala. British Museum Mss. (Add. 12386). Edited by Bustamam bin Yahya, as a B.A. (Hons.) academic exercise. Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (unpublished), 1974.

Hikayat Raja-raja Siam. Cod. 2011 in Leiden University Library. Edited by Halimah binti Hassan, as a B.A. (Hons.) academic

exercise. Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (unpublished), 1974.

Kessler, Clive S. 1978. *Islam and Politics in a Malay State, Kelantan 1838–1969*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Lake, Harry. 1894. "Johore." *Geographical Journal*, 3(3): 281–302.

Makepeace, W., G. E. Brooke, and R. St. J. Braddell (eds.). 1921. *One Hundred Years of Singapore* (2 vols.). London: John Murray.

Mohamed Said b. Haji Sulaiman. 1940 (first published 1911). *Hikayat Johor dan Tawarikh al-Marhum Sultan Abu Bakar* (in *Jawi* script). Singapore: Malaya Publishing House.

Muraoka Iheiji. 1960. *Muraoka Iheiji Jiden*. Tokyo: Nanpō-sha.

Newbold, T. J. 1839. *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (2 vols.). London: John Murray.

Nio Joe Lan. 1962. *Sastera Indonesia-Tionghoa*. Djakarta: Gunung Agung.

Noorduyn, J. 1961. "Some Aspects of Macassar–Buginese Historiography." In D. G. E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, pp. 29–36. London: Oxford University Press.

Official Guide to Eastern Asia (3 vols.). 1914. Tokyo: Imperial Japanese Government Railways.

Rockwell, Joan. 1974. *Fact in Fiction*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Roff, William R. 1974. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.

Singapore and Straits Directory (SSD). 1880–1927. Singapore.

Skinner, C. 1963. *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 40.

Sweeney, Amin. 1980. *Authors and Audiences in Traditional Malay Literature*. Berkeley Monographs of the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies. Berkeley: University of California.

Sweeney, Amin, and Nigel Phillips. 1975. *The Voyages of Mohamed Ibrahim Munsyi*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Temple, Sir R. C. 1914. *The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States*. Bombay.

Thio, Eunice. 1969. *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula, 1880–1910*, vol. I. Singapore and Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.

Turnbull, C. M. 1972. *The Straits Settlements, 1826–67*. Singapore and Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Watson, C. W. 1971. "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 127(4): 417–433.

Winstedt, Sir R. O. 1932. "A History of Johore." *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 10(3).

Index

Designer: Sandy Drooker
Compositor: Interactive Composition Corporation
Printer: Thomson-Shore
Binder: Thomson-Shore
Text: VIP Garamond
Display: VIP Garamond
Cloth: Holliston Roxite B 53556
Paper: 55 lb. P&S Offset